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Wandering in the Algerian Desert:
An Investigation into the Attitudes of Adult
L1 Algerian Arabic Speakers towards
Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Speech

R. KHOUMIKHAM

PhD

2022

Wandering in the Algerian Desert:
An Investigation into the Attitudes of Adult
L1 Algerian Arabic Speakers towards
Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Speech

Rachid KHOUMIKHAM

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the requirements of the University of
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Department of Humanities

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Abstract

Social evaluations of specific speech varieties are important since they reflect stereotypes surrounding the perceived speech communities. However, there is presently a scarcity of sociolinguistic research investigating Algerian nationals' language attitudes toward Algerian Arabic Vernaculars (AVA), including towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic.

To help overcome this research gap, the present sociolinguistic project employs a mixed-methods approach to investigate adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards five specific AVA varieties: Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic, Algiers Vernacular, Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular, Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular, Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular. To investigate these perceptions, an indirect verbal-guise study was employed (N=700). A follow up interview was also conducted amongst a sample of these participants (N=32).

Multivariate analysis of the verbal-guise data suggested participants' attitudes were organised along two attitudinal dimensions - social status and social attractiveness - with urban varieties generally evaluated higher on status and rural varieties rated higher on attractiveness. However, Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic was frequently rated the lowest on both dimensions. More specifically, in terms of status, participants' sex and education level were found to account for the evaluations of AVA varieties, with females and those with a higher level of education favouring urban varieties, while males favoured rural and nomadic varieties. Moreover, education and sex were found to have a significant interaction effect on the status evaluations of one urban variety (Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular), with educated females ratings found to be higher than female high-schoolers. Regarding attractiveness, age, provenance, and education were found to explain differences in evaluations of AVA varieties, with young adults and higher education individuals favouring urban varieties, while elderly adults, high schoolers, and nomadic individuals favouring rural and nomadic varieties.

Further fine-grained analysis of the interview data revealed that participants were frequently more tolerant of Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic (ANON) when compared to the evaluations uncovered in the verbal guise study. Furthermore, the interview findings indicated a number of specific phonological, syntactic, discursive, and socio-pragmatic features that triggered adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward (speakers of) ANON. The interview data also revealed that adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers tended to associate ANON with poor communication and managerial skills.

By contextualising the findings within research conducted in the Middle East, North Africa, and elsewhere, this study contributes to a broader understanding of language attitudes in the MENA region. The thesis concludes with recommendations for policymakers and researchers to tackle prejudice towards Algerian nomads.

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*This thesis is humbly dedicated to the loved ones whose lives were tragically claimed by
the COVID-19 pandemic...*

To my brothers, Mahan and Masoud,...

Your indelible memory shall forever endure...

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“Whoever is ungrateful to people, is by no means grateful to the almighty.”

Prophet Mohamed MPbuH

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Rachid KHOUMIKHAM
Newcastle upon Tyne, UK
September 2022

Author's declaration

I assert that the present thesis is my own work, and it fully acknowledges contributions from other works. I also assert that this thesis has not been submitted for any other awards.

Ethical clearance for the research presented in this commentary has been sought and granted through the Researcher's submission to Northumbria University's Ethics Online System (*Submission Ref:* 17418) on 14/10/2019.

*I declare that the Word Count of this Thesis is **93103** words.*

Name: Rachid KHOUMIKHAM

Date: 30/09/2022

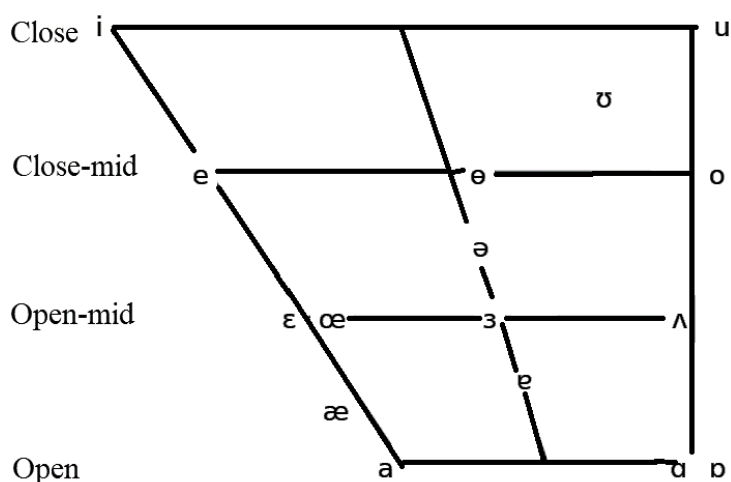
List of Abbreviations

CSA:	Classical Standard Arabic
MSA:	Modern Standard Arabic
AVA:	Algerian Arabic Vernacular
AA:	Algiers Arabic Vernacular
ANON:	Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular
ASA:	Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular
AEA:	Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular
AWA:	Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular
MENA:	Middle East and North Africa
VGT:	Verbal-Guise Test/Study

Algerian Arabic Phonetic Sounds¹

	Plosive		Nasal	Tap/ Flap	Fricative		Affricate	Lateral Approximant	
Bilabial	P ب ¹	b ب ²	m م						
Labio-dental					f ف	v ف			
Dental					θ ث	ð ذ	d ظ		
Alveolar	t ت	d د			s س	Z ز	ʒ ص	dʒ ذ	l ل
Post alveolar			n ن	r ر	ʃ ش	ʒ ج		dʒ ج	
Palatal					j ي				
Velar		k ك							
Uvular	q ق	g ق						x خ	ɣ غ
Pharyngeal					ħ ح	ʕ ع			
Glottal		ʔ ء				h ه			

Algerian Arabic Vowels



¹ Created using the International Phonetic Association (IPA) website: <https://www.ipachart.com/>, for a detailed study of Algerian Arabic, see Saud and Saud (2013).

² Voiced sounds are shaded in grey.

Characters for Arabic Transliteration ¹

Consonants ²					
Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
أ/ء/إ	ʾ	ك	k	س	s
ب	b	ل	l	ت	t
ج	j	م	m	ث	th
د	d	ن	n	خ	x
ه	h	ص	ṣ	ذ	ḏ
و	w	ع	ʿ	ظ	ḏʿ
ز	z	ف	f	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ض	ḏ	ش	š
ط	ṭ	ق	q		
ي	y	ر	r		

Short Vowels		Long Vowels	
Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
َ	a	ا	ā
ُ	u	و	ū
ِ	i	ي	ī
ْ	e		

¹ For a detailed account of the Arabic Transliteration into English see Habash, Soudi, and Buckwalter (2007: 15-22).

² *The Shadda* [شدة] (ّ), which is a symbol that marks doubling the time of consonant pronunciation, will be represented by the doubling of the consonant.

Chapter 1 General Introduction

1.1. *A Point of Departure*

Algeria is a heterogeneous country characterised by a rich mosaic of languages and ethnicities with roots tracing back to ancient times (Mili, 2004). In contemporary Algeria, there exists a competition between three languages of significant historical and ideological weights (Benrabah, 2014). The linguistic landscape in Algeria is intricate and multi-layered, with Arabic and Berber as official languages on paper, whilst French is the *de facto* language in most administrations. This situation underscores the complexity of language use in Algeria, where each of the three languages exists in various forms and varieties. For instance, whilst *Standard Arabic* serves as the official language, many Algerians use Algerian Arabic as their primary language (L1). The Arabic language is a Semitic language widely spoken in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and beyond (Al-Birini, 2016). Throughout the MENA region, *Arabic* is the first language of most individuals in twenty countries, including Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Yemen, Iraq, and Syria (*ibid.*). However, Arabic is primarily a second language (L2) for most Berbers in North Africa and Kurds in the Middle East (Miller, 2007). Furthermore, Arabic is used as a second or third language by individuals from many predominantly Muslim countries outside the MENA region, such as Malaysia (Al-Birini, 2016).

The sociolinguistic context of Algeria, like several Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) countries, has been characterised as *diglossic* (Benrabah, 2013b). Diglossia refers to a situation where two linguistic varieties are frequently employed under different circumstances (Ferguson, 1959). For example, Algerian Arabic speakers may use Standard Arabic in educational settings and Algerian Arabic at home (Benrabah, 2013a). Additionally, diglossic speech communities are marked by the use of a high-status linguistic variety and at least one low-status variety (Ferguson, 1959). In the Arab-speaking world, Standard Arabic typically functions as the high variety utilised for formal and official purposes, while regional Arabic varieties serve as low varieties employed for informal situations (Ferguson, 1968). However, in countries like Algeria, where multiple languages are spoken, diglossia adds layers of complexity within each language's varieties. For instance, Chakrani (2013) examined the use of Standard Arabic, Arabic vernaculars, Berber, and French in various domains in Morocco. He found that Standard Arabic and French both functioned as high varieties, while Moroccan Arabic Vernacular and Berber were considered low varieties. Similar results were obtained by Chebchoub (1985) in Algiers, where French was preferred

in scientific domains, Standard Arabic was preferred for literature and law, whilst Arabic Vernaculars and Berber were utilised in informal contexts such as interactions with friends and family.

In general, Arabic sociolinguistics research across the MENA region has focused on the imbalance in status that has resulted from the diglossic situation (for example, Ferguson, 1959, 1968; Abdel-Jawad, 1987; Abdel-Jawad and Awwad, 1989; Abu-Haidar, 1991; Al-Birini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2020). For instance, in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, Arabic speakers generally tend to prefer English in relation to scientific innovation, Standard Arabic in relation to religious education, and Arabic vernaculars in relation to informal contexts (for example, Herbolich, 1979; Shaaban and Ghaith, 2002; Al-Birini, 2021). However, when different Arabic vernaculars are involved, the social evaluation becomes much more complex. While Arabic vernaculars have no official status and no standard spelling, Arabic speakers may be familiar with a rather wide range of Arabic dialects due to media or daily life contact (Al-Birini, 2016). Indeed, in recent years, Arabic sociolinguists seemed to be inquisitive about investigating social evaluations of Arabic speakers towards different Arabic varieties from across the MENA region (for example, Al-Birini, 2016; Hachimi, 2017; Shalaby, 2021). Of course, regional Arabic vernaculars do not hold the same status. For example, it is frequently argued that Arabic speakers generally recognise the Egyptian and Syrian Arabic vernaculars, and evaluate them positively, possibly, due to their omnipresence in the media and film industry across Arabic-speaking countries (Hachimi, 2017; Shalaby, 2021). On the other hand, Arabic speakers from the Middle East frequently misidentify Moroccan Arabic vernacular and Algerian Arabic vernacular, believing both to be incomprehensible due to Berber and French influence (Hachimi, 2015; Al-Birini, 2016).

Indeed, it appears that earlier research on the social evaluations of Algerian Arabic Vernacular typically adopted one of two approaches. Firstly, most previous studies on Algerian Arabic focused on the social evaluations of Algerian Arabic in relation to other languages in Algeria, typically local languages such as Standard Arabic, Berber, and French (Chebchoub, 1985; Benrabah, 2004, 2007, 2013a; Belmihoub, 2018), or global languages such as English (Benrabah, 2014; Belmihoub, 2015) and Chinese (Benrabah, 2014). Secondly, many researchers generally focused on Algerian Arabic Vernacular in connection to pan-Arabic diglossic contexts (for example, Bidaoui, 2020, 2021). Researchers who adopted this approach would generally discuss the evaluations of Algerian Arabic in relation to other Arabic Vernaculars from the MENA region, such as Egyptian Arabic and Syrian Arabic (see Bidaoui, 2020). Despite the two techniques' high merits in explaining people's issues with negative preconceptions and prejudice, one critical concern is that both

approaches may fall into the trap of categorising Algerian Arabic as a single entity. Indeed, much of earlier research assumed that *Algiers Vernacular*, the variety spoken in the capital of Algeria, was representative of Algerian Arabic speech, suggesting that previous studies typically assumed that attitudes towards the various varieties of Algerian Arabic are homogeneous.

Thus, studies on Algerian Arabic speakers' social evaluations of Arabic have frequently focused on the relationship between Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic Vernacular (typically Algiers Vernacular) and have rarely focused on the relationship between varieties of Algerian Arabic that are spoken throughout Algeria and are not always mutually intelligible. Chebchoub (1985), for example, observed that Algerian Arabic speakers rated Standard Arabic highly in terms of social status (traits such as education) but rated Algerian Arabic lower on the same scale. However, one critical issue arises: which variant of Algerian Arabic do Algerian Arabic speakers regard as inferior in terms of status? Indeed, as an Algerian Arabic speaker, I am aware that some ethnic groups and areas of Algeria are associated with certain prejudices more than others. During my trips to *Hassi Masoud*, the centre of the oil industry in Algeria, for example, I discovered that the professionals I encountered did not take speakers of Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON) seriously. This interaction prompted me to wonder: how do Algerian Arabic speakers rate Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular in comparison to other vernaculars used throughout Algeria? This was the primary question I had in mind when I started preparing for this study endeavour. Given the nature of my encounter with prejudices against ANON, I was especially curious about the socioeconomic consequences of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes against ANON for ANON speakers.

1.2. Focus of the Study

The examination of social evaluations concerning Arabic variations in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has indicated the potential scientific and socio-political benefits of investigating the attitudes of Arabic speakers towards local vernaculars (see section 4.5). Given this, the primary aim of this study is to explore the language attitudes of adult native speakers of Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) who live in the Midlands of Algeria towards five distinct AVA varieties. Specifically, the study seeks to evaluate the perceptions of L1 AVA speakers regarding Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular (ANON).

1.2.1. A Working Definition of Investigated Algerian Arabic Varieties

This study investigates social evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties, focusing on five varieties of Algerian Arabic spoken across different geographic regions. The varieties include two urban varieties, two rural varieties, and one nomadic variety. The main aim of this study is to explore the social attitudes and perceptions of Algerian Arabic speakers towards these five varieties, particularly towards the nomadic variety, which has received little attention in previous research. The study contributes to the growing body of research on language variation and change in Arabic-speaking societies, and sheds light on the social dynamics of language use and perception in Algeria.

One variety is Algiers Vernacular, a sociolinguistic urban variety spoken in the capital city of Algeria, which has been widely researched and documented by scholars (Aguadé, 2018; Chebchoub, 1985). This variety of Algerian Arabic Vernacular, also known as "Algeroise," has evolved over time due to its unique historical and social contexts. Algiers Vernacular is believed to have emerged as a result of contact between French and Arabic (Chebchoub, 1985), which has had a significant influence on its lexical and phonological features. As such, one of the most notable characteristics of Algiers Vernacular is its remarkable use of French borrowed words. These loanwords have become an integral part of the vernacular's vocabulary, reflecting the linguistic and cultural influences of French colonialism in Algeria. Phonologically, Algiers Vernacular is marked by the realisation of the phoneme [q] in a way which is similar to the realisation of the same phoneme in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). The realisation of [q] in Algiers Vernacular is known to be distinctive and is indicative of its unique linguistic features. Furthermore, Algiers Vernacular is locally marked by the use of discourse markers such as /ya xu:/ (meaning "oh brother") and /friki/ (meaning "my mate"). These discourse markers play an important role in signalling social relationships and establishing a sense of community among speakers of Algiers Vernacular (see Chebchoub, 1985).

Another urban variety explored in the present study is Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular, which is characterised by a multitude of sub-varieties. This variety is spoken across various provinces in Eastern Algeria, including *Guelma*, *Annaba*, and *El-Tariff*. The Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular is locally distinguished by the grammatical gender markers for the second-person singular pronoun "you," which are reversed. In this variety, speakers typically use the feminine marker with the masculine pronoun version of "you" and vice-versa. Furthermore, Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular exhibits unique discourse markers that are exclusive to this variety. For example, the use of /karhba/ (meaning car) is

prevalent, unlike /say`ra/ and /Tonobil/, which are typically used respectively in Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic Vernacular. The use of these discourse markers serves as a marker of identity for the speakers of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (see Bidaoui, 2021). Moreover, the influence of French on the Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular is relatively less when compared to its counterpart from the capital (Chebchoub, 1985).

One of the rural Algerian Arabic Vernacular varieties that the present study explores is Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular, a rural dialect widely spoken in the Sahara region of Algeria. This variety is spoken in several southern Algerian provinces, including *Béchar*, *Adrar*, *Tamanrasset*, and *Oued Souf*. It is worth noting that the Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular displays unique linguistic features that distinguish it from other Arabic varieties in Algeria. One such feature is the relatively rare use of French borrowed words, which sets it apart from other regional varieties that have been heavily influenced by the French language. Moreover, the origins of Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular can be traced back to the contact of different Arabic nomadic societies in Algeria, a phenomenon that has played a significant role in shaping the dialect's linguistic features (Saud and Saud, 2013). This contact has given rise to the unique features of the dialect that are evident in its pronunciation, vocabulary, and syntax. One of the most prominent phonological features of Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular is its realisation of the phoneme [t] as [t̪]. This phenomenon, which is not found in other Arabic varieties in Algeria, has been attributed to the influence of the Berber language spoken in the region. The Berber language is known to have a similar consonant to the [t̪] sound in its inventory, which could have influenced the pronunciation of this phoneme in Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular.

Moreover, Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular is a rural variety of Arabic that is predominantly spoken in the city of *Oran* and its surrounding regions. The origin of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular is rooted in the complex interaction of diverse sociolinguistic factors. The emergence of Western Algerian Arabic is attributed to the interaction between the Bedouin and urban Algerian Arabic Vernacular varieties, as indicated by Miller's (2007) and Guerrero's (2015) research. The emergence of this dialect was facilitated by the social and economic mobility of Algerian Arabic Vernacular speakers who relocated to Oran from various neighbouring parts of Algeria. This movement of speakers brought together different varieties of Algerian Arabic Vernacular and facilitated linguistic contact between the Bedouin and urban varieties, leading to the development of Western Algerian Arabic (Chitour, 1999). An examination of the linguistic traits of Western Algerian Arabic reveals its unique feature of utilising the interjection /wah/ to express agreement, unlike Midlands and eastern Algeria varieties where /ih/ and /hih/ are employed, respectively, for this purpose.

This idiosyncratic feature of Western Algerian Arabic serves as an illustration of dialectal variation, which highlights the importance of studying the differences that exist among Arabic dialects.

The present study focuses on the investigation of the Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular (ANON)¹, a variety of Arabic predominantly spoken by the Ouled Naïl society in Algeria. The Ouled Naïl society is renowned for its diversity, with many linguistic variations existing within the group. However, the specific variety examined in this study is that which is spoken by the nomadic subgroup who traverse Algeria, as opposed to the settled, semi-nomadic subgroup who travel only within a limited region, usually less than 100 km. Moreover, the variety of ANON under evaluation does not include the one that is spoken by the sedentary urban Ouled Naïl, such as those who reside *in Djelfa City, Bou Saada City, Laghouat City, or El Bayadh City*.

ANON is characterised by several salient features, particularly in terms of lexis and phonology. Phonologically, ANON is distinguished by the realisation of [ɣ] (voiced velar fricative) as [q] (voiced uvular plosive). This phonetic feature appears to be unique to the Ouled Naïl society, unlike many other Arabic speech communities. Furthermore, on the lexical level, the use of [jɜ:tel] and [jɜ:telɜ] is associated with the Algerian nomadic society of Ouled Naïl when addressing males and females, respectively. In addition, some of the lexical specificities include the use of [gar'ab], [ki zait], and [sehla], which are associated with the Algerian nomadic society of Ouled Naïl when greeting someone. Indeed, the current research provides a valuable contribution to the field of sociolinguistics by exploring the evaluations of ANON, a vernacular Arabic variety spoken by the nomadic subgroup of the Ouled Naïl society in Algeria, and by exploring which of its linguistic features might be subtle enough to Algerian Arabic speakers to engender attitudes towards speakers of ANON.

1.2.2. Research Motivations and Questions

The present study contributes to the sociolinguistic literature on ethnic minorities in Algeria by investigating language attitudes towards Algerian Arabic vernaculars, with a particular focus on Nomadic Ouled Naïl in Algeria. The primary objective of this doctoral thesis is to provide a detailed examination of language attitude patterns, their causes, and their implications.

¹ The working definition of ANON is briefly presented in this section, as a more thorough analysis of this particular linguistic variety is provided in chapter two (see section 2.4.4.1.).

To document patterns of language attitudes in Algeria, this study employs both direct and indirect methods to investigate Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) speakers' attitudes towards varieties of AVA, with a specific emphasis on Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular (ANON). Moreover, this study investigates linguistic triggers that may elicit attitudes towards ANON speakers. By examining linguistic triggers of AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON, the research aims to shed light on the factors that contribute to these language attitudes in Algeria. Additionally, this study explores the socioeconomic implications of AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON for ANON speakers.

This investigation aims to achieve two principal objectives. First, it seeks to enhance the theoretical understanding of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Arabic speech by documenting their language attitudes towards ANON, exploring their causes (linguistic triggers), and examining their repercussions (socioeconomic implications). Second, the research aims to promote social justice for Algeria's nomadic people. The study highlights the prejudices that nomadic people face, which can attract the attention of Algerian officials. Additionally, the study's findings can help the Algerian government develop a more inclusive environment in schools, businesses, and the media.

Furthermore, the current study addresses the following main research questions:

- (i) How do L1 Algerian Arabic speakers evaluate Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular among other vernaculars spoken in different areas of Algeria?
- (ii) If evident at all, in what measurable ways are there age differences in attitudes of L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?
- (iii) Are there any measurable differences between the attitudes of male and female L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?
- (iv) Are there any rural/urban/nomadic provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?
- (v) Are there any level of education differences in patterns of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?

- (vi) What linguistic features may trigger the attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular?
- (vii) How might Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular influence nomadic individuals' perceived professional competence in Algeria?

1.3. Thesis Outline

The present thesis consists of nine chapters, each of which contributes to the overarching goal of exploring language attitudes towards Algerian Arabic varieties, with a particular focus on the nomadic Ouled Naïl society.

Chapter 1 provided an introduction to the context, motivation, and research questions that frame this study.

Chapter 2 presents a comprehensive profile of Algeria, including its geography, history, and sociolinguistic contexts. This chapter describes the ethnic groups that inhabit Algeria, discusses the languages spoken in the country, and provides a summary of language policy from the colonial period to present. Additionally, Chapter 2 offers an overview of the linguistic variety of the nomadic Ouled Naïl society and its speakers.

Chapter 3 establishes a multidisciplinary theoretical framework for the study of language attitudes. This chapter explores the nature of language attitudes and provides an overview of different theoretical perspectives on the topic. Additionally, Chapter 3 discusses the importance of language attitudes and the various techniques and methods employed to study them.

Chapter 4 presents an empirical literature review of language attitudes studies. This chapter summarises language attitudes studies from around the world, with a particular focus on research concerning Arabic speakers. In addition, Chapter 4 examines Arabic speakers' social judgments of MENA-local and global languages, as well as evaluations of Arabic varieties. Finally, this chapter establishes the niche for the current study.

Chapter 5 describes the methodology employed in the present investigation. This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the rationale and reasoning behind the study's methodological choices, as well as the research questions and objectives. Furthermore, Chapter 5 discusses the participants and research instruments used in the study, including the recording of the speech stimuli. Finally, the chapter describes the data collection processes and the pilot study.

Chapter 6 presents the data analysis for the verbal-guise study, which employs principal component analysis. This chapter analyses the data in terms of social status and attractiveness, as well as the interactions between background factors and attitudes towards Algerian Arabic varieties. It is important to note that this chapter provides only a preliminary discussion of the findings, while the main findings are examined in detail in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 presents a qualitative thematic analysis of the interview data collected from adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers. This chapter explores attitudes towards the nomadic variety, with a focus on three aspects: attitudes towards the variety, linguistic triggers of attitudes, and socioeconomic implications of language attitudes for nomadic individuals.

While the previous two chapters are allocated to data analysis for the verbal-guise (chapter 6) and the interview study (chapter 7), they only provide preliminary discussions. To this end, the general discussion chapter (chapter 8) compares the results of the interview (chapter 7) and the results of the verbal-guise study (chapter 6) and provides a detailed discussion of the main findings. Chapter 8 will be organised following the research questions of the present study.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by discussing the contributions of the study, as well as its limitations and future directions for research. Additionally, this chapter discusses the implications of the study's findings for prospective policies aimed at promoting inclusivity for nomads in Algeria.

Chapter 2 A Profile of Algeria: Demographic and Sociolinguistic Contexts

Overview

Algeria, situated in North Africa, stands as a captivating subject for comprehending the intricate interplay between demographic factors and language attitudes. Chapter 2 of this thesis offers a comprehensive overview of Algeria's demographic and sociolinguistic contexts. It begins by examining the country's population dynamics over time, tracing its historical background and ethnic diversity from prehistoric eras to the present. The chapter then delves into the intricate language policies and conflicts that have shaped Algeria's sociolinguistic landscape, exploring the coexistence of Arabic, *Tamazight*, French, and other languages. Additionally, it focuses on the specific population group of the *Nomadic Ouled Nail*, shedding light on their origin, socio-economic structure, and the misconceptions surrounding *Ouled Nail* women. Overall, this chapter provides valuable insights into Algeria's diverse population and language dynamics, setting the stage for further exploration in subsequent sections of the book.

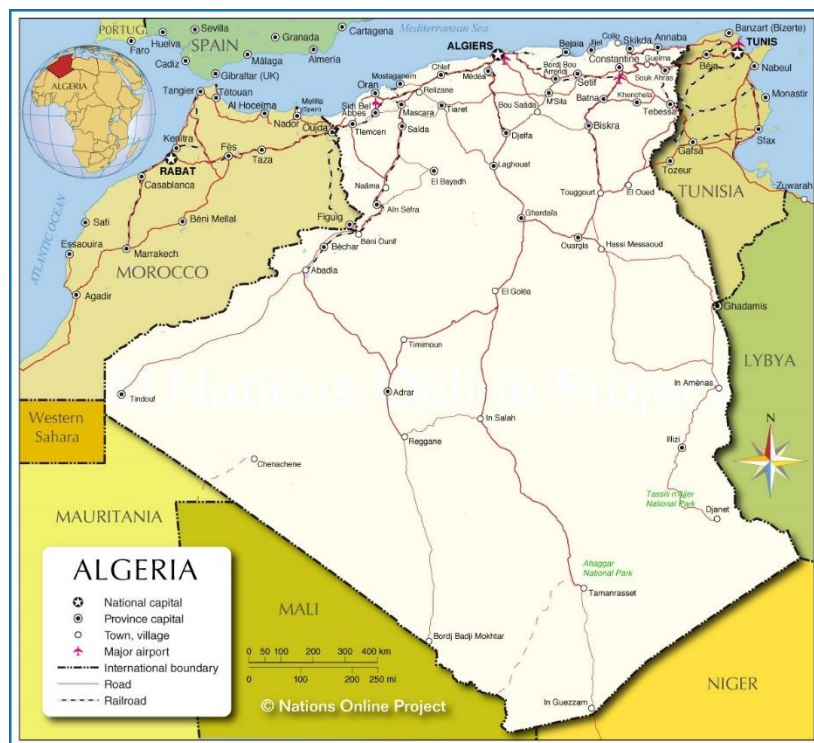
2.1. Geo-Demographic Context of Algeria

Algeria is the largest North African country on the continent, spanning approximately one million square miles. It shares land borders with seven African countries and maritime borders with Spain, France, and Italy (see the map below from Mapsland, 2021). The country is characterised by diverse landscapes, including highlands, coastal areas, agricultural hills, and a desert that covers about 75% of its total area. Algeria is administratively divided into 58 provinces, with *Algiers* being the capital and most densely populated region. Other notably densely populated provinces include *Oran*, *Setif*, *Djelfa*, *Batna*, and *Tizi Ouzou* (Office Nationale du Statistiques, 2019a). The concentration of population in northern coastal areas is due to an imbalance in resource allocation favouring the north over the south, despite the southern regions being rich in oil and gas resources (Bouhouche, 1997). This preference for the north is influenced by economic, cultural, and regional factors, including limited accessibility to higher education in the southern provinces (ibid).

Figure 2.1. Algeria's Location Among Neighbouring African Countries (Mapsland, 2021)



Figure 2.2. Major Cities, Railways, and Airports of Algeria (Nations Online Project 2021)



Algeria's population was approximately 34.7 million in 2008¹ and projected to reach 43.1 million in 2019, with a male-to-female ratio of 105:100 (Office Nationale du Statistiques, 2019a; UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019: 213-217). The

¹ The Algerian Government launched a national census between December 2022 and March 2023. Given that the official figures from the recent census have not yet been released as of the time of writing this thesis, the thesis relies on the previous census conducted in 2008 as a foundational reference.

majority of Algerians reside in urban areas, while a smaller proportion lives in rural regions and nomadic communities (Worldometers, 2021a). The average monthly income in Algeria was around 28,000 DZD (£160), varying based on occupation, location, and experience (Office Nationale du Statistiques, 2019b).

Education in Algeria is free and compulsory until the completion of secondary school. The educational system includes primary school, middle school, high school, and university (higher education). However, access to education in rural southern regions remains limited due to shortages of teachers, schools, and resources (Chitour, 1999). In terms of educational achievement, 48% of Algerians have completed elementary school, 43.6% have finished secondary school, and only 7.7% have pursued higher education (Office Nationale du Statistiques, 2019b). Disparities exist between northern and southern areas, with higher education access being five times more likely in the north and primary school completion being twice as likely in the south (Office Nationale du Statistiques, 2019b). Table 2.1 below summarizes the education levels for adults in Algeria, showing the disparities between northern and southern areas, as well as gender differences (Office Nationale du Statistiques, 2019b).

Table 2.1. Education Level for Adults in Algeria Based on Data from Office Nationale du Statistiques (2019b)

	Up to primary school	Up to high school	University	Not given	Total
Whole Algeria	48%	43.6%	7.7%	0.7%	100%
Females (Males)	52.5% (43.7%)	38.7% (48.4%)	8.3% (7.2%)	0.5% (0.7%)	100% (100%)
North (South)	34.9% (64.6%)	48.42% (30.8%)	15.59% (3.8%)	0.9% (0.8%)	100% (100%)

2.2. Historical Background of the Ethnic Diversity in Algeria

Algerian society is ethnically divided based on language and ancestral lineage (Mili, 2004). The two main groups traditionally recognized are *Arabs* and *Berbers*¹ (Chitour, 1999), but this classification overlooks the full diversity of ethnic groups in Algeria (Bouhouche, 1997). Within the Arab category, tribal affiliations play a significant role, with

¹ Which might also be referred to as *Amazigh* or *Emazighen*

groups like the *Shurfa*¹, *Hilalis*, *Hijazis*, and *Ghassanids*², contributing to the Arab population (Mili, 2004). The term *Berber* encompasses seven main ethnic groups, each with distinct identities, such as the *Chenouis*, *Kabyles*, *Mozabites*, *Shalhis*, *Shaouis*, *Tuareg*, and *Zenatis* (Chitour, 1999; Mili, 2004). Additionally, there are various minority communities in Algeria, including *African* tribes, *Byzantines*, *Chinese*, *Europeans*, *Koulouglis*, and many others.

Algeria's history encompasses various ethnic groups, with significant prehistoric habitation highlighted by sites such as *Tassili n'Ajjer*³ and *Ain Hanech*⁴, revealing rock art, stone tools, and fossils dating back thousands of years (Parés et al., 2014; Le Quellec, 2012; Arambourg, 1947; Niang et al., 2018; UNESCO World Heritage Convention, n.d.). The Berbers, also known as Amazigh, have ancient origins and exhibit diverse cultural characteristics across different groups, while collectively embracing the term "Berber" due to shared historical experiences (Parés et al., 2014; Rachet, 1970; Benabou, 1981; McDougall, 2003). The *Israelites* and *Phoenicians* left their mark on Algeria, with the former arriving three millennia ago and the latter establishing the *Carthaginian Empire* and coastal settlements (Mili, 2004; Stern, 2008; Wise & Hook, 2008; Bouhouche, 1997). The decline of Carthage led to Roman rule⁵ in Algeria, bringing advancements in architecture, agriculture, trade, and the spread of Christianity (Wise & Hook, 2008; Bouhouche, 1997; Benabou, 1981).

Christianity was introduced to Algeria in the 1st century CE through the efforts of influential figures like *Donatus Negrinus* and *Saint Augustine of Hippo*⁶ (Bouhouche, 1997). Saint Augustine, known for his theological and philosophical writings, played a significant role in spreading the Christian faith (Rachet, 1970). The city of Annaba, formerly known as Hippo, served as an important centre for the dissemination of Christianity (Bouhouche, 1997). However, Algeria was characterized by religious and ethnic diversity, with various

¹ Those are individuals who claim lineage to Quraysh, a prominent Arabian trading tribe historically situated in the sacred Muslim city of *Mecca* and its revered *Ka'ba*.

² The *Ghassanids* are claimed to be the first Arabian tribe to arrive in Algeria, joining the Byzantine Empire between 534 and 698 (Mili, 2004).

³ *Tassili n'Ajjer*, situated in *Tamanrasset* and *Illizi* in south-eastern Algeria, is renowned for its exceptional collection of rock art, which provides valuable insights into ancient cultures and daily life during the *Neolithic Period* (UNESCO World Heritage Convention, n.d.; Le Quellec, 2012).

⁴ Located in the province of Setif around 300 Km to the south-east of the capital Algiers.

⁵ Prominent urban centers like *Tipasa*, *Timgad*, and *Djémila* showcased impressive Roman architectural styles and served as crucial hubs for administration, commerce, and cultural exchange (see Rachet, 1970).

⁶ *Saint Augustine*, widely regarded as a prominent early Christian theologian and philosopher, produced numerous writings that continue to shape Christian thought and doctrine today. His works, such as "*Confessions*" and "*The City of God*," explored topics such as sin, grace, the nature of God, and the relationship between the Church and the state. Augustine's theological contributions continue to be widely studied and referenced in Christian scholarship (see Rachet, 1970).

groups, including the *Amazighs*, resisting Roman rule (Benabou, 1981; Mili, 2004). In the 5th century CE, the *Vandals*, a Germanic tribe, overthrew the *Roman Empire* in Algeria (Rachet, 1970; Mili, 2004). The Vandals practiced *Arian Christianity* and imposed their beliefs on the predominantly *Catholic population*, leading to religious intolerance (Mili, 2004). The *Vandal Kingdom* faced internal challenges due to resistance from diverse ethnic groups, notably the Berbers, and conflicts within its ruling elite (Rachet, 1970). The *Byzantine Empire* saw an opportunity to regain control and launched a military campaign against the *Vandals* (Bouhouche, 1997). During the 6th century, the *Byzantine Empire* successfully expelled the *Vandals* and established the *Byzantine Exarchate of Africa* in Algeria (Mili, 2004). The Byzantines reintroduced Christianity and rebuilt churches but faced resistance from local Amazigh populations striving for autonomy (Rachet, 1970; Benabou, 1981). Byzantine rule brought diverse ethnic groups to Algeria, contributing to the region's ethnic mosaic (Bouhouche, 1997). However, the influence of the Byzantine Empire gradually diminished with the rise of Islamic conquests (Ibn Kaldoun, 1377).

The establishment of the *Islamic Empire* in Algeria between the seventh and fifteenth centuries had significant implications for the region's culture and language. Various ethnic groups from the *Middle East*, including Arabs, Persians, and Israelites, played a role in the conquest of Algeria (Ibn Khaldoun, 1377; Bennabi, 1971). This influx of diverse ethnicities led to a multicultural society and cultural interactions between the indigenous *Amazigh* populations and the newcomers (Al-Medeni, 1931; Chitour, 1999). Arabic became the language of faith and official communication as indigenous Algerians converted to Islam (Clancy-Smith, 1997; Mili, 2004). The rise and fall of Islamic caliphates further solidified Arabic's status as the official language in Algeria (Bennabi, 1970, 1971; Ichboudène, 1997; Boucherit, 2002). However, the Berber populations, with their distinct cultural and linguistic identities, challenged the authority of Arab-Muslim rulers (Chaker, 1995; Boucherit, 2002). Alongside Arabic, the Amazigh groups continued to use their language, Tamazight, as an informal means of communication, preserving their cultural identity (Mili, 2004; Chaker, 1995). Other minority languages were also present in Algerian society, primarily used within family settings as markers of distinct cultural and ethnic identities (Mili, 2004). This historical period shaped the linguistic diversity and cultural complexity of Algeria, with Arabic as the language of official communication, Tamazight as an integral part of Amazigh identity, and the presence of other minority languages. These factors continue to influence Algerian heritage and society today.

Spain invaded Algeria in the early 1500s, aiming to extend its influence in North Africa and combat Muslims and pirates along the Mediterranean coast (Gaid, 1991). However, the invasion faced challenges, and the Spanish forces failed to gain control over Algiers (Mili, 2004). Despite setbacks, Spain continued to expand its presence in Algeria through subsequent campaigns and the establishment of temporary bases (Clancy-Smith, 1997). This led to a cultural exchange between the Spanish and local Algerian population, resulting in linguistic influences on Algerian Arabic and Tamazight (Julien, 1931; Chaker, 1995). Spanish influence can still be seen in contemporary western Algerian Arabic vernaculars¹(Gaid, 1991; Guerrero, 2015). In response to the Spanish invasion, Algeria sought aid from Turkish admirals, leading to Ottoman rule over the region (Al-Medeni, 1931; McDougall, 2017).

The *Ottoman Empire* exerted control over Algeria, but the Algerian people maintained a certain level of autonomy (Gaid, 1991; Clancy-Smith and Smith, 2014). The social hierarchy during Ottoman rule divided society into six categories based on ethnic background and social status (Gaid, 1991). The ruling *Turkish* class held prestigious positions, followed by the *Koulouglis*², who were individuals of mixed Turkish and Arabo-Berber heritage (Gaid, 1991; Mili, 2004). *The Moors*³, consisting of Arabo-Berbers and Muslim migrants from Andalusia, formed the largest segment of the population (Gaid, 1991; Nicolle and McBride, 2001). Jewish communities occupied the middle class (Stern, 2008), while the lower classes included non-natives (*Barranis*) and individuals of African origins (*Znejis*), who (the latter) were subjected to extreme exploitation and dehumanization (Gaid, 1991; Clancy-Smith and Smith, 2014). Linguistically, Arabic served as the primary language for religious purposes, while Turkish gained prominence among the ruling elite and the military (Al-Medni, 1931). Berber languages were spoken in informal settings, and various minority languages were used in less formal situations (Gaid, 1991; Chaker, 1995). Algerian Arabic and Berber were influenced by Turkish vocabulary and expressions, but Turkish had

¹ The enduring impact of Spanish influence is evident in contemporary *western Algerian Arabic vernaculars* spoken in *Oran*, *Sidi Bel Abbes*, and *Ain Témouchent* (see for example, Guerrero, 2015).

² The term "*Koulouglis*" is derived from the Turkish word "*kuloglu*," meaning "son of a slave," indicating their mixed heritage (see Al-Medeni, 1931).

³ The term "Moor" finds its etymological roots in the Latin word "Maurus" and initially denoted Berbers and other inhabitants of the ancient Roman province of Mauretania, located in present-day Algeria (Nicolle and McBride, 2001). Over time, its usage expanded to encompass Muslims residing in Europe (ibid.). During the Renaissance period, "Moor" and "blackamoor" began to be employed to describe individuals with dark skin (Rachet, 1970). In the context of Ottoman Algeria, the Moors comprised the largest segment of the population, including Arabo-Berbers and Muslim migrants from the fallen region of Andalusia, formerly known as Muslim Spain (Gaid, 1991). Despite their relatively more favourable standing compared to the lower classes, the Moors remained subordinate to the Turkish ruling class and encountered constraints in their social and political aspirations (ibid.).

limited impact on Arabic grammar in Algeria (Fraïha, 1989; Chaker, 1995; Hadj-Salah, 2002; Nadjar, 2012).

Algeria underwent French colonization in the 19th century due to France's imperial ambitions and expansionist policies (Bouaziz and Sahraoui-Bouaziz, 2014; McDougall, 2017). The implementation of the discriminatory "*Code de l'indigénat*"¹ by the French established unequal treatment and reinforced colonial power dynamics (Brett, 1988; Benrabah, 2013b). The arrival of European settlers, known as *Pieds Noirs*, resulted in a socio-economic divide between the settlers and the indigenous population (Benrabah, 2013b; Bouaziz and Sahraoui-Bouaziz, 2014). Algerian society during the French colonization period was characterized by a social hierarchy with the French and *Pieds Noirs* at the top, followed by the *Jewish* community and the *Harkis*², and the indigenous population at the bottom (Bouhouche, 1997; Mili, 2004; Gaid, 1991). The French language was promoted and used as a tool for assimilation, while indigenous languages, such as Arabic and Tamazight, were marginalized (Chitour, 1999; Benrabah, 2013b; Sebaa, 2013). Algeria's independence in 1962 brought changes in its ethnic and linguistic landscape, with the influx of professionals from Arab nations and later multinational oil companies diversifying the population³ (Bouhouche, 1997). Recent large-scale infrastructure projects⁴ and the acceptance of asylum seekers⁵ have further added to the sociocultural diversity of Algeria (Benrabah, 2014).

¹ "*Code de l'indigénat*," which relegated Algerian Muslims to second-class citizenship (Brett, 1988) was a legal framework that perpetuated unequal treatment and entrenched colonial power dynamics. Under the excuse of assimilation, the French administration forcefully imposed French norms and values on the indigenous population, aiming to eradicate Arabic as the language of faith and culture, as infamously asserted by *General René Savary* (see Chitour, 1999; Benrabah, 2013a).

² The *Harkis* were wealthy Arabo-Berbers who maintained close ties with the French administration and occupied a high position within colonial Algerian social leader (Gaid, 1991; Bouaziz and Sahraoui-Bouaziz, 2014).

³ This influx significantly impacted Algeria's ethnic makeup by introducing new skilled personnel, primarily from France, Italy, Germany, and the United States, further diversifying Algeria's demographic composition. While this expansion of the oil industry brought economic benefits, it also influenced the country's social fabric (see Bouhouche, 1997).

⁴ In recent years, Algeria has undertaken large-scale infrastructure projects, particularly in collaboration with Chinese enterprises, resulting in the deployment of approximately 10,000 Chinese labourers in 2014 (see Benrabah, 2014). The number of Chinese personnel has been greater since 2014, and it added to the sociocultural diversity of the country.

⁵ Due to unfortunate circumstances in various Middle Eastern and African nations, there was a significant influx of individuals seeking asylum. As one of the hosting nations, Algeria has provided refuge for over 40,000 refugees, further influencing the country's demographic composition and societal dynamics. While the exact origins and cultural backgrounds of these asylum seekers may vary, their presence within Algerian borders undoubtedly adds complexity to the social fabric.

2.3. Sociolinguistic Makeup of Algeria: Language Policy and Language Conflict

Algeria, similar to other North African nations, exhibits a multifaceted linguistic milieu shaped by socio-political, cultural, and historical influences. The sociolinguistic makeup of Algeria reflects a diverse mosaic of languages, each with its own significance, ideological load, and struggles for recognition and/or domination. This section delves into the intricate relationship between language policy and language conflict within the Algerian context, shedding light on the impact of colonial legacies, post-independence efforts, and ongoing linguistic tensions. By examining the role of languages such as Algerian Arabic Vernaculars and Berber, we explore the multifaceted dynamics that shape language use, status, and identity in modern Algeria. Furthermore, an analysis of contemporary language policies provides insight into the challenges and opportunities encountered in the pursuit of linguistic harmony and inclusivity in this multilingual society.

2.3.1. Languages of Algeria: A Multilingual Mosaic

While precise record of the languages spoken in Algeria remains challenging due to a dearth of official statistics, it is possible to ascertain the most prevalent languages. There are three main languages used in modern Algeria; these are Arabic, Berber (*Tamazight*), and French. Notably, although Arabic and Berber hold official language status, French continues to enjoy widespread usage in Algeria, particularly within urban localities, among the educated elite, and in commercial and professional domains. Given the intricate interplay between French, Arabic, and Berber, the sociolinguistic landscape of Algeria defies simplicity. The subsequent section endeavours to provide a concise overview of the three primary languages in Algeria, along with a description of some other languages that coexist in Algeria.

2.3.1.1. Arabic

Arabic is a widely spoken Semitic language in the Middle East, North Africa, and other Muslim regions (Al-Birini, 2016). It encompasses *Standard Arabic (Fusha)* and *Arabic Vernacular (Darja/Amiyah)*. *Standard Arabic* is the Arabic variety that is officially recognised throughout the MENA region as the official language of administrations, academia, and written media in Algeria (Al-Birini, 2016, Benrabah, 2013b). *Standard Arabic* refers to two varieties of Arabic, the first of which is *Classical Standard Arabic (CSA)*, which is deeply linked to Islamic and pre-Islamic literary and religious traditions among Arabic speakers (Versteegh, 2001, 2014; Al-Birini, 2016). Moreover, *Modern Standard*

Arabic (MSA) was the result of a one-sided intellectual movement characterised by the incorporation of terms from the languages of the colonisers into Arabic (Miller and Caubet, 2009; Al-Birini, 2016). MSA primarily serves as a written language and finds extensive usage in education and printed media across various countries in the MENA region (Holes, 2004). While MSA maintains a consistent lexical and morphosyntactic structure across Arabic-speaking countries, its phonology exhibits significant variations influenced by local vernaculars and languages (Fraïha, 1989; Versteegh, 2014). In Algeria, the everyday use of MSA in informal contexts remains rather limited (Nadjar, 2012; Benrabah, 2013b).

Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) is a dialect of Arabic spoken by Algerians in their daily lives (Dourari, 2012; Benrabah, 2013b). AVA is primarily used in informal settings, such as family gatherings and socializing with friends (Arezki, 2010). However, AVA encompasses a range of linguistic variations found within the geographical borders of Algeria (Al-Aabed and Benzinah, 2021). The precise number of AVA linguistic varieties in Algeria remains uncertain due to the limited research on defining linguistic variations in the country. In addition to functional and societal differences, AVA distinguishes itself from MSA through variations in phonology, morphosyntax, and vocabulary (Chebchoub, 1985; Arezki, 2010; Al-Aabed and Benzinah, 2021). Estimating the exact number of Algerians who speak AVA as their first language (L1) is challenging. However, some Algerian media sources have suggested that between 72% and 80% of Algerians are L1 speakers of AVA (see Leclerc, n.d.). Despite its widespread use, AVA does not hold official status in Algeria (Benrabah, 2013b; Belmihoub, 2018). Although attempts have been made to advocate for the recognition of Arabic vernaculars in the MENA region, they have faced significant opposition from various intellectuals (Benrabah, 2013b; Al-Birni, 2016).

The emergence of contemporary Arabic vernaculars has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate, with different hypotheses proposed to explain their origins. One prominent viewpoint, put forth by Ferguson (1959), posits that these vernaculars arose through *koineisation*¹. According to Ferguson (1959), the convergence of various Bedouin tribes, primarily in urban areas and military contexts, led to the development of a shared Arabic vernacular. Versteegh (2014), on the other hand, argues that the formation of Arabic

¹ *Koineisation*, derived from the Greek term *koiné*, refers to a process by which a language variety evolves as a result of interaction between two or more mutually intelligible varieties of the same language (Miller, 2007).

vernaculars can be attributed to the processes of *pidginization*¹ and *creolisation*². Versteegh's (2014) argument contends that the intermingling of Arabic speakers with non-Arabic speakers, often through intermarriage, played a pivotal role in the emergence of a *pidginised* form of Arabic. Subsequently, this pidginised variety underwent refinement, leading to the contemporary Arabic vernaculars we encounter today (ibid.). However, it is important to critically evaluate the pidginization hypothesis in light of historical evidence that appears to be overlooked. Nevertheless, the *pidginization* hypothesis seems to overlook historical evidence demonstrating that non-Arabic speakers, who converted to Islam, have indeed learnt Arabic and spoke it regularly (Ibn Khaldoun, 1377; Hadj-Salah, 2002, 2007; Al-Birini, 2016).

Conventionally, Arabic Vernacular varieties, including AVA, are classified into *Sedentary* and *Bedouin* categories (Miller, 2007). The origin of this classification can be traced back to the eighth century CE, when *Sebawayh*, an Arabic grammarian, classified Arabic varieties based on tribal variations. Many western philologists later adopted these categories to describe the Arabic language in the 19th century (Miller, 2007; Al-Birini, 2016). Sedentary Arabic varieties are further divided into urban and rural dialects (Owens, 2001), while Bedouin Arabic varieties are grouped as nomadic and semi-nomadic (ibid.; Guerrero, 2015). In broad terms, Bedouin Arabic varieties usually retain more phonological and morphological features from CSA compared to their Sedentary counterparts (Miller, 2007). Important to note that such categorisation of Arabic varieties is based on historical groups rather than geographical considerations. For instance, *Oranese* (the variety spoken in Oran, the second-largest city in Algeria) is classified as rural because it historically emerged as a Bedouin-based *koine* (Miller, 2007; Guerrero, 2015). Metropolitan cities like *Oran* and *Constantine* in Algeria exhibit varying levels of interaction with neighbouring Bedouin vernaculars (Guerrero, 2015). As such, urban and rural Algerian Arabic varieties are classified based on the phonological system of the variety (see Owens, 2001; Miller, 2007; Guerrero, 2015). For example, the rural and Bedouin varieties of AVA use [q] as a reflex of [q] in CSA, while urban AVA varieties use [q]³, [ʔ]⁴, and [k]⁵ as a reflex of [q] in CSA (Saud and Saud, 2013).

¹ *Pidginization* is a sociolinguistic process that happens when individuals who do not speak the same language communicate (Aguadé, 2018; Bassiouney, 2020). It is an oral process in which individuals who do not speak the same language interact and simplify their languages for communicative purposes.

² *Creolisation* is a *post-pidginization* process in which speakers naturally acquire the pidginised form as their mother tongue (Aguadé, 2018; Bassiouney, 2020).

³ Such as varieties spoken in Algiers, Bejaia, and *Bougara* in Blida province. (North Algeria)

⁴ Such as varieties spoken in *Telmcen*, *Ghazaouat*, and *Béni Saf* in *Ain Temochent* (West Algeria)

⁵ Such as varieties spoken in Jijel, Collo in Skikda, and *Ouled Amer* in *Mila* (East Algeria)

2.3.1.2. *Tamazight*

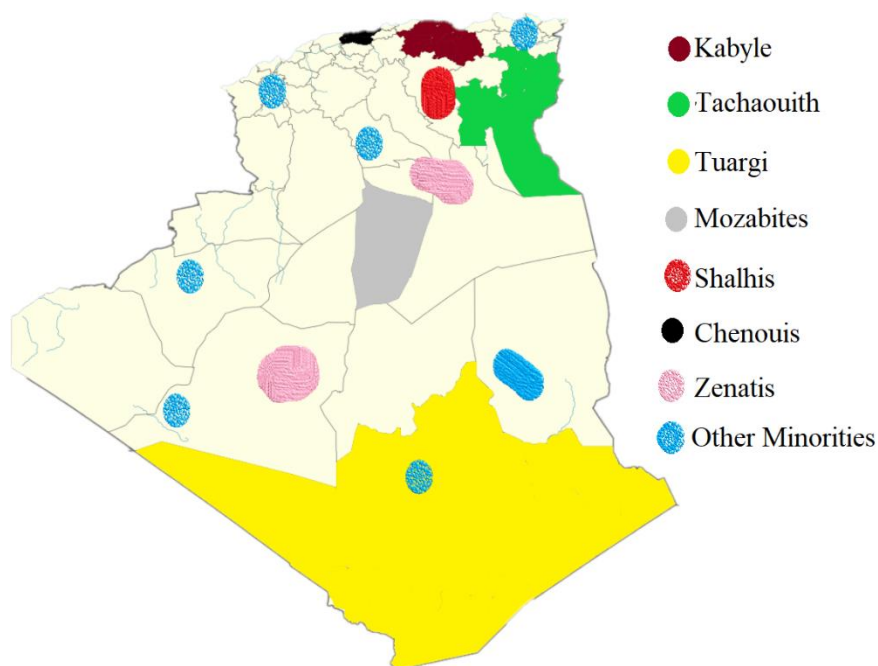
Berber, commonly referred to as *Tamazight*, occupies a prominent position as one of the national and official languages of Algeria. The explicit inclusion of *Tamazight* as a national and official language within the Algerian constitution of 2016 marks a noteworthy departure following a prolonged period of political activism (Daoudi, 2018a). This development assumes particular significance for the Berber community, which has steadfastly advocated for the recognition of *Tamazight's* cultural and linguistic importance, nurturing a deep emotional attachment to the language (Le Roux, 2017). However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the official status conferred upon *Tamazight* under the new constitution primarily pertains to its incorporation in educational curricula and media utilisation, rather than its utilisation in administrative domains or official declarations. Consequently, while this recognition represents a substantial stride toward acknowledging the value of *Tamazight* within the national framework, it falls short of endowing the language with equal standing in all facets of public life. Notwithstanding this limitation, the involvement of *Tamazight* in national literary events such as the *Assia Djebar Prize for Best Fiction*, serves as an encouraging indication (Daoudi, 2018a).

The terminological application of the term "*Berber*" encompasses both the ethnolinguistic group known as the *Amazigh people* and their linguistic system known as *Tamazight*. The etymology of the term "*Berber*" can be traced back to the Greek word "*barbaroi*," a term used by the Romans in a derogatory manner to refer to non-Roman ethnicities (Bentahila, 1983; Benmamoun, 2001). Over time, this derogatory designation found its way into Western languages, assuming the connotation of "*barbarians*" (ibid.). Interestingly, it is believed that the Amazigh people themselves eventually adopted this term and employed it both for self-identification and as a descriptor for their language (Ibn Khaldou, 1377; Chaker, 1995). The proposed connection between the term "*Berber*" and its derogatory roots in the Greek and Roman lexicons might raise crucial questions regarding the implications of its usage. The adoption of a term originally intended to denigrate non-Roman ethnicities requires careful consideration, as it signifies a complex interplay between power dynamics, linguistic identity. As such, many linguists might prefer using *Amazigh* to refer to the ethnic group and *Tamazight* to refer to the language spoken by the group (see Chaker, 1995; Daoudi, 2018a).

Tamazight has many varieties. Perhaps, the most common sometimes is referred to as the *Standard Tamazight*, is *Kabyle*. *Kabyle* is mainly spoken in the north of Algeria in the *Kabylia* region. *Kabylia* involves four Algerian provinces namely: *Tizi Ouzou*, *Béjaïa*,

Boumerdes, Bouira (see Figure 2.3.). Another variety of *Tamazight* is *Tachaouith* which is mainly spoken in regions of the *Aures* area. The *Aures* area is the major area in eastern Algeria, and it involves the provinces of *Constantine, Tebessa, Souk Ahras, Oum El Bouaghi, Khenchela, Batna, and Biskra* (see Figure 2.3.). The third-largest *Tamazight* speech community is *Tuargi* speakers. *Tuargi* is spoken mainly in the far south of Algeria (see Figure 2.3.). There are many other minorities that speak a variety of *Tamazight* including *Mozabites, Shalhis, Chenouis, and Zenatis* (see Figure 2.3.). There are no official figures to substantiate the number of *Tamazight* speakers in Algeria. The following map adapted from Nations Online Project (2021) shows an approximate distribution of the varieties of Berber in Algeria (Figure 2.3.).

Figure 2.3. Distribution of Berber Varieties Speakers in Algeria



2.3.1.1. French and Other Languages

The status and usage of the French language in Algeria encompass a complex and intricate situation. Indeed, the historical presence of French in Algeria is intrinsically tied to the colonial era (Bentahila, 1983). Post-independence Algeria has predominantly adopted anti-French narratives in official discourse (Benrabah, 2013b; McDougall, 2017; Daoudi, 2018a). Notwithstanding, a considerable portion of the Algerian elite has chosen to provide their offspring with education in French-mediated institutions (Daoudi, 2018a). Consequently, French continues to be widely spoken throughout the country and is regarded as a vehicle for upward social mobility, primarily due to its prominent role in the educational

system (Benrabah, 2013b). Notably, French is introduced as a subject in public primary schools starting from the second grade, while certain private schools, such as *Lycée Français* in Algiers, employ French as the primary medium of instruction.

The pervasive dominance of French in education has resulted in preferential job opportunities for individuals educated in French, while those who have attended Arabic schools encounter difficulties in finding employment (Daoudi, 2018a). This situation persists due to French's continued position as the language of higher education, scientific research, and its role as an asset in the labour market, facilitating social mobility and administrative functions (Benmamoun, 2001). Furthermore, Benrabah (2007) asserts that the process of urbanisation in certain regions of Algeria following independence has contributed to the promotion and expansion of the French language, especially through audio-visual media, thereby ensuring its advantageous position in the Algerian sociolinguistic market. These factors likely contribute to the (mis)perception of Algeria as the second-largest Francophone country, following France (see Benrabah, 2013b).

Alongside Arabic, Berber, and French, several other languages have a presence, either as foreign languages taught in schools or as languages used by international expatriates. One prominent example is English, which has gained significant popularity, particularly within the oil industry, and is now a compulsory subject in Algerian primary schools. Some sociolinguists have proposed promoting English as a potential solution to the ongoing conflict between Arabic and French, emphasising the neutral historical position of the English language in Algeria (Belmihoub, 2015). Italian, Spanish, and German are also taught as subjects in Algerian high schools, although these languages are seldom spoken outside the classroom. Nevertheless, the historical influence of Spanish on the western dialects of Algerian Arabic is discernible (Miller, 2007; Guerrero, 2015). Furthermore, the linguistic landscape of Algeria witnessed the emergence of Chinese at the turn of the millennium, primarily through the presence of Chinese characters on signs and boards (Benrabah, 2014). This linguistic development can be attributed to the collaboration between the Algerian government and China, which led to various infrastructure projects such as the construction of roads, bridges, and train tracks. Consequently, a considerable number of Chinese nationals migrated to Algeria for employment purposes (Benrabah, 2014).

2.3.2. Language Situation in Algeria During French Colonial Period: Suppressing Indigenous Languages

In his seminal work "*Orientalism*," Edward Said (1979:04-09) expounded upon a prominent endeavour undertaken by European colonial powers, namely the construction of the "*Orient*" as the "*other*." Said's analysis posited that the *Orient* is not an inherent reality but rather an imaginative construct conceived by European colonial powers (ibid.). Similarly, Frantz Fanon argued that colonisation was founded upon the perception of superiority held by the "*White European Man*" over the "*Black Man*", asserting that, for Europeans, the true otherness resides in the colonised "*Black Man*" (Fanon, 1952:73). Indeed, the French-Algerian relationship serves as an exemplary instance of binary opposition, in which the French colonisers were portrayed as civilised, intelligent, industrious, and consequently superior, while the Algerians were depicted as backward, unintelligent, lazy, and hence inferior (Bennabi, 1969, 1970, 1971; Chaker, 1995; Chitour, 1999; Boucherit, 2002; Al-Aabed and Benzinah, 2021). This perception of the *Orient* was further reinforced through the role played by French intellectuals, writers, and anthropologists in shaping a French theory of the *Orient* (Al-Medeni, 1931; Said, 1978; Mili, 2004; Hadj-Salah, 2007). Consequently, the French harboured a belief in the supremacy of their culture, viewing it as a tool for colonial expansion and a means to impart "*civilisation*" upon "*inferior*" nations, even if it entailed employing violence (Mili, 2004; Benrabah, 2013b: 25). Moreover, colonial proponents deemed the assimilation of the French language into the Algerian society as imperative for the French "*mission*" in Algeria (see Al-Medeni, 1931). These narratives are evident in the adoption of the *Code de l'Indigénat* by the French government, as well as what historian Charles-Robert Ageron termed the "*Kabyle Myth*" (see Ageron, 1971: 52).

Algeria's cultural, religious, and linguistic heterogeneity finds its origins in the complex influence of successive dynasties preceding the era of French colonisation. The historical intermingling of diverse peoples facilitated extensive language contact and subsequent multilingualism, giving rise to intricate linguistic combinations of languages such as those of Tamazight, Punic, Latin, Arabic, Spanish, Turkish, and French, and numerous others (Benrabah, 2014). Initially, the linguistic landscape prior to French colonisation primarily encompassed Arabic and Tamazight, which were spoken by the majority of the populace (Mili, 2004; Sebaa, 2013). Turkish, the language of the Ottoman Empire that held dominion over the region, was also employed by certain administrators (Bouhouche, 1997). Moreover, a pidgin language emerged among Algerian merchants as a pragmatic means of communication with Europeans, incorporating elements from diverse languages prevalent

along the Mediterranean coasts, including Arabic, Latin, and Tamazight (Chebchoub, 1985). However, the arrival of the French in Algeria led to the demise of this pidgin, although remnants of its vocabulary can still be discerned in Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) (ibid.). Unquestionably, the French colonisers, through their utilisation of a divisive and manipulative strategy, exacerbated ethnic, racial, and linguistic diversity within Algeria, thereby politicising these intricate facets (Daoudi, 2018a).

The beginning of the French colonisation in Algeria in 1830 marked the introduction of "*Les Bureaux Arabes*" or Arab Bureaus, administrative institutions that employed French orientalisks, ethnographers, and intelligence officers to oversee relations with the local population (Bennabi, 1969; Mazouni, 1969; Mili, 2004; Bouaziz and Sahraoui-Bouaziz, 2014). However, the true intention behind these bureaus was to gather information that would facilitate the imposition of French dominance over the newly acquired colony (see Bennabi, 1970). This objective aligned with the aspirations of Napoleon III, who, while stationed in *Damascus*, aimed to establish a pan-Arab power to rival the Ottoman empire (Bouhouche, 1997; Mili, 2004). Consequently, the initial French perception of Algeria portrayed it as an 'Arab' nation, a perspective reinforced by the personnel employed in *Les Bureaux Arabes* (see Chaker, 1995; Sebaa, 2013). Nonetheless, the demise of the Second French Empire in 1870 brought an end to the policy of these bureaus. They played a significant role in shaping language policy, driven by the colonialist belief that the French represented an enlightened elite bringing modernity to the Arab-Muslim Algerians (Chitour, 1999; Boucherit, 2002; Sebaa, 2013). However, ethnographers conveyed to the French administration that Algerian society comprised individuals from both Arab and Amazigh ethnicities (Turin, 1977). As a result, the French authorities were able to suppress the Amazigh revolt and quell resistance to the 1871 French invasion (Bouhouche, 1997). The consequences of these actions were severe, leading to the exile or imprisonment of numerous *Emazighen*, whilst their fertile lands were confiscated and given to French settlers (Tamzali, 2007). Yet, the far-reaching implications of the recently implemented *Code de l'Indigénat* overshadowed these outcomes.

The '*Code de l'Indigénat*', also known as '*l'Indigénat*', was a discriminatory legislation implemented specifically against the indigenous population of Algeria, comprising Arabs, Berbers, and Jews, who had been residing in Algeria prior to French colonisation (Brett, 1988). One of the key laws of the *Code de l'Indigénat* was the prohibition of the Arabic and Berber languages in formal education and administrative contexts (Brett, 1988; Mili, 2004; Benrabah, 2013b). The *Code de l'Indigénat* operated as a mechanism of control and subjugation, aiming to suppress the linguistic and cultural identities of the

indigenous population while reinforcing the authority and influence of the French colonial administration (Al-Medeni, 1931; Bouhouche, 1997; Mili, 2004). By limiting the use of Arabic and Berber languages in formal spheres such as education and administration, the legislation effectively marginalised the indigenous population, exacerbating the existing power imbalance between the colonisers and the colonised (Dourari, 2012; Daoudi, 2018a). Indeed, the French colonial language policy in Algeria had a substantial and long-lasting linguistic impact, as the enforced adoption of the French language not only caused language displacement, but also hampered Algerians' capacity to achieve literacy (Mili, 2004; Daoudi, 2018a). By denying educational opportunities in their native languages, Algerians were deprived of the ability to cultivate and convey their cultural heritage, consequently reinforcing the dominance of French culture within the colonial framework.

The origins of the Amazighs were the subject of "pseudoscientific" theories devised by French historians and colonial scholars, with the objective of establishing a racialised and segregated society that would prompt the Amazigh population to align themselves with the French against the Arabs (Benrabah, 2013b: 27). Consequently, the recurrent allocation of ethnic and socio-geographic dichotomies led to the emergence of what historian Charles-Robert Ageron (1971:50) refers to as the 'Kabyle Myth'. The term "Kabyle Myth" encompasses ideological frameworks that promote the Kabyle people (Amazigh) in contrast to the Arab population, which was of help to fulfil the French colonial mission within the colony by means of "divide and rule" policies (Chaker, 1995; Benrabah, 2013b). For example, Ageron (1971: 51) attests that French colonialist scholars made a clear distinction between the Amazigh and Arabs based on two main factors: their spatial confinement in a mountainous region and their possession of a "commercial instinct" that bore resemblances to the European colonisers. Indeed, such colonial literature, and corresponding colonial policies, served to construct a conceptualised boundary between the Amazigh and "Others", which was subsequently manifested through tangible societal practices (Turin, 1977; Chaker, 1995; Sebaa, 2013; Bouaziz and Sahraoui-Bouaziz, 2014).

Moreover, in order to further the divisions between the Amazigh and Arab indigenous populations, the French colonial administration strategically amplified linguistic disparities (Sebaa, 2013). The linguists who were staffed by the French administration maintained the notion of a shared Amazigh language, thereby encouraging its capacity to foster a sense of national identity (Benrabah, 2013b). One instance of linguistic investigations aimed at sustaining the 'Kabyle myth' can be observed in the scholarly inquiry conducted by Captain Antoine Carette, as documented in his publication in 1848 (ibid.:28). Carette argued in his elaboration on the sociolinguistic differences noticed between Arabs

and Berbers that each society has a particular "genius" or *volk*. According to his study, Algerians may be divided into two separate *volk*, defined by their distinctive senses of belonging. While the nomadic Arabs did not place much emphasis on geographical ties, the sedentary Berbers were far more likely to do so (Carette, 1848, as cited in Benrabah, 2013b: 28). The concept of the 'Kabyle myth' was a vital part of France's overall strategy, which sought to maintain rule and order in Kabylia, a region characterised by large uprisings in 1871 (Turin, 1977; Bouaziz and Sahraoui-Bouaziz, 2014). This revolution significantly weakened the perceived legitimacy of the 'Kabyle myth,' leading to the characterisation of all Algerian people as resistant to French cultural assimilation (Al-Medeni, 1931; Mili, 2004; Benrabah, 2013b).

In summary, during the era of French colonization, the French language assumed a dominant role in various aspects of society, including administration, formal education, and formal communications (Chebcoub, 1985; Benrabah, 2007, 2013b, 2014). This language policy, commonly referred to as "the 'Frenchification' policy", had far-reaching negative effects for Arabic, Tamazight, and other local varieties (Daoudi, 2018a: 464). The enforcement of this policy resulted in the automatic suppression of native languages, religions, and other components of native identity, consequently positioning the colonized natives as an 'Other' (ibid.). However, Standard Arabic continued to be employed in mosque settings for religious ceremonies (Al-Medeni, 1931). In contrast, both Berber and Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) were only sporadically used in informal contexts, primarily within family and friendship circles. It is worth noting that during the colonial period, only a small segment of Algerian elites had access to education, thus enabling them to secure positions of authority and decision-making power in post-independence Algeria (Benrabah, 2013b).

2.3.3. Arabisation in Post-Independent Algeria: A Resurrection of the Colonial Approach?

Algeria, after gaining independence in 1962, was characterised as a predominantly Arab and Muslim nation (Dourari, 2012). The post-independence era of Algeria witnessed the emergence of diverse nationalist and Islamist ideologies, which advocated for a stringent Arab-Muslim identity, emphasising the societal "authenticity" (Daoudi, 2018a, 2020). Algerian nationalists commenced the pursuit of *Arabisation* as an integral part of the nation-building process after colonial rule, thereby disregarding regional and minority language variations, such as the Algerian variety of Arabic and Tamazight. Instead, they promoted the exclusive use of Standard Arabic in governmental, administrative, and educational domains (Dourari, 2012; Benrabah, 2013b; McDougall, 2017). In the Algerian context, *Arabisation*

pertains to the policies and strategies implemented following Algeria's independence, aimed at replacing the use of French with Standard Arabic (see Bennabi, 1969; Chebchoub, 1985; Djitè, 1992; Benrabah, 2013b). The execution of Arabisation policies in Algeria varied in response to different political regimes, ranging from moderate to extremist (Dourari, 2012; see also Daoudi, 2020). For example, Algeria was designated a nation under socialist rule by Ben Bella (1962-1965), with Islam as the state's official religion and Arabic as its official language (Daoudi, 2018a). Conversely, *Colonel Boumediene* (1965-1978) heatedly emphasised Arabic and Islam as the quintessential elements of the Algerian national identity (Djitè, 1992; Benrabah, 2013b; Le Roux, 2017).

The initial phase of Algerian independence witnessed a series of measures undertaken by the newly established government to implement the Arabisation agenda, whilst simultaneously maintaining the use of the French language (Djitè, 1992; Benrabah, 2013b). Given that a significant number of educated individuals, including professionals such as teachers, doctors, and engineers, had received their education in French, it became crucial to preserve the language's usage, particularly in scientific domains (Chebchoub, 1985). The abrupt eradication of French would have presented practical challenges, such as teachers struggling to instruct in a language in which they were not proficient, namely Standard Arabic. As the first president of independent Algeria, *Ben Bella* vigorously declared in his French speech: "we are Arabs " repeating it three times (Benrabah, 2013: 52), thus laying the foundation for a new ideology centred around an Arab identity for Algeria. However, despite his radical stance regarding Arabic, he was unwilling to relinquish the French language (Chaker, 1995). Furthermore, Algerian policymakers actively encouraged Algerians to view French as a utilitarian tool, comparable to any other foreign language, divorced from the cultural implications it carried (Chebcoub, 1985; Benrabah, 2007). Nevertheless, this endeavour posed significant difficulties, given that many educated Algerians had been bilingual in French and Algerian Arabic since childhood (Djitè, 1992).

Regarding the issue of literacy among the Algerian population, the Algerian government faced considerable difficulties in determining the appropriate language to be taught to the illiterate individuals. It was observed that most of these individuals were only proficient in Algerian Arabic, Berber, or both languages (Djitè, 1992). The government's primary objective was to reduce illiteracy rates among Algerians, but there existed a debate surrounding whether French or Standard Arabic should be chosen as the instructional language (Benrabah, 2013b). This predicament arose due to the potential contradiction between using French as a medium of instruction and the government's aim to eradicate the

influence of the French language. Conversely, employing Standard Arabic as the language of instruction posed challenges, as many teachers lacked proficiency in this language, making its implementation unfeasible. Consequently, the Algerian authorities acknowledged the necessity of expediting the Arabisation process across various domains, including education, industry, and culture (Chebchoub, 1985). As a preliminary measure, Algerian officials sought to address the scarcity of qualified educators proficient in Standard Arabic by recruiting professors from other Arabic-speaking countries such as Syria, Iraq, and Egypt (Benrabah, 2013b; Daoudi, 2018a). This step was deemed indispensable to compensate for the shortage of instructors capable of effectively teaching Standard Arabic.

Colonel Haouri Boumediene orchestrated the overthrow of Ben Bella's government in 1965, becoming the country's new ruler. To address concerns pertaining to its legitimacy, the new regime employed radical nationalism and cultural endeavours (Benrabah, 2013b; Daoudi, 2018a, 2020). The freshly established administration embraced an authoritarian style of governance, characterised by a combination of “technocratic state capitalism” and the discreet management of the administration and economy through “a secret police force” (Benrabah, 2013b: 56). Boumediene placed significant emphasis on industrialisation, resulting in a “highly centralised” socio-economic structure under strict administration (ibid.: 57). The new government effectively utilised nationalist narratives to tackle the issue of legitimacy associated with the authoritarian regime (Bouhouche, 1997). The matter of language assumed paramount importance for the newly formed administration, with the Arabisation initiative serving to legitimise the coup by aligning it with Islamic values (Daoudi, 2018a). Since the narratives of Algerian nationalism were grounded in Standard Arabic and Islam, all sectors, including educational institutions and administrative bodies, underwent extensive Arabisation (Djitè, 1992; Bouhouche, 1997; Benrabah, 2013b). Consequently, the Algerian authorities favoured severe measures, enforcing Arabisation and allowing the language issue to dominate the political discourse.

Inconsistently, despite the initial goal of the Arabisation project to foster national unity in Algeria, its implementation ultimately led to division by marginalising the Berber community and alienating a significant portion of the population educated in French (Chaker, 1995; Daoudi, 2018a). The discourse surrounding language in Algeria was largely constructed by the state and perceived as contrived and imposed, resembling the colonial approach of France (Benrabah, 2013b; Daoudi, 2018a). State-controlled rhetoric exerted dominance in the public domain and exerted influence over the linguistic discourse in the country (McDougall, 2003, 2017). By the mid-1970s, Arabisation had been widely

implemented in Algeria's education system, with French being relegated to a foreign language subject (Chaker, 1995). Consequently, the generation educated in French found themselves in a state of "exile" and experienced marginalisation within Algeria (Daoudi, 2018a: 466). The discourse surrounding language in Algeria coexisted alongside other discourses, including Berber liberation, the utilisation of Algerian Arabic Vernacular language, Standard Arabic, and their connection to Islam (McDougall, 2003; Daoudi, 2018a). These diverse discourses contributed to the intricate linguistic landscape in the country, which continued to prevail till present times.

Paradoxically, notwithstanding the prevailing critique of the Francophonie as an institution reflective of neo-colonialism, Algerian elites persisted in enrolling their children in French educational institutions, thereby securing employment prospects for those educated in the French language (Daoudi, 2018a). Notably, Algerian authorities advocating for Arabisation in the country continued to prioritise French as the language of choice for the education of their own offspring (Benrabah, 2013b; McDougall, 2017). This incongruity exposed a dissonance between their public advocacy for Arabic and their personal inclination towards French (Daoudi, 2020). Evidently, the prestigious Lycée Descartes in Algiers garnered favour among the upper-class elites, as it provided an esteemed French-centric education (Benrabah, 2013b). Conversely, the general populace received education rooted in Arabic, accentuating the disparity between the elite and the masses (Daoudi, 2018a). This educational discrepancy further perpetuated social inequality and reinforced the privileged status of the elite, thereby solidifying French as the dominant language in domains associated with modernity and education (Bouhouche, 1995). Consequently, students hailing from rural or recently urbanised backgrounds, primarily educated in Arabic, found themselves disadvantaged in comparison to bilingual students in urban regions (Chebchoub, 1985). Consequently, this imbalance led to limited employment opportunities, particularly within scientific fields, in the nascent industrialised society that placed high value on French proficiency.

Furthermore, the proliferation of nationalist sentiment, specifically Baathism, an ideological framework rooted in Pan-Arab Nationalism, construed the discourse surrounding the acknowledgment of vernacular Arabic as an act of disloyalty towards this sentiment. Undoubtedly, the objective of achieving total dominance and extensive authority for Standard Arabic within Algeria was veiled through multifarious means, one of which involved representing the Arabisation initiative as synonymous with Algerianisation (Daoudi, 2020). Consequently, although Algerian Arabic enjoyed widespread usage and a

profound connection to Algerian society, it experienced marginalization within formal spheres such as education, governance, and media (Arezki, 2010). Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) prevailed as the medium of instruction in schools, the language of official documentation, and the preferred mode of expression in formal contexts, persisting to that day. Additionally, there were demands to integrate Algerian Arabic into formal education in order to bridge the gap between colloquial dialects and MSA (Tamzali, 2007). Advocates contended that the recognition and incorporation of Algerian Arabic into the educational system would foster linguistic diversity, augment academic achievement, and cultivate a heightened sense of identity and cultural pride among Algerian students (Mazouni, 1969).

