

THE APPLICATION OF CAT AND SAT TO AN ARABIC DIGLOSSIC SITUATION: THE LOCAL RADIO OF ADRAR

INTRODUCTION

With the inception of the 'Sociology of Language' at the beginning of the 1960's, 'Arabic' sociolinguistics emerged as an important discipline and field of study. However, variationist models, such as those proposed by William Labov (1966) are not completely verified in Arabic speech communities. Associations that exist between linguistic forms and their social correlates in the Western World are not the same in the Middle-East and North Africa.

Post-colonial Arab countries hastened the education of their countrymen through compulsory systems of education. Economic development, industrialisation, modernity, and urbanisation have also played a significant role in enhancing and accelerating change in the Arab world. With the shifts of demographics, new patterns of linguistic behaviour emerged, and new tendencies took place. These factors account for the fact that some models of sociolinguistic variation are not always applicable to the Arab world.

Arab speech communities are not only linguistically different from their European and American counterparts, but they also have their own social and cultural characteristics. The correlation that exists between Arab social categories and linguistic forms is evidence that Arabic sociolinguistics does not parallel with that of the rest of the world. Through speech, the Arabs set relations of distance and intimacy that go beyond the fact of setting interrelationships; they act as sociolinguistic rules of address and as social barriers.

1. METHODS AND SAMPLING

In the next sections, we apply and verify the hypotheses of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (cf. Giles and Smith 1979) and Speech Accommodation theory (SAT) (cf. Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis 1973; Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles 1984) within an Arabic diglossic speech community: Adrar. We follow the field research methods of both A. Bell (1982a & b, 1983) and Al-Khatib (1995 and 2001). We consider the consonant phonemes /q/ and /g/ as phonological variants which have social correlates, i.e. 'educated' versus 'less-

educated/illiterate' styles of speech. The situation chosen to verify CAT and SAT models is Adrar local radio broadcasting system.

We use radio-tape recorded material from a number of programs. We split the recorded people into dyads made up of male and female participants; then we compare the scores obtained in each program/dyad to check whether the scores vary according to the sex/gender of speaker, or according to the topic.

Social status is also taken into consideration, for it is significant both on the sociological as well as the psychological level of each individual speaker (cf. Thakerar, Giles, and Cheshire 1982) Through the scores and results, we confirm Haeri's (1997a, 1997b, and 2000) hypothesis which says that Arab women are linguistically 'innovative' and more 'conservative' than men. On the other hand, we show that Labov's (1966: 210) model of variation, which asserts that men use more non-standard forms than women, is not well verified in an Arabic speaking community.

The recoded material consists of the following programs and people:

Program 1: "Agriculture Problems in the Wilaya of Adrar". The presenter is female and the participants are two males. The first is an Agriculture Engineer; the second is the Director of Agriculture Services of Adrar. The duration of the whole program is about one hour, and our recording lasts for 17.33 minutes.

Program 2: "The Charity Associations of Adrar". The presenter is a male and the participants are a man and a woman. The female participant is the General Secretary of a charity association in Adrar, and the male is a representative of the Red Crescent in Adrar and is also the Director of the Regional Office for Social Affairs. The duration of the program is one hour, while our recording takes about 10 minutes.

Program 3: "A Glimpse at the Social Community". The program is presented by a man. The first guest is the General Secretary of the local charity association of Program 2. The second guest, a male, is a representative of the Regional Office for Social Affairs. Three phone-in participants are also involved in the program: two women and an old man. The recording lasts for 18.36 minutes.

Program 4: "The Abandoned Children". The presenter of this program is a woman. Her guests are three male speakers. The first represents the local Health Services; the second is an agent of the local Regional Office for Social Affairs while the last one is the director of the Regional Office for Social Affairs of Program 2. The recording takes about 18.28 minutes.

3. THE LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

The variables considered are the phonemes /q/ and /g/, which are a clear manifestation of divergence/convergence processes (cf. Coupland 1981, 1984,

and 1988a & b; Giles and Coupland 1991) and of social and stylistic variation in a diglossic speech community (cf. Abdel-Jawad 1981: 238; Haeri 1991: 130). The participants either converge or diverge towards each others' speeches, particularly at the stylistic level. They converge/diverge for such reasons as identity, or identification with a group of speakers. They also converge/diverge for personal issues such as to show one's own social status and /or level of education or because of gender roles in the speech community.

