

English and the languages of Algeria:
Suggestions towards a New Language Policy

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Souad Sahraoui

aus Batna

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Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Handke
Prof. Dr. Sandra Götz-Lehmann

Abstract

The present study aims to explore the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria and highlight the role of each of the used languages in the main domains in the country. What is more, the study investigates the emergence of English as a competing language and explores the potential consequences it can have on the other languages and the Algerians in general.

The data was collected online using main Social Media platforms, in addition to a collection of photographs of the linguistic landscape of the country. (shops, street names, buildings). Both quantitative and qualitative approaches were selected to conduct the research, with a total of 494 survey respondents and 10 interviewees, and more than 100 photographs. The tools for research were a questionnaire of 27 questions and a concise questionnaire for the semi-structured interview. Photographs highlighting the visibility of English on shops and in the streets of Algeria were gathered to add information on the presence of the language in the country.

The results of the study indicate the intensity of the linguistic situation in Algeria and the continuous conflicts between the different language groups. The research explores the consequences of this conflicted situation and the effects of the misused language policies on the Algerian individual and society. Further analysis reveals the increasing rate of the use of English, the results exhibit a noticeable development and a growing interest in the language especially among the younger generation. The qualitative data, acquired from the photographs and the interviews, extended this view, and provided a more insightful prospect on the role of the languages on the Algerians and the society, and the meaning of the potential spread of the English language in Algeria.

In conclusion, the research makes a few recommendations to policymakers and educationalists on how to moderate the linguistic atmosphere in Algeria, by applying the needed reforms in key domains like education and highlight the important role of well-planned language policies in improving the educational system and contributing to the development of the country.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rationale for Carrying Out the Present Study

Algeria has always been a multilingual country, due to its rich history of being colonized for centuries by different colonizers from the Romans to the Phoenicians to the French and many others. However, the French were the predominant colonizer in Algeria, since they adopted a nationalizing process to impose their language on the people. That has greatly influenced the spoken language in the country, and French was established for a long time as an official language in Algeria. The linguistic situation in Algeria has become quite complex, due to the mentioned reasons. As a result, many languages are spoken and coexist in the country. Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, or as it is called “Darja”, Berber which is the language of the indigenous people of Algeria. It is also called Tamazight and is still spoken in many areas in the country. French, which coexists with all the spoken Algerian dialects, is heavily present in the Algerian territory and plays a significant role in the political, social, and educational sectors.

The global spread of English around the world also reached Algeria. The government started considering the possibility to include it in the educational program in compulsory schools, giving as an argument the fact that English has become an international language; it is also the language of science and technology. It was claimed by policymakers that it should be included in the educational program with French as the foreign language to be taught in schools along with Standard Arabic.

The decision to include the English language in the educational curriculum in Algeria was made in 1993. For the first time, fourth-graders in schools all over the country had the option to choose between French and English as a second language (Benrabah, 2007). However, the decision to include English as early as the fourth grade replacing French was not well received by some members of the government and by some leaders in the educational field. Arguing that it was only a move to completely Arabize the country since Algeria became independent from France and is aimed at erasing any trace left of the French colonization, including the language, in a process known as the “Arabization”. Therefore, the idea of establishing English as an official second language of the country was mainly interpreted as another attempt to pursuing the Arabization process. They also feared that this step was only taken to strengthen ties with Middle East English-speaking countries.

Therefore, the English option was approved neither by some leaders who were called Francophones and were pro-French nor by parents who chose French as the first choice in foreign languages, probably because they found it easier to learn and it will be more needed since French has been used for so long and is still an official language in the country.

Many new developments and events that have taken place in Algeria since 1995, again raised the question to include English to allow the country to somehow resurface on the international scene. The end of the civil war that killed thousands of Algerians and exiled many Francophone intellectuals is one of these developments that shook the country. Another new development that made that English should be present and promoted in Algeria was the rise of oil prices, which can contribute to the improvement of the economy and build closer ties with countries from Europe and the United States (Belmihoub, 2018).

In light of these developments, the issue of defining a fixed status to the English language is still not resolved. What role English can play to improve the country's economy and whether it can find its place in Algeria's already complex linguistic situation are questions that are yet to be answered. In this respect, the present study pursues the goal of defining these issues while examining the linguistic situation of the country, the role of each language, and the place of French.

On the other hand, the present research has undertaken the task of analyzing the impact of this complex linguistic atmosphere on the Algerian individual, the inevitable consequences of misused language policies on domains like the economy, education and on society as a whole, and what advantage can the introduction of English add to the country if well implemented. Young people in Algeria are certainly increasingly aware of the importance of learning English to find jobs in or outside the country and they now choose to learn it and speak it beside or instead of French. Whether this fact will have any effect on the future of languages, namely French, the results of the research have tried to find an adequate answer to this eventuality.

The involvement of intellectuals from different ages and fields in the study has contributed to drawing a clearer picture of the issue of languages in general and more precisely, the introduction of English to the country and its effects. It added depth to the research, especially in demonstrating the importance of languages in the development of both the individual and society. Therefore, the present study will not only explore the status of English and the other languages of the country but also attempt to analyze the role of languages and language policies and their influence on the stability of multilingual societies.

The long-lasting debate on what language best represents the identity of the Algerian individual, the constant oppression of one language and the promotion of another, the negativity associated with languages like French or Tamazight, or the savior role attributed to English by the government or certain elites in Algeria, the impact of language policy on the stability of the society, all are issues that needed to be addressed on a large scale, which is the aim of the present study.

1.2 Research Questions

The goal of this thesis is first to explore the linguistic situation of Algeria, elaborate on the status of each language and how they co-exist, and analyze the various factors that led to the current sociolinguistic profile of the country. Second, to look at how English has gained importance in the past few years in Algeria, and its potential role in competing and maybe replacing French as the first foreign language in the country. The present research also aims at showing, through different analyses, how a language that has no historical links with a country can gain importance in its linguistic landscape. A variety of language that is not associated with any American or British colonization history, can be appropriated by the Algerians, especially the young generation, and made their own. Therefore, to investigate the issues mentioned above, the following research questions have been considered:

- Research question 1. What is the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria?
- Research question 2. What is the role of languages in shaping an individual's identity, and how does the complex situation in Algeria affect the identity of the citizens?
- Research question 3. What is the status of foreign languages in Algeria, and the importance of introducing English and French in schools?
- Research question 4. What are the attitudes of the Algerians towards English and the other languages of Algeria?
- Research question 5. What is the future of English in Algeria? Is it possible that English can displace French to become the first foreign language in the country?
- Research question 6. What is the ideal language policy that the Algerian government should adopt?

The research findings will not only provide answers to the above-mentioned questions, which will help measure the role and the status of English in the actual linguistic situation of Algeria but will also supply informative material to language policymakers, sociolinguists, and language experts on the important role of languages and language policies in multilingual societies.

1.3 Means of Research

Concerning the tools of research, exploring the linguistic landscape in Algeria will be one of the experiences that will be held to analyze the existence of English in the country. Naming shops and companies with English names instead of French, which was the only language used alongside Arabic, is a significant sign that Algerians are embracing the language in their everyday routine. Networks like Facebook and Twitter will be an added tool of research to analyze the extent of the use of English by Algerians. A questionnaire will be used to collect data to be analyzed later. It aims at exploring the different views of Algerians on the English language, its emergence in the Algerian society, its importance, and its status compared to the French language. It will also explore their attitudes towards the other languages in the country which will help develop an idea of how conflicted the linguistic situation is. The questionnaire, which will be an online survey, is designed for different sections of society, be it high school and university students, or also teachers and intellectuals, they are asked to tick the appropriate box or, if desired, write further statements about the points mentioned above. Also, different diagrams will be analyzed to give a better explanation of the current status of languages in Algeria, including English, and demonstrate if its use by Algerians has increased throughout the past years. Semi-structured interviews are part of the qualitative data method, which is an additional tool of research that will help gather more valuable and detailed data regarding the theme of the thesis. 10 participants agreed to be interviewed and provide the research with their insightful views on the various questions of the research.

1.4 Layout of the Thesis

The present research consists of seven chapters:

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the present study, explaining the aim and the content of the thesis. First, it starts by presenting the rationale for carrying out the study, it states the main theme and the leading issues that are related to it. A theme that has been explored in similar studies but is explained in more depth in the present study, with a novelty of including detailed reports on all the main languages of the country including English. It attempts to offer new perspectives on why the linguistic situation in Algeria is as complex and suggests solutions with alternative language policies, that can provide a reference to further research as well as educators and language policymakers. Then, it presents the main research questions to finally explain the different means of research.

Chapter 2 focuses on the chronological history of the linguistic situation in Algeria with a brief description of the two main languages of the country French and Arabic. It is a glimpse of the Algerian linguistic history, by citing the different important historical phases of Algeria and how that helped to shape the complex linguistic landscape in the country. This will serve as an explanation to understand the current linguistic situation and why it took English this long to make its entrance to the country. Besides, the Arabization policy and its consequences on the people and the Algerian society will be explored and thoroughly explained. What is more, it presents an overview of the current linguistic profile exploring the status of its different languages, including English, to explain where each one is used and the importance of each in different domains in the country.

Chapter 3 is distinctly important since it explores in detail different topics that can explain the complexity of the country's linguistic profile and its many problems. Issues such as language roles and attitudes, foreign language learning and acquisition, with a focus on English and its emergence as a competing language. Besides, the issue of linguistic rights in Algeria is discussed, highlighting the fight of the Berber community in claiming their rights to exist and the recognition of Tamazight as the national and official language alongside Arabic in the country. Then the role of French in Algeria is explained. It was an essential task to understand the importance and the role it has in Algeria despite being regarded as a language that must be replaced since independence. It was necessary to explain what French is to the Algerians to be able to understand what role English can play in the country, it is certainly not only a foreign language and needs to be further discussed. Afterward, there is a part dedicated to the structure of the educational system in Algeria with an explanation of the methods in use to teach foreign languages, what problems are faced

and what can be done to improve it. To determine the problems of the educational program, as far as learning languages is concerned, can help define the real reason the level of languages is not improving in Algeria. The decision to replace a language with another is probably not what the country needs to develop its economy or regain a lost identity. Finally, the chapter presents the present rivalry between both French and English, its reasons, and its consequences on the population of Algeria.

Chapter 4 presents the context of the present study, starting with the research design, population, sampling, and data collection. Then presenting the different instruments that were used for the research and methods of statistical analysis.

Chapter 5 provides the generated results of the different applied methods of research. The quantitative analysis involves statistics regarding language use, language contact, language attitudes, social media use, and attitudes towards multilingualism. The qualitative analysis is divided into two sections, the first one involving the short semi-structured interviews, and the second dealing with exploring the linguistic landscape of the country.

Chapter 6 presents a discussion of the results following the several research questions that were posed at the beginning of the thesis. These results are interpreted and analyzed and sometimes compared to similarly conducted studies.

Finally, chapter 7 is a resume of what was discussed throughout the thesis, the most important findings are summarized and further discussed. Besides, this chapter discusses all the difficulties that were encountered during the period of assembling data and presents the contribution this research may add to different related studies, that may explore the same linguistic issues in multilingual societies. Suggestions for better-improved language policies, as well as future adequate implications regarding the introduction of the English language, are considered in this chapter as well.

The aim of the research, as well as the research questions, the outline of the thesis along the theoretical framework, were all provided in the present chapter so that a better understanding regarding the theme of the research is accurately introduced.

Chapter 2: The Linguistic Profile of Algeria

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the linguistic situation of Algeria, starting by exploring the history of its existent languages, explaining the Arabization policy and its consequences on the population, to finally conclude by defining the linguistic ecology of the country.

Before developing the issues mentioned above, there are certain concepts of language that need to be explained first. Since there are many languages in the country and each has a different status, a brief explanation needs to be provided to avoid any possible confusion.

2.1.1 Mother Tongues

The mother tongue, also called the native tongue, is the first language acquired by children, it is usually influenced by the entourage of the child and is learned without any specific instructions on concepts like grammar for example (Fäke, 2014). There are cases, especially in multilingual countries, where the child acquires more than one language which can be considered as his/her mother tongue as well, as is the case in many Algerian families (see 3.6).

In Algeria, both Algerian Arabic (AA) and Tamazight are the mother tongues. Many Algerians acquire AA as their first language, sometimes they acquire both AA and Tamazight and they consider both as their mother tongue. There are few cases in some Algerian families where French is the mother tongue, simply because it is the first language acquired by the child.

2.1.2 National Language

The national language is the language of the community, it is actively connected to the people and represents the identity of the country. It can also be an official language in some countries if it enjoys a certain level of recognition (Ait Daba, 2011). In the case of Algeria, all the languages that are used by the population are considered national languages, i.e., both varieties of Arabic: Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic

(MSA), the mother tongues which are Algerian Arabic and Tamazight, and even French. The situation of French is quite intricate (see 2.4.4, 5.9.4) and although it is not commonly recognized as such it is, in fact, a national language to a considerable number of Algerians.

2.1.3 Official Language

The official language is the language of the official settings and legal services. It is the language used in formal functions like administrations, parliament, court as well as educational institutions (Ait Daba, 2011). The official status can be attributed to minority languages as well, to protect them from oppression or becoming extinct (Ait Daba, 2011). In Algeria, the official status is given to Modern Standard Arabic as it is clearly stated in the constitution. Tamazight is also recognized as an official language after fierce debates and riots, although it does not fully enjoy all the functions that are associated with an official language (see 2.4.3). French on the other hand, despite being used in predominant official and administrative settings, mainly all that defines an official language, is recognized as such neither in the constitution nor on a national level and is given the status of a foreign language.

2.1.4 Foreign language

The definition of a foreign language would be any language that does not belong to the linguistic profile of the country. It is a language that is foreign to the people of the native country and needs to be learned and used for any other function than that of an indigenous language. In Algeria that would be English, German, Spanish, and some other languages that are learned for personal benefits. However, French is also recognized as a foreign language which is - as mentioned before and will be explained later in the research - not exactly true, due to its unique situation which cannot be defined as just a foreign language in Algeria.

2.2 A Chronological History of Algeria's Linguistic Situation

Algeria has developed a complex linguistic system throughout history. It was invaded by many countries and that made it a real laboratory for sociolinguistics research; it has an interesting diglossic, bilingual, and even multilingual situation. There is this coexistence of three languages Arabic, French, and Tamazight that is seen as a problematic situation by some linguists. There is Arabic that appears in two forms, dialectal Arabic (AA) which is the mother tongue and is used for daily communication and informal conversations, and the

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) which is used for educational purposes and is the first official language. French is the second official language; it is also used in education, administrative institutions, industry, social life, and many other domains. Tamazight is not largely used and still exists despite the widespread Arabization attempts (Mouhadjer, 2012).

Algeria was invaded by many countries that had a great cultural and linguistic impact on the population. Tamazight is the original language that was spoken in Algeria; it was also widespread throughout North Africa. That was in a period in which the Phoenicians were the invaders in North African territories where they settled in Carthage (presently Tunisia) around 860 BCE (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr, 2007). It also was a period when Christian Berbers fought against Muslim Arab invaders. Then, the Romans came and made Algeria a province of the Roman Empire for almost 6 centuries (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr, 2007). Latin then became the official language of written communication. Short invasions followed, of Germanic tribes, the Vandals in 429 CE, and then the Byzantines in 533 CE who maintained Latin as the language of legislation (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr, 2007). In the 7th century, Algeria was invaded by the Arabs, which constituted the most important invasion in the history of Algeria. The Arabs brought along their language and the new religion, Islam. Gradually, the North African territory converted to Islam and by the 12th century, most of the countries became Muslim (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr, 2007). This had a huge impact on the population in many respects. Linguistically, it was the beginning of the language shift to Arabic, as Tamazight speakers gradually abandoned their language, Arabized their speaking, and embraced Islam as their religion (Queffélec, et al., 2002).

Two varieties of Arabic were introduced, the urban variety that was used by the army forces, and the rural variety that was spoken by the nomadic tribes who settled in the country during the 11th century. Another form of Arabic that was introduced was classical Arabic, which is the language of the Quran. It was used mainly for written communication. In 1517, Algeria was ruled by the Ottoman Empire, an invasion that lasted for four centuries. The Ottoman Empire reinforced Islam as the one religion in the country; however, the Turkish language had little influence on the Algerians since their main interest was gaining military control (Aitsislemi, 2001).

The next important invasion that had a major linguistic impact on the country was that of the French. The French colonization that lasted from 1830 to 1962 influenced all the main domains in the country in a dramatic way. For a long time, Algeria was considered a territorial extension to France; hence, the French administration implemented a policy of suppressing both religion and the local language, instead they employed French as the offi-

cial language in all the main domains including education, the economy, and the political sphere (Queffélec, et al. 2002).

The French believed that the most efficient way to completely dominate Algeria was to make French the sole language employed in all domains. Arabic and Tamazight were only used at home and in daily conversations. The situation was not approved by the Algerian population, they tried to fight it but later they had no choice but to succumb to it.

After gaining independence in 1962, Algeria had serious linguistic issues in addition to the economic and political problems it faced. The main task was to regain a national linguistic situation, but it proved to be exceedingly difficult to achieve because the heavily colonized history in Algeria made it a nation of many languages that had to somehow co-exist. Figure 2.1 is an illustration of the linguistic chronological history of the country.

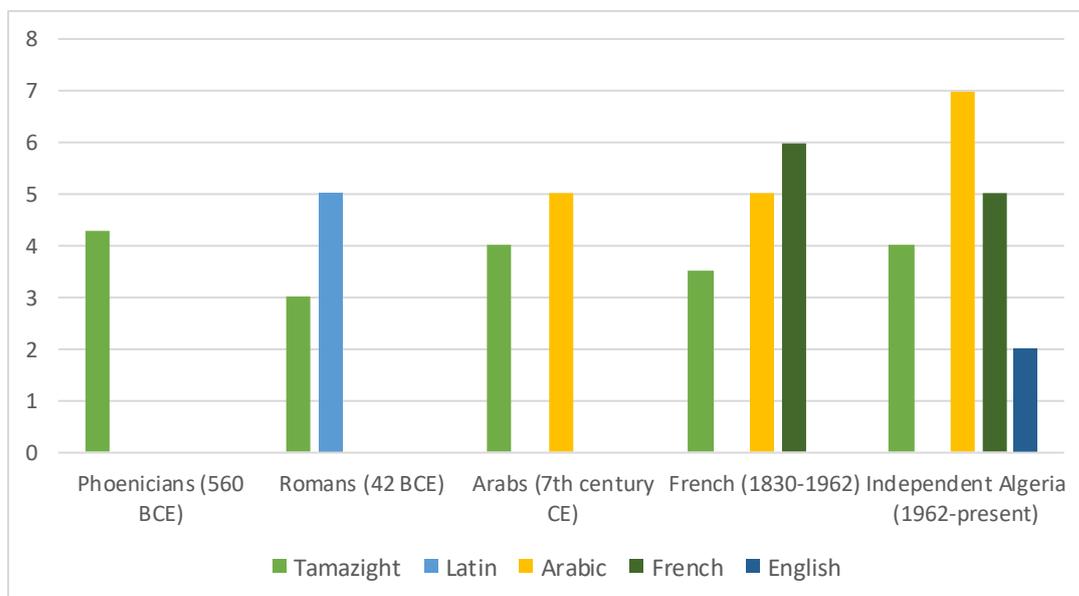


Figure 2.1. A chronological history of Algeria's linguistic situation

2.2.1 The History of Arabic and French in Algeria

Due to Algeria's difficult history and the many invaders that the country has been through, it is evident that this has significantly affected the culture and the language of the Algerian population. The main languages that survived and are currently still used in Algeria are Arabic, French, and Tamazight. For various reasons, these languages survived and remained the official as well as the spoken languages used by the Algerian population.

Tamazight is the original language of the country, but slowly it started leaving place for the other languages of the different invaders that took over the country. The Arab invasion, which lasted from the 7th to the 11th century, was the most significant before that of the French, and it left the most important cultural traces on the population and was the main reason that Tamazight gradually lost its status as the sole national language. Only those living in isolated areas in the countryside, with little or no contact with other regions, maintained Tamazight as their spoken language. There are three main Tamazight groups situated in different places in the country: Kabyle, Chawi, and Bni mzab as well as a few smaller linguistic groups (Aitsislemi, 2001). These Tamazight groups are the reason Tamazight still exists, and the way they fought to preserve the culture is what pressured the government to acknowledge it as a national language despite its many attempts to make it disappear.

In 1830 an incident happened between the French consul and the Turkish ruler that led to an invasion of the French troops, and from that date onwards, a new era started with a new conqueror. The linguistic situation was already complicated before the invasion of the French; hence, it was a challenge for the French to impose their language on the Algerian population. The French believed that the only way for Algerians to be open to the French civilization was by imposing French as the only language of instruction. The invader adopted a policy of complete suppression of Arabic, destroying the Arabic educational system, and replacing it with the French ideology. Moreover, only the French norms were implemented while the Quranic schools were banished, preventing the Algerians from learning and studying the Quran (Zerroug, 2011).

Despite Arabic being the language of science and mathematics at that time, the French succeeded in dominating the country completely. By eliminating the local languages, their main interest was to destroy the Islamic-Arabic identity which the Algerians were extremely proud of. This was not done without resistance, as the educational system and society of pre-colonial Algeria were founded on Islamic principles. To replace the local identity with a completely different system and language was difficult for the French, particularly because there was great resistance of people, who considered the Arabic language a symbol of their spiritual freedom. Because they were weaker than the colonizers, the Algerians were keen to maintain their language and religion, so they used dialectal Arabic at home and with each other in their everyday conversations and insisted on learning standard Arabic. It was their way of resisting the French colonists. On the other hand, the Algerians did not have a choice but to send their children to French schools, as they were the only option if they wanted them to be educated. Inevitably, the French culture and lan-

guage gained more power; gradually Algeria became what all colonies are, uneducated, unemployed, and hostile (Queffélec, et al, 2002).

2.3 The Arabization Policy

The French colonialism in Algeria lasted for over a century and had major effects on the Algerians both culturally and linguistically. The French adopted a policy of suppression of every piece of tradition that was linked to the Algerian identity. As a result, a big part of the population was illiterate, but most teachers and administrators were educated in French. It was the national language and Algeria was considered a French colony. Hence, all signs of previous civilizations were to be erased (Berger, 2002).

Language is often equated with national pride and honor; it is a symbol of unity and prestige. For these reasons, it was important for the Algerians to get back to what they believed was stolen from them by the French. They believed that by giving Arabic back its importance and role as the language of the Algerians instead of French, they would restore their lost identity and be completely detached from the French, not only physically but also culturally and linguistically. One of the measures that would help to achieve that was through an extensive campaign of Arabization that was launched to fight illiteracy, make schools accessible to everyone, and spread awareness regarding the importance of getting rid of all that is linked to French, including the language, thereby emphasizing the importance of learning the language of Islam. After gaining independence in 1962, Algeria was a trilingual country independent yet damaged by war with destroyed economic and cultural foundations. It was important for the political leaders at that time to promote the use of Arabic; the task was not easy since, after all, French was the language of modernity and science and the vehicle of democratic and universal ideals (Berger, 2002). But at the same time, and this was the argument that the leaders relied on, French was the language of the enemy, causing damages to the identity of most Algerians, it was the language of religious intolerance, and massive destruction. Thus, to continue using French as a means of instruction, would constitute a national shame. President Boumedién, who was one of the strongest defenders of Arabization, believed that the only way to the reconstruction of a national identity was by promoting the national language of the country which is Arabic as the sole language of the Algerians. He claimed: « Sans la récupération de cet élément essentiel et important qui est la langue nationale, nos efforts resteront vains, notre personnalité incomplète et notre unité un corps sans âme. » [Without recovering that essential and

important element, the national language, our efforts will be in vain, our personality incomplete, and our unity a body without a soul.] (Tilmatine, 2015, p. 7).

Therefore, Arabic was declared as the national language of the country, repressing French but also Tamazight, which did not please the Berber community and that made the task of re-establishing Arabic even more difficult. The government imposed the Arabic language as the sole official language, claiming that it was the only one that represents the authentic identity and culture of the Algerians. They had popular support and many people believed in the same claims, most of whom were mainly Arab-Muslim conservatives and were called Arabophones or “Arabisants”. However, there was another group of people that was not in favor of making Arabic the national language. They were unable to free themselves from the French impact and were called Francophones or “Franciscans.” This group contained mainly educated people who were educated in French and favored the western conception of thoughts in society. They also believed that Arabic would only harm the country, from an economic point of view, compared to French which was an international language and provided access to the modern world. Besides, women associated the French language and culture with modernism and equality whereas Arabic for them was a symbol of frustration and inequality (Hassaine, 2011).

Ideologically, both groups shared the same nationalist belief against French attempts to control the country even after its independence, and the main objective of both was to build a modern and independent Algeria (Berger, 2002). It is important to mention that even those who were in favor of the policy of Arabization were educated in French and were Francophone leaders. But, for the mentioned reasons, they believed that Arabic was the only language that could express the culture and the identity of the Algerians.

Adding to the conflict between the Arabophones and the Francophones, there was the opposition between Arabs and the Berbers or “Berberophones.” This conflict started way back in the 7th century when the Arabs had the power in Algeria and imposed their culture and language on the Berber community, which only constituted a minority at that time. However, Tamazight survived despite all the attempts to suppress it by the Arabs and some Berbers who had been Arabized mainly for religious reasons. Their struggle to preserve their language continued even after independence, as the so-called Arabized Algerians refused to acknowledge both the importance of the Berber community in the country and Tamazight as a language. By doing so, they repressed the ethnic diversity that the country had carried over from ancient times and added to the national conflict (Berger, 2002). The use of Arabic as the sole language became such a charged issue imposed by the leading

regime (FLN) during the 1960s that, as the revolutionary intellectual Mostefa Lacheraf stated, the Arabic language became the “hostage of nationalism” (Berger, 2002, p. 27).

Measures were taken to Arabize the nation: Education in schools and universities was carried out by teachers who came from the Middle East, and writers, artists, and other intellectuals were called upon to express the necessity of learning Arabic, and the importance of abandoning the language of the enemy. All these measures contributed to cutting off the Berberophone and the Francophone franchises, leading to more political struggles. In the late 1970s and the 1980s, the “Islamization” movement gained momentum, which was even keener to impose Arabic, citing the religion as its main argument. This further separated secular Arabophones from their fellow citizens. All these developments contributed, significantly, to the violence that the country has been through (Berger, 2002).

The FLN regime played an important role during the war and ruled the country for a long time right after it gained independence. It tried to rewrite the history of Algeria by completely erasing any sign of the French colonial period. This was not an easy task since a major part of the economic and industrial sectors, as well as research and formal education, were still carried out in French. Unfortunately, by striving to erase such elements, it also was an attempt to erase the ethnicity and the linguistic differences and other multicultural expressions that represented the reality of Algeria, which is a community that includes people of various ethnic origins, who have lived in harmony together for a long time and are the reason for the cultural richness of the country (Berger, 2002).

Successive governments continued to deny the cultural diversity of ethnic minorities that existed in the country, specifically the Berber community. They imposed a linguistic purification that was the reason for marginalizing significant segments of the country, which in turn caused a linguistic and cultural crisis. Their myth of modern Algeria had three basic elements: an independent Algerian country, Arabic as the national language, and Islam as the sole religion (Berger, 2002, p. 29). Even though most Algerians were in favor of removing the traces that the colonization caused, many believed that Algeria had a linguistic diversity that was anchored and had to be acknowledged. Taleb Ibrahimi, the former minister of education, stated that it was important to have an identity and have a national language that unites the nation, but we should not destroy what the nation acquired as knowledge from the colonizer and try instead to make the most of it (Hassaine, 2011). There is no harm in being nationalist, but it is necessary to point out that the Arabization policy had numerous flaws in the way it was implemented. For example, it was imposed abruptly on the Algerians, and the way it was carried out in schools and universities

was irrational. Instead of giving the Algerians time to adjust to it slowly, which in turn would give them time to adapt to a completely new era, it was based on a blind nationalist ideology, which needed to be realized gradually, and not let politics instead of pedagogy determine the pace and the method of Arabization. It was also unfair to suppress other important ethnic groups in the process and deny the linguistic diversity of the country and harshly impose one language (Berger, 2002). It only generated resentment among the Algerians, and lead to many conflicts inside the country that, to this day, still exist. Many linguistic debates are still heated between the different groups, each favoring one language over the other, a situation that does not seem to have a solution even today (Taleb Ibrahim, Khaoula, 1995).

2.3.1 The Consequences of the Arabization Policy

Many important assets were taken away from the Algerians during colonization, it was not only the land that they were deprived of but also their identity and culture. The cultural transformation that the country underwent during the French rule left the Algerians in a serious self-identity crisis. With all that the colonization inflicted on the population and the extreme measures it had taken to impose the French language, it is clear why the language question was so essential to the Algerians to resolve after independence (Rabai Maamri, 2009). Thus, the Algerian leaders had to deal with many important issues, with the French now out of the country, they were faced with many critical concerns and several challenges. For lawmakers, the focus and the first issue that needed to be addressed before anything else was language. It was believed that if French was still being used so extensively that meant in a way that the country was still under the hold of the French. For the Algerian authorities, the Arabization policy was the ultimate solution to give back the national identity to the Algerians.

However, the Arabization policy has ignored the Berber community and the linguistic diversity with French still occupying a big space. All the important sectors from education to the administration and the media had to use Arabic, which is the official and only allowed language to be used in official sectors, with the prohibition of using the French language in debates or meetings (Rabai Maamri, 2009). As a result, there was a constant conflict between the different linguistic sections, each having a different take on what should be applied and what languages should be official, a complicated reality that drowned the country in indefinite debates. To recognize Arabic as the sole official language in the country, caused the threat to lose the identity of another important section, the Berber com-

munity. It rejected the policy and considered being treated the same way by the colonizers and just as they wanted to make them French back then, they were forced to be Arabs after the independence. This led to many violent riots, where they claimed their rights and expressed their anger towards a policy that marginalized them and was aimed at erasing their identity. By ignoring their linguistic legitimate right, they felt left behind and abandoned by the same leaders that they once fought with, against the colonizing forces, for a free country. Thus, they decided as a protest movement, to use French and Tamazight in public and private domains, which were their way of rebelling against the policy (Aziz, 2015).

Another major consequence of the Arabization policy has been a failed educational system, and poorly executed pedagogical methods to teach the standard Arabic. Since independence and the attempt to bring back the Arabic language to the country, the government has believed that the only efficient way to achieve such a goal is through education. Hence, successive presidents have focused on applying different teaching methods, and because all the educated Algerians then only spoke French, they brought volunteers from Arabic countries that came in huge numbers and were not necessarily trained as teachers. They were teaching Arabic and Islamic values at every level of the program in the mandatory Islamic schools, teachers of Arabic were also activists in Islamist movements taking in charge the civic as well as religious education (Grandguillaume, 2004). This also worked in favor of the Algerian elites who were educated in Arabic and Islamic schools during the colonization era, who were looking to take their place in a French-speaking community. For them, linguistic Arabization also meant political Islamization. Since the country has always been Arabic and Muslim, religion needed to be strongly present on every front, only then could one consider that Algeria is back to where it was before colonization. This inclination towards religion and connecting it to the political changes created an Islamist movement that grew to create a political party, that later became dominant and even wanted to rule the country (Grandguillaume, 2004). This led to long-struggling years that divided the population and plunged it into a civil war, between extremists that wanted to rule according to the religious Islamic rules, and opponents that feared this extremist way of governing the country, and that cost thousands of lives (Rabai Maamri, 2009).

Despite the major efforts that were put in the educational system, the results were not as successful as they were expected, and after a long time of ignoring the facts, now many elites acknowledge the failure of the Arabization policy, as success rates were too low. The adopted educational system lacked long-term planning, poorly adopted methods for teaching the Standard Arabic, and was poorly monitored. Students who were first ex-

clusively taught in French found themselves obliged to study in a completely Arabized program, as for the other students, who just started, had to deal with programs mostly taught in French in the university, after having studied in the preceding levels exclusively in Arabic. Islamic and Arabic literature were the only disciplines taught in the standard Arabic at university, and this was the core of the crisis in the system. It lacked a pedagogical method designed by experts that were aware of the linguistic reality of Algeria (Aziz, 2015). It was mainly a naive belief that what the country needed was only Arabic teachers, brought from Arabic countries, and the Algerians should be able to learn the language easily. In reality, the Algerian students faced difficulties in learning an intricate language that was taught by foreign teachers, mainly coming from Egypt, using books that were also imported from Egypt written for Egyptian speakers. Adding to the fact that these teachers had to deal with the phonological and lexical differences between the standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic, and that made the communication between teachers and students complicated. This was a direct cause of the poor performance of the students in schools (Aziz, 2015). Besides, the overburdened school programs, the lack of the needed material, the lack of experience, and overcrowded classes, contributed to the inability of schools to achieve the success that was aimed at.

Algerian students and teachers had divided opinions on the issue of the Arabization policy and its benefits to the country. After many years of imposing Arabic in schools two groups were formed, supporters and opponents of the policy. Some encourage the learning of foreign languages to communicate with the western world, as a way to being introduced to modernity and development, and some still believe that the western world, although modern, is still dangerous and threatening to the Algerian Muslim society. The results, according to the instructors, were mainly noticed at the level of the new students, which was so much weaker in French than before but also was as weak in the standard Arabic. After many years of an education completely conducted in Arabic, the students could master neither of the two languages, not even English (Rabai Maamri, 2009). It was a poorly monitored educational system that was poorly designed, giving more importance to memorizing and reciting the learned lessons than to develop thinking and giving enough opportunity to create (Grandguillaume, 2004). Hence, the level of the students was low not only in languages but also in other disciplines.

The question that needs to be asked is what were the reasons that led to the failure of the Arabization policy? What are the methods that needed to be applied to have the needed results? Not only did it fail to bring back Arabic and be mastered by the Algerians,

as the authorities wished, but it also failed to define the Algerian identity and limit it to only being Arabic and Muslim. The consequences to apply such a policy had caused great damage to the Algerian society. Nevertheless, experts believe that the main reason why the Arabization policy failed is the way it was applied by the authorities. Instead of applying a linguistic policy, they opted for an ideological one. What was needed, was a planned language policy that could be defined as a “*linguistic Arabization*” (Grandguillaume, 2004, p.13), which is a well-planned method used by the society’s policymakers to strengthen a language, in this case, Arabic. What the authorities had done instead was applying an “*ideological Arabization*” (Grandguillaume, 2004, p. 13). A policy led by ideologists, who wanted to de-Algerianize the people and that is by eradicating an existing culture and language and imposing a foreign one. Thus, what happened was instead of just redeeming a lost language due to colonization, they caused an identity crisis and conflicting situations among the existing communities (Grandguillaume, 2004).

This rejection of the linguistic diversity of the country was also a big mistake that ideologists had made, and it was an additional factor to the failure of the Arabization policy. The monolingualism the leaders introduced as the core of the policy, also meant denying the right to the other spoken languages in the country to exist (Grandguillaume, 2004). Certainly, that created the tension that is still existent to date, although the former president Abdelaziz Bouteflika, in an attempt to satisfy the protestors’ claims, granted the Tamazight language official status in 2002. However, that was only added to the constitution but was not properly executed. The Berber community still fights for the right to be a national language enjoying the same status and rights granted to the Arabic language, including being taught at a national level in schools and used in official domains.

Thus, the way Arabic was brought into the country and the way it was imposed and taught to the population, rejecting Tamazight and French, linking it with religion, was the reason why it failed. It was the reason why most Algerians cannot speak either of the languages properly, which is a misfortune to a generation living in a multilingual country. The Arabization policy, although considered the sole solution to some lawmakers, was just another form of colonization to others. It caused more damage and led the country to deal with unnecessary issues. Had it been applied differently; the results would have been much more efficient and beneficial for both the country and its people. Instead of uniting the country under the slogan of one language one religion, it just divided it into conflicting groups, from Arabophones to Francophones and Berberophones.

2.4 The Linguistic Ecology of Algeria

To overcome the political conflict surrounding selecting a specific national language, an agreement had to be made to define the official status of the three spoken languages in Algeria. The Algerians had different attitudes towards each of these languages, depending on various factors that influenced their choice of language. As Rubin (1968) explains, there are three types of attitudes that bilingual individuals can have towards the languages they can speak. First, the emotional value attached to a language, which causes a person to choose to speak it more than or instead of another language. Then, there is the social value a language has in the country. Finally, the formal attributes a language has, that help define its value and influence the individual's choice of whether to speak it or not (Rubin, 1968, p. 15). These three attitudes exist in Algerian bilingualism and/or multilingualism. The first attitude can be associated with the Arabic and Tamazight languages because both have emotional value to the Algerians, due to the long history that both have in the country. The second attitude reflects what the Algerians express towards French and the social value it has in the Algerian society and the world. And the last attitude manifests itself towards the Standard Arabic, which is the language that is mostly used in formal settings. In the following, each language will be characterized individually to give a detailed definition of its status from a historical, social, and linguistic perspective.

2.4.1 Algerian Arabic “Darja”

Algerian Arabic (AA) is also called “Darja” (day to day) or “Wattani” (Arabic of the Algerian nation). It is the L or the “low” variety of the standard Arabic with no written form, although many Algerians do use Arabic or even Latin script in some written texts on various social media platform chats (Mokhtar, 2018). It is the language that is used to communicate among the Arabic-speaking community and is the mother tongue of most Algerians. Hence, AA is needed for oral communication and everyday conversations (Mokhtar, 2018). It is labeled “*home language*” (Bouhadiba, F, n.d.), whereas MSA is used in writing and formal settings and is the “*school language*” in Algeria (Bouhadiba, F, n.d.).

There are many differences between AA and MSA, besides the difference in functions and status, they also have plenty of morphological, phonological, syntactical, and lexical differences (see table 3), and it is also a language that is in a state of constant change, mainly because it has no codified scripture (Mokhtar, 2018). Besides, there is no unified version of AA; in fact, it consists of several dialects spoken in different parts of the country.

Algerian Arabic is influenced by many other languages that it has been in contact with throughout history, like for example Arabic, Tamazight, French, and it even contains some Turkish and Spanish words (Leclerc, 2017). It is fascinating to see the many dialects that are spoken in Algeria. Various linguistic differences are apparent not only in the pronunciation but also in the grammar and the vocabulary, which explains why speakers from these different parts of the country may, in some cases, not understand each other (Hassaine, 2011). Many varieties of the Algerian Arabic can be distinguished; there is the Arabic of Algiers, which is mostly influenced by Tamazight and Turkish, the Arabic of Oran, which is influenced by Spanish, the Arabic of Tlemcen is influenced by Andalusian Arabic, and many others (Leclerc, 2017). Table 1 (Leclerc, 2017) depicts some of these phonologically and morphologically integrated words into AA, that are now considered as belonging to the language.

Table 1:

An Example of the Integrated Loanwords in AA

Tamazight	Turkish	Spanish	French
Khemmel (to clean)	Tebzi (plate)	Fitchta (party)	Cousina (kitchen)
Nou (the rain)	Maadnous (parsley)	Sberdina (shoe)	Mizirya (misery)
Chlaghem (mustache)	Braniya (aubergine)	Bodjado (lawyer)	Fista (jacket)
Fakroun (turtoil)	Boukraj (kettle)	Essskouila (school)	Ferchita (fork)

Note. Data from Leclerc, 2017.

Some words that are integrated into the Algerian speech, come from certain languages more than others and that depends on how long certain colonizing countries stayed, and the longevity of contact it had with the dialectal Algerian speech. As already mentioned, the Arabs and the French were the most important invaders, that stayed longer and that adopted assimilative policies. That explains the big load of words that are still part of the Algerian speech to date. This, in a way, depicts that the current form of the Algerian Arabic is nothing but a reflection of the different phases of the country's history, and it shows how diverse it has been. It also illustrates the strength and resistance of this language in the face

of the political and intellectual section critics in Algeria, which has always rejected it and diminished its value (Leclerc, 2017).

For a long time, authorities in the country considered this version of Arabic as “the language of the market” unable of carrying a cultural status. Ex-president, Houari Boumediene, who ruled Algeria after the independence (June 19, 1965 – December 27, 1978) and was a strong advocator of the Arabization policy, also believed that AA is the language of the streets and has no cultural value. He was mainly influenced by the theologian Abdelhamid Ben Badis, founder of the “Algerian association of the Muslim oulemas”, who claimed that a language that can be used in the market and the streets cannot be the language of the pen and the paper, in other words, of the elites (Leclerc, 2017). These claims were mainly shaped by the linguistic nationalism of the Middle East, which was brought to Algeria and was reinforced by presidents like Houari Boumediene, who believed in the high status of Standard Arabic and neglected all other forms of languages that existed in the country. The Algerian Arabic still has this inferior status, it is the language used by a large section of the population, and it is either the mother tongue of the Arab speaking community or the second language of the Berber community. Yet it has no intellectual value and is not recognized as a language.

Most Algerians, about 72% (Bouhadiba, F, n.d.), use Algerian Arabic to communicate with each other; it is also possible to use it with people in Morocco, Tunisia, or Libya, as they have a somehow similar history and language. However, it is hard to communicate as easily with other speakers of Arabic countries from the Middle East like Egypt or Syria, as they also have their own dialectal Arabic which is quite different from that of the Maghreb and is also not uniform (Leclerc, 2017).

2.4.2 Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

Arabic is the national and the official language of Algeria; it has two varieties, one is called Classical Arabic (CA) which is the language of the Quran, the holy book of Islam, which is also the official religion of the country. It is mainly used in mosques and is the language of worship and prayers, besides, all the ancient classical literary works being religious, or poetic are written in CA (Mokhtar, 2018). It was later simplified in the educational settings, where it is taught, to the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). It is a modern version of classical Arabic, although similar in structure, but it is simpler with a different vocabulary and is the one used in formal conversations and administrations (Cordel, 2014).

Arabic was imposed on the Algerians first in the 7th century when the country was colonized by the Arabs and it became the language of the country. Then, when leaders wanted to reclaim it as the official language after they gained independence from the French, they relied on the Arabization policy, a policy that caused problems among the Algerians who were educated in French and were quite hostile towards the Arabic language. Today, Algeria is not fully Arabized despite the many efforts of successive governments to implement this policy, but Arabic is dominant in many important domains, for example, on official platforms whether written or oral ones. It is strongly idealized, has a heavy historical and religious value, but with no native speakers, as opposed to Tamazight or AA, very few Algerians are neither capable of speaking nor writing it correctly (Mokhtar, 2018).

The linguistic reality in Algeria can be confusing because the language of the people, which is AA, is used and understood by most of the population and yet, it has no official status, nor is it given much importance in the country. Whereas the language that is official and used in all the dominant sectors in Algeria, the MSA, has practically no existence in the popular sphere except the religious one (Cordel, 2014). MSA has been taught in every school in the country since independence, to unify the population yet, no one uses it outside school (Mokhtar, 2018). The average person in the country is incapable of fully understanding the broadcasted programs that are in standard Arabic whether on the radio or TV. For some Algerians MSA does not represent their real language, for them, it is nothing but an artificial language that is compulsory to learn to be able to study, whereas in society its use is almost inexistent (Leclerc, 2017). However, for many others, it is the language that represents their identity, their religion, and who they are best.

The Arabic language has the same status in almost all so-called Arabic countries. It has an international value, and it can be considered as an emerging language internationally, and this is mainly due to the demographic growth it enjoys in the world. What is preventing the language from shining on an international level is mostly the lack of unity in the Arabic world and their fragile ideologies, that are aiming at defining a unified Arabic identity, mainly due to the narrow link that exists between the Arabic language and Islam (Cordel, 2014). Leclerc claims that: « A l'heure actuelle, on dénombre 1.25 milliards de musulmans dans le monde. Mais seulement 240 millions sont arabophones et 120 millions ont connaissance réelle de l'arabe classique. Autrement dit, 90% des musulmans ne peuvent lire le Coran dans le texte original. Comme quoi les mots « musulmans », « Arabes » et « arabophones » ne sont pas équivalents. » [Among the 1.25 billion Muslims in the world, only 240 million speak Arabic and 120 million have a certain knowledge of classic

Arabic. This means that 90% of Muslims are unable to read the Quran in its original text, ironically this also means that terms like “Muslims”, “Arabs” and “Arab-speaking” do not mean the same thing] (Leclerc, 2017).

This diglossic situation that these countries have, along with Algeria, can be the obstacle that is standing in the way of a unified Arabic world and can also be the reason that prevented the Arabization policy from succeeding (Cordel, 2014). It also means that many of these countries, Algeria included, are simply not Arabic countries, and the reason it got rejected, despite all the efforts by authorities, is that people cannot embrace an identity that is not theirs and claim to be belonging to a culture that is foreign to them.

2.4.3 Tamazight

Tamazight is the first language that was spoken in the Maghreb in North Africa and Algeria in particular. It has various appellations according to the country, it is Amazigh in Morocco and Tunisia, Tamazight or Kabyle in Algeria, Tamacheq in Libya, etc. (Leclerc, 2017). As for the term Berber, it is derived from Greek “*barbaroi*” and Arabic “*barbar*”. It was a derogatory appellation that the invaders used to refer to the Berber community, describing them as being chaotic and uncivilized (Bentalab & Chabou, 2016). The term was later semantically valorized by sociolinguistic scholars, following the many disputes on the media and social networks about the Berber identity, they simply rejected the use of this term as an insult to design their community, and it is now used as a description of the free man which is also the meaning of the word “Amazigh” (Bentalab & Chabou, 2016).

Tamazight remained the first language of the people despite the many colonizers that invaded the country, even the Arab invasions could not Arabize the country completely, regardless of the big linguistic shift from Tamazight to the Arabic language that occurred during that period. It also succeeded in surviving the French domination and the endless efforts to suppress it during the French colonization. It is now officially recognized as a national and official language, alongside the Standard Arabic, after so many debates and conflicts since Algeria gained independence. Gaining the national as well as the official status is a huge achievement for Tamazight, not only is it officially recognized, it is now also declared a language that belongs to this country. Although a subordinate status of Tamazight is still existent today and has not improved in the Algerian society, it was always looked down upon and was considered as inferior to the other languages of the country. However, the Berber community still believes in its importance and is emotionally related to it, they still speak it and make sure that also their children learn it and realize its

importance, despite the inferiority it has in society. About 8.8 million Algerians, which means nearly 27.4% of the population, belong to the Berber community, mainly in Kabyle, which is on the eastern side of Algeria. The other main Berber community in which another dialect of Tamazight, called Chaouia, is spoken and is in another eastern region called Aures (Leclerc, 2017). Although these statistics cannot be completely accurate since only the locations that are known to be exclusively Berber were taken into consideration, whereas it is a known fact that there is a considerable number of other Tamazight speakers, who also live in plenty of other cities in the country like Oran and Algiers, who have been entirely ignored (Mokhtar, 2018).

There are other communities of Tamazight speakers, but they are minorities and are rather isolated in the southern part of the country. It is difficult to classify them and attribute to them a clear linguistic status regarding their function as a language or as a simple dialect. For example, Mozabite and Tuareg do not have a clearly defined status and are treated as isolated dialects (Leclerc, 2017). There is no standard form of Tamazight and that is because the Berber community is spread in vast geographic areas like Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania, Niger, and Mali. The many invasions this area has been through dispersed them into diverse groups living in isolated places with no contact with each other (Leclerc, 2017). The main characteristic of Tamazight is that it is divided into different varieties and even quite different languages. Since the invasion of the Arabs in the Maghreb region, Berbers had never had their own country, it does not have a unified writing system either. This explains the large diversity of dialectal varieties, each one is influenced by the language that is dominant in their country. Only lately have scholars tried to create a codified standard language, that is the same all over the Tamazight speaking groups all over the Maghreb and the other countries where there are Berber communities (Leclerc, 2017). Figure 2.2 exhibits a variety of the many Tamazight speaking communities in Algeria (Leclerc, 2017).

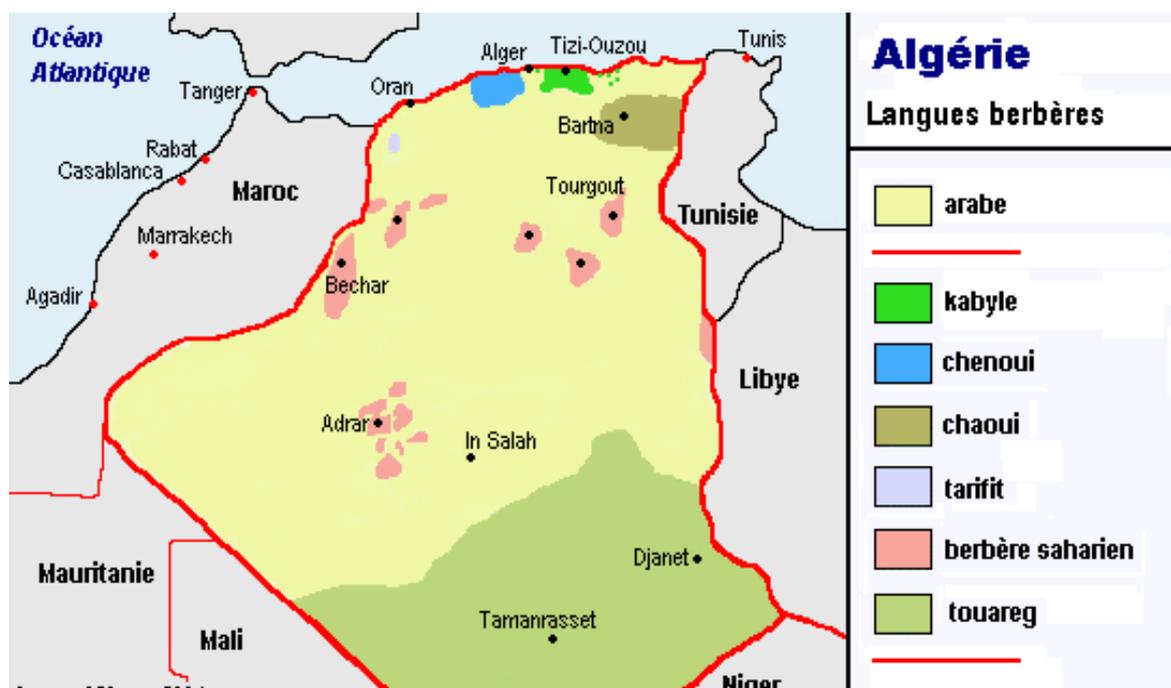


Figure 2.2. Tamazight varieties in Algeria
(Source: Leclerc, 2017)

Tamazight speakers are bilinguals as well and frequently switch to French in their conversations; most of them learn Arabic in schools as well as French. Usually, they give more importance to the French language, mainly because for them it is a way to show their resistance to the Arabization policy and their refusal of the Arabic identity, that has been imposed on them. The Kabyle community uses only French and Tamazight in their speech, their critics have been claiming that they are using a colonial language that was also imposed on them. The explanation is simple, they embraced the French language and made it their own but not the identity. What the advocators of Arabization tried to do is deprive them of what they are, after independence, which means denying their identity even in a free country, and that is what they have been fighting against all their lives. If Tamazight is still spoken nowadays, it is mainly due to the attachment that the Berber community has to this language and the pride that they feel in speaking it. It still has an inferior status compared to French and Arabic in Algeria, it is still not employed in official administrations as any official language should, but it survived endless attempts to suppress it and the fact that it is now officially recognized as a national language, represents a big win for the Berber community.

While analyzing the status of each of the three spoken languages and the different spoken dialects that exist in Algeria, we notice that the Algerians have a natural tendency to language loyalty. It is mainly out of pride that they choose to speak a certain language.

Like Tamazight speakers, many Algerians have the same attitude towards Arabic or French, which means that the Algerians switch to a certain language consciously at times to suit certain circumstances and make a statement. This interesting linguistic situation in which almost all Algerians speak more than one language, and switch either consciously or unconsciously between them, makes us wonder about the real mother tongue of the Algerians. If you were to ask an Algerian this question, they may hesitate for a while and be unable to give a clear answer. Most Algerians would probably say that Algerian Arabic is their mother tongue, yet the considerable number of French and Tamazight words inherent in the Algerian Arabic leads us back to the original question.

2.4.4 French

French is the first foreign language in Algeria; it has a deep historical connection with the country, which is the reason behind its importance in the current linguistic situation. It is still spoken to date by a big section of the population, with an official status that is used in several official contexts. Algeria is the second-largest francophone country in the world, with nearly eighteen million speakers, nearly 1 in 3 Algerians can speak and write French (Amine chemami, 2011). The French language is used in many important spheres of public life, it is considered an important medium of communication and is used in the government, the administration, and in the mass media.

During the mid-1960s, almost three-quarters of the Algerians were illiterate and only 20 percent of the population was educated, though they could only read and write in French (Benrabah, 2013). Now, 57 years have passed, and after so many attempts to erase all traces of the French colonization, through the massive educational programs that were aimed at educating the Algerians, French is still the most frequently spoken foreign language in the country and is considered as the second official language. Mainly because an important section of Algerian intellectuals is usually instructed in French, which shows the contradictions that this system has and how flawed it is. French is also taught at an early age in schools and specialized studies in universities.

Thus, most Algerians speak French, or at least they understand it. Even those who may not be able to speak it or understand it very well, tend to use a lot of French words in their vocabulary because they have been raised having those words as part of their speech. It is spoken mostly by educated people, students, or elites, especially those who are studying or have studied in French. Most of the people who occupy important positions in companies or politics, use French most of the time and are more at ease expressing themselves

in French rather than Arabic. Thus, it is a language that has a social prestige in the Algerian society, and some people prefer to speak it in conversations to gain respect and have a sense of belonging to the educated class. Others who do not master the language and cannot speak it fluently, occasionally switch between Algerian Arabic and French, mainly because they were raised talking that way. Another part of the community extensively speaks Algerian Arabic, which as noted, contains French words, although most of them understand French they are unable to speak it.

There is a constant conflict between Modern Standard Arabic and French in the country and it is a subject of constant debates between the Arabophones and the Francophones. A conflict that resulted in the undeniable truth that is noticeable to everyone, which is the serious identity crisis that the Algerians have been going through since independence. No matter how insistent the leaders and the Arabophone section of the population are, claiming Arabic as the language of the nation and as the country's identity, French is very much present not only in many official spheres but also in the everyday Algerian spoken dialect.

One of the major effects of the colonization in Algeria had been the dislocation of the language. The French not only spread illiteracy and religious intolerance in the Algerian society but also destroyed the Algerian identity linguistically (Rabai Maamri, 2009). The French colonization displaced the native speech considerably, it did not only exploit the country economically and politically but also wanted to completely erase its culture. As a result of the colonizer's extreme measures, the Algerian population was kept under the influence of the French colonizer even after independence. The Algerians were not only moved away from their cultural heritage but also, they have developed some kind of a split of identity, they found themselves having French as the only language they can use to express themselves, while they strongly believed that they belong to the Arabic Muslim identity.

Sebaa Rabeh, an Algerian sociologist and author, quite well describes the ambiguous and often controversial status of French in Algeria, a language that is considered both colonial and a foreign language since independence. She claims, that without being an official language yet the French language carries officiality. Without being the language of education, it still is the language used to hand over knowledge. Sebaa Rabeh claims that « Sans être la langue officielle, la langue française véhicule l'officialité. Sans être la langue d'enseignement, elle reste la langue de transmission du savoir. Sans être la langue identitaire, elle continue à façonner l'imaginaire culturel collectif de différentes formes et par différents canaux. Et sans être la langue d'université, elle est la langue de l'université.