Indeed, in essence, post-independent Algeria made a deliberate choice to adopt Standard Arabic as the sole national language, thereby initiating the Arabisation Project. This decision can be viewed as reminiscent of the French endeavour to assimilate the Algerian population into French culture. Subsequent Algerian governments, following independence, endeavoured to systematically transform the national identity through the process of Arabisation. The objective was to establish a distinct Arabo-Algerian identity that had not existed prior to gaining independence (Benrabah, 2013b). Consequently, the governments of Algeria consistently marginalised speakers of vernacular Arabic and neglected the Berber dimension of the nation. As a result, the Berber population intensified their efforts to obstruct or at least decelerate the Arabisation policy, resulting in an ongoing antagonistic relationship between this ethnic group and the government (McDougall, 2003). This contentious and precarious situation had significant ramifications, leading to a notable resurrection of Berber identity consciousness (Chaker, 1995).

2.3.4. “Preserving Our Roots”: The Battle for Berber Language Recognition

The *Amazigh Academy for Cultural Exchange and Research* (later known as *Agraw Imazighen*) was formed in Paris in 1967 as a response to the marginalisation practised by the Arabisation efforts and exclusive pan-Arab nationalism (see Chaker, 1995; Boucherit, 2002; Chitour, 1999; McDougall, 2017). French intellectuals like *Pierre Bourdieu*, who spent a large portion of his work examining Amazigh society, particularly the Kabyle House, which is where he constructed his concept of *habitus*, encouraged Amazigh cultural initiatives that were forced to take place in exile in France due to the Arabisation policy in Algeria, which excluded Tamazight and the Algerian Arabic dialect (Bourdieu, 1982; see also Chaker, 1995). The Academy's principal aims were to encourage Amazigh culture, preserve the language via standardisation, and create an alphabet system adopted from the historic

*Tifinagh*¹ (McDougall, 2003; Benrabah, 2013b). In addition to linguistic study, the academy contributed to drama, poetry, and music, with protest music playing an important part in the Amazigh people's fight against exclusion (see Chitour, 1999). As a result, the repression of Amazigh identity in Algeria, along with its simultaneous rehabilitation in France, fuelled opposition and resulted in the *Amazigh Spring* in 1980.

March 1980 marked a significant milestone in the historical trajectory of the Amazigh community in Algeria, precipitating what came to be known as the *Amazigh Spring* (tafsut Imazighen) (Daoudi, 2020). The *Amazigh Spring* constituted a sequence of uprisings orchestrated by the Amazigh movement with the aim of advocating for the rights and acknowledgement of the Amazigh people, the Tamazight language, and the Amazigh cultural identity (McDougall, 2003; Daoudi, 2020). The outbreak of unrest was instigated by the governor of *Tizi Ouzou's* prohibition of *Mouloud Mammeri*, an eminent Amazigh novelist and political figure, from delivering a lecture on classical Tamazight poetry (Sebaa, 2013; McDougall, 2017). This decision triggered widespread civil disobedience among students and educators, which subsequently spread across the nation (Chaker, 1995; Chitour, 1999; Daoudi, 2020). The Amazigh populace eagerly advocated for the official recognition of both the Amazigh language and vernacular Arabic (Chaker, 1995). The *Amazigh Spring* of 1980 was later succeeded by the *Black October* riots in 1988, where the perilous incidence of police brutality against the Amazigh community resulted in numerous fatalities, ultimately compelling the government to acquiesce to constitutional reforms (McDougall, 2017; Daoudi, 2020).

Black October denotes the series of uprisings that occurred in Algiers and its surrounding suburbs in October 1988. These events, commonly referred to as "Black," derived their name from the brutal treatment endured by the rioters at the hands of the *Algerian Police and Gendarmerie* (Ichboudène, 1997). The riots which were primarily motivated by political and economic grievances (McDougall, 2003). Notably, the language question emerged as a central concern during these protests, with demonstrators advocating for the official recognition and inclusion of Tamazight Algerian Arabic in Algeria's educational curriculum (Dourari, 2012). Indeed, the government initially responded to the riots with considerable violence, resulting in numerous fatalities, exiles, and imprisonments (McDougall, 2017). However, in a subsequent turn of events, *Chedli Benjdid*, the Algerian president at the time, conceded certain reforms to address the demands of the rioters (Daoudi,

¹ Tifinagh is an ancient script that is believed to have originated around the third century BCE in Southern Algeria. Tifinagh is often arranged in a linear fashion from left to right (see Chaker, 1995).

2020). Consequently, the prevailing monopoly held by the *Front de libération nationale* (FLN) was disrupted, leading to the formation of various political parties, including the *Mouvement Culturel Berbère* (MCB), *Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie* (RCD), and *Front Islamique du Salut* (FIS) (Chitour, 1997). The Black October episode also witnessed a significant international support for the Amazigh's linguistic rights despite the regime's resistance (Chaker, 1995). This phenomenon serves as an indication of the increasing awareness and significance accorded to linguistic rights within a broader societal context (Ichboudène, 1997).

Although certain reforms resulting from the Black October aimed to enhance democratic representation in Algeria's political landscape by reducing the monopoly of the FLN, these reforms were largely superficial (Daoudi, 2020). The limited impact of these reforms becomes evident as Algeria plunged into a decade-long period of violent civil war commonly known as the *Black Decade* (McDougall, 2017, 2018). Whilst the civil war's causes were primarily political in nature, language also played a significant role (Benrabah, 2013b). Specifically, the civil war arose following the accusations by the right-wing political organisation with extremist Islamist leanings, the *Front Islamique du Salut* (FIS), that the government had manipulated the 1991 parliamentary elections, which were subsequently annulled by the government (Bouhouche, 1997; Daoudi, 2020). The linguistic conflict during this period revolved around the struggle for recognition of the Tamazight language as a national and official language. Moreover, throughout the Dark Decade, proponents of Islamist ideology advocated for Arabic, associating it with authenticity, whilst those supporting secularism advocated for French, aligning it with modernity (Benrabah, 2013b; McDougall, 2018). It was during this era that discourses emphasising the notions of modernity and authenticity began to emerge.

The death of *Massinissa Ghermah*, a Kabyle high-school student, on the hands of a gendarme sparked extensive riots in *Kabylia*, commonly known as the *Black Spring*. This event marked a significant phase of refusal in response to the predicaments surrounding the status of the Tamazight language. Earlier, in September 1999, *President Abdelaziz Bouteflika* stipulated that the recognition of Tamazight as an official language would be subject to the endorsement of the entire Algerian populace through a referendum (Benrabah, 2007, 2013b). However, the tragic death of *Ghermah* in April 2001, served as a catalysing force for widespread societal unrest, fuelled by sentiments against prejudice and injustice. During this turbulent period, representatives from the Kabylia region formulated the *El Kseur Platform*, a comprehensive set of 15 demands (McDougall, 2003, 2017).

Notably, the demand concerning the Tamazight language and identity held particular significance, as it called for the recognition of Tamazight as a national and official language without the imposition of a referendum or any preconditions (Benrabah, 2013b). These collective actions and demands highlight the crucial role of the Tamazight language predicament within the broader context of Algeria's language question.

2.3.5. Language Policy in Contemporary Algeria

Algeria's language policy has shaped a multifaceted linguistic landscape, characterised by the presence of diverse languages. These include Standard and vernacular Arabic, various Tamazight varieties, French, and English. Standard Arabic assumes a central role in Algeria as the official language and an integral part of the discourse on national identity. It serves as the medium of instruction, governance, media, and formal communication. Concurrently, Algerian Arabic vernaculars function as the colloquial language spoken by the majority of the population. Tamazight represents another significant aspect of Algeria's linguistic mosaic, encompassing diverse variants spoken by distinct Amazigh communities across the country. Notably, Algeria officially recognised Tamazight as an official and national language in 2016, granting it constitutional recognition and facilitating its integration in various domains. French maintains its prominence in Algeria's linguistic landscape, particularly in higher education, business, and public spheres. Furthermore, the growing global importance of English has led to its increasing significance in Algeria. A comprehensive understanding of Algeria's intricate language policies is vital for assessing the evaluation of Algerian Arabic varieties influenced by sociolinguistic dynamics. Thus, this section aims to provide an overview of the language policies implemented in contemporary Algeria.

After attaining independence, Algeria adopted Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as its official language, a position it still maintains today. MSA holds significant importance within Algerian society, serving as the language of choice in literature, media, education, and formal discourse. This is exemplified by numerous ministries in contemporary Algeria, where MSA is utilised for official communications. For example, the Ministry of Religious Affairs conducts meetings and exchanges written correspondences in MSA, reflecting the longstanding historical connection between MSA and Islam in Algeria's modern history (Clancy-Smith, 2017). Similarly, the Ministry of Defence also employs MSA during its meetings, aligning with a history of nationalist rhetoric that associates Arabic with Algerianisation (see Daoudi, 2018a). Additionally, MSA has a crucial role in the public domain, serving as the primary language for signage throughout Algeria, encompassing

street names, road signs, and official building signboards. Moreover, MSA is utilised by news anchors on Algerian television channels. In higher education, MSA predominates as the language of instruction in most humanities and social sciences disciplines, with the exception of modern language studies conducted in their respective languages. In public schools, the curriculum predominantly relies on Arabic, with textbooks primarily written in MSA, except for those dedicated to French, English, and other foreign languages, which are authored in their respective languages.

Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) manifests as a linguistic mosaic that intricately embodies the profound cultural legacy of Algeria. Derived from Arabic roots, yet bearing the imprint of diverse historical, social, and linguistic influences, AVA has evolved into discrete regional dialects dispersed throughout the nation. From the bustling streets of Algiers to the tranquil oases of the Sahara, each region boasts its unique flavour of Algerian Arabic, fostering a sense of local identity. Although AVA serves as the primary language for most Algerians, regrettably, it has not garnered official recognition nor achieved the status of a national language. Predominantly utilised in informal contexts, such as familial and social interactions, AVA, nevertheless, permeates administrative meetings as a composite language, often incorporating elements of French and Tamazight based on the meeting's geographic location. Furthermore, within the educational realm, while the curricular framework espouses Standard Arabic, instructional practices tend to rely predominantly on Algerian Arabic (AVA) or a fusion of AVA and Modern Standard Arabic. Notably, a burgeoning cohort of writers has recently emerged, employing AVA as a literary tool to challenge the marginalisation of this vernacular within official discourse. In the public sphere, AVA dominates, exemplified by its prevalence in media talk shows and films.

Over the span of more than four decades, the acknowledgement of the Tamazight language within the contemporary Algerian context has been attained through arduous struggles and unwavering endeavours. Consequently, Tamazight continues to flourish as an integral element of the nation's linguistic fabric. Spoken by a significant segment of Algerian society across various regions of Algeria, Tamazight maintains a profound influence on the daily lives of its speakers, despite its limited officialization on a broader scale. In fact, the official presence of Tamazight appears to be predominantly restricted to its utilisation on signage displayed by official institutions. It is worth noting that the language receives considerable scholarly attention in regions such as *Kabylia*, where the Tamazight-speaking population constitutes a majority, thereby ensuring its continuous transmission to future generations. However, the comprehensive study of Tamazight is not yet implemented in public education throughout the entirety of Algeria. Furthermore, Tamazight is also featured

in different headings of official documents and announcements on official communication platforms, signifying a step towards consolidating its official status. Additionally, the establishment of a dedicated official television channel exclusively broadcasting in Tamazight represents a significant milestone in the language's journey. This milestone is further complemented by the growing recognition of Tamazight writing, literature, and cultural expressions within the framework of national events (see Daoudi, 2018a). Consequently, Tamazight has surpassed mere recognition and visibility to emerge as a vibrant medium for artistic and cultural production, contributing to the creation of a diverse range of captivating television shows, movies, and music.

In the context of Algeria, the French language continues to maintain its prominence as the language of education and modernity, despite facing challenges from English in recent years. French plays a crucial role as a gateway to a prosperous job market for individuals in Algeria. This linguistic phenomenon aligns with Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, wherein French represents a symbol of social status and cultural significance within Algerian society (Bourdieu, 1982). Indeed, French remains the primary language used in reports and meetings conducted by ministries associated with industry (see figure 2.6. below), higher education (see figure 2.4. below), and foreign affairs. In fact, all ministries issue communications in Arabic and in French as a second language. For instance, "الجريدة الرسمية" (*le Journal Officiel*), which serves as the official communication document of the Algerian government and contains legislative acts, decrees, and governmental determinations, is published in both Arabic and French languages (see figure 2.5. below). Moreover, recent editions of the journal are also available in English, but none in Tamazight.

Figure 2.4. An Official Document from the Algerian Ministry of Higher Education

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
 REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENNE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE

وزارة التعليم العالي و البحث العلمي
 مديرية التعاون و التبادل ما بين الجامعات
 N° 074 / DCEIU/SDFPEI/ 2017
 Alger, le : 17/05/2017

ATTESTATION

Le Directeur de la Coopération et des Echanges Interuniversitaires, du Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, Soussigné, atteste que l'étudiant(e):

Mr : ██████████
 Né(e) le : ██████████ à : ██████████
 Titulaire du diplôme de : Master
 Filière : Anglais
 Obtenù à : l'Université Abdelhamid IBN BADIS de Mostaganem

Est programmé(e) pour une bourse d'études du Gouvernement Algérien pour la préparation d'un Doctorat (Ph.D) en : Grande Bretagne.
 A compter de l'année universitaire : 2017/2018.

Mr : ██████████ Percevra mensuellement une allocation d'études équivalente à : ██████████ / Mois - (██████████ € / Mois).

Cette attestation est délivrée à l'intéressé(e), pour servir et valoir ce que de droit.

Sous Directrice de la Formation et du Perfectionnement à l'Etranger et de l'Insertion (par intérim)
 SIGNATURE : BELKACHEM Karima eps BOULASSEL

Figure 2.5. The Algerian Official Journal

N° 38
 62^{ème} ANNEE
 Mardi 17 Dhou El Kaïda 1444
 Correspondant au 6 juin 2023

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
الجريدة الرسمية
 إتفاقات دولية ، قوانين ، مراسيم
 مقررات وآراء ، مقررات ، منشور ، إعلانات و بلاغات

JOURNAL OFFICIEL
 DE LA REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENNE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE
 CONVENTIONS ET ACCORDS INTERNATIONAUX - LOIS ET DECRETS
 ARRETES, DECISIONS, AVIS, COMMUNICATIONS ET ANNONCES
 (TRADUCTION FRANÇAISE)

ABONNEMENT ANNUEL	Algérie Tunisie Maroc Libye Mauritanie	ETRANGER (Pays autres que le Maghreb)	DIRECTEUR ET REDACTION SECRETARIAT GENERAL DU GOUVERNEMENT WWW.JORADPIDZ Abonnement et publicité IMPRIMERIE OFFICIELLE Les Verges, El-Mouloudi Badis, BP 376 ALGER - GABE TQ : 021 41 18 89 à 92 Fax : 021 41 18 76 C. P. 2500-50 CH 68 ALGER BADR : E4-10 8016000120180048 ETRANGER : (Compte de chèques) BADR : 0612 00 06000014720242
	1 An	1 An	
Edition originale	1089,00 D.A.	2675,00 D.A.	
Edition originale et sa traduction...	2189,00 D.A.	5369,00 D.A. (Prix d'expédition en sus)	

Edition originale, le mercredi : 14,20 dinars. Edition originale et sa traduction, le mercredi : 28,00 dinars.
 Mercredi des années arabiques : samedi français. Les tables sont imprimées gratuitement sans abonnement.
 Prix de poche : la dernière année pour renseignements, réimpression, et changements d'adresse.
 Tarif des insertions : 60,00 dinars la ligne

Moreover, French continues to dominate many aspects of daily life in Algeria. For instance, essential utility bills, including gas, electricity, and council tax bills, are issued to Algerians by the *Société Nationale de l'Electricité et du Gaz* (SONELGAZ), and these bills are exclusively in French (see figure 2.6. below). Regardless, there have been new promises from the company to issue bills in Arabic, which is the case in limited areas of Algeria. Surprisingly, despite Arabic and Tamazight being the national official languages of Algeria, SONELGAZ, a state-owned company, does not provide an Arabic or Tamazight version of their website; instead, they only offer a French version¹. Furthermore, state-owned service companies such as the Algerian post office and Algerian airways also issue receipts in French (see figure 2.7. below).

Figure 2.6. A Utility Bill from SONELGAZ

شركة توزيع الكهرباء والغاز للجزائر
Société de Distribution de l'Electricité et du Gaz d'Algérie

Fourniture d'énergie Electricité et Gaz
BASSE TENSION / BASSE PRESSION

Capital Social de 9 Milliards de DA FACTURE N° [REDACTED] établie le 30.10.21

Direction Distribution: BI B DIST EL-HABRACH FAX: 021324146
N°RC: 02/0970521006 N°IS: 000516019000263 Dépannage Electricité: 06661970200
N°RP: 0077999000000062557 N°RB: 00100616030001320132 Dépannage Gaz: 06661970270
Agence Commerciale: BAR EXZORAH CT EPLF BEJAIH ET 20 & 39 Tel: 021342545

CLIENT

Référence: [REDACTED] N°RC: [REDACTED] N°IS: [REDACTED]
Nom et Prénom: [REDACTED] Tél: [REDACTED] Fax: [REDACTED]
Adresse lieu de consommation: [REDACTED]
Nom & adresse du Destinataire de facture: [REDACTED]

Nez vous plaisez de bien vouloir régler cette facture par l'un des moyens indiqués au verso période 4ème Trimestre 2021

CONSOUMATIONS	SMAI	MONTAG COMPTES	RELIEU DE COMPTEUR			COD	CONSOUMATIONS SAV/THIEMG
			Index Nouveau	Index Ancien	Différence		
FMD= 6 Kw DMD= 5 m3h	EB1	009242	27872	0	29556	0	316 1.00
	GB3	005875	16029	0	15995	0	34 9.52

E: Relève
Et Estime
Ni Relève Spéciale

DETAIL DE FACTURATION (en hors taxes)	PREMIERE TRANCHE		SECONDE TRANCHE		TROISIEME TRANCHE		MONTI PELL EDN
	CONSOUMATION	PRI LECTURE EDN	CONSOUMATION	PRI LECTURE EDN	CONSOUMATION	PRI LECTURE EDN	
ELEC. EB1	125.0	1.779	191.0	4.179			131.10
GAZ GB3	323	0.168					85.50

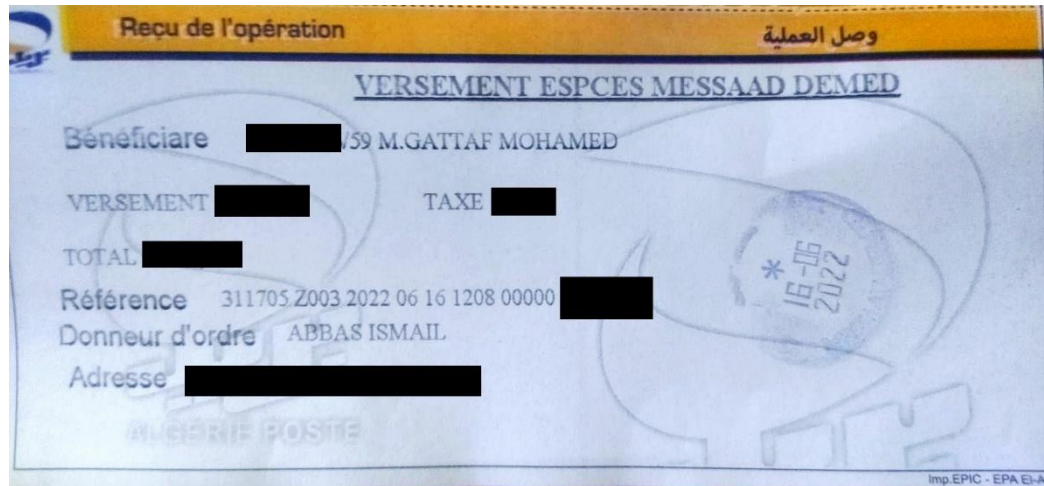
CALCUL DES TAXES ET RECAPITULATION	MONTANT NON TAX (DA)		TVA		MONTANT TOTAL (DA)
	REVENIR	TVA	TVA %	REVENIR (DA)	
ELEC EB1	1150.65	07		80.61	Le montant de votre consommation moyenne d'énergie par jour : 16.74 DA/jour Cle-EBF : 896
GAZ GB3	139.76	07		9.78	
DEBIT FINE	50.00				
TAXE HABITATION	75.00				
Contribution aux coûts permanents de système :	2.60	00			
	1416.41			90.29	

Montant à payer TTC (à la poste, chèque ou virement) : 1506.00
Droit de timbre : 16.00
Montant total à payer en espèces : 1522.00

La présente facture est avisée à la somme : un mille cinq cent six dinars algériens .00 etc
à régler avant le : 17.11.21

¹ See SONELGAZ's website available at: <https://www.sonelgaz-distribution.dz/>

Figure 2.7. A Receipt from the Algerian Post Office



The language of instruction and administration for the health ministry is predominantly French, encompassing medical reports, medical exemptions, and medical ordinances (see figure 2.8. below). Moreover, French serves as the language of instruction for Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) subjects in higher education institutions. In the public schooling system, French is taught as a subject starting from the second year of primary school. As such, despite the existence of Arabic and Tamazight as the national official languages in Algeria, the continued prevalence of French in various domains reflects its enduring significance as the language of education, administration, and communication within Algerian society.

Figure 2.8. A Medical Letter from the Public Hospital of Biskra

المؤسسة العمومية للصحة الجوارية - بسكرة
Etablissement Public de Santé de Proximité
BISKRA

Le 01/02/2021
Nom [Redacted]
Prénom [Redacted]
Age 45

DR. M. SAOULI
Spécialiste en Neurologie

وصفة طبية
ORDONNANCE N° 12997

certificat médical
Je soussigné Dr. Saouli
certifie que le patient
[Redacted] âgé de 55 ans
sui pour un polyradiculonévrite
chronique locomotrice
idiopathe des nerfs périphériques

Moreover, in contemporary Algeria, the English language is progressively gaining momentum within the linguistic landscape. Despite the dominance of French as the language of education and social capital, English has emerged as a newcomer, posing a challenge to the position of French in the country. Notably, in the 2022-2023 academic year, English has been introduced as a subject in third-year primary schools, indicating a growing recognition of its significance within the national educational system. Although still in its early stages, English can be observed in limited public domains, particularly in signage found in tourist areas and airports. This deliberate integration of English in signboards serves the purpose of facilitating communication and meeting the needs of international visitors. Algeria's embrace of the globalised world is evident in the inclusion of English in its linguistic repertoire, representing a new dynamic of the linguistic conflict. This is due to the growing positive attitude towards English as language of modernity, technology, and education. A position that was traditionally assumed by the French language.

2.4. *Nomadic Ouled Nail*

To undertake a comprehensive examination of the perception of a particular linguistic variety within the broader speech community, it is important to gain a thorough understanding of both its linguistic and social context. This enables researchers to position their investigation within a specific community and acquire insights into the distinctive linguistic characteristics and sociocultural dynamics that influence the variety under investigation. The society of *Ouled Nail* serves as an illustrative example of a diverse social group consisting of nomads, semi-nomads, and sedentary individuals residing in either urban or rural areas. For the present study, the focus lies specifically on the *Nomadic* community of *Ouled Nail*. The *Nomadic Ouled Nail* have traversed extensive stretches of Algerian territory, engaging in nomadic herding and trading practices. Consequently, while this section endeavours to encompass the entirety of *Ouled Nail* society, its primary objective is to establish the social context of the specific *nomadic segment* under scrutiny. Thus, the following section aims to provide an overview of *Algerian Nomadic Ouled Nail* society and its associated *Algerian Arabic Vernacular*.

2.4.1. *Ouled Nail Society: Origin, Lineage and Socio-economic Structure*

The *Ouled Nail* ethnic group, an Arabic tribal confederation, primarily resides in several regions of Algeria, including *Msila*, *Djelfa*, *Laghouat*, *Bayadh*, *Tiaret*, and *Ghardia*. The term "*Ouled Nail*" literally translates to "the children of *Nail*" in Arabic. *Nail*, or *Muhammed Ben-Abdullah Al-Khurshufi*, was a *Merabet*—a saint within the *Sufi*¹ tradition—who embarked on a journey from *Fes* in Morocco to Algeria, likely in the mid-fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Hachlaf, 1897; Belhaddar, 2006; Lazreg, 2018). Upon his arrival, *Nail* initially settled in *Miliana*, a town located in the northwest of Algeria (Hachlaf, 1897; Belhaddar, 2006). However, he later chose to reside in *Bouti Sayah*, a town situated in the western region of the *Msila* province in south-eastern Algeria (Belhaddar, 2006; Lazreg, 2018). It is worth noting that *Nail*'s grave continues to exist in *Bouti Sayah* to this day, serving as a tangible link to his historical presence. Moreover, local oral narratives attribute the *Ouled Nail*'s lineage to the *Quraish* tribe, as documented by Koudri (2017). The identification of the tribe's lineage with the *Quraish*, the esteemed Arabian tribe to which the *Prophet Muhammad* belonged, underscores their esteemed genealogical heritage. However,

¹ *Sufism* is a sect of Muslims that was developed in Iraq during the 10th century C.E. It is believed to be influenced by *Hinduism* and *Taoism*. One of the core beliefs in *Sufism* is that believers can obtain supernatural powers such as flying and walking on the water if they reach heart purity following devotion to their beliefs (see Ibn Khaldoun (1377) for a discussion).

Judge Muhammad Ben-Abdullah Hachlaf (1872-1936), an Islamic judge in *Djelfa* during the 1900s, states that most historians concur that the *Ouled Nail* are descendants of the *Hilalian* tribes, which migrated to the *Maghreb* around the eleventh century C.E. (Hachlaf, 1897; Hedid, 2015). The *Hilalian* tribes, originating from the *Hijaz* region (present-day Saudi Arabia) and Yemen, moved towards the *Maghrib* (present-day North Africa) (Miller, 2007). This migration is widely recognised as a pivotal factor in the formation of contemporary North African Arabic dialects (Ferguson, 1959, 1968; Miller, 2007; Guerrero, 2015).

The *Ouled Nail* society is characterised by its diverse composition, encompassing individuals with varying lifestyles and residency patterns (see Kouidri, 2017). Within this social group, there exists a combination of nomadic, semi-nomadic, and sedentary individuals, who can be found inhabiting both urban and rural areas. It is noteworthy to recognise that while the conventional way of life for the *Ouled Nail* community has traditionally been associated with a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence, not all members adhere strictly to this lifestyle (Lazreg, 2018). This observation holds true even during historical periods such as the Ottoman era and French colonisation, during which a significant segment of the *Ouled Nail* community resided in established rural and urban communities in towns such as *Bou Saada*, *Djelfa*, and *Messaad* (Belhaddar, 2006: 213; Lazreg, 2018: 29-30). Furthermore, in Algeria's post-independence, the first agrarian reform initiative implemented to address the issue of land ownership was the *Self-Management Law* of 1963 (Bouhouche, 1997). However, it was the enactment of the *Law of the Agricultural Revolution* in 1971 by the subsequent Algerian government that proclaimed land ownership for those who actively cultivated it (Chitour, 1999). This legislative development played a significant role in reshaping settlement patterns for numerous nomadic and semi-nomadic populations in Algeria, including those of the *Ouled Nail* community. As a result, a substantial proportion of the *Ouled Nail* society that previously adhered to nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle underwent a transition to a settled life in villages and agricultural lands during this period.

Indeed, the number of nomadic people within the *Ouled Nail* society is now a minority, as significant numbers have transitioned to living in cities and villages located in Algeria's midlands. This shift in residency patterns may have had implications for the *Ouled Nail Vernacular* (ANON), potentially contributing to language change within the community (Saud and Saud, 2013). The linguistic impact of urbanisation and contact with other language groups is a well-documented phenomenon in sociolinguistics, and it is plausible to assume that the shift from a traditional nomadic lifestyle to settlement in urban areas could have

influenced the linguistic practices of the Ouled Naïl people. As such, it is important to note that the focus of the present thesis centres on the minority who have chosen to retain their nomadic way of life. This distinction is crucial in order to avoid a misrepresentation whereby the label "*Ouled Naïl*" might erroneously evoke the notion that the linguistic variety under investigation is used by the entire *Ouled Naïl society*, both sedentary and nomadic, which is not the case. The definition and discussion of the minority community chosen for the study is provided below (see section 2.4.4.).

2.4.2. Veiled in Misconceptions: Unmasking the Colonial Stigma of *Ouled Naïl* Women

In the chapter titled "Imaginative Geography and Its Representations" within Said's seminal work "Orientalism" (1978:49-72), the author posits that the interaction between the coloniser and the colonised functions as a prism, illuminating the mechanisms of western hegemony through discourse. Correspondingly, Fanon (1952) asserts that colonialism constitutes a mode of domination with the inherent objective of restructuring the lives of the "indigenous". This proposition finds profound resonance in the context of French colonisation in Algeria. A pernicious discourse perpetuated by French colonisation revolved around the construction of a colonial gaze and discourse fixated upon the figure of "*la femme arabe*" her sexuality, and procreative capacities (Clancy-Smith, 1996:53, 1997). The French colonial imagination of *la femme arabe* transcended the confines of Algerian Arabs and extended to encompass all Algerian women, and even further, all Muslim women (Clancy-Smith, 2017). Among the most pernicious discourses that continues to persist even in contemporary times are the French colonial representations of Arab Muslim women as prostitutes, particularly those hailing from Ouled Naïl, where the term "daughter of the Ouled Naïl" has become synonymous with prostitution (Clancy-Smith, 1998:157, 2017; Aurousseau, 2018; Lazreg, 2018).

Upon colonisation of Algeria, the initial lack of enthusiasm among the French population necessitated the construction of a set of mythologies within the colonial discourse (Salhi, 2021). These discourses portrayed Algeria as a land inhabited by harems, prostitutes, and barbarians, thereby justifying the need for French intervention and legitimising the colonisation project (Clancy-Smith and Smith, 2014; Clancy-Smith, 2017; Salhi and Bougherira, 2020; Salhi, 2021). Algerian men and women were morally and culturally subjugated by the French administration, with the distortion of the image of Muslim women as a method of categorising the culturally foreign and politically submissive "other" (Clancy-Smith, 1996: 53; Lazreg, 2018). The establishment of the *Bureaux Arabe* led to employing

ethnographers to collect information facilitating the imposition of French dominance over the newly acquired colony (see section 2.3.2). However, many of the purportedly "ethnographic" studies produced during this period served more as a pretext for misrepresentations than genuine scholarly contributions (Pouillon and Mégnin, 2010). For instance, *Eugène Fromentin's* work, "*Un été au Sahara*," was a pseudo-scientific ethnography distorting the image of the Ouled Naïl community. Within this context, Ouled Naïl women were unjustly reduced to the label of prostitute dancer (Arousseau, 2018). These colonial portrayals of Ouled Naïl women and Algerian women at large served to objectify the indigenous population, portraying them as exotic, archaic, and excessively sexualised, aiming to captivate the European audience that firmly held notions of their own superiority (Clancy-Smith, 2017; Arousseau, 2018; Mami, 2022). A similar process can be observed in the literary work of Hector France, specifically "*Musk, Hashish and Blood*," which, masquerading as a travel account, detailed the author's sexual encounters with the daughters of the Ouled Naïl community (Clancy-Smith, 1998: 158).

Moreover, during the turn of the twentieth century, the discourse surrounding Algerian women was not solely limited to the writings of soldiers who served within the colonial authorities in Algeria (Clancy-Smith, 1998). Indeed, nonofficial French and European authors outside the colonial hierarchy also contributed to the construction of distorted representations of Algerian women (Clancy-Smith, 1996). These writers further perpetuated the notion of the white man as the agent of civilisation and enlightenment, while depicting native Algerian women, in particular, as ignorant, overtly sexualised, and naïve, hence reinforcing the concept of their "savagery" (Salhi, 2004a, 2021; Lazreg, 2018). For instance, *Le Gaulois*, a French author, published a chronicle entitled "*Les Ouled Naïl*" that sought to captivate his readers through the deliberate use of exotic and erotic scenes, enticing readers into an illusory journey (Arousseau, 2018). This expanded discursive space provided a platform for controversial writings on Algerian women, enabling the further development and implementation of imperial methodologies (Clancy-Smith, 2017). Similarly, *André Gide's* "*si le grain ne meurt*," published in 1926, propagated the myth that Ouled Naïl women engaged in prostitution away to collect wealth and subsequently return to their tribe for marriage (Arousseau, 2018). This myth echoed even in the works of many writers who asserted advocating for the improvement of women's conditions in Algeria (Clancy-Smith and Smith, 2014; Clancy-Smith, 2017; Lazreg, 2018; Mami, 2020). Consequently, the valorisation of prostitution as a supposedly traditional practice led to the emergence of the "Ouled Naïl" label and the integration of this activity into the broader markets of prostitution and mass tourism (Arousseau, 2018).

French orientalist painters and later photographers, including *Eugene Delacroix*, *Etienne Dinet*¹, and *Marc Garanger*, also played an active role in the mis-portrayal of women from Algeria as their depictions were far from impartial or objective (Salhi, 2004a; Clancy-Smith and Smith, 2014). *Delacroix's* renowned oil painting, "*femmes d'alger dans leur appartement*," created in 1834, is noteworthy for its overtly sexual connotations (Clancy-Smith and Smith, 2014; Lazreg, 2018). Interestingly, *Delacroix* never had first-hand experience of a Muslim household in Algeria; instead, his painting was a figment of his imagination, crafted to cater to an audience longing for experiences with Algeria's "exotic and erotic" women (Clancy-Smith and Smith, 2014:139; Mami, 2022). This manipulation of Algerian women's realities was not confined to painting alone; photographers also contributed to this distortion by selectively hiring women who fit their preconceived notions of Algeria. Alloula (2001: 44-45) and Pouillon and Mégnin (2010) extensively studied the works of French photographer *Marc Garanger*, revealing his use of generic captions to refer to a series of photographs featuring the same individual captured during a single session, such as the "*jeune bédouine*" carrying her water jug also appeared as a "*jeune fille du Sud*" and a "*jeune fille kabyle*." These photographs, thus, represent a dual appropriation of Algerian women's physical space and bodies (Clancy-Smith and Smith, 2014; Mami, 2022). In the absence of a counter-narrative capable of challenging the colonial depiction of Algerian women and their society, these postcard photographs served as sources of information, reinforcing the prevailing notion that women in Algeria were solely objects of sexual fantasy (Alloula, 2001).

Prostitution has undoubtedly been a prevalent phenomenon in colonised Algeria, and its continuation in the present can be attributed to a complex interplay of socioeconomic, cultural, and political factors. Extensive scholarly exploration of this issue has been undertaken by sociologists such as Ferhati (2003, 2010) and Tarraud (2003). However, it is important to critically examine the claim that the entire Ouled Naïl tribe was solely engaged in prostitution, as this assertion lacks sufficient historical evidence (Aurousseau, 2018). Malek Bennabi (1969), an Algerian philosopher and former notary public in *Laghouat* during the 1930s where many members of the Ouled Naïl tribe resided, provides testimonial evidence that challenges the notion of widespread prostitution within the tribe. While it is true that some Ouled Naïl women were involved in prostitution, many prostitutes in Algeria were comprised of women from various regions, compelled by the colonial circumstances

¹ Etienne Dinet's painting career can be divided into two distinct phases. Initially, he contributed to the reinforcement of orientalist depictions of Ouled Naïl women. However, following his conversion to Islam, his artistic style underwent a significant departure from the themes and techniques of his earlier phase (for more discussion see Pouillon, 1990).

to engage in such activities (Clancy-Smith, 1997; Arousseau, 2018). Furthermore, it is worth noting that European women also served as prostitutes or consorts for the troops as part of the colonial policy, although this aspect was seldom acknowledged (Clancy-Smith, 1998, 2017). The phenomenon of prostitution experienced a significant escalation during the colonial period, resulting in the establishment of entire districts within cities dedicated to this practice, which Teraud (2003:102) aptly describes as "harems of colonialism". It is crucial to recognise that the prevailing climate of rumour during that time greatly influenced writers and their interpretations of the issue at hand (Arousseau, 2018; Salhi, 2021).

The proliferation of establishments like *Café de la Joie* in Bou Saada, where a significant number of Ouled Naïl reside, is one of the primary catalysts for the association between Ouled Naïl women and prostitution (Ferhati, 2003, 2010). *Café de la Joie* functioned as a venue akin to contemporary nightclubs (Arousseau, 2018). Within these cafés, Ouled Naïl women engaged in dancing and gained renown for their skill and beauty (Clancy-Smith, 1998; Lazreg, 2018). The costumes meticulously worn by the dancers adhered precisely to the aesthetic expectations of European travellers exploring the Orient (Pouillon and Mégnin, 2010). Consequently, the dance performed by the Ouled Naïl became a tourist attraction to such an extent that, during the *Universal Exposition* held in Paris in 1900, female dancers purportedly from the Ouled Naïl tribe were exhibited in the Algerian pavilion as a form of colonial trophy, designed to arouse the curiosity of the jaded Parisian public (Clancy-Smith, 1998:158). This fascination with the Ouled Naïl dancer contributed to the propagation of beliefs, both within and outside military and administrative discourses, that erroneously portrayed the Ouled Naïl women as prostitutes by tradition (Clancy-Smith and Smith, 2014; Arousseau, 2018). However, it is important to note that the dancers from the Ouled Naïl did not perceive themselves as prostitutes and frequently objected to the degrading treatment they endured at the hands of Frenchmen (Lazreg, 2018: 31). Most importantly, there is a dearth of identifiable sources or evidence supporting that Ouled Naïl engaged in prostitution since few documents predating 1830 provide any substantial information about prostitution (Arousseau, 2018). The French administration, therefore, takes up the hearsay, the rumour that proves convenient for an occupying power that quickly understood the need to provide prostitutes to the expeditionary force (Clancy-Smith, 2017; Arousseau, 2018).

The association of the Ouled Naïl tribe with prostitution in colonial Algeria has been a persistent myth that has shaped historical narratives and cultural perceptions. This perception was further fuelled as people moved into the suburbs of *Biskra*, *Bou Saâda*, and *Touggourt*, where the *Café de la Joie* offered potential employment opportunities (Clancy-

Smith, 2017). Amongst these rural migrants, pimps bought women from slave traders of the time (Ferhati, 2003). These pimps were also very fond of Ouled Naïl women who were reputed to be very beautiful and very submissive (Clancy-Smith, 1998; Ferhati, 2010). As such, Arousseau (2018) notes that authentic Ouled Naïl women had a great reputation for beauty, so much so that all the women who engaged in prostitution claimed to be from Ouled Naïl. Moreover, whilst the prostitution practised by Sahara women was not traditional nor ancient, the discourse surrounding them by colonial writers froze Ouled Naïl in an imagined past (Clancy-Smith, 1997; Ferhati, 2003; Tarraud, 2003; Arousseau, 2018). For example, Arousseau (2018) studied the representation of Ouled Naïl women in the writings of three renowned French colonial writers, *Fromentin, Maupassant, and Gide*, and found that they fail to mention the colonial influence in transforming the term Ouled Naïl from an ethnic identity to a generic label associated with prostitution. Thus, behind the screen of exoticism, the image of the Ouled Naïl girl was essentially a myth, that of the languid odalisque (Ferhati, 2003). Unfortunately, due to a lack of counter-discourse, Ouled Naïl women, along with many other Algerian women, were reduced to an imagined reality dictated by the colonial male's perspective, focused solely on their sexuality (Alloula, 2001). As such, this reduction of Ouled Naïl women to the label of prostitutes was a consequence of the colonial gaze, which selectively saw and interpreted what it desired.

2.4.3. Echoes of the Past: Perceptions of Ouled Naïl Women in Post-independence Algeria

Following Algeria's independence in 1962, there was an expectation that the newly formed nation would prioritise the eradication of cultural remnants of colonialism, actively working to eliminate any suggestions of colonial influence from the collective consciousness (Salhi, 2004a, 2021). However, contrary to these expectations, the Algerian woman found herself marginalised in the context of independence, with women's issues being relegated to a periphery position within independent Algeria (Daoudi, 2018b; Lazreg, 2018; Salhi, 2021). This marginalisation is evident in numerous literary and cinematic works that continued to perpetuate colonialist ideas, depicting Algerian women solely as objects of "joy and dancing" (see Salhi, 2004a, 2021). One illustrative example can be found in the famous Algerian comedy film "*Les vacances de l'inspecteur Tahar*" produced in 1972, which features a scene in *Bou Saada* where many Ouled Naïl women are shown dancing. This scene, intentionally or unintentionally, perpetuates the stereotypes prevalent in colonial cinema that portrayed the inhabitants of the Sahara region with a sense of condescension (Salhi, 2004a). Similarly, another instance can be observed in the movie "*Carnaval fi Dachra*" [Carnival in the village],

where despite the lead actor being from the *Bou Saada* region, the film falls into the same trap of colonial exoticism by depicting the Ouled Naïl as primitive individuals employing harmful practices such as black magic, poisonous concoctions, and destructive love (Salhi, 2004a). Consequently, the presentation of the Ouled Naïl community represents a reincarnation of the colonial gaze, without questioning the origins of the myth surrounding women from the northern Sahara (Aurousseau, 2018). This might help explain Lazreg's observation (2018:30) that being labelled a woman from the Ouled Naïl community was equivalent to being branded as a woman "without shame" in the northern regions of Algeria. These persistent colonial images, therefore, continue to be perpetuated within the independent Algerian context.

Of course, numerous intellectuals have demonstrated their commitment to amplifying the voices of marginalised women through their literary works (Salhi and Bougherira, 2020; Salhi, 2021). One such example is Assia Djébar, an Algerian author whose characters, including her own persona, are endowed with agency to articulate thoughts and sentiments that often remain suppressed within Algerian society (Salhi, 2004a, 2004b). In 1967, Djébar published the novel "*Les Allouettes naïves*," which delved into the lives of the dancers of the Ouled Naïl tribe in Algeria near *Bou Saada*. However, the publication of this novel led Djébar to engage in a moment of critical self-reflection (Salhi, 2004b). The title itself, which refers to the nickname given by French legionnaires to the prostitute dancers of the Ouled Naïl tribe, raises questions regarding the alignment of Djébar's intentions with the portrayal of these women. Djébar (1967) herself expressed doubt upon learning from Jacques Berque that the nickname was a mere mispronunciation, with 'Ouled' becoming '*alouettes*' and 'naïl' becoming '*naïves*.' Consequently, she began to question whether she had genuinely succeeded in giving her female compatriots a voice, as she had initially intended (Salhi, 2004a). The juxtaposition between the exoticism associated with the Ouled Naïl dancers and the harsh reality of their subjugation to prostitution creates a complex narrative that has contributed to the perpetuation of stereotypes against Ouled Naïl women even in contemporary times. This interplay between romanticised notions of exoticism and the degrading exploitation of the entire community further underscores the multifaceted nature of Djébar's work and its impact on prevailing perceptions (Salhi, 2004b).

In independent Algeria, Alloula (2001) emerged as a controversial intellectual figure, challenging the prevailing colonial discourse of misrepresentation through the medium of photography. Alloula's (2001) seminal work, titled "*Le Harem colonial: images d'un sous-érotisme*," delves into the notion that the Algerian women's secluded domestic

sphere posed a formidable threat to the French male colonists, impeding their establishment of a gaze of dominance. By situating himself outside the confines of the harem, the colonizer's surveillance of this space becomes unattainable, and the resultant photographs, captured from this perspective, reflect the inherent inability to penetrate the realm of intimacy (Pouillon and Mégnin, 2010). Alloula's (2001) work astutely illustrates how French colonial photographers resorted to hiring Algerian women as models to represent an idealized, unattainable version of the Algerian woman, purposefully absent from the photographs. Consequently, his work unveils the colonizer's fabrication of the reality surrounding Algerian women, whereby these hired models conformed to the photographer's subjective notions of beauty, adorning themselves in attire that evoked both submission and vulgarity (Pouillon and Mégnin, 2010). However, Lazreg (2018: 190-192) adopts a critical stance towards Alloula's work, contending that by assuming the dual roles of photographer and the French soldier who purchased these images, Alloula injects his own desires and projections into their motivations. Lazreg (2018: 191) further argues that unintended consequences arise from Alloula's work, perpetuating the objectification of Algerian women. Rather than serving as a monument to colonial fantasy, his book garnered attention primarily due to its perceived pornographic value (ibid.).

The counter argument presented against the colonial portrayal of Ouled Nail women by French orientalist travellers and soldiers, as discussed by Arousseau (2018), lacked sufficient depth and seriousness. It is disconcerting to observe that even in contemporary times, the prevailing definition of "Ouled Nail" in dictionaries aligns entirely with the depiction of Ouled Nail women as prostitutes. For example, the *Merriam Webster*¹ dictionary states under the entry Ouled Naïl: "noun_ plural Ouled Naïls: a prostitute and dancing girl of the North African cities usually dressed in a brightly coloured bespangled costume and ornamental often feathered headdress". This narrow understanding reduces an entire ethnic group to prostitution, disregarding the social diversity inherent within the extensive Ouled Nail tribe. The perpetuation of such rumours surrounding Ouled Nail can be partly attributed to the academic community's repetition of the words of French orientalists who were fixated on eroticising Algerian women. It is worth noting that few scholars recognised the fact that the term "Ouled Naïl" has been stripped of its original meaning, rendering it devoid of its ethnic connotations (Arousseau, 2018). Prostitution does indeed exist within the Ouled Nail community, as it does within other ethnic groups in Algeria (Clancy-Smith, 2017). However, it is crucial to distinguish between studies that investigate prostitution within

¹ See Ouled Naïl entry in Merriam Webster dictionary, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Ouled%20Na%C3%AFI>

Ouled Nail, such as Ferhati's work (2003, 2010), and the tendency to associate the entire Ouled Nail community with prostitution. Unfortunately, this latter inclination seems to contaminate even the writings of prominent feminists who devoted their work and their life for defending women cause in Algeria such as Lazreg (2018). Lazreg (2018:29-33) successfully sheds light on the fact that Ouled Nail women did not perceive themselves as prostitutes and were exploited as a tourist commodity in a male-dominated colonial era. Regrettably, nonetheless, she did not raise any questions about the designation of Ouled Nail as prostitutes, despite having the resources to challenge the myth that Ouled Nail prostitution was an ancestral custom. In fact, the initial description she provides of Ouled Nail in her account suggests an unconscious acceptance of stereotypes against Ouled Nail women rather than a critical examination of the social diversity.

The Ouled Nail tribe is a vast social group comprising a significant number of women. Hence, it is crucial not to subscribe to the prevailing assumption that Ouled Nail women are inherently prostitutes, as this notion lacks substantial logical, historical, and realistic substantiation (Aurousseau, 2018). By urging a more nuanced comprehension of Ouled Nail women and their diverse societal roles, it becomes evident that employing critical approaches can expose the enduring influence of the colonial era, which continues to perpetuate a manifestation of the colonial "divide and rule" policy. Rather than being narrowly depicted as mere prostitutes, Ouled Nail women can occupy various esteemed positions within society, such as educators, doctors, or university lecturers. Through a simple observation of the broad spectrum of roles fulfilled by Ouled Nail women, one can effectively challenge the constraining stereotypes that have marginalised and oversimplified their lived experiences. It is important to acknowledge and confront both the necessity of contesting colonial narratives and the hardships faced by Ouled Nail women within a patriarchal society, whilst recognising the multi-faceted nature of their struggles. Thus, the significance of scholarly endeavours lies in striving for an authentic representation that goes beyond reproducing colonial accounts of Ouled Nail women. This imperative extends not only to women from Ouled Nail but to Algerian women of all regions and ethnicities who contend with various forms of societal violence, including the repercussions of the "black decade" (see Daoudi, 2016, 2018b) and the everyday obstacles to career progression (see Salhi, 2021). Given the historical and contemporary complexities of Algeria, the task of reclaiming and reinstating lost voices remains problematic, although undeniably urgent (Clancy-Smith, 2017). Consequently, further research and scholarly efforts are required to navigate the intricacies of the Algerian context and ensure a more accurate representation of Algerian women's diverse experiences.

2.4.4. The Nomadic Ouled Nail: The Specific Population Under Investigation

The present study focuses on the nomadic minority community of *Ouled Nail*, a specific group that warrants careful examination and analysis. *Ouled Nail*, as previously highlighted, comprises a diverse tribal confederation characterised by a unique blend of sedentary and nomadic individuals, with a nomadic minority that continues to embrace their nomadic lifestyle in the contemporary era (see section 2.4.1.). The tribal confederation of *Ouled Nail* is further delineated into four prominent sub-tribes, namely *Ouled Yahia*, *Ouled M'lyyak*, *Ouled Ahmed*, and *Ouled Zekri*, as historically documented by Judge Hachlaf (1897) and Belhaddar (2006). For the purposes of the current investigation, the nomadic society under scrutiny belongs specifically to the *Ouled Yahia* sub-tribe, more precisely the *Ouled 'Ayfa* of *Ouled Aissa*. It is worth noting that their sedentary counterparts reside in various locations, including *Mouileh* in *Djelfa*, *Ain-Riche* in *M'sila*, and *Aflou* in *Laghouat* (Kouidri, 2017). This particular nomadic minority group traverses the diverse landscapes of Algeria, adapting to the climatic variations that occur throughout the seasons. In winter, they seek refuge in warmer areas such as the *Illizi* province, while in spring and summer, they relocate to cooler regions like the highlands of the Algerian midlands. Remarkably, the nomadic minority's distinctive identity is exemplified by their black and red coloured tents, which hold symbolic significance associated with *Nail*, the saint revered in folklore (Kouidri, 2017). A noteworthy aspect of this community's existence is their reliance on trading and herding activities as primary sources of income. During their temporary settlements, particularly in spring, they engage in trading within local markets situated in towns such as *Bou Saada*, *Masaad*, and *Constantine* (Hedid, 2015).

The nomadic Ouled Nail possessed a distinct tribal framework deeply rooted in their tradition (Hedid, 2015). Central to this structure was the figure of the *Sheikh*, occupying the paramount position within the tribe, and typically bestowed upon the eldest male member (see Clancy-Smith, 1997). The *Sheikh's* role encompassed multifaceted responsibilities, which extended beyond mere leadership and entailed the guardianship of the tribe's customs and values (Kouidri, 2017). Another integral figure within the *Nomadic Ouled Nail* society was the revered oracle known as *Al-Khawnya*, typically an elderly female (Ferhati, 2003). The nomads, adhering to age-old beliefs, attributed to *Al-Khawnya* the ability to divine the future. Consequently, the tribe sought her counsel prior to making crucial decisions, particularly concerning matters of matrimony and procreation. Additionally, *Al-Khawnya* assumed the role of the tribe's healer, possessing extensive knowledge of herbal medicine (ibid.). Her esteemed position underscored the significance placed upon her wisdom and

expertise in the nomadic community. Furthermore, the *Nomadic Ouled Naïl* acknowledged the presence of *Ezzouhdi*, a devout monk who dedicated his life to the spiritual practice of *Sufism* in accordance with traditional beliefs (see Clancy-Smith, 1997). His unwavering commitment to religious devotion not only exemplified the tribe's deep-rooted spiritual inclinations but also served as a source of guidance and inspiration for the community (ibid; Kouidri, 2017).

In the traditional fabric of *Nomadic Ouled Naïl* society, gender roles played a prominent role (Mami, 2022). Women, typically regarded as caretakers, assumed the responsibility of nurturing children and attending to the needs of their husbands (Lazreg, 2018). Conversely, men were expected to shoulder the burden of providing for the household. However, it is essential to note that within this societal structure, the status of a mother surpassed that of a wife, granting her authority over her male offspring (Mami, 2022). This hierarchical distinction underscored the significance attributed to motherhood within the nomadic community. Nevertheless, it is imperative to recognize that the contemporary Ouled Naïl society no longer adheres strictly to the aforementioned traditional tribal structure (Hedid, 2015). The dynamic nature of societal evolution, coupled with the forces of globalisation and modernisation, has undoubtedly influenced and transformed the roles and dynamics within the tribe. Consequently, the historical configuration of the Ouled Naïl society, as described, must be contextualized within its temporal framework, acknowledging the fluidity of social structures over time (see Hedid, 2015).

Moreover, the nomadic society of *Ouled Naïl* in Algeria has been subjected to enduring discrimination throughout different historical periods, both pre- and post-independence (Ferhati, 2010). Under the French colonization, a significant number of Ouled Naïl women were tragically forced into engaging in prostitution (Clancy-Smith, 1998; Ferhati, 2010; Lazreg, 2018). While it is important to note that this reprehensible practice affected only a minority of women, the stigma associated with it continues to persist associating the *Nailayat* [Women from Ouled Naïl] with this unfortunate history (Mami, 2022). For example, Lazreg (2018:30) observes that, for many northern women, to act "like a *Nailiya*" was an insult. Indeed, the discrimination against nomads in general and nomadic Ouled Naïl, specifically, continued even after attaining independence. The government of Algeria perpetuated discrimination against rural and nomadic communities through the propagation of propaganda, following the enactment of the *Agricultural Revolution Law* in the 1970s (Bennabi, 1969). This legislation compelled the Algerian government to retain as many farmers as possible in rural areas, discouraging their migration to cities (see Bouhouche, 1997). To achieve this objective, the government employed media channels as

vehicles for disseminating biased representations that portrayed rural and nomadic populations as culturally and intellectually inferior to their urban counterparts. This concerted effort effectively dissuaded numerous individuals from contemplating the prospect of urban relocation (ibid.).

The persisting image of inferiority associated with rural and nomadic communities has endured in the collective consciousness of Algerian society, finding expression in various forms of popular culture, including television shows and movies. Notably, Bedouins are consistently portrayed as inferior and marginalized in comparison to urban dwellers. Such media representations have played a substantial role in perpetuating and reinforcing negative stereotypes, thereby reinforcing the societal division between rural and urban populations. It is essential to critically examine and challenge these discriminatory practices and portrayals, recognising their detrimental impact on the social fabric of Algerian society. By shedding light on the social evaluation of the linguistic variety spoken by *Nomadic Ouled Nail*, efforts can be made to foster inclusivity, address systemic inequalities, and promote social cohesion within Algeria.

2.4.4.1. *The Linguistic Tapestry of Nomadic Ouled Nail Society*

In the words of Catherin Miller (2007:07):

"The typological division between sedentary (*hadarī*) and Bedouin (*badawī*) dialects, and within the sedentary, between urban (*madanī*) and rural (*qarawī* or *fellāhī*) dialects inherited from Ibn Khaldoun was taken over by the early European dialectologists and is still in use today."

Traditionally, Arabic varieties are classified as [g] varieties and [q] varieties (Miller, 2007; Guerrero, 2015; Holes, 2018). Both [g] and [q] are considered allophones of the phoneme [q] in both Classical Standard Arabic (CSA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) (ibid.). Rural and Bedouin Arabic speakers predominantly utilise [g] varieties, as observed in various regions including Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria (Abdel-Jawad, 1986; Saud and Saud, 2013; Gabsi, 2020). Conversely, urban Arabic speakers, found in Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria, tend to employ [q] varieties (Hachimi, 2012; Saud and Saud, 2013; Gabsi, 2020). However, it is worth noting that there exist notable exceptions to this general pattern, where rural and Bedouin speakers utilize [q] varieties. For instance, in Syria, Bedouins in *Hims* employ [q] (Habib, 2010). Additionally, urban varieties in Algeria exhibit the usage of not only [q], but also [ʔ], [g], and [k], (Hadj-Saleh, 2007).

The linguistic variety under examination, known as the Nomadic Ouled Nail Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON), holds a distinct position among other Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) varieties, as classified by Saud and Saud (2013). ANON is considered a [g] Arabic variety, with phonological and phonetic characteristics that distinguish it from its counterparts. One of the most notable features of ANON is its utilisation of *phonetic metathesis*, as identified by Saud and Saud (2013). Phonetic metathesis entails the rearrangement or switching of sounds or syllables within a word (Aguadé, 2018). This phenomenon can manifest within a single word or extend to the level of phrases and sentences. The occurrence of phonetic metathesis in a language can be attributed to various factors, including natural language evolution, dialectal variations, and language contact phenomena (Holes, 2018). Within ANON, instances of phonetic metathesis can be observed when contrasting it with CSA. For instance, the word for "sun" in ANON is realised as /semef/ instead of /femes/, wherein the phonemes [s] and [f] exchange their respective positions within the word (Saud and Saud, 2013). Similarly, the word for "attract" in ANON appears as /zb3d/ rather than /d3æðəb/, with the phonemes [ð]/[d] and [b] undergoing a metathetic switch in their order (ibid.).

Another phonetic feature worthy of examination in ANON is *phonetic lenition*. This phenomenon encompasses the gradual weakening or softening of a sound, leading to a transition from a robust articulation to a feebler one (Saud and Saud, 2013). Phonetic Lenition is subject to numerous influential factors, including speech rate, speaking style, phonetic context, and phonological processes inherent to a particular language (see Labov, 1966). It is a pervasive occurrence in language change and variation. Examples of Phonetic Lenition in ANON in comparison to CSA involve:

- (i) Exchanging [ɣ], a voiceless uvular lateral approximant, with [q], a voiced uvular plosive: for example, /yabeh/ is pronounced /qabæ/ [meaning a forest]; exceptions to this rule are Quranic words.
- (ii) Exchanging [q] with [g], a voiceless plosive uvular: for example, /qamɛt/ is pronounced /gmar/ [meaning moon]; exceptions to this rule are words such /qaraʔɛ/ is pronounced /qra:/ [meaning (he) read].
- (iii) Exchanging [dʒ], a voiced post-alveolar affricate, with [ʒ], a voiceless post-alveolar fricative: for example, /dʒæhərəh/ is pronounced /zæwhara/ [meaning a pearl].
- (iv) Exchanging [ʔ], a voiced glottal plosive, with a long vowel similar to the vowel before it: for example, /qaraʔɛ/ is pronounced /qra:/ [meaning (he) read]; /bɪʔɪ/ is

pronounced /bɪ:r/ [meaning a well]; and /Al'ahu ʔəkbər/ is pronounced /Al'ahu:kbar/ [meaning Allah is the Great: Hallelujah].¹

The variety of the nomadic Ouled Naïl (ANON) exhibits distinctive morphological characteristics that set it apart from other varieties within the broader Algerian Arabic Vernacular spectrum. To begin with, *blending*, as a word-formation technique, involves the merging of two or more words to create a new term that combines the meanings of its constituent parts (Holes, 2018). ANON demonstrates the utilisation of blending to create innovative lexical items. For instance, the blend /səlgu:mɛ/ (meaning took a bite or a spoon) emerges from the fusion of /əstɛlɛ/ (meaning: took) and /əluqmɛh/ (meaning: a bite) (Saud and Saud, 2013). This blending process enables ANON speakers to coin expressions that encapsulate the desired semantic content more efficiently. Another noteworthy characteristic of ANON highlighted by Saud and Saud (2013) is the use of *acronyms*. Acronyms are words formed by taking the initial letters of each word in a phrase or title. ANON employs acronyms to create condensed lexical units that convey specific meanings. For instance, the acronym /lx̣/ (meaning: no news or no idea) is derived from the initial letters of /lɜ:/ (meaning: no) and /xəbɛr/ (meaning: news) (Saud and Saud, 2013). Similarly, the acronym /m'fɛlɛf/ (meaning: not to worry) is a composite of /mɜ:/ (meaning: no), /ʕəlɪh/ (meaning: on it), and /ʃəl/ (meaning: thing). Furthermore, the use of *diminutives* is one of the morphological features that separate ANON from other AVA varieties (Saud and Saud, 2013). Diminutives are words or phrases that have been changed to reflect a reduced degree of their original meaning, such as a smaller size or characteristic (ibid.). Examples of diminutives in ANON involve: /xṛjɛf/ for /xarɔɛf/ (meaning lamb).

Regarding the syntax of ANON, this AVA variety possesses distinct features that differentiate it from other varieties. One prominent syntactic feature of ANON is its utilisation of a specific intonation pattern at the end of a statement to form questions (Saud and Saud, 2013). By employing this intonation pattern, a declarative statement such as "/ʒəɪ tɛ/" (meaning "you came") is transformed into an interrogative one, as evidenced by the variation "/ʒəɪ ʔtɛʔ/" (meaning "did you come?"). This intonational shift serves as a marker for questioning and reflects an intriguing aspect of ANON's syntax. Additionally, ANON exhibits another distinct morphosyntactic feature related to negation, involving the addition of the prefix "/mæ/" and the suffix "/ɛf/" (Saud & Saud, 2013). For instance, the negation of the verb "/rəhɛt/" (meaning "I/you went") is realised as "/mæərəhɛt'f/". Moreover, the nomadic variation of ANON is noteworthy for its employment of a single female

¹ For a discussion, see Saud and Saud (2013)

grammatical indicator to refer to plural males (Saud & Saud, 2013). This divergence from the standard grammatical agreement pattern can be observed in examples such as "/lɔlɔd ʒæt/" (meaning "the boys," plural masculine) being expressed using the singular feminine marker, instead of the expected plural masculine marker "/lɔlɔd ʒæʊ/" (meaning "the boys," plural masculine). This unique usage challenges conventional grammatical agreement rules and highlights the distinctiveness of ANON's variation.

In conclusion, the linguistic aspects discussed in this analysis draw heavily from the research conducted by Saud and Saud (2013). The reliance on this particular study is primarily due to the scarcity of research that specifically investigates the linguistic variety under consideration. In fact, to the best of my knowledge, the work of Saud and Saud (2013) stands as the sole published academic piece that delves into the specificities of the variety spoken by the nomadic Ouled Naïl society. Given the limited available research, it is important to acknowledge the need for further empirical studies to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the syntactic characteristics of this particular variety. Such future investigations should endeavour to involve larger samples and encompass diverse contexts. By doing so, researchers would be able to explore the range of linguistic variations within ANON and unravel their sociolinguistic implications. As such, the present study is to investigate the perception of the ANON variety.

Summary

In Chapter 2 of the present thesis, Algeria's demographic and sociolinguistic contexts were explored, with a focus on tracing its population dynamics, ethnic diversity, and language policies. The coexistence of Arabic, Tamazight, French, and other languages was highlighted as influential in shaping the nation's sociolinguistic landscape. The Nomadic Ouled Naïl population group was examined, including their origins, socio-economic structure, and dispelling of misconceptions about Ouled Naïl women. This chapter served as a valuable resource for understanding Algeria's diverse population and language dynamics. The preceding chapter provided a contextual profile of Algeria, considering its historical, demographic, and language policy aspects. It briefly discussed the socio-historic factors that influenced the Nomadic Ouled Naïl speech community. The next chapter provides a theoretical account of the focus of the present study, namely *language attitudes*.

Chapter 3 Language Attitudes: A Theoretical Ground for the Study

Overview

The previous chapter provided an outline of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. It functioned as a contextual chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to review the theoretical literature relevant to the current investigation. This chapter delves into the notion of attitudes as a social-psychological construct. Following that, the chapter discusses *language attitudes*, including their nature and their *dimensionality*. Furthermore, the chapter reviews the measurement of *language attitudes*. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the theoretical frameworks from which the present study draws to explore *language attitudes*, linguistic triggers, and socioeconomic outcomes in the Algerian context.

3.1. Theorising Attitudes

The present section provides an overview of language attitudes, their structure, and content since understanding *language attitudes* requires acquaintance with relevant theories. Moreover, in order to gain an insight into the formation and nature of attitudes, the present section overviews some of the problematic relationships between attitudes and other constructs, such as the relationship between behaviours and attitudes.

3.1.1. What are Attitudes?

Albarracin and Shavitt (2018) trace the use of the term "*attitude*" back to the early twentieth century when Swiss psychologist *Carl Jung* (1875-1961) first used it in his works to express a predisposition to respond. Indeed, despite decades of debate, *attitudes* have now been universally accepted as playing a vital role in making sense of the world and in interacting with objects and individuals (Garrett, 2010). As a result, attitudes became a topic of study in various disciplines such as social sciences, political sciences, media studies, and sociolinguistics (Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018). This contributed to enriching the study of *attitudes* by offering different perspectives and methods of analysis and interpretation (Bidaoui, 2020). Moreover, for attitudes to be fully understood, as well as their interactions with other related concepts such as behaviours, many more questions and areas need to be explored (Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018; Dragojevic et al., 2021). One area where experts did

not agree was on the definition of attitudes, which varied significantly in emphasis and complexity (McKenzie, 2010).

Perhaps one of the most frequently quoted, as well as one of the earliest, definitions of attitudes is that of Allport (1935: 810), who maintained that attitudes are psychological "state[s] of readiness" that are organised by individuals' experiences and which display a "direct and dynamic" impact on their responses to objects. Allport's (1935) definition of attitudes, which is based on *Jung's* use of the term attitude (Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018), clarifies what attitudes are in general by demonstrating their function and origin. On the other hand, according to Agheysi and Fishman (1970: 138), an attitude is a variable that mediates the relationship between various stimuli around an individual and that individual's response. In regard to the definition of attitudes by Agheysi and Fishman (1970), Fasold (1984) observes that this definition of *attitudes* presents a barrier to researchers since measuring *attitudes* would rely on individuals' reports of their attitudes, creating a validity problem. Perhaps Fasold's (1984) observation was an implication of involving behaviour in the definition of *attitudes*, similar to Baker (1992: 10), who defines attitudes as "hypothetical constructs" utilised to describe the nature and progression of human behaviours.

Considering the numerous definitions of attitudes, it appears that there are some characteristics of attitudes on which many researchers agree to some extent. For instance, many researchers accept that attitudes are *hypothetical constructs* (see Garrett, 2010). Indeed, varying from being considered as a mental state of readiness (Jung, 1923, as cited in Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018) to being viewed as a psychological construct (Allport, 1935), attitudes are hypothetical in the sense that they cannot be observed directly and must be inferred from their manifestations (Baker, 1992; Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003; Garrett, 2010). Moreover, many researchers view attitudes as evaluative reactions that are often assessed on a bipolar scale of favourable to unfavourable, or positive to negative (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005; Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010). The evaluative nature of attitudes entails that some object is being evaluated, such as a human, a language, or a location (see Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018; Dragojevic et al., 2021).

Moreover, one essential aspect of attitudes is that they are learnt through socialisation processes (Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018; Dragojevic et al., 2021). One element of Allport's (1935) definition of attitudes is that they are organised by the experiences of individuals, which implies that attitudes are learnt rather than inherited (see Baker, 1992). Garrett (2010: 22-23) identifies "*observational learning*" and "*instrumental learning*" as the two primary mechanisms of learning attitudes. Individuals,

for example, learn attitudes from family and friends through observation (observational learning), as well as through paying attention to the implications of attitudes and whether they offer benefits or drawbacks (instrumental learning) (ibid.).

Thus, given the semantic disagreement over defining attitudes, it is practical to use a general definition and expand on it by considering various aspects of attitudes (see Garrett, 2010). As such, it is useful to look at an attitude as "a person's evaluation of an [attitudinal] object on a favourable to unfavourable continuum" (Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018: 300; Dragojevic et al., 2021). Hence, the aforementioned definition of attitudes is the one considered for the purposes of the current study.

3.1.2. The Structure of Attitudes

Social psychologists seem to have less consensus about the structure of attitudes, which have been frequently identified with three components: *cognition*, *affect*, and *behaviour* (Dragojevic et al., 2021). The cognitive component of attitudes consists of the associations that individuals establish between objects and qualities (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005). That is to say, the cognitive component of attitudes refers to views about the nature of an attitudinal object (abstract or concrete) and its relationships to other objects (abstract or concrete). A relationship of this type can, for instance, be represented in a person's *belief*¹ that acquiring French will help them pursue a better career in Algeria (see for example, Belmihoub, 2018). In this example, the person formed a link between learning the French language (attitudinal object) on the one hand and pursuing a better career (another object) on the other hand. On the other hand, the affective component of attitudes refers to feelings and emotions that are related to an attitudinal object such as an individual's passion for poetry written in Classical Standard Arabic (CSA) (see Garrett, 2013; Al-Birini, 2016). In attitudinal studies from various fields, the affective component of attitudes is important because of its close relationship with the cognitive component (Garrett, 2010). As such, attitudinal enquiry should account for both individuals' cognition and affection towards attitude objects. This is because, while the cognitive component of attitudes is generally independent of emotions, individuals' cognition can be founded on or lead to affective reactions (Garrett, 2010). The behavioural component of attitudes refers to an individual's 'predisposition to act' in a given manner typically thought to be congruent with their cognition and affection (Garrett, 2010: 23). Similarly, Ajzen and Fishbein (2005) describe attitudes' behavioural component as an intention to act that does not result in or contain

¹ See the following section for the definition of *belief* and other related terms.

tangible behaviours. As such, the behavioural component equates with the cognitive component as being dispositions about the attitudinal object (ibid.). However, the two components differ in that the cognitive component refers to dispositions about the nature and aspects of the attitudinal object, whereas the behavioural component is concerned with dispositions about what should be done in regard to the attitudinal object.

The three-component model of attitudes explains positive attitudes as favourable cognitions, affections, and behaviours towards an attitudinal object, whereas negative attitudes emerge as a result of unfavourable cognitions, affections, and behaviours toward the attitudinal object (see Fazio and Olson, 2003). This model was criticised as it contains multiple problematic assumptions (Garrett, 2010). For example, the three-component model appears to equate cognition, affection, and behaviour towards an object on the one hand with attitudes toward that object on the other hand. However, several academics advise against equating the three components of attitudes with attitudes themselves (Garrett, 2010). According to Garrett et al. (2003: 4), the relationship between the attitude and its components should be evaluated in terms of causality. For example, a Tunisian individual's negative attitudes toward the French language can be triggered by an emotional reaction to the French colonisation of Tunisia or vice versa (see, for example, Gabsi, 2020). Furthermore, the three-component approach presupposes that attitudes must always include all three components. Azjen and Fishbein (2005), on the other hand, emphasise that an individual's attitude toward a particular attitudinal object can fall at distinct points on the three components. For instance, a Moroccan person may have a favourable cognitive response to French as being beneficial for a better profession while having a negative affective response to French due to its history in Morocco (see, for example, Bentahila, 1983). Another problematic assumption of the three-component model is that attitudes always determine behaviour (Azjen and Fishbein, 2005; Fazio and Olson, 2003). However, social psychological literature reveals that the link between attitudes and behaviour is complex depending on a variety of other circumstances (see, for instance, Azjen and Fishbein, 2005; Garrett, 2010).

One approach to attitudes holds that cognitive reactions (also referred to as *beliefs* in the following section) are the fundamental units of attitudes (see Dragojevic et al., 2021). This conceptualisation of attitudes is often referred to as *the expectancy-value model* (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975: 30; Ajzen, Fishbein, Lohmann, and Albarracín, 2018) As discussed in the previous section, attitudes are hypothetical constructs. As such, attitudes are referred to as hypothetical constructs since they are primarily formed through cognitive responses to an attitudinal object (Garrett, 2010). According to the expectancy-value model, individuals hold positive attitudes toward an attitudinal object when they associate positive

attributes with the object (positive cognitive response) and hold negative attitudes towards the object when they associate negative attributes with it (negative cognitive response) (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975: 31; Ajzen et al., 2018). Accordingly, when analysing attitudes toward an attitudinal object, researchers must examine the whole cognitive responses to the same object (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). Individuals' cognitive responses are accessible since people knowingly accept or dispute the existence of an attitudinal object and may convey what they think must be undertaken about that particular attitudinal object (see Baker, 1992).

3.1.3. Attitudes and Convergent Constructs

Attitudes overlap with other convergent concepts, which might be one of the challenges in identifying what attitudes are (see Garrett et al., 2003; Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010). Thus, exploring the areas of difference between attitudes and several related notions is crucial to improving our understanding of attitudes' nature. The term *opinion* is frequently used interchangeably with attitudes by laypeople, and even in the works of some researchers in the 20th century (see Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010). Baker (1992:14) differentiates between opinions being "overt beliefs" that may be expressed "verbally", whereas attitudes can be concealed and communicated via both "verbal and nonverbal processes" (see also Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010). Indeed, therefore, an individual's expressed opinion may not always match their actual attitude (Garrett, 2010). Furthermore, one aspect of Baker's (1992:14) definition of an opinion includes the term *belief*, which is also a convergent concept with attitudes (see, for example, Baker, 1992; Garrett et al., 2003; Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010). Beliefs are frequently considered in terms of the cognitive component of attitudes, making them a component of attitudes (Garrett, 2010). Moreover, Azjen and Fishbein (2005) accept that attitudes are evaluations of the traits associated with a belief about an object. As such, the attitude's evaluative aspect embodies the essential distinction between attitudes and beliefs. On the other hand, McKenzie (2010: 20) distinguishes between "descriptive beliefs," which include an individual's worldview, such as alcohol being damaging to one's body, and "prescriptive beliefs," which entail norms and rules, such as one should not consume alcohol.

One closely related term to attitudes is the term "*value*" (Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018). According to Albarracin and Shavitt (2018: 300), values are "attitude[s] toward an abstract entity." In this sense, while the subject matter of attitudes can be concrete (such as a person) or abstract (such as language), the subject matter of values is merely abstract entities (such as freedom or equality). Simply put, an individual's values serve as their guiding principles in making life choices (Oskamp, 1977, as cited in

Garrett et al., 2003: 10). Thus, the distinction between values and attitudes resides in the degree of specificity, with attitudes being more specific than values. Moreover, the term *motive* is another term linked to attitudes since both concepts are tied to behaviour in some manner (see, for example, Baker, 1992; Dörnyei, Csizér, and Németh, 2006). According to Baker (1992: 14), both an attitude and a motive refer to underlying inclinations influencing the direction of behaviour, but not influencing the external behaviour itself. For example, Dörnyei, Csizér, and Németh (2006) state that, in language learning, attitudes are seen to cause motivation, which, in turn mediates language learning. Similarly, *ideology* is a term that is often associated with attitudes (Garrett et al., 2003; Garrett, 2010). Ideology is broadly described as structured and "naturalised assumptions and values associated with a given social or cultural group" (Garrett et al., 2003: 11). The distinction between ideology and attitudes, according to Garrett (2010), is essentially one of perspective, focus, and methodology. Thus, while attitudes are the focus of social psychology, the study of ideologies is the focus of sociology and anthropology (ibid.). To sum up, all the aforementioned five constructions are linked to one another via complicated interplay. These five constructs have, to a varying degree, an impact on the development and change of attitude in many different ways (see Garrett et al., 2003).