The formality of the situation compels both presenters and participants to use the standard form of Arabic, i.e. /q/. However, the nature of the topics and the diversity of the audience are also causes which may oblige both presenters and participants to switch to informal styles. They make use of the velar /g/ instead of the uvular /q/ to lower their styles from formal to less formal ones.

4. THE RESULTS

To verify the assumption that "in mixed-sex dyad, it appears that both genders adopted a linguistic style more like that of their out-group partner than they would have maintained with an in-group partner" (Mulac *et al.* 1988: 331), we split the participants into dyads and compare their scores. The results obtained tell us that if the presenters and the participants feel similar in the dyad, they converge; if they feel dissimilar, they diverge. The highest probability of convergence depends on such factors as the search for interlocutor's approval; need to gain familiarity or intimacy with a high social status addressee, or because of some interpersonal motives.

The General Secretary (a woman) and the Director of the Office for Social Affairs (a man) are recorded twice, i.e. on two different occasions and in two different programs. The man is recorded in Program2 (P2) and Program4 (P4), while the woman is recorded in P2 and P3. Their results are compared so as to see whether gender and status of speaker have any influence on the outcome (Gallois and Giles 1998) . We also look at any variation on the part of both speakers due to topic, or to addressee, or to sociolinguistic factors such as 'status', 'power', or 'solidarity'. (cf. Brown and Gilman 1972; Fairclough 1989).

The following figure summarises the results obtained from the radio programs:

Program	Dyads	Participants	Scores by participants	Scores by dyads	Scores by programs
P1	1	Presenter (Female) Engineer (Male)	10 29	25	18
	2	Presenter (F) Director (M)	15 16	77	
P2	3	Presenter (M) Secretary (F)	00 11.36	8.62	10
	4	Presenter (M) Director (M)	00 50	42	
	5	Presenter (M) Secretary (F)	00 00	00	
P3	6	Presenter (M) Secretary (F)	00 20	30	17.75
	7	Presenter (M) Phone-in caller (F)	00 08.33	5.88	
	8	Presenter (M) Phone-in caller (M)	00 68	65	
	9	Presenter (M) Secretary	00 20	27	
	10	Presenter (M) Representative (M)	00 04.54	4.08	
	11	Presenter (M) Phone-in caller (F)	00 37	23	
P4	12	Presenter (F) Representative (M)	00 00	00	02.96
	13	Presenter (F) Agent (M)	00 00	00	
	14	Presenter (F) Director (M)	00 06.45	5	

Figure 1: Overall scores of /q/ and /g/ by participants, dyads, and programs

4.1. THE RADIO PRESENTERS' SCORES

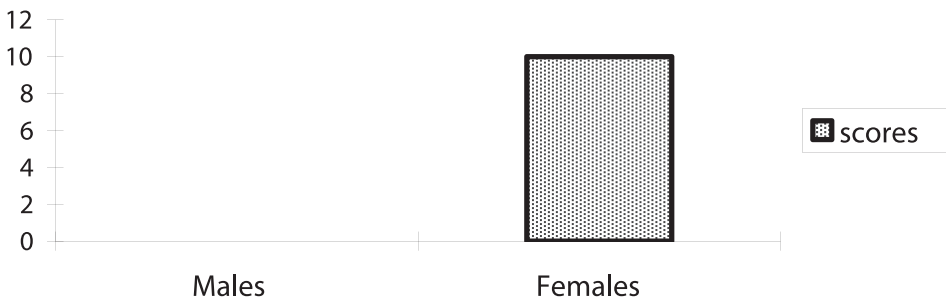
Concerning the use of both velar and uvular stops by male and female presenters, the results obtained from the four radio sessions show that:

1. The female presenters have the highest score of (q) = [g].
2. The female presenter of P1 scores higher than her colleague of P4, who does not have any score.

3. During both programs, the male presenters do not use any velar stops. They make use of the standard variable /q/ all throughout the meetings. Next figure and graph summarise the results of each presenter:

Presenters	Number of words containing /q/	Number of words containing /g/	Scores	Scores by sex of presenter
Female presenter1	30	6	16	10
Female presenter2	24	00	00	
Male presenter1	18	00	00	00
Male presenter2	31	00	00	

Figure 2: Numbers and percentages of use of /q/ and /g/ by male and female radio presenters



Graph 1: (q)=[g] scores, by sex of animators

These results are cross-checked with those of the Director of Regional Office for Social Affairs and the General Secretary of a charity association of Adrar.