Dans la quasi-totalité des structures officielles de gestion, d'administration et de recherche, le travail s'effectue encore essentiellement en langue française. » [Without being the language of identity, it still fascinates the collective cultural imaginary of different forms and through different channels. And without being the language of the university, it is the language of the university. In almost all the official structures of management, administrations, and research, all the work is mainly performed in French.] (Sebaa, 2002, p. 85)

Often, the Algerians are obliged to choose between the two languages that are both parts of who they are (Rabai Maamri, 2009). This is best expressed by the Algerian intellectual Kateb Yacine, he claims:

« At that time, I felt it necessary to speak French even better than the French themselves, to convince them that we were not French. Someone had to write a book in a language that would truly shake the French, to the point of saying: This – This is Algeria! » (Aziz, 2015, p. 4)

Assia Djebar, one of the successful Algerian writers who also wrote in French, expressed the same views as Kateb Yacine. She advocates preserving both Arabic, written and spoken, and French as integral markers of the Algerian identity. Many other Algerian intellectuals and politicians viewed French as a language that has contributed to connecting Algeria to the western world, a language of development and science that has linked the country to a larger community beyond the Arabic one. For them, French is now a part of the Algerian identity as much as Arabic, disengaging it from its colonial roots and embracing it as a language that needs to be preserved and taught in schools, even after independence. Producing literary and scientific works in French that carry out a unique Algerian perspective is future independent Algeria (Aziz, 2015). For Kateb Yacine and many other intellectuals who shared his views, it was not about what language to use in writing. What mattered was the literary empowerment of the Algerians, and French was the needed tool for that (Aziz, 2015). They also believed that the French colonization caused a lot of damage in the country, mainly the loss of identity and culture and the Algerian traditions. But the Algerians need to face their new reality and embrace their new identity, it was sure forced but the only way to survive through this crisis, is to accept that Arabic and French are now integral parts of a whole and that is Algeria. What was needed to be done to face the post-independence crisis, was a strong educational system that acknowledges this reality, respects the multilingual history of the country and teaches both languages by giving both the same pedagogical importance. The Franco-Algerian identity is already distinct from the French one, using the French language should not be regarded as a betrayal or a submis-

sion to the colonizer. What was more harmful was the policy of imposing one language suppressing the linguistic diversity in the country (Aziz, 2015). Teaching both languages at schools, along with Tamazight, would have allowed the Algerians to write in any language they wished to express their opinions and their experiences.

For many years all that the authorities wanted to achieve is a complete Arabization of the country. The result of this ideology was the civil war that took place in the 1990s, the Berber riots, and a poor educational system that went from completely removing French to only teaching it in high schools and the university. It failed to settle the linguistic situation with which the country was struggling for years. Sadly, most Algerians currently do not master either of the languages, not even Arabic. Though taught in schools for many years it is not fully mastered by the Algerians. What the leaders missed out, amidst all these struggles, was what impact all these decisions would have on the Algerian individual. Each party had a vision of what future Algeria should be, without really being aware of what the past has caused, and the damage and changes inflicted on the Algerian identity. (Rabai Maamri, 2009).

Today the linguistic situation in Algeria is intricate, the everyday spoken language is a mixture of French and Arabic and Tamazight, Standard Arabic is not well mastered by the Algerians, despite being taught in schools from early stages. Dialectal Arabic is only used at home and on the streets but cannot be used for written forms, French is used in many important sectors but not fully mastered by many Algerians, Tamazight is also used by a big section of the population who are still claiming their rights. In some way, every language has become a source of frustration to the Algerian individual, neither of the languages in the country is collectively and fully mastered, the constant changes in educational programs brought more damages than benefits. There is a constant linguistic conflict that is being ignored and needs to be addressed. The Algerians need a linguistic reconciliation that can only be achieved by accepting the linguistic diversity in the country.

The Algerian identity can only be defined by embracing the Algerian history and the linguistic alienations that the contact with the French colonization left behind. Besides, French is still strongly present in many major sectors, and that should be admitted as a failure of the many imposing policies that the ruling authorities applied on the Algerians. It should be noted as well that many Algerians, especially young people, and students, immigrate to France every year either to study or to work, hence, being able to speak French fluently is still a necessity. Almost 700,000 Algerians who still have an Algerian nationality live in France, sources estimate that between 30,000 to 40,000 persons immigrate every

year (Meyner, 2011). All these factors contributed to making French an important language that still has an important status in society today.

2.4.5 English

It is the second foreign language that is being taught at the early stages in schools. It is also a language that is spreading gradually in the country, especially among the younger generation, and some people even consider the fact that it may compete later with the French language. The effect of this spread may not be seen, intellectuals think that it will take more than just the fact that the youth are interested in learning it to be a threat to a language that has been spoken and taught for years, and has great historical links to the country. The reality is that it is true that French is strongly present in formal and informal settings in the country; it is also integrated into the different spoken dialects. But English is slowly but surely emerging and it may be only a matter of time to see it supplant French. Thanks to many factors, including the global status that the English language has gained throughout the years in the world, the Algerians, like in many other countries, realized its importance, and are increasingly interested in learning it, to the discontentment of the Francophone section of the country. Besides, certain individuals that are in charge of the current system, who are taking advantage of the growing popularity of English in the world and the country, and want to, once again, revive the old debate of replacing French with English. (For more details see 3.9)

The English language emerged in Algeria as a competing foreign language before the 1980s, thanks to the rise of oil prices and the socio-economic prosperity that the country was heading to. The country had also adopted a democratic system replacing the one-party rule, for the first time since independence. Despite the many flaws of the new system, it was nevertheless clear that the country aimed at creating a peaceful atmosphere, namely recognizing the official status of Tamazight, but most importantly build a modern society, with improved conditions of living where experts argue that life expectancy rose considerably (Cordel, 2014). What is also noticeable is the high number of adolescents among the Algerian population, which may play an important role in diffusing foreign languages, namely English, in the country, and if taken care of, can be the key to an active population that will be involved in the job market. Hence the importance of the participation of youth in diffusing foreign languages in the country, thanks to their involvement in the job market especially in domains like industry, tourism, or any other department that relies on technology which necessitates the use of English (Cordel, 2014). In Algeria, the field of high

technology, where English is the Lingua Franca, is still weakly developed and all the other economic activities are dominated by French. A language that is still deep-rooted in the country, which may be the main reason that is preventing English from spreading further. This situation can change in the case where the Algerian economy eventually develops, especially in domains where English is indispensable, mainly with assets that attract foreign companies from the oil and gas industry, which are Algeria's main richness (Cordel, 2014). In other words, English currently represents, by some means, access to modernity and the country is in desperate need of solutions to improve its economy and make its entry into the modern world.

Realizing this importance and to gain new markets in the world, the government decided to promote English through a special acquisition process that begins from the first middle year in school, to form competent English speakers. On the practical side, it needed more effort to obtain effective results due to the lack of competent instructors in English as a foreign language acquisition process (EFL) (Benadla, 2012). Great efforts were made by the Algerian government to promote English in the country; the first stage was training Algerian teachers in English-speaking countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States. English is taught in the first year in middle school which is an early level in the educational program (Benadla, 2012). The Algerian ministry of education emphasized the fact that English is, in fact, the language of modernity and an approach to be open to the world. It allows a sharing and an exchange on many levels; in our time it is the ideal medium to be part of the international linguistic community. Thus, for the Algerian government, English is the language of science and technology that has a functional value superior to that of French (Cordel, 2014). The official statement of the ministry of education Boubekour Benbouzid in 2005, indicates this superiority and the reasons why it is important to allow English to grow in Algeria, and how essential its learning is to the development of the country. It also states that the Algerians should consider English as more than another foreign language that is learned in schools but as a serious opportunity for change and access to progress. The statement is:

« Le but de l'enseignement de l'anglais est d'aider notre société à s'intégrer harmonieusement dans la modernité en participant pleinement et entièrement à la communauté linguistique qui utilise cette langue pour tous types d'interaction. Cette participation, basée sur le partage et l'échange d'idées et d'expériences scientifiques, culturelles et civilisationnelles, permettra une meilleure connaissance de soi et de l'autre. L'on dépassera ainsi une conception étroite et utilitariste de l'apprentissage de l'anglais pour aller vers une approche plus offensive ou l'on ne sera plus consommateur mais acteur et agent de changement. Ainsi chacun aura la

possibilité d'accéder à la science, la technologie et la culture universelle tout en évitant l'écueil de l'acculturation. » Ministry of the national education of the Republic of Algeria. (Cordel, 2014, p.234)

Despite these efforts, various problems harmed the spread of the language, the teachers who had the chance to be trained abroad, followed a program that was different from the one promoted by the Algerian Ministry of Education. As a result, Algerian students could not benefit from high-quality English preparation, and their language skills and level of fluency remained insufficient to be applied beyond the classroom (Benadla, 2012). Recently, the Algerians had to learn English mainly through self-study material, including music and movies that had a strong impact especially on young people, who felt attracted to the culture and motivated to learn the language. This was a valid alternative to the lack of qualified teachers and advanced resources, that somehow helped many of the young generation of Algerians to master the language (Belmihoub, 2012). There are claims that the presence of French in Algeria is what is slowing down the spread of the English language. Which justifies the statements made by the minister to replace French with English. Whereas many experts and intellectuals do claim that the growth of English, or any other language for that matter, in the country should not imply that it should take the place of an already existent language, or that authorities should get rid of a specific language to allow English to grow in the country. Besides, for many Algerians French is not even a foreign language but a national one. (For more about this specific problem see 5.3, 5.3.5, and 5.9.4).

Nacer Djabi, who is a sociologist, argues that there has been a decline in the mastery of the French language by Algerians in recent years, it is promoted mainly by the elites who still defend it and are fighting to maintain its dominance in the country. The reality is, the educational system is struggling, especially in teaching foreign languages, and the level is deteriorating significantly. Neither of the languages is fully mastered which is a matter of concern to the teachers, as a result, a considerable number of students learn languages in private schools or take private lessons (Ihsan, 2018). Due to the high number of students in Algeria, the management of the school system is unable to follow, and there is a notified lack of qualified teachers. So much so ex-minister of education, Nouria Benghabrit has considered deleting foreign languages in scientific baccalaureate exams. Elites, as expected, did not accept it, and even accused the minister of attempting to further exclude French and diminish its role in the society, without forgetting that it is the teaching language of scientific modules in the university (Ihsan, 2018).

The elites are aware of the importance of learning foreign languages due to their interest in the economic field, whereas the middle-class citizen still struggles and is unable, in most cases, to fluently speak any of the existent languages (Ihsan, 2018). According to Nacer Djabi, there is a form of discrimination as far as teaching the French language is concerned. He claims that entire regions are being excluded from efficient teaching of French, which is simply defined as being a victim of social discrimination by language and it has become as he called it “*a language market*” (Ihsan, 2018). He asserts that « La bataille des langues a changé en Algérie. D’idéologique dans les années 1960 et 1970, elle est devenue économique aujourd’hui. L’arabe a progressé. Le pouvoir politique a arabisé les fonctions régaliennes et les administrations. Le temps où Ahmed Ben Bella (premier président après l’Indépendance, NDLR) faisait ses discours en français paraît d’une autre époque. Les élites savent que l’arabe ne suffit pas à conquérir des positions fortes. Leurs enfants doivent maîtriser en plus les langues étrangères. C’est le français qui vient encore en tête, désormais talonné par l’anglais. » [The battle of languages in Algeria has changed from being ideological in the years 1960 and 1970, to economic today. Arabic made progress. The ruling government has Arabized sovereign functions and administrations. Times when Ahmed Ben Bella, the first president after independence, held speeches in French seems to be from such an old age. Elites know perfectly that Arabic is not enough to obtain good jobs, their children must learn foreign languages. French is still dominating but English is strongly present too.] (Ihsan, 2018).

He further argues that « Autrement, il devra se contenter d’être un outil pour le renouvellement des élites ou pouvoir en Algérie, sur ce point, l’anglais finira par le supplanter » [if nothing is done to improve the teaching of French then soon it will only be the language of the elites whereas English is increasingly gaining ground and will end up surpassing French] (Ihsan, 2018).

Consequently, to evaluate the status of the English language and its diffusion in Algeria, it is important to define the attitudes of Algerians towards foreign languages in general, and towards English in particular. Considering the ecological advantages that the country possesses, which are quite encouraging to allow the language to exist in the linguistic scene, and that is with the domination of French which is believed to be the main reason for its slow diffusion in Algeria. We can draw a clear picture of the chances that the English language has to stand in the already entangled linguistic situation of the country. Facing fierce competition from the French language, that is not immune to resistance according to the actual linguistic circumstances that are in favor of learning English, and the

Algerians are, in fact, aware of the necessity of this language to access modernity. Maybe the emergence of English in the country, in the last few years, is in a way an escape to breathe and maybe a solution to reconcile to the linguistic situation of the country. Besides its international value, young people are interested in learning the language, maybe because it is not imposed on them, or being judged as bad or good or a betrayal to any section of the country.

2.5 Summary

Algeria is a country with many spoken or official languages due to the many colonizers that made their way through its soil; thus, it is now officially a multilingual country. Three languages survived the many events that the country has been through, Arabic, French, and Tamazight. All three are part of the cultural history of the nation, despite the many conflicts that occurred between groups speaking each of these languages. An agreement had to be reached to overcome a problematic linguistic situation, that lasted for a long time and contributed to the violence of recent times.

Algeria's official and national language is Standard Arabic, out of 40 million inhabitants nearly 72% of Algerians belong to the Arabic-speaking group. Nearly 50% speak standard Arabic (Leclerc, 2017). It is mostly used by the media and in official settings, it is also the language of the Quran which is the reason for the importance it has in the country, and the argument given by leaders to maintain its official status. Tamazight, which is natively spoken by more than 27% of Algerians and is the oldest language in North Africa, has been recently recognized as a second national language alongside Arabic. French, by contrast, is still widely studied and spoken in the country despite the constant attempts to suppress it in favor of the Arabic language by adapting the Arabization policy.

There is the dialect that is widely spoken in Algeria, which is the Darja, it is also called Algerian Arabic (AA) and is spoken by 60 % of Algerians which equals 83.2% of the Arabic-speaking population (Leclerc, 2017). As mentioned before, it is a mixture of Arabic, French, and even some Spanish and Turkish words. Most of the population is natively Berber and many still speak various dialects of Tamazight. The majority of the Algerians master two languages, and they constantly switch between either Tamazight and French or Darja and French. Another foreign language that has become quite popular is the English language; it is not used as widely as French, but it is recognized by the Algerians as an important language that is needed, and that can help them in many ways advance in their future careers whether inside the country or abroad.

Knowing all the facts mentioned before about the languages in Algeria, it is obvious that the linguistic structure in Algeria is quite difficult to analyze. That is because the political status of every language is not equivalent to the social prestige that is associated with it (Cordel, 2014). Standard Arabic (MSA), the official language of the country, is the L2 to Algerians, whereas their L1, which is Algerian Arabic (AA), has no political status, French is officially the foreign language, yet it has an L2 status to the majority of the population. This complexity is not easy to review and makes it difficult to draw a kind of ranking of languages in Algeria (Cordel, 2014). Figure 2.3 represents a hierarchy of the languages that are present in the country, following Abram De Swaan terminology (Cordel, 2014). What we can observe in the diagram is the fact that languages play different roles in different platforms, like French for example which is both an international language and is also the language used in several local settings like administrations, education, and also in the workplace (Cordel, 2014). Literary Arabic is the official language of the country, which is also an international one because there are 22 other countries whose official language is also Arabic. Like French, it is used in many official domains on the local level. In the diagram, we also notice that multilingualism in Algeria is organized in a distributional manner between dialectal Arabic and Standard Arabic and French (Cordel, 2014).

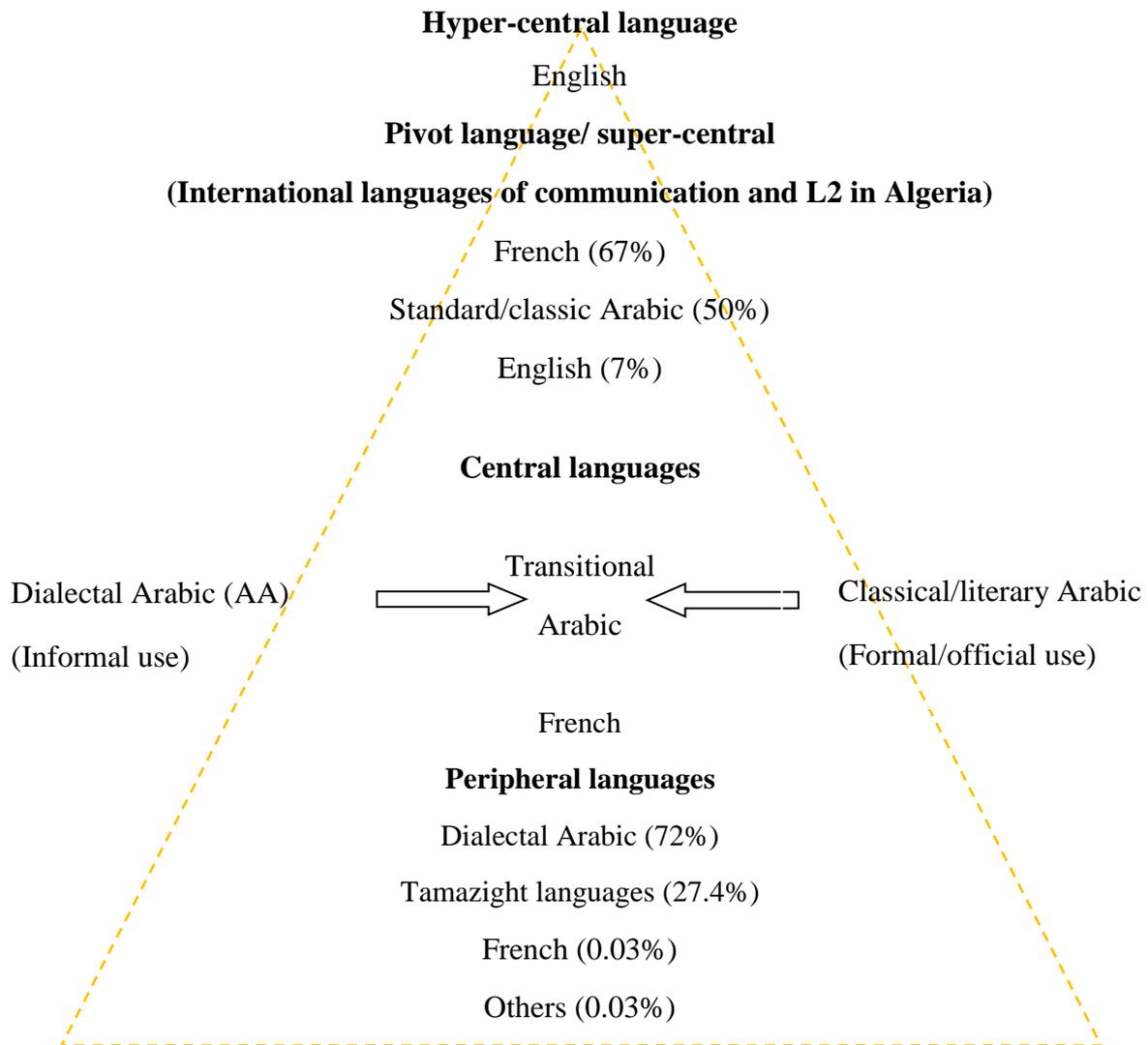


Figure 2.3. Description of the linguistic configuration of Algeria
(Source: Cordel, 2014, p. 216)

In all, ethnologists count 18 living languages in Algeria, dividing Arabic and Tamazight into different spoken languages including French. There are two main ethnic communities, the Arab-speaking, and the Tamazight-speaking, four languages and various dialects. Thus, Algeria is, in fact, a multilingual country where multilingualism is more than just a linguistic phenomenon, as it is part of everyday life (Algeria, n.d.). Table 2 (Leclerc, 2017) illustrates the many linguistic communities that belong to both Arab-speaking and Tamazight-speaking groups in Algeria.

Table 2:

The Main Linguistic Communities in Algeria

Communities according to their mother tongue	Percentage of the total Algerian population (%)
Arab-speaking community	72
Algerian Arabic	60
Hassaniyya	11.3
Moroccan Arabic	0.4
Arabic of Sahara	0.1
Egyptian and Iraqi Arabic	0.1
Tamazight-speaking community	27.4
Kabyle	9,4
Chaouia	5,3
Tamazight	4,5
Mzab	-
Mozabique	-
Touareg	-
Tchalhit	-

Note. Data from Leclerc, 2017

Aside from the fact that each of the languages has a specific social and historical function in Algeria, they also belong to a different family of languages, with plenty of diverse typological features that add indeed to the complexity of the linguistic profile of the country. Table 3 highlights some of these various traits, from the writing system to the phonological and morphological differences. (See Appendix E for a detailed table exploring more typological differences between the languages).

Table 3:

The Typological Differences between the Languages of Algeria

Typological Features	French	MSA	Tamazight
Language family	Romance (Indo-European) language	Semitic language	Afro-Asiatic language (African branch)
Orthography:			
▪ Alphabet (See Appendix F, G)	Latin script: A, B, C....	Abjad script: ا, ب, ت...	Tifinagh alphabet: ⵝ, ⵉ, ⵏ...
▪ Directionality	Left to right	Right to left	Left to right
Syntax:			
▪ Word order	SVO	VSO	VSO/SVO
▪ Articles	Definite: le, la, les Indefinite: un, une, des	Definite: the invariable ال/il/ (like “the”) Indefinite: no article defines the indefinite noun	No articles (except for loanwords from Arabic)
Morphology:			
▪ Root and pattern system:	The lexical meaning resides in the stem, suffixes, prefixes, and infixes define the grammatical information	The root consists of consonants only. Whereas the pattern is a set of vowels added to the root modifying its lexical meaning.	The root consists of consonants only. Whereas the pattern is a set of vowels added to the root modifying its lexical meaning.
Nouns:	Feminine and masculine nouns defined by (Article le for masculine, la for feminine, or adding « e » at the end of feminine nouns” Exceptions: “euse, trice” at the end of feminine nouns	“a” at the end defines most feminine nouns. With exceptions, masculine nouns do not end in “a”.	Prefix /a-/ for masculine nouns, circumfix /t..t/ for feminine nouns.

Typological Features	French	MSA	Tamazight
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plural 	<p>Commonly defined by adding an “s” at the end.</p> <p>There are exceptions like: aux, x, eux</p>	<p>Three types of plural: broken plurals, regular masculine plurals, regular feminine plurals.</p> <p>Dual nouns are used for the dual form of nouns.</p>	<p>Three types of plural: sound plurals “regular change”, broken plurals “internal vowel change”, a combination of both types.</p>
Phonology:			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The phonetic system: 	37 total phonemes	34 total phonemes	<p>Not a tone language with 41 total phonemes</p> <p>Some consonants and vowels share the same pronunciation.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vowels 	12 vowels: 4 nasal, 3 semi-vowels	6 vowels: (3 short and 3 long) 2 semi vowels	3 vowels: a, I, u 2 semi vowels
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consonants 	18 consonants	28 consonants	38 consonants
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The interdental sounds 	Nonexistent	ث /θ/, ذ /ð/, ظ /ðˤ/	ث /θ/, ذ /ð/, ظ /ðˤ/
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The pharyngeal, and uvular sounds 	Nonexistent	<p>Uvular: ق /q/, خ /x/</p> <p>Pharyngeal: ح /ħ/, ع /ʕ/</p>	<p>Uvular: ق /q/, خ /x/</p> <p>Pharyngeal: ح /ħ/, ع /ʕ/</p>

Note. Data from Elkhouri, 2011. Ager, 2008. Arabic Learning Resources, n.d. Ness, 2017. Ekkehard Wolf, n.d. Testen, n.d. Halpern, 2009. Sabir & Alsaed, 2014. Guntman & Avanzati, 2013. The Arabic Alphabet, n.d.

Chapter 3: Language Attitudes and Language Roles in Algeria and the Potential Spread of English

3.1 Introduction

As illustrated in Chapter 2, the linguistic situation in Algeria is complex and the emergence of another competing language can make it even more intricate. There is no denying that English is the *Lingua Franca* in main domains like technology in the world (Cordel, 2014). Many countries realized this importance, Algeria is no exception, slowly it started embracing the language and recognizing its importance, but is it enough to consider it a part of the linguistic ecology of the country? This is an issue that will be discussed in this chapter.

Besides, Chapter 3 will outline the actual status of languages in the country and discuss what is called linguistic human rights. Algeria is a multilingual country, but unfortunately, not all spoken languages are given the needed rights. A neglected language also means a discriminated community, whether there are measures that need to be taken to address this issue, is a question that will be answered in the present chapter.

The attitude of the Algerians towards the spread of a new foreign language will be discussed as well. That will help understand the role these attitudes have in allowing or preventing the spread of any language. This chapter will mainly outline the importance of English in empowering future generations and show the growth of interest among the youth to learn it, despite the dominating presence of French, which is still essential in key domains.

What is more, efforts by the supporters of the human linguistic rights in Algeria, that strive for a peaceful transition to a better linguistic environment, will be highlighted. Education is the major tool to form new generations aware of both the importance of English and embracing the country's multilingualism reality, which will lead to a peaceful linguistic atmosphere. Applying the appropriate training is one of the main concerns of the responsible authorities, who are very aware of the fact that the ignored problems in the educational sector may lead to more serious problems (Belmihoub, 2012). Therefore, many educational methods have been used by the Algerian system, since independence, to try to figure out which method will be the one needed to achieve the desired result.

Another well-known fact about the languages in Algeria is the dominance of French being the first foreign language to be learned in the country. The emergence of English and

the increasing interest of the youth to learn it created discomfort among the French supporters' community. As mentioned before, French has a deeper connection to the country, historically speaking, and many elites argue that it is essential that it remains an integral part of the reality of the country. Whether they fear that English could dethrone French as the dominant foreign language, which can create stress and dissatisfaction, will be discussed further in this chapter, and show if the presence of French will be a halting factor for the spread of English in the future.

3.2 The Linguistic Rights in Algeria

Linguistic rights or linguistic human rights can be defined as several obligations imposed on authorities to recognize a certain language and use it in a certain context. Authorities have no right to interfere in the choice of languages used by private parties. In other words, linguistic rights are imposed laws to support the use of languages of the minority or indigenous people of the state in various contexts, they can be considered as basic human rights that involve language, and a series of legal requirements that human rights treaties imposed on authorities, to address issues involved with the linguistic diversity in the country (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson et al., 1995).

The speakers of a dominant language or the language of the majority in the country enjoy certain rights that the minority speakers do not. Regardless of how they can be defined, most minority speakers around the world are deprived of fundamental rights that can be neglected by the dominant speakers, who tend to ignore the importance and the potential impact of the deprivation of such rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson et al., 1995). Only a few hundreds of the 7000 languages of the world enjoy an official status that allows enjoying human linguistic rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson et al., 1995). Applying linguistic rights means allowing the freedom of speech, the right to private life, the right to education, the prohibition of discrimination, which is important, and very frequent in multilingual countries where there is always a discriminated language due to its inferior status to the dominant one. It means also allowing the minority group to use their language in any context no matter the form (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson et al., 1995).

At an individual level, linguistic human rights imply the freedom to use the mother tongue and be able to identify with it and be respected for it, no matter whether it is the dominant language or a minority. It also means the ability to learn the mother tongue and have education through the medium of one's language and be able to use it in official contexts (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson et al., 1995). At a collective level, linguistic rights

imply the right of the minority group to exist and prosper in the same way the majority group would. It gives the right to develop the language of the minority group by establishing schools and other educational institutions, where they can be educated in their mother tongue (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson et al., 1995). When these groups have such rights, it means that they can be represented in the political affairs of the state. A certain autonomy is guaranteed to administer various matters in different important domains like culture, religion, education, and information (Advisory Committee, 2012).

People who are deprived of certain rights, due to the language they speak or because they belong to the minority, are automatically deprived of human rights such as access to education, the ability to communicate using the mother tongue, and fair political representation. They do not have equal opportunities in all areas, be it economic, cultural, or social, and in other public affairs (Advisory Committee, 2012).

For all the reasons mentioned earlier, it is only necessary to implement and formulate standards and laws to protect and enjoy these rights, and any violation and abuse of such rights should be punished and considered as an infringement of human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson et al., 1995). Several universal documents elaborated on this issue to protect minorities around the world. Universal Committees such as the UNESCO's universal declaration of linguistic rights and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, the recommendation of the UN forum on minority issues on implementing the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. The OSCE's Oslo Recommendations regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities. All these committees have the same demands and fight for the same rights. Despite some differences, they all want the countries that do have minorities to meet human rights obligations involving language. Some of the main rights that all the documents mainly focus on are:

- The right to maintain one's language and cultural heritage.
- Promote linguistic and cultural diversity and tolerance.
- The right to be multilingual.
- All language communities have the right to have an education where they can learn their language, and some other spoken languages in the country if they wish to.

What these treaties may bring to the minority groups all over the world in case all these rights are applied and respected by the authorities is first, the dignity in being treated equal-

ly and enjoying the same respect as any other member of the society. Second, liberty in having the choice to speak and learn one's mother tongue, freedom of expression, and the right to use one's language in whatever context one may wish to, the prohibition of discrimination and excluding individuals due to their belonging to a minority community. Finally, the right to preserve the identity and the cultural heritage these minority groups have, that can add to the richness of the country in terms of diversity. (Follow-up Committee, 1998).

The linguistic rights mentioned above are fundamental to the linguistic ecology and peace in the country. Being multilingual, Algeria had to deal with similar issues for a long time. It has made minor progress addressing linguistic human rights, but it still needs a lot more effort to ensure the peaceful coexistence of the different communities of the country and complete protection of these rights. Accepting the multilingual reality of the country will ensure a certain facility to learn foreign languages, since learning one's mother tongue is an acquired right. In the case of Algeria, the minority group is the Berber community who is fighting to achieve these same rights, which are: Formal recognition of their language assigned by the authorities, respect of the cultural heritage and the right to maintain and learn, and the freedom to use their language in official and unofficial contexts. As it was previously mentioned, nearly half a century after independence, Algeria witnessed many failures being economic or political, but the most damaging one was cultural. For years, the governing authorities denied the existence of the Berber community and refused to recognize its status in the country (Yezza, 2013). Many efforts were made to oppress it and even forbid the use of the Tamazight language, whether in formal or informal situations. This is considered a big violation of not only linguistic human rights but also human rights. Virtually, Algeria is an Arabic-speaking country, the truth being that almost a quarter of the population (75%) is Tamazight. As a result of the Arab-Muslim conquest of the Maghreb region and the embracement of the religion, the Arabic language ended up being the official language. Despite that, the Tamazight language persisted and remained dominant in a considerable number of regions in the Maghreb as well as in Algeria (Yezza, 2013). After the many efforts of the French colonizer to erase the Algerian identity, the post-independence era was a challenge to the authorities to bring it back. However, the Tamazight question was ignored and even oppressed, to the degree that no one was allowed to mention the Tamazight cause or even claim the right for it to be recognized as an integral part of the Algerian's linguistic reality (Yezza, 2013). (See Arabization policy)

Many constitutional reforms were made throughout the years, yet the Tamazight question has always been ignored. That, of course, was not well received by the Berber

community that felt treated unfairly and found that there was an intended injustice in dealing with their rights to exist. After all, there are millions of them whose mother tongue is Tamazight but officially it is inexistent (Yezza, 2013). Besides, the Arabization policy simply inflicted a cultural suppression that glorified one identity over another, and this is just an infringement of all the laws that the international treaties outlined to protect the linguistic minorities in the world. Although the Berber community was not a minority, it was treated that way and was pushed aside and threatened to be completely inexistent.

Sooner or later this injustice had to be addressed. Many protests took place, some of which were peaceful while others were very violent. Gradually, they grew to give birth to the first major protest movement that took place in April 1981 that was later called “the Berber Spring” demanding the recognition of Tamazight as an official language (Yezza, 2013). They also demanded the right to use Tamazight and even learn it in schools. The security forces tried to suppress the movement by using force, which led to many violent altercations.

Thanks to the Berber activism in Tizi-ouzou and Bejaia (Berber provinces), the Berber community could maintain their identity and protect their culture. The creation of linguistic departments and cultural centers on the Tamazight identity and culture helped increase the awareness of the importance to celebrate the Berber culture and the linguistic diversity of the country. Unfortunately, that was not enough to allow the entire nation to embrace its multilinguistic reality, or to make the authorities pass the needed laws to make the Tamazight language as official as Arabic. This led to other serious riots later in 2001; people went out to the streets to proclaim their desire to be fairly recognized, which is a legitimate linguistic human right (Yezza, 2013). It started first in Tizi-ouzou, later reaching the capital, and causing many injuries and some deaths; the Berber community is claiming its rights and is not ready to back down. In fact, in 2002 Tamazight was recognized by the constitution as a second national language in Algeria but not official. Not exactly what the Berber community wanted but at least they achieved a result that had been impossible before.

As a result of so many protests and reclamations, and under a lot of pressure, in 2015 president “Abdel Aziz Bouteflika”, who was the president from 1999 till he was recently impeached, and who always ignored the constant demands of the Berber community to recognize their language, finally decided to amend the constitution and recognize Tamazight as an official language. A decision considered sudden and surprising, but also a step forward to finally embrace the linguistic diversity that many tried to ignore and op-

press. Many researchers claim that this decision is not a conscious recognition of the legitimate rights of the Tamazight but an attempt to avoid further protests. Irrespective of the intentions behind the amendment of the constitution, the Berber community now has the official right to claim what was stolen from it and now has an opportunity to maintain its identity. In today's Algeria, to say that the country achieved a peaceful linguistic ecology where Algerians enjoy the same linguistic human rights is unrealistic. Authorities still consider linguistic diversity a minor issue, and any discourse of a linguistic heritage and culture remains rejected (Yezza, 2013). What the Berber community wants to achieve is the right to be recognized and the simple right to an identity, the authorities see it, however, as a threat to the economic growth of the country. They also consider the existence of minorities in the country as a threat to its union, which is what all the multilingual countries, where the minorities are marginalized, claim. Denying one's culture and identity is a violation of any human rights, and any diversity is a richness and not, in any case, a threat. Now that Tamazight has been partially recognized, it is considered a step forward and a chance to further recognition. It is, however, difficult and still has a long way to go to finally reach its desired goal, and if the pressure is still as strong, the Algerians may find the solution to an everlasting issue. Also, the increasing interest to learn English besides French, in a country like Algeria, is considered to be a significant sign of a change in the country's linguistic system.

In Algeria, future political leaders should change the laws regarding the linguistic issue, many years passed dealing with conflicts and protests due to the divisive policies the authorities adopted. Denying linguistic diversity and liberties is nothing but a big mistake that drowns the country in further conflicts. Algeria needs a serious project that calls for reconciliation, not conflict, the Algerians have the right to celebrate their fascinating heritage and cultural diversity, which is necessary for the stability of the society instead of leading unnecessary conflicts over a shared history and land, where every individual should aspire to maintain their culture and language and be able to pass it on to future generations (Yezza, 2013).

3.3 The Spread of English in Algeria

For the past decades, English has become a primary language used for international communication. The English language is now used in many countries around the world, as a result of the economic and industrial growth of certain powerful countries such as the United States of America and Great Britain. Over 2 billion people are speaking English

around the world, this has never happened before in the history of languages. Such growth has contributed to the English language becoming the lingua franca in many countries. A similar worldwide spread has never been achieved by any other language, not even by Latin or French. In many fields, whether it is education, economics, science, politics, or business it is English that is dominantly used (The history of English, 2011).

Another example of the globalization of the English language is its dominance in universal organizations like the United Nations, which is considered to be a global community that has 193 sovereign states as members. The other official languages that are used in the UN are French, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese. 85% of the international organizations, such as OPEC or EFTA, use English as the official language (The history of English, 2011).

English is strongly used in other fields as well, like cinema and music, and those are domains where the United States is the dominant power, artists and singers choose to sing or act in English for better sales, more success in the business and better chances to be recognized in the world. Thus, these are times where learning English has become essential to get access to the developing world to succeed in many businesses, economics, and many other domains (The history of English, 2011).

In Algeria, English is also recognized as an important language to learn, its growing spread in the country has been quite noticeable throughout recent years, especially among young people. It is taught at an early stage in schools and it has the second most important foreign language status, right after French. Due to the dominance of English in the majority of domains internationally, it has become essential to learn the language and teach it at early stages in Algerian schools, to enable the country to improve its economy, by making deals with powerful countries and get access to the different technologies that are dominated by the English speaking countries. Besides, for youngsters who wish to study abroad, even though France is still the number one destination for Algerian students, it has become apparent that an increasing number of youngsters, nowadays, choose to learn English to be able to study in other countries than France. What is even more encouraging for them is that they do not have to only travel to English-speaking countries, which can be difficult and expensive for them, there are plenty of other countries that are not native English countries but offer programs exclusively taught in English. The Algerians are aware of its importance globally, and the numbers of youngsters who choose to learn it have increased remarkably since 2004.

Historically, if English has taken such a long time to find a chance to exist in the linguistic profile of Algeria, it is because of the French colonization that rushed to conquer

the country in an attempt to maintain supremacy that has started to fade due to the British threat. Indeed, even though there is no historical connection between Algeria and the Anglo-Saxons, there has been an indirect link between the British expansion in the world and the interest of the French in conquering Algeria back in 1830. There was a rivalry between the two powers over who was ruling the world when the British ended France's empire in North America, by defeating it in Canada in 1759-1760. It marked the beginning of the British Empire and its rule over the world in the 19th century, and the decline of France that lost its status as a dominating power (Benrabah, 2009). Since then, France felt humiliated and developed a sense of inferiority towards the British, the French decline also meant the displacement of the French language and the beginning of the rise of English as the new international language. Around 1830, the world's linguistic map changed with the decline of French and Portuguese leaving the place to English to be the new lingua franca of the world. During the same period, France was looking for ways to retrieve its lost power and that could only be achieved by looking at the other side of the world. Colonizing Algeria, and later other countries in North Africa, was an ideal strategy for France to rebuild its empire, a successful attempt that allowed to bring back its colonial world power and its prestige, which was demeaned by the British Empire (Benrabah, 2009).

France wanted to build in North Africa what had been a failure in North America, a New France strong and powerful; it also adopted an assimilation policy, imposing French as the official language, at the expense of the existent languages aiming at getting back the lost supremacy of the country and the language. The Algerians remained under the rule of France for over a century, but they eventually fought for their independence and brought back their country, with the encouragement of many anti-colonialism countries, like the United States, who at that time became the greater power in the world (Benrabah, 2009). France developed a sense of anti-Americanism after the independence of Algeria because for them the US was against French colonialism only by fear to lose its supremacy, and completely crush France's empirical power. They felt yet again humiliated losing the Anglo-Saxons race after the loss in North America. For them, losing Algeria was more than just a defeat, it also meant leaving the place to Anglophones to conquer what was essential to the survival of the long-lost French empire. Seeing an English-speaking North Africa was a nightmare that the French still fear to date and try to prevent by any means (Benrabah, 2009).

As mentioned before, to Arabize the country, English was introduced to replace French by teaching it in the early stages in schools. The plan was to make Arabic the first

national language and English the first foreign language, which would allow the country to turn a page in history by also leaving its language behind and adopting a new foreign language that has no historical colonial connection with the country (Bellalem, 2014). In 1993, the English language was introduced as the first foreign language in some primary schools, replacing French. In 1995, the government generalized the teaching of English throughout the entire country. But soon, this would also have to be changed, as the government chose later to postpone the teaching of English to the middle school level and re-introduce French in the fourth grade in primary schools. The reason behind these changes is that Algerians were not ready to completely replace French with any other language, it was very much present and was the first language chosen by parents, for the simple reason that it is the language that is needed to have a job and is easier to acquire since it has been used since 1830. Also, it is the one used in many important domains in the Algerian society and has strong symbolic value, almost like that of Arabic. Table 4 (Cordel, 2014) lays out the number of Algerian students applying for English classes from 1996-1998 which have kept on decreasing since then.

Table 4:

The number of students applying for English classes as the first foreign language on a national level in Algeria (1996-1998)

Classes	1996	1998
4th grade	24213	13600
5th grade	25401	17677
6th grade	9393	24673
Total number of subscribers	59007	55950

Note. Data from Cordel, 2014, p. 230

As Table 4 demonstrates, the number of subscribers kept on decreasing and that incited policymakers to displace the new policy. It also exposed the fact that the Algerians needed more time to adjust to all these events, since independence, to accept the fact that English is a global language and learning it can be especially useful for both them and the country, but they had to first detach themselves, gradually, from the French language, if the goal was really to achieve that (Belmihoub, 2012). This may eventually happen, as Algeria becomes

more open to the world, the Algerians will consequently want to learn the language and since English and globalization are strongly linked, English will gain the interest of the Algerian population. Most of the Algerian speakers who are currently interested in using English, for both personal and professional reasons, are youngsters who mostly live in big cities, like in the capital Algiers, or the ones located on the coast (Benrabah b, 2009). These numbers will only continue to grow in the coming years. It is important to mention though that Algeria compared to the other northern African countries, namely Morocco and Tunisia, is behind as far as learning and speaking English is concerned. (Benrabah b, 2009).

What is interesting is that English seems to be spreading in the country, without the intervention of the ruling authorities using a certain program or strategy, since the ones adopted, so far, have failed. The Algerian youth want to learn it and even started using it in their everyday life conversations. “It is cooler to speak in English” is what some of the youngsters in the urban areas said, as an answer to why the sudden interest in English. Others claimed that it is the language to speak if you want to be open to the world and be up to date on what is modern. Also, being constantly exposed to different social media networks, such as Twitter and Facebook, which use mostly English as the medium language, helped considerably in the growing interest in this language. In 2009, 13.5 % of Algerians (47,0000 people) used the Internet, and numbers just keep on growing (Cordel, 2014).

What also helped to increase the youngster’s interest in the English language is the spread of English songs and movies and the broadcasting of TV programs in English, in the many, now available, international channels that are aired beside the Algerian ones. Previously, the Algerians had no choice but to watch national channels on Algerian television, where programs were exclusively broadcasted in French or Arabic. Things have changed since access to international channels, especially from the Middle East, has become easy and available to all. The constant exposure to the media and the different TV channels and radio stations, the different technologies, and the high rate of usage of mobile phones among the youngsters, that also use English as a medium language, contributed considerably to the growth of the English language in the country (Benrabah b, 2009).

We should mention the many English-language institutions that are working on attracting the Algerians and encourage them to both learn and speak it. The Linguaphone Group is an example of one of these institutions that are investing in Algeria. It is a training center, with well-equipped training rooms, that has built, since its inauguration in the country, a reputation of delivering the English language professionally and efficiently. Since 2007 it has trained around 1000 students. (Benrabah b, 2009). The Algerian Ministry

of Education is also trying to improve the level of English in the country and raise awareness of the importance of learning it. The ministry reached an agreement with both the American government and the British Council to improve the level of teaching English and raise its standards, by training teachers and inspectors (Benrabah b, 2009). Currently, the Algerians are interested in learning the language also for professional reasons, they are aware of the need to have a high level of English if they seek to work abroad, in a non-French speaking country, which was earlier the number one destination of the youngsters. Countries like Canada have plenty of job opportunities and less severe immigration laws, and this is what attracts people who cannot find enough job opportunities in Algeria. There is what is called a “brain drain” that the country is facing, due to the poor conditions of research and the lack of job opportunities, that make it hard for elites to stay in the country. In 2011, according to estimates, 71500 university graduates immigrated mainly to France, Canada, the UK, or the USA looking for better conditions of life and work (Cordel, 2014).

From an economic point of view, English is increasingly in demand as well. Hydrocarbon is the heart of the economy in Algeria, it is a rich country when it comes to oil and gas, and it has the 10th largest oil reserve in the world and the 17th largest in gas (Benrabah b, 2009). In this particular industry, multinational companies are in strong need of local workers who can also master the English language. Unfortunately, that is missing in the country, and that explains why the Ministry of Education is encouraging the Algerians to not only focus on the French language and promises more job opportunities for those who master English (Benrabah b, 2009). Algeria attracts many foreign companies to invest in the country and they have many facilities that are in the Sahara, which is an isolated area in Algeria and fewer people live there. Due to the lack of local workers, who also master the English language, many Algerians started considering working in these companies. Even though they are in such a remote area of the country, it is seen as a real opportunity because there is a serious lack of job offers in the urban areas. Besides the other diplomas needed, English has become, similarly, important to increase their chances to be accepted (Benrabah b, 2009). Although French is the dominant language when it comes to economy and industrial trade, the oil companies seem to favor the learning of English. According to an inquiry performed by *Euromonitor International*, which investigated the required linguistic skills in job offers presented by agencies in Algeria, companies are now requiring the use of English (Cordel, 2014). 34% of offers demand the knowledge of English as L1 and 4% as L2, interviews that are carried out by recruiting companies or agen-

cies, showcase that 40% of the interviewed applicants estimate that it is required to learn English in the job market, French was heading by 45% and Arabic is 15% (Cordel, 2014).

The awareness of the importance to learn English and the willingness to learn another language, besides French and MSA, is a positive sign and can help Algerian youngsters in many ways. The Algerians may finally understand that no language is the highest expression of civilization and that some other languages are similarly valuable. With the complex linguistic history of the country, and how one language or another has always been imposed on the population, learning a new language that can have a certain importance in the everyday life of the Algerians, and has no historical or colonial history, can be positive and play a bigger role than just being another foreign language that is taught in schools (Benrabah b, 2009).

3.4 Language Attitudes in Algeria

Before exploring language attitudes in Algeria, issues like the definition of the term “attitude” to then what is meant by language attitudes in general and what are the attitudes expressed towards languages in Algeria will be discussed.

3.4.1 Definition of Attitudes

To define the word “attitude”, one must go through many research studies and definitions; it is the most relevant concept that is used in different situations and contexts. To find the precise meaning of the word “attitude” we must also define its relationship with different other contexts such as perception, culture, beliefs, past experiences, and many others (Bziker, 2015). Even though the word has so many interconnected concepts to define it, some definitions proved to be more accurate and more favored than others.

The word “attitude” is derived from the Latin word “aptus”, “aptitude for action”, and the Italian “atto”. Initially, the term “attitude” meant for a long period a physical posture or a pose a person can make for a portrait to be painted (Villarreal, 2011). Then the concept of the word changed considerably over the years. It has become the central concept of social psychology for a considerable amount of time, and it was defined earlier as the scientific study of attitudes. According to Gordon Allport, this concept is probably the most distinctive and important one in contemporary American social psychology (Schwartz & Bohner, 2001).

Many other fields started later to also be interested in studying the concept of attitudes, some of them are linguistic studies that also deal with language, such as sociolinguistics, social psychology of language, education. Also, fields like cultural anthropology and ethnography (Parianou, 2009). Due to the many fields that were interested in studying attitudes, many definitions were given trying to define it most accurately. It started from being broad and vague to being more reduced and precise later. The initial definitions emphasized the close relationship of attitudes to an individual's behavior, at first the concept of attitudes included motivational, cognitive, and behavioral components (Schwartz & Bohner, 2001). Gordon Allport defined attitudes as a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience that influences the individual's response to all objects and situations (Schwartz & Bohner, 2001). Some sociologists and psychologists such as Fuson and Campbell define attitudes as a specific reaction or behavior to a specific situation (Schwartz & Bohner, 2001).

In the subsequent decades, the definition of the word "attitude" became much less broad and vague, although still complex and the subject of many theories. Social psychologist Daryl Bem briefly defines the word as "Attitudes are likes and dislikes" (Schwartz & Bohner, 2001, p.2). Also, Eagly and Chaiken gave a similar definition, they defined attitudes as being "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor"(Schwartz & Bohner, 2001, p.2). Some researchers suggest that people can have stable attitudes, yet their assessment depends on the context that influenced these attitudes. Hence attitudes can be highly context-dependent and can be changed according to certain situations, which explains the likes and dislikes definition and how the status of certain attitudes can remain unchanged while others can be subject to change (Schwartz & Bohner, 2001). From this perspective, the judgmental process is as important as the attitude itself and needs a detailed analysis to learn more about human cognition and behavior (Schwartz & Bohner, 2001).

"Motivation" is another concept that should be differentiated from attitudes, a task that is not as easy, and sometimes we cannot define clear dividing lines between both concepts (Bziker, 2015). In most studies, motivation is strongly linked to attitudes and both terms are often being used interchangeably as being synonymous (Bartram, 2010). Not being able to draw a clear distinction between attitudes and motivation is considered by some critiques as a failure of social-psychologists who dominate the field of attitude research (Bartram, 2010). However, for Ulrich Schiefele, the nature of the relation between the two concepts is clear as he defines motivation as a mixture of motives and attitudes.

According to his view, attitudes represent an individual's stable disposition towards a specific object like learning a foreign language for example, whereas motivation is an immediate factor that guides behavior in a situation and a broader goal (Bartram, 2010). Collin Baker also gives a clearer definition of both terms by focusing on the existing difference between object and goal (Bartram, 2010). According to him, attitudes are object-specific focusing on the relationship between attitude and a specific object that is referred to, while motivation is aligned directly with goal-oriented behavior. This means in a way that motivation is still interchanged and somehow mixed with attitudes (Bartram, 2010).

3.4.2 Language Attitudes

Language attitudes have also been of notable interest to many researchers, it plays a major role in defining motives to engage, or not, in speaking or learning any particular language and that depends on many factors that we will elaborate later. Many researchers tried to explore these factors, to better understand the impact attitudes have on any given language, and to determine what makes us lean towards speaking and learning a certain language instead of another. According to Ralf.W. Fasold, language attitudes should not be restricted towards the language itself alone and judge it only in terms of being too harsh or too ugly, poor, or rich (Parianou, 2009). It should go further and also include speakers who speak the language and the society they are living in, and attitudes towards language planning and maintenance (Parianou, 2009). It is important to mention that attitudes also play a particularly important role in language teaching and learning and the nature of the relation between the two can be very intricate (Bziker, 2015). Language attitudes can be defined as the feelings people have about their language, the other languages in their country in the case where it is a multilingual one, or about foreign languages in general.

The concept of language attitudes is defined best in the Longman Dictionary of language teaching and applied linguistics:

“Linguistic attitudes are: “the attitudes which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, the degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language. Language attitudes may have an effect on SECOND LANGUAGE or FOREIGN LANGUAGE learning. The measurement of language attitudes provides information which is useful in language teaching and language learning.” (Richards & Schmidt, 2013, p. 314)

Thus, as mentioned above, to study language attitudes it is important to take into consideration many key variables, which play a major role to define the nature of attitudes one may have for a language. Expressing a certain feeling and attitude towards a language will eventually lead to the willingness to learn it, speak it, and use it or simply dismiss it (Moussadek, 2013). Here are some of these key variables that can explain the nature of certain language attitudes:

The status of a certain language can eventually define a certain kind of attitude either positive or negative. The changing economic situation of a country, for example, can lead to a changing attitude towards it from being good to bad or the other way around, which explains the willingness to learn it or not (Parianou, 2009). Other factors can determine the status of a certain language besides the high or low economic situation of the country, like the size of the language's speaker community, the language used by the majority in the country, whether it is a living or a dead language, whether the language has recognized literary importance in the world, whether the language is of certain importance to one's ethnic identity, in case it is a minority language (Parianou, 2009).

Attitudes towards a certain language can also vary with age, children can have an attitude towards a language that can change once grown up. They tend to change their attitudes towards a certain language, according to their social interaction and environmental experience with that language (Moussadek, 2013). The historical and cultural background of the language is also an important factor that can affect language attitudes. Also, the educational context can develop language attitudes in a significant manner (Moussadek, 2013).

There are two main components of language attitudes according to Baker, "instrumental" attitudes, and "integrative" attitudes. An "instrumental" attitude is individualistic and self-oriented, it can be defined as referring to what a person can gain by learning and have a certain level of proficiency in a certain language, like for example having a better job or a higher salary. It is the desire to be recognized in society and enjoy the advantages that come along with the knowledge of these languages. An instrumental attitude can be either negative or positive (Moussadek, 2013). The "integrative" attitude to a certain language is more socially oriented, it is being identified with a certain language group and their cultural activities. It is about being affiliated with the society and being identified with a group of speakers; it is the way to feel integrated. The "integrative" attitude can be defined as having positive attitudes and feelings towards a language community (Moussadek, 2013).

The nature of attitudes being negative or positive is what defines the continuity and the survival of languages. When attitudes are favorable to a certain language in a society, that means people will give this particular language a higher status and preserve the continuity of its use in the country (Moussadek, 2013). It is also important to mention that the process of standardization in languages is another factor that influences, in a major way, attitudes that we may have towards any given language, whether they are positive or negative. The standardization of a language is defined as being a natural development of a variety of a language, a dialect for example, in a certain speech community, leading its members to impose it as a standard. Speakers of certain languages that are widely used in the world, like English, Spanish or French, believe that their languages exist in a standardized form. Milroy argues that powerful ideological positions based on this standard form, dominate language attitudes in a major way, and created what is called the “ideology of the standard language” (Milroy, 2001).

All these factors contribute to defining language attitudes in Algeria. As a multilingual country, there are surely attitudes towards each spoken language, and how people think about each one of them, is what will define the nature of attitudes the Algerians have, negative or positive. This will eventually define the nature of the linguistic atmosphere that is existent in the country.

3.4.3 Language Attitudes in Algeria

After approaching the concept of attitudes and language attitudes from different views and definitions, one can observe this same phenomenon in Algeria. It is important to mention that not all Algerians express the same attitudes towards the different languages of the country. Varying from positive to negative and that depending on different personal reasons and experiences everyone has with these languages, leading to having a certain attitude towards a specific language, or a specific group of people that speak a certain language. Stereotypes which are also particularly important, play a major role in determining how people react to languages in the country, which constitute a particular form of verbalization of attitudes and give certain traits to the different language groups that coexist in the same community, these same traits are the ones that are validated to describe other differences based on which they can be either discriminated or adopted (Moussadek, 2013).

People in Algeria and the world, in general, react either positively or negatively to different stereotypes, dialects, pronunciation, language varieties, or the status of a certain

language in the country. To better understand the foundations of certain language attitudes we must first understand the different aspects that a language itself has (Moussadek, 2013).

In the case of Algeria, there are three main official languages, with English as the official foreign language, due to the different historical backgrounds each of these languages has in the country, there are different attitudes, positive and negative, that the Algerians express towards each one of them. First, the positive attitudes will be introduced to then explain the negative ones.

3.4.3.1 Positive Attitudes

The Berber community thinks very highly of their language and they have incredibly positive attitudes towards it. For them, Tamazight is more than a language. It is an identity that needs to be preserved, protected, and acknowledged. They have been fighting since independence for the language to be promoted to the status of an official language. The Algerian authorities have been denying such rights leading to many conflicts and sometimes to violent riots, to finally agree to give it the status of an official language alongside the Standard Arabic. Their fight is not over yet since lot more efforts need to be accomplished for the Berber community to be fully integrated into society. One of the advantages of having positive attitudes towards a language is the feisty fight these people are willing to have to ensure that this language is acknowledged in the country (Belmihoub, 2012).

The Algerians have mostly positive attitudes towards the two foreign languages English and French. Both languages are necessary to ensure a better future. To be able to accomplish that, they need to learn either of these languages to be able to travel and study abroad, because for them a better future is the possibility to study and live abroad, due to the many problems of corruption and nepotism that exist in Algeria. For that reason, learning foreign languages aspire for a better life (Belmihoub, 2012).