3.1.4. Attitudes and Behaviours

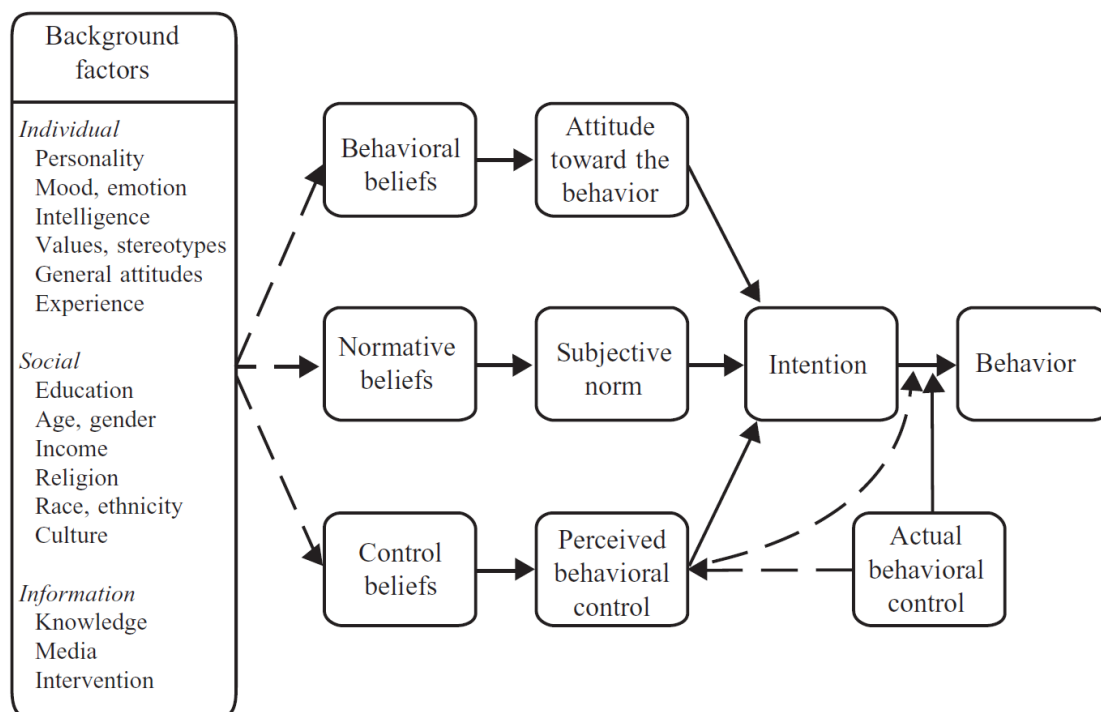
As discussed earlier, researchers disagree regarding the behavioural component of attitudes because of the intricate and complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour (see section 3.1.2.). Indeed, people's behaviours are usually inconsistent across situations and contexts; thus, attitudes cannot necessarily explain and predict behaviour (Ajzen, Fishbein, Lohmann, and Albarracín, 2018). While the focus on context may call into question a direct link between action and attitudes, attitudes are usually explored since they may be the source of behaviour (Albarracín and Shavitt, 2018). One of the most commonly referenced studies on behaviour and attitudes is La Piere (1934, as cited in Garrett, 2010: 25), who reported that American hotel and restaurant managers would host a Chinese family despite their negative attitudes toward Chinese people. It became clear that, contrary to popular belief at the time, attitudes do not always translate to corresponding behaviours and that the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is not always bidirectional (Ajzen et al., 2018). Many social psychologists later came to recognise that general attitudes cannot be adequately correlated with particular actions (ibid.). For example, in La Piere's (ibid.) study, the managers' generally negative attitude towards Chinese people did not correlate successfully with denying service to the specific Chinese family (specific action).

One line of thought starts with the particular, specific behaviour and attempts to uncover the origins of that behaviour (Ajzen et al., 2018). Representing this line of thought are Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) *Theory of Reasoned Action* and later *Theory of Planned Behaviour* (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005). Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) theory is one of the most influential theories in attitudes studies as it established the structure and organisational relationships of attitudes (see Garrett, 2010). Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) Theory of Reasoned Action focuses on behavioural intentions as an intermediate step between behaviour and attitudes (Ajzen, 2005; Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005; Ajzen et al., 2018). The theory is based on the assumption that humans are fundamentally motivated to learn about and engage with their surroundings (McKenzie, 2010). Moreover, According to Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) theory, the basic determinants of *intention* are *subjective norms* and *attitudes towards a particular behaviour*. The subjective norms are a person's beliefs about the social expectations concerning that specific behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005). An example of subjective norms would be an individual's perception of whether speaking in French is acceptable behaviour in a Moroccan family gathering (see, for example, Hachimi, 2012). An individual's attitudes toward a certain behaviour are influenced by the individual's assessment of the consequences of that behaviour as well as their beliefs about the behaviour itself (see Ajzen et al., 2018). An example of attitudes toward a behaviour would be the accumulation of a Moroccan individual's beliefs that speaking French would exert their education in front of their distant cousins, as well as their evaluations of speaking French being a beneficial tool in such a scenario.

The Planned Behaviour Theory was an extension of the Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen, 2005; Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005; Ajzen et al., 2018). According to the Planned Behaviour Theory, behavioural intentions are established not only through subjective norms and attitudes towards behaviour but also through the intervention of *perceived behavioural controls* (Ajzen et al., 2018). The perceived behavioural control refers to a person's perception of how easy or difficult it is to conduct a given behaviour (Ajzen, 2005). Such perceived behavioural controls are indeed determined by the whole collection of accessible control beliefs (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005). It is essential to consider that a wide range of cultural, personal, and contextual factors influence the cognitive foundations (beliefs) of subjective norms, attitudes toward behaviour, and perceived behavioural controls (Ajzen et al., 2018). Hence, as a result of socialisation differences, people of diverse gender, ethnic, linguistic, and religious identities will hold different attitudes about a given behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005). Adapted from Ajzen and

Fishbein (2005: 194), Figure 3.1. is a diagram that explains the theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour.

Figure 3.1. The Theories of Reasoned Action and Planned Behaviour (Adapted from Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005: 194)



3.2. Theorising Language Attitudes

The preceding section covered a working definition of attitudes by using a general characterisation of attitudes and then considering the different aspects of attitudes. As such, the specific attitudinal object in language attitudes is the parameter that distinguishes them from general attitudes (see Garrett, 2010). According to Baker (1992:29), the phrase "language attitude" has been employed as a concept that encompasses evaluations of a wide variety of attitudinal objects. Baker (1992) further illustrates that the attitudinal object in Language attitudes includes languages, linguistic varieties, speakers, and learning situations and behaviours. Indeed, there might be a variety of potential relationships between the attitudes toward these numerous attitudinal objects. For example, a positive attitude towards a given language might occur with a negative view of its speakers, or vice versa (Schoel et al., 2012). Indeed, typically, a language bears social meanings and contains social markers of gender, ethnicity, and social class membership of its speakers (Milroy and Milroy, 2012). As a result, language attitudes have social, organisational, emotional, and individual

consequences, altering perception and decision-making (Giles and Billings, 2004). Thus, this section discusses the theoretical basis of the current study's conception of language attitudes.

3.2.1. Ideological Underpinnings for Language Attitudes

Linguistic varieties retain certain characteristics that relate to how they are perceived within a given speech community or within the wider social group, such as the whole country. In general, sociolinguistic and social-psychological research indicated two major socio-structural factors that interact with language attitudes, namely the *standardisation* ideology and *language vitality* (Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian, 1982). The standardisation ideology describes the tendency for favouring an idealised, homogenised, spoken language obtained typically from the higher class's spoken language (Dragojevic, Giles, and Watson, 2013). Such tendencies are viewed as common sense, maintaining not only a uniform worldview but also the belief in only one proper form of language (Milroy and Milroy, 2012; Dragojevic et al., 2013; Giles and Raki, 2014). A linguistic variety vitality is determined by the degree to which it is employed natively for one or more essential functions (Dragojevic et al., 2013). That is to say, when a language variation fulfils more significant roles for a larger number of individuals, its vitality increases (Kircher and Zipp, 2022). Indeed, a variety of internal and external aspects might influence language vitality in a given speech community (Ryan et al., 1982; Giles and Raki, 2014; Khilkhanova, 2015). The internal factors are related to the speaker themselves such as whether the speakers of a given variety are competent only in it or are competent in other varieties as well (Khilkhanova, 2015). In Morocco, for example, Ennaji (2005) contends that Berber speakers frequently employ Arabic or French in many domains, which may have impacted the vitality of Berber in Morocco. Moreover, the external factors that influence language vitality are related to the socio-political environment such as the educational system and the language policy (Khilkhanova, 2015). For example, Bentahila (1983) contends that the marginalisation of Berber in language planning and language policy might have relatively reduced its vitality in Morocco.

Language ideologies are socially shared beliefs about language nature and how it should be used in society, explaining to individuals the relationship between social categories and linguistic phenomena (Dragojevic et al., 2013). Typically, language ideologies are generated by dominating groups to reflect their interests (Milroy and Milroy, 2012). However, in cases when different varieties of Arabic from the same country are considered, it is not the standard variety that represents the dominant group (Ibrahim, 1986; Al-Birini, 2014, 2016; Ech-Charfi, 2021). For instance, Ibrahim (1986) argues that distinguishing between status varieties and Standard varieties is critical in the Arabic setting.

Ibrahim (1986) adds that many researchers had been misled into associating standard Arabic with status, whereas evidence from a variety of participants from Arab nations demonstrated that urban vernacular Arabic had an attitudinal edge over other varieties. Indeed, sociolinguistic and social-psychological research on language evaluation in the current Arabic speech communities appears to agree that urban dialects are viewed as more important than rural dialects (see Al-Birini, 2014). The supremacy of urban Arabic is held not just by city dwellers but also by rural individuals, regardless of whether they reside in the countryside or have relocated to the city (Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi, 2017). Even in nations where industrialisation did not necessarily cause urbanisation, the belief in the dominance of urban Arabic is accepted as common sense (Ech-Charfi, 2021).

There are three semiotic mechanisms through which individuals construct ideological beliefs regarding sociolinguistic variation (Irvine and Gal, 2000). The first is the *Iconisation* process, in which individuals fundamentally connect linguistic features to social groupings based on their own experience with those features (ibid.). Consequently, the variety's linguistic features are viewed as symbolic of the speakers' identities (Dragojevic et al., 2013). *Fractal Recursivity* is the second process, which relates to the construction of the "other" based on the relationship between language and its speakers created through the Iconisation process (Irvine and Gal, 2000). One core idea related to the principle of Fractal Recursivity is that differences that separate certain social groups from one another on larger scales may also be found inside those groups (Hachimi, 2012). As such, since it functions on several levels, the Fractal Recursivity process is engaged in both constructing an identity for a specific social group as well as further dividing the group into sub-identities (see Irvine and Gal, 2000). The third process is *Erasure*, which assists individuals in ignoring any factors that are inconvenient or contradict the ideology of distinction (ibid.). As such, the Erasure processes aid individuals in establishing and advocating the differences established by the previous two processes (Iconisation and Fractal Recursivity) (Dragojevic et al., 2013). Even though the three processes of language ideology construction are intertwined, the Iconisation process is the most essential since the other two contribute to it (Irvine, 2001). Within Arabic-speaking communities, individuals tend to view rural and Bedouin Arabic varieties as deficient in modernity and economic value, and they project these representations onto rural and Bedouin Arabic speakers by downgrading their education and abilities (see Al-Wer, 2017; Hachimi, 2012; Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi, 2017; Al-Birini, 2021; Ech-Charfi, 2021). As a result, factors that are inconsistent with these assumptions are either rejected as invalid or ignored entirely (Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi, 2017).

3.2.2. The Multi-dimensionality of Language Attitudes

As previously stated, there is semantic debate in the definition of attitudes (see section 3.1.1.). Certainly, the presence and longevity of numerous definitions of attitudes strongly indicate the concept's multidimensionality. Theoretical analyses of attitudes show that there appear to be two essential characteristics driving social evaluation, despite being named and defined differently throughout time and research areas. Regardless, a century of research has demonstrated that these various sets of dimensions all share a fundamental concept (see Kircher and Zipp, 2022).

The existence of two dimensions in the social evaluations of attitudinal objects has its tradition in the socio-psychological literature on person perception (Dragojevic et al., 2021). For example, Rosenberg, Nelson, and Vivekananthan (1968) were among the first to establish that two dimensions structure how individuals perceive other individuals in terms of personality qualities, namely *socially good–bad* and *intellectually good–bad*. Social evaluations, like person perception, appear to converge along two dimensions as well (Dragojevic et al., 2021). Glick and Fiske (1996: 491), for example, argued that prejudice against women takes the form of "*benevolent sexism*" and "*hostile sexism*". According to Glick and Fiske (1996), benevolent sexists evaluate women highly in *warmth* but lower in *competence*, holding that men must provide for women, whereas hostile sexists evaluate women highly in *competence*, holding that women compete with men. As such, whereas both benevolent and hostile sexism are independent concepts, they overlap in their reliance on the two basic dimensions of warmth and competence (ibid.). Afterwards, Fiske et al. (2002) advocated in a later paper for the expansion of Glick and Fiske's (1996) dual-dimensional framework for social evaluations beyond gender prejudices.

In the study of social evaluations of speech varieties, Baker (1992: 31) described two underlying components of language attitudes, namely *instrumental attitudes* and *integrative attitudes*. Instrumental attitudes are concerned with the utility of learning a language, such as obtaining a job or improving one's self-esteem. Integrative attitudes are associated with the necessity for social cohesiveness and inclusion within a speech community. Possibly Baker's dimensions are illustrative of the ubiquitous dimensions of *status* and *attractiveness* in language attitudes (see Kircher and Zipp, 2022). On the other hand, Zhan and Hopper (1985) examined language attitudes from a different angle, representing language attitudes by three distinct dimensions: *attractiveness*, *superiority* and *dynamism*. For Zhan and Hopper (1985), attractiveness is related to a set of characteristics that make the attitudinal object pleasant and appealing. Moreover, the

superiority dimension is connected to the set of characteristics that render a given language prestigious in comparison to other attitudinal objects, while the dynamism dimension is associated with activity level and self-presentational features of speech (ibid). Indeed, several researchers have shown that Zhan and Hopper's (1985) evaluative dimensions may be further reduced into two main dimensions that explain most disparities in attitudes towards languages, namely social status and social attractiveness (see McKenzie, 2010: 47).

In terms of social status, urban Arabic varieties have a strong attitudinal advantage over rural and Bedouin Arabic varieties (see, for example, Benrabah, 1994; Al-Birini, 2014; Ech-Charfi, 2021) (see section 4.3.). This phenomenon is typically attributed to the fact that language varieties spoken by dominant groups are likely to have social status (Kircher and Zipp, 2022). Furthermore, Bedouin and rural varieties are often rated higher in terms of social attractiveness (see section 4.3.). However, there have been reported occasions when even speakers of Bedouin and rural Arabic varieties may have a negative perception of their variety's attractiveness (see Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi, 2017). Similar instances have been observed in societies where there has been a deep-rooted class imbalance, causing minority groups to perceive themselves as subordinate and secondary, thus this acknowledged inferiority is duplicated as an example of self-derogations (see Kircher and Zipp, 2022). As a result, the evaluative dimensions of social status and social attractiveness are not to be viewed as mutually exclusive (ibid.). In the field of person perception, nevertheless, Yzerbyt, Provost, and Corneille (2005) found evidence that the evaluative dimensions had a *compensating effect*, which implies that if a person is evaluated higher on one dimension, they are often evaluated lower on the other dimension. For example, Yzerbyt et al. (2005) found that French and Belgian participants evaluated French and Belgian individuals much higher on one evaluative dimension and lower on the other, with the two dimensions mutually exclusive.

Typically, the dimensions of status and attractiveness are intimately linked to the two primary socio-structural factors of language attitudes, standardisation and vitality (see above) (Ryan et al., 1982; Dragojevic et al., 2013; Giles and Rakić, 2014; Kircher and Zipp, 2022). Standard varieties that have high vitality are likely to be favoured on both the status and attractiveness dimensions (Kircher and Zipp, 2022). For example, in the evaluations of Arabic variations by Arabic speakers, Standard Arabic (particularly MSA) is ranked higher in terms of status and attractiveness in comparison to Arabic vernaculars since it is standardised and has a relatively high vitality (see, for example, Al-Birini, 2016). Furthermore, a non-standardised variety with poor vitality is likely to be rated the lowest in terms of both status and attractiveness (Kircher and Zipp, 2022). In the United Kingdom, for

example, Hiraga (2005) found that English spoken in Birmingham was rated the lowest in terms of status and attractiveness since Birmingham English is not standardised and is relatively low in vitality (see section 4.1.). Furthermore, when a variety is non-standard but has relatively high vitality, it is generally rated highly on attractiveness and poorly on status, whereas the opposite is frequently recorded in the case when a variety is standard but has relatively poor vitality (Kircher and Zipp, 2022). In Morocco, for example, Berber is rated favourably on attractiveness but negatively on status, and French is rated favourably on status but negatively on attractiveness, because Berber is not standardised but has a relatively high vitality in Morocco, while French is the opposite (see Bentahila, 1983; Ennaji, 2005; Chakrani, 2013).

3.2.3. Language Attitudes input and output: An Explanatory Framework

Language attitudes can be viewed as a result of social action or as a source of social action (Garrett et al., 2003; Garrett, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021; Kircher and Zipp, 2022). This is especially useful in the current study, which seeks to analyse language attitudes' triggers and socioeconomic implications in Algeria. Specifically, in the case of linguistic triggers, language attitudes are the consequence of some social activity (language use). Similarly, in the case of socioeconomic implications, language attitudes are the cause of some social action (perceived employability). As such, this section accounts for the theoretical underpinnings on which the current study is based in order to analyse linguistic triggers and socioeconomic consequences of language attitudes in Algeria.

3.2.3.1. *Language Attitudes as Outputs of Linguistic Features*

As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, it is well-documented that Arabic speakers often evaluate rural and Bedouin Arabic speakers less positively in terms of status than urban Arabic speakers but often perceive these varieties more favourably in terms of attractiveness (see section 4.3.). Two processes could be pertinent to such a pattern of evaluation of Arabic variations among Arabic-speaking nations, namely *categorisation* and *stereotyping*. Broadly similar to the iconisation process described earlier, categorisation refers to the cognitive process through which individuals utilise linguistic cues to guess the speaker's social group affiliations (see Dragojevic et al., 2021). On the other hand, stereotyping refers to the process by which individuals attribute traits associated with the social group to the linguistic cues used by such a group (ibid). It is worthwhile noting that socially learned associations between linguistic cues and *stereotypes* are what trigger

language attitudes rather than any inherent characteristics of language per se (see Garrett, 2010; Kircher and Zipp, 2022).

The present study draws from the categorisation process as a starting point to investigate linguistic triggers of language attitudes in Algeria. Indeed, from a sociolinguistic standpoint, linguistic and verbal stimuli tend to motivate listeners to categorise the speakers into social categories, with a focus on distinctions between "us" and "them" (Formanowicz and Suitner, 2020). That is to say, listeners infer the speaker's social group based on whether the speaker belongs to an ingroup or an outgroup of the listener. Specifically, different linguistic cues might activate multiple levels of categorisation depending on the listeners (see Dragojevic et al., 2021; Dryden and Dovchin, 2021; Kircher and Zipp, 2022). For example, *Fessi* Moroccan Arabic vernacular might trigger a regional category for a Moroccan Arabic speaker (such as Fess), a national category for an Algerian Arabic speaker (such as Moroccan), and a North African category for a Syrian speaker (see Hachimi, 2015, 2017). As such, the *salience* of a given linguistic variety depends on the listener.

In broader terms, salience refers to whether a particular linguistic trait is noticeable enough to influence variables connected to language usage and perception (see Boswijk and Coler, 2020). In sociolinguistics, salience has been identified in relation to Labov's notion of *marker* and *indicator* variables (Trudgill, 1986; Hickey, 2000; Boswijk and Coler, 2020). *Markers* are sociolinguistic factors that might vary depending on a person's social background and stylistic preferences (Hickey, 2000). Indicators, on the other hand, are sociolinguistic variables that are not directly involved in systematic variation in the formal-informal continuum (ibid.). In this situation, markers could be considered salient variables whereas indicators would not (Boswijk and Coler, 2020). Moreover, salience is a characteristic that a linguistic feature acquires dependent on how different speakers perceive it, placing it at the centre of attitudes toward language (Trudgill, 1986; Preston, 1993). As such, language features that are overtly degraded or overtly assigned high status are by their very nature salient to the listeners who perceive them as such (Trudgill, 1986:11).

Salience is frequently discussed in terms of prediction and expectedness. As such, Boswijk and Coler (2020: 717) list three types of factors that are related to salience:

1. *Predictability*: infrequent features are unexpected or surprising, which makes them stand out and more salient. On the other hand, frequent features are more easily accessible, which makes them easier to process and more salient. As such, features on both ends of the "predictability spectrum" can be considered salient.

2. *Top-down salience*: external sources provide a context in which something becomes salient.
3. *Bottom-up salience*: there is an intrinsic property of the feature that makes it more noticeable.

Additionally, the salience of a specific linguistic trait depends on its frequency, both high and low (Hickey, 2000; Boswijk and Coler, 2020). That is to say, a trait stands out and is more likely to be evaluated when it is less frequent and more surprising (Boswijk and Coler, 2020). Alternately, a linguistic feature will become more recognisable the more frequently it is used, which in turn makes it more likely to be evaluated (Hickey, 2000). Accordingly, since its relation to frequency, Preston (1993) argues that the laypersons' imitation of a linguistic variety provides patent proof of the salience of the imitated linguistic variety.

3.2.3.2. *Accentism: Socio-Economic Output of Language Attitudes*

The current study uses Dryden and Dovchin's (2021) notion of *Accentism* to explore the socioeconomic repercussions of Algerian Arabic speakers' perceptions of the nomadic variety for nomadic individuals in Algeria. According to Dryden and Dovchin (2021), *Accentism* refers to ideological and perceptual stances used to comply, legitimise, resist, and/or oppose uneven power resulting from inferences about the speakers' accents. Furthermore, Dryden and Dovchin (2021:3-4) divide *Accentism* into two forms, namely *covert accentism* and *overt accentism*. 'Covert accentism' refers to linguistic *biases* and unequal treatment caused by the speakers' accents that might arise in a subtle, indirect, and hidden manner (ibid.). On the other hand, 'overt accentism' refers to explicit *biases* and *discriminatory* activities in which individuals deliberately criticise, mimic, or make jokes about other individuals' accents (ibid.). Relevant to the current concept of accentism are thus the notions of *stereotype*, *prejudice*, *bias*, and *discrimination*. The present study uses the term *stereotype* to refer to beliefs and opinions about the qualities, characteristics, and actions of a given group's members (Kite and Whitley, 2016:13). Moreover, the terms *prejudice* and *bias* are used interchangeably in this study to refer to an unfavourable evaluation of members of a certain social group solely because they are members of that specific social group (Kite and Whitley, 2016:15). Finally, the term *discrimination* is used in this study to refer to the act of treating someone differently from others based largely on membership in a given social group (Kite and Whitley, 2016:16). That is to say, *discrimination* is of a behavioural nature.

Accentism has been explained using the *social identity* framework (Formanowicz and Suitner, 2020). According to social identity theory, individuals see a social group as

a *category prototype* in their minds (Giles and Raki, 2014). The category prototype is a vague set of meaningfully connected features that reflect both in-group commonalities and cross-group distinctions (Hogg and Smith, 2007). Such perceived features might include people's appearances, behaviours, actions, and feelings (ibid.). The boundaries of social groupings are mapped out by prototypes since they explain how one group differs from another and what makes it unique (Formanowicz and Suitner, 2020). Ingroup and outgroup prototypes are commonly shared in varying degrees of agreement between individuals (Giles and Raki, 2014). These in-group and out-group categorisations together with the *depersonalisation* process account for attitudes (Hogg and Smith, 2007). Depersonalisation refers to the cognitive process in which people are seen as group members who are prototypical of the group rather than as individuals with distinctive personalities (ibid.). As such, the in-group out-group categorisation is the cognitive process that results in depersonalisation, which, in turn, accounts for the attitudes (Formanowicz and Suitner, 2020). As a result, language attitudes are the result of assigning stereotypes after using language signals to determine if a person is a member of an in-group or out-group (Garrett, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2013; Dragojevic et al., 2021).

The focus of the present study is on overt accentism in the setting of Algeria, with an emphasis on prejudices and social stereotyping against nomads. Indeed, accentism research has accounted for the uneven power relations between speakers with different accents (see section 4.1.). Because accent influences one's *social identity*, position, and competency, even native regional accents can elicit unfavourable reactions from dominant groups with hegemonic ideologies (Formanowicz and Suitner, 2020). In Arabic speech communities, the dominant group variety is often the urban Arabic variety (see section 4.3.). There are various theoretical accounts, not all of which are mutually exclusive, that might aid in characterising the power dominance of urban Arabic varieties over rural and Bedouin varieties in different Arabic speech communities. One of the accounts refers to the city as a centre for education, trade, and wealth (see, Al-Wer, 2007; Milroy and Milroy, 2012; Ech-Charfi, 2021). Indeed, these domains, along with others such as administration, are what determine status in Arabic nations, if not the entire world (see, Al-Wer, 2007; Milroy and Milroy, 2012). As a result, the widely held perception of the city's dominance over rural regions gives moral and logical justification for the supposed superiority of urban Arabic speakers over rural and Bedouin Arabic speakers (see Ech-Charfi, 2021). Undoubtedly, the capitalist system has marginalised rural inhabitants as the industry has taken precedence over agriculture, labelling all rural people as crude, primitive, unsophisticated, and archaic (Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi, 2017).

3.3. Methodological Foundations for Language Attitudes

The study of language attitudes has yielded several paradigms that, when combined, can help us comprehend the relationship between attitudes toward language and social activity among social groups. *The language assessment paradigm*, for example, focuses on attitudes toward language, typically by direct elicitation of attitudes (see Baker, 1992). The *speaker evaluation paradigm*, on the other hand, is generally concerned with evaluating speakers of linguistic varieties, typically by *indirect elicitation* of attitudes (see Dragojevic et al., 2021). Another paradigm investigated the influence of attitudes on particular activities such as language learning, language planning, and language policy, adopting a variety of attitudes elicitation techniques such as *direct*, *indirect*, and *social treatment* elicitation of attitudes (see Garrett, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021). The current section examines some of the techniques employed in each of the attitudes elicitation paradigms in order to cast light on the techniques used to investigate language attitudes in the current study.

3.3.1. The Social Treatment of Language

The societal treatment paradigm is concerned with the active and direct observation of language attitudes derived from discursive content (Garrett, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021; Kircher and Zipp, 2022). As a result, the societal treatment paradigm typically does not entail asking participants to report linguistic attitudes (Dragojevic et al., 2021). For example, a researcher employing the societal treatments approach would use discourse analysis to examine language attitudes in newspapers and other printed media (see Dragojevic et al., 2021; Walsh, 2022). The advantage of analysing print media is that it is a plentiful supply of data since it has a big audience and conveys ideological and political statements (Walsh, 2022). On the other hand, a disadvantage of print media discourse analysis is that it often allows for the examination of very small samples of data, making it difficult to generalise conclusions when they are found from such small data samples (ibid.). Moreover, not very dissimilar from the discourse analysis of print media is the content analysis of social media (see Walsh, 2022; Durham, 2022). Researchers examine how linguistic variations are discussed, classified, or stereotyped online by looking at what has already been uploaded rather than encouraging individuals to give data in any manner (Durham, 2022). One of the advantages of the social media content analysis approach is that it allows researchers to quickly collect vast volumes of naturally occurring data (Durham, 2022). Conversely, the same benefit is a drawback since, given the number of posts included in the study, it is not possible to obtain demographic data on the individuals who own the post (ibid.). Overall, many language attitude researchers have criticised the societal treatment approach, stating

that it is not a reliable method for collecting attitudinal data (McKenzie, 2010: 41). McKenzie (ibid) goes on to suggest that the social treatment strategy can be beneficial in scenarios when data availability is limited due to time or circumstance constraints.

3.3.2. The Indirect Elicitation

Indirect techniques to elicit attitudes require participants to reveal their attitudes about language in subtle ways, typically by concealing the aim of the study from the participants (Fasold, 1984; Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010; Kircher and Zipp, 2022). The indirect methods of eliciting attitudes are based primarily on the speaker evaluation paradigm, in which participants rate a series of speech stimuli representing different varieties on an evaluative scale (Garrett, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). For example, *the theatre-audience* technique involves addressing a theatre crowd over a loudspeaker and asking them to complete a survey (Kristiansen, 2022). Multiple versions of the same procedure are carried out utilising different linguistic varieties each time (ibid). The major disparities in how the questionnaires were completed are then used as evidence of a difference in language attitudes by comparing the ratio of replies to the total number of tickets sold (ibid.). The theatre-audience technique can be advantageous in that it allows for the measurement of behavioural reactions in a natural context (Kristiansen, 2022). However, the theatre-audience approach has several issues that are related to the participants since it is extremely difficult to get the same audience members to respond to different speakers each time (ibid.).

The *matched-guise test*, pioneered by Canadian psychologists *Wallace Lambert* and his colleagues in their study of language attitudes toward French and English in Canada, is one of the earliest techniques of the indirect approach (see Garrett, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022; Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). Participants in matched-guise tests typically listen to audio recordings of readings of the same text that were produced using several linguistic varieties (Garrett et al., 2003; McKenzie, 2010; Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). Ideally, unconscious that they are hearing the same speaker repeatedly, the participants are asked to rate each recording according to a number of attributes, such as smartness, humour, and shyness (McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021; Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). Moreover, since the purpose of the study is often concealed from the participants, the matched-guise test has the benefit of being immune to *social desirability bias* (Garrett, 2010; Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). The social desirability bias describes people's tendency to respond in a way that is desirable or acceptable to society to put themselves in the best light (see Garret et al., 2003; Kircher, 2022). Furthermore, because

the matched-guise test has been used and replicated in a variety of contexts, the method enables the comparison of results from studies that were conducted in contexts that were similar to and dissimilar from each other (Garrett et al., 2003; McKenzie, 2010; Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). As such, the matched-guise has contributed enormously to the development of multidisciplinary investigations of language attitudes that combine sociolinguistic and social psychological perspectives on language attitudes (McKenzie, 2010). However, despite its evident benefits, the matched-guise is not immune to criticism (Garrett et al., 2003; McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022; Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). In essence, the drawbacks that were raised against the matched-guise test helped develop the *verbal-guise* test (McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). Similar to the matched-guise test, the verbal-guise test involves the judges listening to different recordings of linguistic varieties; unlike the matched-guise test, however, the verbal-guise test involves the recording of multiple speakers as opposed to only one speaker creating the guises (McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). Considering that the verbal-guise test is one of the key methods used in the current inquiry, this section will discuss the shortcomings of the matched-guise in comparison to what the verbal-guise offers in contrast.

The technique by which the speech stimuli are produced is the primary distinction between the verbal-guise and the matched-guise (Garrett et al., 2003; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). In contrast to the matched-guise, where each speaker performs all the guises, the verbal-guise involves many speakers (Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). As such, the verbal-guise is believed to overcome the *accent mimicking authenticity problem*, which faces the matched-guise rendering it hard to find one person who could accurately imitate all varieties investigated (Garrett et al., 2003:59; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). The verbal-guise also appears more advantageous in that it creates spontaneous speech instead of the conventional text reading assignments in the matched-guise (McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). Indeed, given that the speakers make a huge effort to code-switch between different varieties, it is extremely difficult to generate spontaneous speech in the matched-guise (Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022).

Even though the verbal-guise test addresses some of the key concerns about the matched-guise test, both tests still have significant shortcomings that the researcher must consider while designing the study (McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). To begin with, both tests are prone to *the salience problem* (Garrett et al., 2003:58). The salience problem is related to linguistic differences being highlighted more than they would

typically be as a result of extended exposure to the reading passage with repeated content (see Lee, 1971; Garrett et al., 2003; McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). However, it is thought that producing speech stimuli incorporating spontaneous speech might aid in overcoming such a deficit (McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022) (see also section 5.3.2.). Additionally, both tests are prone to shortcomings related to the message content of the speech stimuli (ibid.). Indeed, there is a chance that the discrepancies in the participants' evaluations of the speech stimuli are due to message content differences rather than linguistic ones (see Garrett, 2010). In order to address this weakness, researchers are urged to use factual neutral speech stimuli (Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022; Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). Furthermore, both tests are subject to drawbacks related to *context effects* (Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022: 208). That is depending on the setting or context in which ratings are reported, the same linguistic variety may be appraised in different ways (ibid.). However, researchers are urged to recruit participants from as many contexts and domains as they can in order to overcome such methodological limitations.

Researchers are recommended to take additional steps to ensure successful planning of the verbal-guise study in addition to the aforementioned design considerations. Firstly, researchers are encouraged to create audible, clear recordings for the speech stimuli since background noise in the recordings might lead to a negative evaluation (see Dragojevic et al., 2017). Secondly, it is encouraged that while recruiting speakers, to keep differences other than language to a minimum (McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). As such, speakers should be matched as precisely as possible on all extraneous factors, including gender, age, and education, to guarantee that the attitudinal differences are elicited as a result of the linguistic differences (ibid.). Thirdly, given that the study's aim is kept a secret from the participants, researchers are recommended to think about how to contextualise the study (Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). Participants are frequently just informed that they will be participating in a study that examines how individuals evaluate others only based on their voices, and they are asked to score each participant on a list of attributes based solely on how they talk (ibid.). Fourthly, and relatedly, researchers are urged to *debrief* their subjects after the data collection since such deception poses ethical concerns (McKenzie, 2010). That is to say, researchers must inform participants about the goals, methods, and scientific significance of the study as soon as possible after the data collection (ibid.:45).

Language attitudes are assessed using a variety of scales since they are evaluative reactions on a continuum of (un)favorability (see section 3.1.1.). Typically, matched-guise and verbal-guise studies employ *the Likert Scale* and *the Semantic differential*

scale (Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022; Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). In Likert scales, participants are required to evaluate speakers based on their level of agreement with a statement (for example, this person sounds friendly) (Oppenheim, 2001; Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). On the other hand, the semantic differential scale often involves asking participants to rate the speaker on pairs of bipolar attributes (for instance, friendly versus unfriendly) (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957; McKenzie, 2010; Loureiro-Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). Moreover, since semantic-differential scales are typically completed more quickly than Likert scales, there is less possibility that participants would overthink their responses, which lowers the risk of social desirability biases (Garrett 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). Semantic differential scales are therefore thought to be advantageous to Likert scales (Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022).

The construction of an odd number of interval points in the scale is typical in research that uses a semantic-differential scale to allow for the measurement of neutral attitudes (Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Loureiro-Rodríguez & Acar, 2022). Moreover, typically previous research employed either five or seven interval points in the scale (Garrett, 2010; Loureiro-Rodríguez & Acar, 2022). However, Lemon (1973) recommends the use of seven interval points. He further argues that seven is the ultimate number for the points of the scale, as fewer points were found to be irritating to respondents while more points were found to be confusing (*ibid.*) (see also Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Loureiro-Rodríguez & Acar, 2022). Moreover, researchers are urged to randomise differential scale traits to avoid confusion between similar differential scale traits and to minimise response skewing caused by the fixed positioning of the questions (see Garrett, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). In addition, researchers are urged to create unique semantic-differential scales since traits that evoke responses from certain speech communities are likely to be contextual (Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010).

3.3.3. The Direct Elicitation

As the name implies, the direct paradigm entails openly asking participants to report their language attitudes (see Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021). Unlike the societal treatment paradigm, the direct paradigm can produce both quantitative and qualitative data. Questionnaires are one of the most commonly used direct attitude investigation techniques that can produce quantitative data (Kircher, 2022). By providing closed-ended questions in which participants must choose one of the options provided by the researcher as answers to the question, questionnaires generate quantitative attitudinal

data (ibid.). On the other hand, questionnaires collect qualitative attitudinal data by asking direct questions to elicit self-reports about language attitudes through open-ended questions that allow participants to respond in their own way (Zipp, 2022). One of the benefits of questionnaires is that they are time and cost-effective, allowing for data collection from large populations in a relatively short time when compared to other approaches such as observation and interviews (Garrett et al., 2003; Kircher, 2022; Zipp, 2022). Questionnaires to gather quantitative attitudinal data, in particular, are simple and efficient techniques for collecting and analysing data (Kircher, 2022). The use of open-ended questions, on the other hand, has the advantage of allowing participants to voluntarily share their thoughts about the attitudinal object while minimising the bias that arises from providing them with multiple choices (Zipp, 2022). Given that questionnaires are standardised when distributed, the usage of questionnaires has the disadvantage of the question order impacting the participants' answers (see Garrett et al., 2003; Kircher, 2022; Zipp, 2022). Moreover, participants may become bored and leave questions blank if the questionnaire is too long or the language is too simple; conversely, they may not answer the questions if they are too hard as well (Kircher, 2022).

The *focus group* method is another technique that is employed in direct attitudes elicitation paradigms. Focus groups rely on the discussion among group members to elicit strongly held beliefs and opinions regarding language (Campbell-Kibler, 2013; Hornsby, 2022). Consequently, focus groups generate data that is qualitative in nature (Milroy and Gordon, 2003; Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2007). The focus group technique is advantageous in that it allows the researcher to explore the mechanisms involved in constructing attitudes towards a given group (Hornsby, 2022). This is because, during focus groups, new and relevant issues frequently surface, including those the researcher may have overlooked during the design (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). On the other hand, focus group discussions are subject to social desirability bias (Hornsby, 2022). Given that focus groups are by their very nature more public than face-to-face interviews, the likelihood of social desirability bias rises in focus groups more than in interviews (Hornsby, 2022). Indeed, the focus group data might not be as reliable, especially when topics are brought up that the group had not previously given much consideration to or when many of the responses that deviate from societal norms are suppressed (ibid.). However, the present investigation will solely analyse the focus group data from the pilot study for the purpose of generating the attributes for the semantic scale utilised in the verbal-guise study (see section 5.6.1.).

Adoption of *perceptual dialectology* techniques is another technique used in the direct attitudes elicitation paradigm (see McKenzie, 2010; Montgomery, 2012, 2022).

Perceptual dialectology is the investigation of 'non-linguists' perceptions of dialects and dialect variation' (Montgomery, 2022: 160). The field of perceptual dialectology aims to discover how laypeople perceive regional linguistic variation by investigating how laypeople perceive boundaries between dialectal regions (ibid.). The study of perceptual dialectology involves the use of several methods and techniques such as *draw-a-map tasks*, *degree of difference ranking tasks*, and qualitative open-ended questioning (see McKenzie, 2010; Montgomery, 2022). Participants in draw-a-map tasks are often asked to draw boundary lines on an empty map around places where they feel regional linguistic varieties exist (ibid.). On the other hand, the degree of difference ranking task involves asking participants to rank linguistic varieties as the same as, a little different from, different from, or unintelligibly different from their native linguistic variety (Montgomery, 2022). One advantage of employing perceptual dialectology approaches to explore attitudes is that it enables the discovery of findings that would not have been possible in more controlled research (ibid.). Although the current study does not use Perceptual dialectology approaches independently, it does, however, employ some elements of these techniques in the interview study (see section 5.4.1.). Participants in the current interview research are specifically queried about their categorisation of linguistic varieties in Algeria in order to provide the setting for assessing the participants' attitudes toward the nomadic variety in its surroundings.

Moreover, one of the oldest data elicitation methods in humanities and social sciences is the interview. Interviews, particularly *semi-structured interviews*, are also employed to elicit direct attitudinal data (see Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Karatsareas, 2022). In its most fundamental form, the interviewing process entails a researcher asking a participant for information during a speech event that mimics a one-on-one encounter (Karatsareas, 2022). When there is minimal room for open-ended questions during the interviewing process relying mainly on yes/no and multiple-choice questions, the interview is deemed structured (Milroy and Gordon, 2003; Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2007). Conversely, unstructured interviews are the exact opposite of structured interviews in that they provide participants with the flexibility to speak freely without following a particular plan (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). The *semi-structured* interview is in the midway of the spectrum between structured and unstructured interviews (Karatsareas, 2022). Semi-structured interviews can include yes/no questions to explore as many subjects as feasible, provided that they are virtually always supplemented by open-ended questions that request explanations, justifications, and examples (ibid.).

The semi-structured interview is one of the main methods used in the present study. As such, one should consider matters pertaining to the design and planning of the interview

study. Semi-structured interviews require thorough planning before data collection, much like any other research method (Karatsareas, 2022). This is especially true when ethical concerns pertain to the procedure, in which case careful planning is even more crucial (ibid.). To begin with, given that, particularly when the subject of language attitudes is involved, participants may feel uncomfortable answering some questions but may still feel obligated to attend the interview, the researcher must express appreciation and recognition for the participants' efforts to attend the interview (see Becker, 2013; Hoffman, 2014; Karatsareas, 2022). Moreover, the researcher must acquaint themselves with the context of the target group whose attitudes are explored (Becker, 2013; Karatsareas, 2022). Given that linguistic attitudes are heavily context-dependent constructs, this familiarity with the context is necessary (see above). Researchers are also advised to refer to a predefined protocol that outlines the questions that must be addressed because they risk missing some questions, particularly if the conversation is drawn out (Becker, 2013; Karatsareas, 2022). Furthermore, particularly in designing the interview questions, researchers should avoid misleading and loaded questions that pressure participants to answer in a given way (Oppenheim, 2001; McKenzie, 2010). Misleading and loaded questions typically assume unproven premises that the interviewees are likely to reject (Becker, 2013). For instance, asking if the participants believe Algerians ought to cease mistreating nomadic people automatically assumes that they do.

Employing interviews in the attitudinal project, much like any research method, has several advantages and disadvantages. For example, one advantage of interviews is that they generally produce in-depth qualitative data that engages the participants in a more intricate and complex way (Hoffman, 2014). Indeed, although interviews may not provide immediate access to the behavioural component of attitudes, they can provide the researcher with direct access to participants' own explanations of their emotions and cognitions (Karatsareas, 2022). This is often accomplished by establishing a friendly environment in which participants may express their opinions on language, building narratives around real-life experiences with problems like bias and discrimination (Becker, 2013; Karatsareas, 2022). As such, data collection through interviews does not limit participants with a pre-established set of evaluations contrary to the verbal-guise test for instance (see Oppenheim, 2001). Moreover, another advantage of interviews is that they provide the chance to gather information while engaging in casual conversations, which enables the researcher to recognise and respond to the participants' nonverbal clues (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970). On the other hand, the interview has several disadvantages in an attitudinal project. Much similar to focus group discussions, interviews are prone to social desirability bias (Garrett, 2010; Kircher, 2022).

The risk of social desirability bias will, however, likely be reduced by assuring the participants of their privacy and anonymity (McKenzie, 2010). Furthermore, interviews are speech segments that depend on the social and cultural context rather than straightforward questioning sessions intended to collect factual data on people's language attitudes (Karatsareas, 2022). As such, interviews will depend on the relationship between the researcher and the interviewee. However, if the researcher is aware that their interpretation of the data may have an impact, such an effect of the context on the interview process is likely to be lessened (Braun and Clarke, 2019; Byrne, 2021).

3.3.4. A Coalescence: Mixed-Methods to Study Language Attitudes

Many language attitudes experts have long recognised the benefits of combining direct and indirect techniques from both qualitative and quantitative approaches (see Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021; Kircher and Hawkey, 2022). Indeed, excessive dependence on any particular research method might lead to distorted data and inaccurate findings, given that each method has adherent limitations (McKenzie, 2010). As such, a mixed-method approach is advised since different techniques are likely to complement one another and contribute to a robust study design (Kircher and Hawkey, 2022). Moreover, although social scientists criticise the mixed-method approach for presumably emphasising convergent outcomes, linguistic attitudes research is anticipated to provide divergent or even contradictory findings from mixed-methods (*ibid.*). This is due to the fact that various strategies for eliciting linguistic attitudes operate at various levels of consciousness and are analysed using various frameworks (Garrett, 2010). That is to say, investigating language attitudes through a variety of methodologies is advantageous because it allows for a deeper understanding of the patterns of language attitudes, even when these patterns appear to be in conflict. This is because such patterns are dependent on the environment and the subject's level of consciousness toward language attitudes (Kircher and Hawkey, 2022).

Of course, employing mixed approaches does not necessarily improve data robustness because this is a planning and design-related issue. Furthermore, the appropriate methodology selection and integration rely significantly on the context, research questions, and objectives of the study (Kircher and Hawkey, 2022). Giving qualitative and quantitative techniques equal weight in the study is one way that, for instance, is likely to increase the resilience of the attitudinal project, since it allows for comparing the findings from both methods (*ibid.*). Moreover, the sequencing of the methods is of importance (see Oppenheim, 2001; Kite and Whitley, 2016; Kircher and Hawkey, 2022). This is especially crucial when

utilising indirect methods, which require hiding the study's purpose from the participants (see Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010). In general, the use of mixed methods offer an interdisciplinary view of language attitudes that is intended to add to the advancement of attitudes theory and enable practical action in support of social equality as a consequence (Kircher and Hawkey, 2022).

Summary

The present chapter reviewed the theoretical literature relevant to the current investigation. Firstly, the chapter began by looking into attitudes as a social-psychological construct. The section next explored language attitudes, including their nature and dimensions. In addition, the chapter discussed the measuring of language attitudes. Finally, the chapter was concluded with a review of the theoretical frameworks used to investigate language attitudes, linguistic triggers, and socioeconomic consequences in the Algerian environment.

The next chapter outlines the empirical foundations of the current investigation by assessing relevant literature related to language attitudes. The next chapter examines studies on linguistic attitudes from a broad to a narrow regional perspective. As such, studies are reviewed in the global context, then in the Middle East and North African context, and finally in the Algerian context.

Chapter 4 Language Attitudes in the Middle East and North Africa

Overview

The previous chapter discussed the theoretical groundings of the present study. The aim of this chapter, on the other hand, is to describe the empirical groundings of the present study by reviewing literature relevant to language attitudes. The current chapter begins with a review of language attitudes studies conducted outside of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) to identify the starting empirical grounds that encouraged undertaking the present study. Moreover, this chapter reviews attitudinal research in the MENA region, focusing on the languages examined as attitudinal objects. Subsequently, this chapter covers the literature on Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Arabic variations, given that the current study explores Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties that exist in their surroundings. Following that, the chapter analyses attitudinal research in Algeria, highlighting the lack of studies in Algeria. Finally, the current chapter establishes the study's niche by demonstrating the deficiency in knowledge surrounding language attitudes, causes, and repercussions in Algeria.

4.1. Language Attitudes: A Synopsis of Some Findings from Around the World

Since the pioneering studies of Lambert and colleagues in Canada in the 1960s, language attitudes research has revealed a wide range of consistent patterns in individuals' evaluations of linguistic variations, including different languages (Huguet, Lapresta, and Madariaga, 2008) and accented speech (McKenzie, 2010) (see Dragojevic et al., 2021). Typically, in multilingual speech communities, the language of the majority is rated the highest in terms of status (Baker, 1992; Garrett et al., 2003; Huguet et al., 2008; O'Hanlon and Paterson, 2019). For example, Huguet et al. (2008) used a questionnaire to probe the attitudes of 387 multilingual Spanish students towards local languages, including *Spanish*, *Catalan*, and *Aragonese*. Most students evaluated Spanish the highest in terms of status (ibid.). When several varieties of the same language are examined, it appears that people favour the standard variations over the accented versions, whether regional (see Hiraga, 2005; Hickey, 2000; Montgomery, 2012) or foreign-accented (see Dragojevic et al., 2016; Dragojevic, Berglund, and Blauvelt, 2017; Hansen, Rakić, and Steffens, 2018). The tendency to favour native speech over foreign-accented speech in terms of status extends to non-native speakers' evaluations of linguistic varieties (McKenzie, 2010; McKenzie and

Gilmore, 2017). For example, McKenzie (2010:02) investigated the direct and indirect attitudes of 558 L1 Japanese-speaking university students regarding various varieties of "inner circle"¹ English and "expanding circle"² English. The investigation found that Japanese students rated the inner circle variants the highest in terms of status (ibid.). In general, linguistic varieties within a particular speech community are ranked on a ladder of status, often correlating to the socioeconomic position of its native speakers (Dragojevic et al., 2021).

Regardless, non-standard varieties still can be rated more favourably than standard varieties on attractiveness (Hickey, 2000; Montgomery, 2012). This is often related to a *covert prestige* that is commonly associated with low-status varieties (Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1972). Indeed, Sociolinguists typically distinguish between two forms of prestige: *overt* and *covert*. Overt prestige refers to the favourable views that some linguistic variations receive as a result of perceived importance, which is frequently and publicly expressed within a specific speech community (ibid.). Covert prestige, on the other hand, refers to listeners' hidden and unconscious preference for some, often non-standard, linguistic varieties, notwithstanding their expressed preference for other overt prestige in the speech community (ibid.). For example, McKenzie (2010) found that Japanese university students rated heavily-accented-Japanese English higher on attractiveness even though they ranked it the lowest in terms of status. It is worth noting, however, that such reported covert prestige does not always apply to all speakers of low-status varieties. For example, Hiraga (2005) investigated the direct and indirect attitudes of 32 southern English speakers who are students at university. The study investigated attitudes towards British English varieties (Standard English (RP), West Yorkshire English, and Birmingham English), as well as American English varieties (Standard American English, Alabama English, and New York City English). Hiraga (2005: 297) reported that participants rated Birmingham English the least favourable on the status dimension and the one before the least favourable on the attractiveness dimension.

Language attitudes are primarily activated by linguistic cues since they involve social categorisation and stereotyping (see section 3.2.1.). However, there is empirical evidence that some circumstances make accents more or less meaningful in social interactions. For example, challenging the listeners' expectations by using (non)prestigious variety may

¹ According to McKenzie (2010:02), the "inner circle" includes nations where English is spoken as a native language (ENL) by a large (and typically monolingual) population, such as the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand, and Canada.

² According to McKenzie (2010:02), the "expanding circle" includes nations where English is taught as a foreign language (EFL) and utilised for worldwide communication, such as in commerce, trade, and leisure.

engender language attitudes. Hansen et al., (2018) conducted an experiment on 60 German university students to investigate how different accents and appearances affect evaluations of linguistic varieties. The experiment revealed that regardless of the person's appearance being fitting into the category of "foreign" and being expected to speak foreign-accented German, the Turkish-looking individual was rated positively when they spoke standard German (ibid.). Furthermore, there was statistical evidence that neither prior stereotype knowledge nor prior knowledge of linguistic cues was required to induce attitudes (see Dragojevic et al., 2021). For example, Kinzler, Dupoux, and Spelke (2007) conducted a study with 32 10-month-old infants from monolingual households in Paris (French) and Boston (English) (n=16 for each group). The experiment consisted of capturing people speaking in French and English alternately, then appearing side by side, smiling and silently passing a toy to the camera. The same toys appeared on a table within the infants' reach, giving the impression that the toys had appeared from the screen (ibid.: 12579). After recording the infants' toy choices, the study found statistical evidence that American infants chose the toy in the hand of the English speaker significantly more times than the toy in the hand of the French speaker, with the other way round results with the French infants (ibid.: 12579). The study is interesting as it suggests that infants held favourable attitudes toward native speakers while exhibiting negative perceptions toward non-native speakers without prior knowledge of language cues (see Dragojevic et al., 2021).

Several other factors may moderate triggering attitudes towards a given linguistic variety. For example, depending on the level of exposure that some linguistic varieties have in the public domain and the media, individuals may form opinions about the worth and significance of particular linguistic varieties and their speakers. (Dragojevic et al., 2021). Indeed, the film industry, and media in general, have not had the best track record when it comes to minority representation (see Gluszek and Hansen, 2013). For instance, according to Burandt and Kleiner (1998), minorities are typically victims of media representations that draw on prejudices and stereotypes to appeal to larger numbers of viewers. In this regard, Gluszek and Hansen (2013) conducted a content analysis investigation in America concerning media depiction of foreign-accented speakers. The study found that media depictions of Arabic, Eastern European, and Latinx accented English influenced social evaluations of these ethnicities in the United States (ibid.). Furthermore, O'Hanlon and Paterson (2019) performed a large-scale attitudinal study with 1229 Gaelic speakers from Scotland, employing interviews and computer-based questionnaires. The study investigated how exposure to Gaelic in the public sphere (such as signboards) and media interacts with Gaelic speakers' perceptions regarding their variety (ibid.: 81). The study found a significant

correlation between positive media and signage exposure to Gaelic and favourable attitudes towards Gaelic (ibid.: 87). It is important to note, however, that media representation is a delegate factor that impacts linguistic attitudes through other factors such as social interaction and dialect contact (Stuart-Smith and Timmins, 2014). Stuart-Smith (2014) found statistical evidence in the United Kingdom that media correlations with language usage in Glasgow were mitigated by other factors such as engagement and contact with other speakers outside Glasgow.

Language attitudes regarding a certain variety have been observed to impact the career prospects of its speakers. For example, *accentism* research in the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK) has suggested that speakers with foreign and regional accents may be prejudiced and not guaranteed access to equal opportunities with mainstream speakers (see Formanowicz and Suitner, 2020). Accentism refers to discrimination towards people based on their accents or linguistic preferences (ibid.). In the UK, Baratta (2017) interviewed 32 British teachers from north of England who underwent a year of training to become teachers in the south of England. The study revealed that, during the training, teachers were asked to drop their accents as "they did not sound professional" (ibid.: 422). Baratta further argues that the teachers believed such directions were motivated by linguistic prejudice rather than a desire to be understood, and that they were based on someone else's norms for "linguistic professionalism." (ibid.: 416). In the US, Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010) used verbal-guise to explore the language attitudes of 286 college students from California and Kansas, utilising job interview recordings of three speakers, namely Standard American English, French-accented English, and Japanese-accented English. The purpose of the study was to investigate the influence of candidates' accents on hiring decisions in four positions that varied in status and communication needs (ibid.). The study found evidence that Japanese-accented English speakers were negatively evaluated when applying to high communication-demand professions in California and Kansas based on assumptions that Japanese and Asians, in general, lack communication and social skills. Similarly, Huang, Frideger, and Pearce (2013) investigated the attitudes of 179 American university students from the Northeast towards white and Asian non-native speakers of English in comparison to native English speakers. The study found participants were less likely to employ Asian-accented English speakers (for example, Vietnamese-accented English) than white-accented English speakers (for example, French-accented English) although using the identical scripted replies in the speech stimuli (job interviews).

In many cases, speakers of regional and foreign-accented varieties may be seen as unskilled and might be convicted or attributed more guilt than speakers of standard varieties.

For example, in the UK, Dixon, Mahoney, and Cocks (2002) investigated the attitudes of 109 English speakers from Worcester towards Birmingham English and Standard English, employing a matched-guise test. The purpose of the study was to explore the influence of regional accents on guilt attribution (Dixon et al., 2002). The study found that when the speaker used Birmingham English rather than the standard accent, the participants evaluated them significantly more guilty. Furthermore, even when speakers of accented speech were considered capable of performing some professional jobs, those jobs did not often require intricacy or interaction with customers. For example, Timming (2017: 414) ran an experiment on 108 Americans from around the country to study their perceptions regarding "American-, Chinese-, Indian-, Mexican-accented, and British English" and the influence of such perceptions on employability. The findings revealed that managerial responders support discrimination against applicants speaking Chinese-, Mexican-, and Indian-accented English in telephone-based job interviews, demonstrating that all three were evaluated better in non-customer-facing occupations than in customer-facing jobs (ibid.).

4.2. Evaluations of Global and Local Languages in Arabic-Speaking Countries

Much of the research on language attitudes in Arabic-speaking countries has traditionally focused on Arabic speakers' attitudes toward local and global languages¹ (see Al-Birni, 2016). For example, the literature indicates an ambivalent pattern of attitudes toward French in many Arabic-speaking nations. On the one hand, in several Arabic-speaking countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, and Lebanon, Arabic speakers tend to hold French in high esteem regarding it as the language of education and modernity. In Morocco, for example, Bentahila (1983) employed questionnaires and matched-guise tests to investigate bilingual Moroccan college students' attitudes towards Arabic, French, and bilingualism. The findings revealed that Moroccan students evaluated Arabic the most favourably in terms of attractiveness and rated French higher for status, with the emphasis mostly on the instrumental usefulness of French in obtaining a job in Morocco (ibid). Moreover, Chakrani (2013) employed matched-guise and questionnaire to investigate the attitudes of Moroccan university students towards languages in Morocco. The findings revealed an association between modernity and French among Moroccan Arabic speakers. Broadly similar, using a questionnaire, Shaaban and Ghaith (2002) investigated the direct language attitudes of 179 Lebanese college students toward French, Arabic, and English. The findings revealed that Lebanese college students who held positive attitudes towards

¹ I use the phrase global languages to refer to languages spoken in the Arab world and beyond, whereas local languages refer to languages spoken predominantly in the Arab world.

French perceived it as the language of culture and education. On the other hand, French is typically rated lower than Arabic in terms of attractiveness. Bentahila's (1983) study in Morocco revealed that Moroccan students evaluated Arabic the most favourably in terms of attractiveness and associated it with pureness and religiosity. Shaaban and Ghaith (2002) revealed that those who held positive attitudes towards Arabic related it to the media, education, and communication. In general, unfavourable attitudes toward French appear to be founded on the fact that colonialism introduced French into the sociolinguistic situations of numerous Arab countries, including Mauritania, Tunisia, and Lebanon (Benrabah, 2013b; Sayahi, 2014, 2021).

Even though many Arab nations were exposed to English through colonialism, English is not often considered a colonial language in the same way that French is (Al-Birini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2020). Indeed, much of the literature reports a tendency to favour English among Arabic speakers, frequently viewing it to replace French in areas where French was a prominent language, such as in North Africa (see Belmihoub, 2015). For example, Chakrani (2013) reported positive attitudes towards English among Moroccan university students, particularly in relation to economy and education, suggesting that English is challenging French as the language of modernity in Morocco. Moreover, according to Shaaban and Ghaith (2002), most Lebanese college students favoured English and connected it with job prospect and prosperity given its worldwide status. Similarly, Esseili (2011) investigated the language attitudes of 401 Lebanese Arabic speakers by distributing a questionnaire to Lebanese Facebook groups. Esseili's study aimed to investigate Lebanese Arabic speakers' language attitudes towards Lebanese Arabic vernacular, Standard Arabic, French, and English (ibid.). The findings revealed that Lebanese Arabic speakers ranked English the highest in terms of importance (status) while French was ranked the lowest. Moreover, it was found that Lebanese Arabic speakers were increasingly interested in learning English more than French. Overall, the favourable attitudes towards English are extensively reported in the literature that involves language attitudes studies in Middle East and North Africa (see Al-Birini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2020; Sayahi, 2014, 2021; Shalaby, 2021).

Kurdish (in the Middle East) and Berber (in North Africa) are two minority languages that are widely spoken in the Arab world. Even though it is used in other Middle Eastern countries such as Syria and Jordan, the Kurdish language is only officially recognised in Iraq (see Al-Birini, 2016). Regardless, the Kurdish language is rated highly by its speakers in comparison to Arabic. Al-Khatib and Al-Ali (2010) used interviews, questionnaires, and observations to explore language attitudes toward Arabic and Kurdish among 100 Kurds

who lived in Jordan. The study found that, although most participants had minimal Kurdish fluency and used Arabic virtually daily, they still favoured their language (ibid.). On the other hand, Hama (2017, as cited in Shalaby, 2021: 134) administered 37 questionnaires to graduate Kurdish students in Iraq to investigate their attitudes towards Arabic and Kurdish. Iraqi Kurds appeared to have favourable attitudes toward Kurdish in terms of attractiveness, yet they preferred Arabic in terms of attractiveness and status due to the instrumental value of Arabic in obtaining an office job in Iraq (ibid.).

Patterns of attitudes towards Berber in north African countries are not very different from those towards Kurdish in the Middle East. In one of the most detailed attitudinal studies in North Africa, Bouzidi (1989) explored the direct and indirect attitudes of 682 Moroccan bilinguals towards Berber, Moroccan Arabic, MSA, and French. The study revealed that most Moroccan Berber speakers had positive attitudes toward their language and expressed regret in their parents encouraging them to learn Moroccan Arabic and French instead (ibid.). In terms of status, however, a relatively small number of participants agreed to use Berber in the educational system (ibid.). Similarly, Bentahila and Davies (1992) examined linguistic attitudes about Berber in Morocco, discovering a divide between Moroccan Berber and Arabic speakers' views toward Berber. Moreover, slightly different findings were reported in Tunisia, where Gabsi (2020) surveyed 80 informants of different ages, educational background, gender, and provenance. The survey revealed positive attitudes towards Berber in Tunisia following a political shift brought about by the Arab Spring, a wave of anti-government protests in several Arab nations between 2011 and 2020 (ibid.).

There is a growing body of attitudinal research in the Middle East and North Africa area investigating language attitudes toward linguistic minority populations. For example, Sereli (2017) performed an attitudinal study using observation and interviews to investigate attitudes toward *Siwi* and Egyptian Arabic among bilinguals in *Siwi* and Egyptian Arabic. The *Siwi* language is a minority language spoken in the north-western Egyptian oasis of *Siwa*. According to Sereli (2017), *Siwi* speakers used their native language to demonstrate solidarity with fellow *Siwi* speakers as they became aware of the use of *Siwi* in overcoming the communication gap with their ingroup members. Moreover, other attitudinal studies have looked into attitudes toward other minority local languages, such as the Nubian language, which is commonly spoken in southern Egypt and northern Sudan. For example, Abou Ras (2012, as cited in Shalaby, 2021:132) conducted attitudinal research to investigate the language attitudes of 40 Egyptian Nubian university students regarding Nubian and Arabic. The study found that those living in the south of Egypt are attempting to maintain their language by using it as often as possible at home (ibid.). Moreover, despite their lack of

proficiency in the Nubian language, many Nubians maintained favourable attitudes towards it. Regarding the future of the Nubian language in Egypt, Abou Ras (ibid) revealed that many Nubians declared they would allow their children to choose whether to acquire Nubian or Arabic.

4.3. *Arabic Speakers` Evaluations of Arabic Varieties*

Language attitudes research involving the evaluations of Arabic varieties by Arabic speakers often reports an attitudinal advantage for Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), favouring MSA over local Arabic vernaculars. For example, El-Dash and Tucker (1975) conducted a matched-guise involving 80 Egyptian Arabic speakers from different educational backgrounds. Investigating the participants attitudes towards MSA, Egyptian Arabic, and three English varieties, they found that the participants expressed the most positive attitudes towards MSA (ibid.). Similarly, Ennaji (2005) surveyed 124 Moroccan Arabic speakers in Morocco to explore their attitudes toward Moroccan Arabic, MSA, and French. According to Ennaji (2005), most Moroccan Arabic speakers preferred MSA (73%) over Moroccan Arabic (2%), perceiving the latter as a divergence from the norm (MSA). Furthermore, Saidat (2010) investigated the linguistic attitudes of 119 Jordanian Arabic speakers using interviews, questionnaires, and observations. Saidat (2010) found that Jordanian Arabic speakers preferred MSA over vernacular regardless of age, gender, or origin, even when their proficiency in MSA was poor. Indeed, the association of MSA with education motivated the increase of positive attitudes towards MSA among Jordanian Arabic speakers. Investigating language attitudes among 25 faculty members at *Balqa University* in Jordan, Mizher and Al-Abed Al-Haq (2014) reported high enthusiasm towards MSA, associating it with prestige and education. This is certainly to be expected given that education provides Arabic speakers with significant exposure to MSA, frequently resulting in a mastery of the language and possibly positive attitudes (Al-Birini, 2016; Shalaby, 2021). Similarly, the vernacular Arabic can be evaluated higher than MSA in the case of Arabic speakers with remote education (Murad, 2007). For example, Murad (2007) conducted a study in Iraq involving 196 educated and remote educated Iraqi Arabic speakers to assess their attitudes toward MSA and Iraqi Arabic vernacular. The findings suggested that people without a college degree preferred Iraqi Arabic over MSA (ibid.). Overall, the clear attitudinal advantage of MSA over local vernaculars among Arabic speakers is extensively reported in the literature (see, for example, Benmamoun, 2001).

When different Arabic vernaculars are concerned, the literature reports a tendency among Arabic speakers to favour *Eastern Arabic*¹ varieties over *Western Arabic*² varieties. It seems that Eastern Arabic is associated with purity and pan-Arab identity while Western Arabic is seen as a westernised and *Frenchified* variety (Hachimi, 2013, 2015, 2017; Al-Birini, 2016, 2021). For example, Herbolich (1979) conducted a matched-guise test involving 80 Egyptian Arabic speakers to explore their attitudes towards Arabic varieties used in Egypt, Saudi, Syria, and Libya. Egyptian Arabic speakers rated Egyptian Arabic the highest, Syria Arabic second, Saudi Arabic third, and Libyan Arabic the lowest (ibid.). Moreover, Hachimi (2013) explored the perceived hierarchical relationship between Eastern and Western Arabic varieties, employing a content analysis of a reality TV show *Star Academy Arab World*. Generally, Hachimi (2013) found that speakers of Western Arabic experienced mockery and humorous remarks, as well as the burden of correcting communication when it fails between them and Eastern Arabic speakers. In a following related study, Hachimi (2015) investigated the language attitudes of 52 Moroccan Arabic speakers towards Eastern and Western Arabic, employing a draw-a-map task for the first time in the Arabic language context. Hachimi (2015) found that Moroccan Arabic speakers favoured Eastern Arabic varieties, with younger generations favouring Syrian Arabic and older generation favouring Egyptian Arabic. Such findings were duplicated in Al-Birini's (2016) comparative study, which included surveying 691 college students from Morocco, Egypt, Saudi, and Jordan. Al-Birini (2016) reported that all participants favoured Eastern Arabic varieties. While Moroccan students preferred Syrian and Egyptian varieties, all participants, with the exception of Moroccan students, disliked Moroccan. However, views toward Western Arabic appear to have shifted recently in Morocco (Hachimi, 2017). Hachimi (2017) used content analysis to look at several Moroccan Facebook sites and found that using Moroccan Arabic was connected with devotion to a Moroccan identity. According to Hachimi (2017), these Moroccan Facebook pages criticised Moroccan celebrities who did not speak Moroccan Arabic in interviews with other Arabic speakers.

When the same country's Arabic varieties are evaluated, a typical tendency to link urban vernaculars with status dominates. In Arabic-speaking countries, urban vernaculars are often afforded more prestige than the standard variety in exchanges between urban and non-urban Arabic speakers (see Abdel-Jawad, 1986, 1987, 1989; Ibrahim, 1986; Al-Wer, 2007; Al-Birini, 2014; Ech-Charfi, 2021). The prestige of urban dialects is primarily

¹ Also known as *Meshriqi* Arabic, an umbrella term that involves Arabic varieties spoken in Gulf, Levant, and Egypt (see Owens, 2014)

² Also known as *Meghribi* Arabic, an umbrella term that involves Arabic varieties spoken in North Africa save for Egypt (see Owens, 2014)

determined by the city's supremacy as a hub of commerce and transaction (Al-Wer, 2007; Al-Birini, 2016; Bassiouney, 2020; Ech-Charfi, 2021). For example, Jordanian Arabic speakers favoured the urban reflex of [q] over the Bedouin reflex, associating the urban vernacular with modernity, status, and civilisation, according to Abdel-Jawad (1986). In Morocco, Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi (2017) surveyed 179 Moroccan Arabic speakers in *Fez* on their attitudes toward urban, rural, and Bedouin varieties of Moroccan Arabic. They found that most participants had favourable sentiments about the urban variety (*Fessi*), connecting it with high social status (Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi, 2017). Furthermore, Ismail (2021) interviewed 107 Saudi Arabic speakers from Riyadh about their attitudes toward [K], which is often used by urban speakers, and the affrication of the phoneme [K] which is common in Bedouin Saudi variants. Ismail (2021) revealed that many Bedouin Saudi speakers would use [K] instead of their affricate pronunciation for several reasons, one of which was positive attitudes toward the urban [K] and equating it to the correctness of speech. Al-Rojaie (2021) found similar results when he used the draw-a-map task to investigate the attitudes of 674 Saudis regarding the new Koiné of Saudi Arabic. Al-Rojaie (2021) found that Saudi Arabic speakers had favourable attitudes regarding Saudi Arabic Koiné, identifying it as the urban Saudi Arabic model. Such positive attitudes towards local urban varieties are extensively documented in many Arabic-speaking countries (see Ferguson, 1968; Abdel-Jawad, 1987, 1989; Al-Wer, 2002, 2007; Habib, 2010; Summers and Abd-El-Khalick, 2018; Al-Issa and Dahan, 2021; Shalaby, 2021).

Nevertheless, regarding social attractiveness, the Bedouin Arabic varieties are afforded higher ratings than urban and rural varieties, typically associating the Bedouin with the purity of origin. For example, Hussein and Al-Ali (1989) conducted a matched-guise investigating 303 Jordanian university students' attitudes towards MSA and urban, rural, and Bedouin varieties of Jordanian Arabic. Hussein and Al-Ali (1989) found that MSA was ranked the highest, followed by Bedouin and Rural, with urban being the least favoured variety. In Saudi, Ismail (2021: 99) found that Saudi Arabic speakers from *Riyad* favoured the Bedouin affrication of [k] for reasons related to general "positive emotional judgements" such as pride of the tribal origin. Similarly, Ech-Charfi (2021) reported that Moroccan Arabic speakers often associate Bedouin varieties with the purity of origin and eloquent poetry. Similar findings were reported in Qatar. For example, Al-Kababji and Ahmed (2021) distributed 60 questionnaires to Qatari Arabic speakers and interviewed eight Bedouin Qatari Arabic speakers. The study found that even though participants used the urban variety, they still favoured the Bedouin variety in relation to beauty and attractiveness. Indeed, according to Ferguson (1959), urban Arabic speakers often would favour their dialect, but in some

situations, they would prefer the Bedouin variety. Nader (1962) further explains that Arabic speakers would only favour other Arabic varieties if those speakers were in their hometown. However, when Arabic speakers travel beyond their native town, they are considered disloyal to their variation if they choose another one (ibid).

The social background of Arabic speakers was shown to interact with their evaluations of Arabic varieties. For instance, male and female Arabic speakers seem, to some extent, to hold different attitudes towards Bedouin and urban Arabic varieties. Al-Wer (2007) analysed 25 hours of sociolinguistic interviews from her Amman project, which aimed to describe the formation of the Arabic dialects spoken in Amman, Jordan's capital city. Al-Wer's (2007) data collection involved interviewing 20 Amman Arabic vernacular speakers, with eleven female speakers and nine male speakers. The analysis showed that Jordanian women tended to perceive urban speech features positively in contrast to Bedouin features, which they perceived negatively (ibid.). On the other hand, Al-Wer (2007) further reported that male Palestinian Arabic speakers in Amman favoured the Bedouin variety and associated it with masculinity. Similarly, according to Ech-Charfi (2021), urban dialects indexed femininity among Jordanian Arabic speakers, whereas Bedouin dialects indexed masculinity and toughness. In Egypt, Haeri (1995) investigated Arabic dialects spoken in Cairo and found that women were more likely than men to reproduce the urban variant of [q], to the extent where using an urban dialect was an index of femininity and prestige in Cairo. In Morocco, Hachimi (2012) conducted an ethnographic study with two women in Casablanca to explore their perceptions regarding Fessi Moroccan Arabic and Casablancon Moroccan Arabic. Hachimi (2012) revealed that the Bedouin articulation of /r/ was associated with being harsh and tough, and hence, with masculinity. Indeed, contextual elements such as space, time, and the individuals themselves are linked to such a relationship between language variation and gender perceptions. For example, Sadiqi (2003) attributes the discrepancy in men's and women's perceptions of linguistic variants in the Arabic world to the dichotomous expected norms of men and women. That is to say, the societal expectations assign men to the outside public space, which is a power position while assigning women to the inside private space, which is a subordinate position, restricting female's language choices in domains such as manual labour, which is dominated by Bedouin speakers (see Sadiqi, 2003; Haeri, 1995).

Positive attitudes towards urban Arabic varieties seem to decrease in accordance with age. For example, Al-Kababji and Ahmed (2021) interviewed eight Bedouin Qatari Arabic speakers and administered 60 questionnaires to random young Qatari Arabic speakers. Al-Kababji and Ahmed (2021) found that young Bedouin Qataris used urban Qatari Arabic and

had favourable attitudes toward it. In general, younger Qatari generations perceived the urban variation as prestigious, open-minded, and modern, while they praised the Bedouin variety solely for its masculinity and purity of origin (ibid.: 22). On the other hand, older Bedouin Qataris said it was inappropriate for younger generations to use the urban variety, describing the younger generation's transition to the urban variety as "shameful" (ibid.: 20). In Saudi, Al-Ahmadi (2016) administered 80 questionnaires to Urban Mecca Hijazi Arabic speakers in order to investigate their attitudes towards their variety. Al-Ahmadi (2016) reported that young speakers of Urban Mecca Hijazi Arabic had more favourable attitudes regarding the urban variant in terms of attractiveness than the elder generation. Similarly, the area of provenance seems to interact with Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic speech. For example, Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi, 2017 found that urban Moroccan Arabic speakers referred to Bedouins as *Urubia*, a derogatory term which reflects negative stereotypes about Bedouins in Morocco (see also Ech-Charfi, 2021). Similarly, Hachimi (2012) found that the Moroccan Arabic speaker from *Fess* (an urban Moroccan city) favoured urban [q] over rural [g] in terms of status and prestige as opposed to the speaker of Casablanca Moroccan Arabic. In Jordan, Hussein and Al-Ali (1989) reported that Jordanian Arabic speakers who live in urban areas favoured Bedouin and rural Jordanian Arabic in terms of attractiveness. Similar findings were reported in Qatar where Bedouin Qatari Arabic speakers tended to evaluate Bedouin Qatari Arabic more significantly than urban and rural varieties in terms of social attractiveness (Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021).

Moreover, in Arabic-speaking countries, phonological and discursive features of certain Arabic varieties were found to activate Arabic speakers' language attitudes toward these linguistic varieties. For example, Sawaie (1994) investigated the attitudes of 321 Jordanian Arabic speakers regarding MSA and urban, rural, and Bedouin Jordanian Arabic Vernaculars. The study found that the urban phoneme [ʔ], which is a reflex of [q], engendered the Jordanian Arabic speakers' prejudices against male urban Jordanian Arabic speakers (ibid.: 89). Furthermore, in Saudi Arabia, Ismail (2021) found that favourable attitudes of Riyadh-based Saudi Arabic speakers toward urban Saudi Arabic were activated by the phoneme [K], whereas their attitudes toward Bedouin Saudi Arabic were triggered by the affrication of the same phoneme (see above). Moreover, Bidaoui (2020) probed the indirect attitudes of thirty Arabic speakers from Saudi, Egypt, and Morocco towards their own varieties. Specifically, Bidaoui's (2020: 69) study involved asking Arabic speakers from each country to rate recordings involving three variants of the discourse marker "*I mean*" that are used in their respective countries. For example, Moroccan Arabic speakers were asked to rate recordings that involved three variants for the discourse markers "*I mean*"

used in Morocco namely, "yaʕnī" (MSA), "zeʕma" (Moroccan Arabic), and "Cela veut dire" (French) (ibid.). The research found statistical evidence that participants' ratings of the variations were strongly reliant on the discourse markers, regardless of their nationality (ibid.). As such, Bidaoui (2020) concluded that those discourse markers engendered attitudes of Arabic speakers towards the respective speech stimuli¹.

The reviewed literature above appears to show some consistent tendencies involving Arabic speakers' social evaluations of urban, rural, and Bedouin Arabic variations. In general, urban Arabic varieties are associated with status and education and are seen as a marker of modernity and education. The favourable position of urban Arabic originates from several interconnected factors, primarily the city's socio-economic power as a hub of commerce, education, and administration. On some occasions, the Bedouin variety is favoured for factors that involve social attractiveness, such as masculinity and purity of origin. The attractiveness of Bedouin Arabic originates mostly from ingroup loyalty and pride in tribal heritage. Furthermore, it seems that social variables within a certain speech community, such as age, gender, provenance, or educational levels, may impact Arabic speakers' attitudes toward different variations of Arabic. Finally, it appears that certain linguistic aspects of a given variety, notably discursive and phonological features, may elicit various attitudes among Arabic speakers toward that variety.

4.4. Language Attitudes in Algeria

Despite the abundance of language attitudes research in the MENA region, a few studies have looked at language attitudes in Algeria. The Algerian sociologist Mazouni (1969) was maybe one of the earliest initiatives in Algeria to draw attention to language attitudes. According to Mazouni (1969), Algeria's Arabisation strategy may have elicited resistant emotions among Berber and Algerian Arabic speakers, contributing to the belief that Arabic is solely for worship and literature, while French is for education and technology. Even though Mazouni (1969) did not collect any attitudinal data, it is his speculations that inspired other researchers to study language attitudes in Algeria. Following Mazouni's (1969) appeal to address language attitudes, probably the first attitudinal research in Algeria was Chebchoub (1985). Chebchoub (ibid.) examined 50 university students' direct and indirect language attitudes toward Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Algerian Arabic (AVA), French, and mixed AVA-French in Algiers. Chebchoub's (1985) study was divided into two sections, the first of which used the matched-guise test and the second of which used a questionnaire.