4.2. THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S SCORES

The next figure reports the General Secretary's individual scores of /q/ and /g/ during the two programs. They are compared to those of the dyad and to that of the whole program.

Programs	Individual score	Dyadic score	Program score
P2	11.36	8.62	10
	00	00	
P3	20	30	17.75
	20	27	

Figure 3: General Secretary's (q) = [g] scores by programs and dyads

The overall observation is that:

1. When the dyad's scores are low, those of the General Secretary are also low. When the dyads' scores are high, as in both dyads of P3, those of the Secretary are high.
2. The sessions' scores are not significant.
3. Out of these results, we conclude that the female participant, whose status is important in the community, makes use of local feature /g/. This may be due to her "solidarity" with the audience, or because of "deference" to her listeners (Ferguson 1994: 12). In general, she uses a significant number of words containing velar stop /g/, since her topic compels her to speak in a style which is understood by any listeners, whatever their level of education.

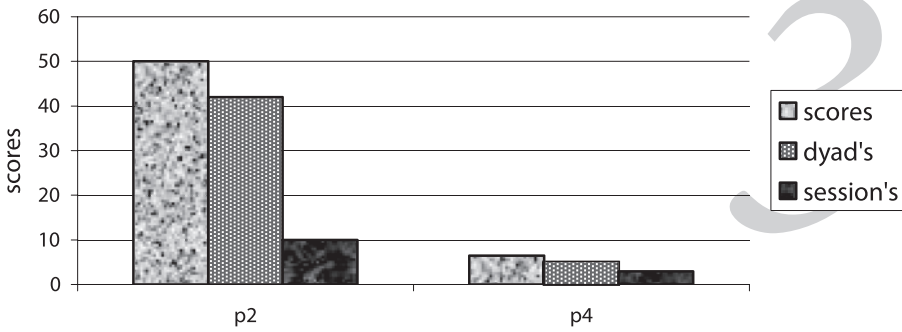
4.3. THE DIRECTOR'S SCORES

The next figure reports the Director's individual scores. They are compared to those of the dyads and the sessions.

Programs	Individual score	Dyadic score	Program score
P2	50	42	10
P4	6.45	5	2.96

Figure 4: Director's (q) = [g] scores by programs and dyads

1. The Director's scores are high when those of the dyads are high, as in P2. They are low when those of the dyad are low, as in P4.
2. He uses more colloquial items than his female counterpart in P2. (cf. Figure 3)
3. The Director seems to have an unbalanced score of (q) = [g]. In one session, he scores high; in the other he scores low. In one situation, he respects the formality of the program; in the other he tends towards a low informal style of speech. The graph reports the Director's scores.



Graph 2: The Director's scores according to sessions and dyads

4.4. COMPARING THE DIRECTOR AND SECRETARY'S SCORES

In the following figure, we compare the number of velar and uvular stops used by both the Director and the General Secretary during various sessions. We also report the general (q) = [g] scores of each participant so as to have a clear idea about the relationship between sex/gender of speaker and use of linguistic forms.

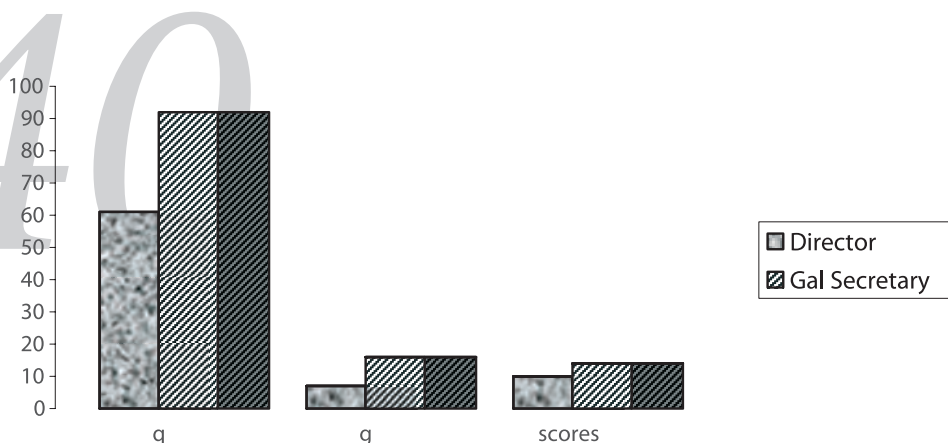
Participants/programs		N° of /q/	N° of /g/	Scores
Director	P2	03	03	50
	P4	58	4	6.45
	Total	61	7	10
General Secretary	P2	48	5	11.36
		00	00	00
	P3	12	3	20
		32	8	20
	Total	92	16	14

Figure 5: The Director and the General Secretary's numbers and scores of /q/ and /g/

From the figure, we deduce several points:

1. The Director and the General Secretary's overall scores are not significant.
2. The General Secretary scores higher than the Director.
3. The numbers and scores of use of velar /g/ give an explicit picture about the discrepancy that exists between sex/gender of the speakers as concerns their use of the local variant.