Because Algeria was colonized by the French for over a century, French was the language of modernity and education for a long time. Even after the independence, the Algerians had to learn French to be considered intellectuals and to have an opportunity to study abroad or even work in Algeria. Recently the English language started gaining ground in the country due to the important status it has internationally. Realizing this, the Algerian government started introducing foreign languages at the early stages of the educational system. This shows that the country is ready to embrace foreign languages and step away from the Arabization policy. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is as important as the two other languages, mainly for emotional reasons, and it is not possible to completely give up for-

eign languages (Belmihoub, 2012). The fact that the Algerians are willing to learn foreign languages besides learning MSA, which they consider their official language, shows their positive attitude towards multilingualism, which is the best way to deal with the conflicted linguistic situation that the country has always struggled with (Belmihoub, 2012).

As for English, which is the second foreign language in the country, it is taught at early stages in schools and it is also promoted as the language of globalization. To improve the economy, the country needs English speakers to be able to make deals with foreign countries. Besides the fact that English is needed for economic reasons, the Algerians are increasingly interested in learning it, to the point that some observers claim that English may displace French as the number one foreign language in the country in the coming years (Belmihoub, 2012). Algerians have positive attitudes towards English for many reasons. One, as mentioned before it is an international language, and learning it may allow studying or working abroad, which means better chances for a better life due to the living conditions in the country that are quite difficult. So, learning English seems to be the obvious option to take for the Algerians to travel abroad and hope for a brighter future. Also, there is the fact that the English language has no historical links with the country as it has never been colonized by English colonizers, so there are no reasons to have a negative attitude towards the language as was the case with French.

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the first official language in Algeria. It was imposed by the government through the Arabization policy right after the independence. The fact that it is also the language of Islam helped the Algerians to easily embrace it and accept it.

Bringing back the status of the Standard Arabic after the independence and after more than a century of French colonization, was not easy but was possible because of the desire of the authorities to bring back the country's identity. The strong positive attitudes that the Algerians had towards the Standard Arabic, which was the language of their religion, was what allowed the process of Arabization to be a lot easier. Years after independence and even though the policy of Arabization was a failure, most Algerians still have a positive attitude towards the Standard Arabic, and they are willing to maintain it as the official language of Algeria. However, they are also willing to learn other languages namely French, and recently English, and have acknowledged Tamazight as an official language of the country.

3.4.3.2 *Negative Attitudes*

The post-independence policy of Arabization aiming at bringing back the national identity through the monolingualism principle was a big illusion. The idea of imposing one language and one culture while ignoring the other languages, French and Tamazight, caused more problems and conflicts for the Algerian population. The authorities enforced the Arabization policy after independence to unify the nation by a single language and a single culture, but it did create an unhealthy environment and constant conflicts between the different linguistic groups (Briggs, 2010).

The consequences of the policy adopted by the Algerian government created negative attitudes towards each of the used languages and divided the country into conflicting linguistic groups. There are many negative attitudes towards the French language and those who chose to continue writing in French. Based on the linguistic nationalism principle, and the fact that the Algerian authorities believed that what should follow political independence is cultural and linguistic independence. It was unacceptable to continue to write in French, the language of the enemy and once colonizer and was wrongly considered as a betrayal of the Algerian revolution (Briggs, 2010).

A linguistic hierarchy was created due to the application of the Arabization policy. The Standard Arabic was the sacred language and the official language of the country, ignoring and even oppressing not only French but also Tamazight, which was not the language of the colonizer as they would argue about French. Tamazight for the Arabization supporter was vulgar and barbarian. The Berber community and those who support the Tamazight language were also considered enemies of the Arabization policy (Briggs, 2010). Hence, many speakers of the Algerian Arabic and supporters of the Arabization policy had negative attitudes towards Tamazight, and for an exceedingly long time were against even the idea of recognizing Tamazight as a national or official language. After many years of only promoting the Standard Arabic, and completely rejecting the idea of using Tamazight on the national level, the authorities not only forbid its use but also portrayed it as divisive and a threat to the unity of the country (Belmihoub, 2012). Whenever the Berber community claimed the recognition of their language, and sometimes they had to riot to make their voices heard, the government would accuse them of being separatists and wanting to divide the country. Somehow this idea of associating the claim of the Tamazight linguistic rights with threatening the unity of the country got stuck in people's minds. Even though it recently finally got recognized by the authorities as an official language, people still have negative attitudes towards Tamazight.

There are many negative attitudes towards the Algerian Arabic, which is the spoken unofficial language in the country. It is also considered impure and inferior to the Standard Arabic (Belmihoub, 2012). Many intellectuals think that the Algerian Arabic is a messed-up language because of the constant switch between Arabic and French, and that is what makes it impure (Belmihoub, 2012). There are also words in Tamazight, Turkish and Spanish that are an integral part of the Algerian Arabic, and this helped to create what the supporters of the Standard Arabic call a bizarre unintelligent language (Belmihoub, 2012).

The Arabization policy caused both internal and external dilemmas within the Algerian community. The idea of using linguistic nationalism by imposing one language and one culture to unite a multilingual country was a failure and was very damaging (Briggs, 2010). Even though a multilingual nation has many benefits, and admitting such a fact could have helped to rebuild the country after many years of colonization much more efficiently, the government refused to recognize this reality and chose instead to completely ignore and oppress the other languages, and promote only one language (Briggs, 2010). As a result of the Algerian linguistic nationalism put in place by the government, the country was divided into linguistic groups between supporters and opponents. What appeared as a linguistic debate turned out to be more of a political one in reality, due to the undemocratic policy of Arabization. All those who opposed it or refused to acknowledge the Standard Arabic as the sole language of all Algerians were considered enemies to both the unity of the country and the Arabic language (Briggs, 2010).

The division of the Algerians over the linguistic issue caused a lot of violence, like in the case of Berbers who had to violently protest for their linguistic and cultural rights. The government had to acknowledge Tamazight as an official language mostly to avoid more violence (Briggs, 2010). This may be in a certain way a success for the Berber community since this is what they had always wanted to happen, but to ensure social peace in the country, a lot more efforts were needed to be done by the authorities. It can only be accomplished, by fully integrating the Tamazight language through the educational system and in all the other important sectors of the society. Requiring a major commitment from the government, which has unfortunately not been done yet and the Algerian authorities are not taking these measurements very seriously. If the Berber community is still marginalized, although their language has an official status, there will always be a linguistic conflict in the country (Rabai Maamri, 2016).

The question that needs to be asked here is: Is violence the only way to regain linguistic rights? Although what made the linguistic situation in Algeria even more compli-

cated is the fact that it has become more of a political debate than a linguistic one. Civil society can contribute to defying the political interference in a pure linguistic debate, it needs to be handled properly to enforce positive attitudes towards the used languages in the country (Belmihoub, 2012).

To be able to resolve the complicated linguistic situation of the country, what needs to be done, before everything else, is for the authorities and the civil society to acknowledge the linguistic diversity of Algeria and promote multilingualism. The best way to deal with the negative attitudes that the Algerians have towards one language and change it into positive ones is through education (Belmihoub, 2012). Students need to know the reality of their country and need to understand what it means to live in a multilingual society. Schools should have programs that explain the linguistic diversity of the country and the importance of coexisting peacefully with every linguistic group. It is only through education that Algerians can achieve linguistic peace, where the Algerians can coexist and enjoy their full human linguistic rights. Just like the Arabization policy was imposed through education and falsely promoted one culture and one language, the situation can also be fixed through education, and teachers can play a key role in enforcing positive attitudes among students.

The media can also be highly effective in encouraging additive multilingualism and promoting positive attitudes towards the spoken languages of the country. If policymakers decide to foster linguistic diversity instead of only presenting the Standard Arabic as the sole language in Algeria, it will solidify both social and political stability and insert positive attitudes in Algerians' minds (Belmihoub, 2012).

Nevertheless, the emergence of English in all these conflictual linguistic situations can also, in fact, be of great benefit to the country. Introducing a new language through which students can both learn a universal language that is needed and widely used, and also be aware of the advantages of being multilingual thanks to a new improved educational program, may loosen the tension that has been existing in Algeria for a long time. As mentioned before, English is a language that has no history with the country, and Algerians are progressively interested in learning it. Therefore, promoting the English language alongside improving the educational program that fosters linguistic diversity, would be the ideal solution to achieve linguistic peace in Algeria.

3.5 Language Roles in Algeria

Considering the unique history of Algeria in Africa and the Maghreb as well as the Arabic-speaking countries, it makes an interesting example for the study of language and how it can affect the country and the people; it is a fascinating case for those interested in language policy and what consequences it inflicts on the future of the country. Vigorous policies were imposed by the authorities to solve the language issues that the country has always had during and after the colonization (Benrabah, 2005). Algeria is the only country that was colonized by the French for over 123 years, and due to the assimilationist rule, that the French applied in the country, it was especially important for the Algerian authority to recover their lost identity and language. Ephraim and Mala Tabory described Algeria's complex linguistic situation as follows:

“[t]he Algerian situation is complex, as it is at a crossroad of tensions between French, the colonial language, and Arabic, the new national language; Classical Arabic versus colloquial Algerian Arabic; and the various Berber dialects versus Arabic. The lessons from the Algerian situation may be usefully applied to analogous situations by states planning their linguistic, educational and cultural policies.”
(Tabory & Tabory, 1987, p. 64)

Dealing with the language issues in Algeria has led to many conflicts and riots. Until the early 2000s and after many internal hostilities and civil war, authorities started gradually putting in place policies to overcome the unstable state that the country was in (Benraba, 2005). Whether it is in education, business or the media, languages play an important role to help figure out how to best deal with the identity crisis that has been lasting for decades in the country.

Algerian Arabic and Tamazight have important roles in Algerians' private lives, while French and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) are more important in areas such as education, business, and in the media (Belmihoub, 2012). There is also English that is emerging and is slowly gaining importance; it also has a role to play in the Algerian community whether privately or in other important sectors of the country (Belmihoub, 2012).

3.5.1 Roles of Languages in Education

In an attempt for Algeria to fix the economic gap between Europe and the countries of North Africa, and to try to improve both political and social conditions in the country, many reforms were introduced in the educational system (K-12 and higher education) to reform the intellectual base in Algeria. Realizing that the country needed to welcome and

encourage linguistic diversity to move forward and to help build the economic condition of the country, authorities chose education as the ideal solution to solve this issue (Belmihoub, 2012). The main reason behind taking such a decision was the failure of the Arabization policy. It was badly imposed in the educational sector without thinking of the catastrophic effects it will have on the future of students, and which resulted in a complicated situation that took a long time for the government to openly admit. The minister of higher education declared in mid-November 2005 that 80% of students failed their final exams, and that was mainly due to their linguistic incompetence. French is the language of instruction in scientific fields in higher education, and since MSA has been the language of instruction in all the levels before university, students who chose scientific fields were weak in French. These were enough reasons for them to fail (Benrabah, 2007).

As early as 1963, The Standard Arabic (MSA) was the language used for instruction, from kindergarten until the third year of high school. Every single subject except for foreign languages and Tamazight was taught in MSA, this has been the case since authorities imposed the Arabization policy right after the independence. For a long time, French was the language of instruction during the colonization, but it was quickly replaced by MSA after the 1960s. Erasing the French language was the first target of the Arabization policy, as a result, the time spent on teaching it decreased considerably. In contrast, the number of hours teaching MSA increased in all schools at all levels. However, French was still the language used for important fields of higher education (Benrabah, 2007). For example, medicine, math, technical courses, or engineering were all instructed in French. Therefore, students who chose to study one of the mentioned domains struggled, and often they failed at the college level, simply due to their lack of French competence (Belmihoub, 2012).

As a result, since the early 2000s, the government has been implementing a new system that recognizes the importance of multilingualism in schools. This was also an effort to improve the educational system and to obtain the recognition of Algerian degrees internationally (Belmihoub, 2012). The new program is based on the Bologna agreement set up by Europe, to encourage economic and research collaborations between European countries and later included some North African countries. Algeria was also involved, that is why it was important for authorities to both improve and adjust its educational program to the international one (Belmihoub, 2012). Many further reforms took place in the K-12 system, as a response to the increasing importance that the English language has gained throughout the world and following the Bologna accord. Many private schools taught English in the country whereas in public schools it was taught in the seventh grade, which is

one grade earlier than in the old system. Students needed to be introduced to the English language at an earlier level to help improve their proficiency (Belmihoub, 2012).

As for Tamazight, which is now recognized as an official language, it has been slowly introduced in schools in the early 1990s. As mentioned before, this is a language that was fiercely fought for since independence to find its place in both society and schools (Belmihoub, 2012).

Other factors pushed the Algerian government to abandon the monolingual schooling system, one of them was the need to adjust to the economic reforms that were taking place around the world and be a part of the international market economy. Another important factor was the 9/11 events and the developments that happened around the world. Algeria, like many other Arab-Muslim countries, was pressured to reform the educational system and acknowledge minority linguistic rights (Benrabah, 2007).

3.5.2 Roles of Languages in Business

In the business world in Algeria, French and MSA are the languages that are mostly used. Tamazight is not present in the domain of business in the country, it is an oppressed language and it is hardly used in any sector. We can mostly see it in Tamazight-speaking regions in small businesses dealing with small groups of Tamazight customers (Belmihoub, 2012).

English, however, is increasingly used and it is spreading faster than any time before. Besides French companies that have been investing in Algeria for a long time, English and British companies also started investing, especially in domains like hydrocarbons which are Algeria's main income source (Belmihoub, 2012). Therefore, there is a need for the English language and that is why people are interested in learning it. It is important to note as well that in recent years English has proved to be exceptionally good for business, mainly because people in Algeria perceive it as a prestigious language, which allowed many businesses to take advantage of it (Belmihoub, 2012). For example, you can find short phrases or sentences in English written on different products like pencils, bags, or even blankets which are not that appealing or would not make much sense if they were translated to Arabic or French. Interestingly, they do attract customers even if they do not understand what is written. It is simply because English is well perceived and has a certain prestige, or maybe because it is a language that is yet to be understood by everyone in the country but has an international appeal (Belmihoub, 2012). Because English is well perceived by the people in the country, and even if what is written on the products has no real

meaning and you may not find it in an English-speaking country, people buy the products anyway. It means that it works and that is what a business marketer looks for. They aim for profits and English helps in getting them (Belmihoub, 2012).

3.5.3 Roles of Languages in the Media

For many years MSA was the dominant language in the media in Algeria because the government was promoting the policy of Arabization and restricted the number of private media. There was only one national channel (ENTV) and it was owned by the government and had full control over its content. It also owned the few other stations that were airing on satellite and MSA was the only language used in this sector (Belmihoub, 2012). Later, and under the pressure of many Tamazight activists, the government launched one satellite channel for Tamazight-speaking Algerians using the Tamazight language and another French-speaking channel (Canal Algérie) and a TV Coran. An attempt that was appreciated by Algerians because the neglected part of the population felt a bit of recognition even if it was only symbolic. To date, these channels are still possessed by the government. After the recent events of the Arab spring, and to avoid further riots in the country, in an attempt to persuade the population that it can enjoy more freedoms especially that of expression, the government allowed the creation of private TV and radio stations. Many used MSA and the Algerian Arabic but others chose Tamazight or French (Belmihoub, 2012). The new private TV channels started as experimental, many of which were also based in France and were mainly French-speaking channels. Some of them were Tamazight-speaking for the Berber community in Algeria. Through the chosen language they somehow revealed the Algerian identity that is diverse, a diversity that was for a long time denied on the national state channels (Labeled, 2015). As for English, there were few programs in the national channel that were broadcasted in English, but they did not last for a long time and were quickly removed from the airing programs, mainly because Algerians were not familiar with the language, so they had not generated the success aimed for (Belmihoub, 2012).

The reason why the government encouraged the broadcasting of English-speaking programs, even before English had the status it has nowadays, is because they wanted the English language to somehow replace French, the language of the colonizer, and also at the same time promote the Standard Arabic. This was one of the techniques adopted by the Arabization policy. By introducing English to Algerians, whether in the educational system or using the media, they wanted to erase all the traces that the French colonizer had left behind. There was an English-speaking program, called Arabic roots of English words, that

was broadcasted recently and was specifically intended to reach that very goal (Belmihoub, 2012).

In recent years, and thanks to the global emergence of the English language, several channels on Algerian television have started diffusing programs in English, be it documentaries or entertainment like movies and songs. These programs were mainly popular amongst youngsters, and they helped increase their interest in learning the language. The English language appeared as stylish and appealing especially to the youth, which explains the increasing popularity of other English-speaking channels in the country (Labeled, 2015).

As for the printed media, (newspapers), some of which are mainly owned by the government, many are also privately owned. Most of the published newspapers used MSA, for example, *El Khabar*, *Ennahar*, which are also among the most read newspapers in the country. The ones using French are also quite popular and have a faithful reading base, for example, *Liberté* and *El Watan*. All these mentioned newspapers are owned by the government (Belmihoub, 2012). *La Depeche de Kabylie* is a private newspaper that uses French and is mainly dedicated to writing about the issues of the Kabylie in particular, which is a Berber region, and the Berber community in general (Belmihoub, 2012). They chose French instead of Tamazight, mainly because very few Algerians can read Tamazight and it has only been recognized recently as a national language. Besides, it started being taught in schools late and not as a mandatory language. This explains why there are very few if no Tamazight newspapers at all in the country, a condition that the Berber community is struggling and fighting extremely hard to change.

There were limited newspapers that used English in Algeria, whether printed or online. Lately, some newspapers have started publishing online using the English language like *Ennahar*, an attempt that was appreciated by the readers who are now interested in reading in English. As for magazines, there are only a few that are in English, *55/fifty Magazine* for example (Belmihoub, 2012).

The radio in Algeria is completely owned by the government, so there are strict control measures over the news content of the stations. There are only two radio stations that air in French and Tamazight, as for the remaining ones they all air either in the Standard or the Algerian Arabic (Belmihoub, 2012). Some programs, however, that target a younger audience, are aired in English due to the growing popularity of the language among the youth.

Language in Algeria has always been and still is a controversial issue that needs to be sorted out at a certain point in time. If the diversity that is existing in the country and

that has always existed is not recognized, the problem of identity that the Algerian citizens suffer from will not be solved. The country went through many phases throughout its history, and in each of these phases the language was always the main problematic issue, and there was always a language that was oppressed or neglected. Some argue that the recent interest in the English language can be of great benefit to the country in many ways. There is the fact that even the government is encouraging its learning, maybe for political reasons, nevertheless, it is a language that has no historical bond with the country. It has no negative background attached to it; hence it can play a bigger role than any other language had in the history of the country. The addition of another language to the already complex linguistic situation of the country can be problematic, but it all depends on how it is used and taken advantage of. The government has always been in favor of promoting English over French. At the same time, it wanted to Arabize the country through English. These are not roles that the English language should play in the Algerian society, it should not be used to impose an identity that ignores the other spoken languages and claim the whole country to be Arabic, while 99% of the population is ethnically Berber (Belmihoub, 2012).

Each of the currently used languages plays a certain role in Algeria's linguistic environment, but there is this undeniable tension between them that is causing a serious identity crisis in the country. This is the main reason why the English language can be used as a tool to promote linguistic peace and reconciliation, not to add up to the actual tension that the political agenda of the government can cause. It should reflect the real values of the Algerian society, it should open the door for the Algerians to the world's civil society, and it can play a key role in creating opportunities in the economic world. This can help improve the economy in the country and increase the chances for Algerians to get more jobs. Algerians can acquire knowledge thanks to English that they do not have access to in the other languages, a knowledge that is of great value and can eventually stabilize the country socially and politically (Belmihoub, 2012). Through English, Algeria should finally be able to create bonds with the rest of the world and be introduced to the world's many communities, to eventually get out of its isolated bubble that is preventing others from really understanding the reality of this country (Belmihoub, 2012).

3.6 Foreign Language Learning and Acquisition in Algeria

Learning and acquiring languages is a part of human nature and there are various reasons for languages to be learned or acquired. We all speak at least one language which is our mother tongue that we acquire as young children, the majority of people also speaks a sec-

ond language or maybe more depending on various factors, be it social, historical, or geographical that can lead to speaking many languages at once (Fäke, 2014).

The mother tongue is called (L1/ MT) and it is usually acquired by children without any instructions or knowledge of grammar and is greatly influenced by the input of adults, usually the parents. They intuitively know what should and should not be said and easily distinguish between wrong and right in speech (Fäke, 2014). Children go through different phases following a chronological order to completely produce correct multimodal communicative processes (Fäke, 2014). Speaking a language also includes written skills besides the oral ones, for that, it is necessary to receive explicit teaching, and here is where the learning begins (Fäke, 2014).

There is, however, a complex variant of the first language acquisition called “*simultaneous multilingualism*” and that is acquiring two languages at the same time which are both considered as a mother tongue. However, it is not that common compared to the other variant called “*sequential multilingualism*” (Saville-Troike, 2006, p. 4). In some cases, children grow up in an environment where two languages are equally important and are used around them constantly (Fäke, 2014). They learn them both and master both perfectly, they usually have bilingual parents. Children continue to use both languages as they grow older in cases where both are as important in the country where they live. If not, it is a known fact that later they will have to give up bilingualism or they will use one language more than the other (Fäke, 2014). It is the case in Algeria, where many Berber children acquire two languages at the same time, and both are considered as their mother tongue. In the majority of cases, children acquire both Tamazight and the Algerian Arabic simultaneously to later study MSA in schools. Therefore, they grow up speaking two languages, although in some cases they end up neglecting Tamazight and use the Algerian Arabic more often, simply because it is dominantly spoken in the country. In other cases, and it is not that common, it occurs mostly in the Kabyle region, where children acquire both Tamazight and French as they refuse to learn the Algerian Arabic. They later study MSA in schools like all the other parts of Algeria, simply because they have no choice, but as a form of protest against the linguistic policy of the country, they refuse to acknowledge any language but Tamazight as their own.

Many scholars tend to make a distinction between second language acquisition and foreign language learning. They argue that any language that is acquired following instructions and rules means that it was learned and not acquired, in other words, the learner was somehow forced to learn the language following a different process than a normal acquisi-

tion (Fäke, 2014). The difference between both processes lies in how it is acquired and used, acquiring a language does not involve grammar or following rules to learn how to read and write, the language is simply acquired either at an early age as the mother tongue or with the constant contact with the native speakers of a particular language. Its focus is communication whereas learning is more of a conscious process that focuses on learning grammar, written rules, and how to read, and it takes place mostly in classes (Baker, 2006).

It is claimed that after the acquisition of the first language at an early age, the brain has gained a certain experience with the language phenomena and has learned how to interact with additional languages (Fäke, 2014). It is called the Second Language (L2), or the target language, the number or the order does not have any importance if it is aimed to be learned, it is called L2 (Saville-Troike, 2006). There are various distinguished types of the second language acquisition process (SLA), there is what is called informal L2 learning, taking place in a natural environment. This means that the target language is learned as a result of moving to a new country and interacting with friends or colleagues, without any instructions or taking any classes (Saville-Troike, 2006). There is formal L2 learning, taking place in formal platforms and classrooms. This kind of learning involves the rules of language that cannot be learned by hearing, where people learn most specifically how to write and read (Saville-Troike, 2006). Whereas L2 learning is a mixture of both the informal and formal L2, for example when someone from France takes classes to learn English while using German to interact with friends or colleagues in Germany (Saville-Troike, 2006).

Second language acquisition is an interesting field of study for many. The term was first introduced by linguistics and psychology scholars. Learning a second language was always an intriguing case of study and researchers are still arguing on defining this complex process (Saville-Troike, 2006). The answers to all the questions asked by the different researchers in this field can be valuable to both the learners and the teachers of the second language (Saville-Troike, 2006). Whereas linguists focus more on defining linguistic competence and linguistic performance and highlight the differences and similarities of the learned languages, psychologists, and psycholinguists focus mainly on the cognitive and the mental process of acquisition and production of language. While sociolinguists focus on the linguistic performance and the communicative competence of the learner, also social psychologists are interested in studying the second language acquisition phenomenon and focus on issues like identity, social motivation, and social contexts of learning (Saville-Troike, 2006).

There are different reasons to learn a language. It is mostly needed to increase chances to have a job, be able to travel abroad, preserve an identity, or even to have a certain prestige (Lennartsson, 2008). The many reasons why children or adults learn or acquire an additional language can be divided into three main categories:

3.6.1 Ideological Reasons

In the case of minority groups, learning a second language that is the dominant one in the country is necessary for assimilation reasons, for example, in the United States, English is taught to minority children to integrate them into the society, or in Algeria where Berber children learn Standard Arabic in schools mainly to be assimilated in the society because their language is oppressed and not recognized. In contrast, these same minority children learn their native language in schools to preserve it from disappearance, and this is another reason for learning a certain language (Baker, 2006). Like in the case of the Berber community in Algeria where they needed to protect their native language. They led continuous riots to obtain the right to be recognized and also be taught in schools so that the future generations can enjoy their right to learn their native language.

In some bilingual countries, like Canada, there is another reason to learn a second language and that is to maintain a certain harmony between the different language groups namely the French and English speaking groups. They learn both French and English to create an integrated bilingual country (Baker, 2006). The idea of maintaining a bilingual and bicultural society for Canada by promoting the learning of both languages is the best way to achieve that integration into the country (Baker, 2006). An example that the Algerian society should have adopted, right after the independence, to help embrace the multicultural reality of the country and avoid going through all the clashes and turmoil throughout the years.

In all these cases, the purpose of adding a second language was to facilitate the integration of a certain group into society, to increase chances to have a job, or simply to be given equal chances for better education and careers. It is important to mention that the reason for teaching a second language, in many cases, is to replace the first one (Baker, 2006). And that is the case in Algeria where one language, which is MSA, was promoted right after the independence, to completely erase any additional language that could compete with what was considered the sole legitimate language of the country. However, this does not include the teaching of foreign languages in schools that were meant to have a specific role in the country.

3.6.2 International Reasons

Second language educationalists claim that there are other reasons, besides the social and political ones, for someone to be learning a second or in some cases a third or a fourth language. There are many countries around the world, including Algeria, that encourage learning additional languages for economic reasons. International trade is particularly important for developing countries, which explains the need to learn additional languages that can facilitate trade and open access to the international market (Baker, 2006). Being able to communicate with different countries, using their language, will facilitate in a big way the economic trade and allow easier access to more activities with a maximum number of countries around the world (Baker, 2006). Algeria, like many other countries, has realized the importance of learning foreign languages, mainly English, which is gaining an increasingly important status in the country. It is taught in both public and private schools. People who learn it and speak it, besides French, have better chances of getting jobs in trade companies, especially in the oil industry, that is dominating the country and deal mostly with the international sector.

Apart from the great advantage of learning additional languages to the economy, it is also extremely valuable for traveling to other countries. In Europe, speaking many languages is a common thing, for the simple reason that it makes travel easier and more enjoyable. It is also easy to cross borders in Europe to first, strengthen links with the different European countries and second to make communication easier (Baker, 2006).

The more languages we learn the better chances we have to access information, whether on the internet or television. It allows us to have a better understanding of what is going on in the world, of the different existing cultures, and the different social and political issues on an international level. The more you learn the better you understand and acquire new skills that can only be beneficial on many levels and domains (Baker, 2006).

3.6.3 Individual Reasons

Another motive why a person chooses to learn additional languages is to raise cultural awareness and eliminate ethnic and language stereotypes. Learning a second language can also mean breaking boundaries and building bridges with people from other cultures and ethnicities, to have a better understanding and raise tolerance towards those who live in different countries and speak different languages, especially in times where the world is becoming more connected and is like a small village, where it has become very easy to get in touch with people from all countries (Baker, 2006). One may argue that cultural aware-

ness can also be achieved using the native language, without necessarily having to learn an additional one, but many believe that culture is an integral part of the language and cultural awareness may be better achieved with the learning of the language (Baker, 2006). What can also be an individual reason to want to learn a second language, is the fact that it is as important as mathematics and physics, and all the other subjects that are taught in schools to increase the intellectual performance of the person. All the efforts that are needed to acquire a language, from memorizing the vocabulary to analyzing and understanding grammar, is an intellectual activity that can sharpen the mind (Baker, 2006).

To be able to communicate with as many people using more than one language can boost the self-esteem of the bilingual. It is a skill that allows the person to feel certain confidence, mainly because they can engage socially with a large number of people using their language, and this is in itself a prestigious competence that gives the individual a high level of appreciation (Baker, 2006). In Algeria, those who are skillful enough to master all the three main languages of the country are highly admired, not only because they master all the spoken languages, also they are the reflection of the reality of the country, which is being multilingual, a reality that was long neglected and ignored but reminded by this specific group of people, who realized the importance of multilingualism and embraced it. With such an advantage, they have better chances to blend in with any speaking group of the country to which they belong, also they have better chances to live an easier life with more work opportunities.

Another important reason for learning additional languages is the search for better chances to have a job and career, whether inside the country or abroad, since the ability to speak many languages offers many work opportunities. There is an increasing number of international companies, international trade is growing by the day, and translators are needed in many countries and there is also a growing need to exchange information and make deals all over the world (Baker, 2006). It is also the case for minority groups, to find a job and have a career. They need to learn a second language, the one that is dominant in the country because for them it is as essential as getting a degree (Baker, 2006). This is the case in Algeria, where the Berber community needs to learn the dominant language to be able to find jobs or simply to make a living in the country.

As mentioned before, different factors justify the presence of an L2 in our lives. These factors will determine the level of the mastery of a certain language, and whether certain aspects of the language are necessary to be learned, like reading or writing (Saville-

Troike, 2006). To understand what a second language and its different roles are, one should go through its different existing types:

- *A second language:* is a language that is dominant in the country, it is learned mainly by minorities who speak their native language and need to learn this second one to be employed, for education, or simply to communicate with the dominant group where they live (Saville-Troike, 2006). In the case of Algeria, that would be Modern Standard Arabic for the Berber community, who must learn it to be able to coexist with the dominant residents in the country.
- *A foreign language:* is a language that is learned mostly in classrooms, it can be useful for travels where communication is needed or for those who need to study or live abroad, it is a language that is not necessary for everyday communication (Saville-Troike, 2006). In Algeria, French and English are the foreign languages that are taught in schools in the early stages. There is also Italian, Spanish, and German which are taught in the university as a field of study or as optional languages to learn.
- *A library language:* is a language that can be essential to learn a certain field of study where books are only in that specific language. It is a language learned through reading, to study a field where there is a lack of books in the learner's native language (Saville-Troike, 2006). In the Algerian community that would probably be French for those who support the supremacy of the MSA, they just learn French to be able to research since it is the first foreign language in the country. In other cases, especially those who already master French, a library language would be English mainly because it is a global language and scientific books are mostly written in English.
- *An auxiliary language:* is a language needed for official purposes, in a political function for example, whereas the native language is the dominant one and the one most used in everyday life (Saville-Troike, 2006). The Standard Arabic is the auxiliary language in Algeria, it is the first official language of the country and it is the one used on official platforms.

The importance of citing these different types of second language acquisition phenomena and the reasons behind having to learn any language is a way to better understand the linguistic reality of Algeria, which is quite intricate and maybe a bit complicated to grasp. What we can infer is that Algerians are in general all considered to be bilingual; the majority master at least two languages, not to forget that there is a considerable section that is multilingual. Polyglossia is the term that best describes the Algerian community; it is a

term that sociolinguists use to invoke communities where many languages or varieties, that have various roles in the society, are used by the majority if not by all of the population (Aronin and Hufeisen, 2009).

Bilingualism in Algeria starts in early childhood; children are exposed to two or three languages at an early age. The Algerian child grows up in a family where at least two languages are used: dialectal or Algerian Arabic, and French, which some parents prefer to use so that their children learn it and can speak it fluently. Tamazight is maintained in some regions and learned along with either French or dialectal Arabic. There are some families in which only the dialectal Arabic is spoken, but there again, it contains a good number of French words.

Children in Algeria typically grow up bilingually. The problem is that they often learn both languages together and are not able to speak either of them fluently, which clearly may be problematic for them in the future. French is taught in primary schools; here, the child learns it as a foreign language except for those who have already learned it at home. Standard Arabic is also taught in primary schools, and it is used only in official settings.

It is important to mention that various factors lead to bilingualism in Algeria. There is no official spoken language and there are at least two groups of families in which children are raised; hence, different people exhibit different degrees of bilingualism. More specifically, we can differentiate between intellectuals and ordinary families. In case a child has intellectual parents, which means they have mastered at least two languages, French is usually the dominant language at home. This means that the parents usually speak to the child in French, at least until the age of 6, and they sing exclusively French nursery songs, although they use both languages in their conversations with other people. This means that children in an intellectual household will be exposed to their mother tongue by the rest of the family; they will also be exposed to MSA while watching cartoons and shows on television. In this case, children will grow up hearing both languages, and once they start talking, they will likely speak only one language, which is the dialectal Arabic or “Darja”. It contains a good deal of French; thus, in most cases, children from such households later master both languages and in some cases three languages as they grow older (Hassaine, 2011).

In contrast, if children are raised by ordinary parents, they will be exposed to dialectal Arabic or Tamazight depending on the family’s mother tongue. Then, they will learn the second language MSA and then the third language French in schools. It should be noted that even dialectal Arabic and Tamazight contain a good amount of French, but children

will not be able to fully speak it until they get to school. Of course, they can also learn the Standard Arabic through television, or by learning verses from the Quran (Hassaine, 2011). English then comes as the fourth language learned by Algerians in schools and that would be in high school.

As mentioned above, children are exposed to more than one language from an early age, but they grow up speaking only one and their mastery of either of the languages depends on the environment in which they grew up. French is taught as a foreign language in primary schools from the third year onwards; the Standard Arabic is taught from the very beginning since it is the first official language of the country. It only makes sense that both Arabic and French are taught at such an early age since both are almost equally important to Algerian society. French is needed especially at the university since the instruction in almost all subjects is in French and Arabic is necessary for writing, reading, and so on.

The Algerian children grow up mastering two languages and sometimes three; they must constantly switch between them depending on the different settings surrounding them, at home and school, and on the playground with their friends. Progressively, as they grow older, they will figure out the social differences between each of the three languages, as has been explained in a different section of the present research. Ultimately, it is up to their family and the people around them to make them realize the importance of their mother tongue, no matter how inferior it may seem in society. If not, they will just adjust to the needs of the society in which they are living and use the language that corresponds to a specific social status (Hassaine, 2011).

3.6.4 Bilingualism

Researchers investigated whether there is any difference between growing up in a bilingual or a monolingual country, and whether an individual who grows up as a bilingual has any advantage of learning an additional language, compared to a monolingual one. There are certain effects that bilingualism has on cognitive development, metalinguistic awareness, and communicative skills while acquiring an additional language. It can also affect the level of proficiency of the third language, positively or negatively, depending on various factors and on the individuals themselves who are acquiring these languages (Cenoz, 2003). From a cognitive point of view, researchers state that learning a second language can have positive effects on the development of intellectual capacities. It allows children to have a more flexible way of thinking by reinforcing their mental growth, it affects their learning, remembering, and they also become more sensitive to language, and it allows

them to communicate with a larger group of people as well (Crosby & Prescod, 2009). Researchers proved that the brain of a bilingual has better capacities in task switching and attention compared to those of a monolingual. The bilingual brain relies on executive functions to maintain the balance between the languages, and on a system of cognitive capacities like attention and inhibition. The bilingual's language systems are constantly active and competing, a constant practice that strengthens the control mechanisms, and the switching capacities. Compared to a monolingual in a switching task, bilinguals are better and faster due to better cognitive control (Marian, 2012), they acquire metalinguistic skills such as early word distinction, become more sensitive to detail and the structure of the language, have better control of language processing and language mixing, overcoming ambiguities with an advanced level of detecting grammatical errors and an ability to correct them (Crosby & Prescod, 2009). Bilingualism helps increasing mental flexibility too, especially for children who will have more words to name a single object, an idea, or a certain topic. Bilingual children score higher on standardized tests; they perform better in math tasks and have better logic skills (Crosby & Prescod, 2009). Children who learn more than one language tend to be more creative, they build a sense of self-esteem and they are better at problem-solving. However, some aspects can affect the level of proficiency in acquiring a second or any additional language, like for example, cognitive and personality variables, which are probably the main ones that can have a clear and direct influence on how proficient the speaker may be in any additional language besides the mother tongue. The quality and the quantity of L2 input, that is acquired from the environment where the learning takes place, also have a considerable impact on the quality of the input-based facets of proficiency of the learned language, although such an influence will only be apparent on the individual over a certain period (Crosby & Prescod, 2009). It is further argued that to understand what determines the nature of the literacy development of the individual in any language, a clear distinction should be drawn between contextualized (conversational) and decontextualized (academic) language (Crosby & Prescod, 2009). Differences between communicative and analytic competence, conversation and composition, or utterance and text, are some of the examples of the distinctions that should be determined to define the level of the individual's proficiency in the acquired language (Crosby & Prescod, 2009). It is believed that besides the influence that variables such as the individual and the environment have on the level of proficiency in the acquired language, there is also the influence of the individual's first language on the development of the second language learned, which should not be neglected as an important determining factor (Crosby & Prescod,

2009). These are facts that can affect the positive cognitive gain of bilingualism, hence researchers concluded that bilingualism has, in fact, a double face, one is societal, and the other is individual, and they also argue that individual bilingualism is defined in the majority of cases by societal bilingualism (Sanz, 2000). This means that it is the society where bilingualism takes place, mainly through its educational system, and whether it is a bilingual one that defines the extent to which the cognitive abilities of the individual is developed, along with the benefits it can gain in the acquisition of an additional language (Sanz, 2000). Although there is no denying that bilingualism has, in fact, positive effects on various aspects of language proficiency such as writing, speaking, reading, and grammar. Other factors, like intelligence and motivation added to the role of society, proved to be more effective as far as language proficiency is concerned (Cenoz, 2003).

In Algeria for example, society has played a major role when it comes to the individual's language competence. The government has fought for a long time to claim the country as being monolingual and went through different policies to make that happen, but when you have a history and diversity that a country like Algeria has, it is hard to just ignore it and claim that only one language should be used. Imposing the Arabic language with a weak educational system and a diverse country, the result will eventually turn out to be a complete failure. The Algerians found themselves confused and somehow lost and unable to be efficient enough in any of the languages, except Darja which is the unofficial language that all Algerians speak and use in their everyday life. In 2008, the Algerian government tried to provide a solution to this linguistic issue by passing new laws, to improve the educational system with the main intent to enable students to, at least, fully master two foreign languages with better teaching methods of the Standard Arabic language (Zaghlami, 2017).

As mentioned earlier, bilingualism does have positive effects on the learning of any additional language, the more the languages are learned the easier it gets for the learner. Moreover, the progress process for a bilingual to learn a third language is more advanced compared to that of a monolingual learning a second language. For many reasons, besides the boosted cognitive abilities mentioned above, it is mainly because a bilingual has gained a certain experience and advanced strategies in learning and dealing with an additional language, and will go through a different process than that of a monolingual while acquiring the second one. Also, third language learners can use two base languages in learning the third one whereas monolinguals have only one base language which is also their first learned language (Cenoz, 2003).

3.6.5 Multilingual Acquisition

Apart from bilingualism and the linguistic phenomenon of the second language acquisition, scholars introduced a new term that is called “multilingual acquisition” or “acquisition of additional languages” (AAL), which we can observe in Algeria as well and is often referred to as bilingualism. It is a term that was introduced to define the process of acquiring additional languages other than the second. It was often considered as a variation of second language acquisition (SLA), many scholars named any additional language besides the mother tongue as SLA no matter how many languages a person has acquired (Cenoz, 1997). The majority of research has always concentrated only on how the second language is acquired, claiming that there is no need to further investigate the features of acquiring an L3 or an L6 because they are the same as those found in L2 (De Angelis, 2007). Multilingualism was considered and referred to for a long time as a synonym of bilingualism, bilingual communities were often defined in books as having two or more languages. Myers-Scotton defines the bilingual as being a person who speaks two or more languages, also Grosjean states that a bilingual is a person who needs to use two (or more) languages in his everyday life, and bilingualism is the use of two (or more) languages (De Angelis, 2007). However, other researchers do believe that the experience gained during the learning of a certain language can affect the acquisition process in a significant way, which consequently urged them to further look into the many different aspects of the many types of acquisition that exist besides SLA (De Angelis, 2007). AAL is a more complex process than SLA, mainly since we have to consider the factors that are involved in the process of SLA, plus the added elements of learning more languages and the various interactions that occur between them. There should be a theory that is broad enough to include all the information needed to explain how the mind proceeds when more than two languages are acquired. It should be able to explain how the mind treats, stores, manipulates, and uses all the acquired linguistic information along the process of learning the first, the second, and even more languages. Sometimes even the terminology used to refer to how languages are being acquired creates ambiguity. Up to now, scholars refer to the acquisition of the second language as L2, and a third or an additional language as an L3 no matter what number that language has whether it is the third, fourth or more, it still is referred to as an L3. Others chose to name languages according to the order of their acquisition: L3, L4, or L5 without giving the level of proficiency any importance (De Angelis, 2007). There is also no specific term to differentiate between a bilingual child learning a third language and an adult,

with a second language, who is learning a third language as well. They all are third language or multilingual learners (De Angelis, 2007).

The problem of finding an established terminology for the process of additional language acquisition may be resolved with time and more research. However, the ambiguities that exist between AAL and SLA can be reduced by providing enough information on the linguistic and educational background of the learner (De Angelis, 2007). Many features are specific to multilingual acquisition that add to its complexity and have various effects on the cognitive and psycholinguistic process of the multilingual. It is important to recognize that age, for example, matters in learning an additional language. The older learners are the more experience they gain in developing their learning approach. They also establish a more advanced linguistic range that will allow them to code-switch between the learned languages, quite easily, which will make their communication easier and better (Cenoz, 2008). The environment in which learners acquired certain languages and the order with which languages were learned are serious elements that contribute to the intricacy of the phenomenon. Another important factor that also needs more focus, is how learners interact with the languages they learned and the context in which they are used. The complexity of the interaction is defined by the number of learned languages (Cenoz, 1997). Other important factors need to be mentioned as well like for example:

- Proficiency level in all the acquired languages;
- The level of exposure to the environment of each of the acquired languages;
- The language of instruction used for each of the acquired languages;
- Manner of acquisition (formal/ natural acquisition);
- The number of languages acquired; (De Angelis, 2007, p. 12)

AAL produces way more diverse and complex situations. It certainly shares a lot of similarities with SLA theoretically, nevertheless, it has many unique characteristics, and it needs more research and certainly should not be considered as only a simple variation of SLA. Many scholars realized this complexity which is why there is an expanding amount of research on this phenomenon.

Countries from all over the world have become increasingly connected, for economic, historic, or political reasons and that is why there is this need to communicate with each other. Therefore, learning additional languages has become an important factor to help make deals and communication possible (Cenoz, J, 1997). This explains why there is an increasing interest in studying the AAL phenomenon, simply because people around the

world are now more interested in learning additional languages than at any time before. In an Algerian context where there is already the SLA phenomenon, English is the additional language that is promoted to be learned for the very reasons that were mentioned here, and for many Algerians who want to learn English, this means they will be acquiring their fourth or even fifth language.

Learning a language in the third or the fourth position, after having already acquired a second language, is an intriguing case of study that has been neglected for quite some time. Bilingualism and second language acquisitions are two fields of research that have long ignored each other, the study of third language acquisition has somehow brought these two fields together (Cenoz, J, 2003). To be able to make a distinction between these three similar and yet different phenomena, it is important to go through the order in which languages were acquired and how these languages interact with each other. If we are dealing with only two languages, we only have two possibilities. The first case would be if they were simultaneously learned, then it is defined by early bilingualism, but if they were consecutively learned this means we are dealing with the SLA (Aronin and Hufeisen, 2009). In the case of more than two languages, this will mean a third language will be acquired. It is what we call TLA or AAL and here we have at least four possibilities as Cenoz describes it:

1. Consecutive acquisition ($L1 \rightarrow L2 \rightarrow L3$)
2. Simultaneous acquisition “early trilingualism” ($L1/L2/L3$)
3. Simultaneous acquisition of $L2/L3$ after learning the $L1$ ($L1 \rightarrow L2/L3$)
4. Simultaneous acquisition of $L1/L2$ “bilingualism” before learning $L3$ ($L1/L2 \rightarrow L3$) (Cenoz, J, 2003).

These are simply properties in a multilingual system that could not be found in a monolingual one. Properties like advanced learning strategies, that the speaker can use and take advantage of in learning an additional language, in addition to multilingual awareness and monitoring that a monolingual does not possess.

Besides, in the multilingual system, there is an aspect that researchers focus on the most, which is the influence that occurs between each of the languages. In a multilingual interaction, studies showed that the influence of $L1$ on the additional languages might be more significant than any influence $L2$ or $L3$ might have on $L1$; there is also a significant influence of the $L2$ on the learning of the $L3$ in many cases (Aronin and Hufeisen, 2009). Researchers define this influence or simply the interaction that any language can have with another acquired language in the multilingual system as the cross-linguistic influence (CLI).

It is a phenomenon that has been of long-lasting importance in the research of SLA (Murphy, 2003), and it aims to define how prior linguistic knowledge can influence production, comprehension, and the development of a target language (De Angelis, 2007). Linguists have had a hard time finding a clear and unanimous definition of the process of cross-linguistic influence, and that is despite the importance it has in the SLA research. This explains the evolution of the defining appellation throughout the years. At first, interference was the term that was used to define the language deviation from the usual pattern of a language that occurs in the speech of bilinguals. It was introduced by Weinreich who focuses on what was later referred to as the negative transfer, which considers the influence that the native language has on the learned target language as an obstacle that prevents it to be as correct as it should be (Murphy, 2003). The term transfer was later introduced when researchers found out that the native language can also have a positive and facilitative effect on the learning of the target language. Odlin's definition of the term transfer later replaced the term interference because it includes broader viewpoints on the phenomenon:

“Transfer is the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired” (Odlin, 1989, p. 27)

In Odlin's definition, both positive facilitative transfer and negative transfer features are included. It comprises aspects like underproduction and overproduction of a certain structure, production errors like for example calques, misinterpretations that occur during comprehension, substitutions, and altercations of items that belong to the target language. There is also a different amount of time that learners of various native language backgrounds take to learn a target language (Murphy, 2003). Not all researchers found that the term transfer was the most appropriate to be used to fully represent the magnitude of effects that can be observed during language contact (Murphy, 2003). Sharwood Smith and Kellerman believe that the term transfer is not as broad as to combine all the features observed in the language acquisition process, so they limited its meaning to “those processes that lead to incorporation of elements from one language to another” (Murphy, 2003, p.3). Wanting to be as specific with the defining term as possible, they introduced the cross-linguistic influence, as the most appropriate one, to designate other features of language contact such as L2/L1 transfer, language loss, or avoidance (Murphy, 2003).

Most of the research was focused on the effects of the mother tongue on the acquisition of the target language. Learning an additional language that is in the third position after the acquisition of the second one has not attracted that much attention and it is only

during the last decade that it is being further investigated (Bouchhioua, 2016). The question that is asked in the cross-linguistic influence that occurs when dealing with more than two languages and to which researchers are investigating the answer is how, with an additional language, all three interact with each other during the learning process and how they influence each other and what effects the first two acquired languages can have on the level of proficiency of the third one? (Murphy, 2003). With that in mind, it seems clear that there are two types of cross-linguistic influence as researchers argue, the first is defined as the one-to-one type of association which represents the influence between the source and the target language (De Angelis, 2007); the second type is the many-to-one type of association, in this case, it represents the simultaneous influence of more than one source language upon the target language, and how two or more languages influence the target language, or how an already influenced language affects another language during the process of acquisition (De Angelis, 2007). There is still no term that is widely recognized for this type of CLI as the research is still growing and this phenomenon is still being newly investigated (De Angelis, 2007).

In the Algerian context, we can observe the second type of CLI (the many-to-one type of association) where there is an acquisition process of more than two languages, which makes it an interesting case of study, to help further understand how the languages in the country interact with each other, with the emergence of the English language as the new target language. We can wonder about the influence that the first two acquired languages which are Standard Arabic and French have on English which is, in this case, the target language, and that is the essential part to be examined. Therefore, we have French learners that have already acquired Standard Arabic and are willing to acquire English. In some cases, English can be the fourth language acquired as, in a few schools, students also learn Tamazight. They first learn Standard Arabic and then Tamazight, French to finally learn English. It is interesting to observe what influence these languages can have on the acquisition of English, to investigate the level of proficiency of the Algerian learners in all these acquired languages and whether it plays any role in the acquisition process. Many operative variables can determine the kind of influence each of the acquired languages has on each other, and the level of proficiency of each. Researchers believe that each of these variables operates during the language's contact and are often altered by the various interactions that occur in a multilingual system (Murphy, 2003).

Furthermore, a multilingual learner goes through a different learning process while acquiring an additional language, which means cross-linguistic influence will be more

complex dealing with many languages rather than with only two. One approach to how these differences should be defined is to go through all the variables that already exist in the cross-linguistic influence and observe their effect on the acquisition of an additional language (Murphy, 2003). These variables can be divided into two groups, the first one is specific to the learner and the second one is language-based (Murphy, 2003).

3.6.5.1 *Learner Based Variables*

- *Proficiency*

The proficiency level in both the target language and the source language is one of the most important factors in determining the nature of CLI that appears during language contact. Many researchers argue that CLI occurs mainly during the early stages of acquisition when the learner has a weak level of knowledge of the target language and is in a constant need to fill the gaps (De Angelis, 2007). However, this does not mean that there is no language transfer in more advanced levels of acquisition. Terrence Odlin's point of view about the relationship between the level of proficiency and language transfer during the learning process is that there is indeed a certain type of transfer at the early stages of acquisition, but that does not mean that if the knowledge of the acquired language is advanced there will be no CLI (De Angelis, 2007). He adds that the transfer is often negative when it occurs at the early stages of acquisition, as its only aim is to fill the missing knowledge of the target language, whereas when the level of proficiency is advanced, the transfer is certainly positive as the learner benefits from his acquired language ability. This means that the types of transfer differ when the stage of acquisition differs and according to the competence and the needs of the learner. Language transfer will certainly not decline simply because the learner's proficiency level is high, not until he masters fully the target language and has a certain degree of automaticity (De Angelis, 2007). As far as the level of proficiency of the source language is concerned, there is no clear understanding of how it may affect the CLI process. Up until now, research shows that transfer occurs whether the learner masters the involved languages well or not (De Angelis, 2007). This means that the proficiency level of the source language can be either low or advanced, CLI will most likely occur and the production of the target language can be affected in a significant way (De Angelis, 2007).

Ringbom argues that two types of transfer can occur in the target language, which are both determined by the source language. Ringbom claims that there is a transfer of form, which is a superficial one, that concerns both L1 and L2, as the level of proficiency

does not have to be high or low for this type of transfer to take place (De Angelis, 2007). And there is what he calls the transfer of meaning, where proficiency in L1 or L2 needs to be quite advanced for the transfer to take place (De Angelis, 2007).

It appears that when the level of proficiency of L3 increases, both lexical and language switches decrease, whereas L2 influence decreases twice as quickly as an L1 influence. That would mean, as Ringbom explains, that L2 is responsible for the transfer of form to take place. While for transfer of meaning, where a considerable amount of proficiency and automatization is required for the transfer to occur, it seems pretty obvious that there is an L1 → L3 influence even in cases where they are typologically different (Murphy, 2003).

With that in mind and to put it in an Algerian context, it is important to first understand the order of acquisition of languages in the country, to give a better explanation of how Algerians deal with English and how the results will be learning it. In most cases, and this is the group that we will focus on to explain the CLI situation in Algeria, English is the target language L3, with MSA as L1 and French as L2. In other cases, MSA is L1, Tamazight would be L2, and French is L3 which would mean that English is L4. There are also cases where French is L1 and MSA is L2 and then English L3 with Tamazight as the mother tongue, this group of people will be mainly located in the Berber community. As CLI was explained above, in group one there is a big possibility that despite the typological distance between MSA (L1) and English (L3) a transfer can occur and that would be, as Ringbom argues, the transfer of meaning. As for the transfer of form it occurs in an obvious way between French L2 and English L3 since they are typologically closer, a further explanation will be presented later in this research.

▪ *Amount of Target Language Exposure and Use*

Language exposure is another variable that is of great importance in the CLI process, it is greatly interactive with age and proficiency. It operates in instances where the length of residence in the community of the target language is significant, or for foreign language learners, depends on the amount of L2 teaching (Murphy, 2003). Researchers proved that the role of linguistic exposure is similarly important for both L2 and L3 acquisition. The more the learner is exposed to any language and the more often he uses it, the less there will be a language transfer, although the degree of decline is more noticeable for L2 than for L3 speakers (Murphy, 2003). Probably it is the case due to how extensive the linguistic system of multilingual speakers is, and this is the reason why it needs a bigger number of

cognitive resources to operate with (Murphy, 2003). Hoffman claims that the language of his immediate environment was always the dominant for him, whereas for his abstract thinking it is factors like, where he was and who he was with, and what he was thinking of that were determining the degree of dominance (De Angelis, 2007).

▪ *Language Mode*

It is a variable that is continuously ranging from the monolingual to the bilingual poles, through which the base language that is responsible for framing the utterance is constantly in a state of total activation, for the simple reason that it governs language processing and the guest language, which is either in a state of low or nearly total activation. It is important to mention that no language that any speaker knows can be completely deactivated (Murphy, 2003). In the monolingual mode, there is no code-switching or lexical borrowing, and the guest language is at low activation, however, in the bilingual mode, the guest language is activated almost at the same level as the base language, which creates code switches and lexical borrowings at a frequent consistency (Murphy, 2003).

Figure 3.1 illustrates the language mode continuum between monolingual and bilingual poles.

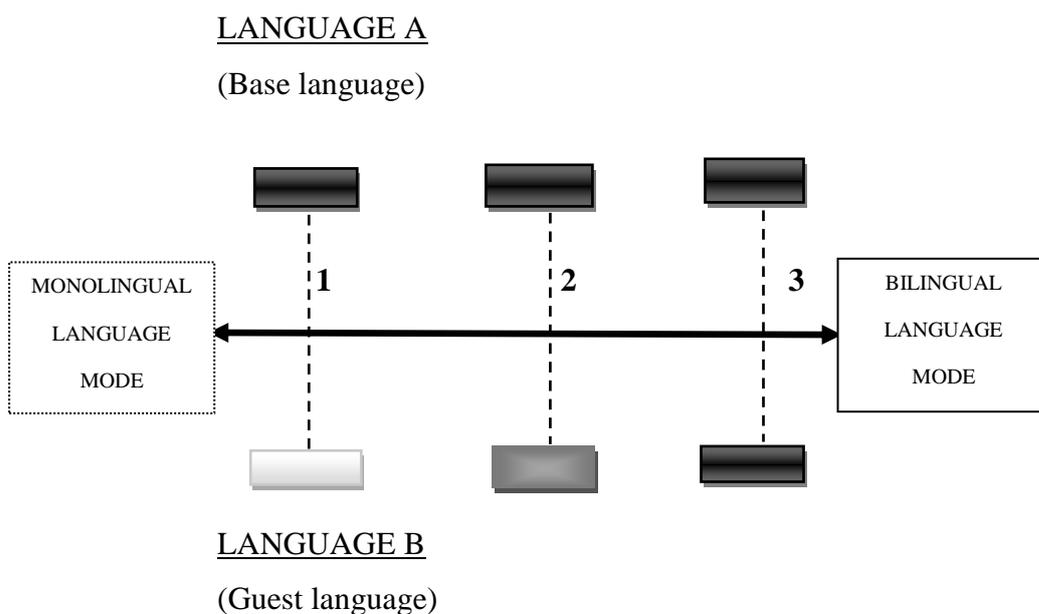


Figure 3.1. The Language Mode Continuum

(Source: Murphy, 2003)

(The degree of shading represents activation level, and solid black indicates total activation.)