¹ Bidaoui (2021) provides a comprehensive review of Arabic speakers' attitudes towards discourse markers.

In Chebchoub's (ibid.) matched-guise test, two proficient males in all the investigated varieties were selected to record the guises. Chebchoub (ibid.) reported a statistically significant difference between the French guise and the AVA guise, favouring the French in terms of attributes such as: "educated", "intelligent", and "ambitious" while favouring the AVA guise in terms of the traits "religious", "patriotic", and "old-fashioned". When the French guise was compared to the MSA guise, Chebchoub (ibid.) found a statistical significance where French was preferred in terms of the qualities: "educated" and "attractive", whereas MSA was preferred in terms of the traits: "religious" and "old-fashioned". Furthermore, the difference between AVA and MSA reached statistical significance, favouring MSA in terms of "leadership" attributes, "educated", and "desired" (ibid.). When comparing the French and AVA-French mixed varieties, the AVA-French mixed variety was seen as "pretentious", whilst the French guise was perceived as "educated" and "intelligent". The second part of the Chebchoub's (1985) study used a questionnaire, stating that the rationale for preferring AVA was that it was viewed as easier to learn. Similarly, MSA was preferred due to pan-Arab and pan-Muslim discourses, whilst French was preferred due to career prospects and modernity.

Brahimi (1993, as cited in Owens, 2001:456) investigated Algerian university students' attitudes toward MSA, AVA, and French. As Mazouni (1969) predicted before, Brahimi (ibid.) concluded that both Arabic and Berber speakers favoured MSA for religious and legal discourses, AVA for informal domains, and French for education and modernity. That is to say, both Algerian Arabic and Berber-speaking university students favoured MSA and French for status, while AVA was preferred for attractiveness. Brahimi (1995, as described in Owens, 2001:457) later replicated the same study by including the Berber language among the attitudinal stimuli. Brahimi (ibid.) concluded that when Berber is examined, the findings among Arabs and Berber speakers differ slightly. For once, although Algerian Arabs held highly favourable attitudes toward MSA, Berbers did not share the same enthusiasm, and attitudes about Berbers were substantially opposed between the two social groups. That is to say, MSA was ranked higher by Arabs, Berber was rated higher by Berbers, while French and AVA were rated in the midpoint by both social groups (ibid.). Additionally, Owens (2001) indicated that Berbers in *Oran* had more favourable attitudes regarding AVA than those in Berber-dominated *Tizi Ouzu*.

Coffman (1995) investigated the direct language attitudes of male and female Berber and AVA speakers toward Arabic in Algeria. Coffman (1995) interviewed 75 students from two universities in Algiers: one francophone university specialising in science and technology and the other Arabophone specialised in humanities. Additionally, Coffman

(1995) distributed over 2,000 questionnaires to both universities. Coffman (1995) found that male AVA speakers who attended an Arabophone university were likely to favour Arabic and associate it with Islamic values. On the other hand, male Berber speakers were more inclined to adhere to modernist values and were less likely to favour Arabic (ibid). As for female Berber and AVA speakers, both social groups had a neutral view toward Arabic and moderately associated it with Islamist values. Coffman's (1995) conclusions were reflected in Benrabah's (2001, 2004) analysis of Algerian language policies, in which he stated that French was certainly connected with modernity in the Algerian discourse and that Arabic was related to Islamic and family values.

Benrabah (2007) administered 1051 questionnaires to high school students in three cities that are situated in the west of Algeria, namely *Saida*, *Oran*, and *Ghazaouet*. The study was divided into two parts investigating direct language attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers toward MSA, AVA, French, and Berber. The first section consisted of 30 statements that asked participants to choose the language they thought related to each statement. In general, Benrabah (2007) found that many high school students favoured French (44.4% of the participants), followed by MSA (36%), AVA (17.3%), and Berber (2.2%). As for religious values, MSA was ranked the highest (ibid). French was ranked highest in terms of aesthetics and as a vehicle of modernity and technology, whereas AVA was rated highest in terms of modernity and religiosity (ibid). When Benrabah (2007) correlated these results with gender, he found that male participants favoured MSA and AVA significantly more than French, whereas females favoured French significantly more than AVA and MSA, with no significance indicated for Berber. Moreover, Benrabah (2007) used a five-point Likert scale in the second part of the study, asking participants to indicate the degree of (dis)agreement with a series of 25 attitudinal statements in relation to multilingualism in Algeria. Benrabah (2007) reported that most participants tended to favour a situation of multilingualism that involved Arabic, English and French with a majority that disagrees with a situation that involves AVA or Berber. Moreover, according to Benrabah (2007), secondary school pupils have significant unfavourable attitudes about the Berber language.

In Algeria, English and French compete for prestige among Algerian Arabic speakers in the new millennium. Chemami (2011) administered 47 questionnaires to college students aiming to probe their language attitudes toward French. Most surveyed college students rated French highly and opted to acquire it because of its prestige and usefulness in romantic scenarios to overcome societal taboos (Chemami, 2011). Furthermore, Chemami (2011) surveyed 105 Algerian college students about their attitudes toward English, finding that

college students favoured English over French in most writing and reading assignments. Such findings were echoed by Benrabah (2014), who used content analysis to demonstrate competition among MSA, French, and English for prestige in Algeria. Furthermore, Benrabah (2014:54) speculates that given the Chinese expatriates' recent introduction to Algeria, the Chinese language may soon become part of the Algerian status repertoire. Belmihoub (2015:40) surveyed 101 engineering students at a prominent "urban Algerian university", finding that most participants had positive attitudes toward English. Further, Belmihoub (2015) suggests building on those positive attitudes towards English as a language for peace in Algeria, given the neutral emotions in the Algerian public memory towards English. On the other hand, Belmihoub (2018) surveyed 100 students at the University of M'hamed Bougara in *Boumerdes*¹. It was found that although participants considered English and French to be crucial for obtaining work in Algeria, MSA did not receive the same enthusiasm regarding job prospects (ibid.). However, most participants still favoured a multinational scenario that includes English, French, Arabic, and Berber (ibid.).

There is an even wider deficit in documenting AVA speakers' perceptions regarding AVA varieties. Benrabah (1994) was one of the first, if not the first, research to look at the attitudes of AVA speakers towards AVA varieties. Using the traits employed by Bentahila (1983) in his study in Morocco, Benrabah (1994) conducted a matched-guise study at the University of Oran, recruiting 248 female students. Benrabah (1994:218) aimed to investigate female Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards the "pharyngealised [æ']", typically used in rural and Bedouin AVA varieties, and the "non-pharyngealised sedentary [a]", typically used by urban AVA varieties. Indeed, Benrabah (1994) revealed two intriguing findings related to language attitudes study in Algeria. First, the findings revealed that female Algerian Arabic speakers preferred the non-pharyngealised sedentary [a] guise in both terms of social status and attractiveness (ibid.). Secondly, out of the thirteen traits used for the scale of the study, only six traits reached statistical significance (ibid.). This might be due to using traits designed for a different speech community (Moroccan Arabic speakers) and presuming that the similarities between Moroccan and Algerian Arabic speech communities are sufficient to result in sensitivity to the traits in Algeria as they were in Morocco. As a result, the current investigation will generate scale traits from the examined speech community (Algerian Arabic speakers).

Hedid (2015) is an ethnographic investigation exploring the language attitudes of a nomadic tribe's Chief towards an urban variety from eastern Algeria (*Constantine*

¹ A province situated on the eastern border of the capital Algiers

Vernacular). Hedid (2015: para. 32) observed that the nomads spoke exclusively Arabic, with the occasional usage of "*Algerianised French*," which are French phrases that have been adapted to the Algerian Arabic phonological and morphosyntactic systems. Moreover, the *Chief* stated that the speakers of urban varieties refer to nomads as *Aourbane* [a derogatory term to refer to nomads] (ibid.: para. 34). As a result, Hedid (ibid) claims that nomads demonstrated resistance by expressing negative attitudes toward urban speakers, usually seeing urban AVA speakers as effeminate. Hedid (ibid) further explains that Constantine Vernacular speakers are seen effeminate since they mock nomads and speak to them in a condescending and disrespectful manner which "is only worthy of women" (para. 38). Indeed, Benrabah (1994) and Hedid (2015), as far as I am aware, are perhaps the only sociolinguistic studies that investigated language attitudes of AVA speakers towards AVA varieties.

4.5. *Establishing the Niche of the Study*

Thus far, the current chapter has reviewed relevant literature concerned with Arabic speakers' attitudes toward linguistic variation in the Middle Eastern and North African contexts, including dialects of Arabic (for example, Al-Birni, 2016), local languages such as Kurdish (for example, Hassanpour, 2012) and Berber (for example, Benmamoun, 2001), and global languages such as English (for example, Al-Birini, 2021). Moreover, the previous section demonstrated that language attitudes research in Algeria is relatively scarce. Regardless, the few attitudinal studies conducted in Algeria have generally focused on social evaluations of French, Arabic, and Berber, revealing typical positive attitudes toward French and standard Arabic and typical negative attitudes toward Algerian Arabic and Berber (for example, Benrabah, 2007; Belmihoub, 2018). Indeed, the scarcity of prior research on Algerian Arabic speakers' social evaluations of linguistic varieties in Algeria left us facing a massive gap in the documentation of Algerian language attitudes. To this end, the current section seeks to demonstrate the study's niches in contrast to earlier attitudinal research conducted in Algeria.

To begin with, it seems that much of the prior attitudinal research in Algeria typically assumes that social evaluations of Algerian Arabic speakers toward Algerian Arabic speech are uniform in nature. Indeed, the bulk of earlier studies on Algerian language attitudes focused on the evaluations of Algerian Arabic in comparison to local and global languages such as Standard Arabic, Berber, French, and others (for example, Chebcoub, 1985; Benrabah, 1994, 2007, 2014; Belmihoub, 2018). Arguably, the most evident drawback in past attitudinal research in Algeria is the selection of the attitudinal object when Algerian

Arabic is investigated as a single uniformed entity. For instance, many earlier Algerian language attitudes studies have used the broad term "Algerian Arabic", often referring to the variety spoken in the location of data collection, presuming that it represents the entire spectrum of Algerian Arabic variants (see, for example, Chebcoub, 1985; Benrabah, 2007; Belmihoub, 2018). As such, it is fair to argue that this (mis)representation of Algerian Arabic is rather problematic because it is likely to overlook the significant phonological, syntactic, and stylistic differences within varieties of Algerian Arabic, a language spoken by a diverse nation with various geographical, social, and cultural elements that contribute to language variation. Of course, there are exceptions when Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards various varieties of Algerian Arabic were explored (for example, Benrabah, 1994; Hedid, 2015). However, these studies were either very small in scale, with the whole investigation relying on one participant (for example, Hedid, 2015), or did not investigate social variables and relied solely on female university students (for example, Benrabah, 1994).

Furthermore, while there have been several studies on language attitudes towards different Arabic-speaking groups, the Algerian Nomadic Ouled Naïl society remains a particularity that has to be investigated. This research gap might be related to the difficulty of accessing the Nomadic Ouled Naïl community, given that they typically would have minimal interaction with people outside their social circle. Nonetheless, the Nomadic Ouled Naïl community provides a fertile ground for the investigation of language attitudes toward minority social groups in Algeria. Indeed, one study looked into the language attitudes of the Nomadic Ouled Naïl community towards urban Algerian Arabic (Hedid, 2015). However, Hedid (2015) was tightly restricted since it was an ethnographic inquiry that depended solely on documenting a *Tribe's Chief's* attitudes regarding *Constantine Vernacular*. As such, it is unclear whether patterns of attitudes toward urban, rural, and nomadic Algerian Arabic varieties differ among Algerian Arabic speakers in general. Furthermore, while Benrabah (1994) explored the perception of rural and urban phonemes by female university students in Algeria, the study did not account for the participants' other social variables. Similarly, the rural phoneme [æ'] investigated by Benrabah (1994) can be utilised by both rural and nomadic Algerian Arabic varieties (Saud and Saud, 2013). This is especially important in the case of Nomadic Ouled Naïl Vernacular, since Benrabah (1994) seems to overlook the differences between rural and nomadic Algerian Arabic varieties. Typically, Arabic Sociolinguists differentiate between Bedouin (nomadic) and rural varieties of Arabic (see, for example, Al-Birni, 2016; Bassiouney, 2020). Indeed, researchers should distinguish between nomadic and rural Arabic varieties since they differ in several aspects (Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989). For example, rural dwellers typically tend to have minimal interaction outside

of their communities' borders or restricted contact that solely covers neighbouring urban and rural areas. By contrast, the nomadic commerce practice allows people to interact with people from various speech communities in both rural and urban areas.

Correspondingly, provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic speech remain unidentified to the present. Indeed, several studies have investigated provenance differences in attitudes to Arabic in many Arabic speech communities such as Jordan (Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989), Morocco (Hachimi, 2012), and Saudi Arabia (Al-Rojaie, 2021) (see section 4.3.). However, there is very little research in Algeria that studied provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' perceptions of Algerian Arabic. Indeed, Brahimi (1995, as cited in Owens, 2001: 457) was the only attempt to compare attitudes towards Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic, accounting for provenance differences by recruiting participants from *Tizi Ouzou*¹ and *Oran*². However, given that both Oran and Tizi Ouzou are urban provinces, it is very likely that the differences in language attitudes accounted for in Brahmi's (ibid.) study are due to the ethnic make-up of these provinces rather than provenance differences. What might support this claim is that *Oran* residents are mostly people who would identify as Arabs while *Tizi Ouzou* residents are predominately individuals who would identify as Berbers. As such, examining provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward Arabic varieties is especially essential, intending to provide a sociolinguistic foundation for the complicated Algerian sociolinguistic setting.

Even though there has been some research that investigates education differences in language attitudes toward various varieties of Arabic in other Arabic-speaking regions (see, for example, Murad, 2007), education differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Arabic have not been investigated previously. In the context of Algeria, even Belmihoub (2018) recruited 56 sophomores and 45 freshmen in a questionnaire study. However, Belmihoub (2018) did not examine any differences between these freshmen' and sophomores' evaluations of Arabic, Berber, French, and English. Similarly, Benrabah (2007) did not report variations in attitudes toward education, despite the fact that education was one of the criteria used to recruit participants for the study. In fact, there is a shortage of language attitudes research in the MENA area in connection to participants' education, maybe due to Al-Wer's statement that education is a proxy variable that only influences Arabic sociolinguistics with the assistance of other social variables (2002: 42). Nevertheless, I propose that investigating the impact of education, if at all, is beneficial in the Algerian

¹ A dominantly Berber-speaking Algerian province, situated on the north-easter coast of Algeria

² A dominantly Arabic-speaking Algerian province, situated on the north-western coast of Algeria

context since it can give valuable information regarding patterns of attitudes toward different varieties of Algerian Arabic.

Furthermore, in Arabic sociolinguistics, age differences remain the least investigated social variable differences (Sadiq, 2016). As a result, a rigorous sociolinguistic study is required to investigate the influence of age differences on Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward the Algerian Arabic varieties. It is hoped that investigating age differences in the Algerian setting allows researchers to obtain detailed information concerning the origin and the formation of certain linguistic prejudices in Algeria. Indeed, age was found to influence Arabic speakers' attitudes toward Arabic varieties in contexts comparable to Algeria, such as Jordan (Al-Wer, 2007) and Qatar (Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021), with young individuals typically favouring urban varieties and older generations favouring Bedouin varieties. However, no detailed sociolinguistic study has been conducted to date that explores age differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward Algerian Arabic speech.

In the context of Algeria, a very low number of studies have explored the sex differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties. For example, while Belmihoub (2018) recruited both male and female participants to explore Algerians' language attitudes toward Arabic, French, Berber, and English, the study did not compare male and female attitudes. Instead, Belmihoub (2018) reports language attitudes differences between Arabic and Berber speakers. Moreover, Benrabah (2007) is one of the few studies that examined male and female attitudes towards linguistic varieties in Algeria. However, despite it being the only large-scale study in Algeria, Benrabah (2007) only reported Algerian individuals' attitudes relying merely on direct methods, particularly employing a questionnaire. Similarly, Coffman (1995) investigated male and female Berber and Arabic speakers' perceptions of Arabic, relying solely on interviews and questionnaires for data collection. Therefore, it is likely profitable to investigate sex differences in language attitudes towards Arabic varieties using both direct and indirect methods. In fact, it is likely advantageous to use qualitative and quantitative methodologies to explore social variable differences in direct and indirect Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward Arabic varieties. This is because a mixed methods approach to the research of language attitudes would likely offer greater reliability to the documented patterns of attitudes (McKenzie, 2010).

There is no detailed study that investigates triggers (causes) and socioeconomic consequences for language attitudes in Algeria. Indeed, past research has indicated that phonology and discourse markers can trigger language attitudes toward Arabic varieties (see,

for example, Bidaoui, 2020, 2021). In the Algerian context, Benrabah (1994) found statistical evidence that the guise with urban phoneme [a] and the guise with rural phoneme [æ'] elicited different attitudes among urban female Algerian university students. However, Benrabah (1994) does not study additional linguistic peculiarities that may influence language attitudes toward rural varieties. For example, Benrabah (1994) does not specify whether the phoneme [g] influenced attitudes toward the rural guise, despite the fact that it is a distinguishing trait of rural varieties among urban speakers (Saud and Saud, 2013). On the other hand, even though Hedid (2015) implies that the tribal chief believed *Constantine Vernacular* speakers sounded effeminate, the study does not define which precise linguistic features of *Constantine Vernacular* provoked nomads' negative attitudes towards it. Consequently, the current research will seek to investigate the linguistic triggers that impact attitudes about Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON). Furthermore, Algerians are widely agreed to perceive French as the language of education, professional competence, and modernity (see Benrabah, 2001, 2007; Belmihoub, 2018). There is, however, no description of how other varieties are seen in terms of labour market potential or the types of employment they may be associated with. As such, the present study will investigate socioeconomic consequences of Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes towards ANON on the employment market for nomadic individuals.

Summary

The present chapter discussed the empirical groundings for the present study. It reviewed language attitudes studies from around the world. Similarly, the chapter reviewed the attitudinal research in the MENA region with special reference to Algeria. As demonstrated, there are very few attitudinal studies in Algeria in general and studies that explore Arabic dialects in Algeria in specific. As such, the chapter introduces the study's niche by illustrating the lack of information about language attitudes, causes, and consequences in Algeria.

The methodology for the current study will be described in the next chapter. The chapter will discuss the rationale and reasoning behind the current study's methodological choices, as well as the research questions and objectives that lead the current inquiry. Similarly, the chapter will discuss the participants as well as the research tools employed for this study, including the attitudinal objects (five Algerian Arabic vernaculars).

Chapter 5 Methodology

Overview

In the previous chapter, we discussed the empirical groundings of the present study. The aim of this chapter, on the other hand, is to provide a detailed description of the methodology used for the purpose of the present study. This chapter will detail the rationale and reasoning behind the methodological choices in the present study. Furthermore, this chapter will tackle the research questions and the research aims that guide the current investigation. Similarly, the chapter will describe the participants and the research instruments including the attitudinal objects used for this study (five Algerian Arabic Varieties). In addition, this chapter will discuss the data collection procedures for the present investigation. Finally, this chapter will detail the pilot study and the ensued research instruments' refinements.

5.1. Research Aims and Research Questions

A review of social evaluations of Arabic varieties in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has forecasted the scientific and socio-political benefits of investigating Arabic speakers' attitudes towards the local vernaculars. Subsequently, the main aim of the present study is to explore the language attitudes of adult L1 speakers of Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) who live in the midlands of Algeria towards different AVA varieties. Specifically, the main focus of the present study is to investigate adult L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of *Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular* (ANON). This aim is motivated by contributing to the existing body of knowledge about attitudes in Algeria and the MENA region in general.

In order to achieve the main aim of the present study, four subsequent objectives were set. Firstly, the present study aimed to document Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of different varieties of Algerian Arabic Vernacular. Previous research in Algeria typically assumed that attitudes towards Algerian Arabic are homogenous in nature (see section 4.5.). Therefore, the importance of the documentation of L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties lies in the fact that it recognises Algeria's ethnic and linguistic diversity. Secondly, the present study aimed to investigate the potential effects of social factors on adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of different varieties of AVA (see section 5.3.3.). Thirdly, the study aimed to investigate the linguistic cues that might trigger adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON. It was felt that the study of linguistic

triggers of language attitudes would help policymakers produce inclusive language policies. For example, policymakers can mitigate the prejudices about Nomadic people by spreading awareness and encouraging tolerance of linguistic diversity in Algeria. Fourthly, the study aimed to investigate the socio-economic impacts of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards ANON on nomadic individuals in Algeria.

Moreover, the present research addressed the following main research questions:

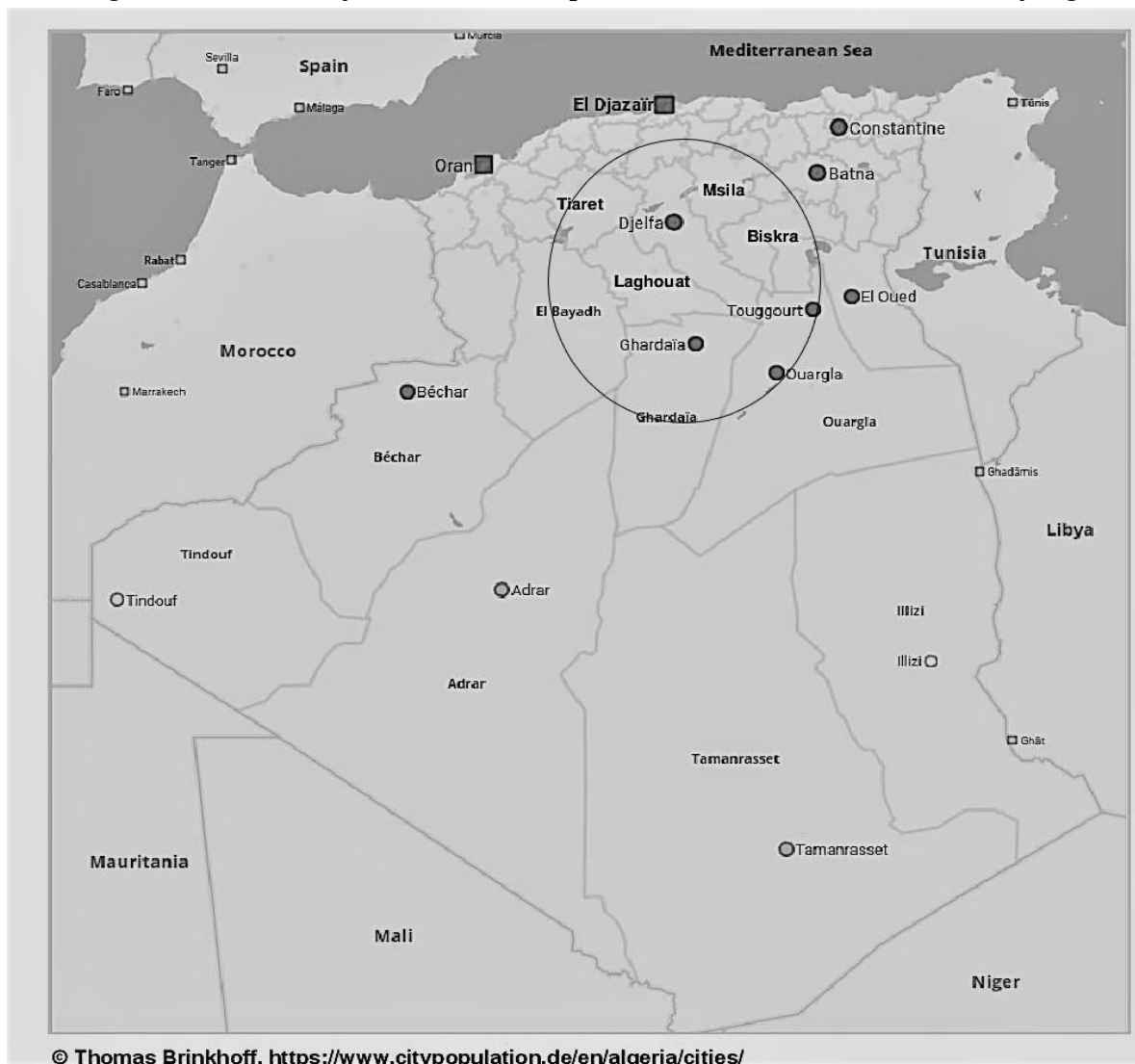
- (i) *How do L1 Algerian Arabic speakers evaluate Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular among other vernaculars spoken in different areas of Algeria?*
- (ii) *If evident at all, in what measurable ways are there age differences in attitudes of L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?*
- (iii) *Are there any measurable differences between the attitudes of male and female L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?*
- (iv) *Are there any rural/urban/nomadic provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?*
- (v) *Are there any level of education differences in patterns of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?*
- (vi) *What linguistic features may trigger the attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular?*
- (vii) *How might Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular influence nomadic individuals' perceived professional competence in Algeria?*

5.2. The Participants

The target population of the present investigation consisted of adult Algerian nationals (aged over 18 years old) who spoke Algerian Arabic as their first language and who lived in the midlands of Algeria during the data collection. The map below shows the areas to which the population of the present investigation belong (the map is from Brinkhoff,

(2020)). Participants were recruited from the following provinces (from east to west): *M`Sila, Biskra, Touggourt, Ouragla, Djelfa, Laghouat, Ghardaia, Tiaret, and El-Bayadh* (see Figure 5.1.).

Figure 5.1. The Areas from Where Participants Were Recruited (The Midlands of Algeria)



The present investigation recruited a relatively large number of participants. Although there seems to be no agreement between researchers about the sample size in social sciences (Neuman, 2007), two chief reasons led the researcher to recruit this number of participants. Firstly, the study aimed to investigate four social variables (see section 5.3.3.). It was felt necessary to recruit an adequate number of participants that allows for the examination of the study`s independent variables. Secondly, it was believed that a small sample would compromise the robustness of the results (see section 3.3.). This is because small samples tend to highlight uncommon individual differences. The goal was, therefore, to recruit as many participants as possible in order to accurately represent the target population. According to the *Office National des Statistiques* (2019), there are

approximately 70000 adult Algerian nationals who speak Algerian Arabic as their first language who live in the midlands of Algeria. Speculating on Neuman`s (2007) rule of thumb, it was felt that 700 participants were likely to be representative of the target population. Neuman (2007) suggested that three per cent (03%) would be an accurate representation of small size populations (less than 1000) while 0.01 per cent would be representative of large populations (more than 150,000).

In order to be able to recruit such a substantial sample size, the researcher sought participants from various universities, factories, and professional training institutions from around the midlands of Algeria. These three domains reflected the diversity of the population in terms of age group, sex, level of education, and area of provenance. For example, the university is a multicultural and diverse environment in terms of age group, sex group, and area of provenance. In addition, it was thought that recruiting university students as participants in language attitudes research is particularly beneficial as this segment of the society is the one that is more likely to invite changes to language policies in future Algeria. Moreover, similar to the university, workplaces and centres of professional training are multicultural institutions that guest people of diverse backgrounds. Unlike the university, however, the other two domains are also diversified in relation to the educational level. Furthermore, since one of the main aims of the study was to investigate the socio-economic impact of language attitudes on nomadic individuals, it was felt that the professional training centres and workplaces can be suitable pools for participants who can be informative in this respective. Overall, due to restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic as well as time restrictions, it was decided to collect data from universities, professional training centres, and workplaces since these three domains provide a large and diverse group of potential recruits.

After the pilot study took place, the researcher contacted data collectors and trained them data collection for verbal-guise tests. This decision was unavoidable as the Algerian government imposed tight restrictions on travelling in and out of Algeria following the *COVID-19* outbreak. A total of 743 participants took part in the present study of which 363 were university students and staff, 157 were employees of factories/companies, and 223 were trainees in centres for professional training. Nevertheless, the responses of many participants who did not finish a section of the test or the background sheet provided were disregarded (a total of 43 papers). The age range of the sample recruited was between 18 years old and 71 years old (Mean=29.56; SD=12.84), with most of the participants aged

between 18 and 35. *Table 5.1.* below shows a summary of the number of participants initially recruited from each site.

Table 5.1. Initial Recruitment of Participants for the Verbal Guise Study

Domain	Name/Address	Number of Participants	Male (Female)
University	<i>Amar Telidji University, Laghouat</i>	97	28 (69)
	<i>Kasdi Merbah University, Ouargla</i>	119	26 (93)
	<i>Ziane Achour University, Djelfa</i>	96	44 (52)
	<i>Mohamed Boudiaf University, M`Sila</i>	51	22 (29)
Factory	<i>ITHAR RIDSO, Civil Engineering, Ouargla.</i>	65	52 (13)
	<i>Mouileh Plaster factory, Djelfa</i>	92	87 (05)
Training Centre	<i>Chabani Public Centre for Professional Training, Djelfa</i>	115	36 (79)
	<i>Messaad Private Centre for Professional Training, Djelfa</i>	108	47 (61)
Total		743	342 (401)

After the verbal-guise study, the researcher contacted the participants who volunteered to participate in the interview study (see section 5.4.1.). Subsequently, 32 participants were interviewed through video calls using Microsoft Skype ®. Twelve university students, ten trainees, and ten factory/company recruits took part in the interview study. The following table describes the participants of the interview study (Table 5.2.).

Table 5.2. Initial Recruitment of Participants for the Interview Study

Domain	Name/Address	Participants
University	<i>University of Amar Telidji, Laghouat</i>	2
	<i>University of Kasdi Merbah, Ouargla</i>	5
	<i>University of Ziane Achour, Djelfa.</i>	5
Factory	<i>Mitidja Inara for Electrical Materials, Blida.</i>	10
Training Centre	<i>Chabani Centre for Professional Training</i>	5
	<i>Messaad Private Centre for Professional Training</i>	5
Total		32

5.3. Study One: The Verbal-guise Study

As discussed previously, the indirect measurement of language attitudes enables the investigation of attitudes beyond the social façade of the individuals (see Garrett, 2010). As participants are typically unaware of the investigated subject, the indirect measurement of language attitudes mitigates the social desirability bias. Indeed, the indirect measurement of attitudes typically employed the matched-guise test (see section 3.3.1.). However, four reasons led the researcher to employ the verbal-guise in the present study. Firstly, the verbal-guise test was employed to overcome the question of ‘accent authenticity’ (see section 3.3.1.). In the present study, the speech stimuli were performed by native speakers, which gave confidence in the authenticity of the target varieties. Secondly, the verbal-guise test allows a ‘factually neutral’ (Garrett, 2010) speech stimulus by governing the content of the recordings (see section 3.3.1.). Factually neutral stimuli prevent diverting the participants’ evaluations toward the gist of the recordings rather than the speakers themselves. Thirdly, unlike the traditional practice of reading contextless texts, the verbal-guise allows for spontaneous speech occurring in a likely to happen context (see section 3.3.1.). Indeed, the

text reading technique can direct the participants' evaluations toward the quality of the readings rather than the readers themselves because readers might have different reading abilities (El-Dash and Tucker, 1975) (see section 3.3.1.). Finally, the recording conditions of the speech stimuli ensured natural speech occurrence. The researcher concealed the aim of the study from the speakers until after the recording of the speech stimuli. This decision was to reduce the likelihood of the speakers exaggerating their performance, which might result in unnatural speech. Consequently, it was believed that these measures would help overcome 'the salience question' raised by Lee (1971) (see section 3.3.1.).

5.3.1. The Speech Stimuli

The speech stimuli for the verbal-guise study consisted of five varieties of Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA). It was felt beneficial to investigate AVA speakers' evaluations of urban, rural, and nomadic varieties of AVA. The categorisation of the varieties was based on the dialectologist approach, which relies on the phonological features of the variety (see section 2.3.1.). Furthermore, it is crucial to highlight that the present study did not attempt to narrow linguistic differences among different regions of Algeria into oversimplified representations. However, for the purpose of this study, the selection of the five varieties was based on the observable differences between them. This section aims to give a brief definition of the varieties chosen for the speech stimuli.

Two urban varieties were selected for the purpose of creating speech stimuli. One urban variety is Algiers Vernacular (AA). This variety is also locally known as "*Algeroise*". AA is the linguistic variety spoken in the capital of Algeria. Traditionally, AA is classified as an urban variety of Arabic (for example, Aguadé, 2018). Historically, AA has emerged through contact between French and Arabic (Chebchoub, 1985), which explains its remarkable use of French borrowed words. Phonologically, AA is marked, for example, by its realisation of the phoneme [q], which is similar to the realisation of the same phoneme in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). In addition, AA is marked locally by the use of discourse markers such as /ya xu:/ (meaning "oh brother") and /friki/ (meaning "my mate"). The second urban variety is Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA). AEA is an urban variety that consists of many sub-varieties. For example, AEA is spoken in many Eastern Algeria provinces including *Guelma*, *Annaba*, and *El-Tariff*. AEA is locally marked by the reversion of the grammatical gender markers for "you". AEA speakers typically use the feminine marker with the masculine pronoun version of "you" and vice-versa. In addition, examples of the discourse markers exclusive to AEA include the use of /karhba/ (meaning car) as

opposed to /say`ra/, /Tonobil/ which are typically used respectively in MSA and AVA. In addition, the influence of the French is relatively less than its counterpart from the capital.

Moreover, the speech stimuli for the present study involved two rural AVA varieties. Firstly, Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA) is a rural variety that is widely spoken in the *Sahara* region of Algeria. ASA is spoken in many southern Algerian provinces including *Bechar*, *Adrar*, *Tamanrasset*, and *Oued Souf*. Locally, ASA is marked by the relatively rare use of French borrowed words. Many researchers argue that ASA was formed through the contact of different Arabic nomadic societies in Algeria (Saud and Saud, 2013). The ASA is marked by its realisation of the phoneme [t] as [tʃ̣]. Secondly, Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) is a rural variety mainly spoken in *Oran* and neighbouring cities. AWA is believed to be formed through the contact between Bedouin and urban AVA varieties (Miller, 2007; Guerrero, 2015). The mobility of AVA speakers from around Algeria towards *Oran* for socio-economic purposes brought into contact different AVA varieties (Chitour, 1999). Locally, AWA is typically marked by the use of /wah/ (meaning “yes”) instead of /ih/ and /hih/, which are used respectively in Midlands and eastern Algeria.

The main focus of the present investigation is Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular (ANON) (see section 2.5.2.). ANON is a Bedouin variety that is spoken mainly by the Ouled Naïl society in Algeria. Perhaps the most salient features of ANON can be attributed to lexis and phonology (Saud and Saud, 2013). Phonologically, ANON is marked by the realisation of [ɣ] (voiced velar fricative) as [q] (voiced uvular plosive). As far as the literature is concerned, it is believed that this realisation of [ɣ] is unique to this society unlike many other Arabic speech communities (ibid.). On the lexical level, the Algerian nomadic society of Ouled Naïl is associated with the use of [jɜ:tel] and [jɜ:telɜ] when directing the attention of males and females respectively. These two lexical variations are used in daily casual conversations.

Moreover, three reasons motivated the selection of five varieties in the present study. Firstly, as discussed in the literature review, participants in indirect attitudinal studies should be given adequate time to communicate their evaluations of the attitudinal objects (see section 3.3.1.). Hence, it was critical to provide fairly lengthy samples of the speech stimuli. Secondly, the researcher did not opt for a greater number of speech stimuli to avoid the listener fatigue, which occurs from the prolonged exposure to any auditory stimulus (see section 3.3.1.). Listener fatigue is believed to jeopardise the robustness of the evaluations recorded. Thirdly, the chosen varieties are from three different regions in Algeria. This is

believed to participate in drawing a conclusion of the evaluation held by Algerian speakers of Arabic towards the nomadic variety.

5.3.2. Recording of the Speech Stimuli

High-Definition digital audio recordings were created for the purpose of creating speech stimuli. The research made sure that the recordings were clear and clean from noise. This step was necessary to overcome the possibility that the listeners might negatively evaluate the speakers as a result of their inaudibility. Dragojevic (2017), for example, found that failure to understand speech generally impacts the evaluations of the speech in a negative way. The database contained 36 recordings of the chosen five varieties of the study. Recordings of each variety were made by a native speaker of that particular vernacular. The initial number of data recordings was 42; however, it was reduced to 36 after excluding the *Djelfa Vernacular* as a refinement after the pilot study (see section 5.6.2.). In detail, the database for the speech stimuli consisted of eight recordings for each of ANON, AEA, and AWA; seven recordings for AA; and five recordings for ASA.

All the speakers were identified, contacted, and recorded in Algeria except for three speakers who were recorded in the United Kingdom: two speakers of AA and one speaker of AEA. Speakers were asked to complete a task by commenting on a scene that shows how to change a flat tyre (see APPENDIX 1). The reason for choosing this task was to assure a factual neutral environment (see section 3.3.1.). Indeed, earlier studies in Arabic-speaking areas have employed different tasks in creating the speech stimuli such as football match commentary (Chakrani, 2013), scientific texts (Bouzidi, 1989) and daily routine (Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989). However, such tasks jeopardise drawing the listeners' judgments towards unveiled information related to the speaker. For example, the listeners might engage with the speakers' ideological perspective like in the case of scientific texts. Hence, the task presented to the speakers in the present study was thought to help control extraneous factors that may interfere with the robustness of the experiment.

The present experiment controlled several elements related to the speakers in order to reduce external factors that might jeopardise the robustness of the results. Firstly, all the speakers employed for the speech stimuli were males. Employing only male speakers was believed to minimise the interference of any stereotypical judgment from the hearers towards the task. It was felt that many listeners would pay more attention to the fact that a woman is talking about changing flat tyres, which is stereotypically perceived as a "man's job". Hence, it was felt necessary to eliminate such a factor that might interfere with the robustness of the

experiment. Secondly, the age of performers ranged from 23 to 27 years old (mean= 24.56 years and SD= 1.17 years, which makes the selected age group of performers relatively homogenous). Controlling the age group of the speakers is believed to reduce judgments related to the age group. Thirdly, the speakers were native to their respective vernaculars. The recruitment of native speakers was believed to help overcome the dialect authenticity hindrance (see section 3.3.1.). Finally, all speakers obtained high education. All speakers were students at the university doing either masters or PhD. The speakers` educational levels ranged from Bachelor of Arts (BA) to PhD students. In addition, all speakers were from the social sciences and humanities backgrounds.

5.3.3. The Independent Variables of the Study

In a sociolinguistic research design, one crucial step is to describe the independent variables of the study. The description of the independent variables is especially useful in identifying the social variables that are going to be investigated. Indeed, the identification of social variables contributes to establishing a coherent framework that helps explore complex sociolinguistic phenomena such as language attitudes. Arguably, it was Ferguson (1959) among the first researchers who described the social variables that are significant in Arabic sociolinguistics (see section 4.2.). Subsequently, modern Arabic sociolinguistics research was inspired by Ferguson`s (1959) research paradigm. Indeed, it is not conclusive in the current times which of the social variables are significant in studying sociolinguistic phenomena in Algeria (see section 4.5.). Nevertheless, Arabic sociolinguistics research typically reported age, diglossia, and gender as the most influential social variables. Indeed, little research was done to investigate the influence of provenance and level of education on sociolinguistic phenomena in Arabic sociolinguistics (see section 4.5.). Consequently, in the present study, L1 AVA speakers` attitudes towards ANON were explored in relation to four variables. These variables are namely:

- (i) age group
- (ii) sex group
- (iv) level of education
- (v) region of residency

5.3.3.1. Age Group

From naive daily observation, one can claim that age influences social behaviour and social expectation such as marriage, job seeking, and clothing. Language attitudes are not an

exception as they are learnt through socialising processes including from peers, school/workplace, and home (see section 3.1.1.). However, amongst the investigated social factors, our understanding of age as a sociolinguistic phenomenon might be minimal (Llamas, 2006). In western sociolinguistic research, adolescence is perhaps the most studied age group (for example, Dörnyei, Csizér, and Németh, 2006). In Arabic sociolinguistics, on the other hand, age was investigated in correlation with other social factors. The sociolinguistic influence of age is understood in relation to other social factors because social expectations and social norms are different to different age groups (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). For example, in Algeria, a 30-year-old single male usually has fewer responsibilities than a married female of the same age; a 22-year-old university student would have a wider network than a professional trainee of the same age, and a 40-year-old who lives in a city might have a wider network than a counterpart who lives in a rural area. Consequently, age is examined in its social context to highlight the different life experiences of the speakers (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Indeed, sociolinguistic research in the MENA region typically demonstrated that Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Arabic Vernaculars differ according to age group (for example, Al-Kababji and Ahmed, 2021) (see section 4.3.).

Generally, in sociolinguistics, age is measured in two ways. Firstly, age is treated as numerical data and measured in the number of years. When age is measured in years, it is dealt with as a continuous predictor of language attitudes. While it might be easier to manage statistically, measuring age in years might obscure the social impacts of age on the phenomenon studied (language attitudes in this case). Secondly, age is treated as categorical data and measured in age groups. Measuring age in categories helps highlight the social experiences learnt throughout age groups. In the present study, the verbal-guise study aimed to investigate age differences in adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic. Subsequently, age is categorised into three different groups:

- (i) young adults (aged between 18 and 35 years old),
- (ii) middle-aged adults (aged between 36 and 55 years old),
- (iii) and old-aged adults (aged 56 and above).

The rationale behind categorising age into three categories is the social norms and expectations attributed to each group. For example, in the midlands of Algeria, and perhaps the Algerian society at large, the social norms for the young adult age group would entail finishing studies/training, seeking a job, and establishing a family. Similarly, social norms for the middle-aged group usually involve family responsibilities, having children, and

working in 8-to-4 jobs. The senior adults' group entails social norms such as working in a senior position, plans for retirement, and post-retirement. In the present verbal-guise study, age is grouped into three categories in order to explore which group, if any, influences adult L1 AVA speakers' social evaluations of ANON.

5.3.3.2. *Sex Group*

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the interpretation of the interaction between sex and linguistic phenomena witnessed a revolutionary shift. Early sociolinguistic research (often referred to as the deficit model paradigm) interpreted language differences between males and females as the direct outcomes of differences in biology (see Coates, 2006). The deficit paradigm advocated that "the *male speech*" is the norm while "the *female speech*" is a deviation from that norm (see Cameron, 2008). Later approaching the beginning of the 21st century, on the other hand, the paradigm shifted towards the understanding that language differences are the outcome of socio-cultural norms associated with each sex group (see Coates, 2006; Al-Wer, 2007; Cameron, 2008). In the present study, the term "*sex group*" is used instead of the term "*gender*" in order to reduce the effects of extraneous factors. Indeed, the term "*gender*" involves non-binary identities, which is a taboo in the midlands of Algeria, and perhaps the Algerian society at large. It was felt that the use of the term "gender" might divert the participants' attention away from the evaluation of the speakers, which, in turn, might result in participants not providing authentic answers.

Sex differences in language attitudes have been observed in many sociolinguistic projects in the MENA region (for example, Haeri, 1995; Hachimi, 2012; Al-Wer, 2006) and elsewhere (for example, Labov, 1990; Britain, 1998; McKenzie, 2010). Typically, the patterns of Arabic speakers' attitudes towards varieties of Arabic seem to associate positive attitudes towards rural varieties with males while positive evaluation of urban varieties is associated with females (for example, Haeri, 1995; Hachimi, 2012; Al-Wer, 2006, 2007, 2014; Hedid, 2015; Al-Birini, 2016) (see section 4.3.). The participants' sex group is a complex social factor that structures individuals' lives in their societies (Labov, 1966). The importance of considering the participants' sex group when investigating sociolinguistic phenomena stems from the fact that gender roles are allocated to individuals based on their sex. Similar to gender roles, language attitudes are socially learnt and shared (see section 3.1.1.). Hence, it was felt necessary to explore male and female differences in adult L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of ANON and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars.

5.3.3.3. *Level of Education*

In the sociolinguistics of the MENA region, the level of education is notably a complex factor. It is typically reported that the level of education interacts and sometimes functions on behalf of other social factors in Arabic sociolinguistics (Al-Wer, 2002). Perhaps, this is related to the fact that "it is not level of education per se which correlates with linguistic usage [and perception] in the MENA region" (Al-Wer, 2002:42). Indeed, the education level is a paramount social factor in Arabic sociolinguistics because it generally predicts the type of the individuals' network and the extent to which individuals have contact with their network. For example, in the midlands of Algeria, and perhaps in the whole of Algeria, access to higher education entails a substantial shift in the individual's socialisation arrangements. Individuals would usually leave their own hometown for education, which involves meeting speakers of different AVA varieties.

It was argued that levels of education account for differences in Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic Vernaculars (see section 4.3.). Generally, Arabic speakers who obtained high education tend to evaluate urban Arabic vernaculars higher than rural varieties while the direction of evaluations might go the reverse as we go down in levels of education (for example, Al-Khatib, 1988; Abdel-Jawad and Awwad, 1989; Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Ornaghi, 2010; Al-Wer, 2014). The significance of the level of education as a variable in previous studies in the MENA area motivated the present study to investigate differences in the attitudes of adult L1 speakers of AVA towards ANON in relation to the participant's level of education.

5.3.3.4. *Area of Provenance*

Geographical provenance can account for differences in social evaluations of linguistic varieties (for example, Dornyei, Csizer, and Nemeth, 2006; Yaeger-Dror and Cieri, 2013). The provenance difference in language attitudes towards linguistic varieties can generally be associated with the differences in the social settings between rural and urban areas for example. Because language attitudes are learnt through socialisation, it is a normal consequence that language attitudes might differ between rural and urban areas. Similarly, earlier research in the MENA region typically reported that participants of rural provenance favoured Bedouin and rural Arabic vernaculars (for example, Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Al-Birini, 2016). Therefore, the present study investigated provenance differences in the adult L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of AVA varieties. The rationale behind choosing the area of provenance as an independent variable of the study was that people from different regions

of residency might have different levels of exposure to AVA varieties. Hence, the difference in exposure level to different AVA varieties (especially ANON) might result in differences in AVA speakers' attitudes towards the varieties of the study.

5.3.3.5. Controlling for Extraneous Social Factors

The researcher carefully controlled several potential extraneous variables in the present study. Firstly, despite *diglossia* being a significant explanatory factor of sociolinguistics in the Algerian society, this study is only interested in exploring L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of AVA varieties. It was felt that the diglossic situation might be irrelevant to the factors that predict attitudes towards ANON. Indeed, diglossia was not investigated in the present study because it is an established situation in Algeria. Secondly, in order to further control for extraneous factors, the study recruited only Algerian nationals who spoke Algerian Arabic as a first language. To this end, the researcher communicated with the gatekeepers to recruit only participants who perceived themselves as Algerian nationals and who perceived themselves to be L1 speakers of AVA. Thirdly, the study did not investigate socioeconomic class differences in adult L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of ANON. The exclusion of socioeconomic class from the investigation was because it is generally seen as synonymous with the level of education in the MENA region (see Sadiq, 2016). In general, even sociolinguistic studies that investigated socioeconomic class typically defined it through an index that involved the level of education. For instance, Haeri's (1995) social class index comprised of four indicators:

- (i) parents' job,
- (ii) speakers' level of education,
- (iii) the neighbourhood where the speaker lives, and
- (iv) the speakers' job.

All of Haeri's (1995) indicators, in the context of Cairo and other Arabic speaking cities, are mainly based on the level of education (Sadiq, 2016).

5.3.4. The Research Instruments

The main aim of this section is to provide a rationale for the methods and techniques used to collect data for the verbal-guise study. Similarly, this section aims to describe and detail research instruments, which were selected based on prior attitudinal research design (see section 3.3.).

5.3.4.1. *The Verbal-Guise Test Sheet*

In order to examine adult L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of AVA varieties by means of indirect methods, the present study employed the verbal-guise test. In accordance with many early language attitudes studies, the verbal-guise test was coupled with a semantic-differential scale (see section 3.3.2). The purpose of the semantic-differential scale was to document the participants' evaluations of the speech stimuli of the present study. Indeed, when designing the evaluation scales, previous language attitudes studies in the MENA region typically adopted clusters of traits from prior studies (for example, Chakrani, 2013; Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989). For instance, Benrabah (1994) based the adjectives of his scale on previous studies that involved participants coming from a different context. However, despite the advantages of this practice regarding time economics, it overlooks the contextual and cultural differences between speech communities (see McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic and Goatley-Soan, 2022). Consequently, the researcher felt the necessity to generate the traits of the scale from the particular cultural context of this study (see section 5.6.1.1.).

The semantic differential scale involved twenty traits (ten bipolar traits: ten adjectives with respective antonyms). The bipolar traits were obtained from the pilot study (see section 5.6.1.1). Native speakers of each of the varieties employed for the present study were asked to describe the speakers of the recorded speech stimuli (see section 5.6.1.1). The most used adjectives were selected with their bipolar antonyms. Adjectives were randomised in their order while forming the differential scale. This decision was made to prevent any misunderstanding of similar traits of the differential scale. In the same way, adjectives were randomised in terms of social desirability. That is to say, the socially desired (positive) adjectives were alternated to the right and the left of the scale in a random fashion. This decision was made to prevent the possibility of absent-minded answers. In accordance with Lemon (1973), the present semantic differential scale was designed on a seven-point basis. Lemon (1973) recommends constructing the scale on an odd-number-basis to allow the measurement of neutral attitudes. Similarly, he argues that seven is the optimum number for the points of the scale, as fewer points were found to be irritating to respondents while more points were found to be confusing (Lemon, 1973:102) (see also Loureiro-Rodríguez and Acar, 2022). The final version of the semantic differential scale employed for this study with its English rendition is provided below (see Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3) (see APPENDIX 3).

Figure 5.2. Semantic Differential Scale Used for this Study

مش ناس ملاح	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	ناس ملاح
قاري	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	ما قرائش
شويا ثنويا	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	فحل
نية	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	حيلي
متواضع	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	يزيد عليها
غير واثق	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	واثق
ماكان ماكان	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	ذكي
يحشم	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	ما يحشمش
مش كريم	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	كريم
مش متحضر	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	متحضر

Figure 5.3. English Rendition of the Semantic Differential Scale

Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Friendly
Not Educated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Educated
Masculine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Masculine
Not Naïve	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Naive
Not Humble	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Humble
Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Confident
Smart	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Smart
Not Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Shy
Generous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Generous
Civilised	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Civilised

5.3.4.2. The Social Background Information Sheet

One of the main aims of the study was to examine the effect of some social factors on the L1 AVA speakers' overall evaluations of AVA varieties especially ANON (see section 5.1.). To this end, participants were requested to provide information about their demographic backgrounds. In order to collect data about the participants' demographics, the researcher designed an information sheet. The demographic information sheet consisted of four multiple-choice questions. Firstly, participants were requested to report details about their age group providing three options:

- (i) young adults (18-35),
- (ii) middle-aged adults (36-55), and
- (iii) senior adults (56 and above).

Secondly, the information requested participants to report whether they were male or female. Thirdly, the participants were requested to report whether they came from urban, rural, or nomadic backgrounds. Finally, the information sheet provided three options as an answer to what level of education:

- (i) up to primary school
- (ii) up to high school
- (iii) university (higher education) (see APPENDIX 2).

5.3.5. Research Ethics

The verbal-guise test, and the speaker evaluation paradigm in general, were developed on pragmatic principles in order to overcome social desirability biases (see section 3.3.2.). As such, since it involves human participants, several ethical issues arise from choosing such a method. Generally, the ethical issues around the use of the verbal-guise test in the present study can be attributed to the creation of the speech stimuli on the one hand and the actual administration of the test on the other. Firstly, the process of recording the speech stimuli involved some sort of deception since the speakers were not told about the real purpose of the study while recording. Concealing the objective of the study from the speakers was opted for in order to be able to create natural speech as it was felt that speakers would have emphasised certain linguistic features if they were told the real objective of the study. However, at the end of the recording process, the researcher apologised to the speakers and explained the motives behind concealing the real objective of the study. Subsequently, all the speakers gave consent to use their recordings in the study.

Secondly, the administration of the test also involved some sort of deception as participants were not told that the actual objective behind the study was the evaluation of language rather than the personality of those specific speakers. As discussed earlier, it is a common practice that researchers who employ the verbal-guise test would typically hide the objective of the study in order to minimise social desirability bias (see section 3.3.2.). In order to deal with such ethical issues, the participants were debriefed right away after the end of the test, and they were given the option to withdraw from the study if they wished. The debrief also asked the participants` consent to use their data for the purpose of the study

(see APPENDIX 4.). Moreover, the researcher focused on the participant's privacy and confidentiality as the demographic sheet did not ask for any personal information that would lead to the identification of the participant by the researcher or anyone else. In general, the ethics department at Northumbria University was informed about the practices and measures opted for by the researcher, and subsequent ethical approval was granted.

5.4. Study Two: The Interview Study

One of the interview study aims was to investigate adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON by means of direct methods. Hence, in this regard, the interview study is a complementary study to the verbal-guise study. As discussed previously, there is a call to investigate language attitudes employing mixed methods (for example, Glesne, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021). As a direct method of language attitudes investigation, the interview is argued to provide in-depth qualitative data that engage the participants in a more detailed idiosyncratic way (Hoffman, 2014). For example, data collection through interviews does not constrict participants by a pre-established set of evaluations contrary to verbal-guise studies (Oppenheim, 2001). Moreover, interviews offer the opportunity to collect data while having natural conversations, which allows the researcher to assess and react to the participants' non-verbal cues (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970). Indeed, creating a friendly environment helps the researcher access the participants' subjective evaluations of the varieties investigated.

In order to obtain an in-depth understanding of the participants' language attitudes toward ANON, the interview study aimed to investigate linguistic triggers (cause) and socioeconomic outcomes (consequence) of L1 AVA speakers' attitudes toward nomadic *Ouled Nail*. First, exploring linguistic triggers of attitudes is believed to provide an insight into the ideologies which link social meanings (AVA speakers' evaluations of ANON) with linguistic variation (ANON's linguistic cues) (see for example, Johnstone, 2009). Understanding these underlying ideologies is believed to help establish an understanding of the origins of AVA speakers' evaluations of ANON. In turn, policymakers would find it helpful to consider those ideological underpinnings if policymakers are to change attitudes towards ANON. Secondly, the interview aimed to investigate prejudice about ANON speakers in the job market. Understanding the participants' perception of the nomadic individuals' professional competence might shed light on an explanation of the issue of unemployment among nomadic individuals.

5.4.1. The Research Instruments

After the verbal-guise study, a sheet for the follow-up interview was distributed (see APPENDIX 5). Participants were requested to provide contact details if they wished to volunteer for the interview study. The sheet aimed to recruit participants from the same pool as the verbal-guise study. Moreover, the semi-structured interview encompassed thirteen questions and consisted of three parts (see APPENDIX 6). The first cluster of questions (questions one to four) dealt with the AVA Speakers` attitudes toward ANON in relation to other varieties. This cluster of questions operationalised the research question: “*How do L1 Algerian Arabic speakers evaluate Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular?*”. The opening question in the interview was: “*do you speak Algerian Arabic?*” (See APPENDIX 6). The question aimed to make sure that the participants were representative of the investigated population. The population of the present study consists of adult L1 speakers of Algerian Arabic who live in the midlands of Algeria (see section 5.2.). Moreover, sociolinguists typically initiate interviews with background questions in order to maintain a casual conversation tone (Becker, 2013). The casual conversation tone aimed to soothe the participants`, likely, nervousness about being recorded.

Question two was: “*in your view, how many forms of Algerian Arabic are there?*” (See APPENDIX 6). This question aimed to assess the participants` awareness of variation in AVA. Many researchers advised against the presumption that participants will correctly identify the varieties investigated (for example, McKenzie, 2010). Hence, exploring participants` awareness of the target vernaculars was believed to offer insights into the ideological link between the vernacular and the participants` evaluations of the same vernacular (for example, Garrett, 2010) and, indeed, is likely to be imperative in the present study as such ideological underpinnings typically stem from the ethnic associations by the participants (Alfaraz and Mason, 2019). In addition, the second interview question also sets the participant`s mind to relate ANON to its context before asking them to evaluate it. The rationale stems from the nature of language attitudes as contextual constructs (see section 3.2.1.). That is to say, the participants` evaluations of ANON are only possible to explore in relation to other AVA varieties. The third interview question was: “*in your view, what is/are the most favourable Algerian Arabic variety(ies)? Why?*” (See APPENDIX 6). This question aimed to probe the participants` evaluations of AVA varieties. In this regard, this question is a direct question about the respondent`s attitudes towards AVA. The rationale behind this question is to prepare for the next question. Similarly, in the fourth question, the interviewees were asked to evaluate ANON in contrast to their preferred varieties. The researcher had in

mind that answers to these questions would give an insight into adult L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of ANON.

The second part of the interview (questions five to nine) is related to the research question: "*What linguistic features may trigger the attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular?*". Question five of the interview was: "*In your view, in what ways is ANON different from the rest of the varieties spoken in Algeria?*" (See APPENDIX 6). This question aimed to probe salient features of ANON to the participants. Moreover, the sixth question addressed whether participants thought that ANON sounded more feminine, more masculine, or neither (see APPENDIX 6). The sixth question aimed to investigate linguistic features that might trigger gender perceptions as a part of language attitudes towards ANON.

In the seventh interview question, the researcher requested participants to imitate the way in which the nomadic Ouled Naïl spoke (see APPENDIX 6). The seventh question aimed to probe salient features of ANON that participants might not be able to articulate. It is argued that imitations of linguistic varieties echo the salience of the imitated variety (for example, Trudgill, 1986; Preston, 1993). Preston (1993), for example, argues that the laypersons' imitation of a linguistic variety provides a patent proof of the salience of the imitated linguistic variety. Thus, participants' imitations of ANON might reveal salient features of ANON that the participants might not be able to articulate if they were asked directly like in questions five and eight. Moreover, it was felt that participants' imitations of ANON speech would also provide an insight into L1 AVA speakers' rationalisation of the link between ANON features and social categorisation (see Preston, 1993). The eighth question was: "*When conversing with ANON speakers, what are the things that you pay attention to in their speech?*" (see APPENDIX 6). The eighth question is a direct question to allow the participants to articulate linguistic features of the ANON that might trigger attitudes towards it. The ninth question is a follow-up to the previous question. It asked interviewees to evaluate the linguistic features of ANON in terms of prestige and favourableness.

The last part of the interview (questions ten to twelve) is related to the research question: "*In what ways might evaluations of Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular influence nomadic individuals' perceived professional competence in Algeria?*". The third part dealt with the socioeconomic outcomes of L1 AVA speakers' attitudes toward ANON. In question ten of the interview, the researcher asked the participants whether they minded being employed by a nomadic person (see APPENDIX 6). This question aimed to explore

how L1 AVA speakers perceived ANON speakers in terms of suitability for high-status positions. Indeed, previous research typically reported that speakers of nonstandard varieties were, generally, perceived as less eligible for high-status jobs despite their qualifications and skills (for example, Roessel, Schoel, and Stahlberg, 2020). Inversely, the eleventh interview question inquired whether participants would employ a speaker of ANON. This question addressed how L1 AVA speakers perceived ANON speakers' professional competence (see APPENDIX 6). The twelfth question requested the participants to guess the job of each of the speakers from the speech stimuli recordings. This question aimed to explore jobs associated with low-prestige and high-prestige varieties in Algeria. The rationale behind this question stems from the studies that advocated that negatively perceived Arabic dialects are usually associated with low-prestige jobs (see Al-Birini, 2014). The interview concluded with an open question to allow participants to give comments or questions about the interview.

5.4.2. The Data Analysis

To analyse the interviews, the researcher adopted the interpretive qualitative approach. The interpretive qualitative approach to data analysis is an approach that emphasises the systematic analysis of recurrent components that individuals use to make sense of social phenomena (Nikander, 2012). The researcher employed this approach since it allows to understand the participants' subjective beliefs and attitudes objectively (Schwandt, 2000). Moreover, the present study analyses data using thematic analysis. Traditionally, thematic analysis is a tool that is used as a supplementary device to the interpretive qualitative approach rather than as an independent approach (Fernandez, 2018). More specifically, the researcher employed a variant of thematic analysis known as "the reflexive thematic analysis" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2014, 2019, 2021).

The reflexive thematic analysis is an approach to thematic analysis that involves identifying patterns (themes) that go beyond the 'surface-level observations' and 'simple descriptions of experience' (Braun and Clarke, 2019; Braun, Clarke, and Hayfield, 2022:428). Two main reasons lead the researcher to adopt the reflexive thematic analysis. Firstly, the data set can be interpreted in a variety of adaptable ways (Braun and Clarke, 2014). Data interpretation in reflexive thematic analysis considers the data set, the theoretical groundings for data analysis, and the practice of data analysis by the researcher (Byrne, 2021). Secondly, reflexive thematic analysis emphasises the researcher's active role in data analysis and interpretation (Braun and Clarke 2019). Indeed, many scholars have advised

against when researchers completely disassociate themselves from the theme development process (for example, Byrne, 2021).

The thematic analysis generally acknowledges the subjectivity of themes selection (Guest, MacQueen, and Namey, 2012). Hence, it is no surprise that researchers might not intersect in their qualitative analysis. Indeed, there should be no anticipations that researchers will reproduce the same themes even if this is possible (Byrne, 2021). In the present study, it is worthwhile to mention that the researcher did not aim to generalise the findings of the interview study. In contrast, the researcher aimed to understand further the patterns of attitudes found in the verbal-guise study by exploring language attitudes using direct methods, exploring linguistic triggers of AVA speakers' language attitudes towards ANON, and exploring the implication of these attitudes on nomadic individuals in Algeria.

In order to facilitate the data analysis process, Braun and Clarke (2014, 2021) have suggested a six-step guideline for reflexive thematic analysis. Firstly, researchers need to familiarise themselves with the data set (*ibid.*). This step entails listening to/reading the entire data set to identify pieces of information that are related to the research questions (Byrne, 2021). In the present study, the researcher listened to each interview recording and took notes of points that might be related to the research questions. The researcher executed this procedure in order to gain general insights into the trends developing from each interview prior to transcribing these interviews. Later, the researcher transcribed the interviews and read the transcription to familiarise himself with his data set. The transcription reading further enriched the preliminary notes from the listening of the recordings.

Secondly, researchers will generate *codes* from the data set. Codes are the main constituents in theme development (Byrne, 2021). The data coding involves the production of brief descriptions or interpretations of information that might be relevant to the research questions (*ibid.*). Moreover, Braun and Clarke (2014, 2021) suggest that searchers should not compromise being informative while coding the data set. That is to say, even though codes need to be brief, these codes should offer enough details that can summarise the underlying commonalities of the pieces of data that compose the code. In addition, Byrne (2021) recommends systematic coding, whereby the researcher pays attention to each data unit. This systematicity is believed to help identify communalities and construct themes that are related to the research questions (*ibid.*).

Thirdly, the researcher will generate the themes (Braun and Clarke, *ibid.*). After the data coding, the researcher focuses on accumulating the codes into meaningful themes that summarise information from across the data set. This step typically involves grouping codes that summarise similar concepts into a larger unit that can be representative of the codes group (Byrne, 2021). In the theme-development process, the researcher needs to reflect actively on the connection between different codes as well as reflect on relationships that might elucidate the themes (*ibid.*). Fourthly, Braun and Clarke (2021) suggest that researchers need to review the themes before deciding on them. In the themes review step, the researchers are required to reflect on the themes in terms of codes and the data set as a whole (*ibid.*). This step is necessary as some developed themes might be irrelevant to the research questions. Indeed, the theme review stage contributes to the robustness of the analysis by eliminating some themes and codes that might not be meaningful data interpretations (Byrne, 2021).

Fifthly, the researcher will define and label the developed themes (Braun and Clarke 2021). This step requires the researcher to consider the research questions and the data set (Byrne, 2021). Sixthly, the researcher writes the report (Braun and Clarke 2021). Braun and Clarke (*ibid.*) advise that the researcher should reflect to these steps along the writing process. Indeed, the six-steps guidelines might be logically ordered; however, researchers should reflect and revise these steps throughout the analysis process (Byrne, 2021). Braun and Clarke (2021) hold that it is the moving back and forth through the steps what makes their approach reflexive (Braun and Clarke 2021).

5.4.3. Research Ethics

Semi-structured interviews, like other qualitative research methods, must be rigorously planned since they raise several ethical concerns (Karatsareas, 2022). The ethical issues that were raised in the present interview can be attributed to the participant's availability, consent, anonymity, and privacy. To begin with, the participants were acknowledged for the time they spent being interviewed. Prior to any interviews taking place, the researcher informed the participants that they can withdraw from the interview at any time without needing to specify the reason. Regardless the researcher acknowledges that many participants might not withdraw from the interview even when they might feel uncomfortable. As such, the researcher always acknowledged the participants' efforts and apologised for any inconvenience that the data collection might have caused to the participants. Moreover, before taking part in the study, participants filled out an optional form for a follow-up interview (see APPENDIX 5.). The optional form for the follow-up

interview acted as written prior consent to participate in the interview study. In addition to being a consent form, the optional form for the follow-up interview served the purpose of maximising the anonymity of the participants. This is because participants who took part in the interview showed interest in the study in confidentiality. In order to further maximise the participants' anonymity, the researcher did not mention any information that might help identify the participants in the interview study (such as names, occupations, and positions). Finally, in order to maximise the privacy of the participants, the recorded interviews were stored on a hard drive and were only accessible by the researcher. In general, the procedures and practices that were taken to ensure the participants' confidentiality, privacy, and consent were communicated to the ethics department at Northumbria University which granted ethical approval to the present study.

5.5. Procedures

Planning data collection maximises the robustness of the research (for example, Summers and Abd-El-Khalick, 2017). In data collection for the present study, the researcher carefully planned the execution of the research instruments. Attentively, the researcher standardised the procedures for data collection for the verbal-guise test. The standardisation of data collection administration aimed to lessen the possible extraneous effect of different procedures on the study results. At first, the plan was for the researcher to collect data in person. However, the global pandemic of COVID-19 hit and brought about necessary changes to the procedures for data collection. The researcher trained assistant researchers to collect data for his verbal-guise study. Even though this step was time-consuming, it was necessary to abide by the health and safety regulations imposed by the Algerian government.

The process of training researchers for data collection included three phases. Firstly, six trainees who are specialised in linguistics volunteered to collect data for the present study. The table below lists the names and the backgrounds of the researchers (see *Table 5.3.*). Secondly, two online meetings to discuss the strategy for data collection took place. In the first meeting, the researcher explained the purpose of the study. The meeting had to be brief (around 20 minutes) for extraneous factors. In the second meeting, the researcher briefed the assistant researchers about the strategy adopted for data collection. Thirdly, the assistant researchers were provided with a checklist as a reminder of the points agreed upon in the meetings.

Table 5.3. Assistant Individuals in Data Collection for the Verbal Guise Study

Researcher`s Name	Background
Smail, A.	Highschool English teacher/ Masters in English Literature and Linguistics
Abdul-Basit, B.	Middle School English Teacher/ Masters in Education and Linguistics
Abdul-Basit, D.	PhD Scholar in Department of English, Mostaganem University
Abdul-Razak, B.	Middle School English Teacher/ Masters in Sociolinguistics
Oussama, A.	Lecturer at the English Department, University of Djelfa
Oussama, B.	Senior Lecturer at the English Department, University of Djelfa

For the verbal-guise study, three factors made it possible to collect data from large numbers of participants in a reasonably short time. Firstly, participants were contacted through the gatekeepers at least a month earlier. The researcher informed the gatekeepers, who informed the participants in turn. Similarly, reminders about the data collection were distributed at least one week before the data collection session. Allowing time between the first contact and the data collection helped prepare a suitable environment to collect data as planned. Secondly, the nature of verbal-guise studies allows for reporting responses of a large number of participants in a conveniently short time. In the present study, each verbal-guise test took less than 45 minutes inclusive of the participants debrief. Thirdly, the number of data collectors shortened the process of data collection. Indeed, the data collection would have taken a long time without the help of the six assistant researchers (especially knowing that, for social distancing purposes, only sixteen people were allowed in the same place at the same time).

The data collection procedures were standardised. Firstly, university lecturers, site supervisors, and human resources managers (gatekeepers) were requested to remind the participants of the test session at least one week before data collection. Gatekeepers were also urged to communicate that the contribution is optional and that participants have the right to withdraw from the project. However, data collectors concealed the actual objective of the study from the participants. As discussed earlier (see section 3.3.1.), researchers must hide the aim of the verbal-guise study from the participants in order to overcome the social

desirability bias (see Garrett, 2010). Instead, participants were informed that the present study aims to evaluate the personality of random people. Later, participants were informed about the actual objective of the study and were provided with a subsequent debrief. Secondly, the instructions given to the participants before the verbal-guise test were standardised. Gatekeepers introduced data collectors to the participants. Afterwards, data collectors ensured participants that their anonymity and privacy were guaranteed. Thirdly, data collectors gave instructions in Standard Arabic to minimise the potential influence of the data collectors' spoken varieties on the participants' responses. Finally, data collectors randomised the sequence in which the voice recordings were played. This step aimed to prevent potential distortion of participants' responses (and hence the results) due to the order of the audio tracks.

The data collection process involved the administration of three main research instruments. Firstly, during the verbal-guise test, participants were allowed sufficient time to read the instructions and the adjectives of the differential scales. Data collectors provided explanations when needed. After reading the instructions, the participants listened to the speech stimuli. Data collectors played each of the five recordings twice and paused for two minutes before playing the next one. This step was necessary to allow time for the participants to report their responses. Secondly, participants were provided with a demographic background sheet. Participants were requested to answer all questions after they were allowed time to read the sheet. Afterwards, participants were provided with two sheets. The first sheet included the debrief and articulated the real intention of the study, whereas the second sheet aimed to prepare for the follow-up interview. Thirdly, several individuals who volunteered to participate in the interview study were contacted and subsequently interviewed online. The conducted interviews were informal and friendly conversations through video calls. The researcher explained his project and started the survey. In cases where the questions were unclear, the researcher explained and elaborated on what he wanted to know. Subsequently, the interviews were recorded for analysis. Since the aim of the verbal-guise study was veiled from the participants, it was felt necessary to conduct the verbal-guise test before the interviews.

5.6. *The Pilot Study*

The pilot study aimed to achieve three main objectives. Firstly, the pilot study aimed to check the quality of the speech stimuli used for the verbal-guise test. To this end, the researcher employed focus group discussions. The focus group discussions involved native speakers of the target varieties and aimed to overcome issues related to accent authenticity

(see section 3.3.1.). Secondly, the pilot study aimed to generate traits for the semantic differential scale (see section 5.3.4.1.). For this purpose, the focus group discussions were notably handy. The task taken in the discussion group included reporting terms and concepts that may develop while the groups spontaneously discussed the audio stimuli. Thirdly, the pilot study aimed to examine the clarity of the methods employed in the present investigation.

5.6.1. Instruments and Administration of the Pilot Study

This pilot study took place between mid-November and early mid-December 2019. The pilot study consisted of two stages. The first stage involved checking the authenticity of the speech stimuli and generating the traits for the semantic differential scale. The second stage involved conducting a pilot verbal-guise test and pilot interviews.

5.6.1.1. *The First Phase*

To check the authenticity of the speech stimuli, the researcher employed a focus group (see section 3.3.1.). Focus group discussions also aimed to generate adjectives for the differential scale. This step was felt necessary since the differential scale traits should be meaningful to the participants in order to produce robust results. The use of a focus group in this task was in agreement with Campbell-Kibler's (2013) recommendations (see also Hornsby, 2022). The focus group involved 36 participants who were native speakers of the varieties used in this study (six native speakers from each variety). Participants were employed from *Mitidja Inara*, an electrical materials factory located in *Blida* (inner north of Algeria). This factory was selected because employees were of different age groups, sex groups, levels of education, and areas of provenance. Therefore, it was felt that the focus group participants were representative of the target population in terms of age, sex, level of education, and area of provenance.

The focus group included two tasks. Firstly, the first task involved grouping participants into six groups according to the variety they spoke. For example, Algiers Vernacular speakers were grouped in one group, while Oran Vernacular speakers were grouped in another group. The aim of this task is to check the authenticity of the speech stimuli. Consequently, each group was exposed only to the recordings of their native variety. The rationale behind this task was to select one representative recording to be used for the main study. The initial number of speech stimuli recordings was 42 (see *Table 5.4.* for details about the database). Subsequently, participants were asked to identify only one voice recording, that they thought was the closest to their natural speech. At the end, each group took a vote and chose one recording which will be used for the main study.

Table 5.4. Details about the Database of Speech Stimuli

Algerian Arabic Vernacular	Number of Recordings
ANON	8
AEA	8
AWA	8
AA	7
ASA	5
<i>Djelfa Vernacular</i>	6
Total	42

Secondly, the second task involved joining the whole group together. The second task aimed to generate traits for the scale. The second task involved asking participants to imagine that they received a call from an unknown number, and they had to describe the person using at least two adjectives. In this task, the speakers in each recording resembled the unknown caller. In addition, only the six recordings elected in the first task were used in the second task. This evaluation aimed to create a database for the traits of the semantic differential scale (see APPENDIX 3.). It was felt useful to obtain scale traits that are contextually meaningful to the target population. Eventually, the second task resulted in a database of 106 items in total. After revision, it appeared that many adjectives were approximately synonymous (for example, educated, cultivated, and knowledgeable), approximately contrary (for example, humble and big-headed), or irrelevant sometimes (for example, pretty faced). Subsequently, the list was shortened to twenty elements, which were employed as traits for the semantic differential in the verbal-guise test (see APPENDIX 3. and section 5.3.4.).

5.6.1.2. The Second Phase

The second stage of the pilot study involved piloting the verbal-guise test and the interviews. The second stage of the pilot study aimed to check for clarity of the research instruments. To check the clarity of the research instruments, the researcher checked whether:

- (i) the researcher provided enough response categories in the close-ended questions in the demographic background sheet (see APPENDIX 2.),
- (ii) participants understood the meanings of the traits used in the evaluative scale,

(iii) participants understood the meanings of the interview questions.

Moreover, the second stage of the pilot study involved 196 participants (109 males). The age in the sample ranged between 18 years and 64 years old (Mean=29.10; SD=10.84). For the interview study, eighteen participants out of the initial 196 participants volunteered to be part of the study. The sample of participants for the second stage pilot study was recruited from four various sites (two professional training centres, one factory, and one university):

- (i) *Chabani Centre for Professional Training, Djelfa* (Algerian Midlands),
- (ii) *Messaad Private Centre for Professional Training, Djelfa* (Algerian Midlands),
- (iii) *Mitidja Inara for Electrical Materials, Blida* (Inner-Northern Algeria),
- (iv) and *Abdul-Hamid Bin-Badis University, Mostaganem* (Western Algeria).

The selection of these four sites was to obtain a representative sample concerning age, sex, education, and area of provenance.

5.6.2. Refinements

The two-stage pilot study successfully resulted in three main refinements. Firstly, there were refinements concerning the population of the study. Initially, this research aimed to investigate adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards varieties of AVA. After the pilot study, the researcher decided to narrow down the population to include only adult L1 AVA speakers who live in the midlands of Algeria. This step felt necessary because most of the participants who lived in other parts of Algeria had never encountered nomadic individuals. This is because language attitudes are typically influenced and emphasised by exposure to attitudinal objects (for example, Cargile and Giles, 1997; O'Hanlon and Paterson, 2019). In addition, several participants refused to answer the questions concerning nomads stating that they were unable to help as they "have never met any nomads before". Subsequently, the research focused on the midlands of Algeria because this area has exposure to ANON which is the main emphasis of the present investigation.