4. Whatever the variant is, the female speaker does always have a higher number of use than the male. The following graph illustrates and compares the results:



Graph 3: (q) = [g] scores of the Director and the General Secretary

Throughout the graph, the tendencies become obvious. The General Secretary does not respect the formality of the radio programs. As an ‘initiative’, she uses more colloquial words than her male counterpart, the Director.

The General Secretary’s results verify two hypotheses. The first is that Adrar’s educated women are “innovative” (Haeri 1997a, 1997b, and 2000), i.e. they persist in using colloquial forms in formal settings. The second is that women are more “conservative” than men, since they keep on using “standard” or “old variants”. This sociolinguistic phenomenon is clearly illustrated on graph 3 which concerns the use of informal velar /g/ and the standard form /q/ in a formal setting and situation.

The results do also verify those obtained from the speeches of male/female presenters. They confirm that the males, whether radio presenters or participants, do not have any propensity towards the use of the local informal variant. They rather make use of standard /q/ in this context, which proves that they perceive the ‘prestige’ (cf. Ibrahim 1986; Abu-Haidar 1989) which is linked to the use of ‘standard’ /q/.

These outcomes confirm also that women have an inclination towards the use of local variant /g/. This may be due to their deference to the audience, or due to their distance with their interlocutors, or because of their sense of solidarity with the listeners. It may also be caused by their involvement and their emotive reactions to the topics.

CONCLUSION

The results obtained show that ‘Western’ sociolinguistic models of language variation and change are not verified in Arabic speaking communities. At the reverse of Labov’s hypothesis, Arab educated males use standard forms more than their female counterparts particularly in formal settings and situations.

Haeri’s hypothesis whereby educated women are ‘innovative’ in their use of linguistic forms is well attested in Adrar speech community. However, the innovation is not through the use of standard forms such as uvular /q/; it is done

with colloquial and vernacular linguistic features, such as velar /g/, which is used within a formal situation of speech: the radio.

On the other hand, we do also verify the conclusions of Bell (1984, 1986, 1992, 2001) that prove that, with respect to the topics and styles of speech, radio news-readers as well as presenters and animators do not always converge towards their respective audiences. However, and with respect to Al-Khatib's (1995, 2001) conclusions, we also find that some Adrar radio program animators, the females in particular, converge towards their audiences through the use of colloquial linguistic forms, while the males do not.

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RÉSUMÉ

APPLICATION DES MODELES DE CAT ET SAT A UNE SITUATION DE DIGLOSSIE ARABE: LA RADIO D'ADRAR

L'article présent vise à appliquer et à vérifier les modèles proposés par Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) et Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) à une communauté arabe du sud Algérien, nommément Adrar. Cette recherche se propose d'examiner si les résultats obtenus dans des communautés non diglossiques se retrouvent dans des communautés arabes diglossiques. Et pour ce faire, des enregistrements audio ont été faits à partir des programmes de la radio locale d'Adrar. Les variables linguistiques étudiées sont la vélaire /g/ et l'uvulaire /q/. Les participants à la recherche sont des animateurs radio et leurs invités respectifs. Quatre programmes ont été enregistrés, puis analysés sous forme de scores de (q) = [g].

D'un autre côté, cet article essaye de montrer que les conclusions de certaines hypothèses et modèles sociolinguistiques, tels que ceux de Labo (1966) et ceux de Haeri (1997a et b, et 2000) ne sont pas toujours vérifiables dans des communautés arabes diglossiques. Les résultats de Labo (1966) ne sont pas présents dans la communauté d'Adrar. Les résultats de Haeri sont diversement perçus. Par exemple, les femmes Adrariennes « innovent » et sont, en même temps, « conservatrices » ; elles emploient, par exemple, des formes vernaculaires dans des situations formelles.

KEYWORDS: sociolinguistics, communication accommodation theory, speech accommodation theory, Arabic, Adrar, Touat.