Grosjean's model can also be adapted to trilingual speech, the base language is always activated for the L3 speaker, whereas the two guest languages are partly activated with varying degrees (Murphy, 2003). In the bilingual as well as in the trilingual modes, mixed utterances and frequent language switches are allowed. The significance behind applying this model to L3 acquisition is that a bilingual, in a monolingual mode, does not show any evidence of CLI nor does he mix languages. A trilingual in a monolingual mode who has a low L3 proficiency will not show any sign of the influence of L1, however, he might show an L2 interference in the L3 production without being consciously aware of that (Murphy, 2003). That shows that L1 is easier to deactivate compared to L2, and this is what is identified by researchers as the L2 effect, where there is a specific cognitive model called the "*Talk foreign mode*" that represents L3 production. Here the speaker unconsciously uses L2 as a source of negative transfer such as filling lexical gaps (Murphy, 2003). The L2 effect applies mainly to lexical items and short-function words. However, it does not engage in all linguistic domains (Murphy, 2003). L2 is often the source of interference more than L1, and L3 learners produce more mixed utterances that are considered as lexical inventions than L2 learners do (Murphy, 2003). Researchers have not been capable of providing an adequate explanation for the L2 unconscious negative transfer, some regard it as a performance error and not as a strategy chosen by the speaker. This matter is being investigated to define what factors are involved in a specific language selection during the production process (Murphy, 2003). Other studies claim that some variables can cause CLI no matter what the status of L1 is or L2 which is conflicting with the L2 effect argument (Murphy, 2003).

▪ *Linguistic Awareness*

The learner's linguistic awareness that is often related to his/her educational background is what defines the level of language performance in the process of acquisition. What is meant by awareness is not that it is only limited to linguistic structures and semantics, it also includes knowledge of phonology, pragmatics, and sociolinguistic (Murphy, 2003). The level of language transfer depends largely on the learner's ability to distinguish between the different features of the target and the native language (Murphy, 2003). Cook argues that an L3 learner has a multilingual linguistic competence, that is characterized by greater creativity and cognitive flexibility than that of a monolingual that is learning an L2 (Murphy, 2003).

- *Age*

The age variable is a comparison between children and adults dealing with learning an additional language, whereby children tend to draw on their L1 much less than adults do. Researchers argue that young children follow the same process of their L1 acquisition and do not consider the influence of their native language as a serious factor (Murphy, 2003). Odlin advocates the “the younger is better” argument, he claims that children between the ages of 4 to 10 are marked by what he calls “syntactic conservatism” where there is only one syntactic pattern that children stick to, adults, on the other hand, tend to be more flexible (Murphy, 2003). However, the age variable is largely ignored in the recent studies of third language acquisition, where it is indicated that older learners show more language transfer instances and that is due to their higher metalinguistic awareness (Murphy, 2003). This means that the younger learners are not capable of making judgments about typology and congruence of structures as a source of lexical transfer, compared to the older ones (Murphy, 2003). These results are not final as the studies are still limited, and further research needs to be conducted on a wider range of cases to study.

- *Educational Background*

For Odlin, learners who have advanced language skills in reading, writing, and a wide range of vocabulary in their native language, will have less difficulty in acquiring a second language. He considers the educational background as an important factor in positive transfer (Murphy, 2003). He goes on to add that one of the main effects of L1 literacy skills is transfer-of-training, which is as important as the language of transfer (Murphy, 2003). As for L3 acquisition, the educational background is not given that much importance, since the majority of the research on multilingual speakers, of various social and educational backgrounds, is treated from a sociolinguistic point of view, whereas psycholinguistic is of greater importance and would have given a wider treatment of the matter (Murphy, 2003).

- *Formality of Context*

Formal situations such as exams or class presentations in a non-native language context tend to be quite stressful for students. However, a healthy anxious situation can play a positive role in improving the students’ performance (De Angelis, 2007). Not enough research has been made on examining the effects of the formality of context on the multilingual performance, but the ones that investigated this issue claim that students in formal

situations produce less mixed language utterances in the non-native language, compared to utterances produced by learners in less stressful environments and less monitored activities (De Angelis, 2007).

3.6.5.2 *Language-Based Variables*

▪ *Language Typology*

Typology closeness between languages is one of the main important factors that can determine language transfer. Even more important than frequency of use or exposure, the learners' awareness of typology is what determines their extent of language transfer (Murphy, 2003). Cenoz argues that learners would borrow more terms from a typologically closer language in L3 production. Algerian learners, for example, would take advantage of their knowledge of French in their English learning process. Many words in French are similar in the form to English like page, hotel, or restaurant, and this will facilitate the learning process for the Algerians (Bouchhioua, 2016). There are, however, many negative effects of knowing French on the production of English by the learners. Studies, that were conducted to analyze these errors, found out that learners are influenced mainly by their knowledge of French, and are victims of many types of French interferences. For example, we have orthographic interference errors where the spelling of certain words such as group is modified and spelled with an additional "e" because it is written that way in French (Bouchhioua, 2016). Lexical interference errors such as the word "langue" which is used instead of "languages", or "fautes" instead of "mistakes". Also, grammatical interference errors such as the use of pronouns and determiners, use of tense and mood, and errors in word order like "image clear" rather than "clear image" (Bouchhioua, 2016). These errors can eventually be corrected with more instruction and more use of the language because they can occur only due to the lack of proficiency, hence the need to fill the gaps with the French knowledge. Phonetic and phonological errors, on the other hand, seem to be trickier and more complicated to correct. French has oral as well as a few numbers of nasalized vowels, English has nasalized words too, but they are slightly different and more pronounced, compared to the French ones. Nasal vowels such as [oẽ], [ã], [õ], [ẽ] are typically French, the vowel [ẽ] appears in both English and French in cognate words like information, linguist. These are words that have the same form and meaning in both languages, which is the reason why the Algerian learner tends to transfer the French pronunciation to the English word. Like for example information, where the French nasal sound [ẽ] is trans-

ferred in pronouncing the same word in English (Bouchhioua, 2016). Errors of this sort may only be reflecting a foreign accent, but they may also confuse the listener, which makes pronunciation as important as any other task in learning an additional language (Bouchhioua, 2016).

- *Frequency*

The more frequently a certain linguistic item appears in an L1, the more it gets transferred to the L2. If an item is infrequent in the L1, it will be less transferable and will be considered what researchers call “*psychologically marked*” (Murphy, 2003). During the early stages of L2 learning, lexical items in L1 which are highly frequent are the items that are most likely to be transferred in what is called “*unintentional lexical transfer*” (Murphy, 2003). This means that a low L2 proficiency, with limited exposure, can cause the unintentional transfer of highly frequent L1 items. As for third language transfer, the frequency factor is not as clear, and this argument is not as valid in the multilingual transfer (Murphy, 2003). It seems that in L3 production, and especially during the early stages of acquisition, L2 status, along with high proficiency, surpasses the frequency effect (Murphy, 2003).

- *Word Class*

There is a distinction between function and content words in the lexical transfer process. Scholars argue that there is a difference between the transfer of content words, which is a conscious approach to fill a gap, and the unintentional transfer of highly frequent L1 lexical items such as function words (Murphy, 2003). In an L2 acquisition, the lexical transfer is often unintentional, and it comprises function words and short non-adapted L1 words. Poulisse’s and Bongaert’s focus was content versus function words; in their research, they found out that content words transfer is more monitored compared to function words, which is more unintentional (Murphy, 2003). They argue that the learner with a low L2 proficiency tends to focus more on the meaning, which explains his attention to content words, and that results in more errors with function words (Murphy, 2003). In an L3 production, the lexical transfer is also involved more with function than content words. In other research conducted by De Angelis and Selinker, they argue that an L2 transfer of form is frequently apparent in their data, however, there is no clear L2 transfer of meaning (Murphy, 2003). It has also been proven that typological closeness facilitates the transfer of function words from L2. Cenoz also argues that in the studies that were carried out on a few of her subjects, the majority transfer function words when speaking English (Murphy, 2003).

- *Morphological Transfer*

Researchers claim that L1 free morphemes are the ones that are generally transferred rather than bound ones. It is, however, possible but not that common in an L2 acquisition process, it mainly characterizes the lexical transfer in L3 production. The target language operates as the matrix language, where items from L1 or L2 are embedded in the process of second or third language acquisition (Murphy, 2003). L3 utterances can contain what researchers call “*lexical inventions*” which are, as Dewaele defines, very complex integrational linguistics “IL” forms that have lexical, morphological, and phonological characteristics taken from all the languages that a learner knows (Murphy, 2003). These composite forms are explained by researchers as an unconscious learning strategy due to low L3 proficiency. Owing to a lack of mastering the lexical structure, the learner tends to borrow from a well-known language to fill the missing gaps, even if that means violating morpheme-switching constraints (Murphy, 2003).

The process of acquiring more than one language is relatively complex. To be able to understand and improve the learning process in Algeria, it was important to go through the many aspects of the acquisition process of a third language, and compare it to that of the second language, to explore the many variables that have serious effects on the language transfer and the language production and be able to understand the multilingual linguistic system in general, and that of the Algerian context in particular. Due to the many languages that are spoken in Algeria, no matter what the status of each is, it is essential to understand the concept of acquiring additional languages, to define the adequate methods to be adapted in domains such as education. Whether to learn the local languages or foreign ones, in this case, English, the Algerians are in urgent need to overcome the current linguistic crisis that is harming both learners and the country.

3.7 Teaching Languages in Algeria

Since its independence in 1962, Algeria has put huge hopes on the educational system. Not only to build up a national entity that was long exploited by the French colonization, but also to concentrate on forming future generations. The educational decisions, concerning the teaching and learning of languages, led to the adoption of the Arabization policy, which failed to restore an authentic cultural identity (Abdellatif Mami, 2013). Urgent reforms were necessary to try to fix the flaws of the educational system, which was quite an intri-

cate task, simply because it required the adoption of adequate methods in phase with the linguistic and historical reality of the country, which was not the case.

Thus, with the English language joining the linguistic landscape of the country, and the already complicated issues with the educational system, authorities introduced many reforms throughout the years to try to mend the mistakes committed. First, the Algerian linguistic history of language teaching will be evaluated, especially English, to then elaborate its different phases and reforms.

The educational system in Algeria is divided into two sub-structures:

- *The School System*

It is divided into three stages which are: primary, middle, and secondary. The first two, also known as “basic education”, are compulsory whereas the third one is optional (Bellalem, 2008). Before the children are enrolled in primary school, they enter the nursery at the age of 4 for two years. There are two cycles in primary school, the first one lasts for 3 years and the second 2 years. At the end of cycle 2, children, who are usually 12-13 years old, pass a national examination known as “Primary School Examination” (Bellalem, 2008). Those who pass the examination move to cycle 3 called “Middle school”. Since the educational reform of 2003, it has changed from three to four years. A national examination at the end of cycle 3, which was previously called “Basic Education Certificate” (BEF), and since 2003 it is a “Middle School Certificate” (BEM), if passed, students will progress to secondary school (Bellalem, 2008). In secondary school, also called “Lycee”, students study for three years, the first year is a foundation course consisting of a mix of different streams, from literary to scientific, that students can follow in the subsequent years (Bellalem, 2008). They will then take the Baccalaureate examination (BAC), which they must pass, to get access to higher education, which will be decided according to the degrees they will get (Bellalem, 2008).

There is a possibility for those who fail the baccalaureate, or the middle school examinations, to enroll in training centers or even get access to distance learning. Examinations in Algeria, as it was showcased here, are important for students to be able to move on to further levels (Bellalem, 2008).

- *The Administration System*

The Ministry of Education oversees the school system in Algeria, it is the origin of all the policy-making decisions. It works in partnership with two other ministries, the Ministry of

Employment and the Ministry of Higher Education and Research, which are the recipient bodies for students who finished their schooling process (Bellalem, 2008). During the process of making policy decisions, the ministry consults with the general inspectorate of education, this latter has branches all over the country, whose role is to monitor the teaching and learning, and make sure that policies and procedures are rightly implemented at schools, and all levels (Bellalem, 2008).

Schools are headed by a headteacher, who collaborates with supervisors and the director of studies and secretaries. Teachers, usually, must report to both their headteachers and their local inspectors (Bellalem, 2008).

The history of foreign language teaching in Algeria can be divided into five main periods:

3.7.1 The Colonial Period (1830-1962)

During this period, it was the French who ruled the educational policy in Algeria. They adopted an assimilating policy, the objective of which was forcing a change in Algerian culture and language, and assimilate it into the French one (Bellalem, 2008). The French colonizer wanted to make French the official language of Algeria and completely marginalize Arabic. They closed all the schools that were teaching in Arabic and left only those that were using French. Many natives were not allowed to learn in schools, only those who were loyal to France had access to education (Bellalem, 2008). However, many Algerians, who were teachers educated in Arabic, set up schools secretly to teach Arabic and spread nationalism and anti-colonialism, to encourage the people to stand up to the colonizer (Bellalem, 2008).

3.7.2 The Post-Independence Period (1962-1979)

Education was free and compulsory in the post-independence era in Algeria. The ruling government at that time launched a process of Arabization, intending to join the Arab world and establish a strong position as an Arabic Muslim country (Bellalem, 2008). Although Algeria claimed to be completely free and independent from the French colonization, it was still greatly dependent on France in many sectors, such as science and technology. For that, the educational system was bilingual, and French was the language used to teach the scientific classes, Arabic, on the other hand, was used for teaching social sciences (Bellalem, 2008).

As far as the teaching of the English language is concerned, two main events marked this era in Algerian schools. In 1969, the general inspectorate of English was inaugurated, later in 1972, the leaders of the educational system decided to “Algerianize” the different English textbooks and the teaching methods of that time. There was a huge lack of teachers during that period, the Ministry of Education had to rely on teachers from all over the world, and also started recruiting Algerian teachers that had extremely limited to no formal training, to compensate for this shortfall in Algerian schools (Bellalem, 2008).

3.7.3 The Economic-Liberal Period (1980-1991)

The Arabization policy continued to dominate the education sector, and Arabic became the dominating language used to teach all subjects of the curriculum, whereas French was taught, as a foreign language, in the fourth year of primary school (Bellalem, 2008). English was taught as the second foreign language, starting from the second year of middle school. In this period, the number of Algerian teachers increased significantly, it was also a period where more English departments in universities were opened (Bellalem, 2008).

This period witnessed many reforms in various sectors such as economic, political, and educational. Political pluralism was allowed, as for the economy, private businesses were encouraged, a tourism policy was introduced, which meant an increased need for speakers of foreign languages. More departments of foreign languages were opened in universities, to train foreign language teachers and inspectors (Bellalem, 2008). Reforms in the educational sector were also advocated, in January 1989, the government appointed a national commission for the reform of the education and training system. All the educators, students, and also parents were invited to get involved in the suggested reforms, in an attempt to take into consideration the different views about the best way to improve the educational system and implement the most suitable ones (Bellalem, 2008). Unfortunately, these reforms never came to light, due to the civil war that abruptly shook the country during that period.

3.7.4 The Political-Crisis Period (1992-1999)

This period was particularly tormented; it was an era of conflict and instability. In 1992, a civil war broke out in the country, which led to many important events and changes in all sectors. The Arabic language was re-introduced in the constitution of 1996, as the only national language and was generalized across the country, as the sole language that must be used in all sectors (Bellalem, 2008). The law also forbade the use of any other language

in official meetings and debates, which meant that other languages, like Tamazight, had to be suppressed and that was rejected by the Berber community (Bellalem, 2008). Another main event that took place during that period, was the introduction of English as the first foreign language, instead of French, in primary schools in early 1995. This was a historic change as far as foreign language teaching in Algeria is concerned (Bellalem, 2008).

3.7.5 The National Reconciliation Period (2000-present)

After the very troubled decade that the country went through, a certain level of stability was regained by the government through a reconciliation process, that was introduced to bring back peace to the country. Reforms were necessary in all fields; the main ones that took place were mostly educational. A national commission called (CNRE) was appointed by the government in 2003; its main task was to evaluate the current educational system and submit suggestions of what was thought to be necessary, to improve the system and bring a new light in education that goes along with the new standards of the country (Bellalem, 2008). In 2001, the CNRE recommended many reforms that were, according to their evaluation, necessary to meet the needed results like for example, extending the middle school length from three years to four. French restoring its precedent position as the first foreign language and is taught in the third year of primary school, and English is taken back to middle school and is taught in the first year (Bellalem, 2008). Table 5 (Bellalem, 2008) demonstrates the structures that were recently introduced for teaching foreign languages.

Table 5:

New structures for foreign language teaching in Algeria

	Primary	Middle	Secondary
	(6 years. Age 6-11)	(4 years. Age 12-15)	(3 Years. Age 16-18)
French	Year 2 to year 6	Year 1 to year 4	Year 1 to year 3
English	Not taught	Year 1 to year 4	Year 1 to Year 3

Note. Data from Bellalem, 2008, p. 60

Along with these new reforms, new language teaching methods were introduced, as well as new textbooks and syllabuses, and new teaching materials were provided to help the teachers adapt to the new system (Bellalem, 2008).

Educationalists in Algeria applied many approaches to the teaching of English in schools. The two main ones that were adopted in Algeria were: The Communicative Approach to language, in which it was agreed that language was communication before anything else. Hence, the student must learn how to communicate like a native speaker; later it was considered to be not practical during that period (Abdellatif Mami, 2013). The second one was the Competency-based Approach, which was considered to fit better to the modern era, the objective was to focus on learners and how to help them gain a communicative competence, and also give more importance to the meaning rather than the grammatical form (Abdellatif Mami, 2013). However, a level of proficiency, not only in grammar and vocabulary but also in phonology, is required from the Algerian learners. The aim is not to pressure the learners to speak like a native speaker, but to be able to carry conversations and produce meaningful discourse (Ghلامallah, 2018). Since English is widely spoken internationally, it has resulted in producing many types of English, besides the usual varieties of the language that are spoken in native countries like Britain, the USA, Australia, etc. Postcolonial countries like India, Malaysia, or Nigeria introduced different types of English developed by the speakers of these countries, which contain typical phonological features (Ghلامallah, 2018). Several standardized varieties of the language were developed by English-speaking countries, even though the increasing number of English speakers in non-English-speaking countries complicates the task of teaching a particular variety as being the norm (Ghلامallah, 2018). Concerning what type of English is the standard in the Algerian educational programs, British English is the variety that is taught at both public and private schools. Similarly, reference and course books are written in British English. However, there is no obligation on the teachers or the learners to only conform to British English (Ghلامallah, 2018). Besides, little attention is given to the accent as far as learning English in Algeria is concerned, many Algerian learners and even teachers speak English with a heavy Algerian accent using an Algerian phonological system. Which is, in many cases, strongly influenced by the French one. Hence, the English variety that is developed in the country, despite British being the one used in books, is strongly influenced by a particular Algerian pronunciation, which rather makes it an “Algerian English” (Ghلامallah, 201, p. 6) variety, that follows no particular English standard form.

In a country like Algeria, where there were all sorts of reforms and laws in the educational system, and different policies as far as teaching languages in schools is concerned, the objective of teaching English in particular, or even French for that matter, was not always clear and varied according to the ruling government and its political agenda (Abdel-

latif Mami, 2013). These recent reforms were aimed to re-define the objectives behind the teaching of foreign languages in Algeria. The Ministry of Education declared that the new curriculum should reflect the new philosophy of the country and be able to provide learners with all the skills they need to have a successful life, and also enable the country to move forward and catch up with the modern world (Bellalem, 2008).

Unfortunately, when it came to putting these reforms into practice, the reality was much more difficult, and both the teacher and the learner in Algeria were not always given the best conditions to achieve the desired goals of the new curriculum. Also, to consider teaching English as the ideal alternative to replace French was more of a political plan rather than what was claimed by the authorities. In reality, it was not only inaccurate but also proved to be a monumental mistake. English did benefit from the positive attitudes it enjoyed by both the authorities and the Algerians, as well as from the constant competition between French and Standard Arabic. However, it was only an alibi, and the objective behind its introduction in primary schools was purely political, rather than educational. It did not envisage the impact that such a decision would have on both the Algerians and the educational system, it ignored the reality of the country, where French was still the language that is taught in many disciplines, especially the scientific ones, like medicine and technology (Miliani, 2000). The government wanted to introduce English in the early stages, to enable the country to catch up with a constantly globalized and developing world, by improving in science and technology. It was badly executed, and it was not popular among the Algerians, mainly because it had a political nature to it. This had nothing to do with the language itself because, as mentioned before, the Algerians had a positive attitude towards the English language, and they were willing to learn it.

It is indeed important to improve the learner's intellectual capacity; it just did not make sense to do it as a replacement for the French language. The only victims were the learners, who were torn between two realities, the real one which was their society where French was very much present in most important sectors, and the virtual one created by the leading authorities which learners would soon discover not to be real and not what they were looking for, to be able to survive in a country like Algeria (Miliani, 2000). The main problem of the teaching of languages in general and English in particular, as mentioned before, was the interference of political agendas of the leading parties that the educationalists follow and want, before anything, to please. These politicians will not hesitate in passing laws and developing a pedagogy that goes against all the well-established learning theories of experts to meet their goal, which is staying in power (Miliani, 2000).

3.8 Problems with Schools and Language Planning in Algeria

There is no denying that considerable efforts have been put in place by the government, since independence, to enhance education in Algeria. But the results are not encouraging, and the reforms were not as successful as they were aimed to be. Many factors are the reason for this failure, and it is preventing the improvement of the educational system in the country, like for example the many problems that both teachers and learners constantly incur, and that are getting in the way of an efficient educational system. Without forgetting the fact that language policy planners chose to overlook the linguistic reality of the country and ignored the feelings of the population about the issue, and instead promoted the “one language - one nation” ideology (Arabization), which was even more divisive (Benrabah, 2007).

Language planning was the pillar the government was relying on to meet an agenda that was believed to be necessary for the development of the country. The main issue with this motivation is that these educational reforms have always been politically oriented and have been more of a political manipulation than an educated decision. With failed educational reforms, in the period from 1985 to 1992, the Ministry of Education had not less than seven ministers (Miliani, 2000). The problem is that the decisions made with reforms will have an inevitable impact on both the school’s efficiency and the learners. And this is exactly what happened throughout these years, an unstable educational system that still is struggling to find the ideal policy to apply, which explains the catastrophic performance of learners and the high level of failing classes (Miliani, 2000).

Before dealing with the failed language planning issue of the Algerian government, we will first go through the different problems that the teachers and learners must deal with daily, it explains the poor performance of schools as well which is apparent in the following:

- Many pupils fail their final national exams whether at the baccalaureate or the middle school level.
- An increase in the number of the repetition of school years, mostly the baccalaureate level, where the repetition level reached 43%
- The large proportion of students who drop out of schools before the age of 16
- The issue of the student’s orientation at the university, which leads to a high rate of repetition of the same year many times.

- There is also a complaint about the poor quality of the teachers and the lack of adequate teaching qualifications. Although the reforms suggested new teacher training to improve both teachers' and inspectors' skills (Bellalem, 2014).

Apart from the fact that teachers need to be better trained, there are other obstacles that the teachers face, which makes their task even more difficult and prevents them from achieving the desired results with their students. The teachers are often neglected by the Ministry of Education in the country, they have to implement whatever policy the ministry makes, without discussion or even being checked with while making these important decisions, concerning education or even to teaching (Bellalem, 2008). This type of behavior is one of the main reasons why reforms were not successful, and why language policies failed to achieve the desired objectives.

Most of the time the teacher must work in schools that lack important resources, and that makes learning extremely difficult. Some schools, for example, do not even have heating, adding to that the fact that they must work in overcrowded classes with more than 40 students. There is also the lack of resources that are necessary for learning, whether in language classes or even for other disciplines like science or physics (Bellalem, 2008). And that besides the low salaries and the constant persecution by the ministry, that can deploy unethical methods to punish teachers who discuss their decisions or go on strikes to condemn certain policies (Bellalem, 2008).

As far as the learner is concerned, there is a high level of lack of motivation to study and learn, in particular, languages. It was claimed by researchers that students' standards had fallen considerably in language classes, and this is due mainly to a loaded curriculum that did not reflect their social environment. Some teachers even complain about their unacceptable behavior and lack of respect in the classroom (Bellalem, 2014). Also, to learn in an overcrowded class is not ideal for the learner to fully retain what the teacher explains or be able to master a language without the provision of adequate resources.

Among these many problems that we have cited above, from the lack of adequate schools to the lack of highly qualified teachers and the unmotivated students, there is the interference of politics in the educational system, that is the main problem that learning and language learning, in particular, faces in Algeria. Experts claim that politicians manipulated the learning of languages in a way that a social fracture is sinking the country into a deep crisis (Miliani, 2000). There has been a constant conflict between French- and Ara-

bic-speaking communities, and whoever was in power ruled in education, even in domains where only experts can make decisions. As a result of this political interference, languages are constantly being opposed to each other, Literary Arabic to French or French to English, which creates a context of rivalry and sometimes conflicts (Benrabah, 2007). The French language has lost its leading position in many domains, and it has disappeared in many cultural and educational settings in the country (Miliani, 2000). As for the English language, politicians thought of the decision of introducing it at an early stage of school, and it was proved to be a completely miscalculated move (Miliani, 2000). In a country where French is used in a decreasing number of domains, English is solicited to somehow help Arabic, to cope up with a globalized world. Tamazight is officially recognized yet is being oppressed at the same time. One can deduce that the language policy in Algeria was never planned according to a well-thought strategy, following realistic criteria that are aware of the linguistic situation of the country. Many experts believe that it is only a result of a political seizure of a group of people that took over the power after independence and ended up applying some irrational and unrealistic educational reforms (Miliani, 2000). Unfortunately, the leaders of the country chose not to settle the problem of languages, which also meant choosing to ignore the sociocultural reality of Algeria. The spoken languages have always been neglected, fought, and declared outlaws, be it in schools or on the national media (Miliani, 2000). The consequences of such policies were bad, to say the least, it had caused, what some may call, some sort of “language schizophrenia” among the young learners, who were torn between their mother tongue that they grew up speaking and the medium used in schools, which is entirely different and not practical to use in their everyday life (Miliani, 2000).

The language heritage of any country is an important part of its identity and that of its citizens, denying it would be denying an identity. Successful language planning should recognize the importance of the language heritage that the country has, and rehabilitate minority languages by creating, accordingly, a system that is strong enough to preserve them. In a multilingual context, planners should take decisions that have long-term goals and think, way ahead, of the consequences it can have on the future generations, it cannot in any way proceed by oppression or eradication. This was not the case in Algeria, language planners forbid the standardization of the used languages or dialects, and it promoted the one language - one nation ideology, at the expense of the vernaculars of the country. Learners often find themselves trapped between the native language, that they use daily for communication, and the one used in schools (Miliani, 2000). Researchers claim that the

Algerians have a serious identity crisis, as a result of the language elimination attempts by the government, the impact is not only linguistic but also cultural, social, and even psychological (Miliani, 2000).

After many years of an Arabization policy, that was mainly political and completely denied the real Algeria, the country is still multilingual, and it certainly is in crisis. Its linguistic reality can be explained as follows: the mother tongue for most Algerians is dialectal Arabic or Tamazight, it expresses their identity and gives them a certain sense of belonging (Benrabah, 2007). Standard Arabic is more of a religious language and it allows them to be associated with Islamic beliefs. French and English are the languages of economic power and modernity (Benrabah, 2007). The constant eradication policies of languages, that are popular among the Algerians and are used daily and choosing to impose a language that is not even used by the majority, has led to a monolingual and mono-cultural environment, that was only destined to fail and has resulted in a linguistic impoverishment (Miliani, 2000). Policies that are still implemented by an Algerian regime, that is authoritarian and is completely against pluralism, and also fighting any reforms that can go against its political agenda, only shows how non-democratic and morally illegitimate they may be (Benrabah, 2007).

This instance was not only observed in Algeria with the Arabization policy. Many countries around the world have also used language to gain political power or enforce political ideologies. Great empires relied, heavily, on the role of language and its important contribution to enforcing power over colonized territories (Tilmatine, 2015). The same consequences of the Arabization policy were inflicted on populations in North African countries, namely Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya. They all share the same history and the same linguistic issues as Algeria, resulting in the enforced Arabization laws that aimed at oppressing the Berber population, who has lived across the North African territories for centuries (Tilmatine, 2015).

When Arabs diffused Islam throughout the North African area, a strong link was created to the Arabic language being the language of the religion, which would facilitate the promotion of the Arabic language by the leading governments (Tilmatine, 2015). The adoption of the same policy after independence was an attempt to unite under one language and one religion, which was also endorsed in the majority of Middle Eastern countries, that oppressed the various minority communities namely Kurds, Armenians, and Southern Sudanese, that were denied the right to recognition just like the Berbers in Algeria and Morocco (Miller, 2003). That the policy was also a failure in these countries, was no surprise,

the existence of various minority communities was difficult to overcome, and the desired goal of unity was not achieved. However, it created more conflicts that pushed the governments in countries like Sudan, for example, to consider adopting linguistic policies that would recognize the linguistic rights of the non-Arab communities (Miller, 2003).

The involvement of politics in language-related laws and planning is customary in many other African countries as well, which are mostly multilingual, like Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, etc. The denial of the native tongues' rights and the refusal to recognize the different linguistic groups in these countries, ignoring their linguistic reality, cost the population the heavy consequences of misused language policy. As politicians in these countries have always used issues that are related to ethnic and regional linguistic and cultural differences for their gain, and a part of their plan to win political power (Ouedraogo, 2000). Many other similar cases can be observed in countries around the world that had to deal with linguistic diversity, or with the existence of minority language groups that usually refuse to give up their linguistic rights. For example, in countries like Spain with the Catalanian community and the oppression of their language in the course of Francisco Franco's reign (Roda-Bencells, 2009). Or India, which is well known for its cultural and linguistic diversity. Five language families coexist in the Indian society with various ethnic groups, it is a country that struggled to construct an adequate language policy, void of politics, that can allow the peaceful coexistence of all the linguistic varieties of the country (Kumar Singh et al., 2012).

What Algeria needs is a new language planning policy. It needs to adopt a plan that is not biased, that recognizes the people's linguistic rights. Equilibrium should be found between all the languages that are in contact in the country, whether in schools or society (Miliani, 2000). Tamazight and the dialectal Arabic status must be recognized in the Algerian society. The years of identity problems, that the population has been through, were only the result of the language and cultural denial that was imposed by the government (Miliani, 2000). Foreign languages are also important for the development of the country. Without political agendas or favoring one language over another, both French and English should be given their due place in society. What is also important in any educational system is that the choices of education should be guided by certain realism, that is far from any emotional or political involvement. Besides, the debate opposing the language of knowledge and the mean of instruction should be settled, in many domains like science and technology, the language of knowledge and the one used in instruction are different, which is a real problem in Algerian schools (Miliani, 2000). Thus, for a final settlement to this everlasting problem of languages that is tearing the educational system, as well as the society itself apart, some

questions need to be answered. First, what language(s) should be used in schools as a means of instruction? What language(s) is best suited for teaching science? What language is the best for expressing progress and development? And what language(s) will best suit the identity of any Algerian individual? (Miliani, 2000). If the leading authorities manage to answer all these questions, then it is believed that a huge part, and a main one, of the current problems that the country is facing, will be solved.

3.9 The Rivalry between English and French

In recent years, many researchers have noticed how the English language is slowly gaining ground in the linguistic landscape of Algeria, in particular, and of the Maghreb in general, a region which has been thought of, for a long time, as a francophone territory. While English is increasingly gaining importance in francophone regions, French was unable to do the same and penetrate Anglophone areas, and at the same time is threatened to lose more territories, where it used to be the dominant language, over which France maintained a certain power. However, many French colonies slowly started to distance themselves from their ex-colonizer, whether politically, economically, and even socially. There is this desire to completely be free and less dependent, which also meant being free from using French, encouraging the local languages, and urging the population to learn English as the language of modernization (Battenburg, 1997). As for the Maghreb region, the countries promoted the Arabization policy, they encouraged the use of Standard Arabic instead of French and promoted English to be the first foreign language. However, many links still connect the Maghreb region to France, French is still the main language used in economy and technology, thousands immigrate to France every year to study or to look for jobs, and it is far from being completely eradicated from the linguistic landscape of these countries (Battenburg, 1997).

All these factors created an atmosphere of rivalry between English and French in the Maghreb region. While English is being called the global language of the world, French is still maintaining a certain control, especially in the world of the economy, but its prestige as the language of development has diminished remarkably (Battenburg, 1997). As a form of resistance, France is trying to be more involved in Africa and the Middle East, whether it being a peace mediator, or in military activities or economic trades, in an attempt to prevent a complete takeover of the English language (Battenburg, 1997). In Algeria, France is still the dominant country, when it comes to trade policies, it is holding its grasp on the economic front and is still benefiting from the Algerian and the Maghreb market. Thus, it is in its

interest that the French language maintains its number one foreign language spot. Both the American and the British governments are also seeking to benefit, economically as well as politically, in these regions, however, they are less keen to accomplish that goal by imposing the English language (Battenburg, 1997).

In Algeria, the rivalry between both languages goes back to the days after independence, a period where the Algerian leading authorities wanted to replace French. The best way for them to do that was by applying the Arabization policy and looking for a language that was more dominant than French in the world. A language of modernity and technological development, and that language was English, which was growing tremendously in the world (Benrabah, 2013). After the many years of the Arabization policy, and the many social changes that the country went through, the competition between English and French intensified considerably. The more literacy in Arabic rises, with French losing its dominance as the medium of instruction, the more there is a demand to use English, which threatens the first foreign language position of French (Benrabah, 2013).

The first signs of the competition between both languages appeared in the early 1970s in various sectors. For example, in school textbooks, many lexical items were introduced in elementary schools that were used in the Middle East region, which was one of the rules of the Arabization policy. Many loanwords from English were used in the press to replace those in French, to slowly erase French words from the vocabulary. Words like: *ordinateur* and *SIDA* were replaced by *computer* and *AIDS*. Many other loanwords such as *jet-set*, *SMS*, *mobile*, and *timing*, were used in the written media that uses the Arabic language, even words that are similar in both languages would be spelled in English (Benrabah, 2013, p. 90).

In the 1990s, the level of rivalry between English and French reached its peak, with the rise of the Islamic movement in Algeria called the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which was ruling the country during that period. They were strongly against the teaching of French, and they advocated for its replacement by English in elementary schools. Claims were that French is a colonialist language that should be eradicated, and its teaching should be delayed to advanced levels in schools. Adding that, if the only motive behind keeping on teaching French is because it is a language of science, then the country can choose any other language that does not have any colonial history with Algeria (Benrabah, 2013). The Arab Middle East played an important role in developing the nationalist discourse that the Algerian members of the pro Arabization lobby advocated and wanted to impose on the

population, they were also calling for a replacement of French by English, which would create stronger ties with the Middle-East (Benrabah, 2013).

An anti-Arabization group, who were pro-French, and who were not in favor of the Islamist movement and its ideology, promoted the use of the French language and that contributed to creating this sense of competition between both languages in Algeria. Many argued that the French language should not be associated with the French colonizer, but merely as a language that is now a part of the linguistic reality of the country and should only be considered as such. What happened was that the Algerians were not ready to completely give up the French language, and when they were allowed to choose what language to be taught in primary schools, the results were majorly in favor of keeping the French language (Benrabah, 2013).

What can be learned from the failed attempts to replace French with English in Algerian schools and then in society, in general, is that whatever contributed to expanding the English language all over the world was not efficient in Algeria. It was wrongly executed by elites that had nationalist and political motives ignoring the reality of the country (Benrabah, 2013). It also shows that the spread of a certain language does not always have to be planned, it can expand spontaneously without any management. Even when the leading authorities, of any country, follow a certain ideology to manage the linguistic issue and the language policy it can, in fact, not function (Benrabah, 2013). That was the case in Algeria, where the local vernaculars were denied and local languages oppressed, which lead to resistance from the people and a rejection of the policy. In the Berber region, the use of French became a form of this resistance and a way to express a stand in the face of the government, and against a policy that was denying their existence.

Some officials from the English speaking centers in Algeria expressed their positive feelings towards the decline of French to the benefit of English in North Africa or at least the desire of these countries to replace French and promote English, and they were quite satisfied with this new development, as it can be seen as a triumph to the English language. They were in favor of this change in this particular region, as it is majorly dominated by the French language, its decline means a step forward to the complete supremacy of the English language (Benrabah, 2013). A French journalist declared in the mid-1990s that an American official of President Bill Clinton's administration told him:

“We do not believe the current regime [in Algeria] will collapse. If it were to be so, French would be the major loser. Not us. Read the Islamist political manifesto. They intend to replace French by English as the first mandatory foreign language. You have become the Great Satan. We will continue business as usual. We have all the reasons to be optimistic.” (Laurent, 1995:35, as cited in Benrabah, 2013, p. 96).

The American scholar Edward Thomas declares that the maintenance of French in North Africa is useless, at a time when English has become this predominant language all over the world. It is a global language that is spoken in many parts of the world, and to see these ex-colonized countries continue to use the language of their colonizer does not make much sense, and benefit neither of these countries but France. He even suggests that the solution to the linguistic conflict, that Algeria seems incapable of resolving, would be to choose English as the language for peace (Benrabah, 2013). This indicates that this race of the languages may be, indeed, a race between great powers, seeking to benefit economically in North Africa and Algeria in particular. This is what linguistic imperialism means, it is about gaining new markets and extending powers through language (Benrabah, 2013).

In Algeria, authorities did choose English as a replacement for French, they argued, was the language of modernity and development, they were greatly influenced by the 19th-century European unilingual model, and also believed in the language “superiority” ideology. It affected the domination of French in some ways in Algeria but failed in completely replacing it with English. Scholar John Battenburg argues that English will not be able to completely replace French in North Africa, at least not soon, however, its status will increase in importance (Benrabah, 2013). This is correct, according to many North African researchers who argue that, as a result of the Arabization policy adopted by the governments of the Maghreb countries, the status of the French language has progressively declined and that favored considerably the English language. About the rivalry between both languages, Battenburg claims “while French is more used; English is more loved” (Battenburg, 1997, p. 282). Currently, in Algeria, French is still needed and used in many major sectors, whereas English is the language that is becoming gradually popular among youngsters, and an increasing number of the Algerians love the language and are willing to learn it.

Recently, the debate to replace French with English, as the language of education, in Algeria has revived again by the decision that was announced by the current minister of higher education, Bouzid Tayeb. The minister declared that French is a language of no utility and can lead nowhere, and it is time to introduce English in universities, alongside MSA, as the language of instruction. He announced this decision on his Facebook official page, urging the Algerians to vote using an online poll. The results were announced only

two weeks later claiming that 94% of the voters are supporting the decision. Which the minister considers as enough reason to proceed and apply this new policy. And as a first step, he signed an order sent to universities, all over the country, to start replacing French with English in all the headers of official documents (Zerrouky, 2019). However, many experts and professors announced their disagreement with such a decision calling it unwise and unrealistic. Especially when the country has been going through a tough period and suffering from an unprecedented political crisis since March 2019. The government is rejected by the population that has been manifesting its legitimacy and asking for a new system to take over. Besides, this decision was taken without checking with experts, to fully study the conditions for such a drastic policy to be put in place. Hence, it is believed that, again, the government is playing its old political card, and authorities are once again using languages to meet political agendas that are destined to fail (Zerrouky, 2019)

Opponents argue that this is only a maneuver to divide the population and distract the protestors from the real issues in the country. Not only is this not the time to start an old debate, that has always been a source of controversy and intimidation, but the country is also simply not adequately equipped with the needed material and professors that master the language. They also claim that to put two languages, once again, in confrontation is not what the country needs nor what the thousands of youngsters manifesting every week request (Zerrouky, 2019). Professor and linguist Yassin Tellali declared, in an interview, that this actual debate may not only mean that it is a coalition between conservatives and the system, it may also imply that there is a new group of elites that is Anglophone that wants to replace the Francophone one, and find its place in the university that they think are deprived of due to the dominance of the French language (Zerrouky, 2019).

Figure 3.2 demonstrates the different sectors where English and French are mostly used in Algeria.

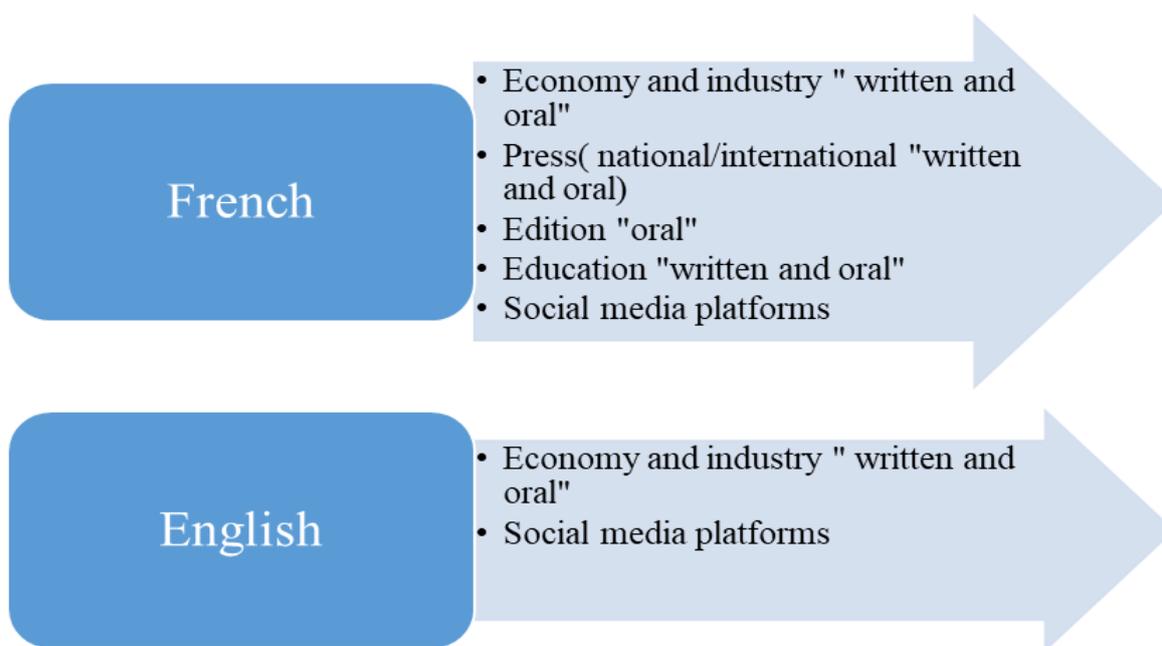


Figure 3.2. Sectors where French and English are used in Algeria (Cordel, 2014)

Chapter 4: The Context of the Study and Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The future of the English language in Algeria is principally dependent on the extent of the population that can speak and understand it. For any foreign language to gain the status of a certain prestige and importance in a country, many factors either historical, global, or local, need to be present for that to happen. As far as Algeria is concerned, and as we have already elaborated in the previous chapters, it is history more than any other factor that led the used languages to appear and stay in the country.

One would argue that for a language like English that has gained this global status worldwide, it should be natural that the Algerians would be interested in learning it as well. Especially in a country like Algeria, which has sociolinguistic, socio-economic, cultural, and political features that can play a key role in allowing the spread of the English language on its territory. However, the situation is a bit tricky, mainly due to the presence of French that is slowing down this process because of its strong usage in key domains like the economy (Cordel, 2014). Nonetheless, Algeria is certainly not a homogenous entity, mainly from a sociolinguistic perspective, where there are regions that are more franco-phone than others, French is primarily dominant in the northern urban cities that are also the major ones in the country like for example, Algiers, Constantine, Oran, and Annaba. Whereas in other cities, that are less active on the economic front and that are more rural, French is not as leading. It is the economic activity of the big cities that explains the remaining dominance of French over other languages (Cordel, 2014). Does this mean that English has more chances to spread in non-urban regions? Benrabah claims, on the other hand, that it is mainly youngsters who live in big cities, that are more interested in learning and using English in their everyday life (Benrabah b, 2009, p. 119). In the present research the spread of English, along with other linguistic issues, will be investigated and analyzed.

This chapter will present the context of the study. It analyzes in detail the research methodology, research questions, and explains the different procedures followed and instruments of investigation that helped to gather data for the research. It will discuss the sampling strategies used and explain the participants' profiles. Besides, this chapter will

further describe data collection procedures, the process of data analysis to finally review the concluding remarks.

4.2 Research Design

Taking into consideration the context of the study, it was essential to follow a specific strategy that will best serve the research. To present accurate results, mixed-method research seemed to be the ideal procedure to follow. It has been universally acknowledged as a powerful approach for investigation, it involves data collected from both quantitative (open-ended data) and qualitative (closed-ended data) approaches, it integrates both forms and uses a selected design that better suits the framework of the research.

Using the mixed methods for research, that investigates the attitudes of the Algerians towards the spread of the English language in the Algerian society and evaluating its present and future status in the country, along with analyzing other linguistic issues, is essential because it will help present a better understanding and provide a broader load of information related to the theme problem, compared to only using either of the approaches (Creswell, 2014).

The mixed-method research comprises several designs that can be used to collect data. The present study is the adoption of one of these designs called the “convergent parallel mixed methods approach” (see Figure 4.1). The main tool of this design is gathering information using the same, or nearly identical, variables in both quantitative and qualitative research. These variables are quantitatively measured using a survey, for example, which will include a big number of participants, the same variables will be used qualitatively, with a smaller number of contributors but with a wider range of information. In this type of approach, the researcher concurrently collects data from both quantitative and qualitative methods, separately analyzes them, and then compares the driven findings to finally draw adequate conclusions (Creswell, 2014).

In Figure 4.1 (Creswell. 2014, p. 270) we can notice the different steps that should be followed using Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods.

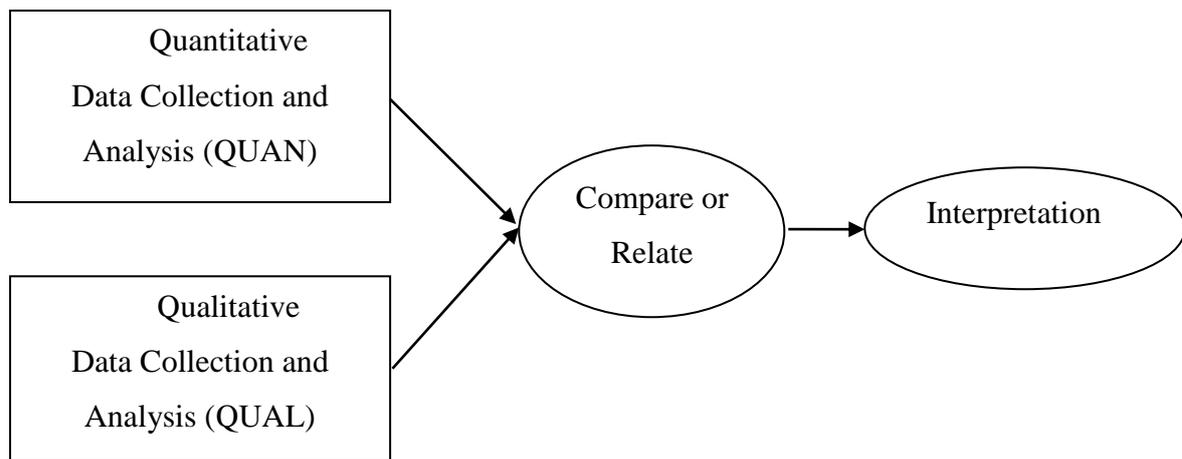


Figure 4.1. Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods
(Source: Creswell, 2014)

In the present research, a questionnaire was used to collect data (see 4.2.3.1), semi-structured interviews (see 4.2.3.2), and exploring the linguistic landscape (see 4.2.3.3) to analyze the language signs in different areas in the country, which can provide additional insight into the status of English in the country. This triangulation in data collection introduced other facets of the investigated topic and carried an extra dimension to the study (Olsen, 2004).

Combined sampling techniques were adopted to produce a more effective way of sampling data. The quantitative phase adopted both convenience and snowball sampling. Each is a type of nonprobability sampling, where respondents were chosen according to their availability and easy accessibility (Etikan et al., 2016). Snowball sampling, which is a strategy for collecting items in a network or a group of individuals, starts with few people, and then spreads thanks to the links of this network (Etikan & Bala, 2017). It is a technique that was specifically used considering the nature of the adopted survey, which is a web-based questionnaire that was created using Google forms to facilitate its distribution. Using this type of sampling, the questionnaire was administered through emails, specific network platforms, and definite groups. As for the qualitative phase, the purposive, also called judgmental, sample was adopted (Tangco, 2007). The selected cases to investigate were purposely chosen to suit the theme of the research and provide relevant conclusions. The interviewees were intentionally chosen according to their skills and knowledge about the theme of the research, whereas all the collected photographs were only those carrying the English language.

Data collection, from both quantitative and qualitative approaches, lasted over a year. In the quantitative stage, “494” filled the survey and “10” were interviewed. As for

the linguistic landscape, over 100 photographs of shops and signs were taken from different regions across the country, from which only a few were chosen to be used in the thesis.

4.2.1 Population and Sampling

In the previous chapters it was revealed that there is a conflicted linguistic situation in Algeria, and although there is an obvious spread of the English language, it was still not clear whether this expansion has any future significance in the linguistic ecology of the country. If this spread continues to grow, then what would be the repercussion on the linguistic reality of the Algerian society and the status of the other languages? These are questions that prompted the decision to conduct the actual research among different sections of the Algerian population - mainly intellectuals - and from different cities and communities. It was important to have diverse cases from different parts of the country, with diverse backgrounds, to be able to provide explanatory data on the attitudes of the Algerians towards English and the other languages in the country. These examinations may shed light on people's interests and opinions about using or learning English and provide information on the current status of each of the languages used in the country. As an additional data sampling technique, studying the linguistic landscape may allow observing the supposed spread of the language in the inland scenery of the country, and add supplementary evidence on the growing existence of the English language in Algeria.

In the present study, as previously mentioned, combined sampling strategies were adopted to collect data. The survey phase was distributed online, both convenient and snowball sampling methods were used, which means before looking for potential respondents online, some networking was carried out. Besides, few friends and family members, who could have an insightful view on the theme of the research and a certain degree in education, were contacted. They were asked to then introduce the questionnaire to people they know, either colleagues or fellow students, to eventually participate in the research. Then, the questionnaire was sent out online, via social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter, particularly to relevant groups of individuals and Facebook pages that are active with considerable numbers of members, who were accessible and willing to participate and share their opinion on the problem. The questionnaire was also sent to selected intellectuals who were reachable via email. They were asked to either be interviewed or, in case they were not available, fill out the survey. For the sample to be representative of the whole Algerian population, it was important to carefully choose who should answer the question-

naire, taking into consideration the geographical areas, the educational level, and the different ethnic communities.

In the interview phase, the persons that were interviewed were carefully selected, taking into consideration their educational background, profession, common interest in the topic, and other criteria. The purposive sampling method was adopted for the sampling, which is as Tangco defines it:

“The deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses. It is a nonrandom technique that does not need underlying theories or a set number of informants. Simply put, the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience” (Tongco, 2007. p. 147).

The total number of survey respondents is 494. It can be assumed that the investigated sample is believed to be representative of the general population. Knowing that the size of the sample is determined by the kind of research explored, in some cases the larger the sample the better. It was estimated that 494 may eventually be representative, to a certain extent, and can be generalized to study the Algerian case. The number of interviewees is “10” and they were selected according to their qualifications, type of knowledge, background, and location. It was aimed to include in the sample various informants with different attitudes towards the theme of the research, to provide reliable data necessary to fulfill the objective of the research.

Furthermore, exploring the linguistic landscape by observing the language used on public sites, shops, graffiti, posters, etc. can support a different insight and illustrate the visibility of English to the Algerians daily. In a country that belongs to the francophone community and that has Standard Arabic as its official language, finding signs of different shops and buildings written in English can add an interesting twist to the research. The data, collected for the study, consists of over 100 signs photographed in different cities in various streets. These cities were chosen conforming to economic, demographic, and ethnic criteria. Some signs were photographed at some protests that took place in the country during the research; many Algerians protested in different regions against the government and the new elections. The rich linguistic diversity of the country was highly demonstrated during these events, including many signs that were in English. Signs, graffiti, etc. were collected by friends that were there or found in some articles and various social network platforms. The data was categorized and then analyzed, to provide results that can reflect the status of the language and the linguistic policy that is adopted when dealing with the English language.

4.2.2 Data Collection

The main idea with the chosen design of the research is to collect data, simultaneously, using quantitative and qualitative methods. With the same or slightly different variables to later analyze and interpret the results.

For the present study, the quantitative data collection started by first searching on different social media platforms to find potential respondents, conducting what is called the social media method (SMM) (Zhuravleva et al, 2016). With the increasing use of the Internet worldwide and in Algeria in particular, there is a rise of social media especially Facebook, hence the choice to use it for the present study. It is the social networking site that is used the most by people in the world. Algeria is no exception, it is ranked second in terms of countries using Facebook in Africa, with an estimated number of 17 million users which equals 43% of the population (Giraudet, 2017). Whereas Twitter is much less popular among Algerians, it is dragging behind Facebook and even Instagram (Driss, 2016). Facebook is also a platform that can supply instant access to large groups of people from all parts of the country, which can make the distribution of the questionnaire much easier and more efficient.

The choice of the participants was based on various criteria that can be useful for the research, like finding adequate groups and profiles that can be interested in participating, that had a large number of members, and also have certain credibility to add valuable insight into the theme of the research. As mentioned before, the pursuit of respondents was not only on social media but also using the snowball sampling method, by contacting individuals, like friends and family members, who were asked to also contact other individuals to take part in the study. In the initial phase, the questionnaire was distributed in both languages French and English, using the snowballing technique, to individuals that were available and also have a specific educational background, like teachers, professors, and students, to be able to have an opinion on the study. They were then asked to pass on the questionnaire to others they knew. After the distribution of the questionnaire, respondents were introduced to the aim of the research and the purpose of conducting the survey, they were given the choice of which survey to fill out, depending on the language they master, and then, they were instructed on how to fill it out and submit it.

Simultaneously, a total of 10 persons were interviewed, the interviews were semi-structured, and some lasted longer than others (more information on the interviews in 4.2.3.1). They were conducted in both French and English so that the respondent could

answer comfortably. A decision was made to include various intellectuals with different backgrounds and different views on the theme of the study.

One of the inconveniences that were encountered is the uneasy availability of certain intellectuals that were contacted. Although they gave their consent to be interviewed, they were not always reachable. First, they were all contacted by email, and then when they did not respond, by Facebook. After a few discussions online, they then sent the answers via email or using the google forms link, the same difficulties were met with the survey respondents. (More on the difficulties encountered during the research, will be discussed in 7.3)

4.2.3 Instrumentation

Three instruments were used in the present research, the first is a questionnaire to measure the attitudes of Algerians towards the spread of English, the status of the other spoken languages, and multilingualism in Algeria. Second, semi-structured interviews. Last, observing the linguistic landscape of the country by taking photographs of English signs. These instruments will be further explained in the coming subsections.