Secondly, it was believed advantageous to exclude the vernacular spoken in *Djelfa* (midlands of Algeria) from the speech stimuli recordings. This step was felt necessary as many participants confused *Djelfa Vernacular* with the *Nomadic Vernacular* (ANON). This was, perhaps, because most of the participants in the pilot study did not encounter many dialects from the midlands of Algeria. Thirdly, the researcher decided to articulate the adjectives of the semantic differential scale in Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) rather than in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). This step was felt necessary in order to overcome an issue of false friends between AVA and MSA. For

instance, during the verbal-guise test in the factory, some participants drew my attention to the adjective *منحضر* /*mutahadir*/ (meaning civilised in MSA), which meant someone who is living in urban areas for them.

Summary

In this chapter, the researcher provided a detailed description of participant recruitment and different data collection methods employed for this study. Moreover, this chapter provided details about the research design and research approach. In this regard, the researcher detailed the rationale for the selection of each data collection method and the rationale for participant recruitment. The following chapter should present the results and data analysis of the verbal-guise study coupled with a preliminary discussion.

Chapter 6 The Verbal-Guise Study: Results and Preliminary Discussion

Overview

The present chapter presents data analysis for the verbal-guise study (henceforth, VGT). As discussed earlier, the present VGT examines indirect language attitudes of Algerian Arabic (AVA) speakers towards five AVA varieties (see section 5.3.). Moreover, the VGT investigates social demographic differences in AVA speakers' attitudes towards the five AVA varieties. Seven hundred participants took part in the VGT (see section 5.2.). As discussed previously, the VGT data collection was accomplished by employing assistant individuals (see section 5.5.). The decision to recruit data collectors was taken to adapt to the tight restrictions on travel following the global pandemic of COVID-19.

Furthermore, throughout this chapter, reference will be made to the following five research questions (see section 5.1.):

- (i) *How do L1 Algerian Arabic speakers evaluate Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular among other vernaculars spoken in different areas of Algeria?*
- (ii) *If evident at all, in what measurable ways are there age differences in attitudes of L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?*
- (iii) *Are there any measurable differences between the attitudes of male and female L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?*
- (iv) *Are there any rural/urban/nomadic provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?*
- (v) *Are there any education differences in patterns of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?*

The layout of the present chapter is as follows: Firstly, the chapter provides preliminary statistical data analysis. Secondly, principal component analysis is performed and discussed. Thirdly, data analysis in terms of the first component is provided. Fourthly, data analysis in terms of the second component is presented. Finally, throughout the data

analysis in terms of the extracted components, this chapter explores possible interaction between background variables in accounting for variation in participants' attitudes towards AVA varieties. It is worthwhile to mention that this chapter will only provide preliminary discussion of the results. Main findings will be discussed in detail in the discussion chapter (see Chapter 8).

6.1. Initial Phase of Statistical Data Analysis

For the verbal-guise test, five high-definition audio recordings (speech stimuli) were played to be evaluated by the participants (see section 5.3.2.). The speech stimuli involved native speakers of the target Algerian Arabic vernaculars (see section 5.3.2.). The following table reminds the reader of the abbreviations for the Algerian Arabic varieties employed for this study (see Table 6.1.)

Table 6.1. Abbreviations for the Algerian Arabic Varieties Employed in This Study

Abbreviation	Algerian Arabic Vernacular Variety
AA	Algiers Arabic Vernacular
ANON	Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular
ASA	Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular
AEA	Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular
AWA	Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular

Seven hundred participants evaluated the AVA varieties on the semantic differential scale that contained ten bi-polar adjectives (see section 5.2.). The participants' evaluations were systematically input and tabulated in SPSS software. As previously described, several traits were reversed and randomised on the semantic-differential scale to overcome automated answers (see section 5.3.4.). Hence, it was necessary to reverse the negatively coded traits by substituting them with concordant scores. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the score of "7" will always indicate the most favourable evaluation, whereas the score of "1" will always indicate the least favourable evaluation.

6.1.1. Results

The preliminary phase of the VGT data analysis involved running descriptive statistics for the scores allocated to each speaker on each of the ten adjectives (traits) of the semantic differential scale (where a value of 1 indicates the least positive evaluation, and a

value of 7 indicates the most positive evaluation). The table below summarises means and standard deviations of the participants' evaluations of the speakers on each trait (see *Table 6.2.*).

Table 6.2. Means and Standard Deviations of Participants' Evaluations of Each Speaker on Individual Adjectives

N=700 Trait	Algerian Arabic Varieties									
	AA		ANON		ASA		AEA		AWA	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Confident	5.42	1.216	4.01	1.365	3.79	1.352	5.29	1.261	5.28	1.244
Kind	5.59	1.562	4.64	1.953	5.74	1.582	5.41	1.659	5.22	1.730
Educated	5.31	1.861	3.82	1.983	3.30	2.219	5.08	1.905	5.16	1.815
Manly	4.51	1.644	4.52	1.727	5.20	1.768	3.99	1.651	4.49	1.612
Naïve	3.98	1.865	3.82	1.911	4.83	2.021	3.96	1.814	3.76	1.708
Humble	4.13	2.117	3.60	2.100	5.39	1.939	4.49	1.984	4.10	2.037
Smart	4.95	1.758	3.82	1.841	4.53	1.902	4.84	1.708	4.78	1.734
Shy	4.40	1.912	3.51	1.978	4.21	2.059	4.42	1.891	4.10	1.890
Generous	4.63	1.554	4.18	1.607	5.31	1.603	4.71	1.503	4.46	1.482
Civilised	5.44	1.642	3.93	1.875	3.63	2.063	5.15	1.741	5.24	1.722

In addition, the preliminary phase of data analysis also involved calculating the means and standard deviations of overall participants' ratings of each variety. *Table 6.3.* below presents the mean evaluations and standard deviations of the overall ratings of each speaker.

Table 6.3. Mean Evaluations and Standard Deviations of the Overall Ratings of Each Speaker

N=700	Mean	S.D.
AA	4.8426	0.92292
AEA	4.7897	0.97221
AWA	4.6621	0.98712
ASA	4.5950	0.97981
ANON	3.9323	1.12754

In order to compare the participants' overall evaluations of the five AVA varieties, a one-way repeated-measures ANOVA test was performed (see section 5.3.5.). The one-way repeated measures ANOVA revealed that there was a statistically significant difference in the overall evaluations of the five AVA varieties (means and standard deviations are provided in *Table 6.3.* above): Wilks' Lambda=0.66; $F(4, 696) = 89.25$; $p < 0.0005$; Multivariate Eta Squared = 0.339 (larger than 0.14) indicating a large effect size as suggested by Cohen (1988).

Following the one-way repeated-measures ANOVA, a pairwise comparison analysis was performed to locate the differences between the overall evaluations of the five AVA varieties. To this end, it was necessary to adjust the probability estimates (the accepted p-value) to compensate for the multiple comparisons (the pairwise t-tests). Because a high number of comparisons was performed in this study, the odds that at least one of the comparisons would show significance at the 0.05 level just by chance will increase drastically. Consequently, there is a possibility of rejecting the null hypothesis (H0) despite that it should be accepted in reality (Type 1 Error) (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). In the present study, there is a chance of more than 40% to have a Type 1 Error. This is obtained through the equation: $Type\ 1\ Error = 1 - (1 - \rho)^T$, where ρ is the alpha rate 0.05 and T is the number of comparisons occurring during the pairwise comparison of the mean evaluations of AVA varieties (for more details see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). Therefore, Bonferroni adjustment was employed to reduce the probability of Type 1 Error occurring. The new Bonferroni-adjusted alpha level was calculated by dividing the original alpha level of 0.05 by the number of the groups (five AVA varieties) (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). Hence, the Bonferroni-adjusted alpha is 0.01.

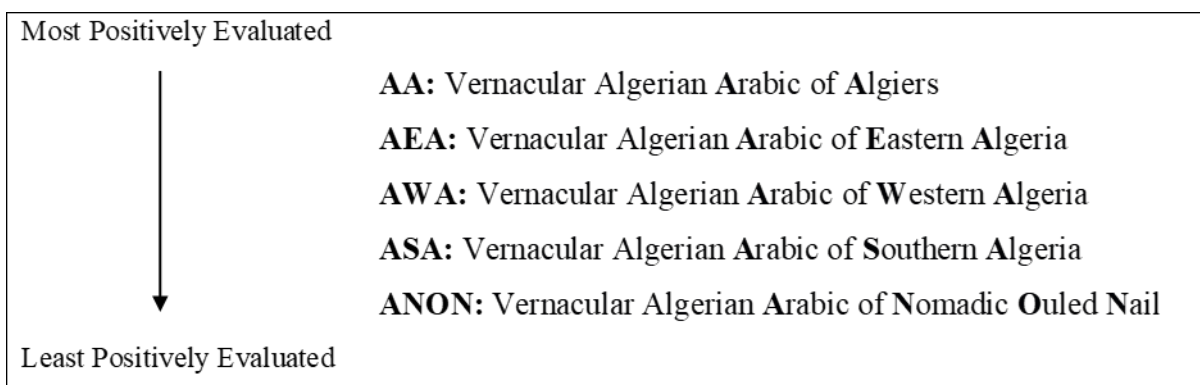
Table 6.4. shows that the majority of the differences between overall evaluation have reached statistical significance of which the majority allowed for p value of $\rho < 0.0005$. First, participants evaluated Algiers Vernacular (AA) significantly more positively than Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA), Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA), and the Nomadic Arabic Vernacular (ANON). Secondly, participants evaluated ANON significantly lower than all the speakers. Thirdly, participants rated urban varieties (AA and AEA) significantly higher than rural (AWA and ASA) and nomadic (ANON) varieties. The following table shows mean differences and the significance levels of the pairwise comparison for participants' overall evaluations of the speakers on all traits (Table 6.4.) (For the whole post hoc results see APPENDIX 7.):

Table 6.4. Mean Differences and Significance Levels of the Pairwise Comparison for Participants' Overall Evaluations of the Speakers on All Traits

		Mean Difference	Significance level
AA	ANON	0.910*	0.000
	ASA	0.248*	0.000
	AEA	0.053	1.000
	AWA	0.180*	0.000
ANON	AA	-0.910*	0.000
	ASA	-0.663*	0.000
	AEA	-0.857*	0.000
	AWA	-0.730*	0.000
ASA	AA	-0.248*	0.000
	ANON	0.663*	0.000
	AEA	-0.195*	0.000
	AWA	-0.067	1.000
AEA	AA	-0.053	1.000
	ANON	0.857*	0.000
	ASA	0.195*	0.000
	AWA	0.128*	0.046
AWA	AA	-0.180*	0.000
	ANON	0.730*	0.000
	ASA	0.067	1.000
	AEA	-0.128*	0.046

*. $\rho \leq 0.05$

Figure 6.1. Ranking Algerian Arabic Varieties from Most to Least Positively Evaluated



6.1.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis revealed interesting patterns concerning adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic (AVA) varieties. Firstly, Table 6.2. above suggests that adult L1 AVA Speakers who live in the Midlands of Algeria could distinguish between the different AVA varieties employed for this study. Moreover, the participants assigned personality traits to each speaker of the five AVA vernaculars employed for this study. Accordingly, it is safe to assume that informants demonstrated an intention to associate stereotypical attitudes with these five varieties of AVA (see Section 3.2.1.). Furthermore, Table 6.4. shows that most of the differences between adult L1 AVA Speakers' overall evaluations of AVA varieties reached statistical significance. Therefore, Table 6.2. together with Table 6.4. suggest that Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes towards Algerian Arabic are not homogeneous (see section 4.5.). Typically, many previous studies concerned with Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes, even though scarce, explored the participants' evaluations of Algerian Arabic as a single entity in comparison to local and global (for example, Arabic and Berber) languages (for example, English and French) (for example, Benrabah, 2013a, 2014; Belmihoub, 2015, 2018).

Secondly, Figure 6.1. suggests that, in general, adult L1 AVA speakers evaluated urban AVA varieties significantly more positively than rural AVA varieties. Precisely, AVA urban varieties are Eastern Algerian Arabic (AEA), Western Algerian Arabic (AWA), and Algiers vernacular (AA) which is the variety spoken in the capital of Algeria. Results of the present study are consistent with many studies concerning language attitudes of Arabic vernacular speakers towards Arabic varieties in the MENA region, including Morocco (Hachimi, 2012), Jordan (Al-Wer, 2007), and Qatar (Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021), where it was reported that Arabic vernacular speakers are generally in favour of urban Arabic varieties. A possible explanation for these results may be attributed to the economic imbalance between urban centres and rural areas in Algeria (Benrabah, 2004).

Thirdly, when comparing the participants' overall ratings of northern varieties (AWA, AA, AEA) with the participants' overall ratings of southern varieties (ANON, ASA), adult L1 AVA speakers are generally in favour of northern AVA varieties (see Figure 6.1.). There might be several likely triggers for this difference in evaluations between northern and southern varieties of AVA. One of which is the socio-economic imbalance between these two regions of Algeria; northern parts of Algeria usually have greater access to economic opportunities. Another reason can be the media; TV shows, radio shows, YouTubers, and

other forms of media that air shows in colloquial Algerian Arabic usually use northern dialects rather than southern ones especially AA, AEA, and AWA.

6.2. Reducing Data Dimensionality: The Component Analysis

This section further details data analysis in reference to the first research question: “How do L1 Algerian Arabic speakers evaluate Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular among other vernaculars spoken in different areas of Algeria?” (See section 5.1.).

In the previous section, we explored the existence of several patterns in the participants’ overall evaluations of five Algerian Arabic varieties. Nonetheless, the analysis presented above does not inform us about the possibility of evaluative dimensions existing amongst the ten traits. Consequently, this section explores evaluative dimensions amongst the ten traits used in the scale for the present study (see section 5.3.4). Since 700 participants answered 50 evaluative questions for the verbal-guise test, the verbal-guise data amounted to 35,000 ratings. Hence, the verbal-guise data had to be reduced into smaller combinations that captured the patterns variability in the larger dataset. Consequently, the researcher conducted *principal components analysis* (PCA henceforth). The PCA is a statistical procedure that captures the variations and patterns of information encompassed in large datasets into smaller sets that can be relatively independent of each other (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014).

6.2.1. Results

Tabachnick and Fidell (2014) recommend that, before running PCA, researchers need to assess the factorability of the correlation matrix. A dataset is deemed factorable if:

- (i) the correlation matrix shows adequate correlations of 0.3 or greater;
- (ii) Bartlett’s test of sphericity reaches statistical significance ($p < 0.05$).
- (iii) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value should be 0.6 or greater (Pallant, 2016:187).

In the present study, the dataset was deemed suitable for factorability since many coefficients of 0.3 and above appeared on the correlation matrix table (see APPENDIX 8.a.). Moreover, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value was 0.694, exceeding the value of 0.6. Similarly, Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance ($p < 0.0005$).

Using Kaiser Rule, the first attempt of PCA revealed the presence of three components with eigenvalues exceeding the value of 1 (see Hubbard and Allen, 1987). The three components accumulated 64.33% of the total variance respectively explaining 39.90 %,

14.25 %, and 10.18 % the total variance (see APPENDIX 8.b.). Table 6.5 below summarises the loadings of the three components.

However, there is a possibility of attaining the wrong number of components since Kaiser`s rule tends to overestimate the number of components, which may occur due to sampling errors (see Horn, 1965; Hubbard and Allen, 1987; Pallant, 2016). In order to overcome potential sampling error effects on the components, Horn`s (1965) Parallel Analysis was conducted to identify the number of components to retain (see APPENDIX 8.c.). Horn`s (1965) Parallel Analysis involves creating a number of random data sets (in this case 100 data sets) of the same size (10 traits \times 700 participants), and then systematically comparing eigenvalues of the components from PCA and the means of the randomly generated eigenvalues of the parallel components. Subsequently, only the components in which the means of randomly generated eigenvalues loaded less than the corresponding initial eigenvalue are accepted.

Table 6.5. Varimax Rotated Solution Output: Three-Factor Solution

Trait	Component		
	1	2	3
Confident	0.897	0.338	
Educated	0.765		
Civilised	0.736		
Smart	0.701		
Generous		0.783	
Manly	0.351	0.682	
Kind		0.663	-0.312
Naïve			0.829
Shy			0.744
Humble		0.403	0.500

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
 a. Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

Table 6.6. below summarises the comparison between eigenvalues obtained from the PCA conducted in the present study and random eigenvalues from parallel analysis, showing the retained components:

Table 6.6. Comparison of Eigenvalues from Component Analysis and Randomly Generated Eigenvalues from Parallel Analysis

Component	Eigenvalue from Initial PCA	Random Eigenvalue from Parallel Analysis	Accepted Components
1	3.990	1.1891	Accepted
2	1.425	1.1298	Accepted
3	1.018	1.0871	Rejected

After the parallel analysis, researchers must force a number of factor solution that corresponds to the retained components from the parallel analysis (Pallant, 2016:195). In the present study, two components were retained after the parallel analysis (see Table 6.5.). Subsequently, a forced two-component PCA was conducted. The two-factor solution explained a total of 54.15 % of the variance, with the first component contributing to 39.90% of the variance, and the second component contributing to 14.25% of the variance (see APPENDIX 8.b.).

In order to interpret these two components, Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalization was conducted. The loadings of the components are summarised in Table 6.7. below:

Table 6.7. Varimax Rotated Solution Output: Two-Factor Solution

Trait	Component	
	1	2
Confident	0.941	
Civilised	0.778	
Smart	0.748	
Educated	0.631	
Manly	0.568	
Naïve		0.776
Shy		0.689
Humble	0.312	0.616
Kind	-0.385	0.585
Generous	0.307	0.539

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. ^a

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

6.2.2. Preliminary Discussion

Table 6.5. above showed that the three components showed a number of strong loadings with all the traits loading greatly on only one component suggesting a simple

structure (Thurstone, 1947). Following Zahn and Hopper (1985), only traits that loaded $|0.5|$ or greater were considered in the index. Moreover, we can observe from Table 6.5. above that the traits: Confident, Educated, Civilised, and Smart have loaded strongly on component 1 (ranging between 0.70 and 0.89). Similarly, the traits: Generous, Manly, and Kind have loaded strongly on component 2 (ranging between 0.66 and 0.78). Finally, the traits: Naïve, Shy, and Humble have loaded strongly on component 3 (ranging between 0.50 and 0.82). Indeed, the loadings on these three components are consistent with Zahn and Hopper`s (1985) in the United States, which found that American university students' evaluations of regional varieties of American English loaded on three components namely: superiority (Confident, Educated, Civilised, and Smart) loading strongly on component 1, attractiveness (Generous, Manly, and Kind) loading strongly on component 2, and dynamism (Naïve, Shy, and Humble) loading strongly on component 3.

Moreover, the parallel analysis suggests condensing the three components into two components (see Table 6.6.). This finding is further supported by many researchers in the field of language attitudes, who indeed indicated that Zahn and Hopper`s (1985) three dimensions can be further reduced into two dimensions (for example, Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021). Subsequently, the second stage of principal component involved forcing a two-factor solution (see Table 6.7.). From Table 6.7. above, both components showed several strong loadings with all the traits loading considerably on only one component, which suggests the presence of a simple structure (Thurstone, 1947). There is little agreement regarding the degree of loading for an item to be included in the index (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). For the present analysis, variables that have a rotated component loading of at least $|0.4|$ (that is to say, greater than $+0.4$ or smaller than -0.4) are included in the index (see Rockwell, 1975). Moreover, we can observe from the table above that the traits: Confident, Civilised, Smart, Educated, and Manly have loaded strongly on component 1 (between 0.57 and 0.95), while the traits: Naïve, Shy, Humble, Kind, and Generous have loaded strongly on component 2 (between 0.53 and 0.78). Findings presented in Table 6.7. are consistent with a plethora of studies from around the world. Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick (2007) have demonstrated that social judgment of individuals, in general, across cultures and time are consistently categorised under two dimensions of warmth and competence. In Japan, McKenzie (2010) and McKenzie and Gilmore (2017) found that Japanese university students' evaluations of English speech merged along two dimensions, namely social status and social attractiveness, with social status traits loading strongly on component 1 while social attractiveness traits loaded strongly on component 2. Similarly, in

the United States, Cargile and Giles (1997) demonstrated that Anglo-American listeners' evaluations of accented English speech coalesced along two components.

Furthermore, Cronbach's alpha was calculated for the reliability of the components extracted after three-solutions and two-solutions factors to obtain confidence in the number of factors extracted. In the case of three-solution factors, the values were: superiority ($\alpha=0.808$), attractiveness ($\alpha=0.613$), and dynamism ($\alpha=0.701$). On the other hand, the values for the two-solution factors were Status ($\alpha=0.801$) and attractiveness ($\alpha=0.708$). As such, it was felt that using two components instead of three components provides more confidence in the internal consistency of the scales. Indeed, the loading of traits on two underlying evaluative dimensions suggests that adult L1 speakers of Algerian Arabic assigned specific characteristics that contribute to the definition of stereotypes about each Algerian Arabic variety employed for the present study. Moreover, the PCA results support using the dichotomy (Social Status vs Social Attractiveness) as separate scales for Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of the five Algerian Arabic varieties (speech stimuli). Subsequently, in the present study, analysis is presented in terms of two dimensions: social status and social attractiveness (see Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021).

6.3. Algerian Arabic Speakers' Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Status

The previous section discussed that Algerian Arabic speakers' social evaluations of adult L1 Algerian Arabic speech coalesced along two separate dimensions of language attitudes, namely Social Status (indexing traits loaded on component 1) and Social Attractiveness (indexing traits loaded on component 2). The present section explores Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social status and investigates effects of social background variables on the participants' evaluations of the speech stimuli. To remind the reader, in the present study, a value of '1' on the differential scale always indicates the least positive evaluation while a value of '7' always indicates the most positive evaluation.

6.3.1. Algerian Arabic Speakers' Overall Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Status

In order to explore Algerian Arabic (AVA) speakers' evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social status, the ratings of the five traits that indexed Social Status were averaged to calculate ratings for Social Status for each speech stimulus (Confident, Civilised, Smart, Educated, and Manly).

6.3.1.1. Results

To explore the participants' evaluation of the five speakers' (speech stimuli) social status, a one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted. To begin with, the mean evaluations and standard deviations of the ratings in terms of social status are presented in Table 6.8. below:

Table 6.8. Mean Evaluations and Standard Deviations of the Ratings in Terms of Social Status

N=700	Mean	S.D.
AA	5.1266	1.18379
AWA	4.9906	1.22607
AEA	4.9769	1.21548
ASA	4.0891	1.33385
ANON	3.9151	1.32192

Successively, the one-factor repeated-measures ANOVA revealed that there were statistically significant differences in the overall evaluations of the five AVA varieties in terms of social status: Wilks' Lambda=0.562; $F(4, 696) = 135.58$; $p < 0.0005$; Multivariate Eta Squared = 0.438 (larger than 0.14) indicating a large effect size as suggested by Cohen (1988).

Subsequently, to locate the differences between the participants' overall evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social status, a Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparison analysis was performed. The pairwise comparison analysis revealed that adult L1 AVA speakers who live in the midlands of Algeria evaluated varieties spoken in urban areas significantly more positively than rural and nomadic varieties in terms of social status (see Table 6.9.). The AVA varieties spoken in urban areas are Algiers Vernacular (AA), Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA), and Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA). The Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA) is spoken in rural areas, while the nomadic variety (ANON) is spoken by Nomadic Ouled Naïl. Table 6.9. below demonstrates the mean differences and the significance levels of the pairwise comparison (for the whole output, see APPENDIX 9.a.):

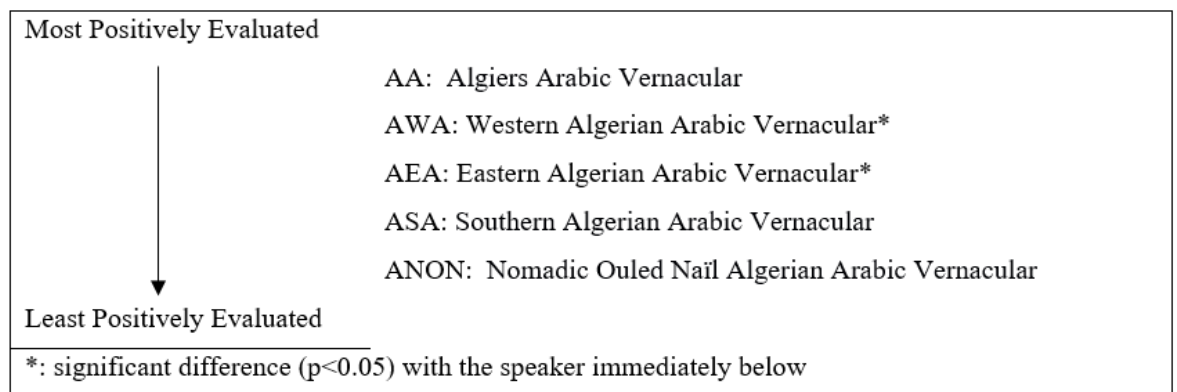
Table 6.9. Mean Differences and Significance Levels of the Pairwise Comparison: Social Status

AVA Variety	AVA Variety	Mean Difference	Significance level
AA	ANON	1.211*	0.000
	ASA	1.037*	0.000
	AEA	0.150	0.077
	AWA	0.136	0.119
ANON	AA	-1.211*	0.000
	ASA	-0.174	0.060
	AEA	-1.062*	0.000
	AWA	-1.075*	0.000
ASA	AA	-1.037*	0.000
	ANON	0.174	0.060
	AEA	-0.888*	0.000
	AWA	-0.901*	0.000
AEA	AA	-0.150	0.077
	ANON	1.062*	0.000
	ASA	0.888*	0.000
	AWA	-0.014*	0.000
AWA	AA	-0.136	0.119
	ANON	1.075*	0.000
	ASA	0.901*	0.000
	AEA	0.014*	0.000

*. $p \leq 0.05$

The Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparison analysis found that many of the differences between overall evaluations have reached statistical significance allowing for a p-value of $p < 0.0005$. The figure below (Figure 6.2.) shows how adult L1 AVA speakers ranked Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular (ANON) among other AVA varieties in terms of social status.

Figure 6.2. Ranking the Algerian Arabic Varieties from the Most Positively Evaluated to the Least Positively Evaluated for Social Status



6.3.1.2. *Preliminary Discussion*

The data analysis revealed some patterns in adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social status. Firstly, Algerian Arabic varieties that are spoken in urban areas were significantly evaluated higher than rural and nomadic varieties in terms of social status. This finding is consistent with the plethora of language attitudes research in sociolinguistics in Arabic speaking countries. Indeed, in all Arabophone countries, recent sociolinguistic research about Arabic speech has typically indicated that urban Arabic varieties, especially those that are spoken in the capital cities, are favoured by Arabic speakers in terms of status (see for example, Hachimi, 2012, 2017; Al-Birini, 2014, 2021; Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021; Al-Rojaie, 2021). In Tunisia, for example, Gabsi (2020) reported that Arabic speakers reported positive attitudes towards urban Tunisian Arabic varieties in terms of status. This consistent pattern may be explained by the imbalance distribution of economic opportunities in Algeria (Benrabah, 2013b). Indeed, most administrations, universities, laboratories, companies, and factories are situated in urban areas, especially the capital (Algiers). Therefore, it is natural that such socioeconomic imbalance would influence the perception of the variety spoken in urban areas by adult L1 AVA speakers since perception of linguistic varieties is influenced by socioeconomic status, power, and media usage (Giles and Billings, 2004:191-192; Dragojevic et al., 2021). This is because individuals are typically conscious of socioeconomic and power differences associated with certain linguistic varieties (Milroy and Milroy, 2012).

Secondly, adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers rated rural and nomadic varieties the least positive in terms of social status. This finding is consistent with that of Al-Kababji and Ahmad (2021) in Qatar, who reported that Qatari Arabic speakers evaluated the Bedouin variety as the least positive in regard to social status. Indeed, recent sociolinguistic research has typically reported that Arabic speakers held negative attitudes towards Bedouin and rural Arabic varieties in correspondence with the socioeconomic status of the nomads and rural areas throughout Arabic speaking countries (Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021; Al-Rojaie, 2021; Ech-Charfi, 2021). In the present study, the participants' evaluations of rural and urban Algerian Arabic speech in terms of social status suggest that the participants associated Algerian Arabic varieties with corresponding social images of the speech communities speaking these varieties. As Milroy and Milroy (2012:92) advocate, 'linguistic hierarchies' often conform with 'social hierarchies'.

Thirdly, from Table 6.9. above, one observation was that Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) was significantly rated higher than Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular

(AEA) in terms of social status. This observation is interesting as traditionally AWA is considered as a rural variety of Algerian Arabic while AEA is viewed as an urban variety (see Miller, 2007; Chitour, 1999; Guerrero, 2015). Therefore, this finding is contrary to previous studies in Arabic speaking countries, including Qatar (see Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021), Saudi (see Al-Rojaie, 2021), and Morocco (see Ech-Charfi, 2017, 2021), which have consistently suggested that Arabic speakers typically hold negative attitudes towards rural varieties of Arabic in terms of social status. This result may be explained by the fact that AWA is spoken in Oran, the second-largest city in Algeria and the economic capital of Algeria (see Chitour, 1999). Hence, it is predictable that Algerian Arabic speakers held positive attitudes towards AWA in terms of social status as AWA is likely associated with the socioeconomic power of Oran (for discussion, see Milroy and Milroy, 2012).

The findings concerning AWA speakers' positive attitudes towards AWA suggest that Algerian Arabic speakers associate the distinction between rural and urban varieties with the place of provenance rather than linguistic features. Indeed, dialectologists categorise AWA as rural based on phonological features (see Chitour, 1999; Guerrero, 2015). However, the present study suggests that participants perceived AWA in the same way they perceived urban varieties (see Table 6.9.). Al-Wer (2007) has reported similar findings in *Amman* (Jordan), where Jordanian Arabic speakers perceived *Sult* Vernacular (a city in Jordan) to be urban even though the variety was classified as rural by dialectologists. Niedzielski and Preston (2000:19) associate such inconsistency between linguists' and non-linguists' categorisation of language with the fact that non-linguists awareness of varieties is often influenced by 'attitudinal factors'. Further research, however, is needed to explore Algerian Arabic speakers' categorisation of Algerian Arabic varieties.

The present section discussed adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social status. The following sections will further detail analysis of Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social status by investigating the effect of social background on these evaluations.

6.3.2. Age Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers' Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Status

The literature review suggested the necessity to investigate age differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' social evaluations of Algerian Arabic speech (see section 4.5.). Subsequently, the present study aimed to investigate age differences in five Algerian Arabic

varieties evaluations by adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers who live in the midlands of Algeria (see sections 4.1. and 4.2.). Consequently, demographic information about the participants was obtained through a background sheet that accompanied the verbal-guise test (see section 5.3.4.2.). To remind the reader, age was categorised into three groups according to typical social norms in Algeria: young adults (18-35), middle-aged adults (36-55), and senior adults (56 and above) (see section 5.3.3.1.). In this section, reference is made to the research question: *If evident at all, in what measurable ways are there age differences in attitudes of L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?*

6.3.2.1. Results

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was performed to explore the possible effects of age on the participants` evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social status. MANOVA is an extension of ANOVA which allows for the assessment of multiple dependent variables synchronically (see section 5.3.5.) (See Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). The researcher chose MANOVA instead of performing multiple ANOVAs for three reasons. Firstly, performing multiple ANOVAs increases the possibility of Type I errors with each test (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). However, MANOVA is immune to this type of error (ibid.). Secondly, MANOVA allows for detecting effects that are generally smaller than what ANOVA can detect (ibid.). Thirdly, in contrast to ANOVA, MANOVA allows for the exploration of the relations between the independent variables (ibid).

Table 6.10. below shows the cell sizes. The cell size is the number of participants in each category of the independent variable (Pallant, 2016). In this case, the cell size is the number of participants from each age group.

Table 6.10. Number of Participants from Each Age Group

N=700

AGE GROUP	18-35	36-55	56 and above
Cell Size (n)	630	58	12
Percentage from N	70%	8.29%	1.71%

Table 6.10. shows that the number of middle-aged participants (36-55) and senior participants (56 and above) are substantially smaller than the number of young participants

(18-35). The cell size imbalance resulted from resources and time constraints imposed by the *COVID-19* situation during the data collection. Indeed, for safety reasons, the Algerian government specifically advised senior citizens against leaving home since they are likely to have chronic illnesses. As a result, it was not possible to obtain a larger number of senior and middle-aged participants at the time of data collection.

Despite that many researchers might advise against MANOVA in case of imbalanced cell sizes (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014), it was decided to run MANOVA for two main reasons. Firstly, the cell size assumption from MANOVA is that the minimum number required in each cell should be larger than the number of dependent variables investigated (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014; Pallant, 2016). In the present study, there are five dependent variables (five speech stimuli) which is less than half of the smallest cell from Table 6.10. (that is 12 for senior participants). Secondly, and more importantly, Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices suggested that the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices was not violated for both dimensions (Social Status and Social Attractiveness) as the p-value for both tests came larger than 0.01 (see APPENDIX 10.) (See Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). "Box's Test" tests the null hypothesis that the observed covariance matrices of the dependent variables are equal across groups (ibid.). This assumption is crucial for running MANOVA (ibid.; Pallant, 2016).

The one-factor MANOVA revealed that there was no significant overall effect between the attitudes of young adults, middle-aged adults, and senior adults towards the five Algerian Arabic varieties in terms of social status. As suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2014), the statistics for Pillai's Trace are reported to compensate for the unequal cell sizes: Pillai's Trace= 0.023; $F(10, 1388) = 1.599$; $p > 0.05$ (0.101); partial eta squared= 0.011 indicating a small effect size as suggested by Cohen (1988).

It is imperative to acknowledge that the one-factor Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) may have resulted in non-significant statistical findings for the age variable due to the relatively limited number of individuals in the middle and older age groups in comparison to the number of participants within the youngest age group, as previously elaborated upon during the discussion of cell sizes.

This observation warrants careful consideration, as it serves as an indication that the unequal distribution of participants across different age categories could have potentially influenced the outcomes of the study. As such, it is recommended that future research endeavours attempt to address this potential limitation by ensuring adequate sample sizes

across different age groups (For further in-depth discussion of this limitation, please refer to section 8.3 and section 9.3 of this thesis).

6.3.2.2. Preliminary Discussion

As demonstrated in data analysis, the present study has been unable to demonstrate any age differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic speech in terms of social status. This finding is inconsistent with the scarce sociolinguistic research around age differences in Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties, where it has advocated that young Arabic speakers favour prestigious Arabic varieties in terms of status. For example, the present results are inconsistent with those of Al-Birini (2021) in Jordan, who reported that a young refugee Syrian showed a positive attitude towards the prestigious Jordanian dialect over the Syrian dialect in terms of social status. Moreover, Al-Issa and Dahan (2021) suggested that young Emirati Arabic speakers evaluated English higher than Arabic, typically associating English with modernity and high socioeconomic status. A possible explanation can be that senior adults have a great influence on the attitudes learnt by young adults (see Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021). That is to say, senior adults in Algeria would be likely to maintain their views about language in Algeria and would play a great role in influencing their descendants' attitudes towards different linguistic varieties. Indeed, it would be of great importance to conduct comparable studies in different parts of Algeria to explore the effect of age groups on language attitudes towards different linguistic varieties in Algeria.

6.3.3. Sex Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers' Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Status

The present study aimed to investigate sex differences in five Algerian Arabic varieties evaluations by adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers who live in the midlands of Algeria (see section 5.3.3.2.). Consequently, the demographic information sheet requested participants to identify whether they were male or female (see section 5.3.4.2.). Analysis in this section is in reference to the research question: *Are there any measurable differences between the attitudes of male and female L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?*

6.3.3.1. Results

One-factor MANOVA was performed to explore the possible effect of participants' sex on overall ratings of speech stimuli in terms of social status (see section 5.3.5.). The

table below provides a summary of the mean evaluations of the speakers' social status, the standard deviations, and the number of male and female participants (Table 6.11.):

Table 6.11. Social Status Mean Evaluations, Standard deviations, and Cell Sizes in Terms of Participants' Sex

Social Status for:	Sex Group	Mean	S.D.	N
AA	Male	5.00	1.141	334
	Female	5.24	1.212	366
	Total	5.13	1.183	700
ANON	Male	4.02	1.258	334
	Female	3.82	1.372	366
	Total	3.92	1.321	700
ASA	Male	4.41	1.202	334
	Female	3.80	1.383	366
	Total	4.09	1.333	700
AEA	Male	4.85	1.154	334
	Female	5.10	1.258	366
	Total	4.98	1.215	700
AWA	Male	4.80	1.222	334
	Female	5.17	1.203	366
	Total	4.99	1.226	700

The MANOVA test yielded statistical significance: Wilks' Lambda= 0.906; $F(5, 694) = 14.418$; $p < 0.0005$ (0.000); partial eta squared=0.094 indicating medium to large effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Moreover, the findings revealed that when the effects of participants' sex on the evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties were examined separately, all the mean differences reached statistical significance:

(i) Algiers Arabic Vernacular (AA): Sum of Squares=9.567; $F(1, 698) = 6.885$; $p < 0.01$ ($p = 0.009$); partial eta squared=0.010 indicating a small effect size.

(ii) Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA): Sum of Squares=23.786; $F(1, 698) = 16.176$; $p < 0.0005$ ($p = 0.000$); partial eta squared=0.023 indicating small to medium, effect size.

(iii) Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA): Sum of Squares=10.721; $F(1, 698) = 7.323$; $p < 0.01$ ($p = 0.007$); partial eta squared=0.010 indicating negligible to small effect size.

(iv) Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA): Sum of Squares=63.832; $F(1, 698) = 37.648$; $p < 0.0005$ ($p = 0.000$); partial eta squared=0.051 indicating small to medium effect size.

(v) Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON): Sum of Squares=6.832; $F(1, 698) = 3.926$; $p < 0.01$ ($p = 0.006$); partial eta squared=0.006 indicating negligible to small effect size.

Subsequently, in order to identify where the significant differences lie, a series of pairwise comparisons were performed after the one-factor MANOVA. The table below summarises the pairwise comparisons of the mean differences in terms of social status (Table 6.12.).

Table 6.12. Pairwise Comparisons: Participants` Sex Effect on Overall Evaluations of Speech Stimuli in Terms of Social Status

Social Status for:	Participants` Sex	Participants` Sex	Mean Difference	Significance Level
AA	Male	Female	-0.234*	0.009
	Female	Male	0.234*	0.009
ANON	Male	Female	0.198*	0.048
	Female	Male	-0.198*	0.048
ASA	Male	Female	0.604*	0.000
	Female	Male	-0.604*	0.000
AEA	Male	Female	-0.248*	0.007
	Female	Male	0.248*	0.007
AWA	Male	Female	-0.369*	0.000
	Female	Male	0.369*	0.000

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

The pairwise comparisons revealed that female participants rated the speakers of urban varieties (AA and AEA) significantly more favourably as opposed to the male participants. On the other hand, male participants rated the nomadic and the rural Algerian Arabic varieties significantly more favourably than female participants. Interestingly, Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular was rated significantly more favourably by female participants as opposed to male participants.

6.3.3.2. *Preliminary Discussion*

The data analysis revealed that female participants rated urban varieties significantly more favourably as opposed to the male participants in terms of social status. This finding is consistent with Benrabah's (1994) in Algeria, where he found that female Algerian speakers tended to favour urban phonological variables more than rural phonological variables of Algerian Arabic in terms of status. Indeed, female Algerian Arabic speakers' preference for urban Algerian Arabic varieties can be related to the fact that urban varieties are offered prestige for their socioeconomic status in Arabic speaking countries (for example, Al-Wer, 2007). It is established in sociolinguistics that women prefer prestigious varieties when such prestige is overtly prescribed (see Labov, 1990). That is to say, women's preference for prestigious forms occurs above the level of awareness (see Trudgill, 1972). It is worthwhile to mention that the women's preference for prestigious varieties is due to the social expectations resulting from socialisation with other women (see sadiqi, 2003; Al-Wer, 2007; Milroy and Milroy, 2012).

Moreover, data analysis revealed that female participants rated the nomadic and the rural Algerian Arabic varieties significantly less favourably than male participants in terms of social status. This finding is consistent with those of Abdel-Jawad (1986) in Jordan, where it was reported that female Jordanians rated non-urban varieties of Jordanian Arabic negatively in terms of status (Abdel-Jawad, 1986). Similarly, Benrabah (1994) reported that female Algerian Arabic speakers were likely to stigmatise rural variants. An explanation for this pattern can be that women stigmatise low prestige varieties when they are conscious of these varieties' social status (Trudgill, 1972). Indeed, Labov (1990) argued that when aware of the variety's low prestige, women typically evade stigmatised linguistic forms more than men. On the other hand, the present finding is contradictory to those of Ibrahim (1986) in Jordan, where he found that male Jordanian Arabic speakers evaluated prestigious Standard Arabic far more than females. Therefore, it is likely imperative to further investigate Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic speech in order to check for the validity of the present findings.

Interestingly, Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) was rated significantly more favourably by female participants as opposed to male participants despite it being categorised as rural (see Miller, 2007; Guerrero, 2015). This finding, therefore, further supports that Algerian Arabic speakers categorise urban varieties based on geography rather than linguistic features (see section 6.3.1.2.). That is to say, despite that dialectologists categorise AWA as a rural Algerian Arabic vernacular (see Guerrero, 2015), the present

study demonstrated that participants perceived AWA the same way as urban varieties rather than rural varieties (see section 6.3.1.).

6.3.4. Provenance Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers` Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Status

As discussed previously, there is scarce research concerning the area of provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers` ratings of Algerian Arabic speech (see section 4.5.). Subsequently, the present study aimed to explore whether there is an effect of area of provenance (nomad/rural/urban) on language attitudes towards the five different varieties in the speech stimuli (see sections 4.1.). To this end, using the demographic information sheet, the participants provided background information about their area of provenance (see section 5.3.4.2.). To reflect the Algerian Arabic speakers` diversity, data was collected from urban, rural, and nomadic participants (see section 5.3.3.4.). In this section, reference is made to the research question: *Are there any rural/urban/nomadic provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers` attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?*

6.3.4.1. Results

One-factor MANOVA was performed to explore the possible effect of participants` area of provenance on overall evaluations of speech stimuli in terms of social status (see section 5.3.5.). The table below provides a summary of the number of urban, rural, and nomadic participants in this study (Table 6.13.):

Table 6.13. The Number of Urban, Rural, and Nomadic Participants of The Study

N=700

Area of Provenance	Nomad	Rural	Urban
Cell Size (n)	19	39	642
Percentage from N	2.7%	5.6%	91.7%

Table 6.13. above shows that the numbers of nomadic and rural participants are considerably smaller than the number of urban participants. The cell size imbalance was a result of constraints from the pandemic *COVID-19*. For safety reasons, it was not possible to have more than sixteen people in one place. This, in turn, made it unfeasible to collect data from

a larger number of participants from each category, given the timeframe of data collection for the present study.

Since the MANOVA assumes the homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014), it was necessary to perform Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices (see Pallant, 2016). In the present case, Box's test showed failure (p -value < 0.01), which means the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices was violated (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). In case of violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices, a common practice to compensate for this violation is to balance the cell sizes (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). For example, to balance the cell sizes, researchers could make all the cell sizes equal to the size of the smallest cell (see Pallant, 2016). In the present study, the smallest cell size is 19, corresponding to the number of nomadic participants. Consequently, nineteen (19) random cases were selected from each of the categories (Urban and Rural). The recalculated sample for this section is 57 participants.

Subsequently, a one-factor MANOVA was conducted to investigate possible area of provenance differences in the participants' evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social status. The one-factor MANOVA revealed that there was no significant overall effect between the attitudes of nomadic, rural, and urban participants towards the five Algerian Arabic varieties (speech stimuli) in terms of social status: Wilks' Lambda = 0.760; $F(10, 100) = 1.473$; $p > 0.05$ (0.160); partial eta squared = 0.128 indicating a medium to large effect size (Cohen, 1988).

The acknowledgement of a potential limitation in the one-factor Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) is of utmost importance. The statistical findings concerning the provenance variable may have rendered non-significant due to the relatively limited number of individuals selected to balance cell sizes. Therefore, it is highly recommended that future research endeavours aim to address this potential limitation by ensuring adequate sample sizes for each of the provenance categories (see section 8.5. and Section 9.3.)

6.3.4.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis revealed that the area of provenance did not affect adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic varieties in terms of social status. This finding is inconsistent with Hachimi's (2012) findings in Morocco, where she found that the Moroccan Arabic speaker from *Fess* (an urban Moroccan city) favoured urban

[q] over rural [g] in terms of status and prestige. Furthermore, Chakrani (2013) reported that Moroccan Arabic speakers who live in the city generally favoured French over Moroccan Arabic and standard Arabic, associating French with modernity and prestige. Similarly, Hussein and Al-Ali (1989) reported that Jordanian Arabic speakers who live in urban areas favoured Standard Arabic and urban Jordanian vernacular over Bedouin and rural Jordanian Arabic in terms of status. The present finding is interesting as provenance has been reported as a salient factor among Arabic speakers (for example, Abdel-Jawad, 1986; Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Hachimi, 2012; Chakrani, 2013). Therefore, it is imperative to conduct further research to explore the area of provenance effects on Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties.

6.3.5. Education Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers' Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Status

The literature review demonstrated the importance of exploring the possible effects of participants' level of education on language attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards Algerian Arabic speech (see section 4.5.). Using a demographic information sheet, the participants provided background information about their educational level (see section 5.3.4.2.). To mirror different educational levels in Algeria, the level of education was classified into three categories, namely primary education, high school, and higher education (see section 5.3.3.3.). This section is in reference to the research question: *Are there any education differences in patterns of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?*

6.3.5.1. Results

One-factor MANOVA was performed to explore the possible effect of level of education on the participants' evaluations of speech stimuli in terms of social status. Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices suggested that the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices was not violated for both dimensions (Social Status and Social Attractiveness) as the p-value for both tests came larger than 0.01 (see APPENDIX 11.) (See Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). Therefore, MANOVA was deemed suitable to perform (ibid.; Pallant, 2016). The following table provides a summary of the mean evaluations of the speakers' social status, the standard deviations, and the number of participants according to the level of education (Table 6.14.).

The one-factor MANOVA test yielded statistical significance. Statistics for Pillai's Trace are provided in order to compensate for the imbalanced cell sizes (see Tabachnick and

Fidell, 2014): Pillai's Trace = 0.074; $F(10, 1388) = 5.324$; $p < 0.0005$ (0.000); partial eta squared=0.037 indicating small to medium effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Furthermore, when the effects of level of education on participants' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties in terms of status were examined separately, only one difference reached statistical significance, namely:

Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA): Type III Sum of Squares=47.609; $F(2, 697) = 16.843$; $p < 0.0005$ ($p=0.000$); partial eta squared=0.046 indicating small to medium effect size.

Table 6.14. Mean ratings of the Speakers' Social Status, Standard Deviations, and Cell Sizes for Education

N=700		Level of Education	Mean	S.D.	n
AA	Primary School	4.79	1.285	34	
	High School	5.19	1.222	283	
	Higher Education	5.11	1.142	383	
	Total	5.13	1.184	700	
ANON	Primary School	4.21	1.469	34	
	High School	3.95	1.319	283	
	Higher Education	3.86	1.309	383	
	Total	3.92	1.321	700	
ASA	Primary School	3.96	0.969	34	
	High School	4.17	1.406	283	
	Higher Education	4.04	1.305	383	
	Total	4.09	1.333	700	
AEA	Primary School	4.68	1.293	34	
	High School	4.69	1.195	283	
	Higher Education	5.21	1.174	383	
	Total	4.98	1.215	700	
AWA	Primary School	4.95	1.092	34	
	High School	5.06	1.211	283	
	Higher Education	4.94	1.248	383	
	Total	4.99	1.226	700	

Subsequently, in order to locate where the significant differences lie, a series of post-hoc tests were performed. The table below summarises the post-hoc analysis (see Table 6.15.)

Table 6.15. Post-hoc Tests: Effect of Level of Education on Participants` Ratings of Eastern Algerian Arabic in Terms of Social Status

Bonferroni

Dependent Variable	Level of Education	Level of Education	Mean Difference	Sig.
AEA	Primary School	High School	-0.0154	0.943
		Higher Education	-0.5376*	0.012
	High School	Primary School	0.0154	0.943
		Higher Education	-0.5222*	0.000
	Higher Education	Primary School	0.5376*	0.012
		High School	0.5222*	0.000

Based on observed means.

The error term is Mean Square (Error) = 1.504.

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

The post-hoc tests revealed that participants who obtained higher education rated AEA significantly more favourably than both participants who obtained primary education and participants who obtained high school education.

6.3.5.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis revealed a statistically significant effect for educational level on participants` evaluation of an urban variety, namely Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA). Specifically, participants who obtained high education rated AEA significantly more favourably than both participants who obtained primary education and participants who obtained high school education. This result is consistent with Hussein and Al-Ali`s (1989), who found that Jordanian Arabic speakers who are students rated Standard Arabic and urban Jordanian Arabic more significantly favourably than rural and Bedouin varieties in terms of social status. Moreover, Mizher and Al-Abed Al-Haq (2014) found that Jordanian Arabic speakers who are university staff tended to favour the Standard Arabic over varieties of Jordanian Arabic in terms of status. The same pattern was reported in Iraq, where Iraqi Arabic speakers who obtained higher education favoured Standard Arabic over Iraqi dialects in terms of status more than participants who did not obtain a degree (Murad, 2007). A possible explanation for higher education participants favouring prestigious urban AEA in terms of status can be attributed to the fact that education is an index of socioeconomic status (see Milroy and Milroy, 2012: 79). That is to say, individuals who have higher education typically tend to favour prestigious linguistic varieties as a way to exhibit status.

6.3.6. Exploring Interaction Effects: Social Status

From the analysis above, two social background variables were found to have a statistically significant effect on the participants' evaluations of Eastern Algerian Arabic (AEA) in terms of social status, namely sex (see section 6.3.3.) and education (see section 6.3.5.). The present section explores whether sex and education have a significant *interaction effect* on the participants' evaluations of AEA. Interaction effects occur when two or more independent variables have a simultaneous significant effect on at least one dependent variable, where the combined interaction effect is either significantly greater or significantly less than the sum of their individual effects (Lavrakas, 2008). That is to say, the relationship between the dependent and the independent variables is explained only through another facilitating variable. For example, in the present study, an interaction effect between participants' sex and participants' education on the participants' ratings of AEA would mean that sex should be considered to understand the impact of education on attitudes towards AEA. Therefore, exploring the interaction effect of education and sex in this study is important to avoid overgeneralising the significant effects found on evaluations of AEA.

6.3.6.1. Results

A two-factor independent measures ANOVA was conducted to explore the interaction effect of participants' sex and participants' education on the evaluations of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) in terms of social status (see section 5.3.5.). As discussed previously, the level of education consisted of three categories: primary education (up to primary school), high school, and higher education (year one in university and above) (see section 5.3.3.3.). Similarly, participants' sex consisted of two categories: male and female (see section 5.3.3.2.). The following table summarises mean evaluations of AEA in terms of social status, standard deviations, and cell sizes in terms of sex and level of education (Table 6.16.):

Table 6.16. Mean Evaluations of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular, Standard Deviations, and Cell Sizes in terms of Social Status (Sex X Education)

Dependent Variable: Social Status for AEA

Sex Group	Level of Education	Mean	S.D.	N
Male	Primary School	4.64	1.292	20
	Highschool	4.71	1.088	137
	Higher Education	4.98	1.177	177
	Total	4.85	1.154	334
Female	Primary School	4.73	1.341	14
	Highschool	4.68	1.292	146
	Higher Education	5.41	1.135	206
	Total	5.10	1.258	366
Total	Primary School	4.68	1.293	34
	Highschool	4.69	1.195	283
	Higher Education	5.21	1.174	383
	Total	4.98	1.215	700

Levene's test of equality of error variances have not reached statistical significance ($p=0.481$) hence the homogeneity assumption is met (see Pallant, 2016). On the other hand, the two-factor independent measures ANOVA have reached statistical significance for the interaction effect between sex and level of education:

Type III Sum of Squares= 8.737; $F(2, 694) = 1.393$; $p<0.05$ ($p=0.044$); Partial Eta Squared = 0.009 suggesting a small effect size.

Subsequently, to further explore the interaction effect between participants` sex and level of education on overall evaluations of AEA in terms of social status, it was decided to split the sample into two groups based on sex group and then run separate one-factor ANOVAs on level of education effect on overall ratings of AEA in terms of social status.

In the case of male participants, the one-factor ANOVA did not reach statistical significance:

Sum of Squares= 6.783; $F(2, 331) = 2.569$; $p<0.05$ ($p=0.078$); Eta Squared = 0.015 suggesting a small effect size.

Hence, it was concluded that level of education did not have an effect on male participants` overall evaluation of AEA in terms of social status.

In the case of female participants, the one-factor ANOVA reached statistical significance:

Sum of Squares= 48.128; $F(2, 363) = 16.479$; $p < 0.0005$ ($p = 0.000$); Eta Squared = 0.083 suggesting a medium effect size.

Consequently, Bonferroni-adjusted post-hoc test was conducted to explore the patterns of interactions between sex-group (female) and level of education. The test showed that female participants who obtained higher education rated social status of AEA significantly more favourably than female participants who obtained high school education (see Table 6.17.).

Table 6.17. Post-hoc Tests for Level of Education Effect on Female Participants Evaluation of AEA in Terms of Social Status

Dependent Variable: Social Status (AEA)
Bonferroni

Level of Education	Level of Education	Mean Difference	Sig.
Primary School	High School	0.049	0.988
	Higher Education	-0.686	0.101
High School	Primary School	-0.049	0.988
	Higher Education	-0.735*	0.000
Higher Education	Primary School	0.686	0.101
	High School	0.735*	0.000

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

a. Sex Group = Female

6.3.6.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis revealed that participants' sex and education have a significant interaction effect on participants' ratings of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) in terms of social status, where female participants who obtained higher education rated AEA more favourably than female high schoolers. Perhaps this result explains Benrabah's (1994) findings in Algeria since he only recruited female Algerian Arabic speakers who are students at the university and reported that the participants significantly favoured the guise with the urban [ɑ] instead of the guise with rural [æ']. On the other hand, this finding is inconsistent with Murad's (2007) study in Iraq. Murad (2007) reported that both gender and level of education had unique effects on Iraqi Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties, where females and higher education participants favoured prestigious varieties. Similarly, Al-Abed Al-Haq (1998) study in *Irbid* (Jordanian city) found that participants' sex and education had unique effects on Jordanian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Standard and non-Standard Arabic varieties. The interaction effect found here can be explained by the fact that education in Arabic speaking countries is "a proxy variable" that is influenced by other variables (Al-Wer, 2002: 42). That is to say, what influences attitudes in Arabo-phone countries is the

difference in contact that comes with different educational levels rather than education itself. For example, a high-school graduate usually will move out of their hometown to study at university; hence, in this case, the linguistic behaviour is influenced by such social mobility rather than the education itself (Shalaby, 2021).

6.4. Algerian Arabic Speakers` Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Attractiveness

After conducting the PCA, the previous section discussed adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers` social evaluations of Algerian Arabic speech in terms of Social Status (indexing traits loaded on component 1). The present section explores Algerian Arabic speakers` ratings of the speech stimuli in terms of and Social Attractiveness (indexing traits loaded on component 2). To remind the reader, in the present study, a value of ‘1’ on the differential scale always indicates the least positive evaluation while a value of ‘7’ always indicates the most positive evaluation.

6.4.1. Algerian Arabic Speakers` Overall Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Attractiveness

For the present section, the five traits that indexed Social Attractiveness in the PCA were averaged to calculate ratings for Social Attractiveness for each speech stimulus (Naïve, Shy, Humble, Kind, and Generous).

6.4.1.1. Results

To explore the participants` evaluation of the five speakers` (speech stimuli) social attractiveness, a one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted. To begin with, the mean evaluations and standard deviations of the ratings in terms of social attractiveness are presented in Table 6.18. below:

Table 6.18. Mean Evaluations and Standard Deviations of the Ratings in Terms of Social Attractiveness

N=700	Mean	S.D.
ASA	5.0951	1.17081
AEA	4.5986	1.12531
AA	4.5440	1.12785
AWA	4.3274	1.13767
ANON	3.9517	1.29840

Subsequently, the one-factor repeated-measures ANOVA revealed that there were statistically significant differences in the overall evaluations of the five AVA varieties in terms of social attractiveness: Wilks' Lambda=0.702; $F(4, 696) = 73.786$; $p < 0.0005$; Multivariate Eta Squared = 0.298 (larger than 0.14) indicating a very large effect size as suggested by Cohen (1988).

Afterwards, to locate the differences between the participants' overall evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social attractiveness, a Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparison analysis was performed. Table 6.19. below shows the mean differences and the significance levels of the pairwise comparison (for the whole output, see APPENDIX 9.b.):

Table 6.19. Mean Differences and Significance Levels of the Pairwise Comparison: Social Attractiveness

Variety	Variety	Mean Difference	Significance level ^b
AA	ANON	0.592*	0.000
	ASA	-0.551*	0.000
	AEA	-0.055	1.000
	AWA	0.217*	0.000
ANON	AA	-0.592*	0.000
	ASA	-1.143*	0.000
	AEA	-0.647*	0.000
	AWA	-0.376*	0.000
ASA	AA	0.551*	0.000
	ANON	1.143*	0.000
	AEA	0.497*	0.000
	AWA	0.768*	0.000
AEA	AA	0.055	1.000
	ANON	0.647*	0.000
	ASA	-0.497*	0.000
	AWA	0.271*	0.000
AWA	AA	-0.217*	0.000
	ANON	0.376*	0.000
	ASA	-0.768*	0.000
	AEA	-0.271*	0.000

Based on estimated marginal means

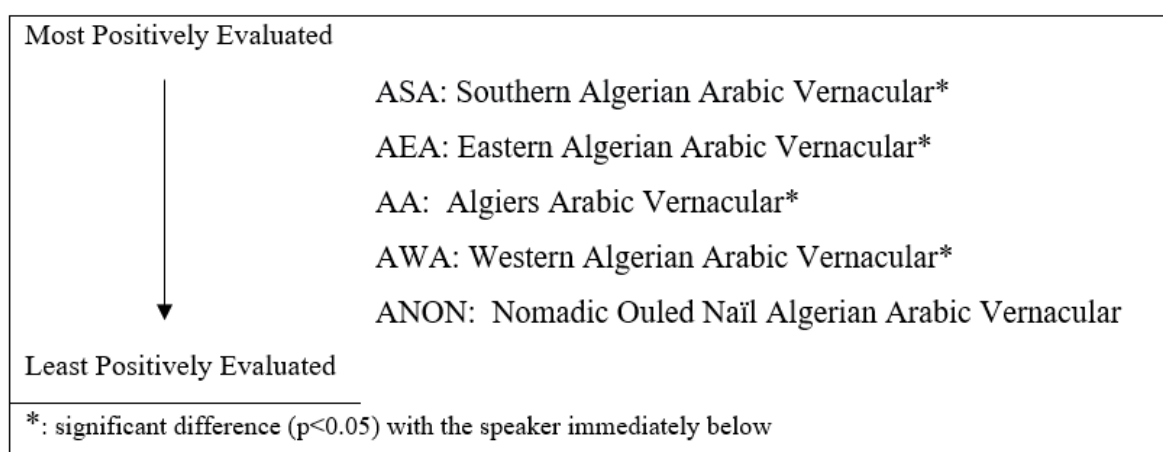
*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

The Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparison analysis found that many of the differences between overall evaluations have reached statistical significance allowing for a p-value of $p < 0.0005$. The pairwise comparison analysis revealed that adult L1 AVA speakers who live in the midlands of Algeria evaluated Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA)

significantly higher than all Algerian Arabic varieties in terms of social attractiveness (see Table 6.11.). Moreover, the pairwise comparison analysis showed that participants evaluated the nomadic variety (ANON) significantly lower than all the Algerian Arabic varieties used for the study. In addition, Algiers Vernacular (AA) was evaluated significantly more positively than ANON, AEA, AWA. The figure below (Figure 6.3.) shows how adult L1 AVA speakers ranked Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular (ANON) among other AVA varieties in terms of social attractiveness.

Figure 6.3. Ranking the Algerian Arabic Varieties from the Most Positively Evaluated to the Least Positively Evaluated for Social Attractiveness



6.4.1.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis revealed that adult L1 Algerian Arabic (AVA) speakers who live in the midlands of Algeria rated Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA) significantly higher than all Algerian Arabic varieties in terms of social attractiveness (see Table 6.11.). Since ASA is a rural variety (see Guerrero, 2015), the present finding is consistent with a plethora of sociolinguistic research concerning Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Arabic vernaculars including Jordan (for example, Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Al-Birini, 2021), Morocco (for example, Hachimi, 2012; Ech-Charfi, 2021), Saudi (for example, Al-Rojaie, 2021), Qatar (for example, Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021), and many other Arabic-speaking countries (for example, Al-Birini, 2014, 2016). For instance, Al-Kababji and Ahmad (2021) reported that Qatari Arabic speakers rated rural Qatari Arabic the highest in terms of attractiveness. The reason Arabic speakers generally favour rural Arabic varieties in terms of social attractiveness is that rural and Bedouin varieties are usually associated with authentic Arab identity (see Ferguson, 1959).

In contrast, in terms of social attractiveness, the data analysis revealed that adult L1 AVA speakers ranked the nomadic variety (ANON) significantly lower than all Algerian

Arabic varieties used for the present study. That is to say, ANON was ranked significantly the lowest on both scales of status and attractiveness (see section 6.3.1.). This finding is interesting as it suggests that adult L1 AVA speakers held negative stereotypical views about ANON. The present study is the first study to demonstrate that a nomadic (Bedouin) Arabic variety was rated negatively for status and attractiveness since it is consistently reported that Bedouin Arabic varieties are afforded covert prestige (Trudgill, 1972). Ech-Charfi (2021), for example, stated that Moroccan Arabic speakers rate rural Moroccan Arabic highly in terms of social attractiveness. Indeed, Ech-Charfi (2021), similar to many language attitudes studies in Arabic speaking countries, included local and global languages in the attitudinal objects (for example, Al-Birini, 2016). A possible explanation for the divergence between the present findings and previous research can be attributed to the dynamics of social identity (Giles and Rakić, 2014). Individuals consistently compare their ingroup with relevant outgroups as a way to establish social identity (ibid). Therefore, when other languages are involved, Arabic speakers tend to include rural varieties in their definition of the ingroup. However, when only varieties of Arabic are involved, as is the case in the present study, urban Arabic varieties speakers include rural varieties in their definition of the outgroup.

6.4.2. Age Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers' Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Attractiveness

This section aims to investigate age differences in participants' evaluations of the social attractiveness of the speakers from the speech stimuli (see sections 4.1.). Consequently, participants were requested to choose their age group from three categories: young adults (18-35), middle-aged adults (36-55), and senior adults (56 and above) (see section 5.3.3.1.). This section, therefore, is in reference to the research question: *If evident at all, in what measurable ways are there age differences in attitudes of L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?*

6.4.2.1. Results

One-factor MANOVA was performed to explore the possible effects of age on the participants' evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of social attractiveness. As discussed above, the cell sizes for the age group were imbalanced as a result of time and resource constraints (see section 6.3.2.1.). The dataset was deemed suitable to run MANOVA for two reasons (see section 6.3.2.1.). Firstly, the number of participants in each cell (12 was the smallest) is greater than the number of dependent variables (five speech stimuli) (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014; Pallant, 2016). Secondly, Box's Test of Equality of Covariance

Matrices suggested that the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices was not violated for both dimensions (Social Status and Social Attractiveness) as the *p-value* for both tests came larger than 0.01 (see APPENDIX 10.) (See Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). The following table provides a summary of the mean evaluations of the speakers' social attractiveness, the standard deviations, and the number of participants according to age (Table 6.20.).

Table 6.20. Social Attractiveness Mean Evaluations, Standard deviations, and Cell Sizes in Terms of Age Group

Social Attractiveness for:	Age Group	Mean	S.D.	N
AA	18-35	4.569	1.120	630
	36-55	4.366	1.191	58
	56 and above	4.117	1.174	12
	Total	4.544	1.128	700
ANON	18-35	3.923	1.308	630
	36-55	4.141	1.208	58
	56 and above	4.533	1.090	12
	Total	3.951	1.298	700
ASA	18-35	5.080	1.190	630
	36-55	5.221	0.951	58
	56 and above	5.267	1.123	12
	Total	5.095	1.171	700
AEA	18-35	4.658	1.097	630
	36-55	4.124	1.285	58
	56 and above	3.750	0.946	12
	Total	4.599	1.125	700
AWA	18-35	4.367	1.139	630
	36-55	3.983	1.049	58
	56 and above	3.900	1.155	12
	Total	4.327	1.138	700

The one-factor MANOVA yielded statistical significance for age on the participants' evaluations of speech stimuli in terms of social attractiveness. As suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2014), the statistics for Pillai's Trace are reported to compensate for the unequal cell sizes: Pillai's Trace= 0.044; $F(10,1388) = 3.149$; $p < 0.005$ (0.001); partial eta squared=0.022 indicating small to medium effect size as suggested by Cohen (1988).

Moreover, the findings revealed that when the effects of participants' age on the evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties were examined separately, two mean differences reached statistical significance:

(i) Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA): Type III Sum of Squares=23.952; $F(2, 697) = 9.693$; $p < 0.0005$ ($p = 0.000$); partial eta squared=0.027 indicating small to medium effect size as suggested by Cohen (1988).

(ii) Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA): Type III Sum of Squares=10.084; $F(2, 697) = 3.928$; $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.02$); partial eta squared=0.011 indicating a small effect size as suggested by Cohen (1988).

Subsequently, in order to identify where the significant differences lie, a series of pairwise comparisons were performed after the one-factor MANOVA. The table below summarises the pairwise comparisons of the mean differences in terms of social attractiveness (Table 6.21.).

Table 6.21. Pairwise Comparisons: Participants' Age Effects on Evaluations of Eastern and Western Algerian Vernaculars in Terms of Social Attractiveness

Social Attractiveness	Age Group	Age Group	Mean Difference	Sig
AEA	18-35	36-55	0.5343*	0.001
		56 and above	0.9084*	0.016
	36-55	18-35	-0.5343*	0.001
		56 and above	0.3741	0.867
	56 and above	18-35	-0.9084*	0.016
		36-55	-0.3741	0.867
AWA	18-35	36-55	0.3845*	0.041
		56 and above	0.4673	0.472
	36-55	18-35	-0.3845*	0.041
		56 and above	0.0828	1.000
	56 and above	18-35	-0.4673	0.472
		36-55	-0.0828	1.000

Based on observed means.

The error term is Mean Square (Error) = 1.284.

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

The pairwise comparisons revealed that young adults (18-35) evaluated Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) significantly more favourably than both senior (56 and above) and middle-aged (36-55) participants. Similarly, young adults (18-35) evaluated Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) significantly more favourably than middle-aged (36-55) participants.

6.4.2.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis revealed that young adults (18-35) evaluated Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) significantly more favourably than both senior (56 and above) and

middle-aged (36-55) participants. Interestingly, AEA is an urban variety from the northern coast of Algeria (see Miller, 2007), which is typically afforded overt prestige in Algerian (see section 6.3.1.). The present findings are consistent with the limited number of studies concerning age's effect on Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Arabic varieties (see Al-Ahmadi, 2016; Al-Takhaine and Rahrouh, 2017), where a tendency to favour urban varieties in terms of social attractiveness was reported among young Arabic speakers. In Saudi, for example, Al-Ahmadi (2016) reported that young speakers of Urban Mecca Hijazi Arabic had positive attitudes towards the urban variety in terms of attractiveness as opposed to older generation. On the other hand, it seemed that in the case of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA), the significant mean differences between young and middle-aged participants suggested that young participants were more likely to favour AWA than middle-aged adults. This pattern of age effect on adult L1 AWA speakers' attitudes towards AWA in terms of social attractiveness further supports the claim that Algerian Arabic speakers categorise rural and urban varieties geographically rather than phonologically (see Miller, 2007). This is because AWA is a rural variety (see Miller, 2007), yet the present study demonstrated that Algerian Arabic speakers perceived AWA similarly to urban varieties (see section 6.3.1.2.).

6.4.3. Sex Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers' Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Attractiveness

The present section explores sex differences in adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards the speech stimuli (see section 5.3.3.2.). Analysis in this section is related to the research question: *Are there any measurable differences between the attitudes of male and female L1 Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?*

6.4.3.1. Results

One-factor MANOVA was performed to explore the possible effect of participants' sex on overall ratings of speech stimuli in terms of social attractiveness. The one-factor MANOVA revealed that there was no significant overall effect between the evaluations of males and females towards the speech stimuli in terms of social attractiveness: Wilks' Lambda = 0.993; $F(5, 694) = 1.040$; $p > 0.05$ (0.393); partial eta squared = 0.007 indicating a very small effect size.

6.4.3.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis revealed that participants' sex did not account for differences in their evaluations of five varieties of Algerian Arabic speech. The present findings are consistent with Hussein and Al-Ali's (1989) findings in Jordan where they reported that participants' sex did not account for differences in Jordanian Arabic speakers' evaluations of rural, Bedouin, and urban varieties of Jordanian Arabic. On the other hand, the present finding is inconsistent with those of Saidat (2010), who stated that male Jordanian Arabic speakers showed a tendency to evaluate Bedouin and rural Jordanian Arabic positively in terms of attractiveness. It is, therefore, likely imperative to conduct similar studies to the present study in order to further validate (or invalidate) the findings of the present study concerning participants' sex effect on their evaluations of the social attractiveness of Algerian Arabic speakers.

6.4.4. Provenance Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers' Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Attractiveness

The present section explores whether participants' area of provenance (nomad, rural, and urban) account for differences in participants' attitudes towards the five Algerian Arabic varieties (the speech stimuli) in terms of social attractiveness (see sections 4.1.). As discussed, data was collected from urban, rural, and nomadic participants to reflect the Algerian Arabic speakers' diversity (see section 5.3.3.4.). This section is in reference to the research question: *Are there any rural/urban/nomadic provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?*

6.4.4.1. Results

As discussed above, the cell sizes for the area of provenance were balanced since Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices revealed that the homogeneity of variance-covariance assumption for MANOVA was violated (p -value < 0.01) (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014; Pallant, 2016) (see section 6.3.4.1.). Following the recommendations of Tabachnick and Fidell (2014), the researcher chose 19 (the number of nomadic participants, the smallest cell) random participants from the larger two cells (cells for urban and rural) (see section 6.3.4.1.). The recalculated sample for this section is 57 participants. Table 6.22. below summarises the mean evaluations of the speakers' social attractiveness, the standard deviations, and the number of participants according to the area of provenance.

Table 6.22. Mean ratings of the Speakers' Social Attractiveness, Standard Deviations, and Cell Sizes for Provenance

Social Attractiveness	Provenance	Mean	S.D.	n
AA	Nomad	4.30	1.321	19
	Rural	4.71	1.040	19
	Urban	4.52	1.121	19
	Total	4.51	1.189	57
ANON	Nomad	4.75	1.091	19
	Rural	3.51	1.110	19
	Urban	3.60	1.366	19
	Total	3.95	1.265	57
ASA	Nomad	5.09	1.583	19
	Rural	5.25	1.097	19
	Urban	4.89	1.059	19
	Total	5.08	1.254	57
AEA	Nomad	4.19	1.182	19
	Rural	4.73	1.211	19
	Urban	4.82	1.221	19
	Total	4.58	1.201	57
AWA	Nomad	4.08	1.106	19
	Rural	4.32	1.079	19
	Urban	4.61	0.880	19
	Total	4.34	1.031	57

The one-factor MANOVA yielded statistical significance: Wilks' Lambda = 0.695; $F(10, 100) = 2.996$; $p < 0.05$ (0.041); partial eta squared = 0.167 suggesting a large effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Furthermore, when the effects of participants' provenance on their evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties were examined separately, only one difference reached statistical significance, namely:

Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON): Type III Sum of Squares = 12.355; $F(2, 54) = 4.306$; $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.018$); partial eta squared = 0.138 indicating a large effect size.

Subsequently, in order to locate where the significant differences lie, a series of post-hoc tests were performed. The table below summarises the post-hoc analysis (see Table 6.23.)

Table 6.23. Post-hoc Tests: Effect of Provenance on Participants` Ratings of Nomadic Ouled Nail Vernacular in Terms of Social Attractiveness

Bonferroni

Social Attractiveness	Area of Provenance	Area of Provenance	Mean Difference	Sig.
ANON	Nomad	Rural	1.2366*	0.031
		Urban	1.1468	0.058
	Rural	Nomad	-1.2366*	0.031
		Urban	-0.0947	1.000
	Urban	Nomad	-1.1468	0.058
		Rural	0.0947	1.000

Based on observed means.

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

The error term is Mean Square(Error) = 1.055

The post-hoc tests revealed that nomads rated Nomadic Ouled Nail Algerian Arabic Vernacular significantly more favourably than rural participants.

6.4.4.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis revealed that nomadic participants rated Nomadic Ouled Nail Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON) in terms of social attractiveness significantly more favourably than rural participants. The present findings were also reported previously in Jordan where nomadic Jordanian Arabic speakers showed solidarity with speakers of Bedouin Jordanian Arabic (Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989). Similarly, Bedouin Qatari Arabic speakers tended to evaluate Bedouin Qatari Arabic more significantly than urban and rural varieties in terms of social attractiveness (Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021). These results can be attributed to language loyalty (see Ferguson, 1959). Consistent with Giles and Rakić's (2014) account of the social identity dynamics, the nomadic participants included the ANON speaker in their definition of ingroup which was translated into positive attitudes towards ANON as a way of showing ingroup solidarity.

6.4.5. Education Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers` Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Speech: Social Attractiveness

This section explores the possible effect of participants` level of education on the language attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards Algerian Arabic speech in terms of social attractiveness. The participants were requested to choose their level of education from three categories, namely primary education, high school, and higher education, which reflect different educational levels in Algeria (see section 5.3.3.3.). Data analysis in this section is related to the research question: *Are there any education differences in patterns of Algerian*

Arabic speakers` attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular and other Algerian Arabic varieties?

6.4.5.1. Results

One-factor MANOVA was performed to explore the possible effect of participants` education on their evaluations of speech stimuli in terms of social attractiveness. Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices suggested that the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices was not violated for both dimensions (Social Status and Social Attractiveness) as the p-value for both tests was larger than 0.01 (see APPENDIX 11.) (See Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014). Therefore, the dataset was deemed suitable for MANOVA (see Pallant, 2016). The following table summarises the mean evaluations of the speakers` social attractiveness, the standard deviations, and the number of participants according to the level of education (Table 6.24.).

Table 6.24. Mean ratings of the Speakers` Social Attractiveness, Standard Deviations, and Cell Sizes for Participants` Education

N=700		Level of Education	Mean	S.D.	n
AA	Primary School	3.94	1.397	34	
	High School	4.58	1.084	283	
	Higher Education	4.57	1.120	383	
	Total	4.54	1.127	700	
ANON	Primary School	4.11	1.091	34	
	High School	3.97	1.275	283	
	Higher Education	3.92	1.333	383	
	Total	3.95	1.298	700	
ASA	Primary School	5.21	1.070	34	
	High School	5.12	1.126	283	
	Higher Education	5.06	1.212	383	
	Total	5.10	1.170	700	
AEA	Primary School	3.77	1.170	34	
	High School	4.64	1.112	283	
	Higher Education	4.64	1.105	383	
	Total	4.60	1.125	700	
AWA	Primary School	4.01	1.153	34	
	High School	4.44	1.149	283	
	Higher Education	4.27	1.120	383	
	Total	4.33	1.137	700	

The one-factor MANOVA test yielded statistical significance. Statistics for Pillai's Trace are provided in order to compensate for the imbalanced cell sizes (see Tabachnick and Fidell, 2014): Pillai's Trace= 0.045; $F(10, 1388) = 3.194$; $p < 0.0005$ (0.000); partial eta squared=0.022 indicating small to medium effect size (Cohen, 1988).

Furthermore, when the effects of level of education on participants' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties in terms of attractiveness were examined separately, three mean differences reached statistical significance, namely:

(i) Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA): Type III Sum of Squares=24.152; $F(2, 697) = 9.776$; $p < 0.0005$ ($p=0.000$); partial eta squared=0.027 indicating small to medium effect size.

(ii) Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA): Type III Sum of Squares=8.509; $F(2, 697) = 3.309$; $p < 0.05$ ($p=0.037$); partial eta squared=0.009 indicating small effect size.

(iii) Algiers Arabic Vernacular (AA): Type III Sum of Squares=13.026; $F(2, 697) = 5.181$; $p < 0.01$ ($p=0.006$); partial eta squared=0.015 indicating small to medium effect size.

Subsequently, in order to locate where the significant differences lie, a series of post-hoc tests were performed. The table below summarises the post-hoc analysis (see Table 6.25.). The post-hoc tests revealed that participants who obtained primary education rated urban Algerian Arabic Vernaculars (AA and AEA) significantly less favourably than participants who obtained higher education and participants who obtained high school education. Moreover, in the case of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular, evaluations of participants who obtained primary were significantly less favourably than evaluations of participants who obtained high school education.

Table 6.25. Post-hoc Tests: Effect of Participants` Education on their Ratings of the Speech Stimuli in Terms of Social Attractiveness

Bonferroni

Dependent Variable	Level of Education	Level of Education	Mean Difference	Sig.
AA	Primary School	High School	-.6426*	.002
		Higher Education	-.6270*	.002
	High School	Primary School	.6426*	.002
		Higher Education	.0156	.859
	Higher Education	Primary School	.6270*	.002
		High School	-.0156	.859
AEA	Primary School	High School	-.8638*	.000
		Higher Education	-.8643*	.000
	High School	Primary School	.8638*	.000
		Higher Education	-.0004	.996
	Higher Education	Primary School	.8643*	.000
		High School	.0004	.996
AWA	Primary School	High School	-.4321*	.036
		Higher Education	-.2577	.205
	High School	Primary School	.4321*	.036
		Higher Education	.1744	.050
	Higher Education	Primary School	.2577	.205
		High School	-.1744	.050

Based on observed means.

The error term is Mean Square (Error) = 1.286.

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

6.4.5.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis revealed that participants who obtained primary education rated urban Algerian Arabic Vernaculars (AA and AEA) significantly less favourably than participants who obtained higher education and participants who obtained high school education. This finding is inconsistent with previous research concerned with Arabic speakers` attitudes towards rural and urban varieties, where it was reported that Arabic speakers who obtained primary education typically favour rural varieties in terms of social attractiveness (see Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Al-Abed Al-Haq, 1998; Shaaban and Ghaith, 2002; Al-Birini, 2016). In Iraq, Murad (2007) reported that participants with remote to no education favoured rural Iraqi Arabic in terms of attractiveness. Perhaps consistent with Murad`s (ibid.) study, in the case of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular, evaluations of participants who obtained primary were significantly less favourably than evaluations of

participants who obtained high school education. Therefore, the present significant effects of education on adult L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of AEA, AWA, and AA demonstrate that participants' education can account for differences in attitudes towards different AVA varieties.

6.4.6. Exploring Interaction Effects: Social Attractiveness

From the data analyses above, both participants' age (see section 6.4.2.) and education (see section 6.4.5.) were found to significantly account for differences in participants' evaluations of Eastern Algerian Arabic (AEA) and Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) in terms of social attractiveness. The present section explores whether age and education have a statistically significant interaction-effect on the participants' evaluations of AEA and AWA (see section 6.3.6.)

6.4.6.1. *The Case of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular*

A two-factor independent-measures ANOVA was conducted to explore the interaction effect of participants' age and education on their evaluations of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) in terms of social attractiveness (see section 5.3.5.). As discussed, the level of education consisted of three categories: primary education (up to primary school), high school, and higher education (year one in university and above) (see section 5.3.3.3.). Similarly, participants' age consisted of three categories: young adults (18-35), middle-aged adults (36-55), and senior adults (56 and above) (see section 5.3.3.1.). The following table summarises mean evaluations of AEA in terms of social attractiveness, standard deviations, and cell sizes in terms of age and level of education (Table 6.26.):

Table 6.26. Mean Evaluations of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular, Standard Deviations, and Cell Sizes in terms of Social Attractiveness (Age X Education)

Dependent Variable: Social Attractiveness for AEA

Age Group	Level of Education	Mean	S.D.	N
18-35	Primary School	3.87	0.616	9
	High School	4.65	1.126	262
	Higher Education	4.68	1.079	359
	Total	4.66	1.097	630
36-55	Primary School	3.90	1.573	16
	High School	4.46	0.904	18
	Higher Education	4.03	1.320	24
	Total	4.12	1.285	58
56 and above	Primary School	3.47	0.692	9
	High School	4.60	1.249	3
	Total	3.75	0.946	12
Total	Primary School	3.78	1.170	34
	High School	4.64	1.112	283
	Higher Education	4.64	1.105	383
	Total	4.60	1.125	700

Levene's test of equality of error variances did not reach statistical significance ($p=0.373$), and thus, the homogeneity assumption was satisfied (see Pallant, 2016). However, the two-factor independent-measures ANOVA did not reach statistical significance for the interaction effect between participants' age and education for evaluations of AEA in terms of social attractiveness:

Type III Sum of Squares= 4.004; $F(3, 692) = 1.087$; $p>0.05$ ($p=0.354$); Partial Eta Squared = 0.005 indicating a very small effect size.

Consequently, it was concluded that participants' age has a unique main effect that is separate from the unique main effect of participants' education on overall ratings of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) in terms of social attractiveness.

It is crucial to note, however, that the findings regarding the interaction effect between age and education should be approached with caution, as the distribution of participants across age categories in the dataset is significantly uneven, and there is a dearth of older participants in each education category (see Table 6.26. above).

Given the limited sample sizes available in the present dataset, it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions about the presence or absence of an interaction effect. As a result, any conclusions drawn from these findings should be treated with caution, and further research with larger sample sizes is necessary to fully understand the relationship between

age and education in the evaluations of Algerian Arabic speakers` social attractiveness (see section 9.3.).

6.4.6.2. *The Case of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular*

A two-factor independent-measures ANOVA was conducted to explore the interaction effect of participants` age and education on their evaluations of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) in terms of social attractiveness (see section 5.3.5.). The following table summarises mean evaluations of AWA in terms of social attractiveness, standard deviations, and cell sizes in terms of age and level of education (Table 6.27.):

Table 6.27. Mean Evaluations of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular, Standard Deviations, and Cell Sizes in terms of Social Attractiveness (Age X Education)

Dependent Variable: Social Attractiveness for AWA

Age Group	Level of Education	Mean	S.D.	N
18-35	Primary School	4.20	0.728	09
	High School	4.46	1.177	262
	Higher Education	4.30	1.117	359
	Total	4.37	1.139	630
36-55	Primary School	3.95	1.337	16
	High School	4.28	0.632	18
	Higher Education	3.78	1.074	24
	Total	3.98	1.049	58
56 and above	Primary School	3.93	1.244	09
	High School	3.80	1.058	03
	Total	3.90	1.155	12
Total	Primary School	4.01	1.153	34
	High School	4.44	1.149	283
	Higher Education	4.27	1.120	383
	Total	4.33	1.137	700

Levene's test of equality of error variances did not reach statistical significance ($p=0.395$), and thus, the homogeneity assumption was satisfied (see Pallant, 2016). However, the two-factor independent-measures ANOVA did not reach statistical significance for the interaction effect between participants` age and education for evaluations of AWA in terms of social attractiveness:

Type III Sum of Squares= 1.382; $F(3, 692) = 0.359$; $p>0.05$ ($p=0.783$); Partial Eta Squared = 0.002 indicating a very small effect size (Cohen, 1988).

As a result, it was determined that participants' age has a unique main effect that is separate from the unique main effect of participants' education on overall ratings of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) in terms of social attractiveness.

Similar to the interaction effect explored in the previous section (section 6.4.6.1.), the skewed distribution of participants across age categories in the dataset does not allow us to confidently conclude the presence or absence of an interaction effect. As such, any conclusions drawn from these findings should be treated with caution, and further research with larger sample sizes is necessary to fully understand the relationship between age and education in the social evaluations of Algerian Arabic speakers' social attractiveness.

Summary

The present chapter examined adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards five Algerian Arabic (AVA) varieties by means of indirect methods. Using the verbal-guise test (VGT), the present chapter explored social demographic differences in adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards the five AVA varieties. The summary of the significant main effects found in this study is as follows:

(i) Algiers Arabic Vernacular was perceived significantly most positively in terms of social status, and Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular was perceived significantly most positively in terms of social attractiveness. On the other hand, Nomadic Ouled Nail Vernacular was perceived significantly the least positively in terms of social status and social attractiveness.

(ii) Age was found to have a statistically significant main effect on overall ratings of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) and Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA). For AEA, young adults (18-35) evaluated AEA significantly more favourably than both senior (56 and above) and middle-aged (36-55) participants. Similarly, young adults (18-35) evaluated AWA significantly more favourably than middle-aged (36-55) participants (see section 6.4.2.). Nevertheless, it should be noted that caution is required when interpreting the results concerning age, as the distribution of participants across age categories was significantly uneven in the dataset. The younger age group was considerably larger than the middle-aged and older groups combined, and this represents a limitation of the study, as will be discussed later in section 9.3.

(ii) Sex was found to have statistically significant main effect on overall ratings of social status of all AVA varieties, where female participants rated the speakers of urban

varieties (AA and AEA) significantly more favourably as opposed to the male participants. On the other hand, male participants rated the nomadic and the rural AVA varieties significantly more favourably than female participants. Interestingly, AWA was rated significantly more favourably by female participants as opposed to male participants (see section 6.3.3.).

(iii) Area of provenance was found to have a statistically significant main effect on overall ratings of ANON in terms of social attractiveness, where nomadic participants rated ANON significantly more favourably than rural participants (see section 6.4.4.). It is imperative to note that the interpretation of the outcomes regarding main effects of provenance demands great caution, given that efforts to rectify the imbalanced cell sizes have led to a reduced sample size ($19 \times 3 = 57$) as detailed in section 6.3.4.1. Therefore, while the present study provides insight into the effects of provenance on Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties, the study's limitations necessitate careful consideration when drawing inferences from the findings (see section 9.3.).

(iv) Level of education was found to have a statistically significant main effect on ratings of AEA in terms of status, where participants who obtained higher education rated AEA significantly more favourably than both participants who obtained primary education and participants who obtained high school education (see section 6.3.5.).

(v) Level of education was found to have a statistically significant main effect on overall ratings of AA, AEA and AWA in terms of attractiveness, where participants who obtained primary education rated urban varieties (AA and AEA) significantly less favourably than both participants who obtained higher education and participants who obtained high school education. Moreover, in the case of AWA, evaluations of participants who obtained primary were significantly less favourably than evaluations of participants who obtained high school education (see section 6.4.5.).

(vi) The present study conducted data analysis on the evaluations of Algerian Arabic in relation to participants' sex, education, and age group. The results of the analysis indicate that only one statistically significant interaction-effect was found, precisely with regards to participants' sex and education on evaluations of AEA in terms of status. Specifically, females who obtained higher education rated the social status of AEA significantly more favourably than females who obtained high school education. However, it is important to note that the present dataset had limited sample sizes in the age group variable. Therefore, drawing definitive conclusions about the presence or absence of

interaction effects of age group with other variables is not possible. As a result, any conclusions drawn from these findings should be treated with caution, and it is recommended that further research with larger sample sizes be conducted to fully understand the relationship between different social variables in the evaluations of Algerian Arabic speakers' social attractiveness and status (see section 9.3.)

Thus far, the present thesis has explored adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards five AVA varieties using indirect methods. The next chapter will analyse the interview data, investigating adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards AVA varieties employing direct methods. In addition, the next chapter will explore linguistic triggers of adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON and the socioeconomic implications of adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON for its speakers.

Chapter 7 The Interview Study: Results and Preliminary Discussion

Overview

The present chapter presents the results of the interview study. This chapter examines adult L1 Algerian Arabic (AVA) speakers' attitudes towards the nomadic variety (ANON) employing direct methods. Throughout this chapter, three aspects of language attitudes are explored. The first examined aspect is relevant to the documentation of attitudes towards the nomadic variety. In addition, the second aspect of language attitudes discussed in this chapter is related to language attitudes triggers. The third aspect of language attitudes discussed in this chapter involves the socioeconomic implications of language attitudes for nomadic individuals. The relationship between the discussed three aspects is of causality in nature. That is to say, this chapter discusses the phenomenon (language attitudes), the cause (linguistic triggers), and the consequence (socioeconomic implications). Moreover, throughout the analysis provided in this chapter, reference will be made to three research questions (see section 5.1.):

(i) How do L1 Algerian Arabic speakers evaluate Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular among other vernaculars spoken in different areas of Algeria?

(ii) What linguistic features may trigger the attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular?

(iii) If at all, in what ways might attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular influence nomadic individuals' perceived professional competence in Algeria?

As discussed previously, data collection for the interview took place after the verbal-guise test (see sections 5.4.1. and 5.5.). A form to volunteer in the follow up interview was distributed at every research site. Later, 32 participants volunteered and were contacted via skype for the interview. The interviews were online following the university's guidelines for health and safety after the COVID-19 outbreak.

To illustrate contextual examples of the developed themes, the researcher provides relevant excerpts from the interviews. Quotes are reported in their original language (Algerian Arabic) with an English translation and transliteration. In the present chapter, utterances from languages other than Arabic are put between brackets in the interview

excerpts. These utterances are translated into English as well. During the translation of some interview extracts into English, contextual clarification might be required. In this case, the contextual clarification is put between square brackets. In addition, expressions between two double dashes indicate that the speaker restarted their speech to correct or rephrase their statement. Particularly, the first utterance (the rephrased one) will be placed between two double dashes. Moreover, empty double brackets indicate unclear speech or inaudible. On some occasions, the researcher could guess the inaudible utterance, in which case the guessed statement is placed between double brackets. For phonetic transcription of utterances, the IPA transcription will be put between two forward slashes. In summary, the following transcription conventions are used throughout this chapter:

(utterance): indicates that the speaker used another language than Arabic.

[contextual clarification]: square brackets are used to provide contextual clarification while translating utterances into English.

-- utterance --: indicates that the speaker changed their speech for correction or rephrasing their statement.

(()): indicates inaudible or unclear speech.

((utterance)): indicates that the researcher guessed the utterance.

/the IPA transcription/: indicates the international phonetic association transcription.

IE: refers to the interview extract.

R.K.: refers to the researcher.

P.: refers to the participant.

7.1. Algerian Arabic Speakers` Attitudes towards the Nomadic Variety

The interview probed the language attitudes of adult L1 speakers of AVA in the Algerian midlands towards ANON. Answers to the first cluster of the interview questions offered insights into the patterns of attitudes of adult L1 AVA speakers towards ANON (see section 5.4.1.). In particular, answers to the first cluster of interview questions suggest that

L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON interact with ideological and sociocultural factors in a complex way. Many participants have drawn on their experiences and encounters to elucidate their attitudes towards ANON. Similarly, answers to the awareness questions offer an understanding of the interaction of participants' awareness with attitudes towards AVA varieties and ANON in particular. Participants in the present interview study, generally, did not only base their evaluations of AVA vernaculars on mere linguistic features of these varieties but also on socioeconomic factors. Even though many participants evaluated ANON negatively, the majority of the participants, however, perceived ANON positively. Two major themes have been developed from the participants' evaluations of ANON, namely prestige and modernity. Finally, participants' evaluations of ANON in relation to gender perceptions are discussed. The following sections detail results of the first cluster of the interview questions.

7.1.1. Awareness of Linguistic Variation in Algeria

In this study, awareness of linguistic variation refers to the individual's ability to recognise and categorise different varieties spoken in a given area. The present section explores L1 AVA speakers' awareness of variation in AVA. In so doing, the section offers an insight into the ideological underpinnings of participants' evaluations of the Algerian Arabic vernaculars. In addition, exploring participants' awareness of linguistic variation in Algeria sets the stage for exploring participants' evaluations of ANON because these evaluations are only possible to explore in relation to other AVA varieties.

7.1.1.1. Results

The collected responses to the question “*in your view, how many forms of Algerian Arabic are there?*” suggest that the participants' awareness of different varieties of AVA is key to understanding L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic varieties. It seems that all the participants are aware of variation in AVA to some extent. Specifically, there seem to be three lines in the participants' categorisation of AVA varieties:

- a) the number of AVA varieties is *the same as* the number of provinces of Algeria;
- b) the number of AVA varieties is *more than* the number of provinces of Algeria;
- c) AVA varieties can be categorised into five major groups.

The following interview extracts illustrate some examples of the participants' categorisations of AVA varieties into the number of provinces.

(IE1)

R.K.:

“في ميزك شحال كايينة من نوع تع هدره في الدزاير؟”

fī mīzak šḥāl kāyina men nü' tā' hadra fī dzāyir?

In your opinion, how many forms of speech are there in Algeria?

P.:

“والله... هي كل ولاية وهدرتها -- تنجم تقول كايين 48 وحدة على العدة تاع الولايات سوا سوا” --

wallāhi... hīa kul wilāya w hadrthā – tnajjam tgul kāyin 48 waḥda 'lā al'adda tā' alwilāyāt swā swā--

Wallahi [meaning I swear to god; a speech filler in this context] --every Wilayah [province] has its own way of speech -- you can say there are 48: exactly the same number of Wilayas [in Algeria].

The participant from (IE1) indicated that there are 48 different varieties of Algerian Arabic which is the number of provinces in Algeria. The participant clarified their response that “...every *Wilaya* [Province] has its own way of speech...” For this participant, the variation in Algerian Arabic is merely based on geographical factors.

There were other patterns among participants who categorised different varieties of AVA according to the number of *Wilayas* (provinces). The following quote provides an illustration of other patterns (see extract IE2).

(IE2)

R.K.:

“ما عدد اللهجات في الجزائر في نظرك؟”

mā 'adadu al-lahajāt fī al-jazā`ir fī nad'arik?

How many varieties [of Algerian Arabic] are there in your view?

P.:

“...في كل ولاية تلقا ناس لي يستخدمو كلام مش كيما في ولايات وحدوخرين”

fī kul wilāya talqa nās lī yastaxdmū klām meš kīmā fī wilayāt waḥduxrīn

In every *Wilayah* you would find people who would use speech that is not the same as [the speeches used in] other *Wilayahs*.

R.K.:

في ميزك كيفاش يخالفو الناس هادو

fī mīzak kīfāš yaxtālfū al-nās hadū

In your view, what makes these people differ from each other?

P.:

ز عما كيما نقولو حنا كاين ناس حضر واهل مدينة -- محلبين يعني -- وكاين ناس جبائلية وعروبية

za ‘mā kīmā ngūlū ḥnā kāyin nās ḥaḍar w ‘ahl madīna -- mḥalbīn ya ‘nī -- w kāyin nās jbāylīa w ‘rūbīa

For example, as we say, there are civilised people who live in the cities -- I mean street smart and clever -- and there are *Jbeylya* [people who live in the mountains] and *Urubia* [a derogatory term usually used to refer to Bedouins].

The participant from (IE2) does not categorise AVA based only on geography, but they also involve socio-cultural factors in their categorisation. Even though the interview question addressed awareness of variation in AVA, the extract (IE2) provides insights into the participant's subjective evaluation of different varieties of AVA. The participant states that speakers of urban varieties are "...civilised..." and "...street smart and clever...", while speakers of rural varieties used in the "...mountains..." are the complete opposite of "...civilised...", "...street smart...", and "...clever...". Interestingly, the participant from (IE2) used the terms "*Jbeylya*" and "*Urubia*" to entail the opposite of "civilised", "street smart", and "clever". The term "*Urubia*" is a derogatory term that refers to Bedouins/nomads. On some occasions, the term "*Urubi*" is used to describe someone who is "unmannered". The use of such terms reflects the attitudes and stereotypes held towards nomads in Algeria.

Some participants who categorised AVA varieties according to the number of *Wilayas* also involved ethnic factors in their classification. The interview extract below illustrates involving ethnic groups in AVA varieties classification (see IE3).

(IE3)

“شعال كاين من هدرّة في الدزاير في ميزك ؟”

R.K.:

š‘āl kāyin men hadra fī dzāyir fī mīzak?

How many varieties [of Algerian Arabic] are there in your view?

P.: je pense que c'est)،(les wilayas) مختلف في متقسمين لعروش و متقسمين في مختلف (les wilayas) (bon, parce que) “كايين بزاف لعروش و متقسمين في مختلف (les wilayas) (bon, parce que) “تصيب 48 تع اللهجات الجزائرية” (bien normal

(Bon, parce que) kāyin bzzāf al'urūš w mtqasmīn fī muxtalaf (les wilayas), (je pense que c'est bien normal) tšīb 48 ta' al-lahajāt al-jazā'irya

“Well, because there are many *Oroush* [ethnic groups] residing in different *Wilayas*, I think it's very natural to have 48 different varieties of Algerian Arabic”.

This participant identified that the rationale behind AVA varieties being the same number of the Algerian provinces is that every province has a majority of people belonging to one ethnic group.

The second line of participants' categorisation of AVA varieties is that there exist more than 48 (the number of Algerian provinces at the time of data collection). Participants further explained that there exists linguistic variation within the same *Wilaya* (province). The interview extracts below exemplify this line of participants' categorisation of AVA varieties (see IE4 and IE5).

(IE4)

R.K.: “ما عدد اللهجات في الجزائر في نظرك؟”

mā 'adadu al-lahajāt fī al-jazā'ir fī nad'arik?

How many varieties [of Algerian Arabic] are there in your view?

P.: “هناك اكثر من خمس لهجات في ولايتي وحدها، فما بالك بولايات اخرين. فبالتالي، من الطبيعي نفلك كايين اكثر من خمسين لهجة في الجزائر”

hunaka `aktharu min xamsi lahajāt fī wilāyati waḥdahā, famā baluk bwilāyāt `uxrīn. fabittālī, min al-ṭṭabī'i ngulak kāyin `akthar min xamsīn lahaja fīl-jazāyir.

“...there are more than five dialects in my *Wilayah* alone, let alone other *Wilayahs*. As a result, it's natural to say there are more than 50 dialects in Algeria”

(IE5)

“في ميزك شحال كايينة من نوع هدره في الدزاير؟”

R.K.:

fī mīzak šḥāl kāyina men nü' tā' hadra fī dzāyir?

In your opinion, how many forms [of Algerian Arabic] speech are there?

P.: “-- الا كانت ولايتي فيها شحال و شعال من هدره, نطن بلي الدزاير فيها اكثر من 48 هدره. -- قصدي قا من الخبرة نتاعي نجم نفلك بلي عدد الهداري في الدزاير اكثر من ال(double) نتاع الولايات”

`ila kānt wilāyiti fīhā š'āl wu š'āl men hadra, nd'un bellī dzayir fīhā `akthar men 48 hadra. – qaṣḍī qā men alxibra ntā'ī nnajjam ngulak bellī 'adad al-hadārī f dzāyir `akthar men (double) ntā' al-wilāyāt

“-- if my *Wilayah* has so many forms of speech, then I think Algeria has way more than 48 ways of speech -- I mean from my experience, I can say that Algerian Arabic varieties are at least the (double) of the number of the *Wilayahs* “.

In both extracts IE4 and IE5, the participants referred to their experiences from their own *Wilayas*, where they have encountered more than one linguistic variety. For these participants, the normal conclusion is that Algerian Arabic has at least “...fifty varieties...” maybe even double the number of Algerian provinces as there is more than one variety in each province.

The third line of AVA varieties categorisation in the participants` responses is that AVA has five major categories. Participants categorised AVA varieties according to cardinal directions. The participant from IE6 below, for example, elaborated their answer that there are five regions in Algeria: the eastern region, the midland, the northern region, the southern region, and the western region); therefore, there are five main varieties of Algerian Arabic. The participant from IE6 further argued that the differences among varieties from wilayas in the same region could be ignored as it is not as noticeable as the differences between the five regions.

(IE6)

“كي تعود تميز, شحال كايينة من نوع هدره في الدزاير؟”

R.K.:

kī t'ü'd tmayyaz, šḥāl kāyina men nü' tā' hadra fī dzāyir?

In your opinion, how many forms of Algerian Arabic speech are there?

P.: نقدر و نقولو بلي الدزاير فيها خمسة انواع تع الهدرة. فيها الهدرة تع الشرق، تع الغرب، تع الصحرا، تع ناس الشمال و الهدرة نتاعنا ناس الواسطة هذي. حتى و نميز بلي كاين اختلاف في هدرتنا حنا تع الوسط و في ناسنا بصح نظن نجمو نقولو بلي هذ الاختلافات متروكة

naqdrü ngülü blī dzāyir fihā xamsa `anwā' ta' al-hadra. fihā ta' al-šarq, w ta' al-gharb, w ta' šahrā, ta' nās šamāl, w al-hadra `ntā'nā nās al-wāšṭa haḍī. ḥatta w nmayyaz bellī kāyin `ixtilāf fī hadrtnā ḥnā ta' al-wuṣṭ w fī nāsnā bšṣaḥ `nd'un nnajjemü ngülü blī haḍī al-`ixtilāfāt matrūka

“We can say that Algeria has five [main] ways of speech. There is the speech of east, the speech of west, the speech of *Sahara* [Southern Algeria], the speech of people of the north, and our speech of the Midlanders. Even though there are some differences between us [Midlanders] in the ways of our speech and in our people, but I think we can overlook these differences”.

7.1.1.2. Preliminary Discussion

Conversations around the topic of Algerian Arabic varieties appeared to be informed by geographical associations. As illustrated above, participants often identified the number of provinces in Algeria as a criterion for AVA varieties categorisation (see IE1). In this case, awareness of linguistic variation concerning AVA is primarily shaped by official boundaries (for example, Preston, 1993). Particularly, participants' awareness of AVA varieties seemed to be conditioned by physical borders between the different provinces in Algeria. It is well established that perceptions of such physical borders are, in turn, influenced by sociocultural factors (see Montgomery, 2012). Conceivably, this can explain why the participant from IE5 concluded: “...if the *Wilaya* I come from has many forms of speech, then I think Algeria has way more than 48 ways of speech...”. This finding confirms Al-Rojaie's (2021) findings, who reported that participants from Rīadh referred to their local area when asked about the emerging Saudi koiné. Indeed, Preston (1993) emphasised that non-linguists commonly refer to their local areas when asked to identify dialect regions.

From the discussions about linguistic variation in AVA, participants were observed to perceive AVA varieties according to cardinal directions (see IE6). In speculation, the recognition of five dialect areas in Algeria is, perhaps, the most common pattern among Algerians following Algerian media coverage of linguistic variation. Similar findings were also reported by Hachimi (2015), who found that Moroccan participants categorised Arabic dialects into eastern and western dialects. Indeed, comparing patterns of the participants'

categorisation of AVA with those of Hachimi's (2015) study confirms that 'imagined' boundaries impact the perception of linguistic variation similar to the 'official' boundaries (see Montgomery, 2012). Such imagined boundaries between linguistic varieties are typically based on historical factors. From the participants' responses, AVA varieties are categorised according to *Oroush* (ethnic groups) (see IE3). For this participant, an imagined border between different ethnicities was translated to distinctions between AVA varieties. In Britain, for example, Montgomery (2012) confirmed that the imagined border between "Southern English" and "Northern English" originated from historical accounts of Northern English.

Some participants were observed to involve socioeconomic factors in AVA varieties classification. As illustrated in IE2 above, the participant grouped AVA into (a) varieties spoken in cities and urban centres and (b) others used in the mountains and rural areas. Interestingly, the urban-rural split of Algerian Arabic varieties seemed to be motivated by ideological speculations. For instance, when the participant from IE2, who speaks an urban variety themselves, categorised AVA into rural and urban varieties, they declared: "...there are civilised people who live in the cities -- I mean street smart and clever -- and there are *Jbeylya* who are *Urubia*...". This quote is a textbook example of when the classification of linguistic varieties reveals the ideological framework that motivates attitudes towards these varieties (for example, Garrett, 2010). Ascribing values in this way has been strongly associated with negative attitudes towards "other" varieties (see Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi, 2017; Alfaraz and Mason, 2019; Ech-Charfi, 2021). Similar findings were reported in Morocco, where terms such as "ʒbala" (in Algerian Arabic: *Jbeylya*) and "ʕroubīa" (in Algerian Arabic: *Urubia*) were used by urban Moroccans to describe rural varieties speakers (Ech-Charfi, 2021). Therefore, consistent with Ech-Charfi (2021), this study confirms the likelihood that urban and rural individuals perceive each other as different ethnic groups even if they historically belong to the same group.

7.1.2. Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Varieties

The previous interview question addressed participants' awareness of linguistic variation in Algerian Arabic and aimed to set the participants' minds to relate ANON to its context before asking them to evaluate it. This section analyses collected responses to the question: "*in your view, what is/are the most favourable Algerian Arabic variety(ies)? Why?*" This question aimed to probe the participants' evaluations of AVA varieties in an attempt to put ANON in its linguistic context. Indeed, participants' evaluations of ANON are only possible to explore in relation to vernaculars from the same context because language

attitudes are contextual constructs that differ across cultures and individual differences (Dragojevic et al., 2021).

7.1.2.1. Results

When asked about their favourite Algerian Arabic vernacular, participants expressed a variety of perspectives. Generally, participants of the present interview study seemed to be in favour of their own varieties. When asked to justify their answer, the most common responses were related to intelligibility, modernity, and closeness to Standard Arabic. The following interview extracts illustrate patterns in participants' evaluations of different AVA varieties.

(IE7)	
R.K.:	“كي تعود تميز, وشن هوما اللهجات ولا اللهجة الجزائرية المخيرة في الدزاير؟”
	<i>kī t'ūd tmayyaz, wašn hümā al-lahajāt wallā al-lahja al-jazā`irya al-mxayera fī dzāyir?</i>
	In your view, what is/are the most favourable Algerian Arabic variety(ies)?
P.:	انا بالنسبة ليا نحب اللهجة نتاعنا هي المخيرة عندي
	<i>'anā binnisba liyā nḥab al-lahja nta'nā, hiya al-mxayera 'andī</i>
	For me, I like our dialect [the participant is from <i>Ouargla</i>]. It is the most favourable for me.
R.K.:	“علاش في ميزك؟”
	<i>'lāš fī mīzak?</i>
	Why, in your view?
P.:	الهدرة نتاعنا يفهموها قع الناس في الدزاير
	<i>al-hadra nta'nā yafhmühā ga' al-nās fī dzayir</i>
	“our dialect [<i>Ouargla</i>] is widely understood in all of Algeria”

As suggested in the excerpt above when the participant states “...I like our dialect...” and “...our speech is widely understood in all of Algeria”, conversations around the topic of

favourite Algerian Arabic variety were, for the most part, motivated by a sense of ethnocentrism (see IE7). Along the same line, another participant from *Ouargla*, who also stated that their variety is widely intelligible by Algerians, justified their answer: “...because we have so many companies of petrol in *Ouargla*, we can meet people from different areas of Algeria, and they rarely say they can’t understand us...”. Another participant stated that in *Ouargla*, “...they pronounce words properly and clear...”.

Participants who favoured their own variety tended to perceive their variety as modern. The following quote exemplifies this pattern in participants’ evaluations (see IE8).

(IE8)	
R.K.:	“على واش في ظنك؟”
	<i>‘lā wāš fī d’annak?</i>
	Why, in your view?
P.:	الهدرة تاعنا زينة و (modern) على خاطرش عدنا شركات تع البترول ويجيبو معاهم لقور لعدنا وهدرتنا تخالطت معاهم وتأثرت بيهم.
	<i>al-hadra nta’nā zayna w (modern) ‘lā xaṭerš ‘adnā šarikāt ta’ al-bitrül w yjībū m’āhum lgwur l’adnā w hadratnā txalṭat m’āhum w t`athrat bīhum</i>
	“Our speech [<i>Ouargla</i>] is beautiful and (modernised) because we have many petrol companies that bring people from outside Algeria, and our speech is influenced by the contact with them [internationals in <i>Ouargla</i>]”

This participant identified that their dialect is their favourite because it is “modern”. For this participant, their dialect is modernised through contact with internationals who worked in oil industry.

Another pattern among participants who favoured their own dialect was related to how similar their variety is in relation to Standard Arabic. In these circumstances participants’ positive evaluations of their variety stems from positive attitudes towards the standard variety. The following quote is an example of this pattern (see IE9):

(IE9)

R.K.: “لاش في ميزك الهدرة نتاعكم هي المفضلة في الدزاير؟”

lāš fī mīzak al-hadra nta 'kum hiyā almufaḍala fī-dzayir

Why do you see your dialect as the most favourable?

P.: الهدرة نتاعنا هي الاقرب للعربية الفصحى كي تقارنها مع اللهجات الجزائرية الاخرى.

al-hadra nta 'nā hiya al-`aqrab l-al-`arabiya alfuṣṣhā kī tqarenhā m'a al-lahajāt al-jazā`irya al-`uxrā.

our dialect is the closest one to the Standard Arabic [MSA] amongst all other dialect in Algeria

This participant justified their positive attitude towards their dialect by stating that it is close to the standard variety. Similar participants claimed that their dialect was easily understood by other Arabs because it used less French. Such a trend of argumentation was frequent amongst participants from *Djelfa* and *Laghouat*. Similarly, participants from *Laghouat* indicated that their variety is the closest to Arabic because of the teachings of *Zawīa of Al-Tijani*. A *Zawīa* is a Sufi (an Islamic sect) monastery that is spread in north African countries but to a lesser extent in other MENA regions.

On the other hand, many participants displayed positive attitudes towards varieties other than their own. For example, some participants expressed a positive evaluation of *Algiers Vernacular (AA)*. The interview excerpt IE10 illustrates positive attitudes towards AA.

(IE10)

P.: (les algerois) ناس خدامين و (sérieux)

(les algerois) nās xaddāmīn w (sérieux)

“*Algerois* [people from the capital of Algeria: Algiers] are serious and hardworking”

This participant seemed to associate AA with hard work and seriousness. A possible explanation of such an association can be related to the economic and political power that

the capital city enjoys over other cities. Indeed, in Algeria, similar to most countries, the capital Algiers is home to the government's offices, most hospitals and social care facilities, most universities and educational facilities, and most companies and economic facilities. Similarly, some participants expressed a positive attitude towards the people of the *Sahara*, who are usually speakers of Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA), stating that Sahara people are generous and likeable.

7.1.2.2. Preliminary Discussion

Interestingly, participants' attitudes towards AVA varieties seemed to be motivated by ethnocentric tendencies (see IE7, IE8, and IE9). A possible explanation can be attributed to the participants' effort to promote the social status of their own varieties in comparison to other varieties of AVA. This finding is consistent with a plethora of research in the MENA region which typically reported that Arabic speakers tend to favour their own variety (for example, Nader, 1962; Hachimi, 2012, 2015; Al-Birini, 2014, 2016, 2021). As illustrated in IE7, the participant seemed to justify their positive attitude by the intelligibility of their dialect amongst Algerians. Al-Birini (2016) reported similar findings among Egyptian students who favoured their variety claiming it is intelligible. Intelligibility is not always claimed as an argument to favour one's own dialect. For example, Hachimi (2015) reported that Moroccan participants favoured Syrian Arabic based on the perception that Syrians are understood among all Arabs.

Another important finding was that some participants favoured other varieties than their own (see IE10). Interestingly, most of these participants were in their hometowns during the interview. This finding is consistent with Nader's (1962) comments that Arabic speakers usually favour their dialect when away from home and favour other dialects when in their hometown. In contrast to Nader's (1962) observations, however, participants from the researcher's town (*Djelfa*) were in favour of their dialect (see IE9). This inconsistency may be due to the participants' attempt to prove language loyalty to a fellow speaker (the researcher). Such a pattern of asserting linguistic loyalty was also reported in Morocco, where speaking Moroccan Arabic served this purpose (Hachimi, 2017). Moreover, it was reported in the MENA region that participants typically favour prestigious varieties if they are not in favour of their dialect (for example, Al-Wer, 2007; Chakrani, 2013; Versteegh, 2001). In the present study, on the other hand, participants favoured prestigious varieties such as AA and less prestigious varieties such as ASA (see IE10).

7.1.3. Evaluations of the Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic

This section documents adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON. The previous sections discussed participants' awareness and evaluations of AVA varieties. Accordingly, at this stage, participants should be able to place ANON within its linguistic context, which allows for exploring participants' attitudes towards ANON.

7.1.3.1. Results

Discussions around the topic of the Nomadic Ouled Nail Vernacular (ANON) appeared to be driven by negative attitudes towards ANON and its speakers. The interview excerpts below illustrate the participants' evaluation of ANON in comparison with other AVA varieties (see IE11).

(IE11)

R.K.: “هذ اللهجات لي راك ذكرتهملي تع لي قلت هما مفضلين بالعموم في المجتمع الجزائري، كي نقارنوهم باللهجة
تع اولاد نايل البدو الرحالة، في ميزك وش لي مفضلة اكثر عند المجتمع الجزائري؟ وعلاش؟”

*hað al-lahajāt lī rāk ðkarthumlī ta' lī gult humā mufaḍḍalīn bil'umūm fī al-
mujtama', kī nqārnuhm b al-lahja ta' `ulād nayil al-badū al-raḥḥāla, fī mizak waš lī
mufaḍḍala `akthar 'and al-mujtama' ? w 'lās ?*

In your opinion, when we compare the nomadic Ouled Nail dialect to the dialects that you mentioned as your favourable in the previous question, which is the more favourable for Algerians and why?

P.: نظن بلي اللهجة تاعنا هي المفضلة عليها في المجتمع الجزائري. لانو مجتمعنا يشوفوهم صحاب برة يشوفوهم
متخلفين يشوفوهم يهدرو لغة قديمة يشوفوهم مهمش ملمين باللغة التكنولوجية تع ضركا، ما يستخدموش ال
(français) على عكس اللهجات تاعنا تع الوسط مثلا عدنا كلمات مفرنسين ...

اللهجة تع النوايل ما فيهاش تجديد قع. مشي كيما اللهجة تع العاصمة مثلا كل نهار وزوج تلقاهم يعيرون على
نفس الحاجة بطريقة مختلفة و ما تشبهش للمرة لي فاتت

*nḍun bellī al-lahja ta'nā hiya almufaḍḍala 'līhā fī al-mujtama' al-jazā`irī. li`nnū
mujtama'nā yišūfūhum ṣḥāb barra, yišūfūhum mutaxallifīn, yišūfūhum yahdrū lugha
qḍīma, yišūfūhum mahumš mulimmīn b al-luhga al-tiknūlūjiya ta' ḍurkā, ma
ystaxdmuš al-(français) 'lā 'aks al-lahajāt ta'nā ta' al-wuṣṭ mathalān 'adnā kalmāt
mufarnasīn...*

al-lahja ta' al-nwāyil ma fihaš tajdīd ga'. mašī kīmā al-lahja ta' al'āšima mathalān kul nhār w zūj talqāhum yu'abbirun 'lā nafs al- ḥaja beṭarīqa muxtalfa w mā tšabaheš l-al-marra li fatet.

I believe that our dialect [*Ouargla Vernacular*] is the most favourable over it [the nomadic dialect], because our society sees them [Nomadic Ouled Nail] as rural people who are backward, they speak an old dialect, they see them as ignorant of the language of technology of nowadays. [Also,] they do not use French on the contrary of our dialects of midlands, for example, where we have French words...

The variety of Ouled Nail is not innovative at all. Not like the dialect of the capital, for example, everyday you find them use different [innovative] ways to express the same thing. Those ways are not alike.

The participant from IE11 pinpointed that ANON was disfavoured because it belonged to “...rural backward people...”. The participant identified criteria for 'backward people' by stating that they spoke “...an old dialect...” they are “...ignorant of the language of technology of nowadays...”. The participant further explained that ANON used no French and its speakers had no innovation compared to the capital of Algiers. As exemplified in the interview extract above (see IE11), when the participant commented: “...they do not use French on the contrary of our dialects, we have French words...”, they identified French as the parameter of modernity. Therefore, both participant`s positive attitudes towards their dialect and negative attitudes towards ANON stem from positive attitudes towards French. This is more noticeable when the participant justified their negative attitudes towards ANON by the absence of standards typically associated with French in the Algerian context (for example, modernity and innovation) (for example, Belmihoub, 2018). The participant's comments offer an insight into how ideological presumptions about a variety interact with language attitudes towards that variety.

When commenting on their attitudes towards ANON, some participants were observed to engage perceived unintelligibility as an argument for negative attitudes. The following interview extract illustrates such a pattern of answers (see IE12).

(IE12)

P.: ...يهدرو بوحد الطريقة تحسها كيما تع الجاهلية... تحسهم هاربين من فيلم الرسالة... (je pense) على هاداك لي الناس ما يفهموش وش راهم يقولو قع.

(Mais pour moi) عمرني ما قدرت نوالف هدرتهم ديما يلزمني نسقسيهم وش راهم يقصدو

yahdrü bwaḥd al- ṭarīqa ṭhashā kīmā ta' al-jāhiliya... ṭhashum harbīn min fīlm al-risāla... (je pense) 'la hadāk lī al-nās ma yaḥmūš waš rahum ygulū ga'.

(Mais pour moi), 'umrnī mā qdart nwālef hadrathum dīma yelzamnī nsaqsihum waš rahum yuqşdü.

“they [nomads] speak in a way like they are from Pre-Islamic era...you feel as if they escaped from *THE MESSAGE* [a famous historical movie among Arabic speakers] ... I think that's why most people [Algerians] can't understand what they [nomadic individuals of Ouled Nail Society] are saying....

But for me, I could never get used to their speech, I have always to ask them what they mean”.

This participant stated that nomadic individuals spoke the same way as people from pre-Islamic Arabia used to. Then, the participant joked that the Nomads sounded “...as if they have escaped the movie scene of *The Message*[a historical movie about pre-Islamic events]...”. The participant's comments suggest that perceived linguistic similarity between ANON and classical standard Arabic (CSA) created barriers in communication with nomadic individuals in Algeria. Such an attitude is, perhaps, more noticeable in the participant's comment: “...for me, I could never get used to their way of speech, I have, always, to ask them what they mean...”. Therefore, the ANON speaker is expected to revive communication if communication between nomads and urban speakers breaks down.

Moreover, participants also were observed to explain their negative attitudes towards ANON by referring to the socioeconomic status of nomadic individuals. The following interview extract illustrates negative attitudes towards ANON based on socioeconomic factors (see IE13).

(IE13)

P.: هذو ناس عايشين معيشة هانة (la plupart) تا عهم رعيان. ماشي كيما ناس المدينة يخدمو كلش... هما كيما قتلك مجتمع قبلي تع البرا والسلام ...

haḏu nās ‘ayšīn m’īšat hāna (la plupart) ta’hum re’yān. māši kīmā nās al-mdina yaxdmū kulaš... humā kīmā qutlak mujtama’ qabalī ta’ al-barra w al-salām...

these [nomadic individuals] are people who live a miserable life... most of them are [mainly] shepherds not like people of the city who can achieve everything... as I said to you, they [nomadic individuals] are tribal rural community and that`s about it

The interview extract (IE13) sheds light on a participant's perspective, as expressed in their remark, which states, “... not like people of the city who can achieve everything ...”. Within this statement, the participant's response is seemingly driven by a comparative assessment between nomadic individuals and urban residents. Evidently, the participant's identification of the nomadic variety hinges upon its deviation from the urban variety. Consequently, the urban sphere is portrayed as a bastion of modernity, proficiency, and sophistication, while the nomadic lifestyle is characterised as embodying facets such as “a miserable life,” predominantly comprised of shepherds, and indicative of a tribal society. Thus, the participant's viewpoint appears to exhibit a tendency to harbour negative perceptions towards any linguistic variety employed outside the confines of the city. By ascribing inferiority to the nomadic way of life, it becomes evident that the participant's evaluation is firmly grounded in a city-centric perspective.

On the other hand, many participants expressed positive attitudes towards ANON. For these participants, ANON sounded “pleasant”, “funny”, and “very close to standard Arabic”. The following interview extracts (IE14 and IE15) are some examples of such an evaluation.

(IE14)

P.: نشتني نسمع لهدرتهم -- على بالك حلوة ياسر الله يبارك-- تجيني كي شغل راك تغني في غنية شابة.. راك فاهم كي شغل مسلية و تضحك.. على بالك عندي العساس تاع البرطمة لي نسكن فيها بدوي، ديما نديه معايا نخلصو فطور و لا قهوة غي على جال بش نهدر معاه ونسمع اللهدرة تاعهم شوية.

naštī nasma' l-hadrathum -- 'lā balek ḥluwa yāsr Allah yibarek -- tǰīnī kī šghul rāk tghannī fi ghnniya šābba.. rāk fāhm kī šghul musaliya w-ḍḍaḥḥak.. 'lā balek 'andī al-'assās tā' al-barṭma lī nuskun fīhā badwī, dīmā neddīh m'āyā nxalaṣlū fṭūr wellā qahwa ghi 'lā jāl baš nahdar m'āh w nasma' lil-hadra ta'hum šwiya.

I like the sound of their dialect -- it`s so sweet, you know, God bless! -- It`s like you are singing a beautiful song... you understand me, I find it amusing and funny... you know, the janitor at our building is a Bedoui [nomad], I always take him with me and buy him lunch or coffee just to get time with him and listen to his dialect.

(IE15)

P.: نحب الهدرة تاعهم على خاطر هي الاقرب للعربية. زعما ما يستخدموش بزاف الفرنسية. و نشتني هدرتهم على خاطر الامثال والحكم لي يستخدموهم. يدبر عليك مثل على المقاس تاعك

nḥab al-hadra ta'hum 'lā xaṭer hiya al-'aqrab lil-'arbiya. za'mā ma yastaxdmūš bzzāf al-fransawiya. w naštī hadrathum 'lā xaṭer al-'amthāl w al-ḥikam lī yastaxdmuhm. ydīr 'līk mathal 'lā al-maqās ta'ek

I like their dialect because it is the closest dialect to [standard] Arabic. You know, they use less French. And I like their dialect because they use intriguing idioms that engage you in their speech.

Positive attitudes toward ANON seemed to be motivated by the perceived warmth of nomadic individuals. As illustrated in IE14, when the participant declared “...it`s like you are singing a song...” and “...find myself wanting to hear more...”, the participant is observed to base their positive attitudes towards ANON on traditionally reported social attractiveness traits. Similarly, positive attitudes seemed to be motivated by the perceived authenticity of speech. This pattern is, perhaps, more noticeable in IE15 when the participant stated: “...their

dialect is the closest dialect to Arabic [the standard Arabic]...”. Interestingly, for this participant, ANON’s similarity to standard Arabic meant that nomads “...used less French...”.

7.1.3.2. *Preliminary Discussion*

One interesting finding was that negative attitudes towards ANON were attributed to social status factors. As illustrated in the interview extracts above, many participants perceived ANON speakers to be non-modern (for example, IE11) and unskilled (for example, IE13). Interestingly, negative attitudes towards the nomadic variety were motivated by dissimilarities to urban vernaculars, which were perceived positively. This finding is consistent with a plethora of research in the Arabic speaking region (for example, Al-Birini, 2016; Ech-Charfi, 2021), including Jordan (for example, Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Sawaie, 1994; Al-Wer, 2007;), Saudi (for example, Ismail, 2021; Al-Rojaie, 2021), Qatar (for example, Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021), Tunisia (for example, Gabsi, 2020; Sayahi, 2021), Morocco (for example, Hachimi, 2012), and Algeria (Benrabah, 1994).

On the other hand, positive attitudes towards ANON were motivated by social attractiveness. A comparison of the findings with those of other studies confirms that nomadic varieties are typically associated with traits such as being funny (see IE14) and having an authentic dialect (see IE15) (for example, Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Miller, 2004; Hachimi, 2012; Al-Birini, 2014; Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021). In Qatar, for instance, Al-Kababji and Ahmad (2021) reported that their participants perceived the Bedouin Qatari Arabic to be authentic and close to standard Arabic. Interestingly, unlike when ANON was perceived negatively, participants did not compare ANON to urban varieties. One possible inference can be that participants held strong stereotypes against nomadic individuals. Possibly, such strong stereotypes against nomads can be attributed to the influence of the Western modal of modernity (Ech-Charfi, 2021).

Interestingly, even though the interview question was regarding language attitudes towards ANON, it seemed that attitudes towards nomadic and urban varieties are derived from attitudes towards Arabic and French. As exemplified in IE11, the participant held positive attitudes towards the urban vernaculars because it used French. This is, perhaps, more outwardly suggested in the participants comments: “...they do not use French on the contrary of our dialects, we have French words...” (see IE11). It is, indeed, typically reported that Algerian Arabic speakers evaluate French positively in terms of social status, especially in terms of modernity and trendiness (for example, Benrabah, 1994, 2004, 2007, 2013b, 2013a; Belmihoub, 2018). Moreover, as illustrated in IE15, the participant held positive

attitudes towards ANON because its similarity to Standard Arabic. This, arguably, is best exemplified in the participant's comment: "...their dialect is the closest dialect to Arabic [the standard Arabic]. You know, they use less French..." (see IE15). Indeed, Algerian Arabic speakers are typically reported to evaluate Standard Arabic positively in terms of social attractiveness, especially in terms of traits such as religiosity and authenticity (for example, Benrabah, 2013a, 2013b; Belmihoub, 2018).

A comparison of the quotes IE11 and IE15 illustrates the language conflict between Arabic and French in Algeria. This conflict is probably best illustrated in the participants' comments where it seemed that similarity to standard Arabic meant less frequent use of French (see IE11 and IE15). Such conflict between Arabic and French in Algeria is well documented in previous literature (for example, Chebchoub, 1985; Benrabah, 2013a, 2014; Belmihoub, 2015, 2018). A possible explanation for the continuity of the conflict between Arabic and French can be attributed to the Algerian language policy (see Chebchoub, 1985; Benrabah, 2013a). Indeed, even though Arabic and Berber are the official languages of Algeria, French still is the most widely used language in Algeria, including in official communications, education, and media.

7.1.4. Discourses of Modernity and Prestige

Discussions with the participants pertaining to their evaluations of Algerian Arabic revealed a recurrent theme concerning the perception of modernity (or lack of) in various Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) varieties. This notion finds its most compelling manifestation in the account provided by the participant labelled as IE8, who justified their preference for their dialect by stating that it was modern. This particular finding resonates consistently across the MENA region, as exemplified by the scholarly works of Al-Birini (2016) in the broader context, and within the specific contexts of Morocco (Chakrani, 2013), Tunisia (Gabsi, 2020), and Syria (Habib, 2010). Remarkably, the participants often outlined criteria associated with modernity in the Algerian context. Based on the participants' responses, the facets of modernity of speech in Algeria can be attributed to three key factors: urbanity, exposure to internationals, and utilisation of the French language.

One aspect of the definition of modernity in Algeria is that only vernaculars spoken in the city can be perceived as modern contrary to varieties used in rural areas, including the nomadic vernacular. This attitude is manifestly expressed in the interview extracts IE11, where the participant favoured Algiers Vernacular, stating it was modern, and disfavoured ANON stating that it belonged to "...rural backward people...". Ascribing values of

modernity to urban vernaculars in contrast to rural and nomadic varieties is reported in many parts of the MENA region (for example, Ech-Charfi, 2021), including Jordan (Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989), Morocco (Chakrani, 2013; Hachimi, 2012), Tunisia (Gabsi, 2020; Sayahi, 2021), and the Gulf States (Al-Rojaie, 2021; Kababji and Ahmad, 2021). The findings of the present study, on the other hand, partially disagree with Benrabah`s (2007) comments that Algerian Arabic meets its speakers` needs for both authenticity and modernity. While urban speakers see their variety as modern, they attribute such modernity to the use of French (see IE11).

Moreover, a possible explanation for the negative attitudes towards ANON and positive attitudes towards the urban varieties in terms of modernity can be related to the economic imbalance between rural and urban areas in Algeria and, arguably, in the whole MENA region (see for example, Al-Wer, 2007; Hachimi, 2012; Ech-Charfi, 2021). One example for modernity in being related to economic power of the city is found in the comment from IE8 above: "...Our speech is beautiful and modernised because we have many petrol companies...". Indeed, most educational and transaction institutions in Algeria are located in the cities, especially Algiers (the capital). An illustration of the implications of such an economic imbalance between urban and rural areas on the perception of urban and rural vernaculars can be found in participant IE13 comments: "...they (nomadic people) are mainly shepherds not like people of the city, they (people of the city) can have many tasks done..." (see IE13).

Another aspect of the definition of modernity in Algeria is found in one participant`s comments when they stated: "...our speech is influenced by the contact with them [internationals in *Ouargla*]..."(see IE8). This participant attributed the criteria for what a modern speech is to socio-linguistic contact with international expatriates who are usually European. The present findings are consistent with those of Le Roux (2017) in Algeria, where she commented that the use of foreign languages was seen as progressive and modern. Moreover, Chakrani (2013) reported similar findings in Morocco, where European expatriates were viewed as examples of modernity and learning their language was regarded as the only possible path to a modern identity. Chakrani (2013) further explains that using a European language was regarded as the only possible path to modern identity in Morocco. Perhaps this explains why some participants in the present study exerted effort to show their modernity by using French (for example, IE8, IE10, and IE12). Thus, it is likely that the use of French, in this case, was a way to borrow the privileges associated with competence in French. This speculation can be supported by Sayahi`s (2021) comments that the spread of

French in Tunisia was mainly motivated by an attempt to reclaim the identity of the advantaged social groups.

As illustrated in the interview extract above (IE11), when the participant commented about ANON being non-modern: “...they do not use French on the contrary of our dialects, we have French words...”, they identified French as the parameter of modernity. Previous research about language attitudes in Algeria typically reported that the use of French indexed modernity (Benrabah, 2014; Le roux, 2017; Belmihoub, 2018), innovation (Le roux, 2017) and cosmopolitanism (Benrabah, 2014; Belmihoub, 2018). A possible explanation for the association between French and modernity in Algeria can be traced to colonial times when only *the elite* were afforded access to education in French schools (Benrabah, 2013a). The aforementioned elite group consisted of wealthy individuals who were well connected with the French government and later held positions of power (see Chitour, 1999). Therefore, it is unavoidable that Algerians would associate education and modernity with the use of French as privileges like employment and social status were only accessible through the use of French.

One noteworthy observation from this study is that participants seemed to afford different definitions of prestige to urban and rural varieties. As illustrated in IE10 when the participant stated that “...*Algerois* [people from the capital of Algeria: Algiers] are serious and hard-working...”, the participant actually affords *overt prestige* to AA. Traditionally, overt prestige refers to the conscious readiness of speech communities to associate social importance with certain linguistic varieties (Trudgill, 1972). In the MENA region, however, overt prestige is consistently afforded to urban varieties of Arabic (Ech-Charfi, 2021). Interestingly, the overt prestige afforded to urban varieties is derived from the use of French. As illustrated in interview extracts IE12 when the participant comments on ANON being less prestigious, the participant mixes Arabic with French (“...*Mais pour moi...*” and “...*Je pense...*”) to show prestige. In this case, the participant seems to be unconsciously involved in an ideological discourse of “Them vs Us”.

Rural varieties, on the other hand, seem to be afforded *covert prestige* which is related to the perceived authenticity of these varieties. Traditionally, covert prestige refers to the social values of warmth and solidarity that are typically associated with non-standard linguistic varieties (Trudgill, 1972). Covert prestige is consistently afforded to rural and nomadic varieties in the MENA region (Ech-Charfi, 2021). Interestingly, the covert prestige afforded to rural varieties is derived from the use of Standard Arabic. As illustrated in interview extracts IE15, the participant stated that they found ANON prestigious because:

“...their dialect is the closest dialect to Arabic [the standard Arabic]...”. Therefore, the present study partially disagrees with Benrabah (2007), who stated that covert prestige is afforded to both Standard and Algerian Arabic. While Benrabah`s (2007) statement is true in the case of rural Algerian Arabic varieties, the present study suggested that urban Algerian Arabic varieties are afforded overt prestige.

In summary, one interesting observation in this study is that attitudes towards urban and rural varieties are dictated by attitudes towards Arabic and French, which are a manifestation of the intellectual conflict between discourses of modernity and authenticity. This hypothesis is supported by the historical development of the rivalry between French and Arabic in Algeria. First, the conflict between Arabic and French in Algeria dates back to colonial times when the French administration forced the French language in official correspondence and education (Chitour, 1999). In that era, the elite groups blessed the situation while religious leaders opposed it (Al-Medeni, 1931). Then, after the independence of Algeria, the leadership wanted to replace the French by imposing an Arabisation policy (Benrabah, 2013a). It was in this era that discourses of modernity and authenticity started to appear in the public mainstream domains (Chitour, 1999).

7.1.5. Attitudes towards the Nomadic Vernacular: Gender and Language

One of the objectives of this study was to explore adult L1 AVA speakers` attitudes towards ANON in relation to perception of gender stereotypes. To this end, participants were asked whether they believed ANON sounded more feminine, more masculine, or neither as well as to explain their choice.

7.1.5.1. Results

In response to whether they believed ANON seemed masculine, feminine, or neither, most participants indicated that they perceived ANON to be masculine. To these participants, ANON sounded “حرشة [rough]”, “you will not believe that the speaker is a woman”, and male speakers of ANON “sound manly and mature”. The following interview extracts (IE16 and IE17) are some examples of the participants` responses.

(IE16)

R.K.: في ظنك ، وش اللهجة تع النوايل الرحالة توالم الرجال اكثر ولا النساء اكثر ولا حتى حد؟

*fī d'annak, waš al-lahja ta' al-nwāyil al-raḥḥāla twālem al-rjāl `akthar wellā al-nsā`
`akthar wellā ḥattā ḥad?*

In your view, do you think that Nomadic Arabic of Ouled Naïl suits females more, or suits males more, or neither?

P.: تبانلي والله اعلم هدره توالم الرجال أكثر

tbanlī w Allahu `aam hadra twālem al-rjāl `akthar

For me, it sounds more appropriate for men.

R.K.: على واش اعتمدت في اجابتك هذي؟

'lā waš 'tamadt fī `ijabtek haḍī?

What was the basis of your answer?

P.: اعتمدت على خبرتي بيهم. -- يعني نعرف هدرتهم. -- الرحالة تلقى عندهم مخارج الحروف حريشة وقاسحة هذي ما شككتش الا تخرج على النساء في ميزي. ما نطنش الا نسمع نسا تا عهم يهدرو تحس بلي مرا تهدر معاك. ديما نقول بلي الفوطو مش طايح على الصوت...

*'tamadt 'lā xibratī bīhum -- ya'nī na'raf hadrethum..—al-raḥḥāla talqā `andhum
mxarij al-ḥurūf ḥarša w qāṣḥa haḍī mā šakitš ilā tuxrej 'lā al-nsā fī mīzī. mā nd'unesš
ilā tasma' nsā ta'hum yahedrū ṭḥas bellī mrā tahdar m'āk. dīmā ngül bellī al-fūṭū
muš ṭāyih 'lā al-ṣūt.*

I based my answer on my experience with them -- I mean I know their dialect --. The nomads have rough and tough articulations of letters, and I believe not that this is suitable for a woman in my opinion. I don't think if you hear their women talk you would feel like that you are talking to a female. I always say that the sound doesn't accord with the picture.

(IE17)

P.:

الحق الهدرة نتاعهم حلوة ورجولية مش كيما الشيبية نتاوعنا. حنا ما عندهمش هذيك الخشونية لي تلقاها عند الرحالة. وثاني كي تسمع واحد بدوي لا شتى صغير تحس روحك تهدر مع راجل واعي وفاهم. بينما تاوعنا تحسو بز تلقاه في عمرو ثلاثين سنة و مزال همو غي الجال والتحفيفة الشابة و التكحال قدام الليسيات. هو ما تلقاه في عمرو تسعطاعش ولا عشرين سنة وتلقاه راجل بدارو و متحمل المسؤولية.

al-ḥaq al-hadra nta'hum ḥluwa w rujūliya miš kīmā al-šabība ntawu'na. ḥnā mā 'andhumš haḏīk al-xuṣuniya lī talqāhā 'and al-rahḥāla. w thānī kī tasma' wāḥed badwī lā štā ṣghī ṭḥas rūḥak tahdar m'ā rājel wā ī w fāhm. baynamā tāwu'nā ṭḥassū baz talgāh fī 'umrū thlāthīn sana w mazāl hammū ghī al-jāl w al-teḥfīfa al-šābba w al-tekḥal guddām al-līsiyāt. ḥūma talgāh fī 'umrū tsa'tā'eš wellā 'ašrīn sana w talgāh rājel bdārū w methammal al-mas'ūliya.

Actually, their dialect is sweet and manly not like our youth. Ours don't have that toughness that you find among nomads. Also, when you hear a nomad talking, even if he is little, you feel like you're talking to a mature grown man. While our [youth], you feel he is immature. You find a man in his thirties that has no concern other than looking good and putting gel on his haircut and chasing high school girls. As for them [nomads], you find a man in his twenties who has a family and who is responsible.

As illustrated above in IE16, many participants associated sounding masculine with sounding “tough and rough” while sounding feminine was essentially perceived as the opposite of sounding masculine. Moreover, while the participant from IE16 based their comments on the linguistic features of ANON, the participant from IE17 based their comments on the speakers of ANON rather than its features. The participant from IE17 established a link between sounding masculine and their experience with the nomadic individuals. For this participant, ANON sounded more masculine because speakers of ANON are “mature”, “tough”, and “manly”. In addition, this participant establishes a comparison between nomadic individuals of Ouled Nail society and young male individuals from her own social group. Interestingly, however, the participant did not state that their fellow group males sounded feminine, but nomads sounded more masculine than them. This implied that the participant perceives sounding masculine as a continuum rather than clear cut binaries. That is to say, an individual can sound masculine while some individual else sounds more masculine than him.

On the other hand, some participants indicated that they viewed ANON as masculine and feminine simultaneously. As far as these participants are concerned, ANON thus was perceived to be suitable for both men and women. As illustrated in IE 18 below, participants associated male speakers of ANON with traits such as “magnanimous”, “mature” and “manly”. Similarly, the participant associated female speakers of ANON with traits such as “polite”, “descent” and “feminine” (see IE18).

(IE18)

كان شفنا الرجال تاوعهم يتحدثو بلهجتهم بيان ذاك الطابع تاع الشهامة تع الرجلّة.. و كان شفنا معناتها النسا
تبقى نثى و ما تاثرش عليها -- تبقى المرا على انوثتها و تربيتها --

P.:

*kān šufnā al-rjāl tāwu 'hum yṯhadthū blahjathum ybān ḏāk al-ṯāi' tā' al-šahāma ta'
al-rujla.. wkān šuft ma 'nāteha al-nsā tabqā nthā nthā wmā t'athareš 'līhā—tabqā
al-mrā 'lā `unūthethā w tarbiyathā.*

If you hear their men [Nomadic individuals], you see the characters of magnanimity and manliness... and if you hear their women, the woman stays a woman -- I mean the woman keeps her character, politeness, and decency --

7.1.5.2. Preliminary Discussion

The exploration of gender perception and its relationship to the evaluation of the nomadic variety reveals an intriguing phenomenon driven by covert prestige towards ANON. An analysis of discussions on this topic consistently demonstrates a tendency among participants to associate masculinity with rural varieties (IE16), whilst urban varieties are frequently linked with femininity (IE17). Extensive sociolinguistic research conducted in the MENA region over the past three decades has consistently documented this intriguing phenomenon (Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Haeri, 1995; Al Wer, 2007; Habib, 2010; Al-Birini, 2016; Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021; Ech-Charfi, 2021).

For instance, in the Moroccan context, Hachimi's (2012) study reveals that rural Moroccan Arabic is commonly perceived as inherently rough and masculine, whilst the Fesi urban vernacular is associated with notions of femininity and elegance. Similarly, Ech-Charfi's (2021) investigation among Jordanian Arabic speakers demonstrates a similar pattern, with urban dialects indexing femininity and Bedouin dialects indexing masculinity and toughness. This association between linguistic varieties and gender perceptions can be

attributed to various contextual factors such as space, time, and the characteristics of the participants themselves (Sadiqi, 2003). The process underlying this phenomenon involves the participants ascribing certain traits, such as toughness, to specific gender identities, in this case, masculinity. Subsequently, when these traits are extended to speakers of particular linguistic varieties, a link is forged between gender identities, ascribed traits, and the linguistic varieties themselves, exemplified by ANON.

This connection between gender perception and linguistic varieties has significant implications for our understanding of sociolinguistic dynamics. It highlights the complex interplay between language and identity construction, wherein perceptions of gender intertwine with evaluations of linguistic forms. Moreover, these findings underscore the importance of considering the sociocultural context in which language variation and gender perception intersect, shedding light on the nuanced processes underlying language attitudes and sociolinguistic behaviour.

7.2. *Linguistic Triggers: Salient Features of the Nomadic Variety*

The second part of the interview (questions five to nine) aimed to investigate linguistic features of ANON that might trigger L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON and its speakers (see section 5.4.1.). The second cluster of interview questions, thus, operationalise the research question: "*What linguistic features may trigger the attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular?*" As discussed above, L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of ANON were based on both socioeconomic and cultural factors and linguistic features of ANON (see sections 7.1.3. and 7.1.4.), which suggests that there are salient linguistic features of ANON that triggered AVA speakers' attitudes towards it. Moreover, data analysis suggested the existence of phonetic, phonological, grammatical, and discursive potential triggers of AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON.

7.2.1. Results

In the second part of the interview, participants meta-linguistically commented on the topic of ANON, showing how ANON differed from other AVA varieties. In addition, participants were asked to imitate the nomadic speech. Next, participants' responses were recorded and transcribed; then, the highest occurring patterns were reported as potential triggers of language attitudes towards ANON. Subsequently, data analysis for the present section is

presented according to the themes developed rather than following the interview questions' order.

7.2.1.1. Phonetics and Phonology

Data analysis suggested that attitudes of adult L1 speakers of AVA living in the midlands towards ANON might be triggered by phonological and phonetic features of ANON. Discussions around the topic of salient features of the nomadic variety seemed to be motivated by a comparison between ANON's phonetic and phonological features with other AVA varieties. The following interview extracts illustrate some of the most frequently reported phonetic features of ANON among participants (see IE19).

(IE19)

في ميزك في واش الهدرة تع البدو النوايل مختلفة على اللهجات الجزائرية الأخرى؟

R.K.:

fī mīzak fī wāš al-hadra ta' al-badū al-nwāyil muxtalfa 'lā al-lahajāt al-jaza`irya al-`uxrā?

In your view, in what ways is ANON different from the rest of the varieties spoken in Algeria?

P.:

تبانلي بلي هدرتهم خفيفة ياسر، تحسهم بجر و موراه كي يكون يهدر. و عدهم هذيك الرنة لي يزيدوها كي يعود يسقسي فيك تحسو يغنيلاك، يقلك: لحقت لداركم؟ /lhɛgt el ʁdarkəmʔ/

Tbānlī bellī hadrthum xfīfa yāser, ṭhashum yajrū mūrāh kī ykūn yahdar. w 'adhum haḍīk al-ranna lī yzīdūhā kī y'ūd ysaqsī fīk thassū yghannīlak, ygulak: lhagt l-darkum (/lhɛgt el ʁdarkəmʔ)?

It appears to me that their speech is very fast. You feel as if someone is running after him [the ANON speaker] when he's talking to you. And, also, they have that extra [musical] tone that they add when they're asking you a question, they say: /lhɛgt el ʁdarkəmʔ/ ? [did you arrive home?]

Frequently, participants referred to the intonation used by nomads when making a question. As illustrated in IE19 above, when the participant referred to the statement /lhɛgt el ʁdarkəmʔ/ [“لحقت لداركم” [“you arrived home”], the participant imitated the way nomads would pronounce it (with a falling pitch at the beginning of the last word and a rising pitch at the end of the same word).

Moreover, participants frequently pointed out how nomads would assimilate the definite article “ال” in the sound [ʒ]. The following interview extract is an illustration (see IE20).

(IE20)

P.: ما ينطقوش الجيم كيما حنا تحسها مختلفة, حنا نقولو الجمعة الجاية /eldʒəmʃæ eldʒə'jɛ/ ولا الجرو/الجرّو و/eldʒɛrʊ/ (par example), وهو ما يقولو الجمعة الجاية /e'zəmʃæ e'zə'jɛ/، الجرو /e'zɛrʊ/ و
mā yanṭəgüš al-jīm kīmā ḥnā ṭḥashā muxtalfa, ḥnā ngulü al-jam'a al-jāya /eldʒəmʃæ eldʒə'jɛ/ wellā al-jarü /eldʒɛrʊ/ (par example) w ḥümā ygülü al-jam'a al-jāya /e'zəmʃæ e'zə'jɛ/, al-jarü /e'zɛrʊ/.

They don't pronounce *Jīm* [ج: the third letter in Arabic Alphabet] like us, you feel theirs is very different. We say, (for example), /eldʒəmʃæ eldʒə'jɛ/ [next Friday] or /eldʒɛrʊ/ [the puppy], and they say: /e'zəmʃæ e'zə'jɛ/ [next Friday] or /e'zɛrʊ/ [the puppy].

This participant gave examples of words that nomads might assimilate the definite article in the phoneme [ʒ]. Examples included utterances such as “الجمعة” [Friday] (which nomads pronounce as /e'zəmʃæ/), “الجاية” [the comer/coming or the next] (which nomads pronounce as /e'zə'jɛ/), and “الجرّو” [the puppy] (which is pronounced as /e'zɛrʊ/).

On the phonological level, as illustrated in IE20 above, the participant identified that nomads would realise the phoneme [dʒ] into [ʒ] in words like “الجمعة” [Friday], which nomads pronounce as /e'zəmʃæ/ instead of /dʒəmʃæ/ (as the case in many mainstream AVA varieties). Moreover, participants frequently pointed out that nomads used the phonemes [s] and [ʃ] interchangeably (see IE23). The phoneme [s] is voiceless, alveolar, fricative while the sound [ʃ] is an emphatic, breathy-voiced, retroflex, fricative. In the interview extract IE23 below, when the participant imitated nomads, they pronounced the word “صادق” (meaning “truthful or honest”) as /sedəq/ instead of /ʃadəq/ which is the mainstream pronunciation. One frequently reported phonological feature of ANON was the realisation of the phoneme [ɣ] as [q]. The phoneme [ɣ] is a voiced fricative velar sound that is similar to the typical French pronunciation of the [r] sound. On the other hand, [q] is a voiced uvular plosive sound. For example, the word “نتغدى” [I am having lunch] would be pronounced as /ntqədə/ instead of /ntyədə/, which is the mainstream pronunciation of this word in Algeria.

7.2.1.2. On the Lexical Level

Lexical differences between ANON and other AVA varieties was another developed theme from participants' responses concerning potential triggers of attitudes. When asked to imitate ANON speakers, many participants focused on lexical differences between ANON and other AVA varieties stating that these differences were the first thing to notice when conversing with ANON speakers. The following interview excerpts illustrate the most frequently reported lexical differences (see IE21, IE22, and IE23).

(IE21)

إذا تقدر طبعاً، قلدلي كيفاش النوايل البدو يهدرو

R.K.: *'idā taqdar ṭab 'ān, qaladlī kifāš al-nwāyil al-badū yahedrū*

If possible, of course, would you imitate the way nomads speak

P.: ...اسررش ليا الهون نعودلك من اخباري قطعة...

'assaraš layā n'awadlek men 'axbārī gat'a

/'esær'æf lɛjja elhʊ:n nʃewedlk mɛn χbari gaʃa/

...Listen to me, I will tell you some of my news...

(IE22)

...ياتل موش هاك! يا عزاك! وخيك ما ديرلوش هاك...

P.: *yātel müš hāk! yā 'zāk! wxayak mā dīrlüš hāk*

/jə: təl mʊ:ʃ hɜ:k jə: ʃezæk wχejjek mə dɪ:rlʊ:ʃ hæk/

...Oh man, not like that! Woe to you! This is your brother don't treat him like that...

(IE23)

...يا كبي راک سادق منيش نقجم معاك...

P.: *yā kabbī rāk sādeq manīš naqjam m'āk...*

/jə: kəb'ɪ ræk sedzq mɛnɪ:ʃ nəqzɛm mʃɜ:k/

...Ya kebbi! [a discursive filler, meaning Alas!] [I know] you are honest, I'm not kidding you...

As illustrated in the interview extracts above, participants focused on words that only ANON speakers use specifically. For example, ANON speakers use the word “اسرش” /'esær'æʃ/ instead of “اسمع” /smeʕ/, which is used typically by urban AVA varieties (meaning hear or listen) (see IE21). Another salient feature of ANON is the use of “يا تـل” /jə: təl/ for the grammatical masculine and “يا تـلا” /jə: tələ/ for the grammatical feminine (meaning “hey you!”) (see IE22). Moreover, participants reported discourse markers that are used only by ANON speakers, such as “كـبي” /jə: kəb'ɪ/ instead of “حـوجي” /hauʒi/ (meaning “alas!”) (see IE23) and “عـزالك” /jə: ʕezæk/ (meaning “Woe to you!”) (see IE22).

Interestingly, many of the words the participants provided were words that existed in their own variety, but ANON speakers would pronounce them differently. Perhaps the most occurring examples are words starting with the phoneme [ɣ] realised as [q] (see section 7.2.1.). Amongst these words, three were reported the most frequently (almost 90% of the time); these are namely: “نتغدى” (meaning: I am having lunch) pronounced as /ntqədə/ instead of /ntɣədə/; “غرفية” (meaning: bowl) pronounced as /qarfəjæ/ instead of /ɣarfəjæ/; and “مغرف” (meaning: spoon) pronounced as /muqrəf/ instead of /muɣrəf/. Two important observations can be accredited to the frequent occurrence of these exact three examples. On one hand, the study supports that attitudes about a given linguistic variety are, indeed, learnt and shared among speech communities (for example, Garrett, 2010). On the other hand, the study demonstrates to what extent phonological differences influence language attitudes in Algeria.

7.2.1.3. On the Grammatical Level

When asked to imitate and provide metalinguistic commentary on ANON, many participants were observed to comment on the grammar of ANON. The following interview extract is an illustration of metalinguistic commentary on ANON’s grammar (IE24).

(IE24)	
	وش تلاحظ الحاجة لولا كي تهدر مع البدو النوايل؟
R.K.:	<i>waʃ tlāhid' al-hāja lūlā kī tahdar m'a al-badū al-nwāyil?</i>
	What is the first thing you notice in the way nomads speak?
P.:	عدهم يجملو الرجال بالتانيث، تلقاه يقلك جات الذيرية /zæt dʒiriʃe ^h / قصدو الذيريين /dʒi:ri'ji:n/ . ولا يقلك جات الرجالة /zæt er'azæle ^h /
	<i>'adhūm yijemlū al-rjāl b al-ta`nīth, talgāh ygulak jāt al-dziriya /zæt dʒiriʃe^h/ qaʃdū al-dzirīyin, wellā ygulak jāt al-rajjāla /zæt er'azæle^h/.</i>

They gather [referring to the nomads making plural] men in feminine forms, you find them saying: /ʒæt d̥z̥ir̥jeʰ/ [male Algerians came] when they mean /d̥z̥i:r̥i:j̥i:n/ [male Algerians] or they say /ʒæt er'ɑʒæleʰ/ [men came]...