4.2.3.1 *The questionnaire*

The questionnaire was specifically selected because it proved to be a useful tool of research and an efficient method in gathering information for any type of study, as Creswell explains: “A survey design provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population.” (Creswell, 2014, p. 201). A web-based survey was used in the research because it is quick to distribute, the data is automatically collected and the costs are low, the one used in the study was cost-free, compared to a paper-based survey for example. Andrew et al. define: “Web-based surveys provide the ability to transfer survey responses directly into a database, eliminating transcription errors and preventing survey alteration by the survey respondent.” (Andrews et al, 2007, p. 4). Also, being a resident abroad, conducting an online survey seemed to be the ideal tool for the present study, to be able to gather and analyze data about Algeria, as it facilitates making contact without having to travel back and forth.

This is a survey that is aimed at assessing languages in the country, which is specifically aimed at gathering information on the socio-economic background of the participants, their age, gender, the city of birth. It also aimed at sharing data about the degree of contact with the investigated languages, attitudes, and their readiness to learn any of the

foreign dominant languages of the country (Zhuravleva et al., 2016). However, language surveys as well as those that are conducted online, have received some criticism on carrying certain limitations like, for example, a lack of depth of the conveyed results where there is a risk of having unreliable answers, especially in multilingual countries where people are biased towards certain languages that are culturally closer to them, which can affect their judgment of the status of a certain language, and can make them fake some answers (Zhuravleva et al., 2016). Adding to that, it is online which adds the threat of false identities and profiles, there is no clear way to how a researcher can verify the reliability of the information provided by the respondents about their profile.

Respondents are required to have access to the Internet and have minimal computer competency, which can be regarded as disadvantageous and can limit access to a wider sample. Hence, when surveying online languages and their use, it is important to secure the questionnaire so that it cannot be manipulated and used more than once by the same respondent (Davis, 2011), systematically observe the process of investigation, carefully choose participants, which justifies the use of convenient sampling technique, use definite and adequate questions that should serve the research and eventually obtain reliable findings. It is also important to build trust and a partnership with the respondents and respect the ethics of conducting online research by precisely explaining the aim of the study, and how the answers they will provide, no matter how private they may be, will be used and mentioned in the research (Buchanan & Zimmer, 2012).

Taking into consideration all these important factors, the collection of data was longitudinal (Creswell, 2014), which means that it was collected over a limited period, a year for the present research. The longevity was needed to assemble as many and diverse respondents as possible but at the same time credible, to be able to obtain reliable data to investigate.

For the creation of the survey, Google forms, which represents a rapid and easy way to create an online questionnaire, was used, with an online spreadsheet that instantly collects respondents' answers. People can participate in the survey by using any web browser, including tablet browsers and mobile smartphones, which is another advantage that can simplify its distribution. Using Google forms allows observing the responses as they progress, which is an excellent way to keep you updated on the progression of the results. Questions can be added in different types, such as closed-ended or open-ended questions, checkboxes, multiple-choice, etc., and you can drag and drop any question in any order desired (Guay, 2019).

The questionnaire (Appendix A) contains 27 items that were developed in both English and French, to give the respondents the choice to select the language they understand. The choice of languages was purposively determined, not including the Standard Arabic was aimed to observe the choice that the participants will make and explore the number that will choose the English version. Also, French is a language that is understood by most Algerians, so the risk of not being able to fill out the French version was not an option. Before starting to write the questions of the survey, few language assessment questionnaires that were conducted in previous studies were reviewed (e.g. Gullberg and Indorfrey, 2003; Li et al., 2006). There are other examples of language background questionnaires, that can be found online, to have an idea of what kind of items can be best for this type of research. However, the items that were chosen for the present survey were designated, specifically, to serve the purpose of the present study. It was important to thoughtfully phrase the questions that can cover all the issues discussed in the research.

To ensure that the questionnaire is ready to be distributed, it was first pilot tested. Survey piloting is a crucial phase in any research, to be reviewed and improved, to recognize any likely problems or errors, and to check if the respondent understands the questions (Davis, 2011). The present study applied a multi-stage survey testing process, which was developed by researchers with specific techniques that can be used in any type of research (Andrews et al, 2007). It is a four-stage process that allows the researcher to check various types of potential errors in format, structure, and meaning. First, the pilot survey contained 31 questions that varied from general to more specific questions, some questions would have multiple choice answers, and others with statement-like answers. It was first handed out to some knowledgeable former colleagues, who were asked to check the format, completeness, and effectiveness of the questions. The second stage is called the “*think-aloud*” technique (Davis, 2011) it consists of asking few respondents to fill out the questionnaire, and then verbally express their opinion on various aspects of the survey (Andrews et al, 2007). The questionnaire was pilot tested among a small group of friends that volunteered to fill it out, and then they were asked to give their impression of the overall look of the survey, their understandability of the questions, sequencing, and consistency problems. The chosen group of friends needed to have a similar profile to the target participants that will receive the current survey.

Some of the comments, made by respondents, were to rephrase the question asking about the first acquired language, to make it more precise because the respondent can misunderstand it, or be confused by what is meant by the first acquired and mix it with the first

learned language. Hence, the questions were rephrased by adding “*in your childhood*” to the question so that they choose the first language they ever learned to speak. Another question, that respondents suggested to formulate more precisely, was the one about the word Tamazight which has many communities and dialects. It was suggested to include language varieties as an explanation of the language Tamazight. Realizing that it may be a bit ambiguous, the other varieties were added next to the language Tamazight in the actual survey.

In the third stage, the small data of the pilot study is analyzed to resolve potential issues, like correlated questions that needed to be reduced, improve some of the questions that were asked and generated confusing answers, remove some questions, and test the answers to the open-ended questions (Andrews et al., 2007). After completing the third stage, some of the questions in the survey were removed, due to the length of the answers or their useless information, the questions were reduced from 31 to 27.

The last stage is a final check to eliminate errors and typos, revised by individuals that are not connected to the survey (Andrews et al., 2007). The final version of the survey (see Appendix A) was revised one last time by a friend, and after receiving feedback from respondents and colleagues, it was used in the present study. The edited version was also translated into French and was also revised by a friend to check for mistakes. The pilot survey was in English, the choice of the language, as explained before, was not an issue since the Algerians learn English in the early stages in schools, and the questions were easy and not complicated to understand.

The final questionnaire was arranged into different parts, with different item types, such as open-response and closed-response questions (see Appendix A). These types can deliver information in various ways that can provide the research valuable results, as discussed below:

- *Part 1 (items 1-5)* contains questions about the background of the participant, including gender, current age, education, place of residence.
- *Part 2 (items 6- 10)* comprises questions that assess the respondents’ proficiency in the languages of the country, in terms of speaking, writing, reading, and details on the first acquired language. These are questions that can determine the level of multilingualism of the respondent, without directly evoking bilingualism or multilingualism explicitly. There is question 10 about the language used at home, which is particularly added because there are families in Algeria that speak two languages at home, especially in the

Berber communities. It can highlight the degree of the linguistic diversity of the environment in which the respondent grows up and deals with daily.

- *Part 3 (items 11-15)* contains questions that specifically aim at evaluating the respondents' attitudes to the different languages that are used in Algerian society. Question 11 is a direct question to which respondents can answer with a simple yes or no or not sure, about the Algerian Arabic "Darja", and whether the respondent considers it as his/her mother tongue. It is a question that is purposively asked to highlight the confusion of the Algerian individual as to what a mother tongue is, and if Darja, although spoken by all Algerians and used in everyday conversations, has a unanimous status in the country. Questions 12-15 are multiple answer questions asked to examine the respondents' attitudes towards the three dominant languages in the country: Standard Arabic, Tamazight, and French, and the second foreign language which is English. Multiple answers were chosen for the mentioned languages depending on the status, background, and history of each. The participant can choose more than one answer by ticking the selected option. From the collected information of these questions, analyses will be provided to examine attitudes towards these languages, and most specifically towards English.
- *Part 4 (items 16-18)* includes items regarding the use of social media platforms; it was important to include this section to mainly measure the language used by respondents on different platforms on the Internet. But also, to focus on the frequency of daily contact with English since it is the dominant language in the networking sphere.
- *Part 5 (items 19- 20)* seeks to reveal the level of mastery of the different languages in the country, as well as the frequency of using each of the mentioned languages daily. It is an attempt to measure the status of each language, including English, in the Algerian society, also try to define where English is positioned among the languages that respondents master, and measuring the frequency of the daily contact and use of each of these languages.
- *Part 6 (items 21-26)* contains miscellaneous questions that focus on the English language by asking respondents to provide information about their connection to English and the rate of using it in their daily lives. In question 23 for example, the respondents are asked to cite three words or expressions in English they use in daily conversations. The respondents are also asked if they are learning English and to name the reasons for choosing to learn it. Question 26 is related to the respondent's attitude towards

both French and English, in choosing which one should be the number one foreign language in Algeria.

The final question (27) regarding multilingualism “*Are you in favor of multilingualism in the country?*” was a direct question to obtain a percentage evaluating the respondents’ view concerning this phenomenon. In a country where multilingualism is a reality, that was always portrayed by the Algerian authorities as a threat to the unity of the country, it was thought it should be interesting to observe whether this opinion was shared by the respondents.

Finally, after completing all the required questions of the research, the participants scroll down to the end of the web page and hit the submit button. All the answers are automatically generated and saved and can be analyzed in Google forms.

4.2.3.2 *E-mail Semi-Structured Interviews*

A part of the adopted design for the selection of information for the present study is using interviews. Researchers argue that the interview method is the most used and effective technique in collecting data in any qualitative research (Ryan et al, 2009). It is an approach to gather information, on a deeper level, about the respondents’ opinions, experiences, and views on the investigated theme of the research (Ryan et al, 2009). The interviewer, even with planned questions, can explore new topics that can emerge from the interaction with the participant (Alshenqueetti, 2014). Different interpretations of the explored topic can be drawn from these in-depth conversations, which can extend the understanding of the research and add new nuances to the conclusions (Alshenqueetti, 2014).

There are various ways in which interviews can be conducted. Regarding the present study, e-mail interviewing is the most suitable strategy to be implemented. Also known as asynchronous in-depth interviewing (Meho, 2006), it is a method where the interview is semi-structured and includes several exchanges between the interviewee and the interviewer, conducted via email, and can last for a specific period (Meho, 2006). This method is specifically useful for the present study due to the geographical location of the interviewees, which prevented face-to-face interaction (Meho, 2006). Additionally, e-mail interviewing is semi-structured, which makes it more flexible and has a spontaneous approach to the kind of questions asked, which are open-ended and less structured (Ryan et al, 2009). It allows unexpected issues, that may be raised by the interviewee, to be explored and add additional information that can be valuable for the research (Ryan et al,

2009). It is possible to interview several participants simultaneously, which costs less time than a regular face-to-face interview. However, there is no defined period as far as collecting data is concerned, it varies according to diverse elements, like the number of the participants that were interviewed, the time they take to answer the received questions, and the time spent to conduct the interview (Meho, 2006). Once all the answers are gathered, data is generated and then edited to later be analyzed (Meho, 2006).

E-mail interviewing offers access to individuals that are difficult to reach and that could not be approached otherwise, they may be either too shy for a face-to-face interview or are better at expressing themselves through writing (Meho, 2006). In other words, e-mail interviewing may allow eliciting data that otherwise could not be obtained, and can allow the participants to deliver further details, with a consistent focus on the topic of the questions, while taking the time needed to answer in a comfortable environment, which can only benefit the research (Meho, 2006). E-mail interviewing offers the possibility for the participants to take the time they need and wish to answer while respecting the deadline that is previously agreed on with the interviewer, they get to choose where and when to answer in a manner they consider most fitting (Meho, 2006).

To conduct e-mail interviewing, it is important to prepare serious planning before and after the interviews, with a specific list of questions that are related to the topic to be able to guide the process of interviewing. At the same time, giving the liberty to the interviewee to express his/her views, based on his/her knowledge of the topic (Ryan et al, 2009). There may be additional questions, that were not on the list, that can be asked depending on the interaction with the interviewee, who may add unexpected useful information. The probing is carried out through follow-up e-mails, which can occur during the interaction all along the process of collecting data (Meho, 2006). It is safe to mention that the same questions will be asked during all the conducted interviews.

The wording of the questions is particularly important, it must be specific, appropriate, and engaging. What is also necessary is that there is flexibility in conducting the interview, to allow the interviewees to express their views freely, according to their understanding of the discussed topic (Qu & Dumay, 2011). Unlike face-to-face interviews, the questions must be much more self-explanatory to avoid any miscommunication, which is much more likely to happen in an e-mail interviewing (Meho, 2006). Hence, the questions asked during the interview were diverse and open-ended to fit the nature of the interrogation, which is spontaneous and unstructured. Both factual and opinion questions were used, and all were attentively formulated, besides, they had to be clear and specific to refrain

from any ambiguity, while at the same time allowing the participant to supply their analysis of the investigated topic (Meho, 2006).

Before conducting an interview, a schedule should be prepared as a first step in building the process. It is the nature of the research that determines what structure to follow in framing interviews. A certain sequencing is necessary in asking the questions to establish a successful atmosphere, in which the interview will take place (Ryan et al., 2009). There are many ways to how an e-mail interviewing is conducted, researchers can send all the questions once, along with the consent form, to give a clear explanation of the topic of the research and what is expected from the interviewee, or if they wish they can divide the process into phases (Meho, 2006). Various factors determine the ideal process to conduct e-mail interviewing, depending on the nature of the research, the topic investigated, and the length of the schedule, many researchers conduct a pretest which can help them decide which method best serves the theme of the study (Meho, 2006). For the present research, an invitation was first sent to the participant to explain the aim of the research and the schedule of the interview. After the approval of the participant to take part in the research, a second e-mail is sent containing the questions and the consent form, the participant is also informed of the possibility of follow-up e-mails, if needed.

Thematic questions were included in the interview schedule that was prepared for the present research (see Appendix B). The schedule is divided into three phases: a) presents an introduction where the aim of the study is explained to the participants, to make sure that they understand the topic of the research, and they agree to participate by giving their opinion on the study and their consent to take part in the interview, b) is the part that includes questions about the investigated topic; it first starts by asking about the background and the demographic information of the interview, then asks the essential questions that are related to the topic of the research. The questions were carefully worded, descriptive, short, and precise to prompt the interviewee to give elaborated answers (Ryan et al., 2009), and c) sends follow-up questions if necessary, depending on the interaction with the interviewee, and if there is a necessity in elaborating on certain answers that need more clarification.

The participants could choose to answer in a document and send it via e-mail, or answer using a Google forms link containing the same questions. It is an easier and more practical technique, to facilitate the procedure for the participants, in case they do not have enough time, or do not know how to answer in the document and send it as an attached file.

Indeed, this step was also explained in the e-mail sent so that they can have all the needed information on how to proceed.

These phases were necessary to mainly lead an organized interview. However, the conversations were planned to be spontaneous and non-restricted, to enable the discussion to engender more information and expand or restrict upcoming issues. An important feature of conducting interviews, that should be respected and strongly promoted, is the issue of ethics. Along with obtaining consent from the participant, they are also ensured confidentiality and protection of their privacy. It is vital to protect the rights of the participant, through preserving confidentiality, anonymity if they wish not to be identified, informed consent that is collected by signing the consent form, which is sent along with the questions, and should be verified at the beginning of every interview. In case participants are reluctant to sign the form, they were offered to only write an e-mail clearly stating their consent to using the interview. It is necessary that the participants fully understand the aim of the study and how the given statements will be cited and discussed in the research (Ryan et al, 2009).

The interview covered issues such as participants' perspective on the linguistic profile of Algeria, the participants attitudes to multilingualism, the participants' perception of the role of languages in shaping the identity of the individual, and whether the complexity of the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the Algerians' identity, the status of foreign languages in the country, the importance of teaching foreign languages, especially English and French, in schools, attitudes towards English and the idea of it competing with the French language in the country, views on the growing popularity of English among youngsters and its potential reasons, the participants' use of English (Internet, work, social network platforms, etc.), the participants' views on the future of languages, especially English, in Algeria, the participants' suggestions on what would be the ideal language policy, that the Algerian authorities should adopt, to reconcile the Algerians with the linguistic reality of the country. These issues were selected, specifically, to complement the investigated topic of the research, and add to the present study a valuable insight from different people that are interested in these same issues.

It should be mentioned that the interviews were conducted in English and French, the interviewees were given the choice to choose the language they are most comfortable with. The persons chosen to be interviewed were either linguists, journalists that investigated languages in Algeria, teachers, or students. It was important to interview diverse individuals from diverse educational backgrounds, to provide broad and diverse views on the

different issues that were developed in the previous chapters. The participants were first contacted via e-mail or Messenger, and then several talks followed to arrange a convenient schedule to conduct the interview. Previous studies claim that using reminders is necessary in case the participants take time to answer, it is a useful technique in case the interviewees forget, lose, delete the message, or endure any other unexpected event, that can prevent them from taking part in the research (Meho, 2006).

While conducting e-mail interviewing there is a possibility of facing the issue of bias, it is difficult to be completely bias-free, while it is the researcher who designs the whole course of collecting data. The selection of the interviewees, the questions asked, and the process to follow are all determined by the researcher. The best way to deal with this issue, in any study, is to be aware of it and acknowledge this fact by reflecting on the researcher's experience and conclusions. Many studies argue that by being the analysis tool and the one who generates the information for the research, the investigator becomes a part of the research as well and hence biased, recognizing this fact is necessary for any research (Ryan et al, 2009).

The main feature that will be missed while conducting an e-mail interview, as opposed to a face-to-face interview, is the aspect of interactivity. The ability to read facial expressions, react to different cues, like the tone of the voice and body language, will not be possible and this can be considered as a weakness. To compensate for the missing of interactive cues, the participants are encouraged to use acronyms (LOL, ROFL), abbreviations, and even emoticons, they can also underline or capitalize on what they see as important facts, and these are tips and tricks that are somehow an alternative for face-to-face interactions (Meho, 2006). However, this can eliminate some of the issues associated with interactive interviews like shyness, gender, race, or disabilities (Meho, 2006).

The e-mail interviewing process is particularly useful in generating valuable data for any research, it offers an opportunity to access information provided by the participants, that may not be accessible otherwise. It eliminates the costs of traveling and transcribing; however, it is a long operation in terms of collecting, analyzing, and sometimes even translating data, which can slow the flow of the investigation. There is also the lack of interactivity mentioned earlier, which some scholars consider as a disadvantage, and the necessity to have access to the Internet. Nevertheless, it allows the participants to describe their thoughts and experiences with their own words, it provides them certain liberties in the way the interview should be conducted according to their schedule, and enables them to provide reflected answers that they can carefully edit (Meho, 2006).

4.2.3.3 *Exploring the Linguistic Landscape*

The notion of studying the linguistic landscape means studying the visibility of languages in public spaces (Gorter, 2006). Which may include names of streets and buildings, shops, institutions, road signs, commercials, and even personal visiting cards (Gorter, 2006).

Landry and Bourhis argue that the core of any study on the linguistic landscape is the analysis of the language on different signs in the public sphere. (Backhaus, 2007). They also provided the widely mentioned definition of the linguistic landscape as follows:

“The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.”

(Landry & Bourhis, 1997:25, as cited in Backhaus, 2007, p. 9)

Any research, investigating the linguistic landscape of any particular area, can provide information that is related to language that can be connected to many fields of studies, such as sociology, linguistics, sociolinguistics, psychology, social geography, and even education (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008). These studies can attribute significantly to gathering reports about language in different societies, and provide information about many disciplines, like the spread of a language, multilingualism, and language policy (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008).

Other terms are used for this new field of study, researchers like Itagui and Singh favor the name “linguistic landscaping” as a better description of the concept of creating signs (Backhaus, 2007). They also claim that: “LL need not and should not be constructed as having a bias towards written language” (Itagi & Singh, 2002b: xi, as cited in Backhaus, 2007, p. 10). It is a broader definition of the concept of LL than that provided by Landry and Bourhis. Gorter, however, prefers the term “multilingual cityscape” which he argues is a more accurate description of the concept (Gorter, 2006). He further claims that in most of the places around the world, the cityscape will not be monolingual due to globalization (Gorter, 2006). Because it is still a new field of study, and it is gaining a growing interest in many disciplines; it was judged that it is better to use the original term which is “the linguistic landscape” to deflect any vagueness.

Researchers argue that language used on signs not only reflects the linguistic reality of territory but can also influence people’s perception concerning the status of the languages in society (Singh et al., 2018). This means that it can also reflect the language policy implemented by the government in certain countries, which may benefit from the linguistic landscape, to implement an approach that can change people’s attitudes towards certain languages (Singh et al, 2018). This was the case in Algeria, where there was a lan-

guage policy (Arabization) that was adopted to impose a monolingual system. It is usually developed through classical means like the media or education (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008), likewise, they used the linguistic landscape as a procedure to reinforce that policy. This explains why the use of language on signs in multilingual countries, Algeria included, has been a subject of many conflicts, mainly by the minority communities. The conflict was primarily about expressing their legitimate claim to their territory, and a call for their rights to get access to the public space through these signs (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008). In Algeria, this is the case of the Berber community that wanted to be visibly present in the linguistic scenery of the country, laws were later reformed due to many protests, and once Tamazight was recognized as a national language, many more multilingual signs, private and public, could be noticed in different regions across the country. In such a manner, the language used on signs also demonstrates the status and power of these languages, which are in many cases promoted by the government (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008). Similar conflicts have been observed in other bilingual or multilingual countries, like Canada, with the issue of the French minority residing in Montreal, and Brussels in Belgium (Backhaus, 2007).

As a direct result of globalization, mass immigration, tourism, constant demands of the recognition of oppressed minority languages, multilingualism is one of the main characteristics of the signs that are displayed in the linguistic landscape of any country (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008). There are various reasons why certain languages are chosen to be on signs depending on the policy of each country. In Algeria, the diversity in languages that are used on public official signs and government buildings are carefully chosen and can be observed depending on the location of the area. There are monolingual, bilingual, and even multilingual signs in different cities across the country. More Tamazight signs can be seen in Berber territories, while others will have only French and Standard Arabic, some will even have the dialectal Arabic, which is more addressed to the people for publicity purposes. A recent change has been observed during the present study, which is the presence of the English language in the linguistic landscape of the country. Recent development and a new language that is increasingly present in signs, especially in the private sphere in different cities. The English language is usually included nowadays in the linguistic landscape of many countries around the world, mainly because English is globally gaining importance. Some experts would even claim that it is preferable to consider it as a “non-foreign” language (Gorter, 2006, p. 88). There is a clear indication, through the amount of research that investigated the linguistic landscape of different countries globally, that Eng-

lish is strongly present, and its use can demonstrate a direction of the future that is international and represents success as well as social grace (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008).

During the gathering of photographs of the different signs in Algeria, the focus was on assembling only the ones written in English, to better illustrate the spread of this language in the country. It was not a difficult task, as many signs in the cities used only English and sometimes both English and French. This is a new development, as far as language use in signs in the public space is concerned, which means that the globalization of English has also reached the country that was always considered to be a closed nation with strict rules, especially when it comes to language policy.

Earlier, the focus of data assembled to study the linguistic landscape was the traditional approaches of linguistic expression in public signs in an area, which has immobile and permanent features. Hence, researchers thought of looking beyond the usual signs that we can find in streets or buildings (Kasanga, 2014). Multiple studies explored other types of signs that also contribute to the linguistic landscape. To investigate the meaning of the non-fixed ones, researchers started examining those that are used temporarily for specific purposes, such as the printed expressions we can find on objects we encounter and use daily. Bills, tickets, stamps, pamphlets, graffiti, a restaurant menu, and even signs used in protests (Kasanga, 2014), are important data for analyzing another aspect in the linguistic landscape context. In the present study, the focus will be on exploring both fixed and non-fixed types of signs. Pictures of shops and buildings were gathered, as well as of graffiti, in different parts of numerous cities across the country.

During the process of collecting photographs, protests burst against the election announcement of the former president, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, in many regions in the country. The ideal means for the protestors to express their anger and dissatisfaction is the discourse on signs that are used during these manifestations (Kasanga, 2014). These signs carry a discourse that is made of a combination of the social act of protest and language (Kasanga, 2014). It is an interesting field of study that can add valuable data when analyzing the linguistic landscape of any country. This was an opportunity to observe the variety of languages that were used on the signs carried during these events in Algeria, which reflected the linguistic diversity of the country. A non-negligible number of placards were written in English, a choice that was not surprising since we are in a global era, and usually one of the aims of protesting is also attracting international coverage to reach global attention (Kasanga, 2014). What was interesting though, is the singularity of the slogans that were carried, which had a local orientation and varied from the classic placards seen elsewhere

in non-English speaking countries. Besides the fact that English is now considered as the “default language” (Kasanga, 2014, p. 26) that protestors use around the world, the number of signs with English that were witnessed, and the style of writing (see 5.10) indicate that this can be an indication of a potential spread of the English language in Algeria.

Another important characteristic of the linguistic landscape is that it is composed of two types of signs: public and “private” (Gorter, 2006), official and non-official (Backhaus, 2007). The public signs are delivered by the ruling authorities like the government, or public agencies, whereas the private ones are delivered by properties owned by individuals, independent institutions, and associations (Gorter, 2006). Studies labeled these two types as “top-down” and “bottom-up” (see Figure 4.2). “Top-down” items are introduced by the government for instance: signs on public locations and institutions, names of streets, public buildings. “Bottom-up” items belong to the private sector, they can also be influenced by the language policy adopted by the authorities but depend mainly on the owner’s personal preference, they can be observed in shops, malls, private offices, and private companies (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008).

Internet and social media platforms are considered as signs belonging to the bottom-up category (Belmihoub, 2018). The term “virtual linguistic landscape” is introduced to define the linguistic landscape of virtual platforms, it describes the same concept of describing language use, with a focus on social media spaces (Biró, 2018). Social media is, thus, perceived as being both a medium and a context at the same time (Lyons, 2016). Mediums like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube offer an opportunity for the Algerians to express themselves in different languages, namely English, which cannot be observed on other platforms (Belmihoub, 2018). In the last few years, an increasing number of Algerian young members have been noticed, in Facebook group pages and Twitter accounts, using exclusively English to talk about different trending themes. While the older generation used mainly French in different internet means of communication, the younger ones found, in Facebook and other social media platforms, a place where they can interact and communicate only in English, and that is due to the constant exposure to this language that is also dominating in the virtual sphere (Jimma, 2017).

Figure 4.2 is a description of the different public spaces that constitute the linguistic landscape in any country.

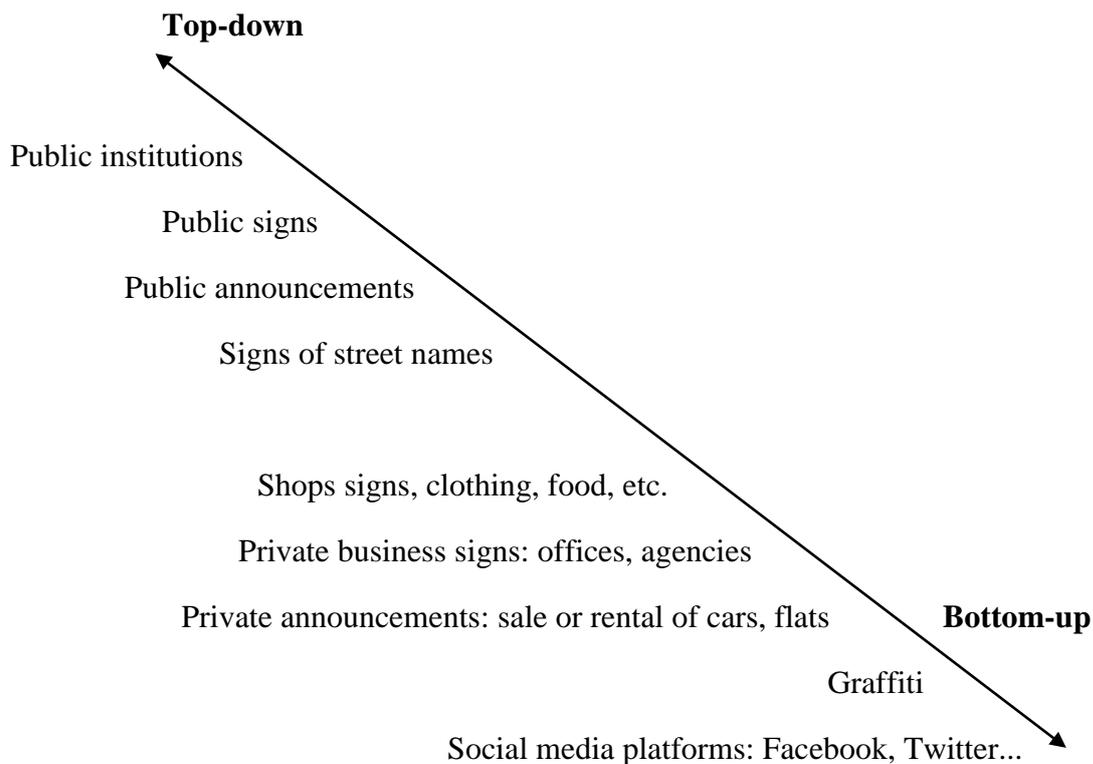


Figure 4.2. Categories of Linguistic Landscape Criteria of Sampling
(What are linguistic landscapes?)

During the sampling of images, the focus was on collecting all signs that carried English, the aim was not to demonstrate the linguistic structure of the country, but only as an illustration of the presence of English in the linguistic landscape of Algeria. The quantified data for the present study belongs mainly to the bottom-up category of signs because the country has always adopted a specific language policy, that focused mainly on promoting local languages most specifically Arabic, hence, it was difficult to find any top-down signs in English. Essentially, all photographs that were included in the study, are the ones of shop signs, private businesses, and graffiti. The main issue about the sampling technique, is the choice of the cities from where the photographs are collected, and how many should be collected to consider it representative of a specific area or the country as a whole? (Gorter, 2006). Studies claim that the researcher can limit him/herself to one specific area, and he/she may as well decide a selected number of photographs to be investigated, it mainly depends on illustrating a specific aspect in the linguistic diversity of any chosen space, to finally present a glance of its linguistic landscape (Gorte, 2006).

The second phase of sampling was looking through two main social media platforms: Facebook and Twitter, which are used the most by Algerians, especially Facebook, to assess the presence of English in these internet media.

The current data collection method, for any linguistic landscape research, is to gather as many pictures as possible from various areas of interest. Thanks to the advanced quality of the newly introduced digital cameras, it is possible to collect large amounts of images that can later be studied and analyzed (Gorter, 2006). The included photographs were mainly taken using the phone which is, similarly to digital cameras, advanced enough to take a reasonable amount of good quality pictures. They were taken in selected cities of different parts of the country, the cities are mainly urban and known to be large and diversified. All the selected images were self-produced or received from friends living in the selected cities, due to the difficulty to travel. The same method was adopted while collecting images from the protests, family and friends who were in place helped to take the pictures, other pre-existing images were found in public Facebook pages, which were also included in the collected data. Over 100 photographs, from both the protests and different shops and buildings, were collected, not all of them were included in the present study.

Knowing that this field of research is relatively new, the methodology of data collection still needs to be developed, there are some issues at the theoretical level as well (Gorter & Cenoz, 2016). Researchers followed some theoretical concepts from other disciplines to later take new directions with new approaches. Methods applied in different disciplines, such as applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, were also followed to collect and analyze data. However, the method of collecting photographs, to be then interpreted, is a new concept and is a novelty created by linguistic landscape researchers (Gorter & Cenoz, 2016). The complexity of defining the unit of analysis is probably one of the main issues that can be considered a limitation, as far as studying the linguistic landscape is concerned. Defining what a sign is, to establish on what base the data should be analyzed, is very essential, it varies from one research to another depending on the concept of each. The determined choices, that define the criteria of these signs, have both advantages and disadvantages (Gorter & Cenoz, 2016). Hence, the choice of the collected signs is what constitutes a unit of analysis, which is important to any study, investigating the linguistic landscape, to establish a certain standard of comparability with further similar studies (Gorter & Cenoz, 2016).

Investigating the linguistic landscape in Algeria, even in a minor way, can shed some light on the presence of English in the linguistic profile of the country. It is an attempt to highlight the emergence of English in a country where French was, for a long time, the reigning foreign language. Whether it indicates a serious change in the future linguistic context of Algeria or just illustrates a country that is joining a globalized world

without further developments in the linguistic dominance front, this will be discussed in the following chapters.

4.3 Research Questions

The main objective of the present study is to explore the linguistic context of Algeria, analyze its complexity, and then focus on foreign languages, namely French and English. The aim is to highlight the growing importance of English in the country, the youngster's attitudes towards this language and their motivation to learn it, also whether they consider it as important as French for their future careers. The results of the research will help define the status of the different languages in Algeria, with a special emphasis on English, explain the reasons it is gaining importance, and to what extent it is competing with French. Try to explore the role of social media platforms in promoting English amongst youngsters. Also examine the attitudes of the Algerians towards multilingualism, the growing interest in English, and its rivalry with French.

These are the research questions that were put forward:

- Research question 1. What is the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria?
- Research question 2. What is the role of languages in shaping the identity of an individual, and how does the complex situation in Algeria affect the identity of the citizens?
- Research question 3. What is the status of foreign languages in Algeria, and the importance of introducing English and French in schools?
- Research question 4. What are the attitudes of the Algerians towards English and the other languages in Algeria?
- Research question 5. What is the future of English in Algeria? Is it possible that English can displace French to become the first foreign language in the country?
- Research question 6. What is the ideal language policy that the Algerian government should adopt?

4.4 Methods of Statistical Analysis

Thematic analysis is the approach adopted to explore the data gathered qualitatively for the present study. It is one of the methods most used in research due to its flexibility that allows a wider range of studies with different perspectives to use it (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). The process goes through several steps, it starts with first getting familiar with the data as a whole, coding the data to describe the content, then extracting the main themes that are following the concept of the research, reviewing them to finally produce the concluding report (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Data collected from interviews and exploring the linguistic landscape were analyzed following a thematic analysis model, a coding process took place, and then later themes that were related to the topic and the questions of the research were extracted and then analyzed. During the analysis of interviews, to give a better explanation, some comments by the interviewees were directly quoted. As for the linguistic landscape, the unit of analysis was the signs that carried only English, to measure the expansion of the presence of the language in the landscape of the country. Few photographs that were gathered were included in the thesis; they were organized to be analyzed later.

All data collected, using the quantitative method “questionnaire”, were treated with the help of an MS Excel spreadsheet. It is practical, cost-free software that can compute answers into charts, tables, and diagrams (Quantitative Data Analysis, n.d.). An online questionnaire was used in the present study to gather data quantitatively, with the aid of Google forms. To run the statistical analysis using spreadsheets that were collected during the process of distributing the questionnaire, Google forms allows direct access to MS Excel, downloads the sheets on the computer to later analyze the accumulated data, without making any modifications in the results of the questionnaire. Once the spreadsheets are stored, the data sets are organized, summarized in diagrams, or tables for a better presentation of the findings that will eventually be assessed and interpreted.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter presented the context of the study, and then discussed the methodology that built the research. It is a presentation of all the procedures that were followed to explore the main theme of the present study, which is the linguistic profile and the spread of English in Algeria. First, the research design was explained to define the nature of the methodology that was implemented to discuss the topic. Next, it presented the sampling method

and the profile of the participants that took part in the research. Then, the chapter discussed the data collection methods, instrumentations that were adopted to gather statistics and testimonies, the research questions, to finally discuss the methods of statistical analysis.

The chapter discussed all the procedures and methods, that were adopted for the present study, to provide a strong field for the following chapter, which will have as the main objective the presentation of the results to later be analyzed.

Chapter 5: Presentation of the Findings

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the summary of the findings of both the qualitative and the quantitative data will be presented. First, the profile of the respondents, that took part in the questionnaire process, will be defined in terms of age, gender, field of study, and place of residence. After that, present other statistics that are related to the various issues that were discussed in the present study and try to analyze the effect of these variables on the spread of English, the future of French, attitudes towards multilingualism in the country, and many other findings that will help evaluate the linguistic situation of Algeria as a whole. Also, in the second part of the chapter, the results of the semi-structured interviews and the linguistic landscape will be presented. The various findings gathered from the qualitative method will provide the research with additional data, that will enhance further clarifications for the research investigated questions.

5.2 The Respondents' Profile

A total number of 494 participants engaged in answering the questionnaire for the present study. They are from different parts of the country and with different ages from 18 to over 30. Table 6 demonstrates the distribution of the respondents according to age and gender.

Table 6:

The Number of Respondents According to Age and Gender

Gender	Age Group					
	Under 18 years		18-30 years		Over 30 years	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Female	3	0.90%	236	78.98%	67	20.12%
Male	6	3.92%	99	64.71%	48	31.37%
Total	9	1.85%	362	74.49%	115	23.66%

As the table illustrates, the number of respondents aged 18-30 years is a little higher compared to the other categories. This was expected because the distribution of the questionnaire was online, and it is mainly this part of the population that is more active on the Internet than the other two groups. In the following section, we will outline the location of these respondents that is quite diverse, which is important for the sample to guarantee certain representativeness of the Algerian population.

5.2.1 The Respondents Location

In Figure 5.1, we can observe the location of the participants, it was important for the sample to be representative, to send the questionnaire to groups of individuals that were from various places across the country.

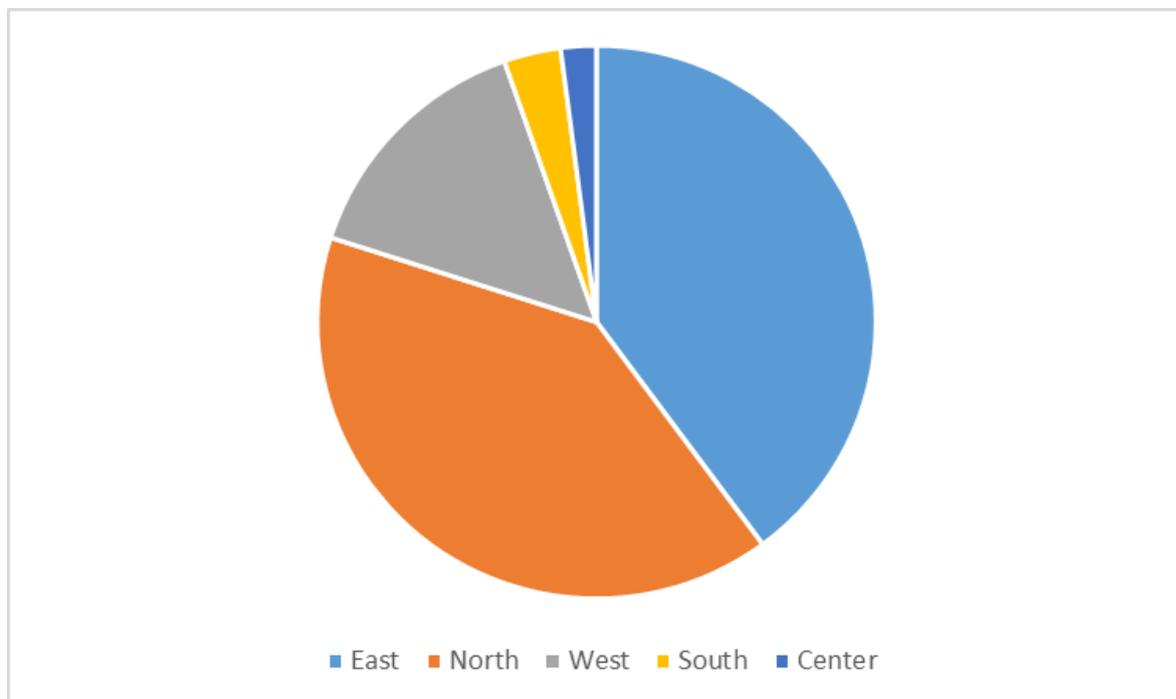


Figure 5.1. Distribution of the respondents according to their location.

It is illustrated in Figure 5.1, the diversity of the respondents' place of residence, individuals from different cities in the country from the north to the south, can contribute to having diverse answers that can be influenced by the regions they come from.

5.2.2 The Respondents' Level of Education

The respondents were asked to give their level of education. Figure 5.2 demonstrates that most of the respondents have reached the university level. This was expected because the questionnaire was mainly distributed online to groups that are constituted of students and teachers. The opinion of intellectuals is an important contribution and can be very advantageous to the quality of the outcome of the research.

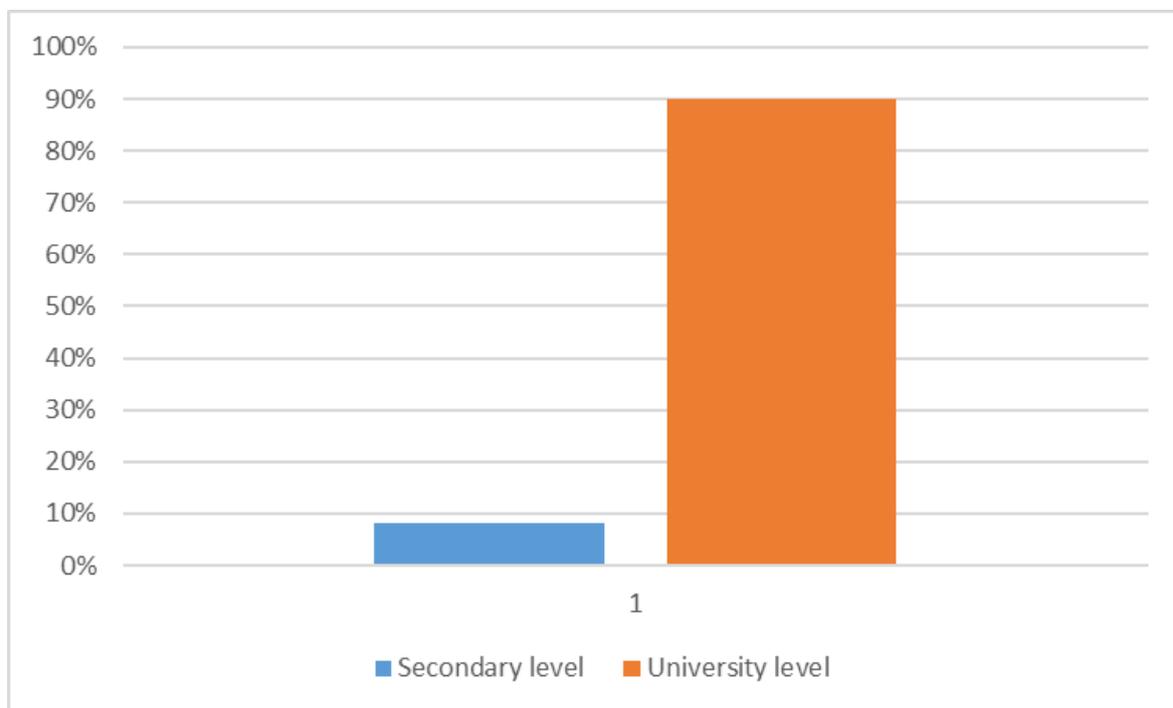


Figure 5.2. The level of education of the respondents

5.2.3 The Respondents' Field of Study

The survey results in Figure 5.3 show that respondents mastered in different fields of study. It is important to mention that despite the diversity of their specialty, the majority have chosen to answer the English version and that is regardless of the language of instruction at university. This may be because English is taught at an early stage in Algerian schools, hence most Algerians have a basic level in English, plus the questions were quite simple and easy to understand.

Figure 5.3 demonstrates that respondents from all specialties such as English civilization and literature, physics, economy, or architecture, etc. participated in the questionnaire.

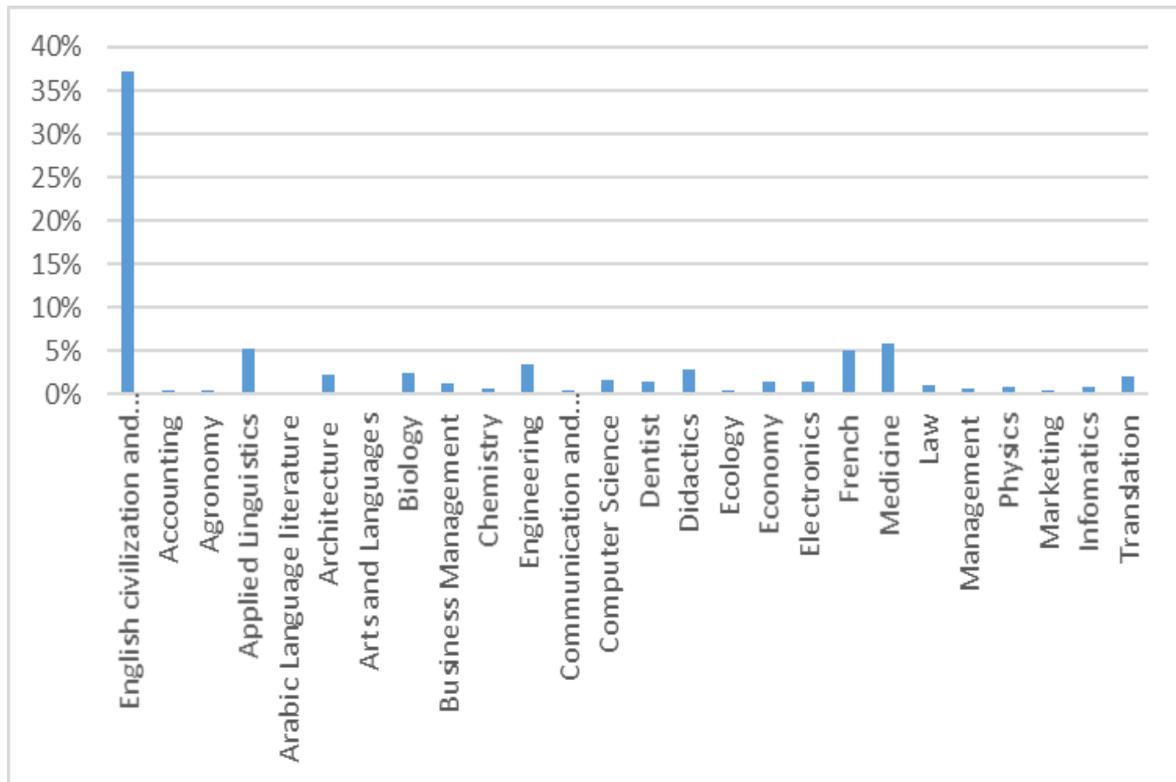


Figure 5.3. The respondents' field of study.

The results shown in Figure 5.3 assert that the sample, that will be analyzed, will help evaluate attitudes, levels of proficiency, and English spread on a broader level from individuals from diverse places and backgrounds.

It is important to mention that in Figure 5.3 we notice that 36% of the respondents are English students. Thus, the results of the questionnaire will be analyzed accordingly.

5.3 Language Use

As presented in 4.2.3.1, the questionnaire is divided into different parts. In the present section, we will discuss language use by the respondents. They were asked to cite the languages they use in speaking, writing, and reading. They were also asked to state the language they use at home and answer whether the Algerian Arabic, which is known to be the native language of most Algerians, is indeed their native language. The results of this question will shed light on this issue and may highlight this confusion that many Algerians may not be aware of.

5.3.1 Language Use in Speaking

Figure 5.4 illustrates language use in speaking by the respondents. It provides an observation not only of the many languages that exist in the country but also that of the diversity of multilingualism the respondents have.

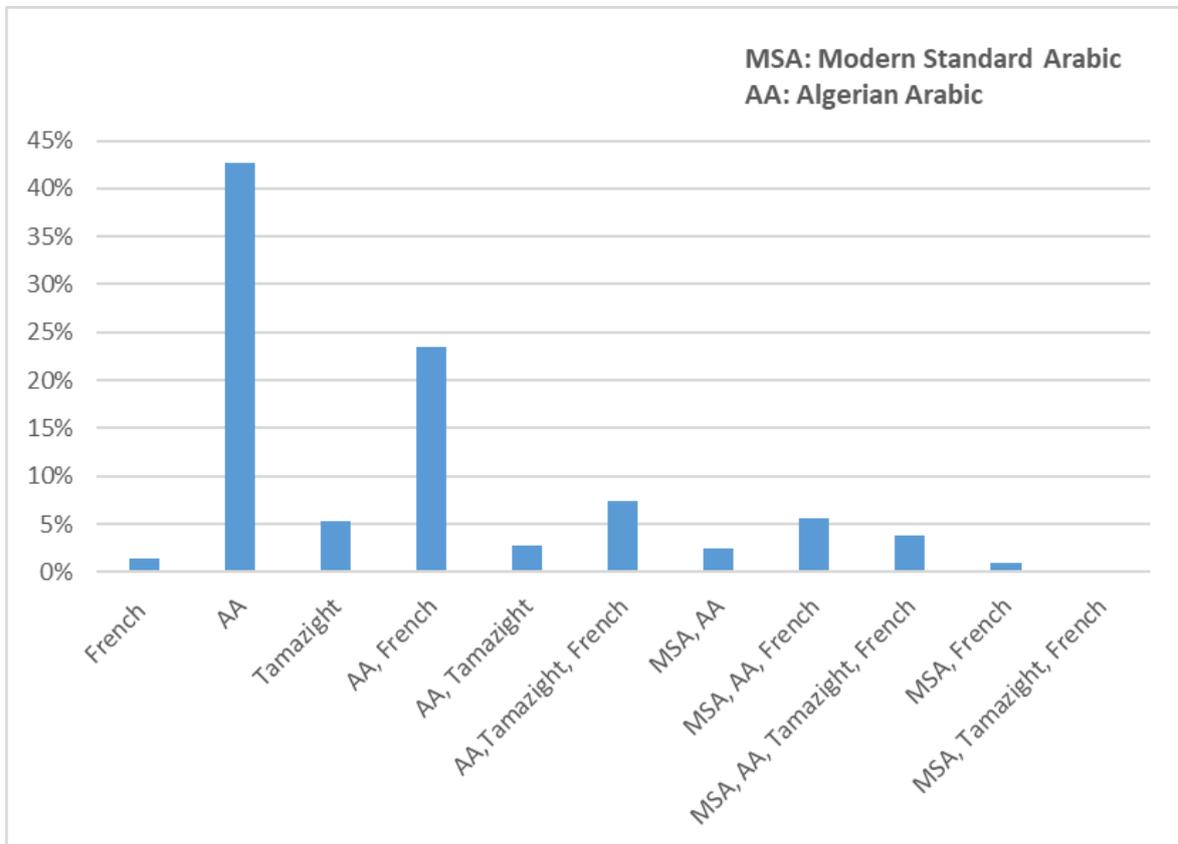


Figure 5.4. The respondents' language use in speaking

The respondents were asked to choose from among the different existent languages in the country the one that they use for speaking. As Figure 5.4 demonstrates, 42% of the respondents use mostly Algerian Arabic “AA”, 24% use both AA and French, 8% use all three AA, Tamazight, and French for speaking. Whereas 4% of the respondents use all the languages, note also that some of the participants use only the French language.

5.3.2 Language Use in Writing

The great majority of the respondents stated that the languages they use for writing are MSA, French, and English (Figure 5.5). The second majority of the answers declared that they use both MSA and English, whereby there is a considerable group of individuals who

chose only English as the language for writing, and other respondents chose both French and English.

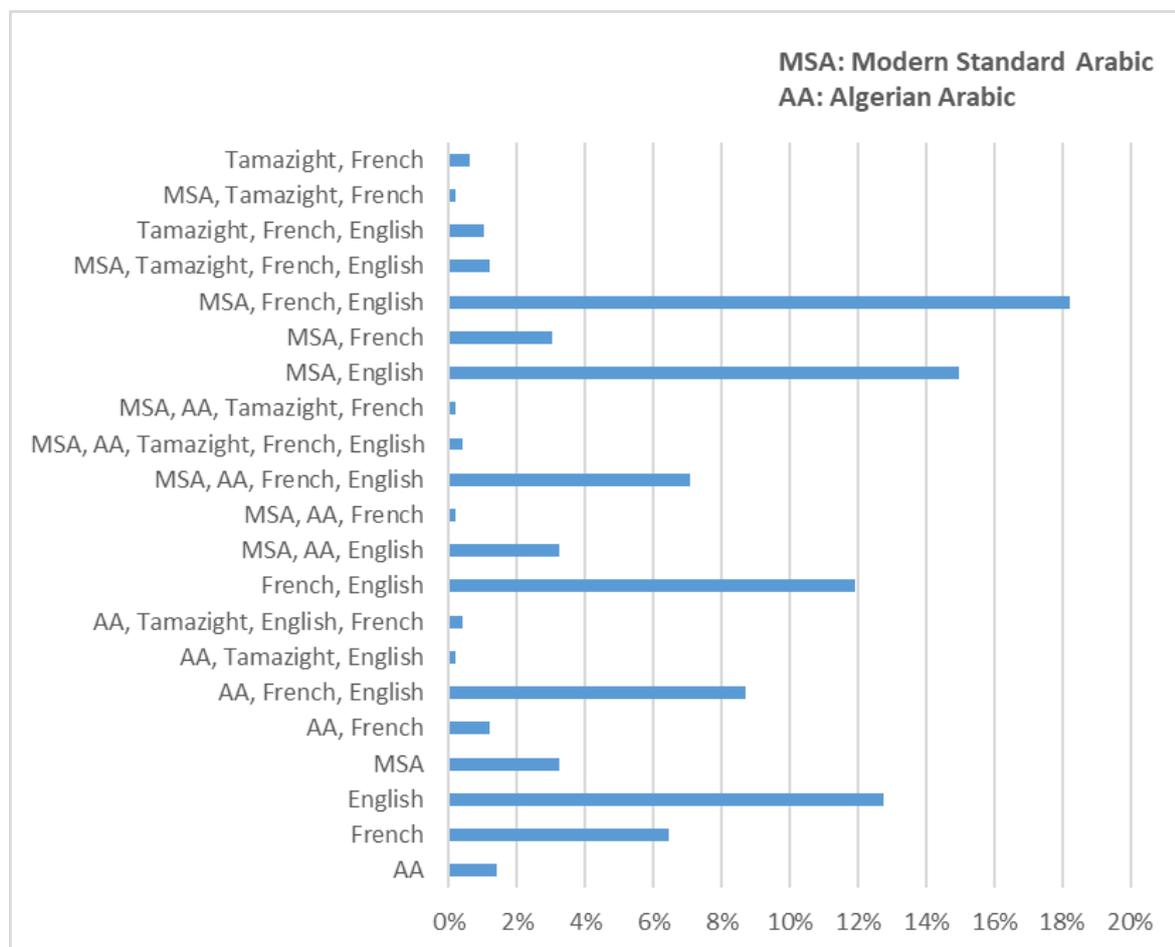


Figure 5.5. The respondents' language use in writing.

We can observe from Figure 5.5 that almost the totality of the respondents uses more than one language for writing, which is common in a multilingual country. What is noticeable is the presence of English in almost all the categories, which is probably due to the many English students that participated in the questionnaire.

5.3.3 Language Use in Reading

The third category of language use is asking the respondents to state their choice of language when it comes to reading. The survey results show that like Figure 5.5, MSA, French, and English are the leading languages chosen for reading.

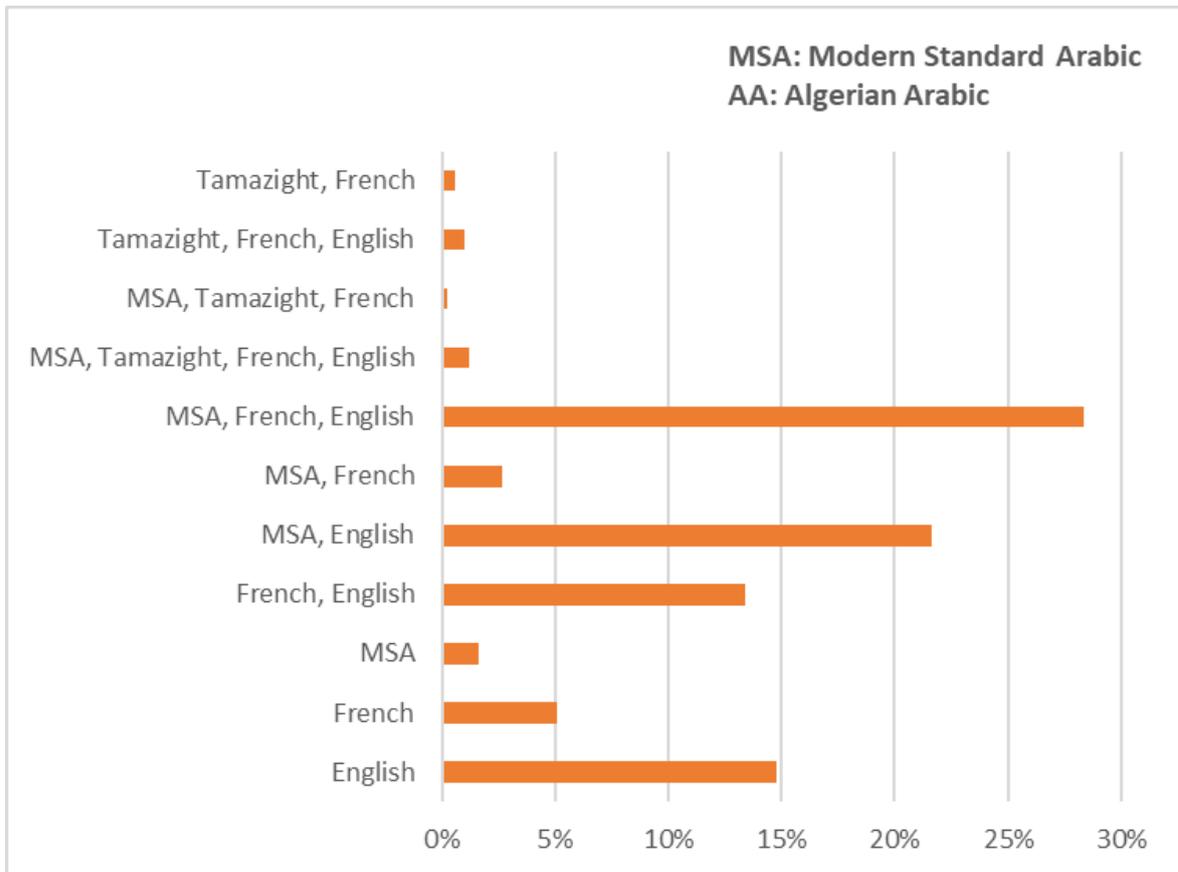


Figure 5.6. The respondents' language use in reading

Although MSA, French, and English are the languages that are chosen by the majority of the respondents as the languages they use when they read, for English to be present as well in this category shows that the globalization of the language has reached Algeria, it is gaining importance especially as the language used for knowledge, it is siding with French which was for a long time the leading foreign language of the country.

5.3.4 Language Used at Home

Regarding the language used at home, the respondents were particularly asked to answer this question to highlight the linguistic diversity which the respondents deal with daily. It is also an important factor that determines the choice of languages they use in other functions and places.

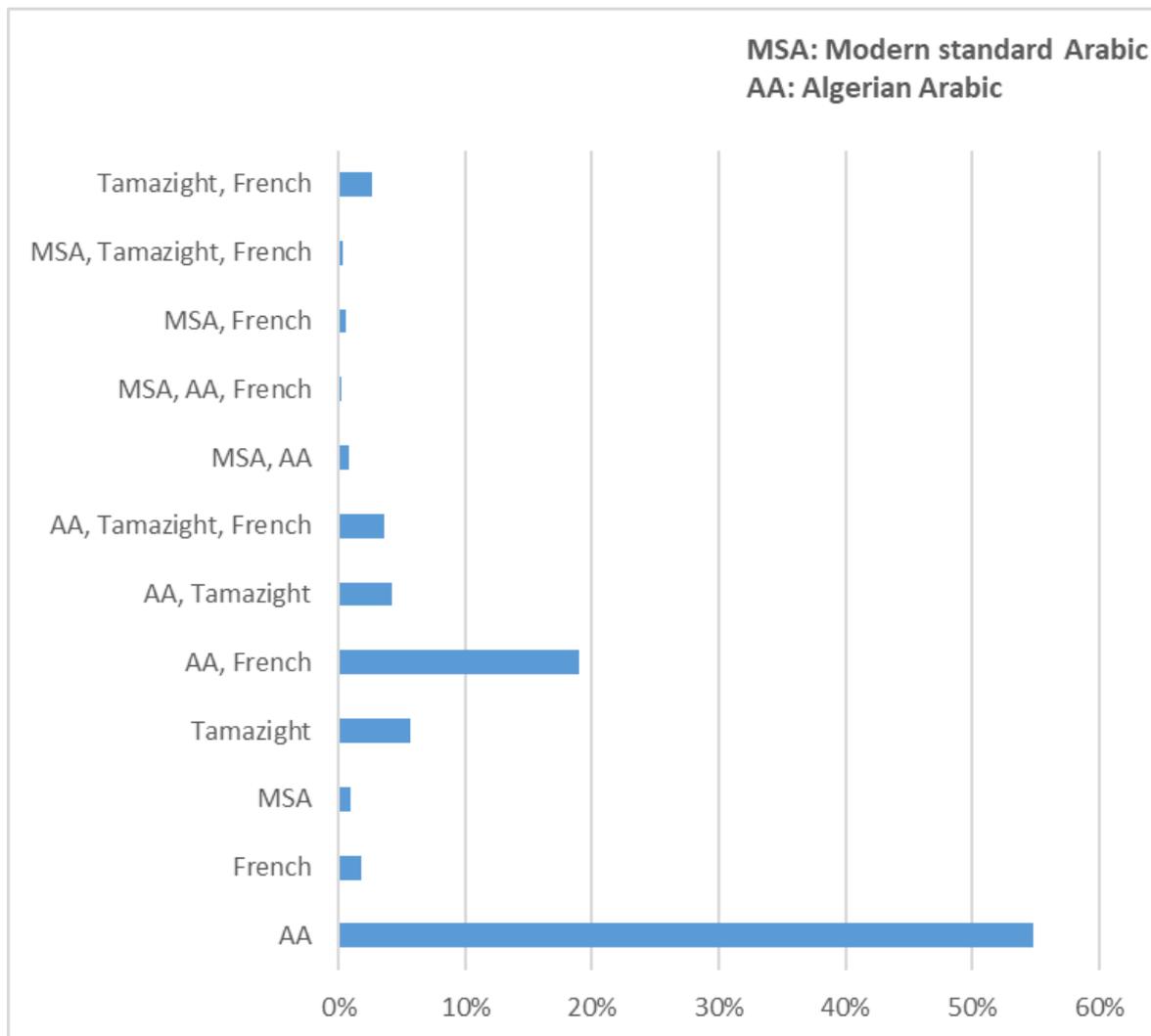


Figure 5.7. Language used at home

Figure 5.7 illustrates that Algerian Arabic is used at home by most of the respondents. Algerian Arabic and French come in second followed by Algerian Arabic and Tamazight, some respondents even use Tamazight and French along with AA at home. These results reflect the bilingual and sometimes multilingual linguistic reality of the country. It also demonstrates the diverse trait of Algerian families regarding the languages each of them uses daily.

5.3.5 Confusion towards the Native Language

What may probably be the cause of this unclear status of the native language in Algeria is the fact that many would claim that Tamazight is the native language of the Algerians. Others will even claim MSA as a native language rejecting AA as well. So, there is clear confusion when it comes to even defining what a native language is. To shed light on this

issue, first, the respondents were asked to state the first language they acquired in their childhood, they were given the choice between Algerian Arabic, French, and Tamazight. French was stated among the choices because even if it has the status of a foreign language, many families, mainly from the Berber community, choose to speak with their children in French. The results are illustrated in Figure 5.8

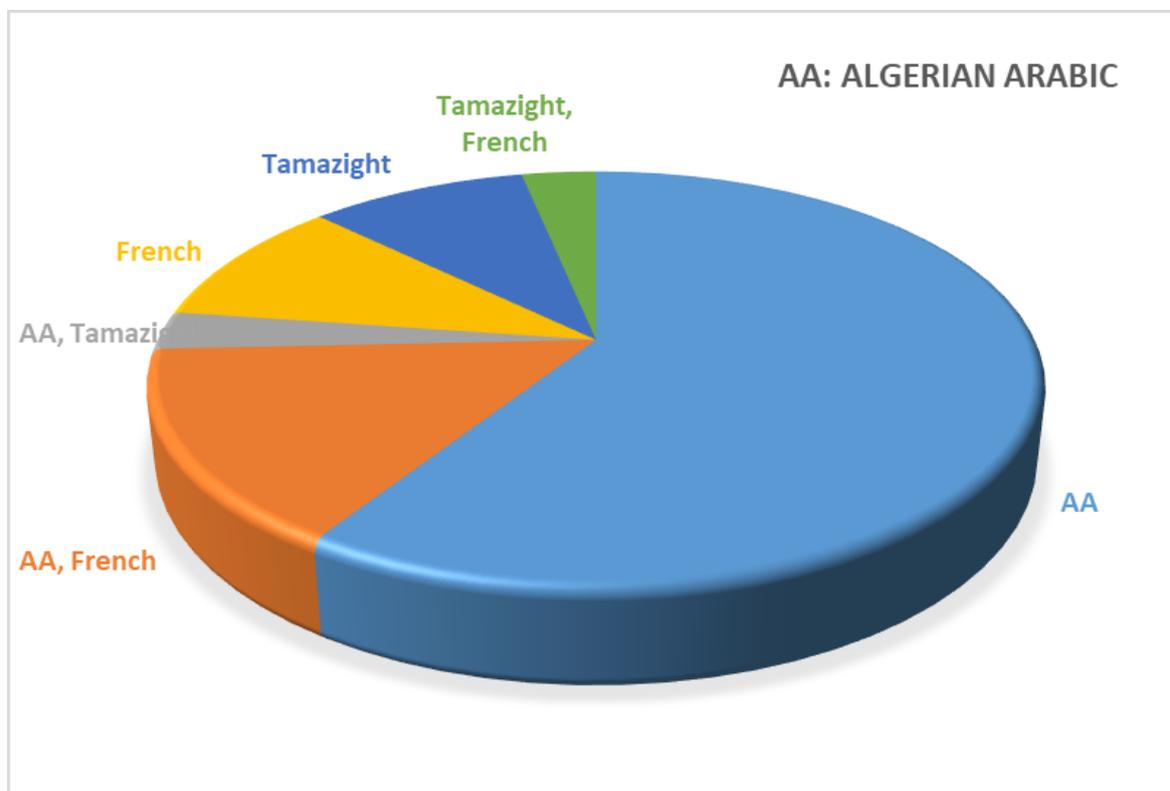


Figure 5.8. The respondents' first acquired language

Just as Figure 5.8 indicates, Algerian Arabic is the first language acquired by most of the respondents. The second majority illustrated in the figure answered that they acquired both Algerian Arabic and French, here we observe a form of early multilingualism, the same reality is observed in the other groups that chose Tamazight and French, and AA and Tamazight. It is not indicated whether they acquired these languages at the same time or sequentially. However, as explained in Chapter 3.6, there are two linguistic phenomena called “*simultaneous multilingualism*” and “*sequential multilingualism*”, both are variants of the first language acquisition, and both can be observed in the linguistic situation of Algeria. Figure 5.8 shows, as well, two other groups of respondents chose either French or Tamazight as a native language. It is interesting to examine the diversity in the role that the French language plays in the country through these many figures presented.

Secondly, the respondents answered the question of whether they consider Algerian Arabic as their mother tongue. An important question that can reflect, through the answers, the confusion of the Algerians regarding their mother tongue. Table 7 demonstrates the respondents' answers.

Table 7:

The status of AA as a mother tongue

Question	Yes	No	Not Sure
Do you consider AA as your mother tongue?	56.27%	32.99%	2.22%

While in Figure 5.8 most of the respondents with 44% stated that Algerian Arabic is the first language they acquired, other groups claimed that they acquired AA along with either Tamazight or French. But when asked if they consider it as their native language the answers were not unanimous. Although 56% answered yes, there is a considerable number of respondents who disagree, with a small part that is just not sure. These opposing figures reflect the respondents' confusion about their native language.

5.4 Attitudes towards the Languages of the Country

The third section of the questionnaire was designed to evoke language attitudes. The respondents were asked to choose between different options defining the status of the different languages in the country. The answers were categorized into different tables and diagrams to assess the status of each language separately, to later have a general conclusion on the Algerian's attitudes to the different languages of the country.

5.4.1 Attitudes towards Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

Concerning the attitudes towards MSA, the respondents were asked to choose between different variables that define the status of Standard Arabic in Algeria.

Table 8:

Attitudes towards MSA

Attitudes	%
A sacred language and the language of the Quran	17.40
The official language of the country	9.31
Language of education	3.44
A language that we should use more in the country	6.07
A language that should be banished from the country	4.45

From being the language of the Quran to a language that should still be acknowledged in the country as an official language. The results demonstrated in Table 8 point out the rate given to every option chosen by the respondents separately. The respondents seemed to view MSA with 17.40% as mostly a sacred language and the language of the Quran. The second majority of the responses view MSA as only the official language of the country. However, 4.45% of the responses are in favor of the disappearance of the language from the linguistic reality of the country.

In the questionnaire, the respondents could choose more than one option describing the status of MSA. While analyzing the results of the survey, most of the participants ticked more than one option, which indicates the importance that the participants still think it has in the country. These answers were divided into two categories, negative and positive, as illustrated in Figure 5.9.

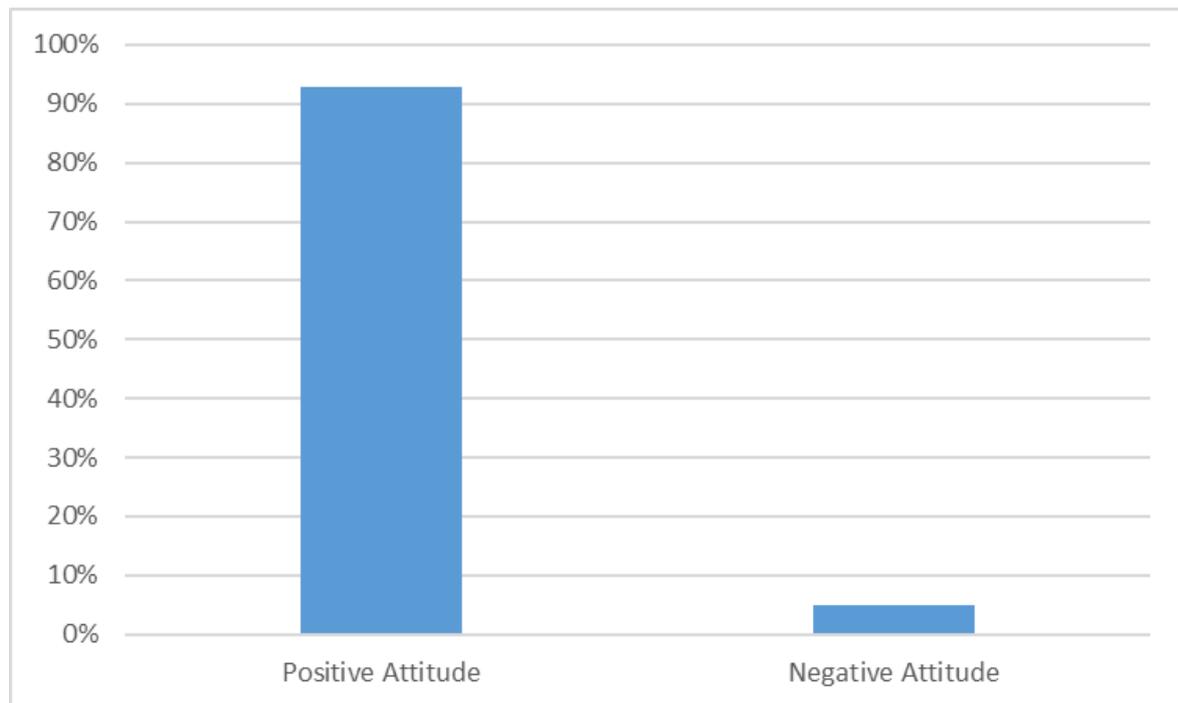


Figure 5.9. Attitudes towards MSA

As we can observe here, the respondents expressed positive attitudes towards MSA, the majority view MSA as the official language of the country and the language of education, which states its current role in the country but also their approval of such a role. MSA is most importantly the sacred language of the Quran, as stated by most of the respondents, hence, it still maintains its leading status in the country. However, there is a minority that is hostile to the language, due to historical reasons, and they support the idea of completely removing it from the linguistic ecology of the country.

5.4.2 Attitudes towards Tamazight

Table 9 presents the results assembled of the responses, provided by the participants, about their attitudes towards Tamazight.

Table 9:

Attitudes towards Tamazight

Attitudes	%
Language of our ancestors	41.09%
The official language of the country	3.84%
A language that should be banished from the country	9.31%
A language that should be given more recognition in the country	41.70%

We notice from Table 9 that 41.70% of the responses recognize Tamazight as a language that should be granted more recognition in the country. The second majority, with a percentage of 41.09%, considers Tamazight as a language of ancestors. The question of whether it should be banned was answered with a yes by 9.31%, followed by a percentage of 3.84% who consider it as only an official language.

The above figures denote that most of the respondents have a positive attitude towards Tamazight, which is quite interesting considering the long struggle the advocates of this language had to endure to achieve recognition, a further discussion on this matter will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.4.3 Attitudes towards French

In addition to showing attitudes towards MSA and Tamazight, which are the official languages of Algeria, respondents were also asked to provide their attitudes towards the foreign languages of the country, namely French and English. The survey results of the attitudes of the respondents toward French are illustrated in Table 10. French has a complicated status that can be both the first foreign language and, as explained previously, the second language of many Algerians and even the first acquired language in some cases.

Table 10:

Attitudes towards French

Attitudes	%
Language of prestige	20.6%
Language of modernity	3.8%
Language of education	17%
Language of the colonizer	54.9%

54.9% of the respondents in the survey report that they consider French as the language of the colonizer, this issue is worth further analysis, and it will be discussed in Chapter 6. The second majority group, with a percentage of 20.6%, views French as a language of prestige. 17% consider it as the language of education, whereas a minority of 3.8% of the respondents chose French as a language of modernity.

5.4.4 Attitudes towards English

Evaluating the respondents' attitudes towards English will help understand how they perceive the language, as well as enable making a comparison with the French language.

Table 11:

Attitudes towards English

Attitudes	%
Language of modernity	2.6%
A language that should replace French in the country	16.2%
A language that increases chances in working/studying abroad	14.4%
A language that should be as important as French in the country	55.7%

Most of the respondents (55.7%) report that English is a language that should be given the same importance as that granted to French. The second majority, with a percentage of 16.2%, thinks that it should replace French in the country. If these figures should indicate anything, it certainly indicates that English has quite an important status, according to the respondents, to the point of even considering it as a possible alternative to French. With a percentage of 14.4% of the responses, English is believed to be the language that can increase the chance to either work or study abroad. It is an obvious choice due to the global importance that English carries these days.

A summary of attitudes towards the languages of the country will be further discussed in Chapter 6 to evaluate the linguistic profile of the country.

5.5 Language Contact

In this section of the questionnaire, we will evaluate the extent of contact that the respondents have with the different languages that are present in the county. We will first present the results of the respondents' language fluency, to then assess the frequency of the daily use of these languages.

5.5.1 Language Fluency

The respondents are asked to name the languages that they master. In the "other" option, they were asked to state any additional language other than the ones proposed in the questionnaire. The results are illustrated in Table 12.

Table 12:

Language Fluency

Languages	%
MSA	64.57%
Tamazight	16.19%
French	46.96%
English	76.52%
Other	2.83%

Table 12 shows that 76.52% of the respondents are fluent in English, which is a high percentage in a country that is francophone. The edge is probably added since 36 % of them are English students at the university, but also because it is the second foreign language taught in Algerian schools. However, this also means that this rate of respondents, that claim mastering English, may indicate an eventual increase in the use of the language in the country. Regarding the fluency of French and the fact that it is ranking behind, it may be explained as a direct result of the Arabization policy that affected its fluency among the Algerians.

MSA comes second as far as language fluency is concerned, with a percentage of 64.57%, which is interesting since it is the first language taught in schools. French comes in third (46.96%), whereas Tamazight, which is an official language in the country, takes the last position with 16.19% of the respondents.

5.5.2 Frequency of the Daily Language Contact

After evoking the level of the respondents' fluency of the languages of the country, we will now evaluate the frequency level of using these languages daily.

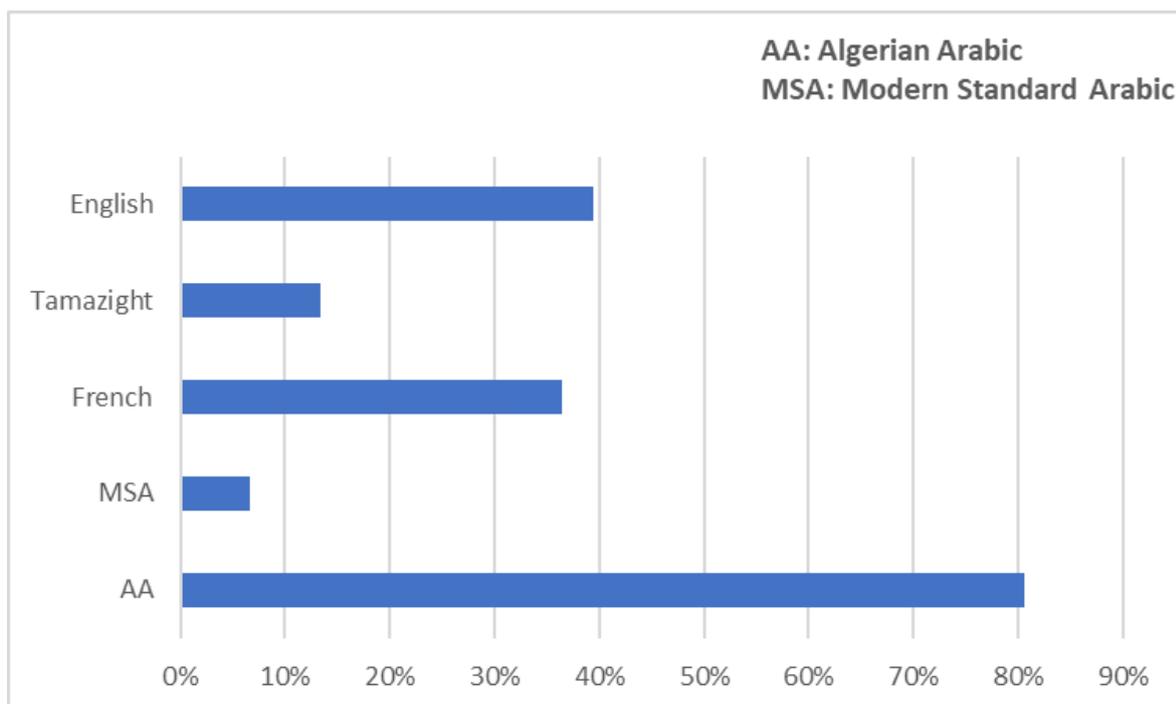


Figure 5.10. Languages that are used the most in daily life

Regarding the question of what language, the respondents use the most in their daily life, Figure 5.10 demonstrates that Algerian Arabic is widely used by most of them with a per-

centage of 80%. English comes second with a slightly higher rate than French, while MSA comes last after Tamazight.

As it was previously mentioned, 36% of the respondents are English students, which explains the daily use of the language. However, the percentage is rather significant, which demonstrates how English is undoubtedly present and is competing with the other languages of the country. Besides, the results also show that French is quite present in daily life activities with a percentage that is as high as that of English. This is a clear indication that French is still very much present in the linguistic reality of the country. This is expected since the important role this language still has in many dominant sectors in Algeria is a known fact.

Tamazight and MSA are both ranked last on the daily use of language scale. The low number of Tamazight users is no surprise since the government has always applied policies that were specifically used to abolish the language from the country, although the Berber community has always fought that and has regained some rights in the process, its use has significantly diminished since independence, now it is mainly used for communication only. However, for MSA to rank last even behind Tamazight, despite the Arabization policy that was fiercely imposed, is an issue that will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

5.5.3 Language Use in Social Media

To measure language contact, especially with English, the respondents were asked to answer different questions regarding their access to the different social media platforms and the language they use while surfing on the Internet.

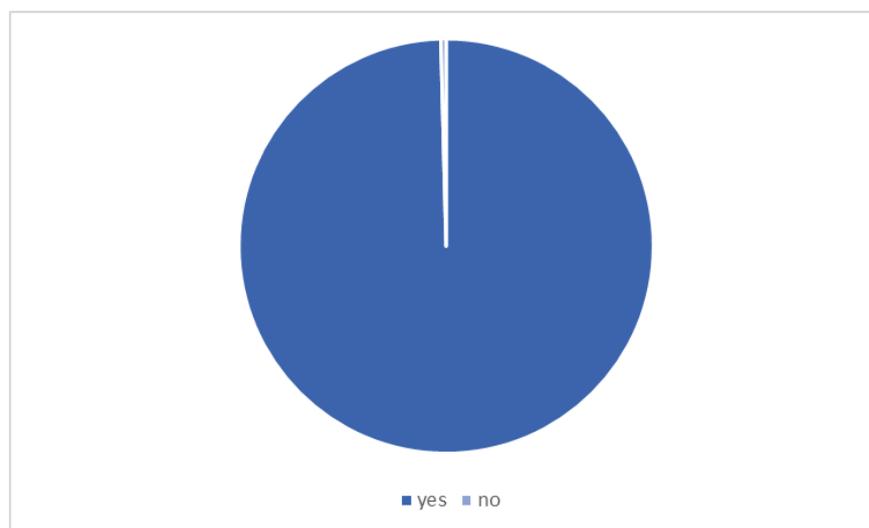


Figure 5.11. Use of social media platforms

Figure 5.11 illustrates that 98% of respondents have access to different social media platforms. English is a predominant language in social media, which means that the respondents are even more exposed to the language by using these platforms.

Results regarding the question of which social media platform the respondents use the most are illustrated in Figure 5.12.

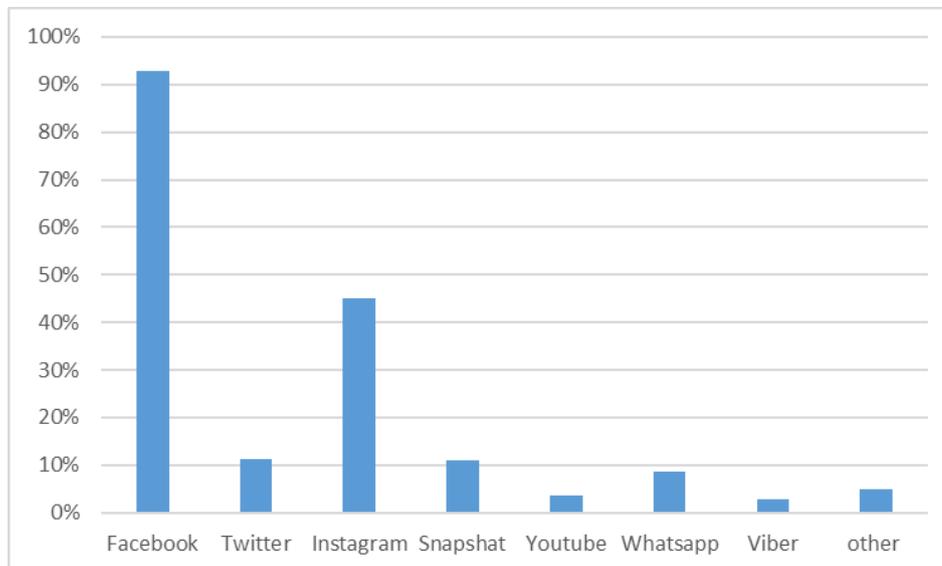


Figure 5.12. Social media usage by the respondents

The participants seem to strongly favor the use of Facebook. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Algeria is ranked second in Africa, as far as using Facebook is concerned, and it is shown in Figure 5.12. The second most popular platform used by the respondents is Instagram. Twitter and Snapshot rank third and fourth with close percentages.

The daily use of different social media platforms means greater exposure to English, which is viewed as the lingua franca of mediums of interaction like Facebook or Twitter (Jimma, 2017). These are the leading platforms when it comes to chatting and interacting through social media, the fact that the Algerians are amongst the countries that use Facebook the most in Africa justifies the potential spread of English amongst the Algerians, especially the youngsters.

Next, respondents were asked to answer the question about the language they use in social media. They were given the choice between all the languages of Algeria, English included. The results are presented in Figure 5.13.

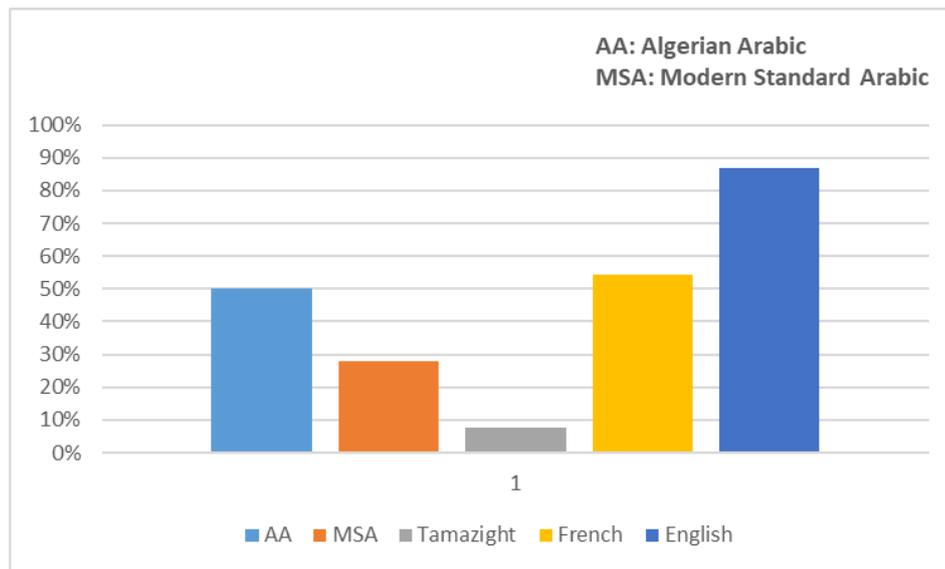


Figure 5.13. Language use in social media

With a total of 87%, English is the language used most when communicating through social media, French is also used by a big percentage of 50%, whereas AA comes right after in the third position. MSA and Tamazight are the languages used the least by the respondents.

These figures indicate that foreign languages are the leading languages that are used in social media, with English taking the edge over French. MSA and Tamazight came last despite being the local languages of the country.

5.6 The Nature of Contact with English

Concerning the nature of the contact that the respondents have with English in particular, this section deals mainly with evaluating the presence of English in daily conversations, the nature of the expressions used, and the reasons the learning of this language is important according to the respondents' view.

5.6.1 English Expressions in Daily Conversations

First, the respondents were asked if they use English words or expressions in daily conversations. Table 13 provides the rate of frequency of using English words.

Table 13:

Frequency of English Used in Daily Conversations

Use frequency	Quite often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
%	56%	85%	9%	3%

85% of the respondents answered they use English words only sometimes in their conversations. Whereas 56% of them claim they use it quite often, which is a decent percentage. 3% claim they never use it, which also suggests that the frequency of using English expressions is relatively high.

5.6.2 Borrowed English Words/ Expressions

Borrowing items from other languages is a common process when two cultures are in contact. In the Algerian context, it is French that is mainly present in the Algerian speech. Many French words are used in Algerian Arabic and are even fully integrated into the dialect. The respondents were asked to cite English words and expressions they use daily to specifically analyze the type of words that they borrow, and what this means as far as the spread of English in the country is concerned.

In Table 14 the answers collected from the questionnaire were categorized depending on the nature and function of words.

Table 14:

Borrowed English Words

Adverbs and Adjectives	Ok, good, bad, yes, no, cool, of course, happy, dear, anyway, great
Greetings expressions	Hi, hello, good morning, bye, see you
Expressions for social interaction	Thanks, I love you, OMG, I miss you, what's up, sorry, please, babe, come on
Swear words	Fuck, shit

The results demonstrate that certain words that are universally used are present in the daily conversations of the respondents. Words like ok, thanks, bye, fuck, were cited by the majority. Other expressions like OMG, I love you, sorry, please, were also stated by many of the respondents.

One may conclude that this may be the result of the global status of the English language in the world, as well as the frequent use of various social media platforms by the respondents. It is mostly a development in the borrowing process that previously included exclusively French words.

5.6.3 Attitudes towards Learning English

To illustrate attitudes towards the respondents' attitudes towards learning English, they were first asked if they were currently learning the language.

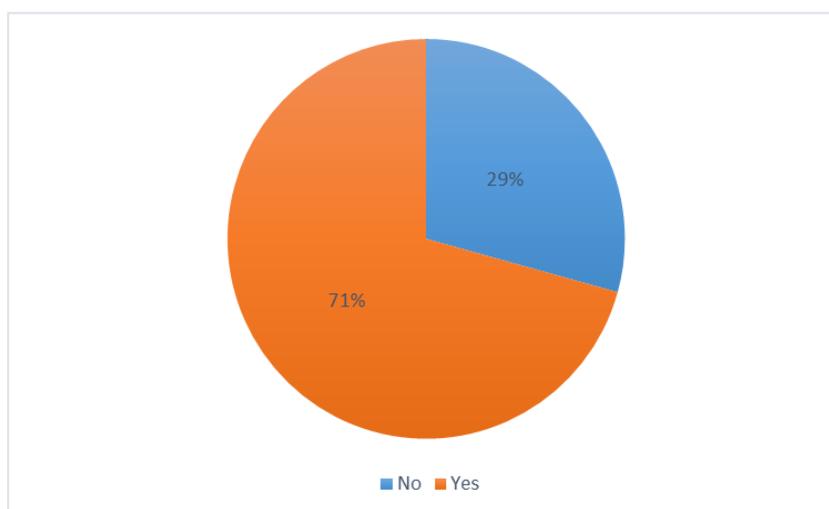


Figure 5.14. Percentage of the respondents that are learning English

As shown in Figure 5.14, 71% of the respondents are currently learning English. We have already mentioned before that 36% of them are English students, which means that the rest, which makes a decent percentage, are also learning the language. As for the rest of the respondents, they were then asked to answer whether they have any interest in learning English. The results are shown in Figure 5.15.

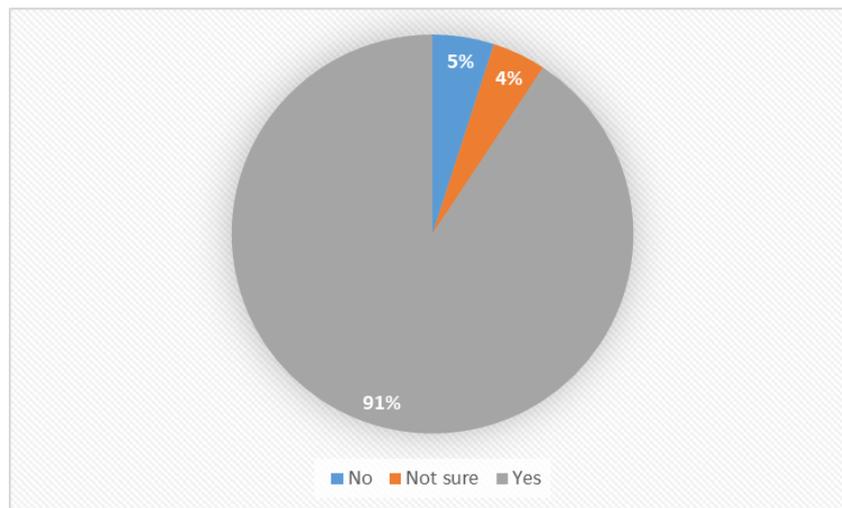


Figure 5.15. The respondents' interest in learning English

Most of the respondents confirmed their willingness to learn English, with only 5% who are not interested and 4% who are uncertain.

5.6.4 Reasons to Learn English

The respondents were asked to state three reasons that contributed to their decision to learn English. We will list the answers that were commonly cited by the respondents:

- English is a universal language.
- English is the language of education and knowledge.
- English is the language of science and technology.
- English increases opportunities in studying/ working abroad.
- English is important for my studies.
- English allows access to a wider range of books hence more information about various topics.
- English is the language that should be learned for people who travel for tourist reasons as well as for work.
- English is the language of communication and interaction with people from different parts of the world.
- English is the language of entertainment like music, movies, etc.
- English is an easy language to learn.

These are mainly the reasons that were cited in all the answers. The respondents seem to strongly favor learning English to communicate online, to travel, and to have access to knowledge and further job opportunities.

5.7 French versus English

Regarding the question of maintaining French as the first foreign language in Algeria, the respondents were asked if they think that English should replace French in occupying this position. They were not unanimous regarding the status of French in the country, which is currently the leading foreign language, and this is illustrated in Figure 5.16.

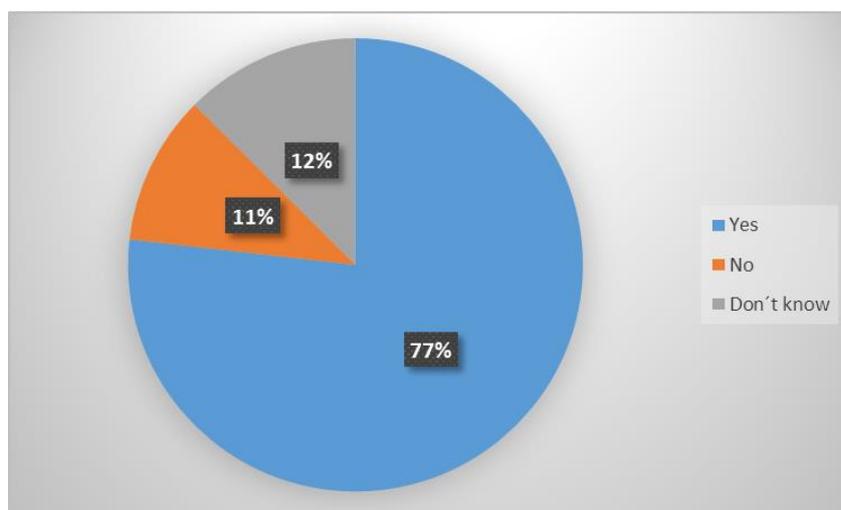


Figure 5.16. The respondents' opinion on English replacing French as the leading foreign language in Algeria

What Figure 5.16 demonstrates is the overwhelmingly positive attitude towards English that is portrayed by the respondents. There is strong support for the English language, and this has been noticed throughout the various responses collected from the questionnaire. 77% of the responses are in favor of replacing French with English, whereas only 11% are against it, 12% simply do not know. Whether this is what the country needs and if it can be applied in the country, where French is undeniably present in dominant sectors, remains to be seen in the future and depends mainly on the government's policies.

5.8 Attitudes towards Multilingualism

The last question of the questionnaire was about the respondents' attitudes towards multilingualism in Algeria. As mentioned earlier, the government policy was always anti multilingualism, promoting MSA as the sole language of the country.

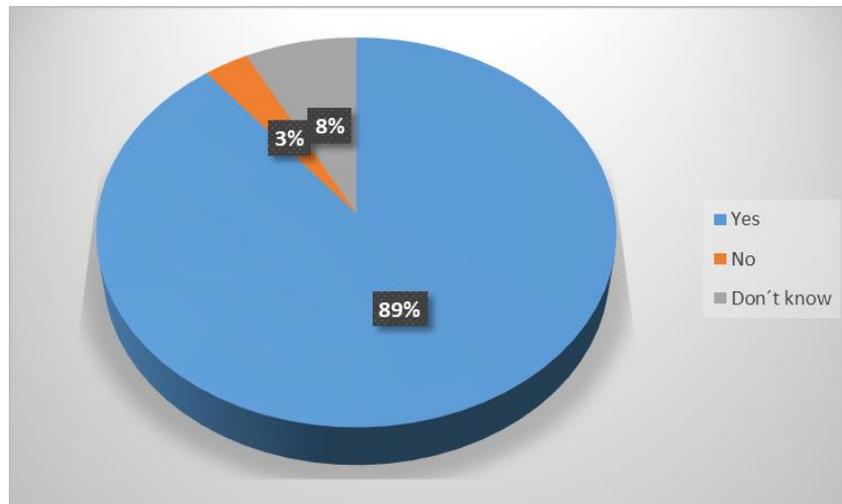


Figure 5.17. Attitudes towards multilingualism

Respondents appear to strongly favor multilingualism in the country as is illustrated in Figure 5.17. With a percentage of 89% that answered yes, it clearly shows a rejection of the monolingual policy that was fiercely imposed by the Algerian government for many years, it may confirm the claim that the policy did indeed fail. 3% answered no, and 8% ticked the “don’t know” box.

The results of the quantitative survey shed light on many issues that have been previously discussed in this research, it introduced a glimpse on the complexity of the situation of languages in the country, illustrated mixed attitudes towards the different spoken language, the unclear status of French and the native tongues and, most importantly, a unanimous positive attitude expressed towards English. These results will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.9 The Results of the Interviews

In this section, the results of the conducted interviews will be presented and examined, which will add valuable data to the research. The interviews that were conducted helped

interpret the respondents' personal views and opinions on the topic of the research. Thus, it supplemented a valuable insight into the study.

Table 15 outlines the profile of the various respondents that agreed to take part in the research. The transcripts of the interviews, which were in some cases translated from French into English, are included in the thesis. (See Appendix C)

Table 15:

Profile of the Interviewees

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Location	Profession
A1	Male	63 years	Algeria	Professor in language sciences
A2	Male	69 years	Oran/Algeria	Professor of linguistics
A3	Male	38 years	Bouira/Algeria	Assistant professor
S4	Female	26 years	England	Researcher
A5	Female	25 years	Germany	MA student
R6	Female	25 years	Germany	MA student
M7	Male	/	Oran/Algeria	Professor
O8	Female	24 years	Elma/ Aleria	Medical student
Y9	Male	55 years	Algeria	Journalist
A10	Male	28 years	Batna/Algeria	Student

A questionnaire of 16 questions (see Appendix B) was sent out via e-mail to the interviewees. Depending on the interaction of each participant, follow-up questions were added at a later stage. The issues that were raised in the interview questions were mainly about the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria, the role of language in shaping the individual's identity, the participants' attitudes towards multilingualism, their opinion on the language policy adopted by the Algerian government, their view on the status of foreign language in the country, their opinion on the status of French and English, and the future of English in Algeria, etc. The questions were first written in English and then translated to French for the participants who wished to answer in French.

The main aim of the interview is to provide a deeper insight into the theme of the study, expressed by professionals and intellectuals, to illustrate their views on points like attitudes towards the linguistic situation of the country, their opinion on the emergence of English in Algeria, the role of French, and their daily use of English, and many other issues. The answers will contain explanations and arguments that could not be obtained using the questionnaire.

While conducting the interview, the participants were asked to give information about their age, profession, and academic level, to later be used to outline their profile. At the same time, they were informed that if wished, their identity would be well preserved and disguised. Interviewees were encouraged to express their opinions freely, and the importance of their contribution to the research was stated during the interaction. The diverse background of the interviewees added to the productivity of the interview and resulted in obtaining rewarding and informative answers, which is very advantageous to the study.

The findings of the interviews will be presented in categories. Each category deals with a specific section of the study and is related to the research questions.

5.9.1 The Sociolinguistic Profile of the Country

To answer question 1 about the interviewees' view on the linguistic profile in Algeria, almost all the interviewees seem to agree that the linguistic situation in the country is quite complex. Confused as M7 claims, he says: *"rather confused. Dominant languages are still dictating their rule (Arabic and French) to the detriment of the mother tongues. The intervention of the state is not welcome, except for Tamazight to declare it official."* A5 thinks that its complexity is due to mainly historic reasons, she says: *"Unlike other countries, the linguistic situation in Algeria tends to be quite complicated, due to the overwhelming history of the country..."*

A2 chose to define the complexity of the linguistic reality of the country by stating its different spoken/used languages. (See Appendix c. Interview with A2. 1-18) Whereas A5 claims: *".... Between Tamazight, the Algerian dialect, Arabic, French, and even English, it is hard to linguistically classify Algeria in a specific box. The situation is far from being simple but still is a very interesting phenomenon."* S4, on the other hand, described the linguistic profile of the country as: *"Multilingual, multicultural, rich and diverse as almost all countries around the world"*

5.9.1.1 *Language vs Identity*

When asked about the role of language in shaping the individual's identity, and if the Algerians have an identity crisis, all the participants think that there is, in fact, an identity crisis in the country. A3 says "..... *The answer is that one does not go without the other. That language remains one of the fundamental criteria of self-identification and identification of the other. However, the implication connection is not always effective, because if the identity often implies a given language (being French means speaking French, Italian, Italian, German, German, etc., the reverse is not always valid because the Spanish-speaking Argentinians are not Spanish, just as the Brazilians are not Portuguese and the Algerians are not Arabs.*" (See Appendix c. Interview with A3. 17-20).

He further adds: "*No one needs to be a sociolinguist, anthropologist or even ethno linguist to realize the importance of the identity crisis that has shaken Algerian society for centuries, and even that of all North African societies.*" (See Appendix c. Interview with A3. 31-39).

A2 attributes the identity crisis of Algerians to the denial of the linguistic rights of the native tongue, he says: "*The minoration of the native tongue of 90% of the speakers has engendered violence and despair....*"

A1 also points out the unfair policies imposed on the country, denying the native languages, which may explain the identity crisis that any Algerian individual may experience, he claims: "*The identity opposition between Arab-Islamism and European French, supposedly Christian, of the colonial period had been recycled by the dominant speech of the FLN-party after independence. For the simple reason which is to deny the Amazigh identity and to prevent the emergence of any identity and political modernity linked to the Algerian nation (Vs the Arab nation) that would have freed the country from the Wahhabi influence of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries.*"

A5 also agrees that there is a role that language plays in shaping one's identity, and that explains the confusion the Algerians have regarding that aspect. She states: "*Language is without any doubt a crucial aspect in shaping one's identity, for language is not just words, it's a whole culture of communication and interaction, therefore, one cannot build his/her identity without it. Due to that, people from multilingual countries tend to face identity complexities, a considerable number of Algerians often are left with the questions: am I Arab? Berber? Partly French? It's complicated.*" Whereas Y9 feels differently about the role of any language in shaping the identity and is reluctant to call what the Algerians incur as being an identity crisis, he claims: "*I believe rather conversely; it is from*

one's self and from the blossoming in one's own identity, that one can seize other languages and understand their secrets....” He further adds: *“As for the identity crisis, I do not believe that there is a crisis of identity in the country, but a repressed and confined identity, despite some progress on the institutional level in recent years.”*

5.9.1.2 Multilingualism in Algeria

When asked if Algeria is a multilingual country, almost all participants agreed that it is, in fact, multilingual, and all have positive attitudes towards multilingualism. A3 explained his opinion based on his personal experience, he claims: *“The fact that I myself am Berber, Kabyle precisely, confronted with an official discourse that defines me as Arab, reducing the only “Algerianism” that I can claim, to a supposed Arabic identity, imposed by years of Arabization and alienating language policy. Having evolved in a totally Berber-speaking region, where Arabic is totally absent from linguistic practices, imposes my difference, in regard to linguistic and identity. This proves the existence of at least two different languages (Berber and Arabic dialect). (See Appendix C. Interview with A3. 47-52).* R6 explained: *“If by multilingual you mean French and Arabic, then Algeria has always been a multilingual; Even though since 2012 the use of English language in Algeria is largely noticeable in youth activities, English cannot not, yet, be added to this multilingualism equation.”*

A2, on the other hand, has a different approach towards whether Algeria is multilingual or not, he states: *“Algeria is a bilingual country (Maghribi¹ and Tamazight) if we consider native tongues only. The fact that languages like standard Arabic, French, Spanish, English, Italian, Egyptian, Lebanese can be used professionally or sporadically doesn't make the country a multilingual one. The only languages used for everyday communication are Maghribi (90%) and Tamazight (25%).”* (See Appendix C. Interview with A2. 39-42).

It becomes apparent going through all the answers that all the interviewees are in favor of multilingualism in Algeria, and each one gave a personal reason to why it may be beneficial to the country, A5 claims: *“As sophisticated as it may seem, I find multilingualism an interesting aspect in shaping one's identity. Having the sheer ability to speak multiple languages boost the cultural diversity as well as boosts the individual's skills of understanding and interacting in different areas mainly linguistically, but also on other spheres of knowledge. In multiple cases, between a monolingual and bilingual, a bilingual tends to*

¹ Maghribi means the local dialect of the Maghreb countries like Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria...

be more skillful. The same theory applies for a bilingual and a multilingual... so as knotty as it could get, Multilingualism is a plus to a country, if well-constructed.” A3 argues that multilingualism is not only a reality but also a necessity for a tolerant society, as he explains: “I can only support it, yes. Because, quite simply, linguistic wealth implies a cultural richness. In addition, cultural diversity, on the condition of guaranteeing the rights of everyone, without any segregation or discrimination, contributes to the construction of a society open to the world, based on tolerance, the acceptance of difference. It is, therefore, the best way to lay the foundations of modern and democratic society, much more productive and more tolerant.”

5.9.2 Language Policy

As mentioned in the question asked in the interview, language policy has always been a matter of controversy. The language issue has been problematic since independence, as politicians and people in power always used it to meet ideological reasons. Many intellectuals agree that the policy of Arabization, that the government applied, was a complete disaster for the country, as A2 explains: *“The choice of a state language is normal. What was not normal is the way Arabization took place trying to become the substitute of a native tongue (maghribi). This languages substitution policy has brought about cultural recession and massive schooling failure. After nearly forty years of Arabization, Arabic has not been able to replace Maghribi, as a matter of fact.”* S4 also explains that it was a failure, she says: *“It’s a policy that proved to be a marked failure in the Algerian contemporary history. It alienated many people, disadvantaged thousands and created an unnecessary linguistic hierarchy that favors nonfunctional languages over native ones”*. Whereas Y9 claims: *“It goes back to the period of Arabization, which was not a process of reclaiming a language or an identity, but an instrumentalization of the language for political ends in alliance with the most retrograde ideological movements of society, opposing it in the process to progressive movements, qualified by their opponents as Francophone or Francophiles.”* A1 explains *“.....The policy of Arabization was much more than a language policy, but an inculcation of the conservative Arab-Islamic ideology. This has created a double tension: on the identity level, between Tamazight, and Arabic, and on the political level, between conservatism and modernity....”*

On the point of what language policy is ideal for a society like Algeria, S4 thinks that: *“.....A policy that does not consider the opinion of its people is a policy doomed to failure and so I believe in a bottom up policy, accompanied with a top-down one that is*

generated by a scientific sociolinguistic committee and communicated to educators in all sections. But most importantly, a policy that is flexible to change in response to social and economic changes.” A1 argues that an ideal policy would be: “.....in phase with the reality of the country (its true history, the various perceptions of groups and ideologies) and its desire for modernity and scientific development, it is necessary to affirm a multilingual language policy. For the formal domain: French and English; and for the non-formal domain: indigenous languages.”

The fight for the recognition of the native tongues is not recent, it is an actual debate that has been taking place in the country for many years. While discussions about the status of languages like MSA and French in the Algerian society have dominated the general discourse, many linguists and intellectuals have been claiming for years that the real debate should be about recognizing the native tongues (Darja AA and Tamazight) of the country, in both public and private sectors. A2 claims: *“I, personally militate for the recognition of the intrinsic bilingualism born by the two native tongues of the Algerian population. This would enable the mother tongues to be accepted in school and used in official institutions.”*. According to A2, the ideal language policy is: *“A positive bilingualism where both native tongues will be used in conjunction with standard Arabic and French and English, etc.”* A3 further explains: *“Simply a policy of transparency, a policy of recognizing evidence. This will begin by erasing classical Arabic as an official language and replacing it with Algerian Arabic (dialect), which is the mother tongue of most speakers by promoting its dissemination through its teaching and emancipation. To render, above all, the seized rights to Tamazight with all its varieties: Kabyle, Chaouie, Targui, Mzabe, Chleuhe, chenouie), through a perfectly equal recognition with the Algerian Arabic and grant both languages a national and official status, with the same modalities dissemination and promotion throughout the national territory.”* As for Y9, being prevented from learning in his or her mother tongue is being prevented from the capacity to critical thinking and enlightenment, he says: *“.....the last aspect that remains a blockage in the learning of the French language and even Arabic, is the autarky that the mother tongue undergoes, whether Tamazight with all its components or Darija (the language Spoken). The learner cannot develop his capacities of reflection and enlightenment if he is not allowed to express himself, to reason and to dream in the language he speaks at home and in the street.....”*

5.9.3 Status of Foreign Languages

What was interesting in some of the answers provided by the interviewees, when asked about the status of the foreign languages in Algeria, is that they claim that even national languages can be considered foreign, which is one of the reasons that add up to the complexity of the linguistic profile of Algeria. As S4 explains it: *“Theoretically, foreign language, but pragmatically, national languages and even more important than the official ones themselves. French continues to decrease in use while English flourishes....”*. She adds *“.... French and English are associated with research, prestige, science and technology, travel and prosperity and so they are very important for many Algerians despite their unrecognized status....”* A5 also thinks that: *“I would define the status of foreign languages in Algeria as a linguistic mess. It is clearly a positive thing to have multiple languages, however, as long as it is difficult to classify these languages, the situation isn't perfectly positive. Lots of questions bounce here and there, and the answers aren't necessarily the same, for instance, if you ask the question: “What is native and what is foreign?” to different people you will get many different answers to it.”* A2 even argues that MSA is the foreign language in the country, he says: *“Actually, the first foreign language in Algeria is standard Arabic, not French.”*

Others agreed on the importance that should be given to the teaching of foreign languages in the country and the improvement of the current educational system, A3 claims: *“The Algerian state must give more importance to the teaching of foreign languages, especially English. French already having the benefit of a sociolinguistic foundation, can also guarantee development horizons through a better organized and especially better-distributed education in all these languages....”* (See Appendix C. Interview with A3. 85-88). A1 simply answered: *“The quality of their teaching has decreased so is the quality of their mastery.”*

Besides, when asked to assess the level of language learning in schools, Y9 develops the idea of the bad teaching programs and methods that are implemented in Algerian schools, he explains: *“The teaching of foreign languages, and particularly of the French language, does not escape the question of the place of school in society, namely the promotion of knowledge and science.....”* and then adds *“..... The method of learning the Arabic language and other subjects is in itself archaic, based on inculcation and recitation. Regardless of the programs taught, but the discourse held in and out of class is dominated by irrationality, destructiveness, and resignation.* (See Appendix C. Interview with Y9. 90-95). S4 commented about assessing the methods of the teaching of foreign languages in the

country as follows: “.... *it’s very hard considering the current pedagogies and lack of co-operation and transparency. Communities are different and so assessment should be different and the success of one method in one region or even one school does not necessarily mean it would be successful in the others*”

5.9.4 French in Algeria

As previously developed in the previous chapters, French has a unique role in Algerian society, it is neither a foreign language nor a national one. So, it was only natural to ask participants about their views on the French language and its role in Algeria. A3 assures “..... *French is not a foreign language but a second language and even, sometimes, mother tongue in certain cases of affluent or rich families.* (See Appendix C. Interview with A3. 129-135).