This participant identified that ANON speakers used the grammatical singular feminine marker “ة” /eh/ to refer to grammatical plural masculine nouns and adjectives (see IE24). For example, the participant from IE24 above illustrated that ANON speakers used the grammatically feminine adjective “ذيرية” /d̥z̥ir̥jeʰ/ (meaning a female Algerian) to refer to the masculine plural of “ذيري” /d̥z̥iri/ (meaning a male Algerian). Moreover, the participant also exemplified how ANON speakers referred to the grammatical plural masculine nouns in singular feminine pronouns when they stated: “...they say /ʒæt er'ɑʒæleʰ/ [men came]...” (see IE24). Particularly, in the utterance “جات الرجال” [men came], the word “الرجال” [men] is the plural of the word “الرجل” [man], yet it was referred to by the pronoun “ت” /æt/ which is a grammatically feminine pronoun.

7.2.2. Preliminary Discussion

The data analysis suggested the existence of salient phonetic and phonological features of ANON. Participants mainly focused on how nomads would pronounce the phonemes [dʒ], [s], and [ɣ] (see IE20 and IE23). Similar findings have been reported in different parts of the MENA region (for example, Abdel-Jawad, 1986; Al-Wer, 2007; Habib, 2010; Hachimi, 2012). Perhaps one of the most documented phonological salient features of Arabic varieties are the allophones of the phoneme [q] found in different parts of the MENA regions (for example, Al-Wer, 2007; Habib, 2010; Hachimi, 2012). For instance, Hachimi (2012) found that Moroccans identified [q] with prestigious urban varieties of Moroccan Arabic and identified [g] (which is an allophone of [q]) with less prestigious rural Moroccan Arabic varieties. Similarly, Al-Wer (2007) reported that Jordanians from Amman associated [ʔ] with prestigious urban varieties while [q] and [g] were respectively associated with less prestigious rural and Bedouin varieties of Jordanian Arabic. In contrast to earlier findings, however, participants in the present study did not report allophones of [q] as salient features of ANON. A possible explanation might be because all varieties of AVA from the midlands of Algeria realise the phoneme [q] in the same way as [g].

As presented above, the participants identified salient lexical features of ANON (see section 7.2.1.2.). Interestingly, while the participants' account of ANON salient phonological features was not directly articulated at times (see IE23, for example), the report

of ANON salient lexical features was straightforward. The salience of Arabic vernacular lexical features, especially discourse markers, is widely reported in the MENA region (for example, Bidaoui 2020, 2021). A possible explanation for the salience of lexical features of ANON can be related to the language acquisition process (Hickey, 2000). That is to say, the salience of ANON lexical features may be since lexicons are acquired after early childhood when frequent conscious selection of words takes place in conversations (Hickey, 2000). Moreover, it seemed that many of the items reported by participants were an overlap between phonological and lexical features of ANON (see section 7.2.1.2.). Examples of such an overlap include words where [ɣ] was realised as [q] in words such as /ntqədə/ [having lunch], /qɑrfəjæ/ [bowl], and /muqrəf/ [spoon]. Such an overlap between salient lexical and phonological features is reported in many MENA regions including Egypt (Mejdell, 2012) and Bahrain (Holes, 1983). For example, Mejdell (2012) argues that such overlap is related to the fact that most regional dialects borrow their lexicon from Standard Arabic; however, these dialects adapt the borrowed lexicons to their phonological system. Therefore, speakers are conscious of such lexical items because they use them, which makes them aware of the phonological adaptation happening.

The findings from the present study suggest that salient grammatical features of ANON were reported less frequently than other features. As illustrated above, the participant perceived how ANON speakers used feminine grammatical markers to refer to masculine plural as a grammatical “error” (see IE24). Similarly, the participant from IE19 reports the use of pitch to form questions. Grammatical features being salient to Arabic speakers were reported in Egypt as well, where Cairene Arabic speakers identified grammatical and phonological salient features of urban Cairene Arabic vernacular (Haeri, 1995). In addition, Sayahi (2021) reported that Tunisian Arabic speakers perceived salient grammatical “errors” in French to index low education and status. A possible explanation for the salient grammatical features being identified less frequently than other features can be attributed to the stylistic nature of grammar (Hickey, 2000). As an example, phonological items are widely identified for their ubiquitous existence in conversation, whereas grammatical structures might be repeated less often since lengthy conversations can take place without using a given grammatical structure (*ibid.*). However, it is imperative to bear in mind that the fact that participants reported salient grammatical features less than other features does not mean that there are no other salient grammatical features of ANON or other salient linguistic features for that matter. This is because other linguistic features might be below the level of consciousness of the participants (Hickey, 2000).

One interesting observation in the present interview study is that participants, generally, claimed either that their variety is intelligible for Algerians (see IE7) or that ‘other’ varieties, such as ANON, are unintelligible to Algerians (see IE12). Similarly, it is likely that the participant from IE19 hinted at ANON being unintelligible when they commented: “...In my opinion, their speech is very fast. You feel as if someone is running after him [the ANON speaker] when he is talking to you ...”. While failure to understand a variety might engender negative attitudes (Dragojevic et al., 2016), the commentary about ANON being unintelligible appeared to be motivated by ideological factors rather than factual failure to understand ANON speakers. Probably, the IE12 participant’s comment that ANON speakers sounded like “...they escaped *THE MESSAGE* casting [a historical movie] ...” is an illustration of such ideological underpinnings of perceiving ANON. Indeed, individuals often deliberately manipulate salient linguistic features of varieties to achieve a humorous effect (Hickey, 2000). A possible explanation of this pattern is that Arabic speakers often assume competition between their variety and other varieties, especially when urban-rural contact is concerned (Ech-Charfi, 2021). Consequently, Arabic speakers typically would take a defensive position by showing that ‘other’ varieties are ‘less’ important than their dialect because no one understands them.

7.3. Socio-economic Implications of Language Attitudes for the Nomadic Individuals

One of the main objectives of the interview study was to investigate whether language attitudes towards ANON impacted the way nomadic individuals were perceived in terms of professional competence. Participants’ responses to the third cluster of the interview questions (see section 5.4.1) offered an insight into the prejudice ascribed to ANON speakers.

7.3.1. Results

When asked: “*Would you apply for a job knowing your boss is a speaker of nomadic Ouled Nail vernacular?*”, most participants disagreed with working under an ANON speaker. The following interview extract is an illustration of the reasoning behind disagreeing with being employed by a nomad (see IE25)

(IE25)

تخيل روحك رايق تابليكي في شركة بش تخدم والمعلم تااعها بدوي. يا هل ترى تكمل ولا لا؟

R.K.: *txayyal rühek rāyah tāpliki fī šarīka baš taxdam w al-m'alam ta'hā badwī, ya hal tarā tkamal wellā lālā?*

Imagine yourself applying to a company which has a nomadic boss, would you carry on applying?

P.: لا عرفت بلي السيد من البدو ما نزنش الا نروح للشريكة هذيك. نزن اني نروح نحوس على شريكة وحدوخرا احسنلي

lā 'raft bellī al-siyad men al-badū mā nd'uneš `ilā nrüh l al-šarīka hađīk. nd'un `annī nrüh nḥawas 'lā šarīka waḥduxrā `aḥsanlī

If I know that this company is ran by a nomadic person, I don't think I am going to apply to this job. I would rather find another company that is going to be better for me.

R.K.: علاه في ميزك؟

'lah fī mīzak?

Why in your opinion?

P.: لانو ما نزنش بلي راح يقدر يفهمني، و يمكن انا ما نقدرش نفهمو. غدوا راح نولو نخدمو مع بعض و يولي مشرف عليا -- راح الرسمي يصرالنا مشكل تع (communication) ... -- قصدي العقلية نتاعهم ما تخرجش على التسيير...

نعطيك مثال لوكان نجيه لابس لبسة انا هو اتلي فيها ممكن نجيه غريب انا و بالتالي راح يدخل في شؤوني. مثلا مرا تلبس الميني هذي عقليتها يعني الميني بالنسبة ليها (presentable) بصح هو بالاك يشوف بلي هذ المرا راها ضالة قع مش جيبتها. خطرش هو راه جاي من منطقة لي بالنسبة ليه هذ الصوالح مخالفين جدا.

li`anū mā nd'uneš bellī raḥ yaqdar yaḥfamnī, w yumkin `anā ma naqderš nafehmū. ghudwā rāḥ nwalū naxedmū m'a ba'd w ywallī mušrif 'alayā -- rāḥ al-rasmī yašrālna muškil ta' (communication) ... -- qašdī al-'aqliya nta'hum mā tuxreješ 'lā al-tasyīr...

na 'ḥik mithāl, lūkān njīh lābes lebsa `anā hwātī fīhā, mumkin njīh gharīb `anā w be al-tālī rāḥ yudxul fī šu`ūnī. mathalān mrā talbas al-mīnī haḍī 'aqliyathā, ya 'nī al-mīnī be al-nisba līhā (presentable) bṣṣaḥ huwa balāk yšūf bellī haḍ al-mrā rāhā ḍālla ga' meš jaybtehā. xaṭeš huwa rāh jāy men mantiqa lī haḍ al-šwaleḥ muxālifīn jidān.

Because I don't think he is going to understand me, nor I am going to understand him. So, if he is supervising me – it's official that we are going to have a problem of (communication.) – I mean their mentality is not suitable for management...

I will give you an example, let's imagine I go working wearing something he finds strange then he will be involved in my private choices. Also, let's say a woman wears miniskirts to work. For her, this is an (appropriate) work wear, but for him he will find this very strange. This is because he comes from an area where things as this are frowned upon.

This participant identified that they would not apply for a job where their boss is a nomad because they believed that there would be a communication problem (see IE25). The participant further elaborated that a nomad would not be able to manage a company as they come from a different environment. The participant then gave an imaginary situational example where the boss, who is a nomad, would be involved in the workers private choices since they come from a different environment. The interview extract IE25 portrays an ideological map of reasoning that links non-urban lifestyle to lower professional competence.

In response to the interview question: “*if you were an employer, would you employ a speaker of Ouled Naïl Vernacular? Why/Why not?*”; all the participants stated that they would employ ANON speakers depending on the context. For example, many participants expressed that they would offer an ANON speaker a manual job. The following interview extract illustrates these answer patterns (see IE26).

(IE26)

P.: يمكن نعطيهِ خدمة يدوية الا ما لقيتتش خلاه. ما نيش (regionalist) ولا (racist) بصح على بالي بلي لو كان نخدمو راح يتلقى مشاكل وراح يخليني في موقف محرج مع العملاء نتاوعي.
yumkin na 'ḥīh xedma yadawiya `ilā mā lqīteš xlāh. mānīš (regionalist) wellā (racist) bṣṣaḥ 'lā bālī bellī lūkān nexxadmū rāḥ yetlaqā mašākil w rāḥ yxallīnī fī mawqif muḥrij m 'ā al- 'umalā` ntāw'ī.

I can offer him a manual job if I must. I am not (regionalist) nor (racist), but I know if I employ him, he is going to face troubles and [hence] put me in embarrassing situations with our associates.

This participant identified that they would employ a nomadic person in a manual job. The participant further hinted that nomads might be incompetent for jobs that require communication. Some other participants straightforwardly stated that they believed nomads were unsuitable for jobs that require communication and public relations. The following interview excerpts illustrate a sample of responses where participants perceived nomads to be unskilled in communication (see IE27).

(IE27)

P.: مثلا ما نقدرش نخدمو في (reception) تع الناس (puis-que) قادر يزعلي المشترية تاوعي بالهدرة تاوعو. -- يعني حنا في شريكة والسيد يحكي على النعاج والبحري والشتا. ما جياش -- اصلا ما تسعدنيش هذ الهدرة في (le côté professionnel du travail)

mathalān mā naqderš nxxademü fī (reception) ta' al-nās (puis-que) qāder yza' 'aklī al-muštariya taw'ī be al-hadra ta'ü. -- ya 'nī ḥnā fī šarīka w al-siyad yaḥkīlī 'lā al-n'āj w al-baḥrī w al-štā. Mā jayāš-- `ašlān mā tsa'dnīš haḍ al-hadra fī (le côté professionnel du travail.)

For example, I can't give ANON speaker a position in (reception) (since) they might make me lose customers with their speech. -- I mean we are in a company but the person might give examples with sheep, wind, and rain... it's not suitable -- to begin with, this does not help (maintain the professional side of the company.)

The twelfth interview question requested the participants to guess the job of each of the speakers from the speech stimuli made for the VGT study. This question aimed to explore jobs associated with low-prestige and high-prestige varieties in Algeria (see section 5.4.1.). As discussed earlier, all speakers from the speech stimuli were masters and PhD students (see section 5.3.2.). Participants, subsequently, were asked to imagine that they received phone calls from these speakers, and they were asked to report what type of jobs they believed the callers had.

Regarding Algiers Vernacular (AA), most participants reported that the person had a high-status job, examples included health practitioner, university lecturer, and managerial jobs. Similarly, for speakers of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA), most

participants believed that this person worked in the military sector, health worker or as a teacher. In addition, most participants reported that they believed the speaker of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) had an administrative job. As for speakers of Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA), most participants reported that this person might be a teacher or an educational worker in general. Finally, most participants reported that the ANON speaker was unemployed or a manual worker.

7.3.2. Preliminary Discussion

Conversations around the topic of ANON speakers' professional competence seemed to be informed by prejudice and negative stereotypes against nomads. As outlined in IE25, many participants disapproved of being employed by a nomad. The interview extract IE25 suggested that the participant, like most participants in this study, expressed prejudice against ANON speakers being unsuitable for senior positions. The findings of this study are consistent with those of Huang, Fridger and Pearce (2013) in the United States, where they reported that Northeast American university students were less likely to offer executive positions to non-native-accented speakers based on their accent. A possible explanation for prejudicing nomads as unsuitable for senior positions can be related to the perceived scarce use of French by nomads (see section 7.1.3., especially IE15). Similar findings were reported in Tunisia, where incompetence in French indexed professional incompetence (see Sayahi, 2021). Correspondingly, Al-Birini (2021) reported that Jordanian college students were likely to associate the use of English with professional competence.

Moreover, most participants seemed to perceive nomads as people who have little communication skills. As identified in IE27 above, the participant referred to their perception of what topics a nomad might talk about, explaining that these topics might compromise the business professionalism. Interestingly, such comments about the nomads suggest that the ANON speakers' communication skills are perceived based on linguistic prejudice rather than ANON being factually unintelligible. The findings of this study accord with Al-Birini's (2014) observations, where he reported that Bedouins in Syria (Hims) would drop their variety in favour of urban vernacular to be viewed as competent professionals. The present findings are, also, consistent with those reported in the United States (California and Kansas), where college students were less likely to assign Japanese-accented speakers to jobs that required communication based on mere linguistic prejudices (Hosoda and Stone-Romero, 2010). Similarly, Baratta (2017: 416) reported that, during teacher training in South-East Britain, teachers were pushed to drop their regional accents in order to obtain "linguistic professionalism".

When asked to guess the job of each speaker from the speech stimuli, participants of the present interview study generally attributed prestigious jobs (for example, doctor, senior military officer, and administrative) with prestigious (urban) varieties (AA, AEA, and AWA). The present findings correspond with those of Sayahi (2021) in Tunisia, where he showed that urban varieties (typically marked by the use of French) indexed professional competence and prestigious careers. Similarly, Al-Birini (2021) showed that the use of English indexed prestigious careers to Jordanian college students. In the United States (California and Kansas), college students viewed French-accented speakers as professionally competent based on the students linking Europe with professional competence (Hosoda and Stone-Romero, 2010). On the other hand, participants associated less prestigious varieties (ANON and ASA) with less prestigious jobs (teacher and manual labourer). Notably, most participants viewed the ANON speaker as unemployed, further substantiating the linguistic prejudice that nomads face in Algeria. Indeed, stereotypes mirror the structure of social and economic relations between different social groups (Fiske et al., 2002). That is to say, the prejudice and negative perception of nomadic individuals' professional skills reflect the scarcity of economic chances offered to the nomads in Algeria. These results echo those of Al-Birini (2014), who also reported that Bedouins in Syria were only offered unskilled manual labour jobs, causing most Bedouins to fall under a lower socioeconomic status. Unencumbered by theory, it seemed that nomads find themselves facing a cycle of prejudice and lower socioeconomic status, in which nomads are less likely to be given prestigious jobs because of linguistic prejudice, which, in turn, stems from their low socioeconomic status.

Summary

In summary, from the participants' responses, Algerian Arabic varieties are categorised according to geographical factors into (a) the same number of the provinces of Algeria (see IE1), (b) more than the number of the provinces of Algeria (see IE5), (c) or five categories according to the cardinal directions (see IE6). Similarly, participants categorised Algerian Arabic varieties according to ethnic factors into the same number of Oroush (ethnic groups) (see IE3). Finally, Algerian Arabic varieties are categorised according to socioeconomic factors (see IE2): (a) varieties spoken in cities and urban centres and (b) varieties spoken in the mountains and rural areas.

In general, participants of the present interview study seemed to be in favour of their own varieties (IE7, IE8, and IE9), stating that their varieties were widely intelligible to Algerian Arabic speakers (IE7), modern (IE8), and similar to Standard Arabic (IE9). When participants were in favour of AVA varieties other than their own, most participants

evaluated urban varieties positively in terms of social status (IE10) while they evaluated rural varieties positively in terms of social attractiveness.

Many participants evaluated ANON positively in terms of social attractiveness (IE14) while they evaluated ANON negatively in terms of social status (IE11). The evaluation of urban and nomadic varieties in Algeria seemed to be driven by attitudes towards Arabic and French (section 7.1.3.2.), which, in turn, are a manifestation of the conflict between modernity and authenticity discourses in Algeria (section 7.1.4.). Moreover, nomadic varieties and rural varieties, in general, were perceived to index masculinity while urban speech indexed femininity (see section 7.1.5.).

Regarding linguistic triggers of L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards nomads, the present study reported phonological triggers (section 7.2.1.1.), lexical triggers (section 7.2.1.2.), and grammatical triggers (section 7.2.1.3.).

Moreover, discussions about the perception of nomads' professional competence seemed to be informed by prejudice against ANON, where ANON speakers are viewed as less suitable for senior positions (IE25), lack communication skills (IE25 and IE27), and, consequently, are only able to do labour jobs (section 7.3.2.).

This chapter examined adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards the nomadic variety, their linguistic triggers, and socioeconomic implications for nomadic individuals. While the interview study results are briefly discussed in this chapter, the next chapter will provide a detailed discussion of results from both VGT and the interview study.

Chapter 8 Synthesis: A Discussion of Direct and Indirect Language Attitudes, Linguistic Triggers, and Impact on Job Market

Overview

The previous two chapters detailed data analysis for the verbal-guise and the interview study (see chapters six and seven). In chapter six, the verbal-guise study investigated Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic speech by employing an indirect method. To this end, seven hundred adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers who live in the midlands of Algeria rated five Algerian Arabic vernaculars. On the other hand, chapter seven recruited thirty-two interviewees to explore direct Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards the nomadic variety. Furthermore, chapter seven explored potential triggers of attitudes towards nomads and investigated the socio-economic implications of these attitudes for nomads. The present chapter compares the results of the interview and the results of the verbal-guise study and provides a detailed discussion of the main findings. The present chapter will be organised following the research questions of the present study.

8.1. Research Questions, Aims, and Main Findings

The main aim of this study is to explore adult L1 Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) speakers' attitudes towards AVA speech with a special reference to Nomadic Ouled Nail Arabic Vernacular (ANON). To this end, the present study sets three subsequent objectives. Firstly, the study examines the possible effects of social variables on adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards AVA speech. As discussed earlier, the present study explores the effects of age, sex, education, and provenance on AVA speakers' attitudes towards AVA speech (see section 5.3.3.). Secondly, the present study investigates possible linguistic triggers of adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON. Thirdly, the study explores possible socioeconomic implications of adult L1 AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON for its speakers.

Subsequently, in order to achieve the research aims set for the present thesis, the following questions were addressed (see section 5.1.):

(i) How do L1 AVA speakers evaluate ANON among other vernaculars spoken in different areas of Algeria?

(ii) If evident at all, in what measurable ways are there age differences in attitudes of L1 AVA towards ANON and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?

(iii) Are there any measurable differences between the attitudes of male and female L1 AVA speakers towards ANON and other Algerian Arabic vernaculars?

(iv) Are there any rural/urban/nomadic provenance differences in AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON and other Algerian Arabic varieties?

(v) Are there any level of education differences in patterns of AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON and other Algerian Arabic varieties?

(vi) What linguistic features may trigger the attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular?

(vii) How might AVA speakers' attitudes towards ANON influence nomadic individuals' perceived professional competence in Algeria?

8.1.2. The Verbal-guise Study Main Findings

The verbal-guise study explored the effects of age, sex, education, and provenance on AVA speakers' attitudes towards AVA speech. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

(i) Algiers Arabic Vernacular (AA) was perceived significantly most positively in terms of social status, and Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA) was perceived significantly most positively in terms of social attractiveness. Interestingly, Nomadic Ouled Naïl Vernacular (ANON) was perceived significantly the least positively in terms of social status and social attractiveness (see sections 6.3.1. and 6.4.1.).

(ii) Age was found to have a statistically significant main effect on overall ratings of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) and Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA). For AEA, young adults (18-35) evaluated AEA significantly more favourably than both senior (56 and above) and middle-aged (36-55) participants. Similarly, young adults (18-35) evaluated AWA significantly more favourably than middle-aged (36-55) participants (see section 6.4.2.)

(ii) Sex was found to have statistically significant main effect on overall ratings of social status of all AVA varieties, where female participants rated the speakers of urban varieties (AA and AEA) significantly more favourably as opposed to the male participants. On the other hand, male participants rated the nomadic and the rural AVA varieties

significantly more favourably than female participants. Interestingly, AWA was rated significantly more favourably by female participants as opposed to male participants (see section 6.3.3.).

(iii) Area of provenance was found to have a statistically significant main effect on overall ratings of ANON in terms of social attractiveness, where nomadic participants rated ANON significantly more favourably than rural participants (see section 6.4.4.).

(iv) Level of education was found to have a statistically significant main effect on ratings of AEA in terms of status, where participants who obtained higher education rated AEA significantly more favourably than both participants who obtained primary education and participants who obtained high school education (see section 6.3.5.).

(v) Level of education was found to have a statistically significant main effect on overall ratings of AA, AEA and AWA in terms of attractiveness, where participants who attained primary education rated urban varieties (AA and AEA) significantly less favourably than both participants who attained higher education and participants who attained high school education. Moreover, in the case of AWA, evaluations of participants who obtained primary were significantly less favourably than evaluations of participants who obtained high school education (see section 6.4.5.).

(vi) Data analysis found only one statistically significant interaction-effect for participants` sex and education on evaluations of AEA in terms of status, where females who obtained higher education rated the social status of AEA significantly more favourably than females who obtained high school education (see section 6.3.6.).

8.1.3. The Interview Study Main Findings

The interview study explored direct AVA speakers` attitudes towards ANON, potential triggers of AVA speakers` attitudes towards ANON, and the socio-economic implications of these attitudes for ANON speakers. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

(i) Adult L1 Algerian Arabic (AVA) speakers categorised AVA according to geographical factors, ethnic factors, and socioeconomic factors (see section 7.1.1).

(ii) In general, participants seemed to favour their own varieties, stating that their varieties were widely intelligible to Algerian Arabic speakers, modern, and similar to Standard Arabic. When participants favoured AVA varieties other than their own, most

participants evaluated urban varieties positively in terms of social status and evaluated rural varieties positively in terms of social attractiveness (see section 7.1.2.).

(iii) Typically, participants evaluated ANON positively in terms of social attractiveness and negatively in terms of social status. The evaluation of urban and nomadic varieties in Algeria seemed to be driven by attitudes towards Arabic and French (section 7.1.3.2.), which, in turn, were a manifestation of the conflict between modernity and authenticity discourses in Algeria (see section 7.1.4.). Moreover, nomadic varieties and rural varieties, in general, were perceived to index masculinity while urban speech indexed femininity (see section 7.1.5.).

(iv) Regarding linguistic triggers of L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards nomads, the present study reported phonological triggers (such as pronouncing the phoneme [dʒ] as [ʒ]) (section 7.2.1.1.), lexical triggers (such as using the word /'esær'æʃ/ instead of /smeʃ/, meaning listen) (section 7.2.1.2.), and grammatical triggers (such as referring to plural masculine using feminine grammatical markers) (section 7.2.1.3.).

(v) Moreover, discussions about the perception of nomads' professional competence seemed to be informed by prejudice against ANON, where ANON speakers are perceived:

- a) to be as less suitable for senior positions,
- b) to lack communication skills,
- c) and, consequently, are only able to do labour jobs (section 7.3.2.).

8.2. How Do L1 Algerian Arabic Speakers Evaluate Different Algerian Arabic Varieties?

Adult L1 Algerian Arabic (AVA) speakers' direct and indirect attitudes towards Algerian Arabic speech were explored employing a verbal-guise test and interviews. The speech stimuli for the verbal-guise consisted of two urban varieties (Algiers Arabic Vernacular and Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular), two rural varieties (Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular and Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular), and one nomadic variety (Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular) (see Miller, 2007; Guerrero, 2015) (see section 5.3.1.). Moreover, for the verbal-guise test, a semantic differential scale consisting of ten bipolar traits obtained from a pilot study was employed (see section 5.3.4.1.). On the other hand, the interview study was conducted to investigate the direct language attitudes of AVA speakers towards ANON.

Primary statistical analysis of the verbal-guise data indicated that participants distinguished the differences between the five varieties used in this study (see section 6.1.). Moreover, participants showed a tendency to produce judgments regarding the personality and competence of each of the performers employed for this study. Further, the interview study suggested that participants categorised Algerian Arabic according to geographical, ethnic, and socioeconomic factors (see section 7.1.1.). Firstly, many participants categorised Algerian Arabic vernaculars into 48 varieties based on official boundaries between provinces of Algeria at the time of data collection (see Preston, 1993). The present finding is consistent with Al-Rojaie's (2021) study in Saudi, where Saudi Arabic speakers from Riyadh categorised the emerging Saudi koiné referring to their local area. Similarly, many participants categorised Algerian Arabic according to cardinal directions (northern, southern, western, eastern, and central). The recognition of five dialect areas in Algeria can be related to the Algerian media coverage of dialect differences in Algeria. In Morocco, Hachimi (2015) demonstrated that Moroccan participants categorised Arabic dialects into eastern and western dialects following Moroccan media coverage of differences between dialects of Arabic (see section 7.1.1.2.).

Secondly, many adult L1 Algerian Arabis speakers categorised Algerian Arabic according to *Oroush* (ethnic groups) (see section 7.1.1.). Ech-Charfi (2021) reported similar findings in Morocco, where Arabic speakers categorised rural and urban Moroccan Arabic varieties according to ethnic groups speaking these varieties. In speculation, the perception of different dialects according to ethnic groups can be a translation of the perceived imagined borders between ethnic groups (see Preston, 1993; Montgomery, 2012). For example, Montgomery (2012) illustrated that British participants categorised Southern English and Northern English based on historical accounts of Northern English. Thirdly, many adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers categorised Algerian Arabic into urban and rural reflecting the socioeconomic imbalance between rural and urban areas in Algeria (see section 7.1.1.2.). A similar finding was reported in Morocco, where Arabic speakers categorised Moroccan Arabic into rural and urban (Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi, 2017). Consistent with Ech-Charfi and Azzouzi's (2017) study in Morocco, the present study demonstrated that the urban-rural split of Algerian Arabic varieties was motivated by negative ideological views about the rural areas (see section 7.1.1.). It has been well documented in the field of speech perception that language classification is associated with the sociohistorical background of participants (see for example Dragojevic et al., 2017). Perhaps, an example of the classification of linguistic varieties revealing the ideological framework that motivates attitudes towards these varieties (for example, Garrett, 2010) is when one participant referred to nomads as *Urubia* (a

derogatory term to refer to nomads and rural dwellers) (see IE2 from section 7.1.1.). Therefore, drawing from Ech-Charfi`s (2021) comments about Arabic speakers in Morocco, the present study suggested that urban and rural individuals perceive each other as different ethnic groups even if they historically belonged to the same group.

The statistical data analysis revealed interesting patterns concerning adult L1 AVA speakers` evaluations of AVA varieties. Figure 8.1. below ranks the speakers from the speech stimuli from the most significantly positively evaluated to the least significantly positively evaluated. The asterisk next to the speaker indicates a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.05$) with the speaker immediately below. Reference will be made to this ranking throughout the discussion of the findings of the study.

Figure 8.1. Ranking of Algerian Arabic Speakers in Terms of Status and Attractiveness

Social status	Social attractiveness
AA: Algiers Arabic Vernacular	ASA: Southern Algerian Vernacular*
AWA: Western Algerian Vernacular*	AEA: Eastern Algerian Vernacular*
AEA: Eastern Algerian Vernacular*	AA: Algiers Arabic Vernacular*
ASA: Southern Algerian Vernacular	AWA: Western Algerian Vernacular*
ANON: Nomadic Ouled Nail Vernacular	ANON: Nomadic Ouled Nail Vernacular

*: significant difference ($p < 0.05$) with the speaker immediately below

The verbal-guise data analysis revealed that Algiers Arabic Vernacular was ranked the highest in terms of social status (see Figure 8.1.) (See section 6.3.1.). Similar findings appeared in the interview study, where many participants associated Algiers Arabic with education, being serious, and being skilful (see section 7.1.2.). Evaluations of Arabic speakers in Algeria are broadly similar to many other Arabic speaking countries such as Morocco (Al-Birini, 2016; Chakrani, 2013), Tunisia (Gabsi, 2020; Sayahi, 2021), and Jordan (Al-Wer, 2007). Indeed, it is well documented in sociolinguistics that varieties spoken in capital cities (which have greater socioeconomic powers than other cities) are evaluated the most positively in terms of social status (for example, Garrett et al., 2003; Al-Wer, 2007; Bassiouney, 2020). One possible explanation for the capitals` Arabic vernaculars being evaluated the highest in terms of social status in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) can be attributed to the power imbalance between the capital city and other cities of the same

country (see Bassiouney, 2020). Like most capital cities in the MENA region and perhaps the whole world, Algiers is home to most universities, administrations, and factories (Benrabah, 2013b). Such an imbalance in the socioeconomic power distribution between Algiers and other cities is salient to Algerian Arabic speakers (Belmihoub, 2015). Consequently, it is safe to assume that Algerian Arabic speakers evaluated Algiers vernacular the highest in terms of status to share the privileges of Algiers vernacular speakers since this privilege is likely salient to Algerian Arabic speakers (see Al-Birini, 2021).

Moreover, the verbal-guise data revealed that Algerian Arabic speakers rated Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA) significantly most positively in terms of social attractiveness (see Figure 8.1.) (See section 6.4.1.). Similarly, the interview study demonstrated that many participants held positive attitudes towards ASA in terms of social attractiveness, for example, when some participants perceived ASA speakers to be generous, amiable, and kind (see section 7.2.1.1.). Previous research concerned with Arabic speakers' social evaluations of Arabic Vernaculars in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) also found evidence that participants would typically favour rural varieties in terms of social attractiveness (see Al-Birini, 2016). Therefore, the present finding is consistent with a plethora of sociolinguistic research concerning Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Arabic vernaculars including Jordan (for example, Al-Birini, 2021), Morocco (for example, Hachimi, 2012; Ech-Charfi, 2021), Saudi (for example, Al-Rojaie, 2021), and Qatar (for example, Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021). A possible explanation is that the study took place in the midlands of Algeria where most speakers would identify as rural variety speakers. Therefore, drawing from the dynamics of social identity, the Algerian Midlanders tend to include ASA in their definition of the ingroup since people consistently compare their ingroup with relevant outgroups as a way to establish social identity (see Nader, 1962; Giles and Rakić, 2014).

Another possible explanation for the findings concerning ratings of ASA in terms of social attractiveness might be the representation of the people of southern Algeria in the media. Generally, Southern Algerians are portrayed as being simple, naïve, and generous. In Algeria, movies, shows, and series would rarely show a *Sahraoui* as a decision-maker or as a businessperson (*Sahraoui* is a person from the Sahara or generally the south of Algeria), which explains how ASA was rated in terms of social status (see Figure 8.1.). For example, in the USA, Gluszek and Hansen (2013) found evidence that media representations of Arabic, Eastern European, and Latinx accented English evoked certain social images about these ethnicities in America. Indeed, it is worth mentioning that media representation is a proxy factor, which with the help of other factors such as social interaction and dialect contact,

influences language attitudes (Stuart-Smith and Timmins, 2014). For example, in the UK, Stuart-Smith (2014) found statistical evidence that media correlations with language use in Glasgow were mitigated through other factors such as dialect contact.

The interview study indicated that most participants would favour their own Algerian Arabic vernacular in terms of status and attractiveness (see section 7.1.2.). In terms of social status, many participants argued that they favoured their own variety because it is intelligible, modern, and urban. Al-Birini (2016) reported similar findings among Egyptian students who favoured their variety claiming it was intelligible to all Arabs. Perhaps a possible explanation can be associated with participants' efforts to boost the social importance of their particular Arabic vernacular (see Nader, 1962). Intelligibility is not always claimed as an argument to favour one's own dialect in terms of social status. For example, some participants favoured the nomadic variety in terms of social attractiveness claiming that it was intelligible. Hachimi (2015) reported similar findings in Morocco, where Arabic speakers favoured Syrian Arabic based on the perception that Syrians were understood among all Arabs. Therefore, Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic varieties are consistent with Nader's (1962) comments. Nader (1962) argues that across Arabic speaking countries, Arabic speakers would favour their variety (typically in terms of status) only when they were away from their towns, while they would favour other varieties (typically in terms of attractiveness) if they were in their own towns.

The verbal-guise data analysis revealed that adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers rated Nomadic Ouled Naïl Vernacular (ANON) significantly least positively in terms of status and attractiveness (see Figure 8.1.). This finding is inconsistent with Ech-Charfi (2021), for example, who stated that Moroccan Arabic speakers rate rural Moroccan Arabic highly in terms of social attractiveness. The inconsistency between the present findings and previous research can be explained by the dynamics of social identity (Giles and Rakić, 2014). Indeed, a comparison of research concerned Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties reveals that Arabic speakers typically favour rural varieties of Arabic in comparison to other local (Berber and Kurdish) and global languages (French and English) (see Al-Birini, 2016). That is to say, Arabic speakers involve rural varieties in their definition of the ingroup (see Giles and Rakić, 2014). In the present study, on the other hand, rural and Bedouin varieties are considered outgroup to speakers of urban Algerian Arabic, which was translated into negative attitudes towards ANON in terms of attractiveness.

Indeed, the verbal-guise findings indicated that the participants held negative stereotypes against ANON speakers (see section 6.4.1.). A possible explanation for such a

result might be the media representation of nomadic individuals in Algeria. For example, one participant referenced a historical movie while making pejorative comments about ANON speakers (see IE12 from section 7.1.3.). Indeed, many cinematic works in contemporary Algerian cinema depict Bedouins as inferior to urban individuals. Gluszek and Hansen (2013) discussed that moviemaking in the US engendered negative social images about minorities. Certainly, media representation is a factor that should only be considered when joined with other factors to influence language attitudes (Stuart-Smith and Timmins, 2014). The other factor might be attributed to the colonial history of Algeria. Historically, rebels who fought against the French colonisation used the mountains as their refuge (Mili, 2004). As a reaction, the French administration started propaganda labelling those rebels as criminals (ibid.). As a result, living outside the city was associated with negative connotations. Those connotations were further highlighted when the ten-year civil war started in Algeria where extreme Islamist parties took refuge outside cities (Benrabah, 2013b).

Interestingly, the interview study suggested that Nomadic Ouled Naïl Vernacular (ANON) was rated highly in terms of social attractiveness (see section 7.1.5.). For example, many participants indicated that ANON speakers sounded pleasant, funny, and close to standard Arabic (authentic Arabic identity) (see section 7.1.4.1.). Therefore, the interview findings are inconsistent with the verbal-guise findings concerning Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of ANON in terms of attractiveness. Such inconsistency in the findings can be attributed to the nature of the methods used to collect data. While in an interview, participants might provide answers that they think are socially desirable (see Garrett, 2010). Indeed, there is a possibility that participants provided such answers because they thought these answers would make them look good in front of the interviewer. This possibility can be further backed by the observations of verbal and non-verbal behaviours of the interviewees. During the interview, the researcher codeswitched between different varieties of Algerian Arabic Vernacular. In many cases, the participants would adopt the linguistic variety used by the interviewer except for the case of ANON. While analysis for the observed behavioural patterns is not provided in the present study due to time and scope limitations, such linguistic behaviour suggests that participants have held strong attitudes towards nomadic Ouled Naïl society. On the other hand, the verbal-guise study counteracts social desirability by hiding the purpose of the study from the participants and by randomising socially desired traits on the scale (see Garrett, 2010). However, the fact that participants who took the verbal-guise test were sure that even the researcher would not be able to identify individual responses may have caused their inhibitions towards ANON to be low.

This behaviour is evident, for example, in cases where anonymous people would be more abusive online than people who are identified (see Shalaby, 2021).

Both the verbal-guise and the interview indicated that Nomadic Ouled Nail Vernacular (ANON) was evaluated negatively in terms of status. Further, the interview study revealed that many participants believed ANON lacked modernity (see section 7.1.4.). Particularly, Algerian Arabic speakers seemed to define modernity based on three main factors. Firstly, an Algerian Arabic vernacular is modern if it borrows from other languages mainly French (see section 7.1.4.). A possible explanation can be related to the colonial era (between 1830 and 1962) (see Benrabah, 2013b). The French administration introduced the *Code de l'Indigénat* which is a discriminatory law against the indigenous people of Algeria (Al-Medeni, 1931). One of the laws of the Code de l'Indigénat penalised the use of Arabic in formal education and administration. Consequently, after the independence of Algeria in 1962, most Algerians had a French education (see Bennabi, 1969; Bouhouche, 1997; Chitour, 1999). In fact, speaking French was seen as synonymous with being educated (Chitour, 1999). The positive attitudes towards the French language as an index of high education continued to happen despite the Arabisation movement by the Algerian government during the 1970s (Benrabah, 2013b). A possible explanation for the positive attitudes towards French can be attributed to the fact that higher education and administration still use French until this day. Consequently, it is a normal result that ANON, which is perceived to use less French (see section 7.1.5.), would be perceived less modern by Algerian Arabic speakers.

Secondly, an Algerian Arabic variety is perceived as modern if spoken in an area where many European expatriates live (see section 7.1.4.). We have seen in chapter seven how modernity of speech is defined by expatriates who are usually European individuals working in oil companies in Algeria (see section 7.1.4.). Many participants indicated that oil companies brought people from outside Algeria, which, in return, made the varieties influenced by the contact with these "modern internationals" (see section 7.1.1.). While participants did not mention how the contact with expatriates influenced their varieties, the participants' responses suggest they meant lexical influence (see section 7.1.1). This finding is consistent with Chakrani (2013) who suggested that Moroccan Arabic speakers viewed European expatriates as target models for modernity. The perceived relationship between modernity and European expatriates can be attributed to the economic gap between Algeria and many European countries (see Milroy and Milroy, 2012). Indeed, it is worthwhile mentioning that in Algeria, modernity is attributed to Western European countries rather than Eastern European countries (see Chebchoub, 1985).

Thirdly, an Algerian Arabic vernacular is modern if spoken in cities rather than rural areas. Hence, being a nomad is, by definition, perceived to be non-modern. We have seen that some participants argued that urban vernaculars are civilised, clever, and street smart while rural and nomadic varieties are the complete opposite of that (see IE2 from section 7.1.1.). Algerian Arabic speakers' negative attitudes towards rural and nomadic varieties in terms of status can be traced back to the propaganda perpetrated by the Algerian government during *The Agricultural Revolution* in the 1970s (Benrabah, 2013b). During the 1970s, Algeria adopted policies to increase agrarian production. However, there was a shortage in numbers of farmers and manual workers who moved to the cities after independence for economic reasons. Hence, to counteract the social mobility from rural to urban areas, the Algerian government started systematic propaganda that argued rural dwellers would find it hard to adapt to the city (see Chitour, 1999). Another possible explanation for negative attitudes towards rural and nomadic varieties in terms of status can be traced back to colonial times (Bouhouche, 1997). What further supports this explanation is the use of the term "Urubia" by one participant, which is a derogatory term to refer to nomads, to entail the opposite of civilised, street smart, and clever (see participant IE2 from section 7.1.1). The term *Urubia* is derived from *Arbi* meaning an Arab. This term can be traced back to the era of colonisation to *The Zouaves*, who used the word *Urubia* to counteract the resistance against the French (see Bennabi, 1969). The Zouaves was a regiment of the French army formed by the locals (Mili, 2004). Even though the term *Urubia* can be traced to colonial times, it is during the independence that the use of the term was condensed in order to keep farmers in their lands by making them face the social fear of being looked down upon if moved to the city (Bouhouche, 1997). The use of this term in modern times reflects the attitudes and stereotypes held towards Bedouins and nomads in Algeria.

Moreover, adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) in terms of social attractiveness and status revealed interesting findings concerning the urban-rural split in Algeria. Despite that dialectologists categorise AWA as rural based on its phonology (see Miller, 2007), the patterns of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards AWA suggest that it was perceived as urban. For example, AWA was perceived positively in terms of social status (see section 6.3.1.). The present finding is contrary to previous studies in Arabic speaking countries, including Qatar (see Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021), Saudi (see Al-Rojaie, 2021), and Morocco (see Ech-Charfi, 2017, 2021), which have consistently suggested that Arabic speakers typically hold negative attitudes towards rural varieties of Arabic in terms of social status. This result may be explained by the fact that AWA is spoken in Oran, the second-largest city in Algeria and the economic

capital of Algeria (see Chitour, 1999). Therefore, Algerian Arabic speakers held positive attitudes towards AWA in terms of social status since AWA is likely associated with the socioeconomic power of Oran¹. Therefore, it seems that adult L1 speakers of Algerian Arabic consider a variety as urban if it is spoken in a city regardless of its linguistic features. Al-Wer (2007) has reported similar findings in *Amman* (Jordan), where Jordanian Arabic speakers perceived *Sult* (a city in Jordan) Vernacular to be urban even though the variety was classified as rural by dialectologists.

The verbal-guise findings concerning Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algiers Vernacular (AA) and Nomadic Ouled Naïl Vernacular (ANON) in terms of status and attractiveness suggest some interesting findings regarding the relationship between status and attractiveness in Algeria. Regardless of the evaluative dimension, AA was perceived positively, while ANON was perceived negatively (see Figure 8.1.). The present study has been unable to demonstrate a '*compensation effect*' between evaluative dimensions in Algeria (Yzerbyt, Provost, and Corneille, 2005). Yzerbyt et al. (2005) reported that French and Belgian participants' evaluations of French and Belgian individuals were significantly higher on one evaluative dimension and lower on the other. Similarly, Chakrani (2013), for example, found evidence that Moroccan Arabic speakers evaluated Arabic higher on the attractive dimension and lower on the status dimension, while patterns of attitudes towards French were the other way round. The present findings, however, are broadly similar to Fiske et al. (2002) where they found evidence that evaluations can be high on both dimension (for example black professionals), or low on both dimensions (for example homeless people).

To summarise, the present study demonstrated that Algerian Arabic speakers hold different attitudes towards varieties of Algerian Arabic. The present study provided qualitative and quantitative evidence that attitudes towards Algerian Arabic are not homogeneous. Indeed, previous studies about Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes typically investigated their attitudes towards Algiers vernacular (AA), French, Standard Arabic, and Berber (for example, Benrabah, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2013a, 2014; Belmihoub, 2015, 2018). Such paradigm of research suggests that Algiers vernacular is representative of Algerian Arabic. The present study found statistical evidence that Algerian Arabic speakers evaluate AA differently than other Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA) varieties. Moreover, the interview study showed that AVA speakers were aware of linguistic variation in Algeria (see section 7.1.1.). In addition, the verbal-guise supported such findings and showed that participants were ready to ascribe traits to speakers of different varieties; those traits

¹ For a discussion, see Milroy and Milroy (2012)

contribute to the definitions of stereotypical views about the speakers (see section 6.1.2.). The verbal-guise study found statistical evidence that AVA speakers generally rate urban AVA varieties significantly higher in terms of status and rate rural varieties significantly higher in terms of attractiveness. Interestingly, participants' ratings of AWA revealed that AWA was treated as an urban variety despite that AWA is a rural variety phonetically (see Miller, 2007). This finding is interesting as it sheds light on the need to redefine the social meanings of rural and urban varieties in Algeria.

8.3. If Evident at All, in What Measurable Ways Are There Age Differences in Attitudes of L1 Algerian Arabic Speakers towards Algerian Arabic Vernaculars?

The literature review indicated the importance of exploring age differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic varieties (see section 4.5.). Indeed, as detailed previously, there is a shortage of literature that describes age effects on Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic. Specifically in Algeria, language attitudes studies typically tended to overlook the age differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties (see for example Benrabah, 2004; Chemami, 2011; Belmihoub, 2015). Perhaps, such disregard of age group in many previous language attitudes studies in the context of Algeria might reinforce and contribute to the assumption of homogeneity within Algerian speech communities regarding the possible effect of age group on attitudes towards linguistic varieties in Algeria. Consequently, the present study aimed to investigate age differences in the evaluations of five Algerian Arabic vernaculars by adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers who live in the midlands of Algeria (see sections 5.1. and 5.2.). To this end, participants were asked to provide information about their age group using a demographic background sheet that was distributed amongst them during the verbal-guise study (see section 5.3.4.2.). In the present study, participants were asked to affiliate themselves with one of three age groups: young adults (18-35), middle-aged adults (36-55), and senior adults (56 years and above) (see section 5.3.3.1.).

Subsequently, three data statistical analysis stages were performed to explore the possible effects of participants' age on their social evaluations of the five linguistic varieties included in the present study. The first stage of data analysis comprised investigating whether the participant age had a statistically significant main effect on participants' evaluation of five Algerian Arabic vernaculars included in the present study in terms of social status (see section 6.3.2.). Moreover, the second stage of data analysis involved exploring age differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of the speech stimuli included in the present study in terms of social attractiveness (see section 6.4.2.). Finally,

the third data analysis stage involved investigating the interaction effect in cases where significant main effects were found for different social backgrounds on the evaluations of speakers' status and attractiveness. The present study explored the interaction effect of age and education on participants' evaluations of Eastern and Western Algerian Arabic Vernaculars (AEA and AWA) in terms of social attractiveness since both age and education had significant main effects in both cases (see section 6.4.6.).

Firstly, the statistical data analysis revealed that there was no significant overall effect between the evaluations of young adults, middle-aged adults, and senior adults towards the five varieties of Algerian Arabic vernacular included in the present study (see section 6.3.2). Therefore, the present finding is contrary to the scarce sociolinguistic research around age differences in Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties, where it has been advocated that young Arabic speakers favour prestigious Arabic varieties in terms of status (for example, Chebchoub, 1985; Al-Wer, 2007; Al-Birini, 2016). For example, the present results are inconsistent with those of Al-Issa and Dahan (2021), who found evidence that young Emirati Arabic speakers evaluated English higher than Arabic, typically associating English with modernity and high socioeconomic status. A possible explanation can be that senior adults have a great influence on the attitudes learnt by young adults (see Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021). That is to say, senior adults in Algeria would be likely to maintain their views about language in Algeria and would play a great role in influencing their descendants' attitudes towards different linguistic varieties.

In the Algerian context, findings of the present study concerning age differences in attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards the social status of the varieties included in the study are contrary to that of Chebchoub (1985). Chebchoub (1985) found that young adults in Algiers favoured French over Arabic and Algiers Vernacular in terms of social status. A possible explanation can be attributed to the socio-political changes in Algeria in the past four decades. For example, four decades ago, Algeria was in a civil war between extreme *Islamists* and those who subscribed to the *Laïcité* views (French secularism) (see Chitour, 1999). During the civil war (1991-2002), or the dark decade (Benrabah, 2013b), the *Islamists* campaigned for Arabic and associated it with authenticity, while the *laïcitists* campaigned for French and associated it with modernity. Indeed, the modernity discourse then attracted younger generations which resulted in positive attitudes towards the French language in terms of status (see for example Bouhouche, 1997). Moreover, the recent years marked Algeria moving towards more democracy (Benrabah, 2013b). Therefore, it is normal that attitudinal studies conducted in recent years in Algeria would find different patterns from those that are conducted four decades ago. Indeed, it would be of great merit

to conduct comparable studies in different parts of Algeria to explore the effect of age groups on language attitudes towards different linguistic varieties in Algeria.

Secondly, in terms of social attractiveness, age was found to account for differences in adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA). In particular, young adults (18-35) evaluated AEA significantly more favourably than both middle-aged adults (36-55) participants and senior adults (56 and above). The present finding is consistent with some previous studies in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), where young participants typically favoured urban varieties in terms of attractiveness (for example, Miller, 2007 and Chakrani, 2013). In Saudi, for example, Al-Ahmadi (2016) reported that young speakers of Urban Meccan Hijazi Arabic had positive attitudes towards the urban variety in terms of attractiveness as opposed to the older generation. One possible explanation for these consistent findings can be related to peer pressure and social norms (Al-Wer, 2007). During the initial phase of adulthood (young adults) in Algeria, individuals are expected to have jobs and/or be at the university, which signals a transition from peer pressure to societal norms pressure (see Milroy and Milroy, 2012). That is to say, young adulthood is marked by conforming to overt societal norms (see for example, Milroy and Gordon, 2003; Llamas, 2006). Similarly, age was found to account for differences in adult L1 AWA speakers' evaluations of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) speaker`s attractiveness. In particular, young adults (18-35) evaluated AWA significantly more favourably than middle-aged adults. This pattern of age effect on adult L1 AWA speakers` attitudes towards AWA in terms of social attractiveness further supports the claim that Algerian Arabic speakers categorise rural and urban varieties geographically rather than phonologically (see Miller, 2007). This is because AWA is a rural variety (see Miller, 2007), yet the present study demonstrated that Algerian Arabic speakers perceived AWA similarly to urban varieties (see section 6.3.1.2.).

Thirdly, the verbal-guise data analysis revealed that two social variables significantly accounted for differences in participants' evaluations of AWA and AEA, namely age (see section 6.4.2.) and education (see section 8.6. below). Subsequently, the third phase of data analysis involved exploration of whether the significant main levels have a significant interaction effect. After performing the statistical analysis, no statistical significance was found for the interaction effect between participants' age and participants` level of education. Hence, it was concluded that age had a unique effect that is separate from the effect of education on the participants' evaluations of AEA and AWA. The absence of an interaction effect between age and education is evidence of external validity for the main effect of age on participants` evaluations of AEA and AWA in terms of attractiveness. Therefore, the

present findings concerning age differences can be generalised to the larger population of adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers who live in the midlands of Algeria.

In summary, the literature review indicated the importance of exploring whether participants' social backgrounds can determine Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic (see section 4.5.). Subsequently, the present study investigated age differences in adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards five Algerian Arabic varieties by employing a verbal-guise test. The verbal-guise data analysis found evidence that participants' age determines their evaluations of the attractiveness of two Algerian Arabic vernaculars, namely Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) and Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA). In particular, the statistical evidence suggested that young Algerian adults are likely to favour AEA significantly more than middle-aged and senior adults. Similarly, the statistical analysis indicated that young Algerian adults are likely to favour AWA significantly more than middle-aged adults. Finally, the statistical analysis supports the generalisability of the results to the larger population.

8.4. Are There Any Measurable Differences in The Attitudes of Male and Female L1 Algerian Arabic Speakers towards Algerian Arabic Vernaculars?

The effect of sex on Arabic speakers' social evaluations of Arabic speech has been investigated in many parts of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) (see for example Al-Wer, 2007, 2014; Hachimi, 2012, Bassiouney, 2020). However, in the context of Algeria, a scarce number of studies explored the sex differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties (for example, Benrabah, 1994) (see section 4.5.). Subsequently, the present study aimed to explore differences between male and female Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic vernacular (AVA). To this end, demographic data were collected using an information sheet (see section 5.3.4.2.). In addition, the present study also aimed to investigate whether adult L1 AVA speakers perceived Nomadic Ouled Naïl Vernacular (ANON) to be masculine, feminine or neither. The latter aim was set based on previous literature in the MENA region, which typically reported an association between Bedouin Arabic and masculinity.

The verbal-guise data analysis involved three statistical analysis stages to examine possible differences between male and female Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards the five linguistic varieties included in the present study. The first stage aimed to explore sex differences in participants' evaluations of Algerian Arabic vernaculars in terms of status (see section 6.3.3.). Similarly, the second stage of analysis examined sex differences in L1

Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic in terms of social attractiveness (see section 6.4.3.). Subsequently, the third stage of data analysis explored possible interaction effects between significant main effects of sex and education on participants' evaluations of the speech stimuli in terms of status. Specifically, the present study found a significant interaction effect for age and education on the participants' attitudes towards Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernaculars (AEA) in terms of status (see section 6.3.6.).

Firstly, in terms of social status, the present study found evidence that female Algerian Arabic speakers rated urban varieties significantly more favourably than male Algerian Arabic speakers (see section 6.3.3.). In Arabic-speaking countries, overt prestige is consistently afforded to urban Arabic varieties rather than Standard Arabic (see Ibrahim, 1986; Al-Birini, 2014, 2016). Typically, research about Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties in the MENA region reports a preference for urban Arabic varieties among females (for example, Benrabah, 1994; Haeri, 1995; Al-Wer, 2002, 2007, 2014; Hachimi, 2012; Al-Birini, 2014; Shalaby, 2021). For example, Benrabah (1994) reported that female Algerian speakers favour urban phonological features of Algerian Arabic in terms of status. It is established in sociolinguistics that females prefer prestigious varieties when such prestige is overtly prescribed (see Labov, 1990). That is to say, women's preference for prestigious varieties occurs above the level of awareness (see Trudgill, 1972).

A possible explanation for the females' preference for urban varieties can be attributed to social expectations and the power imbalance between males and females in Algeria (see sadiqi, 2003; Al-Wer, 2007; Milroy and Milroy, 2012). For example, sadiqi (2003) points out that in Morocco, like many MENA societies, females have an inferior power position in the society. Therefore, in order to compensate for such an imbalance of power, females tend to favour prestigious urban varieties since females are aware of overt sociolinguistic norms (prestige associated with urban varieties) (ibid., see also Milroy and Milroy, 2012). Moreover, another possible explanation is that female Arabic speakers are more influenced by prestigious varieties than males because of social expectations (Al-Wer, 2007). Indeed, in Algeria females are expected to be collected and elegant (Benrabah, 1994), which are traits that are typically attributed to urban rather than rural Algerian Arabic varieties (see Ech-Charfi, 2021). As a result, female Algerian Arabic speakers, being aware of such social norms, tend to favour urban varieties.

When considering rural and nomadic varieties of Algerian Arabic, the verbal-guise data analysis revealed that males' evaluations were significantly higher than females' evaluations in terms of status (see section 6.3.3.). Specifically, male Algerian Arabic

speakers were in favour of Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA) and Nomadic Ouled Naïl Vernacular (ANON) in terms of status. This finding is interesting as it shows that rural varieties, which are typically regarded as non-prestigious, still enjoyed covert prestige among male participants (see Ibrahim, 1986). Perhaps an explanation for the males' positive attitudes towards ANON among males can be explained by the findings of the interview, where data analysis revealed that most participants perceived ANON as masculine (see section 7.1.5.). Therefore, the positive attitude of male Algerian Arabic speakers towards ANON can be a result of the association between linguistic varieties and gender norms (Sadiqi, 2003). That is to say, male participants' positive attitudes towards ANON are a result of the male participants aspiring to share the privilege of perceived as tough and masculine.

Moreover, one interesting observation from the verbal-guise data analysis was that female Algerian Arabic speakers evaluated varieties from the northern Algerian coast significantly more favourably than varieties from inner Algeria. On the other hand, male Algerian Arabic speakers rated varieties from inner Algeria significantly more favourably than varieties from the northern coast. The northern coast Algerian Arabic varieties are Algiers Vernacular (AA), Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA), and Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA). Similarly, inner Algerian Arabic varieties are Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA) and Nomadic Ouled Naïl Vernacular (ANON). Perhaps this can be explained by the power imbalance between the south and the north in Algeria (Chitour, 1999). Indeed, more than 90% of companies, universities, and hospitals in Algeria are situated on the northern coast of Algeria (Bouhouche, 1997). Therefore, such an imbalance in socioeconomic status and power between the south and the north of Algeria was translated into positive attitudes towards northern Algerian Arabic varieties in terms of status.

Notably, the verbal-guise data analysis revealed that female Algerian Arabic speakers evaluated Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) significantly more favourably than male Algerian Arabic speakers in terms of status (see section 6.3.3.). Remarkably, dialectologists classify the phonological features of AWA as rural (see Miller, 2007; Guerrero, 2015). Therefore, the female Algerian Arabic speakers' ratings of AWA are inconsistent with those reported by Benrabah (1994) in Algeria, where female Algerian Arabic speakers favoured urban phonetic features significantly more than rural features. Indeed, the present finding can be explained by the fact that AWA is spoken by people from *Oran*, which is the economic capital of Algeria (see, Chitour, 1999). Therefore, the female Algerian Arabic speakers' preference for AWA in terms of status can be associated with their attempts to share the privilege of the high socioeconomic status that people from

Oran are usually associated with (for more discussion, see Milroy and Milroy, 2012). Therefore, the present findings suggest that Algerian Arabic speakers categorise urban varieties based on geography rather than linguistic features.

Secondly, in terms of social attractiveness, the verbal-guise data analysis found no significance for sex differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic speech. Similar findings were reported in Jordan, where Hussein and Al-Ali (1989) found that participants' sex did not account for differences in Jordanian Arabic speakers' evaluations of rural, Bedouin, and urban varieties of Jordanian Arabic. On the other hand, the present finding is contrary to findings from Benrabah's (2007) study in Algeria, which has suggested that males have an overall preference for less-prestigious varieties in terms of social attractiveness. Similarly, the present finding is inconsistent with those of Saidat (2010), who stated that male Jordanian Arabic speakers showed a tendency to evaluate Bedouin and rural Jordanian Arabic positively in terms of attractiveness. It is, therefore, likely imperative to conduct similar studies to the present study in order to further validate (or invalidate) the findings of the present study concerning participants' sex effect on their evaluations of the social attractiveness of Algerian Arabic speakers.

In terms of social attractiveness, the interview data analysis revealed positive attitudes towards ANON in relation to gender perception. Most participants argued that ANON sounded rough, mature, and manly (see section 7.1.5.). Some participants even showed disbelief in the possibility that there exist women who speak ANON (see section 7.1.5.). The present finding is consistent with previous Arabic sociolinguistics research, where it has been consistently reported that sounding rural indexed masculinity in the MENA region (for example, Al-Birini, 2016), including Morocco (for example, Sadiqi, 2003; Hachimi, 2012), Jordan (for example, Al Wer, 2007, 2014), and Qatar (for example, Al-Kababji and Ahmed, 2021). It is worth mentioning that the association between masculinity and Bedouin varieties in Arabic-speaking countries is a result of social expectations from men (Sadiqi, 2003). That is to say, in Arabic-speaking countries, men are expected to be rough and tough, which are traits that are associated with rural life rather than urban life (*ibid.*).

Thirdly, the verbal-guise data analysis involved examining the interaction effect between the significant main effects for education and sex on the participants' evaluations of AEA in terms of status. The verbal-guise data analysis revealed a statistical significance for the interaction between participants' sex and level of education on the participants' evaluations of AEA in terms of social status. Specifically, it was found that females who

attained higher education generally rated AEA more favourably than female high schoolers. The present finding is interesting as it is reported for the first time in the context of Algeria. The interaction between the level of education and sex can be explained in relation to socialisation processes. Notably, female Algerian Arabic, being aware of the overt prestige afforded to urban varieties, become more aware of such prestige when they acquire higher education due to enlarging their network (see Al-Wer, 2007). Indeed, the significant interaction effect between sex and education in the case of AEA does not allow for generalising the sex differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of AEA in terms of status to the larger population.

In summary, the literature review indicated the importance of exploring sex differences in L1 AVA speakers' evaluations of AVA varieties. Subsequently, using indirect methods, the present study examined differences between attitudes of male and female Algerian Arabic speakers towards Algerian Arabic varieties. The verbal-guise study revealed that females favoured urban varieties in terms of status. Similarly, males favoured rural varieties in terms of status. In terms of attractiveness, on the other hand, the verbal-guise study did not find any evidence for differences between male and female Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties. The interview study, however, revealed that nomadic variety was associated with masculinity and toughness. Finally, an interaction effect for sex and education on the evaluations of AEA speakers was found statistically significant.

8.5. Are There Any Rural/Urban/Nomadic Provenance Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers' Attitudes towards Algerian Arabic Varieties?

The literature review demonstrated that area of provenance is a salient factor in Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic in Jordan (Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989), Morocco (Hachimi, 2012), and Saudi (Al-Rojaie, 2021). Nonetheless, provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic were not investigated previously (see section 4.5.). Subsequently, the present study aimed to explore whether there are differences between the attitudes of rural, urban, and nomadic Algerian Arabic towards the five different varieties in the speech stimuli (see sections 4.1.). To this end, using the demographic information sheet, the participants provided background information about their area of provenance (see section 5.3.4.2.). The reasoning behind selecting this variable to be examined is that people coming from different regions of residency would have different levels of exposure to various Algerian Arabic vernaculars. Such differences in levels of exposure to these different linguistic varieties can be a predictor of differences in

participants' evaluations of these varieties, given that language attitudes are learnt through experience and socialisation (Garrett, 2010). To this end, in the present study, participants were asked to provide information about whether they perceived their area of provenance to be rural, urban or whether they perceived themselves to be nomads.

The verbal-guise test investigated the direct language attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards five Algerian Arabic varieties. To this end, the verbal-guise data analysis involved two stages in order to explore the provenance effect on Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic speech. The first stage involved investigating differences between rural, urban, and nomadic Algerian Arabic speakers' ratings of the status of the five speech stimuli. The second stage involved exploring such provenance differences in terms of attractiveness. Moreover, the interview data analysis revealed some interesting patterns among urban participants toward rural and urban varieties. In the present section, a discussion of the findings will be presented along with a comparison of the interview and the verbal-guise findings. The verbal-guise data analysis did not involve exploring interaction effects since the significant main effect of provenance did not overlap with any other social factors' significant main effects on participants' evaluations of any variety from the speech stimuli.

In terms of social status, the verbal-guise data analysis revealed that the area of provenance did not affect adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic varieties. On the other hand, the interview data analysis revealed that urban Algerian Arabic speakers favoured urban varieties in terms of status. The interview extract IE10 illustrates such positive attitudes towards urban vernaculars, where the participant, who is from an urban area, praised Algiers Vernacular and associated it with skill (see section 7.1.2.1.). Moreover, the interview data analysis also revealed that urban participants held negative attitudes towards the nomadic vernacular in terms of status. The interview extract IE2 exemplifies the urban Algerian Arabic speakers' negative attitudes towards nomads in terms of status since the participant referred to nomads as "*Urubia*" (a derogatory term to refer to nomads) (see section 7.1.1.1.). The term *Urubia* to describe nomads in Algeria is ideologically loaded (see Mili, 2004). Similarly, Ech-Charfi (2021) reported that urban Moroccan Arabic speakers referred to Bedouins as *Urubia*, which reflected negative stereotypes about Bedouins in Morocco.

The interview findings of urban Algerian Arabic speakers' positive attitudes towards urban varieties are consistent with Hachimi's (2012) in Morocco, where she found that the Moroccan Arabic speaker from *Fess* (an urban Moroccan city) favoured urban [q] over rural

[g] in terms of status and prestige. Furthermore, Chakrani (2013) reported that Moroccan Arabic speakers who live in the city generally favoured French over Moroccan Arabic and standard Arabic, associating French with modernity and prestige. Similarly, Hussein and Al-Ali (1989) reported that Jordanian Arabic speakers who live in urban areas favoured Standard Arabic and urban Jordanian vernacular over Bedouin and rural Jordanian Arabic in terms of status. Moreover, the interview findings of urban Algerian Arabic speakers' negative attitudes towards the nomadic variety are consistent with previous findings in Jordan (for example, Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Sawaie, 1994; Al-Wer, 2007;), Saudi (for example, Ismail, 2021; Al-Rojaie, 2021), Qatar (for example, Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021), Tunisia (for example, Gabsi, 2020; Sayahi, 2021), Morocco (for example, Hachimi, 2012).

Indeed, there were no previous studies that explored provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Algerian Arabic vernaculars (see section 4.5.). However, the previous literature that examined provenance differences in Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Arabic outside Algeria was consistent with the interview findings yet inconsistent with the verbal-guise findings. Two potential reasons might have contributed to the inconsistency between the findings of the verbal-guise and the interview. Firstly, in speculation, most participants in the interview study were from an urban provenance since most of them referred to their varieties as urban and modern, or they used "us" to refer to urban and "them" to refer to rural and Bedouin Algerian varieties (see section 7.1.1.1). Indeed, the interview study did not recruit participants based on their provenance in contrast to the verbal-guise study that used a demographic information sheet. As a consequence, it is not possible to infer from the interview data whether the differences in evaluations of rural and urban Algerian Arabic vernaculars were due to provenance or they were due to other social factors.

Secondly, even though extreme care was taken during participant recruitment for the verbal-guise study, it was not possible to balance the number of participants in terms of provenance due to time and resource constraints. Indeed, the present study collected data from universities, factories, and professional training centres. In theory, the recruitment of participants from universities, factories, and professional training centres assures balanced numbers of urban, rural, and nomadic participants. However, because of health and safety restraints regarding the Covid-19 pandemic, the number of urban individuals who attended the data collection session was substantially higher than the number of rural and nomadic individuals. The reason for this imbalance is that only urban individuals were in proximity of universities, factories and training centres, which are indeed located in cities, while the individuals, typically nomads and rural individuals, who lived far away from the data

collection sites could not attend. Therefore, it is likely imperative to conduct further research to explore the area of provenance effects on Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties.

The verbal-guise data analysis revealed that nomadic participants rated Nomadic Ouled Naïl Vernacular (ANON) in terms of social attractiveness significantly more favourably than rural participants. The present findings were also reported previously in Jordan where nomadic Jordanian Arabic speakers showed solidarity with speakers of Bedouin Jordanian Arabic (Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989). Similarly, Bedouin Qatari Arabic speakers tended to evaluate Bedouin Qatari Arabic more significantly than urban and rural varieties in terms of social attractiveness (Al-Kababji and Ahmad, 2021). The present finding is explained by the fact that nomadic participants identified with the ANON speaker as an in-group individual. Such identification with the speaker leads to positive attitudes towards ANON in terms of attractiveness as a way of showing an in-group bond (Cargile and Giles, 1997).

The interview data analysis also revealed positive attitudes towards ANON in terms of social attractiveness by urban speakers. A comparison of the findings with those of other studies confirms that urban dwellers typically associate nomadic varieties with traits such as being funny and having an authentic dialect (see section 7.1.5.). For example, Al-Rojaie (2021) reported that participants from Riyadh (a Saudi city) associated Bedouin Saudi varieties with authenticity. A possible explanation for the present findings can be attributed to linguistic loyalty which was reported by Ferguson (1959). Indeed, Ferguson (1959) reported that linguistic loyalty is not affected by preferring the Bedouin dialect. That is to say, in certain contexts, even urban Arabic speakers would prefer the Bedouin dialects without being seen as disloyal to their linguistic variety. Moreover, Nader (1962) associates such preference among urban Arabic speakers towards Bedouin Arabic with space contexts. Nader (1962) reports that urban Arabic speakers favour Bedouin Arabic varieties only when these urban individuals are in their hometown. In the present study, indeed, most participants were in their hometown when they took part in the study.

To summarise, many previous studies in Arabic-speaking countries, such as Jordan (Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989), Morocco (Hachimi, 2012), and Saudi (Al-Rojaie, 2021), have explored provenance differences in Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties. In contrast, there were no studies in the Algerian contexts that examined provenance differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic (see section 4.5.). The present study aimed to explore whether there are differences between the attitudes of

rural, urban, and nomadic Algerians towards Algerian Arabic varieties (see sections 4.1.). The verbal-guise study revealed no significance for provenance on the evaluation of the speech stimuli in terms of status. On the other hand, the interview study suggested that urban Algerian Arabic speakers favoured urban varieties more than rural and Bedouin varieties in terms of status. In terms of attractiveness, the verbal-guise revealed that nomads favoured Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON) significantly more than rural Algerian Arabic speakers, while the interview data suggested that urban participants also favoured ANON in terms of attractiveness.

8.6. Are There Any Level of Education Differences in Algerian Arabic Speakers' Attitudes towards Algerian Arabic Varieties?

The present verbal-guise study aimed to explore participants' education effect on their evaluations of five Algerian Arabic varieties (see section 5.1.). To this end, participants provided information about their education on a demographic sheet (see section 5.3.4.2.). Specifically, participants were asked to select whether the highest level of education they attained was primary school, high school, or higher education, which was felt to reflect different educational levels in Algeria (see section 5.3.3.3.). Subsequently, statistical data analysis involved three stages. The first stage involved exploring education differences in participants' ratings of the social status of the five speech stimuli. The second stage explored education differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic speech in terms of social attractiveness. Lastly, as discussed in section 8.4. above, the third stage explored the interaction effect for education and sex on the participants' evaluations of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) in terms of status. Similarly, interaction effects in terms of attractiveness were investigated for education and age on the participants' evaluations of AEA and Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA) (see section 8.3.).

In terms of status, the verbal-guise data analysis revealed a statistically significant effect for participants' education on participants' ratings of one urban variety, namely Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA). Specifically, the data analysis revealed that Algerian Arabic speakers who attained higher education rated AEA significantly more favourably than those who obtained primary education and those who obtained high school education. The interview data analysis, on the other hand, suggested that Algerian Arabic speakers generally associated urban varieties with education and modernity (see section 7.1.1.). The tendency of educated Arabic speakers to favour prestigious Arabic varieties is reported in Egypt (see El-Dash and Tucker, 1975; Haeri, 1995), Morocco (see Hachimi, 2012; Chakrani, 2013), and Algeria (see Benrabah, 1994). The city's status in Algeria as a

centre of administration, transactions, and education may explain why highly educated individuals prefer urban Arabic varieties (see Bidaoui, 2021). Arabic speakers that live in the city are typically more educated than those that live in the villages, indicating a possible association between education and urban Arabic varieties (see Haeri, 1995; Ech-Charfi, 2021). Therefore, it is possible that, as a way of holding a high social image by implying relevance to prestigious linguistic varieties, higher education participants rated AEA (a prestigious urban variety) more highly than other participants who obtained lower levels of education (see Milroy and Milroy, 2012: 79).

In terms of social attractiveness, the verbal-guise data analysis revealed that participants with primary education evaluated urban ¹ Algerian Arabic Vernaculars significantly less favourably than participants with higher education and participants with secondary education (see section 6.4.5.). The present findings are consistent with much of prior research on Arabic speakers' attitudes toward rural and urban varieties, which have typically found that Arabic speakers with a primary education prefer rural varieties in terms of social attractiveness (see Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Al-Abed Al-Haq, 1998; Shaaban and Ghaith, 2002; Al-birini, 2016). For example, Murad (2007) reported in Iraq that individuals with remote to no education favoured rural Iraqi Arabic in terms of attractiveness. One possible explanation for these findings is that higher education is associated with high prestige in Arabic-speaking nations, which impacts both the emotional and cognitive components of higher education persons' language attitudes toward prestigious varieties (see Al-Wer, 2002). That is to say, Algerian Arabic speakers' perception that speaking an urban variety will help them acquire greater status in Algeria may have contributed to their preference for urban varieties. Furthermore, in the instance of Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AWA), ratings of participants who acquired elementary education were significantly less favourable than evaluations of participants who obtained high school education. Therefore, Algerian Arabic speakers perceive AWA in a manner comparable to how urban varieties are perceived rather than rural varieties. Indeed, the current finding puts into question the established classification of Arabic varieties into urban and rural based only on phonological and historical features (for example, Aguadé, 2018). For example, typically, Oran vernacular (AWA) is classified as a rural variety since the phoneme [q] is pronounced as [g] in AWA (see Guerrero, 2015). The present study suggests that categorizing Algerian Arabic varieties according to geographical areas, rather than according to phonological features, would better reflect the social meanings of urban and rural varieties in Algeria.

¹ Algiers Arabic Vernacular (AA) and Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA)

One subsequent step in the statistical analysis of the verbal-guise data involved investigating the interaction effects of the reported significant main effects. In terms of social status, for instance, both participants' sex and level of education were previously shown to have statistically significant main effects on Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA) (see sections 6.3.3. and 6.3.5.). Subsequently, the verbal-guise data analysis revealed a statistical significance for the interaction effect between participants' sex and education on Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of AEA. Specifically, female Algerian Arabic speakers who obtained higher education rated AEA more favourably than female high schoolers (see section 6.3.6.). The current findings are consistent with those of Benrabah (1994) in Algeria, who indicated that female Algerian Arabic with higher education preferred the guise with the urban [ɑ] over the one with the rural [æ']. The current finding, on the other hand, contradicts Al-Abed Al-Haq's (1998) findings in Jordan, who found that gender and level of education had unique statistical effects on Jordanian Arabic speakers' evaluations of urban and rural Arabic varieties, with females and higher education participants favouring prestigious varieties. The observed interaction effect can be explained by the fact that education in Arabic-speaking nations is a "proxy variable" impacted by other social variables (Al-Wer, 2002: 42). To put it another way, what defines attitudes in Arabic-speaking countries is the difference in contact that comes with different educational levels, rather than education itself. A high-school graduate, for example, would typically leave their community to attend university; hence, in such a scenario, social mobility impacts linguistic contact, which in turn influences attitudes rather than education itself impacting attitudes (see Shalaby, 2021).

Moreover, the verbal-guise data analysis involved investigating the interaction effect of participants' age and education on their evaluations of AEA and AWA in terms of social attractiveness (see section 6.4.6.). Previously, both participants' age and education were found to have significant main effects on Algerian Arabic speakers' overall evaluations of both AEA and AWA in terms of attractiveness (see sections 6.4.2. and 6.4.5.). Subsequent statistical analysis found no significant interaction between age and education in Algerian Arabic speakers' ratings of both AEA and AWA in terms of social attractiveness. Hence, it was assumed that both level of education and age group have a separate, unique, and direct effect on participants' overall evaluations of AWA and AEA in terms of social attractiveness. As such, the findings revealed in this study were thought to be generalisable due to the unique effects of age group and level of education on Algerian Arabic speakers' ratings of Algerian Arabic speech. Furthermore, in general, the present significant effects of education on adult L1 AWA speakers' evaluations of AEA, AWA, and AA demonstrate that

participants' education can account for differences in attitudes towards different AVA varieties.