He further explains: “*French enjoys a very privileged status within the Algerian society. Spoken by thousands of speakers, rooted for at least two centuries in use, including administrative and political. This language can today be considered, not as a foreign language, but as a second official language.* (See Appendix C. Interview with A3. 102-106). A1 also claims: “*French plays a mediating role in universal scientific and technological knowledge. French is the language used in major branches of technical and technological knowledge, but also in the most modern sciences.....*” (See Appendix C. Interview with A1. 98-102).

A2 described French as “a tribute of war”. He says: “*French is “a tribute of war” as they say in Algeria. Besides it is the language of the millions of persons who live in the immigration in France. Even young people, as in the Hirak² movement now on in Algeria, would use it.*” A5 says: “*French is deeply rooted in the country's language system, it is regarded as a native language by many, and we cannot deny that it plays a role in shaping the country's identity as a whole. It is everywhere, in schools, home, streets, and administrations...Therefore its role is an important one, and it's not easy if not impossible to just erase it or replace it by another language easily.*”

Y9 believes that French was an ideological tool, that the ruling authorities used to meet a political agenda, he claims: “*Although it is part of the public space, the French language suffers the reverse of the idealization of languages. A dominant discourse, even in the institutions, tends to drain it of its linguistic, literary and civilizational contents to*

² Hirak refers to the current protesting movement that is shaking the country since March 2019

contain it in a political conception and ideology by putting it in confrontation and in opposition to the Arabic language...” (See Appendix C. Interview with Y9. 100-103).

5.9.5 English in Algeria

When asked about the status of English in Algeria, it becomes evident that all the interviewees agree that English has become an important language, and there is no escaping to the fact that its globalization has reached the country. A2 states: *“English has gained the obvious status of contemporary lingua franca. In Algeria as is the case anywhere else in the world, scientists should write in English if they want to give a chance to their work and win any consideration.”* S4 agrees and says: *“It's increasing especially among the youth, but it still has a long way to go through.”*

A5 joins this view and claims: *“English started to make its way through the Algerian's individual not so long ago. It is present in today's daily conversations and on social media.”* R6 states: *“There is no doubt that the use of English in Algeria is increasing, yet it is still not the dominating language and is far from being so.”* O8 adds: *“Most of the youth view English as easier and cooler because of the huge media content in English. That has led to the creation of an Anglophone generation in Algeria.”*

What was apparent reading the participants' answers stated above, is a certain positivity towards the flourishing status of the language in Algeria. There is a belief that it is growing in popularity among the youth. What was also clear is that there is a difference, among the respondents, between the young generation and the older one, which has also more expertise on the matter, in the perception of the popularity of English and what it may mean in the linguistic concept of the country. This was manifested in perceiving English as simply a language that is currently leading globally, without having it to mean otherwise in the Algerian context. As A3 claims: *“English remains a truly foreign language in the country and the number of speakers, whose level remains questionable, is limited to Anglicans, consisting of students specialized in literature and English language, as a university specialty. It remains absent from spontaneous exchanges and language practices, administrative and cultural exchanges. It is absent in the linguistic landscape of the country and its teaching and promotion must be further encouraged and promoted.”* A1 also argues *“..... In Algeria, English is present in small circles of English speakers. In the press, we do not notice a newspaper in English, nor TV broadcasting in this language. Some rare posters were, I think, for the first time, flaunted in English by the Hirak “revolution” and even in*

Chinese!.....” as for Y9 he thinks that: “it’s a language like any other which is still behind Spanish when it comes to the most used language for talking in the world.”

However, all the participants agree that it is necessary to learn English, even in a country where French is still the leading foreign language. A1 explains “.... *The English language carries with it a pragmatic tradition that the “theoretical” French language dis-credit. It is a supplement and another perspective for life, for the scientific reason.*” A3 commented about the necessity to learn English saying: “*It’s not only essential, it is necessary.*” M7 says: “*in a global world, it’s part of normality.*” Stating personal experience, A2 argues: “*I, personally use the language every day in my research work. It is a vital lingua franca.*” A5 further comments: “*Due to its great power, it is certainly a crucial thing to learn English. As an Algerian who studies abroad, I wouldn’t have achieved a lot of what I have, on the professional and personal level if it weren’t for English.*”

On the point of foreseeing the future of English in Algeria, the answers vary from optimist to skeptic. A3 explains: “*The popularity that English enjoys among Algerian speakers is only due to its international renown and its economic and technological prestige....*”. He further argues: “*.....it remains, once again, simply a language that is totally foreign to the sociolinguistic landscape of Algeria. As for its future, it depends only on the political will of those in power and their ideological projects....*” (See Appendix C. Interview with A3. 139-150).

As previously explained in previous chapters, there was a debate earlier in the 1990s about introducing English to replace French, but it was mainly advocated by Islamists. It is one of the reasons it failed, which explains the skepticism expressed by some of the participants. As A2 argues: “*The need of English is introduced via Egyptian and Saudi Arabia’s influence. I don’t think these will become a model for the youngsters. Things would be different if it were linked to US and GB’s cultural cooperation initiatives.*” A1 also says: “*Popular? I doubt it. Islamist ideology encourages English thinking they would escape the brightness of centuries of enlightenment, secularism ... forgetting that the English language has participated and invented secularism!*” Y9 further explains: “*it will have a future, but it must not be opposed to French for ideological hints, as the regime currently does. Any language introduced by ideology will provoke reticence and rejection. It must not be put in competition with the French language.*”

O8, on the other hand, is certainly optimistic about the future of English, she answers: “*I think that slowly English will dominate the scene in all fields by the next 10 years.*” R6 further argues: “*I think English will remain emerging regularly especially with*

Americanization of the global mindset (which includes the Algerian mindset) and also the exposure to American pop culture.” M7 argues: “its spoken form will develop enormously. The problem will be its writing”

5.9.6 French vs English

The rivalry between French and English is not recent, it dates to the years when the Arabization policy was first imposed on the country. As previously explained, English was the language proposed by the government to replace French. Thus, the debate about the possibility for English to replace French was never about dealing with the linguistic reality of the country, it was more a policy implemented by the government that put them in competition.

When asked if there was a role that French played to hinder the emergence of English in the country, the answers were rather contradictory, A1 answered: *“There is indeed important societal inertia in this regard.”* A2 also asserts saying: *“For sure, the presence of French language is a hindrance to the expansion of English. But a language wins audience if its usage becomes a necessity.”* A5 further explains: *“Yes! Due to its presence in every sector of life, French totally stands in the face of the English language growth.”*

Whereas M7 argues saying: *“not at all. The 1993 attempt has been a total failure because of a number of amateurish decisions. A language cannot disappear or develop overnight.”* A3 likewise argues: *“No language hinders the growth of another. It is up to the language policies adopted in each country to reconsider the usefulness of foreign languages.....”* (See Appendix C. Interview with A3. 118-122). Y9 says: *“no, it is the policy of the regime that wants to put them in competition, and it is an error that will penalize English. Every language has its place, although the regime wants to generalize English by ideology.”*

While conducting the interviews, a new decision was announced, by the minister of education, to replace French in the university as the language of education by introducing English. The participants were asked to give their opinion on whether French should maintain its position as the first foreign language in the country, as an inquiry for reactions regarding this decision. The answers provided by the participants were as divided as the public opinion expressed concerning this issue in the country. Y9 makes clear: *“We cannot reduce the French language in Algeria to a foreign language, it is a language related to Algeria, through history and culture, proximity and descent, tens of thousands of families who are linked to on both sides of the river.”* A3 states *“..... It is a language strongly present which even pushes the question of the existence of a French Creolized Algerian.*

English remains, by essence a foreign language that owes its existence only to its teaching.” A2 stated the following: *“Actually, the first foreign language in Algeria is standard Arabic, not French. Besides the choice of a language should be issued out of a needs analysis and not out of a mere question of goodwill.”* R6 disapproves of the decision saying: *“I think French should be the first language in Algeria (not foreign) because its importance in defining the Algerian cultural identity.”*

A1 was clearly against this decision, he clarifies saying: *“The Minister of Higher Education has nothing to offer, and this idea is as old as the world.....”* He further argues: *“The change of the language of study in Algeria will provoke and accentuate even more the delay of the control of the sciences and the scientific thought because it will take the Algerians at least 50 years to master this language for readings and publications of high level.”* (See Appendix C. Interview with A1. 138-147).

On the other hand, S4 thinks *“.....Although it's competing French at a micro level in areas of research and publications, the status of French is still stronger considering that the elite and policy makers are mainly francophone.”* She also believes that English is the language of modernity, while French is decreasing in importance, she says: *“Considering the current state of affairs in the world as a whole, I would say I'm in favor of English rather although both is still a better option.”* A5 also shares a similar opinion, she says: *“.... I am in favor of the slow emergence of more English until it replaces French in the future. A sudden change in language positions will only make the situation more chaotic.”*

O8 explains: *“Although French is considered the first foreign language in Algeria that has come with any sort of progress for the language, the capital is still the only place where you find the greatest number of people mastering the language while people in the rest of Algeria have almost equal skills in both English and French, and sometimes even better English than French.”*

The semi-structured interviews shed light on the confusion and the complexity of the linguistic profile in Algeria and helped explain, in a minor way, the reasons why the country needs better language policies to overcome the linguistic crisis, which seems to have lasted an overly long time. It provided a clearer picture as well as an answer as to why the linguistic reality in the country is this complex. Why certain attitudes are expressed towards certain languages, and why there is confusion when it comes to defining the status of languages in the country.

The qualitative study solidified the findings of the quantitative survey in showing how the issue of languages in Algeria is not resolved yet, and whether English is granted more importance or less is not exactly what will help the situation improve in the country.

5.10 Linguistic Landscape

As previously mentioned in Chapter 4 (see 4.2.3.3), exploring the linguistic landscape can shed light on the presence of English in the country, thus many pictures were taken, mainly bottom-up items, from a selected number of cities. Photographs of shops, private companies, and graffiti were gathered, as well as of protests that took place during the collection of data. Besides, the Internet is a bottom-up platform as well, hence mediums like Facebook and Twitter were also investigated to measure the use of English by the Algerians.

Here are some of the pictures collected (For more See Appendix D). First, we will start by presenting photographs of different shops and companies, and then those gathered from protests, to finally cite different internet platforms.

Figure 5.18 illustrates the cities from which the different selected pictures were taken.



Figure 5.18. Map of the selected cities in Algeria
(Source: Carte Algerie)

The following photographs are of shopping stores carrying English signs. We can notice that some signs are exclusively in English, the titles are short and captivating. It was no surprise to find many shopping stores and restaurants with English signs, what was unusual was finding other stores like a mechanic for example with an English sign.



Figure 5.19. Clothing store in Batna, Algeria



Figure 5.20. Shoe store in Batna, Algeria

Next, there are photographs of restaurants. In the cities where these were taken, we could find many restaurants carrying either English-only signs or signs with both English and French.



Figure 5.21. Fast food restaurant in Batna, Algeria

Here are pictures of miscellaneous stores.



Figure 5.22. Car wheel store in Algiers, Algeria

Besides collecting photographs of shops and restaurants, pictures of private businesses that chose to use mainly bilingual to multilingual signs were also gathered.



Figure 5.23. Bank in Batna, Algeria



Figure 5.24. Consulting firm for Agro science industries in Algiers, Algeria



Figure 5.25. Consulting agency in Algiers, Algeria

Graffiti is a part of the bottom-up signs, usually, it is mainly written in dialectal Arabic, French, and standard Arabic rank second. During the collection of photographs, very few were in English. There was the classical “I love you” but a few others were found too.



Figure 5.26. Graffiti in Batna, Algeria



Figure 5.27. Graffiti in Algiers, Algeria

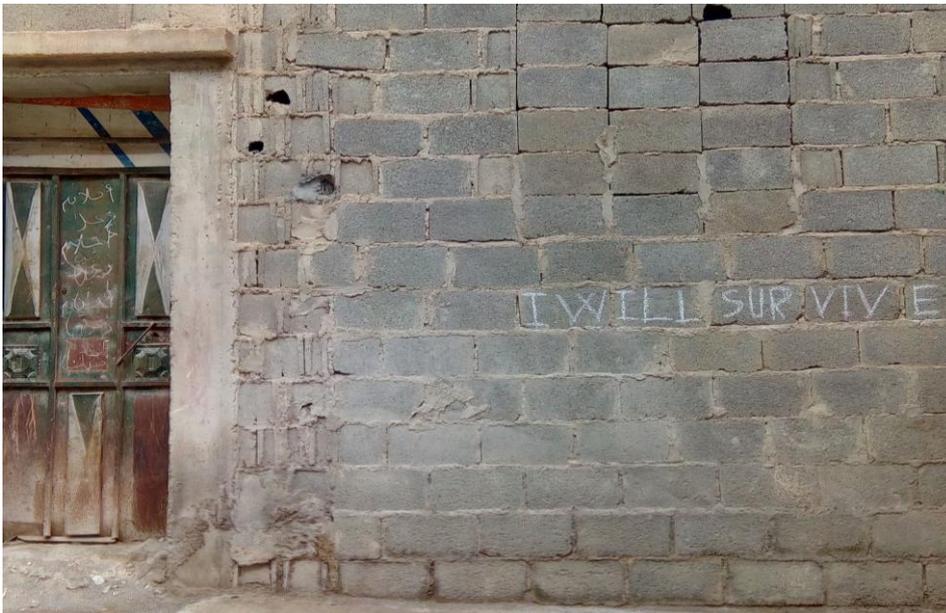


Figure 5.28. Graffiti in Batna, Algeria

As mentioned in 4.2.3.3, some protests were taking place in different cities in Algeria due to the current political issues. It was interesting to observe the many brandished signs that were in English. There was a variety of slogans (see Appendix D), which showcased the linguistic diversity of the country, the use of English was obvious regarding the global sta-

tus it has. What was interesting to notice is the Algerian humoristic touch added to it. There was the classic cry “Out” and “Get out”



Figure 5.29. A young woman protesting in Algeria

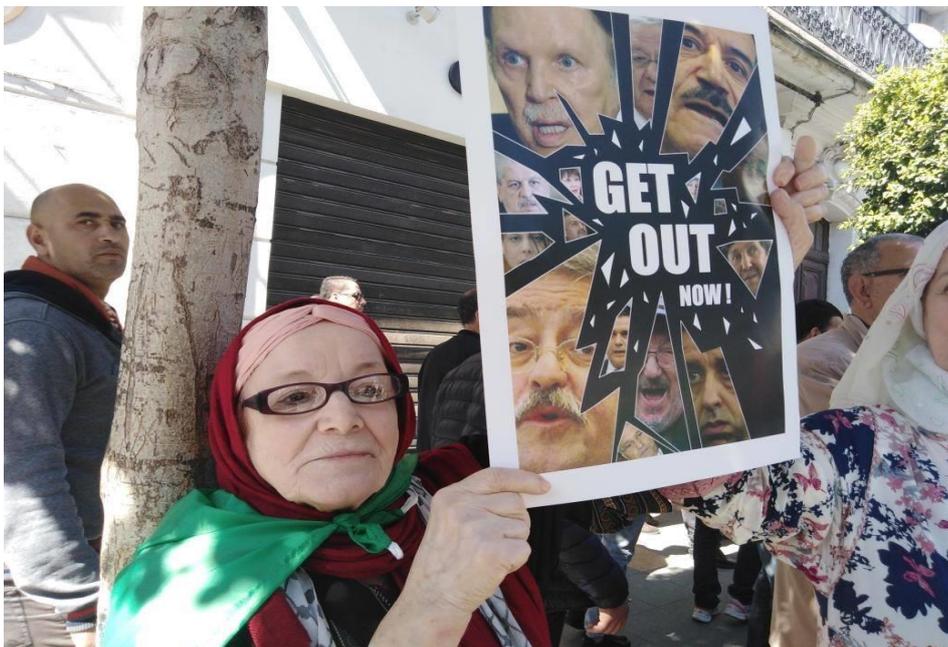


Figure 5.30. Aged woman protesting in Algeria. [S1]



Figure 5.31. A young girl protesting in Algeria carrying an Algerian flag

Other signs reflected the Algerian humor and a local manner of expressing protest.



Figure 5.32. Algerian protestor holding a "USA stay away" banner. [S2]



Figure 5.33. A student manifesting against Algerian President Bouteflika [S3]



Figure 5.34. Woman protesting the Algerian regime [S4]



Figure 5.35. Algerian women claiming their rights to protest. [S5]

Exploring the linguistic landscape of the country from shops to signs to protests, illustrated that there is a growing use of the English language. Seeing the language style of the writing and the types of shops that are using English, we can conclude that it is a global language used mainly for economy and business. During the present times, it is a universal phenomenon to name shops or to write slogans in English, and it can be observed in Francophone countries like Algeria as well. Whether this can be a sign of a spread of English in the country, it needs a few more years of observation, for now, we can certainly observe an interest and a new usage that was not noticed before.

In addition to bottom-up platforms (shops, protests) where English is increasingly observed in Algeria, the Internet namely, Facebook and Twitter or YouTube, is one of the main tools that contributed to the growing use of English by the Algerians. These platforms have offered room, for different individuals in the country, to express themselves and their views on different matters, whether personal or political, in English. Be it to reach a wider audience internationally or simply to communicate with friends in different groups and pages.

On Facebook, which is the platform used most in Algeria (see 5.12), many pages and groups are dedicated to posting only in English, where members gather to discuss different issues in English. For example, “*The Algerian Association of Teachers of English*” and “*Algerian Teachers of English*” are groups of English teachers, each having around 27,000 to 13,000 followers. They comment and discuss different issues, not only about their daily activities, as English teachers, and students, but also discuss some other trendy

events. The comments, however, are not exclusively in English, although it is the aim of the page, they do comment in AA or MSA as well. There are many similar pages of English teachers or English students that gather to communicate in English, on the other hand, there are also other groups that are for people who wish to chat in English without having studied or studying English. Here is a list of some of the most popular groups:

- I am DZ and I speak English: 213,000 followers on a private page, the public version which has the same title has 184,000 followers.
- Algerian Book Readers: 50,000 followers
- Algerian Black Pearl: 13,000 followers
- Algerian Readers Club: 5000 followers
- Algeria Model United Nations Program has almost 40,000 followers and Algerian Youth Voices with 15,649 followers, mainly used to post promotions of future events.

It should be mentioned that few groups like “Algerian Black Pearl”, which is a radio station page, and “I am DZ and I speak English”, have rules which strictly state that posts and comments can only be in English. All the other pages that are addressed to English audiences try to post only in English, but the comments are more diverse, and in some cases, English becomes the least used language in the comments.

In other Facebook pages, there are no regulations on language use, members can comment using either Algerian Arabic (AA), French, MSA, or even English. Switching between the different languages of the country can easily be noticed just by going through the comments posted on any Facebook page. While visiting many of the most popular public Facebook pages, regardless of what the content is, whether it is written in Arabic or French, formal, or informal, the comments were dominantly written in AA. French and MSA rank next. Also, there was constant code-switching between AA and French in different discussions. A previous study revealed that most of the comments on Facebook pages are written in bilingual codeswitching, 6% are trilingual, and the switching was mainly between AA and French or AA and MSA, and even MSA and English (Abdelhamid, 2018).

English, on the other hand, ranks last and its use is very seldom. We can notice a few English words here and there, but very few comments were entirely written in English. Concerning posts, they varied according to the nature of the content, if it is an educational or a political page for example, then MSA and French are the languages to be used, and it is in these pages that you can find many of the comments written mainly in MSA or French. In Facebook pages that have religion as the main content, it is MSA that is exclu-

sively used given the fact that it is the language of the Quran, the comments are dominantly in MSA and we can find few of them written in AA.

Other public or private pages are addressed for the Berber community in the country. For example, “Algérie Amazigh” with over 17,000 followers, “Imazighen” with 5000 followers. The dominant language that is used in these groups is AA, French ranks second, the same applies to the comments. Tamazight is not used much because it has been denied any recognition by authorities and is only taught in a few schools. Although these members do speak it, writing in Tamazight is an issue that they have been fighting to resolve since the independence, but have not yet succeeded in. However, Posts can be found written in Tamazight with Latin letters but as mentioned, they are inferior to comments written in other languages of the country.

As an example of the use of English in some of the pages on Facebook, here is a comment posted on one of the most popular Facebook pages in Algeria “*Journal el Bilad*”, which has over 9 million members. The page is formal and treats current events, in a post about child marriage, the comments were mainly in MSA, AA, and French, and there were very few in English:

- **“Stop child marriage”**

Another popular group “Zinou Kids” has over 9 million members, less formal with more entertaining posts, the same phenomenon can be observed, AA is the leading language used in the comment section, with posts only seldom in English. e.g.: “*Wow cool post thanks for sharing*” was one among many other comments written in AA.

Regarding pages that do not allow comments in other languages than English, they discuss a variety of topics, trendy events where the Algerians can express themselves only in English. Lately, they seem to mainly focus on the recent major political events that are shaking the country. In a comment posted in “*I am DZ and I speak English*”, the admin is discussing the potential takeover of the army to bring back stability. There were many comments expressing thoughts about the situation, one follower wrote: “*I think protesters should reach an agreement with the army we can't keep going like this!! We don't even have any official representatives who can negotiate with authorities and talk about our demands!! These protests are pretty much led from the streets and they are not going anywhere if we don't have representatives. Protesters are not willing to trust anyone but how long are they planning to drag this??*”

Twitter, compared to Facebook, is not as popular. Although intellectuals, journalists, and media channels make sure to have a Twitter account, the Algerians use it much less than they use Facebook. MSA and French are the dominant languages in the posts and the comments, AA is also used. English, on the other hand, is the language used the least, it is seldom that members use it to comment. The most popular Twitter profiles in Algeria, according to “Socialbakers.com”, are those of football players, or news outlets. The dominant languages are MSA and French, AA is mostly used in the comments. “*TSA Algérie*” for example, is dedicated to reporting news and current affairs of Algeria, it has over 1 million followers, and French is the language used to report, while in the comments it varies between French and AA. The same goes for the account “*Algérie360.com*” which reports news as well and has over 1 million followers. Another popular profile is “*Les Verts d’Algérie*”, with 1 million followers, the content is about football, it uses both French and MSA in the posts, and a few in English. The comments are mainly in French, MSA, AA, and a few in English.

Another difference to Facebook, the Algerians comment on Twitter a lot less than they do on Facebook. In “*TSA Algérie*” they comment noticeably little, although it has over one million members, the highest number of comments only reached 70 and that is in only one post, the others have barely 2 to 7 comments. In “*Les Verts d’Algérie*”, members comment a bit more but still a lot less than on any Facebook page, where the number of comments can reach 200-300.

We can find a few personal accounts written only in English, “AG!” for example, who is a personal account, comments exclusively in English. Journalist Khaled Drareni, who is a news reporter, actively reports on the recent events that shook the country, he writes both in French and MSA, but lately, due to the universal attention drawn to what is going on in the country, he started writing in English as well.

YouTube is another platform that many Algerians use to publish videos with English content. Facebook pages like “*Algerian Black Pearl*” promote the language using podcasts on YouTube, however, it does not have many subscribers yet. The content is diverse and discusses various cultural topics. Algeria Model United Nations Program has a YouTube channel as well, named “*Algeria MUN*”, it has a limited number of videos with only 678 subscribers. Besides, not all the videos are in English there are few of them in MSA. As for the content, it is mainly about the different activities that take place in Algeria. “*Algerian youth voices*” organization broadcasts podcasts on a YouTube channel named the same as the page on Facebook. Diverse topics are discussed, from cultural to literary or dialogues, with specific messages, to bring awareness on topics that can affect

the Algerian youth. The number of views of these channels is quite limited as is the number of subscribers, compared to other channels in MSA, French, or AA where the number of subscribers can reach millions. The number of comments is also limited and is mainly in English, with few in MSA or AA.

The English language, although being the language used less in the different social media compared to AA and French, is still present, and its use is apparent. Even in a minor way, it offered a platform that was not present before for the Algerians to express themselves in English. In addition to the results of exploring the linguistic landscape, we can conclude that the presence of English in the country is visible, probably more now than at any time before. The reasons for this seem mainly due to the globalization of the language around the globe and the presence of social media, which succeeded in achieving what many policies, that were previously implemented by the Algerian authorities, in an attempt to introduce the language to the population but failed to achieve.

5.11 Concluding Remarks

The results of the study demonstrate the complexity of the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria. The confusion around the identity, the mixed attitudes towards the languages of the country, the continuous misuse of certain languages by the authorities to meet political agendas, are all elements that add up to the uneasy situation of languages in Algeria. Concerning the attitudes expressed towards the English language, the results of both qualitative and quantitative studies illustrate a unanimous positivity towards the language and a consistent agreement to the necessity to learn it due to the importance of the language, especially in the scientific field. The role of social media and the globalization of the English language are factors that were revealed in the results as the main justification for the logical growing interest in the language in Algeria.

Issues like the status of French, the importance of the local dialects, the lack of an adequate language policy devoid of political agendas were revealed more explicitly in the results of the interviews. This helped to elaborate further on arguments like the status of each used language, the role of both French and English in the country, and the future of both these languages.

Further detailed discussions of the results of both the qualitative and quantitative studies will be considered in Chapter 6. The research questions will be answered following the findings of the research along with valid interpretations.

Chapter 6: Interpretations of the Findings

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of the present study will be discussed following the research questions that have been presented earlier (see 1.2). It will attempt to shed light on issues regarding the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria, its traits and complexities, and the new role of English in the linguistic context of the country. What is more, the effects of misused language policy, serving political agendas and what it can afflict on the population, will be thoroughly discussed. Starting from developing the issue of an identity issue, that is a direct result of the language policy that was applied since independence. To then analyze the different attitudes of the Algerian population expressed towards the languages of the country, which as observed in the different results of the research, show an interesting phenomenon of language rejection despite being frequently used in daily activities. The discussion will also be about French in Algeria, the confusion regarding its status in the country, and the constant debate of it being replaced by English, therefore try to obtain a definite idea of the future of English in the country.

The chapter will be constructed following the research questions and the order in which they were presented in the study. First, the complicated linguistic situation of Algeria, and how languages can play a role in creating an unbalance in a person's life and identity if badly exploited, especially in multilingual countries. Second, the status of the foreign languages in Algeria and the importance of introducing them into the school program. Next, the discussion will be about the English language, its role as a competing foreign language to French, and its future in the country. To finally conclude with explanations of what contributed to creating such a confusing linguistic profile, and various suggestions on an ideal language policy that can fix the complicated linguistic reality of the country.

6.2 Complicated Sociolinguistic Profile

Exploring the results of the study, we can observe various characteristics that define the linguistic profile of a country like Algeria.

6.2.1 Multilingualism

Algeria is most certainly a multilingual country consisting of two distinct language groups. The first one includes Algerian Arabic (AA) and Tamazight, two native languages that are both widely spoken and used in different parts of the country, but both are oppressed, unrecognized, and poorly esteemed by society. The second group includes Standard Arabic (MSA) and French, which are on the other hand highly esteemed and used in official and administrative sectors. English is an outsider language, it is present in the country and is used in certain main industries, it is also taught early in schools and has been a political tool used by Arabization advocates in the government for years.

The results of the different methods, applied for the research, demonstrate that the Algerians use various languages in different settings, and that depending on the formality of the context. Besides, when asked about what language they use at home or for speaking, the survey results showed the bilingual and sometimes multilingual reality of the respondents, which also reflects that of the country (see Figure 5.7).

English is a language the presence of which has been observed in all the findings, it is used in different activities like writing and reading (see section 5.3), it is also present in social media platforms and the landscape of the country. The respondents, both in qualitative and quantitative methods, have unanimously agreed on its importance in educational and economic settings. Even a high percentage of the survey's respondents are in favor of a future replacement of French by English. Thus, there is a new language, that is not a part of the linguistic profile of the country, which is highly appreciated, it is strongly needed, probably not to the extent of occupying the position of French but there are chances of seeing it competing, especially in the domains of economy and technology, with the official languages of the country including MSA, which was already struggling from the aggressive rivalry of French.

6.2.2 Complexity

The survey results revealed that there is a specific use for each language and based on that employment a certain status gets attached to it, which explains the specific attitude that is being generated towards it. Studies have shown that, according to these functions and attitudes, we can notice a hierarchy that emerges among these languages including English. This means that there is a classification in importance and a distinction of strong and weak that is associated with each of these languages, irrespective of the frequency of the use (Boukous, 2008), and that is exactly what the results manifested. In an environment of

non-equal recognition of the language in any country, complexity is one of the first characteristics that emerge and create a certain unease among language users.

In Table 16, languages are classified based on their areas of use.

Table 16:

Languages of Algeria and their Area of Use

Languages	Use
Algerian Arabic (AA)	Oral communication, home
Tamazight	Oral communication, home
Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)	Writing, reading
French	Oral communication, writing, reading, home
English	Writing, reading

While observing the language use of the Algerians, there is a clear distinction, even in status, that is drawn between these languages. We can see that certain languages are used for activities like writing and reading, which usually are languages that are needed for formal settings as well, in this case, MSA, French, and English. Whereas AA and Tamazight are used only for oral communication. Note that French is also mentioned to be used in oral communication, which adds to the complexity of the linguistic environment, and the difficulty to define the precise status of this language.

As mentioned earlier, there is a hierarchy that is created only by making a distinction between these languages, we simply create a difference in importance depending on the value of settings in which we use a specific language. Naturally, there will be languages that are stronger than others, simply because they are used in much more significant contexts than the casual ones, like for example at home or in public. English is an integral part of this equation, although it does not belong to the linguistic profile of the country, however, the important position it occupies in the world of economy and technology allowed its intrusion into the country, with the help of a government promoter policy.

6.2.3 Conflicts

Wherever there is an interaction of various languages in one country there is the risk of conflict, especially in cases where there is a distinction of status and use, which means a potential competition that will eventually create a conflictual environment. In a country like Algeria, besides the fact that it is a multilingual country with different languages used in different settings, the language policies greatly contributed to intensifying animosity between different language groups, resulting in a sentiment of inferiority and injustice of certain communities, namely Berber, which aggravated the interaction among the population tremendously.

Almost every interviewee stated the role of the government in Algeria, which has always adopted policies that put languages in constant competition while promoting one language as the sole language of the country. The consequences of these policies manifested in different forms, the main one being the sentiment of rejection that, in this case, the Berber community perceived, which led to the many protests that occurred throughout the years since independence. French and MSA were put in competition as a result of the adopted linguistic policy, MSA was the language promoted by the government, but French was still needed in sectors like economy and industry, especially when MSA was dragging behind and could not compete on that front. To compensate for that problem, English was brought into the scene and was, again, used as a political tool to compete with French. Hence creating a climax of a linguistic conflict, where the main languages of the country simply cannot co-exist without continuous hostility. However, English was never directly involved in this conflict simply because the Arabization policy was poorly executed, a procedure that is a lot more sophisticated needed to be adopted to displace or completely remove French from the landscape of the country. As a result, it never integrated the linguistic profile of Algeria and was never but a foreign language. Which explains the unanimous positive attitudes expressed towards the language manifested in the findings.

6.2.4 Confusion

Another instance where the complexity of the linguistic environment of the country is exposed is how ambiguous the status of the languages used in Algeria is. While examining the findings we can notice the confusion about defining what the French language is to the Algerians. In the survey, it varied from being a foreign language to the language of the colonizer (which had the highest percentage in the survey answers), and even a mother tongue to a few of the respondents. At the same time, we could see the presence of this

language in daily use, in various activities from writing to reading (see Table 16). Besides, the interviews helped to explain the reasons for these diverse views on the language while pointing out the importance that it still occupies in the country. Some of the interviewees even claimed that it is a national language and cannot be called foreign. Therefore, we can notice how diverse the perception may be regarding French, which to this date is still the language of the colonizer to a considerable number of the Algerians, and that despite the constant use of the language in many main sectors and daily activities, without forgetting that France is still the number one destination of Algerian immigrants each year.

MSA, on the other hand, is a language that is strongly appreciated by the Algerians. The positive attitudes towards it were communicated in the survey findings. Besides the fact that it has official status in the country, it was promoted for a long time as the only language of the Algerians, and is, before everything else, the language of the official religion of Algeria. Yet, we noticed that it is the language that is used the least in daily activities and that even compared to Tamazight. One may wonder how come a language that is this important and has great support by both the government and the majority of the population is used this little, be it in oral communication, where AA and Tamazight are the native tongues and the languages used for speaking, or in the economic and industrial sectors where it is dragging behind French and English, we can also add that it is the language used the least in the different social media platforms.

This paradox between attitudes and use is what is causing this confusion among the population. It is a direct result of the discriminating linguistic policies that created a common perception of certain languages, disregarding their daily use or importance in key domains. When asked about multilingualism, the highest percentage of the answers from the survey showed they were in favor of promoting a multilingual policy. However, the differences in status and attitudes expose a contradiction that may insinuate that the respondents are in favor of the idea of multilingualism, but not of the current one in their country.

There are many explanations to interpret this intricate situation, one of them would be the fact that the native tongues are not recognized as actual languages, especially AA, although it was noticed in the results that the status of Tamazight has slightly improved. They do not have any importance in the world of work, economy, or education, they are looked upon as inferior to the other languages, and they do not recognize their importance in the country. As for the French language, it is the result of the constant policies adopted by the government, since independence, which always promoted this idea of it being the language of the colonizer, which was imposed on the people to deprive them of their real

identity and their real language. Figure 6.1 demonstrates the paradox that is revealed between use and attitude when it comes to languages in Algeria.

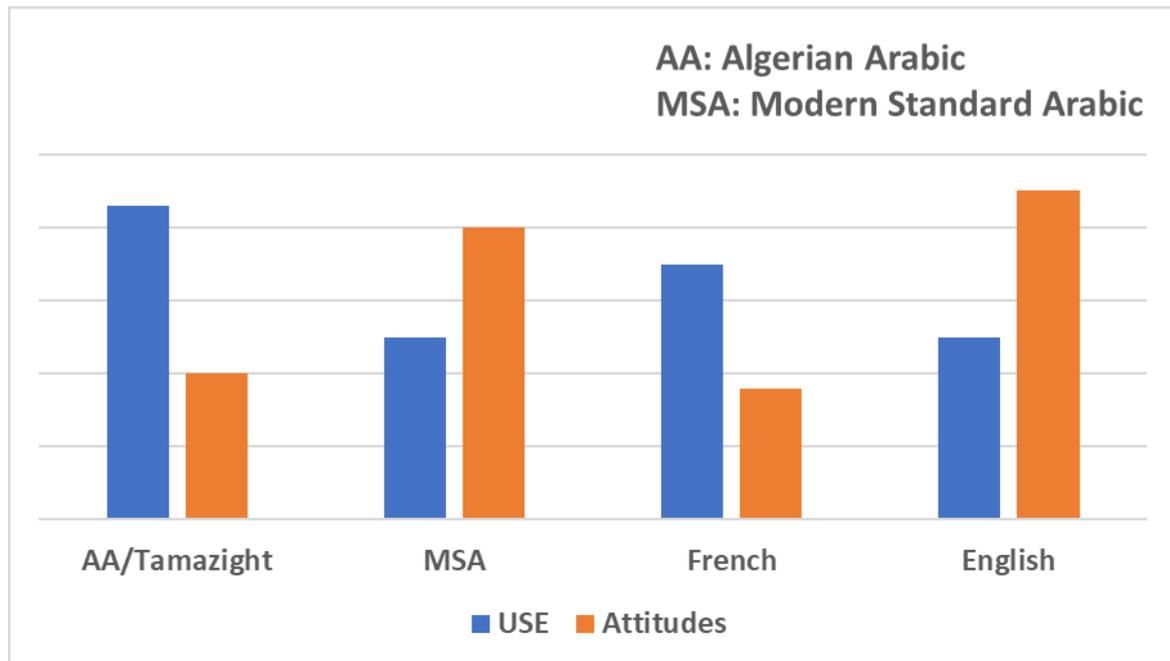


Figure 6.1. Paradox between language use and attitudes

The most significant sign of the confusion that the Algerians demonstrate regarding their linguistic reality, which was highlighted in the findings as well, is defining the mother tongue. When it clearly should be either AA or Tamazight, the findings were not unanimous and some of the respondents even claimed that MSA is their mother tongue. Many factors contributed to creating this confusion, the main one being the constant promotion of Standard Arabic by the local government as the language that best represents the Algerian identity, while at the same time deriding constantly the role of the local spoken languages (AA and Tamazight) presented as the inferior insignificant languages. Even though the first language that any Algerian born in an Algerian household acquires is either AA or Tamazight or in some cases, French, not every Algerian is aware of this reality or at least wants to accept, and in some cases, they simply ignore it.

The sociolinguistic situation of Algeria is not resolute and is constantly developing, in the same way, the status of the used languages keeps on changing, the case of Tamazight and French is a perfect indicator of that. Various factors, whether political or economic, can contribute to promoting or undermining certain languages, linguistic policies vary depending on the leaders that are in power and their ideologies, Francophone, or Arab-speaking groups. We can particularly notice the constant shift in language policies, that

affect language status, in the teaching of French in public education (Boukous, 2008). Here is a perfect example of how a language in Algeria can be sometimes promoted and others obstructed in schools, depending on who is making the law, the same can be said about Tamazight and the constant deliberations on the ideal way to introduce it in schools, or the most recent decision, announced by the minister of higher education, to introduce English to replace French, that is generating a lot of debate.

6.3 Language Impact on the Identity of The Algerians

The findings of the interviews shed the light, more explicitly, on the impact of language on identity, and how the linguistic policies issued by the government since independence have affected the Algerians. One of the main factors highlighted in the results, which contributed to creating confusion and contradicting reactions to languages, is the misused language policies applied by the Algerian government. Through the unfair language policies, that were adopted and imposed on the population, namely the Arabization policy, which denied the linguistic rights of the native tongues of the country, an atmosphere of unease was created and prevented a peaceful coexistence between languages and their advocates.

Moreover, the disdain that is attributed to the native tongues, AA, and Tamazight, which are both disregarded (see 2.4.1, 2.4.3) or not even recognized as the legitimate mother tongues of the country, proved in many ways to be harmful to the stability of the country and certainly has negative effects on the identity of the individual. As one of the interviewees stated, an Algerian individual today is unable to define exactly who he/she is, from an Arab to Tamazight to even French identity, the Algerians are most of the time uncertain or simply confused. This was also illustrated in the question addressed to the participants of the survey about their mother tongue. They were first asked to name the first language they acquired as a child, which most of the respondents answered with AA. They were then asked if they consider AA as their mother tongue, 32.99% answered no (see 5.3.5). These results showed the uncertainty of what language to name as the mother tongue, which is an indicator of the confusion regarding defining the status of languages that are used frequently, acquired as children, and used for communicative purposes between the different communities in the country.

What is more, each language in the country has advocates and critics, there are groups pro Arabic and others anti-Arabic, others are for French and many are against it, many Algerians call for the recognition of Tamazight and others are calling for its boycott. The reality is these Algerians are opposing languages that are a part of the history of the

country and are still used frequently and daily by an abundant number of the Algerians. It is the case with French, for example, as demonstrated in the survey results, it is used for reading, writing, and at home (see 5.3). However, 54.9% still considering French as the language of the colonizer, which can only mean that the constant claims by elites or the ruling government that French will always remain a language of the colonizer, have eventually succeeded in associating the French language with a historic event that effected many memories in Algeria that they are not ready to forget. Hence, a feeling of negativity will always be linked to French, unless new policies are put in place with a changed approach towards the language. Besides, it means that the negativity expressed towards certain languages is an obvious result of an ineffective language policy, which used languages to meet ideological and political agendas, and made the mistake of trying to deny the multilingual reality of the country and instead imposed a monolingual one that could never be conceived.

During the interviewing period, many interviewees suggested that one of the solutions to what is called “an identity crisis” in the country, is by introducing language policies recognizing the mother tongues, it was even suggested by A2 that it will “.... *ease the speaker’s troubled minds and open new avenues to democracy....*”. Because, as stated by A1, without applying an adequate language policy that is in phase with the reality of the country, that recognizes the importance of the native tongues, it will be difficult to reconcile the Algerians with their linguistic history and amend their negative attitudes towards languages, that are historically linked to Algeria and which are undeniably present to date in the linguistic ecology of the country.

6.4 The Status of Foreign Languages in Algeria

Officially the two main foreign languages in Algeria would be French and English, along with few others that will not be of interest to our research. During the interviews, A2 claimed that even MSA is a foreign language for the Algerians, it is a common thing to say for those who advocate the recognition of the native tongues. They claim that since MSA has to be learned in schools for the Algerians to understand it and use it in education and future activities, it is a foreign language. This is a debate that needs further discussion and is not a part of the theme of the present thesis. Nevertheless, the confusion even in defining foreign languages in Algeria is an additional example of the complexity that defines the linguistic context of the country.

As explained in Chapter 5, foreign languages are used, to a considerable extent, in many areas by the Algerians, both English and French are used for writing and reading. French is also used for speaking, as it has been illustrated in the findings. Moreover, they are both used on different social media platforms, like Facebook and Twitter. It was noticed in the findings, that social media was an important medium for the Algerians to be able to express themselves in English (see 5.10). Besides, constant use of foreign languages was observed in the linguistic landscape of the country, while French was always the dominating foreign language used, alongside MSA, in both top-down and bottom-up signs, however, lately signs written in English have started to emerge, especially in bottom-up platforms like shop signs or private businesses, even in protests few placards were noticed written in English (see 5.10).

During the interviews, the emphasis was also directed towards the importance of teaching foreign languages in the Algerian schools. It was agreed, by all the interviewees, that teaching foreign languages, is essential for the development of the country, although both French and English are taught at early stages in schools, the teaching should be improved. The educational system needs necessary changes, whether in choosing the methods of teaching or in providing more resources, material or human (see 3.8). Y9 cited the important role of schools in promoting knowledge in a society, therefore claims that when students are not encouraged to think freely in a developed school program, which is the case in the Algerian schools, the society will never move forward. He further adds that schools in Algeria are governed by political ideologies that misuse languages and that are not willing to provide the students with such abilities.

Algeria is a country that has always been open to foreign languages, many Algerians learn more than one language, whether for personal or professional purposes. A percentage of 89% in the survey were in favor of multilingualism, expressing positive attitudes towards English, yet the results demonstrate a higher use of French in various settings. Also, during the interviews, all the participants were approving of the concept of multilingualism, describing it as the reality of the country, recognizing its necessity. While at the same time, encouraging the learning of foreign languages and improving its teaching in schools, which will contribute to the construction of a balanced and developed Algerian society. Hence, it is clear that in Algeria there is an acceptance of foreign languages and an awareness of their necessity in many key districts. It demonstrates that is a country that is multilingual, multicultural, and open to the world.

6.5 Attitudes towards the Languages of Algeria

The findings of the results confirmed the attitudes of the Algerians towards the languages of the country explained in Chapter 3 (see 3.4), with a minor difference. The similarity was observed in the shifting attitudes that varied from positive to negative, expressed towards the languages of the country including English. However, the difference was in the surprising positivity expressed towards Tamazight (see 5.4.2). Thus, it has become evident that language policies, adopted by the government, have a direct role in influencing the degree of negativity or positivity expressed towards a specific language. Great efforts were made to promote Arabic and English as a part of the Arabization process. With the same determination, it was aimed at degrading French, Tamazight, and even AA. Consequently, different groups were created advocating for different languages (see 6.2.3). The improvement in the attitudes expressed towards Tamazight, 41.09% acknowledge it as the language of ancestors, and 41.70% are in favor that it should gain more recognition in the country, can be explained by the recognition of Tamazight as an official language. It is now taught in many schools, there are Berber public holidays. More is yet to be accomplished, but these are times where it is recognized more than any previous period, which may explain the shift in attitudes and confirms the efficiency of language policies in alienating attitudes towards languages. While there is a minor improvement of attitudes towards Tamazight, those expressed towards the other native tongue of the country (AA) are still as negative, probably because it is not even considered a language (see 2.4.1), many do not even recognize it as a mother tongue, as it was illustrated in the survey's findings. However, many interviewees insisted on the importance of improving attitudes towards native tongues, for the society to improve and overcome the conflicted linguistic situation that the country is encountering.

Regarding attitudes expressed towards French, the Algerians have mostly negative attitudes towards the language. This was manifested in the survey's results, with 54.9% of the participants seeing French as the language of the colonizer, 20% as the language of prestige, lower percentages consider French as a language of education or modernity, as opposed to the figures gathered regarding English. These results contradict those of the use rate of French since it was illustrated that the language is rather present in daily activities, which means that French still plays a necessary role in the country. However, the interviews revealed better attitudes towards the language, probably because the interviewees have enough knowledge about the situation in the country, the role any language can play, and how manipulative language policies have been throughout the years, thus they have a more objective view regarding what French is to the Algerians. Most of the participants

agree that French is more than a foreign language, and it should be recognized as a national language in the country, any attempt to replace it with English or erase it from the country is not realistic and will be harmful to the population, as has already been proven in the past and that it could not be carried out.

What the Algerians think about MSA has been explained in previous chapters and is also illustrated in the findings of this research. National positivity is expressed towards this language, it has a sentimental and a religious relation to the Algerians, it is highly appreciated, promoted, and advocated for. However, its use is not that frequent, as opposed to the other languages, it is hardly used in daily activities. It is necessary to learn MSA, but in domains like economy, industry, or technology foreign languages are taking the lead. During the interviews, the results gave a broader explanation as to why a certain language is promoted while another is facing persecution, and it is all about ideology and meeting political agendas, and MSA is one of these languages that was strongly imposed and promoted since independence.

Regarding attitudes towards English, in the findings, there was a unanimous positivity towards the language, whether in the survey answers or during the interviews. English is a language that most Algerians agree on the importance of its learning, its great role in the economy and technology, and its necessity in the world of knowledge and the job market. Even some of the interviewees, who are francophones, acknowledged the importance of English in the world and the necessity to improve its learning in the country. Moreover, they advocate for what is called “additive multilingualism” (Belmihoub, 2018), which means introducing English to the linguistic profile as an additional language in the country instead of using it to replace French. During the survey, the participants were asked to name reasons why learning English has become a necessity, all the responses emphasize its role in facilitating travel, finding jobs, acquiring knowledge, etc.....

Besides, the survey results showed a constant use of English as well, whether in writing, reading, or on various social media platforms. As was argued in many studies (Jimma, 2017), means like Facebook and Twitter helped to promote English, thanks to the constant exposure to the language, in many countries. It is the case in Algeria, which ranks second in the use of Facebook in Africa. Also, the findings of exploring the linguistic landscape of Algeria have indicated the many groups that were exclusively in English, offering a platform for the Algerians to express themselves, in this language, on a variety of topics (see 5.10).

Attitudes are important for a language to survive or to disappear. The status of any language depends greatly on how people view it. Expressing negativity, as well as positivity, does affect the fate of the language in the country. It is primarily thanks to the effortless combativeness of the Berber community to preserve their language, that Tamazight still exists and is now officially recognized in Algeria. If French is still viewed as the language of the colonizer to this date, it is mainly because of the constant aggressive discourses of the government, advocating for its suppression, for what it represents to the millions of the Algerians who fought the French colonization and reject any traces left from that period. Therefore, attitudes matter for any language to have a certain status, high or low, language policymakers in Algeria were aware of that and constantly approached the linguistic issue in the country by working towards alienating language attitudes to meet political agendas.

6.6 The Future of English and its Rivalry with French

English is present in Algeria, it is indeed growing in importance, its use is much more noticed among the Algerians, especially the younger generations, than at any time before. As one of the interviewees O8 stated, there is an anglophone generation in Algeria, many of them are interested in the language and use it probably more compared to the older one. This was illustrated in the findings of the frequency of its use in activities like reading or writing. 56% of participants claim they quite often use English expressions in their daily conversations, while 71% are currently learning English. As a reminder, 36% of the participants study English as a specialty at university, nonetheless, these are figures that demonstrate a great interest in the language. Participants in the interviews recognized its importance in many key domains; hence they emphasize the significance of its learning.

Also, the findings gathered from exploring the linguistic landscape of the country, indicate the increasing presence of English in bottom-up signs, which were previously bilingual, using only French and Arabic with a few in Tamazight in Berber cities. It is a new development that individuals are now using English as well to name shops, or private buildings, or even graffiti. Likewise, many signs that were carried in the protests, that took place in the country, were in English. We noticed long expressions and sarcastic slogans other than the classics “game over” or “out”, that usually are carried everywhere in the world. It is a key finding indicating the slow spread of English in unusual settings, visibly it is more noticed in the country than at any time before.

If these findings should indicate anything, it surely is that English has made its entry into the linguistic reality of the country, but we should not dismiss that this is the case

in most of the other countries around the world, it may be simply a direct result of how globalized the world has become. Does this mean that the French language is threatened to lose its position in the country? Considering the findings and what we have explained earlier, French is still strongly present in important sectors in Algeria, it is still used in writing, reading, and communication. For it to simply disappear, as wished by certain elites, is not only impossible, at least in the present times, but also unrealistic. Similarly, during the interviews, the participants argue that although English is surely necessary to the development of Algeria, however, it must not take the place of another language that belongs to the country, which has been present for many years and is an integral part of the linguistic reality of most Algerians. A3 argues that the growing popularity of English among the youth is, as he states: “.... *only due to its international renown and its economic and technological prestige*”.

If we observe the type of use of English, acquired from the findings, like the one noticed in shops and other buildings, the English words used in conversations, as was gathered in the survey, which are expressions that can be considered universal like OMG, sorry, fuck or I love you (see 5.6.2), the amazing popularity of social media platforms (Instagram and Twitter), and the frequent use of Facebook by the Algerians. We can deduce that it is, in fact, the result of the globalization of English.

English is a language that is foreign to the country, unlike French, which is not only strongly used in different official domains but also is a part of the Algerian speech. Participant A3 states, there is a “French Creolized Algerian”, French is used for communication as well as in official settings, hence, English is far from being a potential substitution to French, at least not in the current conditions of the country. The findings of the study demonstrated this important place that French still occupies. Many participants claimed in the interviews that if English never succeeded in emerging in the country, it is mainly because of the presence of the French language, especially since it was used in domains where MSA could not compete like in Technology and science. A3, on the other hand, expressed a different claim, arguing that no language can hinder another and each one has a unique role, and if English was never a part of the linguistic profile of the country it is precisely because it is foreign to the Algerians. Will the situation change now that English is competing with French in those very domains like economy and industry as well as technology? Not as long as French is also present in speech, informal and formal communication, art, literature, etc.

Even though the participants in the survey answered with 77% in favor of English replacing French (see 5.16), which reflects the popularity of the language amongst youth, the reality of the country simply cannot afford such a sudden and drastic change. Similar results were generated during the online poll, suggested by the minister of education, asking the Algerians to voice their opinion about this decision. In the interviews, most of the interviewees view this poll as, yet again, nothing but a political manipulation by the government. A1 claims that it is a decision that continually links the promotion of English to an Islamic ideology that always wanted to erase French, thinking that Francophones in Algeria have always fought against the Muslim culture, are against the religion, and advocate for a westernized way of life. At the same time, many agree that English is growing in popularity in Algeria and has certainly a future, thus, it is necessary to improve its teaching because of the importance that the language gained in leading fields around the world, but they do not consider replacing French by English as the best way to achieve modernity, as the minister argued.

The Algerian government has always put French against English, it was part of the Arabization policy strategies. English has certainly made its entry into the linguistic repertoire of the country, but only because of its international value. For this language to have a future in the country, that will eventually be of benefit to the population, elites and lawmakers should take advantage of the current popularity of the language, among the Algerian youth, and apply adequate strategies without any political agenda or personal interests in promoting or oppressing the local languages of the country. French is still part of the Algerian reality; it remains the leading language in key domains. However, English will certainly occupy a bigger position in the years to come. Nonetheless, what the findings present us is that the growing popularity of English should not mean that the country must eliminate one language or the other, French can still be used alongside English, which can be even more beneficial for the development of the country. Whereas for the plan of the minister of education to be successfully applied, as stated in the interviews, the country needs many more years and greater supply, whether material or human, for French to completely disappear from the linguistic repertoire of Algeria.

6.7 A New Language Policy Model

Language planning in Algeria was never a pragmatic policy that succeeded in solving the language problem in the country, which was always a heated subject, whether during the colonization or after independence, or even during the recent years. Throughout the re-

search, the Arabization policy was mentioned as being the wrong policy to adopt in a multilingual context, we mentioned its methods and consequences in the country to analyze the real reasons that led to its failure and highlight the potential solutions. What was aimed to achieve while conducting the survey, and what the findings helped understand, in addition to what statistics confirmed, is demonstrate that, despite forty years of applying a monolingual policy, Algeria is still a multilingual country. The findings presented that the Algerians are in constant contact with several languages that are used for different tasks, French is still used by many Algerians, and quite frequently, attitudes towards Tamazight have improved, despite spending so many years and efforts to oppress it. At the same time, MSA is ranking behind French and even English in scientific fields, it is the language that is used less in daily conversations and activities, although it still is highly embraced by many Algerians. In conclusion, the natural result of imposing a language on a multilingual population, in a context similar to that of the Algerians, is a failure and it has created nothing but a conflicted atmosphere that now defines the Algerian society.

During the interviews, the answers were unanimous in calling the policy a failed political strategy. All the participants agreed on the serious damages resulting from applying a political agenda using language, and how it divided more than united the Algerians. It failed to recognize the linguistic reality while trying to create a whole new one that is not in phase with what the population needs and demands. As S4 described it: “... *a policy that does not consider the opinion of its people is a policy doomed to failure ...*”. What has happened consequently, is a creation of a linguistic hierarchy that was harmful to the native languages, that were always disregarded, and that created the identity issues we developed earlier. Also, it created separate conflicting groups each advocating for a different language and a different linguistic profile of the country, each is feeling oppressed and is claiming recognition.

The Algerian government has always been an authoritarian regime and was against any attempt aiming at alienating its political agenda, which was since the beginning opposite to a multilingual context in Algeria. A country where the other languages can peacefully prosper, where Tamazight could be taught and spoken, was simply not part of the policy's objectives. The same animosity was expressed towards French, the plan was to Arabize the country, and any effort to reject it or refuse to apply it was destroyed. Hence, what was promoted as a pursuit of lost identity, caused by the colonization, was what led to the identity issues and the tense atmosphere that is creating unease and conflicts among the Algerians, and is preventing the country from moving past the language issue that should

have been settled by now. Besides, what the decision of the higher education minister Bouzid Tayeb indicates is that there is a continual denial of the Algerian reality that the government simply refuses to acknowledge. Putting English against French is, yet again, another decision that will create an additional conflict that the country is not ready for.

Therefore, the answers of the participants added valuable and detailed viewpoints on what should be improved to release the tensions that exist between different language groups created as a result of the adopted policies. Any language policy that will be adopted by lawmakers, according to the findings, should consider the linguistic situation of the country, be aware of the importance of foreign languages, and apply the best methods to improve their teaching. At the same time, consider the significant role of the local languages, including French, which should be viewed as being part of the languages that belong to the country and have been present in the Algerian society for a sufficiently long time, and grant each one its due status.