In summary, the present study suggested that level of education is rather a complex social variable in Algerian Arabic sociolinguistics. To begin, the level of education has been shown to interact with the participants' sex to influence Algerian Arabic ratings of urban variety AEA in terms of status, supporting Al-Wer's (2002: 43) observations that level of education interacts with and occasionally operates on behalf of other social backgrounds in Arabic sociolinguistics. Indeed, the interaction effect of education level on language attitudes is remarkably related to the major shift in participants' socialisation activities through meeting people from different geographical places. On the other hand, the educational level has been demonstrated to have a unique direct main effect on the ratings of AWA and AEA in terms of social attractiveness among Algerian Arabic speakers. As such, patterns of language attitudes reported in the present study demonstrate that participants' education can account for differences in attitudes towards different AVA varieties.

8.7. What Linguistic Features May Trigger the Attitudes of Algerian Arabic Speakers Towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular?

Three starting points prompted the researcher to explore the possible linguistic triggers of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON) and its speakers. Firstly, as previously discussed, much of the earlier research on Arabic speakers' language attitudes toward Arabic typically focused on either attitudes towards Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and local Arabic varieties (for example, Al-Birini, 2016) or attitudes towards MSA and other local and global languages (for example, Bentahila, 1983; Benrabah, 2013a, 2014; Belmihoub, 2015, 2018) (for example, section 4.5). Hence, I argued that it would be particularly worthwhile to investigate linguistic attitudes regarding Arabic varieties found in the same geographical area (see section 4.5.). Secondly, language attitudes, according to Dragojevic (2017), entail two sequential processes: social categorisation and evaluation, which might also be engendered by listeners' processing fluency (see section 3.2.3.). That is to say, before ascribing any evaluative traits to the speaker of a linguistic variety, listeners attempt to identify the social group to which the speaker belongs based on linguistic triggers (ibid.; Dragojevic et al., 2017; Bidaoui, 2020). Since the demographic of interest in this study is the Algerian nomadic society of Ouled *Naïl*, it was felt that investigating possible linguistic triggers of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward ANON would offer a possible explication of linguistic prejudice in the

context of Algeria. Thirdly, and related to the previous starting point, another rationale for looking into potential linguistic triggers of language attitudes rather than other types of triggers (such as ethnicity) is that language appears to be the primary trigger of social categorisation and thus attitudes (for instance, Rakić, Steffens, and Mummendey, 2011).

As discussed previously, in the current study, participants were interviewed in order to investigate potential linguistic triggers of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards ANON (see section 5.4.1.). During the interviews, participants were asked to imitate the speech of nomadic Ouled Naïl since individuals' imitations of a linguistic variety present demonstrative evidence of the salience of the imitated linguistic variety (Preston, 1993). Subsequently, after recording and transcribing the imitations, the most frequently occurring patterns among the interviewees were reported as potential triggers of language attitudes towards ANON (see section 5.4.1. and section 7.2.). Similarly, during the interview, participants were asked to demonstrate how ANON differs from the other Algerian dialects. Such metalinguistic commentary was thought to offer intriguing insights regarding what linguistic features of ANON trigger the participants' social categorisation of ANON speakers. As such, interviewees were requested to indicate what were the first factors that drew their attention when interacting with an ANON speaker to acquire further insight into which of ANON's linguistic features were salient to them.

The interview data analysis suggested the existence of salient phonetic and phonological features of ANON (see section 7.2.1.). Most participants generally focused on how nomads would pronounce the phonemes [dʒ], [s], and [ʃ] (see section 7.2.1.). Indeed, the current findings resonate much of prior research on language attitudes toward Arabic, which typically indicated that phonological aspects of Arabic varieties might induce language attitudes toward these particular dialects (for instance, Abdel-Jawad, 1986; Al-Wer, 2007; Habib, 2010). For example, Al-Birini (2016) reported that Jordanian and Saudi participants referred to their pronunciations of /ð/, /θ/, and /z/ to express a preference for their dialects. Moreover, Hachimi (2012) found that Moroccans identified [q] with prestigious urban varieties of Moroccan Arabic and identified [g] (which is an allophone of [q]) with less prestigious rural Moroccan Arabic varieties. Similarly, to Hachimi (2012), numerous prior research on Arabic variation identified [q] as the most salient feature of Arabic phonetics and phonology (for example, Miller, 2007; Al-Wer, 2007; Aguadé, 2018). In contrast, participants in the current study did not identify allophones of [q] as salient features of ANON. A possible explanation might be because all varieties of AVA from the midlands of Algeria realise the phoneme [q] in the same way as [g] (see Saud and Saud, 2013). This perhaps raises questions about whether [q] is indeed a salient feature that

distinguishes between urban and rural varieties of Arabic (see Miller, 2007; Owens, 2014; Guerrero, 2015; Aguadé, 2018). Indeed, it appears that Algerian Arabic speakers from the midlands, whether urban or rural, do not view [q] as a distinguishing feature of ANON, or are unaware of such a trait (see section 9.3.).

Furthermore, the interview data analysis suggested the existence of potential lexical triggers of Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes towards ANON and its speakers. Interestingly, while the participants' description of ANON salient phonological features was not always clearly articulated, the report of ANON salient lexical features was straightforward. When asked to imitate ANON speech, most participants typically concentrated on the lexical differences between ANON and their varieties. Indeed, the salience of Arabic vernacular lexical features, particularly discourse markers, has been widely highlighted in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) area (for example, Bidaoui 2020, 2021). For example, the current study's findings are consistent with those reported previously by Bidaoui (2020), who reported that the discourse marker "I mean" elicited different attitudes toward Saudi, Moroccan, and Egyptian Arabic varieties among Arabic speakers. A possible reason for the prominence of ANON lexical features in the participants' answers is connected to the language acquisition process (Hickey, 2000). That is, the prominence of ANON lexical traits among the participants' responses may be because lexical items are learnt from early childhood when frequent intentional selection of words occurs in conversations (Hickey, 2000). As such, Algerian Arabic speakers may employ lexical features of ANON as cues to determine ANON speakers' social group affiliation, which triggers attitudes towards ANON (see Dragojevic et al., 2017).

In addition, the interview data analysis revealed that many of the lexical items of ANON reported by participants appeared to be an overlap between phonological and lexical features of ANON (see section 7.2.1.2.). Words where [ɣ] was pronounced as [q], such as /ntqəðə/ [eating lunch], /qɑrfəjæ/ [bowl], and /muqrəf/ [spoon], are examples of such an overlap between phonological and lexical aspects of ANON. Some language attitudes studies in the MENA region, notably in Egypt (Mejdell, 2012) and Bahrain (Holes, 1983), have observed a broadly similar overlap between salient lexical and phonological features of Arabic vernaculars. Mejdell (2012), for example, suggests that such overlap is due to the fact that most regional dialects acquire their lexicon from Standard Arabic; nonetheless, these dialects adapt the borrowed lexicons to their phonological system. Indeed, Mejdell's (2012) observation may help to explain why Algerian Arabic speakers are aware of such overlapping phono-lexical items in ANON speech. That is to say since Algerian Arabic

speakers use the same items, they are aware of the phonological adaptation that is taking place in ANON.

On a syntactic level, on the other hand, analysis of the data obtained from the interview suggested the grammatical feminine marker “ة” /eh/ as a salient syntactic feature of ANON. In the instance of ANON, the usage of the grammatical feminine marker involves reference to the plural of male nouns and adjectives (Saud and Saud, 2013) (see section 2.5.2.). One of the most frequently cited examples in the participants' responses is the adjective “ذيري” /d̄zīri/ (meaning Algerian), which refers to a singular grammatically masculine adjective. On the other hand, the plural word is “ذيرية” /d̄zīrjeh/, which can also refer to a singular grammatically feminine adjective. The current findings are congruent with Haeri's (1995) findings in Egypt, where she documented that Cairene Arabic speakers highlighted grammatical salient features of urban Cairene Arabic vernacular. Similarly, Holes (1983) reported in Bahrain that *Shia Muslims* preferred specific grammatical constructions that were salient to other Bahraini Arabic speakers. Interestingly, many participants interpreted ANON speakers' use of feminine grammatical markers to refer to male plural as a grammatical "error" (see section 7.2.3.). As such, Algerian Arabic speakers' negative attitudes toward ANON speakers may be triggered by the grammatical feminine marker “ة” /eh/. This conclusion is consistent with Sayahi's (2021) findings that Tunisian Arabic speakers regarded grammatical "errors" in French to indicate inferior education and status.

One interesting finding from the interview data analysis is that salient syntactic characteristics of ANON were reported less frequently than other linguistic features. A possible explanation for the salient grammatical features being identified less frequently than other features can be attributed to the stylistic nature of grammar (Hickey, 2000). For example, phonological items are commonly recognised due to their pervasive presence in discourse, but grammatical structures may be repeated less frequently since extensive talks might occur without employing a certain grammatical structure (ibid.). However, it is imperative to bear in mind that the fact that participants reported salient grammatical features less than other features does not mean that there are no other salient grammatical features of ANON or other salient linguistic features for that matter. This is because other linguistic features might be below the level of consciousness of the participants (Hickey, 2000).

One noteworthy socio-pragmatic observation is that the interviewed Algerian Arabic speakers frequently stated that their variety is understandable by other Algerians or that 'other' varieties of Algerian Arabic, such as ANON, are unintelligible to Algerians (see

section 7.2.1.). The current findings are consistent with those reported by Al-Birini (2016) in Morocco, Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, where Arabic speakers typically justify their favourable attitudes towards their variety by stating that their variety is intelligible. Such justifications of favourable attitudes toward one's own variety have been frequently observed among Arabic speakers in order to justify the status of their variety, particularly if their variety claims a prestigious, powerful, and dominant position in society (for example, Al-Birini, 2014). One possible explanation for this tendency is because Arabic speakers frequently presume rivalry between their variety and other varieties, particularly when there is urban-rural interaction (see Nader, 1962; Ech-Charfi, 2021). As a result, Arabic speakers generally take a protective stance, claiming that 'other' Arabic varieties are 'less' important than their own because no one understands them.

It is crucial to note that some Algerian Arabic dialects might be widely understood by many other Algerians due to familiarity with such varieties, as they are used in media more frequently than others. Moreover, it has been proposed that the cognitive burden put on the listener by attempting to grasp a new language variety might negatively impact the evaluation of that linguistic variety (for example, Lev-Ari and Keysar, 2010; Van Engen and Peelle, 2014). Thus, participants' unfamiliarity with ANON may not only expose ANON speakers to stereotypical preconceptions (such as sounding less modern and less prestigious) but it may also restrict communication between nomadic and urban inhabitants. This is because the interaction between nomadic and urban populations is less frequent in Algeria. However, while failing to understand a variety may result in unfavourable attitudes towards it (see Dragojevic et al., 2016; Dragojevic et al., 2017), the remark about ANON speakers being incomprehensible seems to be influenced by ideological factors rather than genuine failure to understand ANON speakers. Indeed, the joke about ANON speakers being difficult to comprehend because they are from ancient ages is an example of such ideological grounds for viewing ANON (see section 7.1.3.). This is because individuals frequently purposefully modify significant language aspects of a given variety in order to produce a humorous result for ideological factors (Hickey, 2000). Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that participants in the current study are unfamiliar with ANON, given all participants recognised it and performed relatively accurate imitations of the ANON speech.

Moreover, many participants reported that their variety's linguistic features were similar to those of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) (see section 7.1.2.). This perceived resemblance between one's own variety and MSA was used to support one's preference for their variety. Indeed, it has been well established in attitudinal studies on Arabic varieties that Arabic speakers typically perceive their dialects as the most similar to MSA and

Classical Standard Arabic (CSA) (for example, Nader, 1962; Versteegh, 2014; Al-Birini, 2014, 2016) (see section 2.3.1.). Al-Birini (2016), for example, observed that Arabic speakers from Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia expressed favourable attitudes towards their varieties by establishing links between their linguistic variants and MSA. Similarly, Hachimi (2017) showed that Moroccan Arabic speakers viewed the Syrian dialect positively as a result of associations with MSA and CSA. One possible reason for the positive attitudes toward similarity between the linguistic features of one's own dialect and those of MSA and CSA is that many Algerian Arabic speakers tended to equate resemblance to MSA with using less French (see section 7.1.3.). This remark may represent the historical language conflict between French and Arabic in Algeria, as French was brought to the country through colonisation (see section 2.3.3.). As a result, throughout the independence period, there was a rising belief that the French language was connected with colonialism and threatened the country's sovereignty (see Bennabi, 1969; Bouhouche, 1997; Le Roux, 2017). Indeed, the current findings are consistent with many previous studies that typically reported that most Arabic speakers in North African countries associated French with imperialistic inclinations (see for example, Ennaji 2005; Walters, 2011).

In contrast, although many participants acknowledge that the linguistic features of ANON are related to those of MSA and CSA, they nonetheless retained negative attitudes towards ANON and its speakers. For example, several participants joked about ANON linguistic features being similar to CSA, suggesting that ANON speakers sounded like a casting crew that escaped the set of a historical film into reality (see section 7.1.3.1.). The present finding is interesting because it suggests, for the first time, that linguistic similarities to Standard Arabic might elicit unfavourable attitudes. One possible explanation for this finding is that ANON speakers triggered unfavourable attitudes when they violated Algerian Arabic speakers' stereotyped expectations of them (see Hansen, Rakic, and Steffens, 2018). Indeed, many Algerian Arabic speakers would assume ANON speakers to be less prestigious. However, by using linguistic cues perceived to be similar to those of CSA, ANON speakers challenge these assumptions, which may have resulted in negative attitudes against ANON. Another explanation for the current finding is the linguistic competition between Arabic and French in Algeria, where the perceived similarity of a variety to CSA was associated with using less French. Since the French colonial administration promoted French to Algerians as a civilised, prominent, and influential language, French was associated with modernity and access to education in colonised Algeria (Brett, 1988; Chemami, 2011; Le Roux, 2017). Such perception of French prevailed until contemporary times (Benrabah, 2007, 2013b, 2014). Indeed, such contrasting sentiments toward French and Arabic in Algeria may be

credited to the government's partial failure of Arabisation policies adopted in the late 1960s (Bouhouche, 1997; Le Roux, 2017). Such initiatives were believed to fail since many Algerian elites were schooled in French; hence, it would be a loss for these elites if Arabic or Berber replaced French (Benrabah, 2013b). Thus, it is believed that the Algerian administration lacked the political will to challenge the existing quo (ibid.).

In summary, it is envisaged that the investigated potential linguistic triggers of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward ANON would provide an opportunity to understand language attitudes in the context of Algerian Arabic. This is because linguistic stimuli appear to be the primary triggers of language attitudes (for example, Raki, Steffens, and Mummendey, 2011). According to the findings of the interview study, there are phonological, lexical, grammatical, and discursive cues of ANON that might operate as potential triggers of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards nomadic speakers. However, because the linguistic triggers revealed here are self-reported, it is critical to investigate linguistic triggers below the level of consciousness (for limitations and suggestions see section 9.3.). Furthermore, the findings relating to ANON's salient linguistic features should be regarded with caution and, to some extent, viewed as possible triggers of attitudes at best. The reason for recommending such caution is that some previous research has shown that neither engaging a particular social categorisation nor being aware of certain linguistic features is necessary to elicit attitudes regarding language (Dragojevic et al., 2021). Kinzler, Dupoux, and Spelke (2007), for example, suggested that toddlers displayed favourable attitudes toward native speakers while exhibiting negative perceptions toward non-native speakers, demonstrating that attitudes were triggered even when no prior knowledge of language cues was present.

8.8. In What Ways Might Attitudes Towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular Influence Nomadic Individuals' Perceived Professional Competence in Algeria?

As discussed, the current thesis sought to better understand Algerian language attitudes by examining attitudinal patterns in Algeria, possible linguistic triggers of attitudes (causes), and socioeconomic implications of attitudes (consequences) (see section 5.1.). Thus far, the current chapter has discussed patterns of Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes toward Algerian Arabic speech as well as linguistic cues that may elicit attitudes about ANON and its speakers. This section, however, discusses the socioeconomic consequences of attitudes and seeks to investigate the potential influence of attitudes toward ANON on the employment market available to nomadic people in Algeria. Indeed, previous

research in the United States (see for example Timming, 2017) and the United Kingdom (see for example Baratta, 2017) has suggested that speakers of foreign and some regional accents may be prejudiced and, in some cases, denied access to socioeconomic opportunities. Using these studies as a starting point, the current study claims that it would be beneficial to explore the potential socioeconomic repercussions of linguistic attitudes toward ANON speakers on the economic chances of nomadic individuals in Algeria. Furthermore, in the previous study, ANON was shown to be the least favourable for Algerian Arabic speakers on both dimensions of social attractiveness and social status. Likewise, ANON was found to be associated with a lack of modernism and poor status. As a result, it is hoped that examining the possible implications of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward ANON on nomadic individuals' perceived professionalism would aid in gaining a strong knowledge of language attitudes in the context of Algerian Arabic vernacular.

To this end, Algerian Arabic speakers were interviewed to learn more about their perceptions of Ouled Nail's professional skills (see section 7.3.). When asked if they would apply for a job under the supervision of a nomadic individual, most participants expressed their opposition to the idea. One of the most frequent rationalisations presented by the participants was that a nomad cannot hold a senior position because they lack leadership capabilities. The present finding is consistent with Timming (2017), who observed that employers in America typically prejudice against speakers of Chinese-accented English and Spanish-accented English in telephone-based job interviews, mainly by stereotyping them as lacking management qualities. One probable rationale for considering nomads unsuited for higher posts is their perceived inability to utilise French (see section 7.1.3.). Indeed, several studies in the MENA area have shown that foreign languages (usually French and English) are linked to professional competence. In Tunisia, for example, incompetence in French was found to be an index of professional incompetence (see Sayahi, 2021). Similarly, Al-Birini (2021) found that Jordanian college students were more inclined to associate English use with professional skills. As such, it is reasonable to suggest that stereotypes often reflect the nature of socioeconomic interactions between various social groups (Fiske et al., 2002).

Furthermore, another frequent reasoning presented by Algerian Arabic speakers to justify their objection to nomadic individuals serving as managers and supervisors was a perceived risk of misunderstanding and miscommunication (see section 7.3.). Indeed, several participants have argued that communicating with a nomad boss might be difficult because they perceived that nomads lack adaption to the urban environment. The current findings are consistent with those reported in Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010), which

found that speakers of Japanese-accented English were negatively evaluated when applying to high communication demand jobs in California and Kansas based on stereotypes that Japanese and Asians, in general, lack communication and social skills. Such bias is anticipated, given that stereotyped speakers who often use low-prestige linguistic varieties are commonly assigned lower social status than speakers of dominating social groups who typically use prestigious linguistic varieties (for example, Dragojevic, 2017). As a result, it is reasonable to hypothesize that such a negative perception of nomadic individuals' managerial skills might reflect the scarcity of economic opportunities available to nomadic individuals.

Moreover, when asked if they would hire a nomad, most participants said they would only hire an ANON speaker for occupations that demand physical work, such as security, construction, and cleaning (see section 7.3.). Indeed, it is worth noting that the occupations listed are often regarded as low wage jobs in Algeria. On the other hand, most participants said that they would not hire ANON speakers for positions that demand customer interaction or sophisticated levels of communication, such as teaching. The current findings are consistent with those of Baratta (2017), who reported that 32 British teachers, primarily from the north of England, were initially rejected from posts due to their regional accents. Similarly, while using the same prepared responses in job interviews, American university students from the Northeast were less inclined to hire Asian-accented English speakers (for example, Vietnamese-accented English) than white-accented English speakers (for example, French-accented English) (Huang, Frideger, and Pearce, 2013). Huang et al. (2013) concluded that biases against Asian-accented English speakers were based solely on stereotypes that Asians lack social skills.

The Algerian Arabic speakers' impression of nomads as only being capable of poor job prospects is supported by the results from when participants were asked to predict the profession of the ANON speaker recruited for the current study. Indeed, most participants viewed the ANON speaker as unemployed, substantiating the linguistic prejudice that nomads face in Algeria. The present findings mirror those of Al-Birini (2014), who also reported that Bedouins in Syria were only offered unskilled manual labour jobs, causing most Bedouins to fall under a lower socioeconomic status. Indeed, it is reasonable to conclude that any language divergence from the norms set for status within the Algerian society will have negative and most detrimental implications for speakers of Algerian Arabic vernacular. These unfavourable socioeconomic repercussions apply particularly to speakers of minority linguistic varieties, such as ANON speakers, who, as established in the current study, are confronted with expectations that are compatible with perceived socio-cultural

stereotypes about nomads in Algeria. On the other hand, Algerian Arabic speakers generally associated prestigious jobs (such as doctor, senior military officer) with prestigious urban Algerian Arabic varieties, mirroring the findings of Sayahi (2021) in Tunisia, where urban varieties indexed professional competence and prestigious careers.

Interestingly, in the current study, none of the participants, regardless of gender, made any references to female individuals who speak ANON during the interviews. Despite the fact that the interview question asked if they would employ or be hired by a nomadic individual in general without specifying gender, it appeared that all participants discussed the issue of male nomads but neglected nomadic women. This gender bias in comprehending the question may represent the complexities of prejudice, particularly against nomadic female individuals. As such, the current findings are consistent with those of Ferhati (2010), who maintained that Nomadic Ouled Naïl women have been stigmatised and prejudiced in Algeria since French colonial times and continue to be so. Indeed, in the present study, the participants' unwillingness to discuss female nomads depicts a two-fold prejudice against nomadic females: on the one hand, they are prejudiced against for being nomads, and on the other hand, they are prejudiced against for being females. Furthermore, such findings are congruent with a prior study in America, which found that female Asian-accented English speakers had three times less odds of employment than male counterparts (McBride, Hebson, and Holgate, 2015).

To sum up, one of the primary goals of this study was to look at the effects of Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards ANON on the economic prospects available to nomadic people in Algeria. The current study was thought to be useful in understanding language attitudes in Algeria because previous research from various parts of the world has shown that speakers of less prestigious linguistic varieties might be denied participation in society and have little access to the socioeconomic market regardless of their skills and talents (for instance, Formanowicz and Suitner, 2020). In the present study, it was found that ANON speakers are viewed as less suitable for high-status employment such as management and leadership positions than urban individuals. Many participants claimed that because they come from different backgrounds, they would be unable to communicate with a nomadic person. Similarly, the data suggested that female ANON speakers face a dual prejudice, having to overcome prejudice against nomads as well as prejudice against females. Such prejudices may make it difficult for nomadic persons to participate in society and the labour market. However, it will almost certainly be necessary to collect behavioural data in the future to determine whether the prejudices described here lead to discrimination against nomads in Algeria (see section 9.3.).

Summary

The present research aimed to investigate the attitudes of adult L1 speakers of Algerian Arabic Vernacular toward different local Algerian Arabic varieties, focusing on Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON). To this end, the current chapter compared the results of the verbal-guise study to the results of the interview study and earlier studies on language attitudes in the Middle East and North Africa. The discussion of the findings illustrated that social factors indeed account for linguistic attitudes in Algeria. For example, in the present study, Except for education and sex in the case of AEA, where they had a significant interaction effect on the evaluation of the speaker's social status, all social variables had a statistically significant main effect on the participants' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties. Moreover, the interview study suggested the existence of phonological, lexical, grammatical, and discursive markers of ANON that might be potential triggers of attitudes towards ANON speakers. One important reminder for the reader is that these linguistic cues are viewed as possible triggers but not necessarily the only ones. Furthermore, in the present study, ANON speakers were found to be perceived as unfit for senior positions that involve leadership and communication. Particularly, female speakers of ANON might face double-edged prejudice where they have to overcome prejudice against ANON speakers as well as prejudice against women.

The next chapter concludes the present doctoral thesis. It discusses the current study's contributions in terms of theory, methodology, and empirical findings. It also discusses the study's implications for future policies that the Algerian government might implement. The next chapter finishes with a discussion of the limitations of the present study and suggests topics for further research in the future.

Chapter 9 General Conclusion

Overview

The current chapter concludes the thesis. This chapter provides a description of the current study's contributions in terms of theory, methodology, and empirical findings. Furthermore, this chapter discusses of the study's implications for future policies that the Algerian government might implement to promote an inclusive environment for nomads in Algeria. Finally, the current chapter finishes with a discussion of the limitations of the present study and suggests topics for further research in the future.

9.1. Contributions of the Present Study

The current thesis has contributed to the existing body of sociolinguistic research involving the Arabic language speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Specifically, the current thesis focused on a crucial topic concerning perceptions of linguistic varieties and their speakers in a sociolinguistically diverse setting, particularly language attitudes toward Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AVA). Furthermore, three aspects of language attitudes were investigated in the context of AVA. Firstly, using direct and indirect approaches, the current study investigated patterns of adult L1 AVA speakers' language attitudes regarding five various varieties of spoken Arabic in Algeria. The primary focus of the attitudes patterns description was to determine how attitudes towards Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON) differed from attitudes towards other AVA varieties. Secondly, the current study gathered and analysed data on the possible triggers of adult L1 AVA speakers' language attitudes toward ANON using semi-structured interviews. To this end, various phonological, discursive, grammatical, and socio-pragmatic features of ANON were proposed to have triggered adult L1 AVA speakers' language attitudes toward nomadic individuals. Third, the current study aimed to look into the implications of adult L1 AVA speakers' language attitudes toward ANON on the labour market for nomadic people. Thus, in light of the present investigation, the current thesis presents theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions to sociolinguistic research on language attitudes toward Arabic varieties. The present section is a summary of these contributions.

9.1.1. Contributions of the Study in Terms of Theory

Two essential elements summarise the contributions of the current doctoral thesis to sociolinguistic theory involving Arabic varieties. Firstly, the current study called for a reconsideration of the categorisation of Arabic varieties into urban and rural focusing only on phonological and historical traits (for example, Aguadé, 2018). Indeed, the allophones of the phoneme [q] where it is pronounced as [q] (Standard Arabic), [g] (usually rural and Bedouin varieties across the MENA region), [k] (some urban varieties in North Africa), and [ʔ] (some urban varieties in the Middle East) are perhaps one of the most salient phonological phenomena in Arabic dialectology (Holes, 2018) (see section 2.3.1.). However, the current thesis suggests that the established classification of Arabic varieties into rural and urban based solely on phonological traits may not be applicable in the Algerian context. For example, Oran vernacular (AWA) is typically classified as a rural variety since the phoneme [q] is pronounced as [g] in AWA (see Aguadé, 2018). The present study's findings suggested that Algerian Arabic speakers compared AWA to urban varieties rather than rural varieties, probably due to AWA being spoken in Algeria's second-largest city (see section 6.3.1.). Subsequently, the present thesis suggests that grouping varieties according to geographical areas would better reflect the social meanings of urban and rural varieties in the Algerian context rather than the conventional categorisation.

Secondly, contrary to much prior research (for example, Benrabah, 1994, 2007, 2014; Belmihoub, 2015, 2018; Hedid, 2015) (see section 4.5.), the current thesis revealed that social evaluations of Algerian Arabic speakers toward Algerian Arabic speech are not uniformed (see section 6.1.). Indeed, most earlier studies on language attitudes in Algeria focused on the assessment of Algerian Arabic in relation to local and global languages such as Standard Arabic, Berber, French, and other languages (see section 4.4.). In fact, much of previous research has often treated Algerian Arabic as a single unit, typically employing Algiers Vernacular as a representative of Algerian Arabic. While the aforementioned research framework produced some important findings in terms of documenting language attitudes and their implications for language policy, language choice, and language ownership in Algeria, one limitation of this research approach is that it assumes Algerian Arabic speakers view Algerian Arabic varieties in the same way. On the other hand, the present thesis indicated that there are measurable differences in adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' perceptions of five different varieties of Algerian Arabic speech. The significance of this contribution resides in the fact that it allows for a clearer image of language attitudes in Algeria. Moreover, policymakers should consider that language attitudes towards varieties

of Algerian Arabic are heterogeneous in nature in order to make inclusive decisions about language policy (see section 9.2.).

9.1.2. Contributions of the Study in Terms of Methodology

The current study makes four major methodological contributions to the study of Arabic speakers' language attitudes towards Arabic in Algeria. Firstly, using focus groups, the present study created personality traits unique to the cultural environment of the studied speech community (see section 5.6.1.1.). Similar to many prior studies on language attitudes, the verbal-guise study was supplemented with a ten-bipolar adjectives semantic difference scale (see section 5.3.4.1.). In contrast to earlier research in Algeria and many other MENA regions, the current study generated adjectives specific to the speech community of the study. Indeed, it seemed that past research on Arabic speakers' language attitudes towards Arabic tended, typically, to reemploy similar adjectives that had previously been used in studies that may have investigated participants from a different speech community (see section 4.5). Despite the fact that previous research has produced interesting results in terms of explaining language attitudes involving Arabic, the practise of reemploying adjectives from previous studies ignores contextual and cultural differences between speech communities and assumes homogeneity among different Arabic speakers (see Garrett, 2010; Dragojevic et al., 2021). To summarise, the value of this methodological contribution lies in the generation of adjectives that reflect social meanings peculiar to the examined speech communities.

Second, the current study is one of the first attempts to empirically explore Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward Algerian Arabic varieties in Algeria using the verbal-guise approach (see section 4.5.). Typically, previous research in Algeria focused on Algerian Arabic speakers' social evaluations of Arabic, generally Algiers Vernacular and Modern Standard Arabic, in relation to other local and global languages. In contrast, the current study looked at the differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' within varieties of Algerian Arabic. The relevance of this methodological contribution resides in the desire to depict the diversity of Algeria's speech communities. Furthermore, the speech stimuli employed for the verbal-guise study were recordings of native speakers of the respective varieties evaluated in the current study (see section 5.3.2.). Indeed, in the pilot study, speakers of each variety were asked to vote on the speaker who best represented their variety from a relatively large database of recordings that had been generated by the researcher (see section 5.6.1.1.). As a result, five recordings (one for each variety) were selected to form the speech stimuli for the verbal-guise study (see section 5.3.2.). The relevance of this methodological contribution stems from the fact that this thesis has contributed to the examination of language attitudes

in Algeria by providing speech stimuli that are typical of the examined linguistic varieties in the perspective of their speakers (see section 5.3.2. and section 5.6.1.1.).

Thirdly, the current study appears to be one of the first attempts to develop a qualitative framework for investigating the effects of language attitudes on the job market prospects for nomadic individuals in Algeria. Indeed, there has been little research on the socioeconomic consequences of language attitudes in Algeria. In contrast, the current study adds to prior research on accentism by looking at the Algerian context. Accentism refers to discrimination towards people based on their accents or linguistic preferences. The current study used semi-structured interviews to investigate the socioeconomic implications of sounding nomadic in Algeria. Previous research from throughout the world relied mainly on empirical studies of accentism in speech groups. Regardless of the benefits and use of the quantitative technique in Accentism, the usage of a qualitative approach was effective in improving our understanding of how nomadic populations in Algeria were prejudiced against based on the way they talked.

Fourthly, and most importantly, the present study's essential methodological contribution is the mixing of qualitative and quantitative methodologies to analyse patterns of language attitudes in Algeria, their potential triggers and causes, and their repercussions and impacts in the Algerian context. The current thesis used the verbal-guise technique in conjunction with semi-structured interviews to study patterns, triggers, and effects of Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes toward ANON speakers in Algeria. The current study's use of qualitative and quantitative methodologies aided in gaining a full understanding of linguistic attitudes toward vernaculars of Algerian Arabic, with an emphasis on ANON. For example, while the verbal-guise study indicated that ANON was ranked the lowest in terms of both status and attractiveness, the interview study found that ANON was regarded favourably in terms of attractiveness but poorly in terms of status (see section 8.3.). Indeed, the current doctoral thesis suggested that alternative data collection and analysis methods will produce different results. As a result, it is advised that researchers examine hypotheses from several angles and employ various techniques of data gathering and analysis before (un)validating them.

9.1.3. Empirical Contributions of the Study

Now, we consider the empirical contribution of the present study. This thesis has moved some way toward further enriching our understanding of language attitudes towards vernaculars of Arabic in a sociolinguistically diverse context such as Algeria. The current

study's empirical contributions can be linked to three essential aspects of language attitudes. To begin with, the present study documents patterns of adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes towards varieties of Algerian Arabic speech. Moreover, this study explores possible linguistic triggers of adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes towards the nomads of Algeria. Similarly, this study tackles the possible socio-economic consequences of adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes towards nomads on their job prospects. Thus, the present section will discuss empirical contributions in terms of these three aspects.

There are two empirical contributions to be explored regarding language attitudes' patterns. Firstly, this study's empirical findings provide a new understanding of patterns of Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes toward urban and rural Arabic variations. Indeed, much of the prior research on attitudes toward Arabic in the MENA region typically indicated that urban varieties would be rated highly on the social status dimension, but not as high on the social attractiveness dimension (for example, Abdel-Jawad, 1987, 1989; Benrabah, 1994; Al-Birini, 2014, 2016, 2021). The present study, on the other hand, provided empirical evidence of urban varieties of Algerian Arabic evaluated highly on both scales (see section 6.3.1. and section 6.4.1.). Moreover, much of the language attitudes research concerning Arabic speakers' evaluations of Arabic varieties typically reported a favourability towards Bedouin varieties in terms of social attractiveness (for example, Nader, 1962; Hussein and Al-Ali, 1989; Ech-Charfi, 2021; Ismail, 2021). The present thesis, on the other hand, has been able to produce empirical evidence that the nomadic variety was ranked the least on both attitudinal dimensions (status and attractiveness) (see section 6.3.1. and section 6.4.1.). The insights gained from this empirical study may help researchers and policymakers alike better understand the patterns of language attitudes within Algerian Arabic speakers (see section 9.2.).

Secondly, the current thesis contributes to the growing body of research suggesting that the participants' social backgrounds account for variation and differences in overall evaluations of linguistic varieties. Indeed, this study contributes to existing knowledge of language attitudes in Algeria by describing patterns of language attitude differences based on the participants' sex (see sections 6.3.3. and 6.4.3.), age (see sections 6.3.2. and 6.4.2.), area of provenance (see sections 6.3.4 and 6.3.4), and level of education (see sections 6.3.5 and 6.3.5). For instance, the present study has generally supported previous research findings that female participants, young participants, urban participants, and educated participants show a higher tolerance for prestigious varieties rather than non-prestigious varieties. On the other hand, in contrast to Al-Wer (2002), for instance, the present study has been able to

produce empirical evidence that participants with higher education favour urban Arabic varieties in terms of social attractiveness (see section 6.4.5.). Moreover, the current study appears to be the first to provide empirical evidence that sex and educational level interact to influence the evaluation of certain linguistic varieties. Indeed, the insights gained from this empirical contribution may be of relevance to academics conducting research on language attitudes regarding Arabic variations in the future. To emphasize, researchers should always study the interplay of variables because language attitudes are highly contextual phenomena.

Concerning the linguistic triggers of language attitudes toward ANON speakers, the current thesis builds on prior Arabic language attitudes research, which shows that linguistic aspects of Arabic varieties might elicit attitudes toward speakers of these varieties. Numerous previous studies have found that phonology and discourse markers trigger language attitudes (for example, Bidaoui, 2020, 2021). In contrast to Bidaoui (2020) and Bidaoui (2021), for instance, the current study elaborates on linguistic triggers by providing not only phonological and discursive triggers, but also syntactic, lexical, and socio-pragmatic features that can be potential triggers of language attitudes toward ANON speakers (examples of possible linguistic triggers of attitudes towards ANON speakers are provided in section 7.2.). Furthermore, much of the research on Arabic speakers' language attitudes regarding Arabic varieties often revealed that Arabic speakers would always declare that their variety is the most similar to Arabic, implying that this similarity to Standard Arabic is always preferred by Arabic speakers (for example, Nader, 1962; Al-Birini, 2016). In contrast, the current study's findings revealed that closeness between Algerian Arabic varieties and Standard Arabic does not necessarily result in favourable attitudes towards the Algerian variety (see section 7.2.). As previously noted, when Algerian Arabic speakers claim that their variety is similar to Standard Arabic, this is frequently due to a positive attitude, as closeness to the standard indicates authenticity for Algerian Arabic speakers (see section 7.2.). As a result, Algerian Arabic speakers assert the similarities between their varieties and standard Arabic to imply that they are loyal to their linguistic variety. On the other hand, when listeners were questioned about similarities between an Algerian Arabic variety other than their own and Standard Arabic, similarity to Standard Arabic was evaluated negatively in this case. This is because listeners perceived such similarities as being archaic and less sophisticated.

The current study made three empirical contributions regarding the socioeconomic consequences of language attitudes on the employment market for nomadic individuals. First, expanding to include the Algerian context, the current study draws from the body of

knowledge that prejudice against individuals is mostly based on prejudice towards the languages spoken by those individuals (for example, Dixon, Mahoney, and Cocks, 2002; Baratta, 2017; Formanowicz and Suitner, 2020). Secondly, the current research found that nomadic people were frequently viewed by Algerian Arabic speakers as only being capable of minor tasks. In this regard, the current study extends to the Algerian context an existing body of research arguing that speakers of less prestigious language varieties are often linked with weaker communication abilities and hence thought to be only capable of doing minor tasks (for example, Timming, 2017). Thirdly, the current study revealed that female nomads suffer two types of bias (for example, Ferhati, 2010). Female nomads who speak ANON face bias towards ANON speakers on the one side and prejudice against women in the workplace in general on the other.

9.2. Policy Suggestions: A Call to Action

A primary goal of this study was to bring the attention of Algerian officials to prejudices against some varieties of Algerian Arabic speech, particularly prejudices against Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON) (see section 1.2.). While such an investigation yielded some intriguing theoretical and empirical findings about the current sociolinguistic and socioeconomic status of ANON and its speakers, it was felt that the present study could also help inform Algerian policymakers about the possible outcomes of such linguistic, socioeconomic, and cultural prejudices against ANON speakers. As William Labov puts it:

“An investigator who has obtained linguistic data from members of a speech community has an obligation to use the knowledge based on that data for benefit of the community, when it has need of it” (1982: 173).

Indeed, it appears that earlier language attitudes studies in Algeria, and maybe in the entire of North Africa and the Middle East, have typically focused on documenting patterns of language attitudes toward diverse linguistic varieties in the region (see section 4.2.). However, it appears that academics have frequently disregarded political and economic aspects that may not only be descriptive of the issue of language attitudes in Algeria but may also provide a predictive method to understanding these attitudes.

One of the findings of the present study was that Algerian Arabic speakers viewed ANON as less prestigious and less modern as it was perceived to have little to no French influence on it (see section 7.1.3.). Similarly, Algerian Arabic speakers perceived ANON speakers as incompetent because of their perceived incompetence in French (see section

7.3.2.). Arguably, given Algeria's prior and current language policies, such a pattern of language attitudes could have been easily predicted (see section 2.4.). This is because, in similar contexts to Algeria, the association of the French language with prestige and modernity can be traced back to colonial periods, when policies were in place to impose French on the colonised country's education, administration, and economy (for example, Ennaji, 2005; Walters, 2011; Sayahi, 2021) (see section 4.2.1. for language policy in Algeria during the French colonisation). Since it may be claimed that one does not learn a language without being infused with the culture for which that language is a vehicle of thought, some of the elite Algerians who had access to education during the French colonisation of Algeria appeared to have adopted French colonial supremacy discourses (see Bennabi, 1969; Benrabah, 2013b). As a very small minority of Algerian elites had access to education during the colonisation period, it was those elites who obtained access to decision making in Algeria after the independence (see Bouhouche, 1997; Chitour, 1999; Le Roux, 2017).

In light of the current findings, I am strongly motivated to advocate for adopting an inclusive language policy, particularly in education and administration. Algeria is a multilingual country, and each of its languages is associated with a significant historical period that contributed to the establishment of Algerian society as we know it today (see Chapter 2). A policy that blends the mother tongue (local Algerian Arabic varieties and local Berber varieties) with standard Arabic and standard Berber (the official languages), for example, could aid in reducing linguistic prejudice towards Nomadic people and other minorities in Algeria. As discussed in the interview study, participants commonly referred to French as the language of education and the economy in general (for example, sections 7.1.3. and 7.3.2.). According to the Theory of Planned Behaviour (see section 3.1.4.) (See Ajzen et al., 2018), such positive attitudes toward the French language in Algeria stem from beliefs about the socioeconomic value of French, which are influenced by a variety of factors, including contextual factors (for example, language policy) and media narratives that reinforce the importance of French in Algeria (see Belmihoub, 2018). As a result, altering the contextual elements that may have influenced Algerian Arabic speakers' perceptions of ANON speakers could be a feasible method to reduce prejudices toward ANON speakers¹. The policy proposal I am suggesting here does not imply completely eliminating French from the Algerian sociolinguistic scene, as many Algerians may relate to French more than they do to Arabic and Berber (see Benrabah, 2007). Rather, I propose that language policies

¹ For a discussion, see Smith, De Houwer, and Nosek (2013)

in administration and higher education allow for local and national languages in the same manner that they allow for French.

Furthermore, the prejudice toward ANON speakers' professional competence is particularly worrisome, as many of the interview participants were individuals in decision-making positions in terms of employing individuals (for example, Human Resources managers) (see section 5.2. and section 7.3.). Even though no behavioural evidence of discrimination was collected in the current study, it is alarming that such prejudice was overtly voiced by individuals in positions of decision-making. Some participants, for example, expressed broad disapproval of a nomad in a senior position, regardless of their qualifications, and made jokes about ANON speakers being only suitable for shepherding (see interview extract IE27 from section 7.3.1.). The concern expressed here arises from previous behavioural data recorded outside Algeria, in which defendants who spoke with certain regional accents were seen as guilty even when they were innocent (for example, Dixon et al. (2002) research in Birmingham, United Kingdom). As such, it is hoped that the current study would motivate policymakers to take action to minimise prejudice in the workplace. For example, one proposal for reducing such prejudice is to require corporations to hold training sessions for employers and improve their knowledge of the need of hiring skilled individuals regardless of their social background. Employers, for example, can be encouraged to provide equal opportunities by using scripted interviews in the hiring process.

Interestingly, one of the interview study's findings was that some participants utilised movie references to express prejudice against ANON speakers (see section 7.2.2.). An example of such referencing is an IE12 participant's sarcastic remark that ANON speakers sounded like "...they escaped *THE MESSAGE* casting [a historical movie] ..." (see section 7.1.3.1.). Indeed, much of prior research in media representation typically suggests that the film industry, and media in general, has not had the best track record regarding minority representation. Burandt and Kleiner (1998) state that minorities are frequently victims of media that is based on preconceptions and old cliches in order to appeal to a majority of viewers. For example, in the United States, Gluszek and Hansen (2013) found evidence that media portrayals of Arabic, Eastern European, and Latinx accented English inspired particular societal perceptions of these nationalities in America. However, it is worth noting that media representation is a proxy element that influences linguistic attitudes with the help of other aspects such as social interaction and dialect contact (Stuart-Smith and Timmins, 2014). In the United Kingdom, for example, Stuart-Smith (2014) found statistical evidence that media associations with language use in Glasgow were moderated by other factors such as dialect interaction (see section 8.2.). Moreover, O'Hanlon and Paterson (2019) suggest

that presenting individuals with a positive account of an out-group reduces bias against those groups. Based on the outcomes of this study and other research on linguistic bias, one may argue that allowing nomadic people to positively portray themselves in media will likely lower the intensity of prejudices against ANON speakers in Algeria. For example, showing successful ANON speakers in positions of authority and education may mitigate generating more favourable evaluations towards nomads.

Overall, it is intended that this study will draw the attention of Algerian officials to prejudices against certain varieties of Algerian Arabic speech, particularly prejudices against Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON). The current study presented some recommendations that could assist Algerian authorities to understand the potential consequences of such linguistic, social, and cultural prejudices towards ANON speakers. While the present policy suggestions are contemplations upon the findings of the present study, it is indeed recommended that more research is done in order to gain more informative findings about the existence (or not) of behavioural discrimination against nomads based on their linguistic variety. Therefore, the next section outlines the limitations of the study and suggests research for the future.

9.3. Limitations and Suggestions for the Future

As discussed in the introduction, the current thesis has three main goals: to investigate Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes toward Algerian Arabic varieties, to investigate linguistic triggers for those attitudes, and to assess the socio-economic impacts of these attitudes in Algeria (see section 1.2. and section 5.1.). Specifically, the current thesis emphasised the importance of researching language attitudes toward varieties of Arabic spoken in Algeria, with a focus on attitudes toward Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular and the linguistic triggers of those attitudes, as well as the potential effects of those attitudes on nomadic individuals (see section 4.5.). Despite the fact that the current thesis made various theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions that can aid in understanding language attitudes in Algeria, the study has several limitations. The limitations of the present study mainly result from the scope of the study, the participants' recruitment, and data collection and analysis. The present section discusses the limitations of the present study and offers suggestions to be considered for future research concerning Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes towards Arabic varieties.

One limitation of the current study's scope was that, due to time constraints, it only focused on the perception of the Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON)

among adult L1 Algerian Arabic speakers. As such, the present study did not describe language use amongst ANON speakers. In sociolinguistic research, the study of perception is related to attitudes, ideologies, and beliefs about the variety, whereas the study of usage is related to language choice and patterns of use of the variety (see Al-Birini, 2016). Indeed, understanding the dynamics of linguistic prejudice and discrimination in a given speech community necessitates understanding not only how language is perceived but also how it is spoken among its users (Campbell-Kibler, 2010). This is because linguistic prejudice and discrimination can arise from both within and beyond the boundaries of the given speech community (Fought, 2006). Therefore, in the future, an investigation into the variation and change of Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular is recommended. For example, during the data collection, some nomadic individuals appeared to use the phoneme [ʏ] instead of the stereotypical pronunciation [q]. Hence, it would be interesting to investigate the change from [q] to [ʏ] amongst nomadic individuals in Algeria. Similarly, during data collection, many Algerian Arabic speakers claimed that Ouled Naïl Arabic Vernacular is similar to standard Arabic and used less French. Indeed, it is not easy to claim that a variety is the closest to standard Arabic as there have been no studies into that (Sayahi, 2014). However, an investigation into loan words, code-switching, and code-mixing amongst nomadic individuals would be recommended. Overall, further research into language use amongst ANON speakers is required to be able to further cast light on the interplay between social variables and language in Algeria.

Moreover, and equally important, the linguistic varieties selected for the verbal-guise study do not represent all varieties of Algerian Arabic. In this study, terms such as *Southern Algerian Arabic*, *Eastern Algerian Arabic*, and *Western Algerian Arabic* are used loosely to describe a group of Algerian Arabic varieties from these regions respectively. For example, in the current study, the term *Western Algerian Arabic Vernacular* (AWA) is used to refer to *Oran Vernacular*. While Oran Vernacular belongs to the Western Algerian Arabic Varieties, it is not representative of all Western Algerian Arabic Vernaculars. However, Oran Vernacular was selected for this verbal-guise study since pilot study participants, who are native speakers of AWA, voted it the most representative of Western Algerian Arabic (see section 5.6.1.1.). Similarly, *Annaba Vernacular* is not representative of Eastern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (AEA), and *Adrar Vernacular* does not represent Southern Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ASA). Therefore, it is not recommended to replicate this study by employing other varieties of Algerian Arabic. Indeed, much research is needed in order to understand language attitudes in Algeria. For example, future research could only employ

varieties spoken in Algerian urban areas to better understand the link between status and urban varieties in Algeria.

One limitation in participant recruitment is that, for time and practical considerations, the participants selected for the current study were exclusively adult L1 speakers of Algerian Arabic (see section 5.2.). As a result, care is urged when generalising the current study's findings on Algerian Arabic L2 speakers since language attitudes are highly contextual (see chapter 3). For example, many Algerians from Berber-dominated regions, such as *Kabylia* and several northeast Algerian provinces, speak Algerian Arabic as their second (L2) or third language (L3) (see section 2.3.). Indeed, much of the prior research on language attitudes in North Africa have found negative attitudes toward Berber speakers (for example, Bentahila, 1983); however, no research has been conducted to investigate Algerian Arabic speakers' attitudes toward Berber accented Arabic varieties. Therefore, in-depth research is required to investigate attitudes toward L2 Algerian Arabic speakers since attitudes toward accented speech are likely to differ from attitudes toward the languages of such foreign speech (see Timming, 2017).

Furthermore, for time and economic purposes, the present study only recruited participants from the midlands of Algeria (see section 5.2.). As a result, the researcher does not recommend generalising the findings of the current study beyond this specific demographic (L1 Algerian Arabic speakers from the midlands of Algeria) without performing more research in different parts of Algeria. For instance, it would be desirable to investigate whether L2 speakers of Algerian Arabic hold the same attitudes as L1 speakers towards ANON. Furthermore, for accessibility reasons, the participants selected for this study were only adult Algerian Arabic speakers. Hence, it is not advisable to generalise these findings to teenagers and infants in Algeria without more research. For example, it would be beneficial to explore language attitudes among Algerian adolescents, which could yield relevant findings about attitudes change in the context of L1 Algerian Arabic speakers.

Indeed, while taking great care during participant recruitment for the verbal-guise study, due to time and resource constraints, it was not possible to balance the number of participants (cell numbers) in terms of provenance, education, and age. The current study collected data from universities, companies, and professional training centres, which, in principle, ensures a balanced number of participants across different cells of the social variables chosen for the study (age, provenance, education). However, because of health and safety concerns related to the Covid-19 pandemic, the number of urban participants in the data collection session, for example, was significantly larger than the number of rural and

nomadic participants. The explanation for this discrepancy is that only urban residents were in close proximity to universities, factories, and training centres, all of which are located in cities, but individuals who resided far away from data collection sites, typically nomads and rural residents, were unable to attend.

Similarly, the age distribution was unbalanced because the Algerian government particularly recommended senior individuals not to leave their homes because they are likely to have chronic illnesses. As a result, a greater number of senior and middle-aged participants could not be recruited at the time of data collection. As a result, more research into the impact of provenance, education, and age on Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties is likely to be required. Moreover, as indicated in Chapter 6, nomadic participants generally rated Nomadic Ouled Naïl Algerian Arabic Vernacular (ANON) favourably in terms of attractiveness (see section 6.4.4.). As a result, it is thought that studying the attitudes of ANON speakers regarding their own variety would be worthwhile. Indeed, the current study focused primarily on listeners' evaluations of ANON, which revealed that ANON is stereotyped and perceived to be less prestigious than urban varieties (see section 8.2.). It is recommended to explore the attitudes of ANON speakers regarding their variety in order to acquire an understanding of ANON speakers' perceptions of stereotypes against them and how they navigate through these stereotypes (for example, Dragojevic, 2017; Dragojevic et al., 2021).

A limitation of the study in regard to data collection instruments concerns the recording of the speech stimuli. Indeed, in order to constrain the intervention of potentially extraneous variables, only male speakers were recorded for the purpose of creating the speech stimuli in the present study (see section 5.3.1.). Therefore, it is worthwhile to replicate the study by including female speakers in the recording of the speech stimuli. A replication of the study involving female speakers is recommended to test the validity of the gender differences in the participants' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties since those reported significant differences may be influenced by gender biases rather than linguistic ones. Moreover, even though the speech stimuli were carefully created, there is a chance that the differences in the evaluation of the five types are due to extraneous factors such as voice depth, speech speed, and individual differences (other than linguistic differences) between the speakers.

Indeed, due to the unpredicted circumstances imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, the interviews were conducted online in line with health and safety regulations. Even though great care was taken to produce reliable robust interview data, it is worth noting that some

extraneous circumstances, such as internet connection issues, may have interfered with the interviewing process. Therefore, it would be of great merit to replicate the interview study in different circumstances in the future. Moreover, even though a part of the interview focused on the participants' awareness of the varieties employed in the current investigation, no variety identification items were used in the current study. This is because the awareness data was only used to prepare participants for being asked about their evaluations of various varieties of Algerian Arabic. As a result, it is necessary to explore whether dialect recognition influences language attitudes regarding Algerian Arabic variations. Indeed, while perceptual dialectology approaches have been used in western sociolinguistics since the 1990s, Hachimi's (2017) study in Morocco was the first of its kind to apply map perception in an Arabic context. As a result, researchers can use methodologies from perceptual dialectology to assess the impact of Algerian Arabic speakers' recognition of the variety on their evaluations of that variety (see section 3.3.2.). Overall, an interdisciplinary approach to the examination of language attitudes in Algeria is expected to aid in the construction of a thorough picture of language attitudes.

In the interview study, the linguistic triggers were generated solely based on the frequency of appearance in the participants' responses. As a result, it is unclear whether the participants are aware of these triggers and whether they can reproduce the same linguistic triggers in another study. Moreover, at the beginning of this study, the researcher intended to investigate whether observable behaviours (linguistic or non-linguistic) have an effect on language attitudes (see section 8.2.). However, for time constraints, the investigation into behavioural patterns and language attitudes was not included in the present study. For example, during the interview study, the researcher code-switched between his variety and numerous Algerian Arabic varieties. Except when the participant used the nomadic variety, participants frequently accommodated the variation spoken by the researcher (see Giles and Rakic, 2014). Similarly, during verbal-guise data collection, it was noted that participants generally displayed seriousness when listening to the speaker of Algiers Arabic vernacular; yet, several participants burst out laughing when they heard the nomadic speaker (see section 8.2.). Therefore, it is felt that it would be of great benefit if behavioural patterns were investigated in relation to language attitudes.

In general, researchers are encouraged to conduct longitudinal studies on Algerian Arabic speakers' language attitudes regarding various Arabic dialects. Indeed, the current study is amongst the first major studies that provided evidence of how social determinants may influence differences in Algerian Arabic speakers' evaluations of Algerian Arabic varieties. However, it would be beneficial to explore changes in language attitudes in Algeria.

For example, researchers can use a historical approach to analyse changes in attitudes (or lack thereof) toward various varieties of Algerian Arabic. A review of policies, media narratives, and/or testimonials can supplement such an investigation. Adopting a paradigm such as the historical approach may aid in understanding why nomadic varieties continue to be seen adversely in Algeria today. Furthermore, it is unclear to what extent social variables predict (or do not predict) changes in attitudes in Algeria. It's also unclear how long those changes in attitudes (assuming they happen at all) will last. As a result, an examination into changes in language attitudes in Algeria is required. Furthermore, researchers are invited to undertake studies similar to the current study in order to acquire confidence (or not) in the current study's findings. Overall, it is hoped that the findings from multiple approaches to language attitudes study in Algeria would contribute to a more complete and in-depth knowledge of such sociolinguistic phenomena in such a heterogeneous country.

To summarise, while great care was taken to establish robust data on language attitudes in Algeria, the limitations listed above should be considered. As a result, care is advised if the current study's findings are to be generalised outside the specific speech community studied. Furthermore, it is expected that the depth of documentation of language attitudes patterns, triggers, and repercussions in the current study will bring academics' attention to researching language attitudes in a diverse environment such as Algeria. Regardless, it is evident that much more effort needs to be done to investigate Algerian sociolinguistics.

APPENDICES

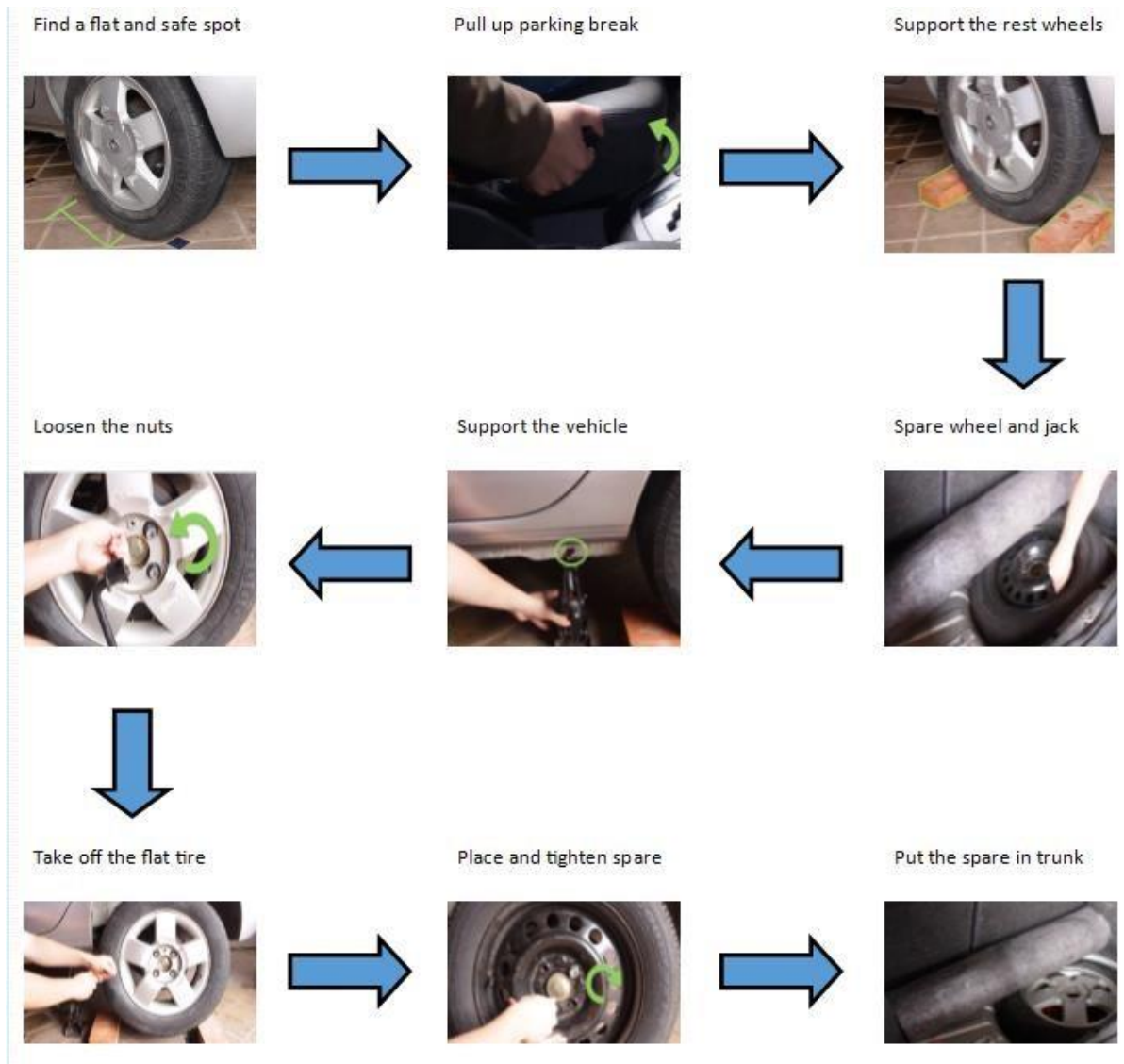
APPENDIX 1.

Task for Speech Stimuli Collection and English Version

المخطط الموضح اسفله يعطي تعليمات حول تغيير إطار السيارة. المرجو منك التعليق وشرح التعليمات فضلا.



The scheme bellow gives instructions on how to change a flat tire. Please explain the instructions given.



APPENDIX 2.

The Demographic Information Sheet and its English Translation

قسمة معلومات حول خلفية المشارك.

الترميز (رجاء لا تكتب هنا)

➤ السن:

56 فما فوق

55-36

35-18

➤ الجنس

أنثى

ذكر

➤ انا اسكن في منطقة:

انا بدوي

مدنية

فلاحية

➤ أعلى مستوى تعليم وصلته:

جامعي

ثانوي فما اقل

ابتدائي فما اقل

Code: (please do not write here)

○ Age group (please tick one box):

18-35 36-55 56 and above

○ Sex (please tick one box): Male Female

○ I come from (please tick one box):

A Rural Area An Urban Area I am a Nomad

○ My highest level of education is (please tick one box)

Primary school or less High School or less University

APPENDIX 3.

Verbal-guise Test Sheet and its English Rendition

قسمة التجربة

هذه الدراسة مقررّة لنيل شهادة الدكتوراه في اللسانيات الاجتماعية. الخصوصية وإخفاء الهوية مضمونتان. يتعهد الباحث بالسرية التامة حول المعلومات المستنقاة من هذا البحث. ويعد الباحث بالاستخدام الحصري لهذه المعلومات فقط فقط فيما يتعلق بالبحث.

يتوقف نجاح هذا المشروع على مدى صراحة اجوبتكم. كما وان كل الاجوبة معتبرة من غير حكم عليها بالصحة او بالبطلان

اجدد الشكر لكم لمنحي بعضا من وقتكم الثمين للإجابة على هذه الدراسة.

التجربة: سوف تسمع خمسة اشخاص يعطون تعليمات حول تغيير عجلة السيارة!

الرجاء الاستماع للتسجيلات ثم قم بتقييم الاشخاص عن طريق السلم المرفق وذلك عن طريق رسم دائرة حول الرقم الذي تعطيه كعلامة.

فعلى سبيل المثال؛ إذا رسمت دائرة حول رقم 1 في الاجابة الاولى فهذا يشير أنك تعتقد ان المتكلم محبوب جدا وإذا اخترت

7 فهذا يدل على غير محبوب اطلاقا.

المتكلم ...

ناس ملاح	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مش ناس ملاح
ما قراش	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	قاري
فحل	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	شويا شويا
حيلي	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	نية
يزيد عليها	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	متواضع
واثق قفقف	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	غير واثق
ذكي	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	ماكان ماكان
ما يحشمش	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	يحشم
كريم	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مش كريم
متحضر	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	مش متحضر

This study is a part of a PhD in Sociolinguistics. Privacy and anonymity of informants are assured. The researcher promises the confidentiality of information and guarantees the exclusive use for research purposes.

Please be informed that the success of this study relies totally on your honest answers, and please be informed there are no right nor wrong answers.

Finally, I would like to thank you very much for your valuable time that you provided to answer this enquiry.

The test:

You will be hearing five people giving instructions about how to change a flat tire in your car.

Listen to the recordings and circle the degree to which you would put each speaker on the scale provided.

For Example, in the first element, if you circle 1 this indicates that you think the speaker is very kind, while 7 indicates extremely not kind.

Speaker ...

Kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Kind
Not Educated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Educated
Manly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Manly
Not Naïve	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Naïve
Not Humble	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Humble
Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Confident
Smart	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Smart
Not Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Shy
Generous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Generous
Civilised	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Civilised

APPENDIX 4.

The Participant Debrief and its Rendition in English

ترميز المشترك:

اسم الباحث: رشيد خميخ

عنوان البحث:

“Wandering in the Algerian desert: Attitudes towards the Algerian Arabic variety spoken by Nomadic society of *Ouled Nail*”

"هائم في صحراء الجزائر: الآراء اللغوية لمتكلمي اللهجة الجزائرية حول اللهجة البدوية الناييلية (اولاد نايل)"

رجاء اقرأ بتمعن وروية وقم بإمضاء هذا التقرير المختصر حول التجربة التي شاركت فيها.

❖ الهدف من البحث:

الهدف الفعلي للبحث هو التحقيق حول الآراء والتصورات اللغوية لمتكلمي اللهجة الجزائرية حول اللهجة البدوية الناييلية. تعتبر التجربة التي شاركت (ي) فيها من الطرائق غير المباشرة في التحقيق حول الآراء والتصورات اللغوية. وهنا يجدر بي الاعتذار عن المراوغة بالرغم من انني كنت مجبرا لفعل ذلك، وذلك من أجل الحصول عن الآراء الفعلية للمشاركين عن طريق إحادة ذهنهم عن التفكير في اللغة بتاتاً. فالمشترك قد يعطي إجابات غير عفوية عن رأيه حول اللغة إذا علم أن موضوع التحقيق هو اللغة. هذا الأسلوب ممارس بكثرة في التحقيقات العلمية المنتهجة في علم النفس الاجتماعي وعلم اللسانيات الاجتماعية، ولم يكن الغرض تسييب اي احراج للمشارك(ة).

❖ كيف اطلع على نتائج البحث:

النتائج ستكون في رسالة دكتوراه وستكون متوفرة للعامة في حدود سنة أو ستة أشهر بعد تاريخ تسليمها في أكتوبر 2022.

❖ إذا أردت الانسحاب من البحث:

يمكنك الانسحاب من المشاركة في البحث خلال فترة شهر من مشاركتك وذلك لان بعد هذه المدة يعزم الباحث في تحليل نتائج التجربة. إذا أردت الانسحاب فقم بإرسال رسالة إلكترونية للباحث (انظر العنوان اسفله) وعنوانها بالترميز المكتوب أعلاه.

كما ويعزم الباحث في نشر النتائج في مقالات وندوات علمية. ففي حال نشر المعلومات ستكون هذه الأخيرة مشفرة وغير متوفرة للولوج. ما ينشر هو تحليل الباحث لهذه المعلومات. وبعد الباحث المشاركين بالسرية والخصوصية التامة.

يمكنك التواصل مع الباحث عبر بريده الإلكتروني rachid.khoumikh@northumbria.ac.uk

هذه الدراسة حازت على موافقة اللجنة العلمية لأخلاقيات البحث العلمي لكلية الفنون والعلوم الاجتماعية لجامعة نورثمبريا نيوكاسل بالمملكة المتحدة. إذا كنت تريد التحقق أو التشكي رجاء اتصل بمدير اللجنة عبر بريده الإلكتروني:

mark.blythe@northumbria.ac.uk

وانذكر عنوان البحث واسم الباحث.

الممضي أسفله يشهد انه قرأ النص وانه يشارك بمحض إرادته في البحث.

الإمضاء.

Participant`s Code:

Name of Researcher:

Rachid KHOUMIKHAM

Project Title:

“Wandering in the Algerian desert: Attitudes towards the Algerian Arabic variety spoken by Nomadic society of *Ouled Nail*”

Please read carefully and sign the debrief

❖ The purpose of the project:

The actual purpose of this project is to unveil the attitudes of Algerian Arabic speakers towards the Nomadic *Ouled Nail* Algerian Arabic Vernacular. The experiment you just contributed in is an indirect method of investigating attitudes. The researcher apologises for the deception and confirms that it was needed to achieve robust results. It is required to hide the purpose of the study from participants and only reveal it at the end of the experiment. This is necessary to keep the participants` attention away from language, so that the researcher can obtain the informants` spontaneous responses. This type of deception is a common practice in the field of language and attitudes, and it was not meant to cause any discomfort or embarrassment to any of the participants.

❖ Finding out about the results:

The data collected from this experiment is used for the purpose of writing a PhD thesis. The results will be reported and discussed in the thesis. The thesis will be submitted to the University of Northumbria in Newcastle approximately around October 2022. The thesis usually takes around 6 months to 1 year to be available to the public.

❖ If you wish to withdraw your data for any reason:

Please do not hesitate to email the researcher within 1-month period of participating in the study. Please do communicate the code number that was allocated to you (see above). The researcher informs you that after this time it might not be possible to withdraw your data as it could already have been analysed.

The data collected in this study may also be published in scientific journals or presented at conferences. Information and data gathered during this research study will only be available to the researcher named in the information sheet. Should the research be presented or published in any form, all data will be anonymous (i.e. your personal information or data will not be identifiable).

If you wish to receive feedback about the findings of this research study then please contact the researcher at rachid.khoumikhham@northumbria.ac.uk

*This study and its protocol have received full ethical approval from **Faculty of Arts, Design and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee**. If you require confirmation of this, or if you have any concerns or worries concerning this research, or if you wish to register a complaint, please contact the **Faculty of Arts, Design and Social Sciences, Research Ethics Director** stating the title of the research project and the name of the researcher: mark.blythe@northumbria.ac.uk*

I testify that I have read the debrief and I am willingly taking part of this study

Signe here please

APPENDIX 5.

Preparation for the follow up interview: (optional)

أسئلة تحضيرية لمقابلة لاحقة (اختياري)

إذا كنت توافق على إجراء مقابلة شفوية حول اللهجة الجزائرية فهل من الممكن ان تترك معلومات للاتصال بك (كبريدك الإلكتروني او رقم هاتفك او حسابك على الفيسبوك، انستغرام، تويتر او اي وسيلة تواصل أخرى)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

- Will you be interested to take part in a follow up face-to-face interview of about 30 minutes, please leave your contact details (this includes email, phone number, Facebook, Instagram, Tweeter, or any form of contact)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX 6.

The Interview Questions in English

- 1- Do you speak Algerian Arabic?
- 2- In your view, how many forms of Algerian Arabic are there?
- 3- In your view, what is/are the most favourable Algerian Arabic variety(ies)? Why?
- 4- Are these varieties (the ones mentioned in the response of the previous question) more or less favourable than Nomadic Ouled Naïl variety?

- 5- In your view, in what ways is the nomadic Ouled Naïl variety different from the rest of varieties spoken in Algeria?
- 6- Do you think that Nomadic Arabic of Ouled Naïl sounds more feminine, more masculine, or neither? Why?
- 7- Could you please imitate how do Ouled Naïl talk?
- 8- When conversing with a speaker of Nomadic Ouled Naïl variety, what are the things that you pay attention to in their speech?
- 9- How do you evaluate these features in terms of prestige, sophistication, and favourableness?

- 10- Would you apply for a job knowing your boss is a speaker of nomadic Ouled Naïl variety? Why/Why not?
- 11- If you were an employer, would you employ a speaker of Ouled Naïl Variety? Why/Why not?
- 12- *play the speech stimuli again* What type of job might each of these persons have?

- 13- Do you have any inquiries or comments for me?

APPENDIX 7.

Two-tailed Pairwise Comparisons for Algerian Arabic Speakers` Overall Evaluations of Speech Stimuli on All Traits

Variety	Variety	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig. ^b	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^b	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
AA	ANON	.910*	.051	.000	.767	1.054
	ASA	.248*	.049	.000	.110	.385
	AEA	.053	.043	1.000	-.070	.175
	AWA	.180*	.042	.000	.061	.300
ANON	AA	-.910*	.051	.000	-1.054	-.767
	ASA	-.663*	.055	.000	-.817	-.509
	AEA	-.857*	.053	.000	-1.006	-.709
	AWA	-.730*	.051	.000	-.872	-.588
ASA	AA	-.248*	.049	.000	-.385	-.110
	ANON	.663*	.055	.000	.509	.817
	AEA	-.195*	.048	.000	-.329	-.061
	AWA	-.067	.051	1.000	-.210	.076
AEA	AA	-.053	.043	1.000	-.175	.070
	ANON	.857*	.053	.000	.709	1.006
	ASA	.195*	.048	.000	.061	.329
	AWA	.128*	.045	.046	.001	.254
AWA	AA	-.180*	.042	.000	-.300	-.061
	ANON	.730*	.051	.000	.588	.872
	ASA	.067	.051	1.000	-.076	.210
	AEA	-.128*	.045	.046	-.254	-.001

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

APPENDIX 8.

a. Correlation Matrix for the Components Analysis

		Correlation Matrix									
		Confident	Kind	Educated	Manly	Naive	Humble	Smart	Shy	Generous	Civilised
Confident	1.000	.393	.649	.589	.074	.361	.683	.297	.329	.744	
Kind	.393	1.000	.242	.378	.255	.383	.329	.317	.451	.356	
Educated	.649	.242	1.000	.202	.141	.241	.333	.273	.145	.410	
Manly	.589	.378	.202	1.000	.086	.311	.325	.208	.375	.344	
Naive	.074	.255	.141	.086	1.000	.303	.014	.399	.218	.100	
Humble	.361	.383	.241	.311	.303	1.000	.358	.367	.310	.281	
Smart	.683	.329	.333	.325	.014	.358	1.000	.250	.245	.480	
Shy	.297	.317	.273	.208	.399	.367	.250	1.000	.238	.215	
Generous	.329	.451	.145	.375	.218	.310	.245	.238	1.000	.303	
Civilised	.744	.356	.410	.344	.100	.281	.480	.215	.303	1.000	

b. Eigenvalues for the Components Extracted: First Attempt

Component	Total	Percentage of Variance	Cumulative Percentage
1	3.990	39.90 %	39.90 %
2	1.425	14.25 %	54.15 %
3	1.018	10.18 %	64.33 %
4	0.717	7.17 %	71.50 %
5	0.639	6.39 %	77.89 %
6	0.583	5.83 %	83.72 %
7	0.563	5.63 %	89.35 %
8	0.528	5.28 %	94.63 %
9	0.451	4.51 %	99.14 %
10	0.086	0.86 %	100.00 %

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

c. Parallel Analysis

23/07/2021 14:10:38		
Number of variables: 10		
Number of subjects: 700		
Number of replications: 100		
<hr/>		
Eigenvalue #	Random Eigenvalue	Standard Dev
<hr/>		
1	1.1891	0.0298
2	1.1298	0.0226
3	1.0871	0.0182
4	1.0512	0.0166
5	1.0131	0.0159
6	0.9810	0.0148
7	0.9442	0.0168
8	0.9096	0.0175
9	0.8694	0.0194
10	0.8256	0.0245
<hr/>		
23/07/2021 14:10:38		
Monte Carlo PCA for Parallel Analysis		
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<hr/>		

APPENDIX 9.

a. Pairwise Comparisons for Overall Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Varieties: Social Status

Variety	Variety	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig. ^b	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^b	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
AA	ANON	1.211*	.062	.000	1.037	1.386
	ASA	1.037*	.067	.000	.849	1.225
	AEA	.150	.056	.077	-.008	.308
	AWA	.136	.054	.119	-.016	.288
ANON	AA	-1.211*	.062	.000	-1.386	-1.037
	ASA	-.174	.063	.060	-.352	.004
	AEA	-1.062*	.062	.000	-1.236	-.888
	AWA	-1.075*	.062	.000	-1.250	-.901
ASA	AA	-1.037*	.067	.000	-1.225	-.849
	ANON	.174	.063	.060	-.004	.352
	AEA	-.888*	.064	.000	-1.069	-.707
	AWA	-.901*	.066	.000	-1.088	-.715
AEA	AA	-.150	.056	.077	-.308	.008
	ANON	1.062*	.062	.000	.888	1.236
	ASA	.888*	.064	.000	.707	1.069
	AWA	-.014*	.057	.000	-.176	.148
AWA	AA	-.136	.054	.119	-.288	.016
	ANON	1.075*	.062	.000	.901	1.250
	ASA	.901*	.066	.000	.715	1.088
	AEA	.014*	.057	.000	-.148	.176

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

b. Pairwise Comparisons for Overall Evaluations of Algerian Arabic Varieties: Social Attractiveness

Pairwise Comparisons

Measure: MEASURE_1

Variety	Variety	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig. ^b	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^b	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
AA	ANON	.592*	.062	.000	.418	.766
	ASA	-.551*	.061	.000	-.722	-.381
	AEA	-.055	.053	1.000	-.202	.093
	AWA	.217*	.051	.000	.072	.361
ANON	AA	-.592*	.062	.000	-.766	-.418
	ASA	-1.143*	.067	.000	-1.333	-.954
	AEA	-.647*	.064	.000	-.826	-.468
	AWA	-.376*	.057	.000	-.537	-.214
ASA	AA	.551*	.061	.000	.381	.722
	ANON	1.143*	.067	.000	.954	1.333
	AEA	.497*	.058	.000	.334	.659
	AWA	.768*	.062	.000	.592	.943
AEA	AA	.055	.053	1.000	-.093	.202
	ANON	.647*	.064	.000	.468	.826
	ASA	-.497*	.058	.000	-.659	-.334
	AWA	.271*	.051	.000	.127	.415
AWA	AA	-.217*	.051	.000	-.361	-.072
	ANON	.376*	.057	.000	.214	.537
	ASA	-.768*	.062	.000	-.943	-.592
	AEA	-.271*	.051	.000	-.415	-.127

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

APPENDIX 10.

**Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices for Age Groups
(Social Status and Social Attractiveness)**

Dimension	Box's M	F	df1	df2	Sig.
Social Status	42.450	1.264	30	2995.429	.153
Social Attractiveness	54.534	1.624	30	2995.429	.117

Design: Intercept + AGE

APPENDIX 11.

Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices for Levels of Education (Social Status and Social Attractiveness)

Dimension	Box's M	F	df1	df2	Sig.
Social Status	41.927	1.352	30	26370.368	0.194
Social Attractiveness	49.495	1.597	30	26370.368	0.020

Design: Intercept + Education

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