During the interviews, the participants were asked about what they consider an ideal language policy that can be applied successfully in the country. All the answers suggested a policy of transparency and equality that recognizes the linguistic rights of the native tongues, with equal modalities and promotions that are granted to MSA. Y9 stated this issue by emphasizing the importance of being able to express feelings and opinions in the language that any individual acquires first and uses daily, otherwise, the learner is simply unable to develop reflection and enlightenment capacities. Besides, interviewees advocate for flexibility in dealing with social and economic changes because any language planning decision is not only about languages but should take into consideration economic and social implications as well.

If the results of the research and what was previously discussed in Chapter 3 (see 3.7.5) could suggest an ideal language policy, that should be applied in a country like Algeria, the alternative linguistic planning would need to first deal with the native tongues issue by recognizing the importance of Tamazight and AA in creating a certain balance for the Algerian individual, only this way the “cultural denial” (Miliiani, 2000), that the old policies imposed, will be dissolved. MSA is also a part of the Algerian reality and is still strongly approved by both the population and the government. However, it could not fulfill the role it was assigned for, either by replaying the local identity or by totally replace French. A3, one of the interviewees, claimed that it should be erased from the Algerian society and be replaced with AA since it is the mother tongue of most Algerians. Whether this is possible or will ever be considered is uncertain, but currently, what should be done

is at least modernize the language to carry scientific and technological functions so that its importance could be justified. What is more, foreign languages are necessary for the development of the country, for that the teaching should be improved by providing more material and better-trained teachers. However, language planners need to reconsider the status of French in the country. It is counterproductive to keep on presenting it as a colonial language, while in the findings and throughout the research it has been demonstrated that it is used still in many significant settings as well as in communication. Also, it is present in the linguistic landscape and is frequently used in the media and the different social media platforms. Hence a change in attitudes towards this language is highly needed and recommended. Meanwhile, English is growing in popularity in the country, this should be considered as well, by encouraging its learning and providing better-equipped schools with competent teachers. Furthermore, political agendas should be put aside, and each language should be granted its proper function in the country. Both French and English are necessary and can coexist in Algeria, this need to put them in confrontation or use one language to replace the other is unnecessary and harmful, while both can add significant advance to the country.

An efficient language policy is democratic and multilingual, which can reconcile the Algerians with their authentic reality by erasing animosities between languages and their advocates. One that can separate politics from linguistic issues, a policy that aims at making people embrace their history, their native tongues, and their linguistic reality. Granting linguistic rights to each language, namely Tamazight, which will save it from extinction. It should allow each language to fulfill an adequate function that is suitable for its status in the country and what it represents to the people. A1 suggested: “.... *it is necessary to affirm a multilingual language policy. For the formal domain: French and English; and for the non-formal domain: indigenous languages....*”

A competent educational system would be detached from any emotional or political motifs. Currently, what the Algerian schools truly need is trained teachers and better-equipped classes. The issue of what language to use for science and technology, and what to use for instruction should be settled with realistic decisions, which have the well-being of the Algerians as the main priority and act accordingly.

6.8 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the main findings of the research have been thoroughly discussed. The principal conclusion is that English is now present in Algeria, it is growing in popularity and use, and it is now competing with French on the economic front. It is currently promoted by the government as the language that should replace French and can help the country develop further. Many Algerians expressed their approval of this decision but, as we have already discussed, helping the country develop is a more intricate task than just using one language instead of another. The findings also demonstrated why such a decision can be another failed attempt to erase French from linguistic reality, and how it is not the best solution to be applied to release tensions surrounding the linguistic issues in the country. The findings also show that the presence of English in Algeria has become a necessity, which is one of the main reasons the Algerians are increasingly interested in learning it. An additional important finding is that the sociolinguistic profile of Algeria is continually complex, and that is due mainly to the biased language policies that have caused identity issues, shifting language attitudes, conflicting language groups, and a hierarchical language system that promotes certain languages and oppresses others. Also, what can be concluded from the findings is if a language policy promotes a language that was long oppressed and degraded, attitudes can improve and that is the first step to national recognition. This also demonstrates that if a policy is led by politics and is using languages, for other objectives than what they should fulfill, it is in most cases doomed to failure and is at the same time damaging to the development of the country. An additional important finding is: Algeria is a multilingual country where the population uses many languages for different functions and is open to learning new ones. The Algerians are in favor of multilingualism and are welcoming English to their linguistic profile, they can and will embrace their linguistic reality if they are well informed, guided, and educated.

Chapter 7: Conclusion, Pedagogical Implication, and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

The present study has explored the linguistic situation of Algeria, its complexity, its history, and what led to the current linguistic reality of the country. Besides, there was a focus on the status of English, its role and place amidst the other languages, and its future in Algeria. This chapter will make some suggestions and provide pedagogical implications, based on the findings of both the qualitative and quantitative methods applied for the study, to better understand where the complexity of the linguistic reality of the country lies and recommend solutions accordingly. Besides, the chapter will present the limitations of the present study and discuss directions for further research for a similar field.

7.2 Solving the Linguistic Issue in Algeria

The previous chapter was a discussion of the findings gathered in the research. Following the research questions, it presented the many problems and issues regarding languages in Algeria, the constant conflictual situation between languages, and how English is emerging among all these factors. In this section, some suggestions on how the linguistic issue in the country can be improved, and how the growing popularity of English among the Algerians should be better exploited to the benefit of the country. Certainly, these are propositions that were collected from the results, generated thanks to the various research tools that were used in this study, which are meant solely to shed light on important issues that have been affecting the Algerians for a long time, and may provide insightful information for educators, language planners or even policy-makers, who may be interested in sociolinguistic issues and language roles in multilingual societies like Algeria.

7.2.1 Promoting Multilingualism

The findings of the present study show that Algeria is indeed multilingual (see 6.2.1), with 89% of the participants who were pro multilingualism, which is contradictory to the official discourse of the ruling government who, since independence, pushed the slogan of an Arabic Algeria. However, the country's linguistic reality has proved to be persistent and

impossible to be denied. MSA, Tamazight, French, and even AA make an integral part of the Algerian linguistic profile, recognizing this reality will release the tensions that exist between these language groups and may settle the identity issue for the Algerians, which is much needed to be able to move forward. Therefore, the government should endorse a new approach starting by:

- Adopting a multilingual policy and admitting that Algeria is a multilingual country with various language groups that have the right to exist and prosper.
- Recognizing the importance of native tongues (Tamazight and AA). Any language that is frequently used by the Algerians daily (see table 16) should be given its appropriate status, and its importance in the lives of the population should be acknowledged and promoted.
- Redefining the status of French is an important measure to take, which means French should be regarded as a language that belongs to the country. A claim that was advocated by the findings as well and should be given its proper status based on its current use in the country (see table 16).
- Reconciling the Algerian population with its linguistic history and reality that should be embraced and accepted, hence putting an end to endless debates, caused by the different language groups, on what language should represent the country better.

7.2.2 Applying a Multilingual Language Policy

The results of the study show that imposing a monolingual language policy (Arabization) in a multilingual country was a bad choice of judgment. It was noticed in the fact that the Algerians still used French daily (see table 16) although the main goal of applying the policy was to displace French from the linguistic scenery of the country. Besides, the poor results it brought to different domains like education and economy, and how harmful it was for the Algerian population (see 2.3.1). Not only did it create animosity among language groups, but it also created a crisis in identity and confusion in defining the status of languages that the Algerians still use quite frequently (see figure 6.1). Introducing a multilingual language policy to the Algerian linguistic context, especially in education, maybe the shift that the country needs to settle its linguistic issue.

Many language experts, including some of the interviewees, have suggested a change in the medium of instruction in the Algerian schools as an initial step towards an efficient language policy in the educational sector (more on needed changes in education below). Instead of using MSA only in classrooms, integrating native tongues would be a better and much more appropriate alternative for the Algerian learners. For the simple reason that MSA is identified as a “nonfunctional” language, it is the official and the school language of the country, yet it is used noticeably little daily (see table 16). Besides, students must learn it in school just like any other language because they mostly use AA or Tamazight as the home languages in Algeria. What is suggested is for the school to provide young learners a pedagogical process that should allow a smooth transition from their home language to the school language (Bouhadiba, F, n.d.), which will facilitate their learning and also prepare them to acquire new languages properly. It is mainly children, from families where Tamazight is the sole language of communication at home, who are faced the most with this difficulty. For them, MSA is as a foreign language as is French, some of them can barely understand AA, which makes in these cases teaching in native tongues, especially in the first phases of education, not only beneficial but also necessary. Besides, denying children their right to learn and develop their mother tongue is an abuse of child rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson et al., 2009). Moreover, MSA is the official language of instruction in Algeria, yet it is commonly observed, in some Algerian schools, that teachers switch to AA and sometimes even use AA exclusively to explain various subjects, which explains the claim to apply pedagogical procedures using AA as a medium of instruction. It is already the case in many schools and only needs better management with more efficient methods.

Multilingual language policy can also be observed in the linguistic landscape of the country, mainly in top-down street signs and billboards and in official settings like administration, courts, or parliament. Previously, when the Arabization policy was strongly imposed, it was imperative for all the official platforms to only use MSA, it was also the case with administrative papers. However, French was never fully removed from the linguistic reality of the country, and French would still be used in many contexts and it was added later in official papers besides MSA (see table 16, 2.4.4). Therefore, we can observe that although all attempts were focused on removing French they have never succeeded and were never properly executed. Thus, the steps that should be taken to improve this situation are amending the constitution to be in phase with the Algerian language plurality and then simply execute the laws in formal and informal domains. MSA, French, Tamazight should

all three be present and used as the languages of the country, in administrative forms available in all three languages and official departments. Whether this should be applied depending on local communities or on a national level must be taken into consideration by policymakers and language planners, who are better suited to make the best decisions. The same should be applied in top-down signs, where the official languages can be observed as a reflection of the linguistic profile of the country. In Algeria, all official signs used in buildings, administrations, or public spaces like the names of streets, for example, are predominantly bilingual using MSA and French. We can notice signs using all three languages including Tamazight mainly in communities where Tamazight is the dominant language, however, this should be applied throughout the Algerian territory. Tamazight is the official language, it should also be used next to MSA and French in all the other top-down signs, which is the claim of advocates of the language as a part of the linguistic rights granted to any official language, whether this should be applied on a national level or only in regions where Tamazight is dominantly used should be carefully considered by policymakers as well.

A multilingual language policy will help the local languages prosper, ease the tensions between the different language groups, guarantee the linguistic rights of languages that were oppressed for a long time, and are perceived as minority languages. Most importantly it is a policy that recognizes the linguistic reality of the country that was long denied and claimed to belong to only one language. The sooner the lawmakers of the country recognize this reality, the better it will be for both the population and the development of Algeria.

7.2.3 Avoiding Political Agendas in Language Policy Making

During the interviews as well as what was discussed in previous chapters (see 2.3, 2.3.1), it was revealed that the main reason that led to the failure of the Arabization policy was the intrusion of political agendas. Authorities wanted to apply an ideology rather than a language policy founded on principles, the Arabization was imposed ignoring the diversity of cultures and the plurality of languages in Algeria and focused instead on promoting exclusively MSA. The results have been observed and discussed as well; the current confused linguistic situation of the country is a direct consequence of using languages for political agendas. It was a radical policy perceived by president Boumediene, the second president of Algeria after independence, who considered Arabic as the salvation of the identity and religion of the Algerian population (Le Roux, 2017).

The vision of president Boumedienne of Arabic Algeria was shared by succeeding presidents, who followed the same procedure as they shared the same political agendas. For them, there was no alternative to Arabic being the only official language of the country. Negative attitudes towards the local languages, expressed by the population, are a result of the continuous attempts to devalue their status, whether in the media or in the educational program, which was a part of the whole Arabization plan (see 2.3). An additional example of how the Algerian government has always used languages to meet a political agenda is the introduction of English as a substitution for French. It started in the years preceding the civil war, which lasted ten years, by the Islamist movement that aimed at Islamizing Algeria and advocated for a replacement of French by English (see 2.3.1). Yet again languages were used for political aims which caused more damage than good for both the development of the country and the serenity of the population.

Recently, English has been used for the second time by the current minister of higher education to replace French claiming that it is a useless language that brought nothing to the Algerians. Here again, it seems highly likely that there is a political use of English to meet a personal agenda that is against French, it is not in phase with the reality of the country and is meant to only satisfy a limited section of the population (see 5.9.6). Any language planner, as A1 in the interviews explained, would argue that it is unrealistic to suddenly replace a language, that has been present in the country for a long time, with another one that is foreign to most Algerians, without any resonant investigation on the methods and procedures to apply it.

Certainly, English is now the language of globalization and modernity, it is the dominant language in fields like science and technology, and most countries introduced it in their educational programs, in their linguistic landscape, and even in their daily conversations. The findings suggest a similar intrusion of English in the country (see 6.6). However, that does not cancel the importance of the local languages. In every country, they are still taught in schools and used nationally. In Algeria, it is important to put these factors into perspective and avoid using languages to meet political or ideological agendas and treat them as what they are, languages (see 3.8). Some have a certain utility to operate internationally, in this case, they should be taught and learned, which will contribute to the development of the country. Others belong to the history of society and have their importance in shaping the identity of the individual, which should be recognized as well.

However, if languages are misused, they can be damaging for both the individual and the country (see 3.8). Therefore, for any language policy to be successful in achieving

a common goal, that has the development of the country and the prosperity of its people in mind, should disassociate the language from politics or from aiming at meeting any ideology, and instead, put in place rules and laws that will facilitate the learning of both local and foreign languages, recognize the linguistic reality of the country, and found rules accordingly.

7.2.4 Improving Education

In Chapter 3 the educational system was discussed with a further explanation of the teaching of foreign languages and its problems in Algeria. The results of the interviews mentioned the education issue and its importance in improving the intricate linguistic situation in Algeria. One of the keys to settle the linguistic issue of the country and improve the language attitudes expressed by the Algerians is education. Only through education can language attitudes improve, the confusion towards the languages of the country be dissolved, and a reconciliation with the linguistic history of the country be achieved. The use of a well-planned language policy is the main aspect to be considered to allow education to be efficient. It is argued in many studies, that investigated education problems in multilingual societies, that language use, and language education policy is what can contribute to the success or the failure of the educational system hence can determine the fate of learners in their future career. Applying the Arabization policy has certainly contributed to the failure of the Algerian educational system since independence (see 3.8). Having ignored the cultural diversity and the linguistic plurality of the country, Algerian schools suffered for a long time from bad conditions and were failing to provide the satisfying results that were expected. The minister of higher education declared in 2005 that 80% of the first-year students failed their exams mainly due to linguistic inability (Le Roux, 2017). This indicates the crucial role that language use can play in schools and education in general, especially in multilingual societies where there is an undeniable linguistic diversity that cannot be simply ignored.

Thus, policymakers should investigate the mentioned consequences of the Arabization policy, and find solutions that will suit the Algerian reality, which is diverse both culturally and linguistically. As an initial step, they should consider changing the language of instruction and use the native tongues instead, at least in the earlier phases of the school. Y9, in the interviews, mentioned the expected outcome of preventing the student from learning in his or her mother tongue and that is denying them “critical thinking and en-

lightenment” opportunities, taking this step will also make the learning of additional languages easier and more efficient.

Any law concerning educational decisions and language planning should be studied, consulted, and planned with experts in languages and education, who are better suited for that role than politicians and who can create laws that are in phase with the reality of the country. As far as what model to apply in Algerian schools, in a multilingual country like Algeria, policymakers and language planners should consider applying multilingual educational models with well-established learning theories, that will provide better results and improve the level of the Algerian learner. There is a variety of education models offered by European countries like Luxembourg, Austria, or other postcolonial countries that are multilingual, like India and South Africa, of which language planners in Algeria can take an example (Hobbs, 2011). Also, other models in Asia promote a multilingual education that provided successful results among Asian students, who are required to learn English in addition to their native dialect or their dominant language of their country all along their school years (Hobbs, 2011). In China, for example, both minority and majority languages are taught in schools as a part of the bilingual education that the country is offering. The aim is to enable the Chinese learners to master both their native language and embrace their culture and at the same time, they can communicate in Chinese (Kumar Singh et al, 2012).

Luxembourg is an example of a multilingual country, where children first start school with Luxembourgish, which is their first language, and then they start learning German in the first grade and French in the second grade, to then start learning English as their fourth language in secondary school (Hobbs, 2011). This can be an ideal model to follow in Algerian schools, where there is not only a plurality in languages but there is an openness to learning foreign languages, which was expressed by the Algerians. This was demonstrated in the findings as well, especially that we have noticed a growing interest in learning English and the regular use of French. A model that would embrace all these languages, which is the case in Luxembourg, can be what Algerian schools need to adopt. Besides, this will eliminate the difficulty that the Algerian learners face, due to the lack of linguistic competence, if they decide to study scientific subjects at the university level.

Along with an adequate educational model and for learners to perform better in schools, providing better-trained teachers is another asset that Algerian schools currently lack (see 3.8). It is necessary for learners, to deliver better performance in schools, to be instructed by teachers who are well trained and qualified. In a multilingual educational program, teachers should also be trained according to multilingual contexts, to be able to

interact with learners that have diverse linguistic backgrounds. Like in Algeria for example, where learners, especially in the initial phases, can only speak AA or in other cases where they come from Berber families and speak only Tamazight. Besides, teachers should be neutral and refrain from discriminating or showing any negative attitude towards any of the languages of the country or promote one language instead of another for personal convictions, which would show the example to the learners, who will acquire tolerance towards the languages of the country, hence embrace the plurality that can be manifested in the classroom. Besides the sociolinguistic aspect of teaching, that the teacher should be trained to understand while dealing with multilingual learners, appropriate material and well-equipped classrooms must be available for the teacher to be able to educate in the best conditions possible, which is not the case in Algerian schools.

Another aspect that language planners in education should consider is the issue of negative attitudes expressed towards the languages in Algeria (see 2.4.3.2). It is believed that with an efficient and well-planned language policy, negative attitudes will naturally dissolve, which is a positive step that is necessary to resolve the linguistic issue in Algeria. The educational program should raise awareness on matters like the diversity of the Algerian society, the importance of recognizing native tongues, the linguistic rights of languages to exist and be recognized, and the pride in celebrating the cultural and linguistic diversity of the Algerian society. It is the status of the language that defines its attitudes, and if there is an awareness of the importance of each language in Algeria, there will be much fewer conflicts between language advocates. AA and Tamazight are the native tongues and should be recognized as such, French is still rooted in the country and is more than just a foreign language, it is an asset that provided the country access to the international world, whether it is English that is taking over as a global language, it is still foreign to the Algerians compared to French. MSA is a language that the Algerians identify with, mainly for religious reasons (see table 8), and it has its place in the country but not as the sole official language. This is a reality that language planners need to consider while planning any language policy that is in phase with a country like Algeria.

7.2.5 Encouraging Foreign Language Learning

The results of the study indicated the popularity of English among the Algerians, French is also frequently used in communication as well as formal sectors. There are also other languages like German, Italian, and Spanish that are quite demanded by the Algerians and they register to learn in private language schools. This indicates that the Algerians are open

to learning foreign languages and they are aware of the advantage they provide whether to travel, study abroad, or find a job. English is leading as far as foreign language learning is concerned (see 5.6.3) and that is due to its current global importance in technology and the economy, as previously discussed.

Learning foreign languages is now common in all the countries around the world that is now more global, it is universally recognized that to facilitate trade and economic exchange learning foreign languages is nowadays necessary. The Algerian policymakers realized this fact, and after the failure of the monolingual system adopted since independence, the laws have changed. Since the early 2000s authorities have decided to facilitate the learning of foreign languages, with widespread private schools, and introducing French and English in early stages in public schools. However, the minister announced recently that universities should replace French with English, giving as an argument the need to emerge internationally. As discussed in chapter 3 (see 3.8), this is a decision that is destined to fail. What Algeria needs, to prosper internationally, is a better learning environment and a renovated educational program with better-equipped schools, private and public, and trained teachers and programs that are suitable for foreign language learning. It is necessary to facilitate and encourage the learning of English but so is the case with many other foreign languages that can be similarly beneficial to the country. What is not realistic, as A1 in the interview explained, is to use it instead of French, especially when there is an important lack of resources whether in terms of material or the teaching craft. It is not helpful to introduce another badly planned policy, and if English is ever to replace French in Algeria, it will certainly need many more years and efforts for this to occur.

7.2.6 Defining the New Status of English in Algeria

The present research highlighted the importance of English in Algeria and the world. For most Algerians, it is the language of modernity and science. The participants mentioned other reasons to learn it like, for example, to advance their chances of studying abroad, or getting a job, or simply being open to the world (see 5.6.4). The results also demonstrate a frequent use of the language by the Algerians in many social media platforms, it is now increasingly noticeable in the linguistic landscape of the country, like in shops and private businesses in many Algerian cities (see 5.10). In addition to some English words that are now used in the Algerian speech, especially by the younger generation (see 5.6.2).

However, English is not a language that is understood and mastered by most Algerians compared to French. It is the first foreign language taught in schools in the early

stages but its use on a national level is limited to few sectors. As mentioned earlier, French is the dominant language at the university level, it is the language of instruction in fields like science and technology, mainly where MSA is ill-equipped for teaching for its limited vocabulary (Le Roux, 2017). Besides, French in Algeria is the language of culture and literature for many intellectuals, among which we can distinguish many writers, filmmakers, and artists who prefer to express themselves in French. Thus, it can be concluded that the growing popularity of English, which is noticeable nowadays in various Algerian settings, maybe a natural phenomenon caused by the globalization of both the world and dominance of the English language in the economic and technological domains and is not limited only to Algeria. Many other countries encourage the learning of English, and they use it in various settings as well as in their linguistic landscape.

Therefore, to define the status of English in Algeria we should observe the context in which it is presented and in which sector we can notice its use. As far as what the findings suggest, English is mainly used in:

- Social media like Facebook, Twitter, or YouTube, which are platforms that are quite popular in Algeria that offered the Algerians an opportunity to exchange in English (see 5.10).
- Bottom-up signs whether to name shops, restaurants or private businesses, we can notice a certain use of the English language by the Algerian owners.
- Conversations where we notice few English words that are used, especially by the younger generation, probably because it is more in touch with technology and is born in the age of globalization, and English words like OMG, hi, thanks, fuck are now universally used (see Table 14). Increasing use of English words was noticed in many chat groups, chat conversations with younger students and group members, comments on YouTube or Facebook where we can easily notice expressions in English mixed with French or AA.
- In schools and universities, we notice that the number of English students and teachers has been increasing since the 2000s, English departments reported an unprecedented acceleration in enrollments across the country (Benrabah, 2014). Besides, many private language centers are available to learn English, the British Council contributes in offering various language programs and activities for English speakers, along with the USA Embassy, which participates as well in sponsoring and offering opportunities for the Algerian English users to organize events, conferences, like for example AMUN “*Algeria Model United Nations*”, and AYV “*Algerian Youth Voices*”, where English

students gather and participate in all sorts of activities, exchange programs and interact in the English language. Also, AYV produce videos on YouTube, podcast discussing different social or cultural topics all using English.

- Companies in the oil and gas industry where there is a great demand to learn English to get a job, mainly because most of their deals are international. Companies like Sonatrach, which is one of the biggest companies in Algeria and Africa, require their workers to have language skills both in French and English.
- The intellectual community in Algeria, not only for the prestigious status one gets mastering English but many professors for example, who are known to be Francophones, realized the necessity to learn the language and have started to publish and even give lectures in English. During the interviews, participants have admitted that English is now the language of knowledge and science, it is of great benefit for any intellectual, and is a great asset to be updated with the progress of the world to have English as an additional language.

While it is obvious that English is present in different contexts in Algeria and it is gaining ground among the Algerians, especially the younger ones, the level still needs to be improved, many studies on the proficiency level of English among English students claim it to be mediocre due to the ineffective teaching programs and the badly planned language policies, that we discussed earlier, whereas for the rest of the population English is mainly a foreign language. Besides, on a national level, French is dominant in all the key domains, learning English is encouraged mainly to operate on an international level when dealing with non-French speaking countries, and is far from entirely displacing French from Algeria, at least not currently. Because if attitudes expressed towards both languages are any indicator, English is exceeding French. This is mainly due to the colonial history of French in the country that the Algerians do not forget, in addition to the importance of the English in the world of economy, which can eventually be a factor in weakening its status even further and lift that of English.

Circumstances may change in the country and the gap between both languages can diminish to a point where a potential replacement will be possible. If assisted with laws that are favorable for such a change, it is a reality that is conceivable but will certainly take a long time and effort with plenty of resources, human and material, to exist.

7.3 A Language Policy Model for a Multilingual Algeria

Various multilingual countries, that have been dealing with linguistic issues, have administered multilingual models to overcome the complexity of a multilingual context. The importance of mother tongues in schools, defining the status of each of the used languages, recognizing the linguistic diversity of the society, and granting each linguistic group its due importance, all are essential factors that need to be included and dealt with for any language policy to be efficient.

India and South Africa, which are both postcolonial countries and have been managing linguistic issues similar to that of Algeria, have implemented considerable efforts to introduce a linguistic model that would best conform to the linguistic context of the country, without neglecting any group, no matter how minor the status of its language. Aware of the importance of using the mother tongue for efficient learning, both countries applied the transitional model in schools. It is a model where the native tongue is the language of instruction in the initial stages. Subsequently, a transition to the other official languages of the country is introduced at the advanced levels (Mabiletia, 2015). Simultaneously, in other main sectors, like in business and the media, a multilingual policy is applied, taking into consideration the status of the languages in the country and each is used accordingly. As mentioned before, Luxembourg is another country that values multilingualism and recognizes the linguistic diversity of society. Similar to India and South Africa, Luxembourg applies a transitional model in schools and a multilingual policy in other important sectors, namely administrations and courts (Stojan & Miletic, 2017). These are models that could be the example to follow by the Algerian language planners and policy-makers, due to the similarities of the linguistic issues and the constant efforts in finding the ideal language policy system, that could settle the tensions that exist in such societies.

Inspired by the Luxembourgish multilingual policy, and following the findings of the present study, a model was designed conforming to the Algerian linguistic context. The Luxembourgish model was selected as an example to follow, for various reasons like the number of the used languages in the country, the non-codified mother tongue that is used only for communicative purposes, and the use of language depending on the formality of the context (Stojan & Miletic, 2017). The focus of the model is to present the use of languages in three main institutions: the state, school, and mosque. Based on the interpretations of the findings, the official languages in Algeria would be Tamazight, MSA, and French. The national languages would be AA, Tamazight, and French. The foreign lan-

guages: first would be English, plus other languages like German and Spanish. Figure 6.2 presents the designed model with further explanations on language use in each institution.

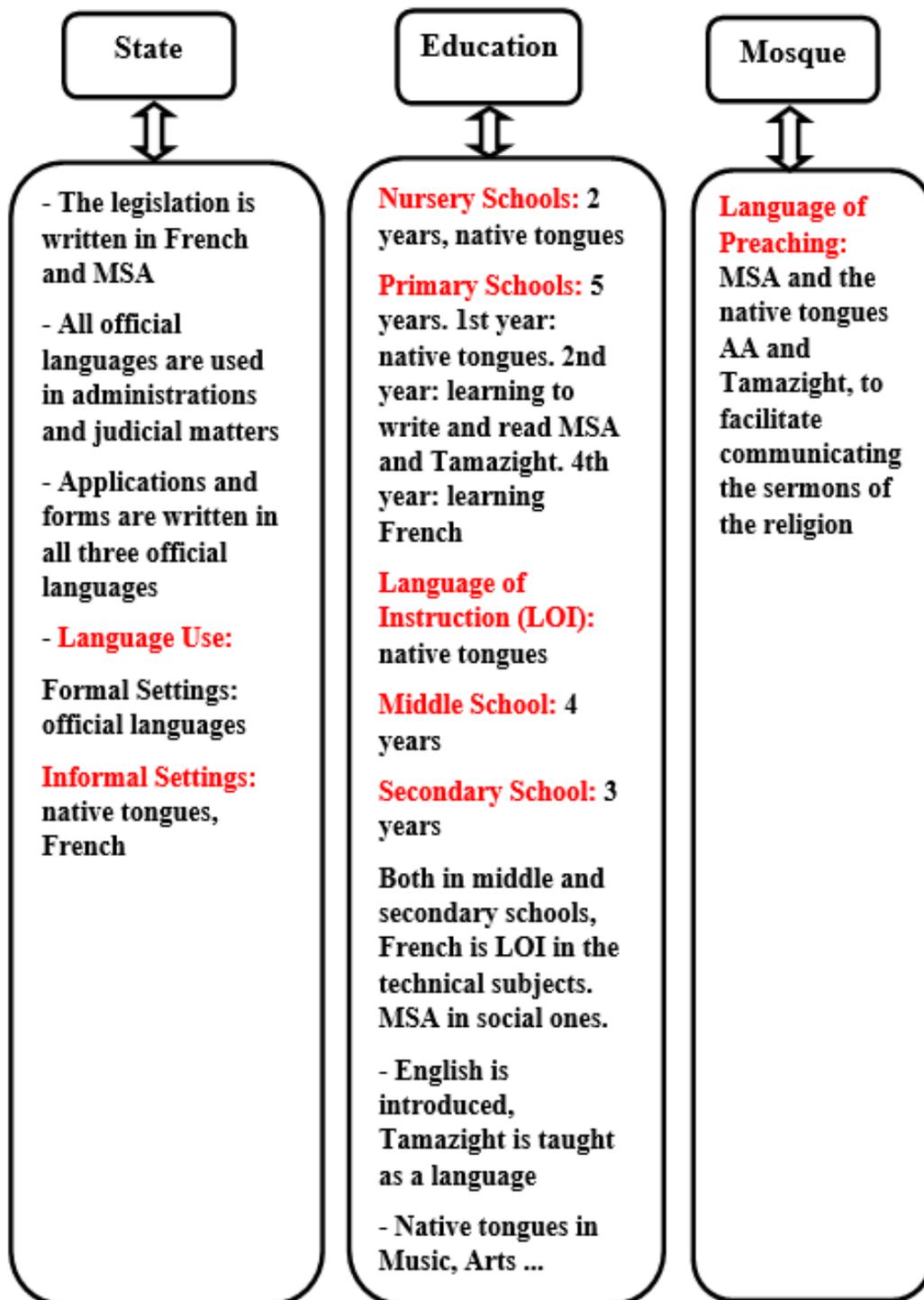


Figure 7.1. Language policy model

7.4 Limitations of the Study

The present thesis explored the status of English in Algeria and its coexistence with the local languages of the country, with a focus on highlighting the complexity that defines the Algerian linguistic situation. The present study was carefully designed, and the applied methods of research were thoroughly chosen and conducted. The main aim was to provide satisfying answers to the outlined research questions through all the chapters of the thesis. Nonetheless, like every other research, there have been obstacles encountered during the study and many limitations that should be mentioned.

First, it is not an easy task to assess the linguistic issue in a country like Algeria, which is complicated but also rich historically and linguistically. Besides, attempts were made to determine the role of English in the country and evaluate its current and future status. To discuss the wide range of linguistic issues developed in the study and provide analysis from various perspectives and different views, was a challenging task that could represent a limitation in the research. However, it was important to highlight these issues and provide results that are representative enough to draw a clear picture of the linguistic reality of the country perceived from different angles. Thus, it is important to mention that the aim was to include all the potential factors that may have contributed to creating the linguistic situation of Algeria as it is currently while focusing as well on the potential future role of English and present them in one study, to then provide suggestions of what can be adjusted to improve the linguistic reality of the country. Although, intentions were not to claim that the presented results are an absolute certainty but only a vision that was also shared by some of the participants and some linguist experts, which can presumably differ if discussed from another perspective.

Second, although the research methods, used in the present thesis, are believed to be the most suitable to provide convincing results, the interview procedure used in the qualitative method lacked some elements that could have added more valuable data, this was explained in the methodology chapter. While this can be considered as a limitation of the chosen interview method, due to issues like the lack of interactivity for example, which was explained as well, the obtained results have certainly added valuable insight into the topic and provided the research with important data. Besides, accessibility to potential participants was not easy due to many factors, like the unavailability of the contact information or the political events that shook the country during the period of conducting the interviews, which slowed down the exchange with some of the participants, who agreed to the interview, and in some cases was interrupted completely, which lead to canceling data

of the incomplete interviews. Similarly, in the quantitative phase, while looking for groups interested in sharing and publishing the questionnaire, many interactions that were planned to explain the aim of the research, and the procedure to follow to fill the survey were later interrupted and then canceled, for various reasons, for example, sometimes group admins would stop interacting without any clarifications. Without forgetting the factor of living abroad and not having the ability to personally travel as many times as it was wished to, to be able to personally distribute the questionnaire or collect photographs for the linguistic landscape. These were elements that extended the period that was designed for the collection of data; hence time was another constraint. Nonetheless, with the help of family and friends, that participated in both distributing the questionnaire or taking photographs, in addition to the fact that nowadays the Internet is available to all for most Algerians, the research was conducted efficiently to obtain the needed results.

Third, in any research, there is the bias element that should be pointed out, whether in the qualitative or even in the quantitative phase, which could be manifested in the choice of the participants or even in the chosen questions to be asked. In the present study, the bias possibility was discussed, as being a natural limitation since the researcher is trying to investigate a certain topic from a personal perspective (see 4.2.3.2). It can be manifested as well in quantitative and qualitative research, where both the questionnaire and the interviews were conducted in both French and English. Hence, a supplementary task was added which is the translation. Not only the questions were translated in both the survey and the interview, but so were the answers. The translation is a source of bias as well since it is based on the translator's interpretation of the meaning. However, to deliver valuable data with credible findings and interpretations, and at the same time acknowledge the fact that any research carries the researcher's vision and choice of content, all attempts were specifically aimed at minimizing the bias factor, using various methods, along with choosing diverse questions and selecting participants from various backgrounds, to convey an accurate analysis of the investigated topic.

Fourth, with regards to the sampling and the selection of data, it should be mentioned that many questions had to be omitted or changed while conducting the pilot phase, to be as concise as possible and be limited to only what is relevant to the topic. On the other hand, during the analysis of data, there was a regret of not having included a few questions. Nevertheless, these same questions could be pointed out as issues worth further research for similar studies (see 7.4). As far as the size of the sample is concerned, 494 respondents participated in the survey phase with 27 questions, along with 10 interviewees

and over 100 photographs collected for the linguistic landscape, can be considered a large enough supply of data that can provide results and can be assumed as representative. However, it may be argued that more people could have been interviewed or photographs that could have been collected from a larger number of cities. Nonetheless, the data was collected, using three different methods, a certain balance and equity of both time and volume were needed for each method to give an additional input, that is complementary but also valuable to the research. Besides, this may be a direction for further research that could engage in a deeper investigation on the matter (more on this in 7.4).

7.5 Directions for Further Research

During the present study, research questions have been asked, different methods were chosen to collect data, finally present interpretations, and draw conclusions on a topic that is complex and difficult to discuss. Algeria is a country that has an interesting and rich history with languages. The findings have demonstrated that many more issues, related to the linguistic reality of the country, are worthy of further analysis and investigation. With English making its entry to the linguistic scene, more studies are needed to further examine future scenarios and possibilities regarding the local languages including French, and what future language policies should be adopted for potential changes. Therefore, these are some suggestions that emerged during the present study that should be highlighted:

- Given the fact that attitudes were discussed briefly in the present research, it was concluded that they can play a major role in deciding the fate of any language. While this has been highlighted, a more detailed inquiry on language attitudes towards the languages in Algeria, including AA, would demonstrate the impact of language attitudes on the fate of the languages in Algeria and would provide a better understanding of the topic.
- Further research could focus on language policies that could design a multilingual policy model that would best suit the Algerian context. The findings of the present study indicated the complexity of the linguistic reality of the country and highlighted the contradiction that resulted in the answers between language use and language attitude. Besides, the findings showed that language attitudes could improve, which will also improve language status in the country. Further research could present a linguistic model which is multilingual to help provide ideas and suggestions on what should be changed and improved in the actual language system of Algeria.

- Further research discussing similar issues regarding the difficulty of the linguistic atmosphere in Algeria regarding identity and language group conflicts, could provide potential solutions and further suggestions that would fit the Algerian context and appeal to the Algerian policymakers and language experts.
- Studies on the educational system of the country investigating the advantages and disadvantages of a change in the language of instruction in the Algerian schools, and what effects it could have on school results. The study could even provide a comparative analysis of successful models applied in other multilingual countries.
- Further research can investigate the presence of English in the linguistic landscape on a larger scale, which would involve more cities and provide larger data to study.
- It was mentioned in the research that the younger generation is more open to English and is using it more compared to the older one. While this could not be thoroughly investigated in the quantitative phase of the present study, further research on the topic would analyze this reality and provide more representative data that could shed light on this issue.
- It would be interesting to investigate further the status of foreign languages in Algeria, French not included. The findings showed that the Algerians are open to learning additional languages, further research would be interesting if it investigated what other languages besides English are appealing to the Algerians. This could reveal to Algerian lawmakers the importance of encouraging the learning of all languages to provide better-equipped schools for Algerian learners.

7.6 Concluding Remarks

Chapter 7 presented the main conclusions listed as an answer to the research questions posited in the initial phase of the research, explained a few limitations and problems encountered throughout the research and its different phases. Besides, it provided a few suggestions for further research with similar interests.

The goal of conducting the present research was to shed light on the status of English and how its current status affects the other languages of Algeria. It was presented that the Algerians are aware of the importance of learning English to be part of the current globalized world, along with many other motives revealed in the findings. Although it was introduced in Algeria many years ago, its presence in the linguistic landscape has become apparent only recently, as the findings indicated, it was mainly thanks to the invasion of

the Internet and the different social media platforms that are dominated by English and are hugely popular among the Algerians.

During the research, it became apparent that with all the consequences that former language policies inflicted on the country, efforts need to be put in place to first start changing how we view languages in Algeria. Indeed, language has been a tool, for both colonizers and policymakers, to impose a vision of what Algeria should be like, and every time all attempts were made to change the identity of its population. All the past years have revealed enough of the results gained from incompetent language policies, and the present study presented how it is noticeable in education, school results, and language performance. Therefore, the time has come to start considering changing laws and law-making attitudes regarding languages in Algeria.

The main aspiration of the present research is to provide a realistic and objective linguistic representation of the reality of Algeria, tracing the history of all its languages, from past to present to future. Besides, the study explains various views with different perspectives on the Algerian issues linked to the languages in the country, along with the potential role that English can play in the current circumstances. The goal was to present answers that many may look for to grasp the linguistic dilemma in Algeria and discuss the policy flaws committed by language planners and political leaders, that may have resulted in the current linguistic context of the country. It is believed that this work can provide an understanding and an accurate vision that may encourage further research to investigate more deeply the future of all languages including English. To determine what could be accomplished with its recent emergence in the current linguistic scenery of the country, and which policies may improve the linguistic issue that would allow the Algerians to embrace and celebrate their cultural and linguistic diversity while welcoming additional languages if wanted and needed.

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Appendix A: The Questionnaire in English and in French

Questionnaire English and the languages of Algeria

Synopsis of the research

The survey is an evaluation of the linguistic situation in Algeria, the attitudes of the Algerians towards the different existing languages in the country. It also evaluates how the English language is perceived by the Algerian people and aims at assessing the presence of the English language in the country.

1. **Gender** Male Female

2. **How old are you?**

Under 18 years

18-30 years

Over 30 years

3. **What is the highest level of education you have completed?**

Primary level

Middle school level

Secondary level

University level

4. **If you reached the university level, what is your field of study at the university?**

5. **Which city are you from?**

6. **Which language do you use for speaking?**

Modern Standard Arabic

Algerian Arabic “Darja”

- Tamazight “Kabyle, Chaouia, Mozabit, Tuareg...”
- French

7. Which language do you use for writing?

- Modern Standard Arabic
- Algerian Arabic “Darja”
- Tamazight “Kabyle, Chaouia, Mozabit, Tuareg...”
- French
- English

8. Which language do you use for reading?

- Modern Standard Arabic
- Algerian Arabic “Darja”
- Tamazight “Kabyle, Chaouia, Mozabit, Tuareg...”
- French
- English

9. What is the primary language you acquired in your childhood?

- Algerian Arabic “Darja”
- Tamazight “Kabyle, Chaouia, Mozabit, Tuareg...”
- French

10. Which language do you speak at home?

Modern Standard Arabic

- Algerian Arabic “Darja”
- Tamazight “Kabyle, Chaouia, Mozabit, Tuareg...”
- French

11. Do you consider the Algerian Arabic "Darja" as your mother tongue?

- Yes
- NO
- Not sure

12. What do you think of the modern standard Arabic?

- A sacred language and the language of the Quran
- The official language of the country
- Language of education

- A language that we should use more in the country
- A language that should be banished from the country

13. What do you think of the French language?

- Language of prestige
- Language of modernity
- Language of education
- Language of the colonizer

14. What do you think of Tamazight " Kabyle, Chaouia, Mozabit, Tuareg... " ?

- Language of our ancestors
- The official language of the country
- A language that should be banished from the country
- A language that should be banished from the country

15. What do you think of the English language?

- Language of modernity
- A language that should replace French in the country
- A language that increases chances in working/ studying abroad
- A language that should be as important as French in the country

16. Do you use Social media platforms?

- Yes
- No

17. If you use Social media platforms, which one do you use the most?

- Facebook
- Twitter
- Snapchat
- Instagram
- WhatsApp
- Other

18. Which language do you use on social media platforms?

- Modern Standard Arabic
- Algerian Arabic "darja"
- Tamazight " Kabyle, Chaouia, Mozabit, Tuareg..."

- French
- English

19. Which language do you speak fluently?

- Modern Standard Arabic
- Tamazight " Kabyle, Chaouia, Mozabit, Tuareg..."
- French
- English

20. Which language do you use the most in your daily life?

- Modern Standard Arabic
- Algerian Arabic
- Tamazight " Kabyle, Chaouia, Mozabit, Tuareg..."
- French
- English

21. How often do you use English words or expressions in your daily conversations?

- Quite often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

22. If you use English words/expressions in your daily conversations, would you please cite some of them

23. Are you currently learning English?

- Yes
- NO

24. Do you have any interest in learning English?

- Yes
- NO
- Not sure

25. If you are interested in learning English, name three reasons for learning the language.

26. Should English replace French as the number one foreign language in Algeria?

- Yes
- NO
- Don't know

27. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country?

- Yes
- NO
- Don't know

Questionnaire L'Anglais et les autres langues en Algérie

Ce sondage est une évaluation de la situation linguistique en Algérie, et les attitudes des Algériens envers les différentes langues du pays. C'est aussi une étude sur la manière dont les Algériens aperçoivent la langue Anglaise et c'est aussi un essai d'évaluer à quel point la langue Anglaise est présente en Algérie.

1. Sexe

- Male
- Femelle

2. Quel âge avez-vous ?

- Moins de 18 ans
- 18-30 ans
- Plus que 30 ans

3. Quel est votre niveau d'études ?

- Niveau primaire
- Niveau moyen
- Niveau Lycée
- Niveau Universitaire

4. Si vous avez un niveau universitaire, veuillez citer votre spécialité

5. Vous êtes de quelle ville ?

6. Quelle langue utilisez-vous pour parler ?

- L'Arabe classique
- Le parler Algérien "Darja"
- Tamazight "Kabyle, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Targui"
- Français

7. Quelle langue utilisez-vous pour écrire ?

- L'Arabe classique

- Le parler Algérien "Darja"
- Tamazight "Kabyle, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Targui"
- Français
- Anglais

8. Quelle langue utilisez-vous pour lire ?

- L'Arabe classique
- Le parler Algérien "Darja"
- Tamazight "Kabyle, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Targui"
- Français
- Anglais

9. Quelle langue avez-vous appris en premier étant petit ?

- Le parler Algérien "Darja"
- Tamazight "Kabyle, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Targui"
- Français

10. langue utilisez-vous à la maison ?

- L'Arabe classique
- Le parler Algérien "Darja"
- Tamazight "Kabyle, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Targui"
- Français

11. Considérez-vous le parler Algérien "Darja" comme étant votre langue maternelle?

- Oui
- Non
- Je ne sais pas

12. Que pensez-vous de l'Arabe classique ?

- C'est une langue sacrée et c'est la langue du Coran
- La langue officielle du pays
- La langue de l'éducation
- Une langue qui doit être utilisée plus dans le pays
- Une langue qui ne doit plus être utilisée dans le pays

13. Que pensez-vous de la langue Française ?

- Une langue de prestige
- Une langue de modernité
- La langue de l'éducation
- La langue du colonisateur

14. Que pensez-vous de la langue Tamazight "Kabyle, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Targui ..." ?

- La langue de nos ancêtres
- La langue officielle du pays
- Une langue qui doit être bannie du pays
- Une langue qui mérite plus de reconnaissance dans le pays

15. Que pensez-vous de la langue Anglaise ?

- Une langue de modernité
- Une langue qui doit remplacer le Français dans le pays
- Une langue qui augmente les chances de travailler/étudier à l'étranger
- Une langue qui doit être aussi importante que le français dans le pays

16. Est-ce que vous utilisez les réseaux sociaux ?

- Oui
- Non

17. Si vous utilisez les réseaux sociaux, lequel utilisez-vous le plus ?

- Facebook
- Twitter
- Snapchat
- Instagram
- WhatsApp
- Autre

18. Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez dans les réseaux sociaux ?

- L'Arabe classique
- Le parler Algérien "Darja"
- Tamazight "Kabyle, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Targui"
- Français

Anglais

19. Quelle est la langue que vous parlez couramment ?

- L'Arabe classique
 Le parler Algérien "Darja"
 Tamazight "Kabyle, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Targui"
 Français
 Anglais

20. Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez le plus souvent dans votre quotidien ?

- L'Arabe classique
 Le parler Algérien "Darja"
 Tamazight "Kabyle, Chaouia, Tumzabt, Targui"
 Français
 Anglais

21. Est-ce que vous utilisez souvent des mots ou des expressions en Anglais dans vos conversations ?

- Souvent
 Parfois
 Rarement
 Jamais

22. Si vous utilisez des mots/expressions en Anglais dans vos conversations, Veuillez les citer

23. Est-ce vous Apprenez l'Anglais actuellement ?

- Oui
 Non

24. Voulez-vous Apprendre l'Anglais ?

- Oui
 Non

25. Si vous voulez apprendre l'Anglais, nommez trois raisons qui vous poussent à le faire ?

26. A votre avis, est ce que l'anglais doit remplacer le français comme étant la première langue étrangère en Algérie ?

- Oui
- Non
- Je ne sais pas

27. Etes-vous pour le multilinguisme dans le pays ?

- Oui
- Non
- Je ne sais pas

Appendix B: Interview Schedule / Interview questionnaire in English and in French

Interview schedule

Part 1: Participant's consent

- Explain the aims and objectives of the research
- Assure the participant confidentiality
- Explain their rights: e.g. their right to have a copy of interview transcript or any part of the research
- Get the participant's consent to start the interview and to save it to later use it in the research
- Thank the participant for accepting to take part in the interview
- The possibility to have follow-up questions is explained to the participant
- The right to withdraw from the study

Part 2: Background of participant

- Gender
- Age
- Location
- Profession/ actual occupation

Part 3: Interview questions

1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?
2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the individual?
3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis in the country? Why?
4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?

5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?
6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence, what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Algerian government?
7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the government?
8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?
9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and English, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level of teaching of foreign languages in the country?
10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?
11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?
12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of English in the country?
13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Algeria? Why?
14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, according to you, the future of English in the country?
15. How important is it for you to learn English?
16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these activities?

Les Questions de L'interview

Le Résumé de la Recherche

La thèse est intitulée « l'Anglais et les autres langues de l'Algérie ». C'est une recherche sur la langue Anglaise et les autres langues qui sont utilisées en Algérie, la manière dont ils coexistent et comment l'Anglais, plus spécifiquement, est en train d'acquérir une certaine importance surtout auprès des jeunes.

Aussi, dans la thèse je vais essayer de fournir une perspective sur la situation linguistique de l'Algérie, je vais aussi analyser les différents éléments qui ont contribué à modeler l'actuelle situation linguistique du pays, explorer l'apprentissage des langues étrangères dans le pays, et enquêter sur les raisons qui ont fait que la langue Anglaise a ce statut actuel au sein du pays, surtout auprès de la jeune génération Algérienne. Pour enfin tirer une conclusion sur le futur de l'Anglais en Algérie, sa potentielle concurrence à la langue Française et la possibilité d'une éventuelle intégration dans le modèle linguistique du pays.

Les questions de L'interview

Nom :

Age :

Location :

Profession/ occupation actuelle :

1. Quel est votre perspective sur la situation linguistique en Algérie ?
2. Quel est votre opinion sur le rôle des langues dans la construction de l'identité de l'individu ?
3. Comment, à votre avis, la situation linguistique en Algérie a affecté l'identité du citoyen Algérien ? Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il y a en effet une crise d'identité dans le pays ? Pourquoi ?
4. Est-ce que vous voyez l'Algérie comme étant un pays multilingue ?
5. Est-ce que vous êtes favorable au multilinguisme dans le pays ? Pourquoi ?
6. La politique linguistique a toujours été un sujet controversé depuis l'indépendance, quel est votre opinion sur la politique linguistique « Arabisation » adoptée par le gouvernement Algérien ?
7. Quel est, à votre opinion, la politique linguistique idéale que le gouvernement algérien doit appliquer en Algérie ?

8. Quel est, à votre opinion, l'état des langues étrangères en Algérie ?
9. Quel est votre opinion sur le fait que l'enseignement des langues étrangères, notamment l'anglais et le français, se fait aux niveaux primaires dans les écoles algériennes ? comment pourriez-vous évaluer le niveau de l'enseignement des langues étrangères dans le pays ?
10. Que pensez-vous du rôle que joue la langue française dans le pays ?
11. Récemment, la langue Anglaise s'est globalisée de plus en plus et devenue la langue la plus dominante au monde, quel est votre avis sur l'état de l'anglais en Algérie ?
12. Pensez-vous que la place du Français en Algérie est un frein à l'implantation de l'anglais ?
13. Est-ce que vous soutenez l'avis que le français doit conserver sa position de première langue étrangère en Algérie ? Pourquoi?
14. Beaucoup pensent que l'anglais est de plus en plus populaire auprès des algériens, quel est selon vous le futur de l'Anglais dans le pays ?
15. Est-ce que vous trouvez nécessaire d'apprendre la langue Anglaise ?
16. Est-ce que vous utilisez l'anglais dans votre quotidien ? Si oui, pourriez-vous citer quelques-unes de ces activités ?

Appendix C: Interviews Transcripts

Interview with A1

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 Algeria has been a multilingual country since ancient times. From the arrival of the Phoe-
 3 nicians 11 centuries BC, and their gradual installation on the southern shores of the Medi-
 4 terranean. We deal with at least two languages that are from the same linguistic family. It
 5 can also be assumed that there could not be only one variety of Berber spoken throughout
 6 the country (in North Africa outside of Egypt). Then the presence of Roman (Latin), clas-
 7 sical Arabic (Arab-Islamic presence), then Arabic of Banu Hilal and Soleim ..., then Turk-
 8 ish and French constituted the linguistic landscape of what was known then “central Ma-
 9 ghreb”, currently is named Algeria.

10 The French presence for more than a century favored the domination of the use of
 11 French and then the resistance of classical or scholarly Arabic as a cultural identity refuge
 12 of the Arabized and religious elites (the Ulemas were, on the political level, assimilation-
 13 ist). This led to a linguistic bipolarization between French and the Arabic school language.
 14 This linguistic divide, which had been coupled with an ideological cleavage (conservatism
 15 vs. modernity), dominated the entire post-independence period and is only recently starting
 16 to unleash from this movement.

17 The two indigenous languages, Algerian Arabic and Tamazight (Berber), were
 18 marginalized provoking the reaction of the Amazigh demand movements.

19 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the**
 20 **individual?**

21 This question must be treated in different ways depending on the people and the society in
 22 question. In the Maghreb, the mother tongue of the individual does not always express his
 23 real historic identity. He, who speaks Berber, or Algerian Arabic, or French, is not neces-
 24 sarily Berber, Arab, or French. The representations, however, influenced the perceptions of
 25 individuals educated in scholarly Arabic (distinguish between Arabist and Arabophone)
 26 through the ideological contents of the curricula followed. Having developed the false idea

27 that the true (ethnic) origin of the Algerians was Arab (from Arabia, Yemen) and that Is-
28 lam as a religion was ours, that the most mythical figures who were companions of the
29 Prophet of Islam were also figures of our own ancestors ... The intentionality was probably
30 to show that Islam as religion / Culture was not external to us, came from elsewhere and
31 was imposed on us by the force of the swords! to not give the feeling that we were, as in-
32 digenous people, humiliated by Islam and Arab Muslims from Arabia and better accept the
33 dichotomy "kafir" (unbeliever) Vs "mu'min" (believer) that erases ethnic identities and
34 political oppositions. Political and ideological forces devote their lives to this idea. Algeria
35 has nevertheless experienced an evolution on this issue and the formalization of the
36 Tamazight language (Constitution of 2016) is one of the most remarkable advances, today
37 we speak of a plural Algerianism: the slogan from the current Hirak "revolution" (since
38 22/02/2019) states: "Kabyle, Chaoui, Targui, mzabi, nayli, Arabic ... gaa djazayriyin, gaa
39 khawa khawa = Kabyle, Chaoui, Targui, Nayli, Mozabite, Arabic; all Algerians, all broth-
40 ers).

41 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
42 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
43 **in the country? Why?**

44 The identity opposition between Arab-Islamism and European French, supposedly Chris-
45 tian, of the colonial period had been recycled by the dominant speech of the FLN-party
46 after independence. For the simple reason which is to deny the Amazigh identity and to
47 prevent the emergence of any identity and political modernity linked to the Algerian nation
48 (Vs the Arab nation) that would have freed the country from the Wahhabi influence of
49 Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries. The policy of Arabization was much more than a lan-
50 guage policy, but an inculcation of the conservative Arab-Islamic ideology. This has creat-
51 ed a double tension: on the identity level, between Tamazight, and Arabic, and on the polit-
52 ical level, between conservatism and modernity. This identity crisis of great complexity,
53 although it is in the process of resolution in this famous uprising of the Algerian people,
54 really divided the country and allowed the tyrannical ruler to dominate the people by play-
55 ing on its divisions. (See among others my book, "Malaises of the Algerian society, crisis
56 of language (s) and crisis of identity, Casbah Ed, Algiers, 2004)

57 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

58 Despite these divisions, Algeria has invested a great deal in language teaching with a focus
59 on academic Arabic in the first place and French in the second place. English was taught as
60 much in high schools as in university, Spanish, German, Italian ... had their place too. This
61 gives us a truly multilingual country and society in the formal domain (dominated by aca-
62 demic Arabic and French) and in the non-formal domain (dominated by Algerian Arabic
63 and Kabyle). The press uses academic Arabic and French mainly. There are radio and TV
64 channels that broadcast in Tamazight (all varieties).

65 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

66 The country is historically and culturally composed of several languages; it is a constituent
67 fact that has persisted for centuries. It is multicultural by historical and sociological defini-
68 tion. (See My articles, among others, in "American Multiculturalism ...", directed by Samy
69 Ludwig, 2016, Algeria in the present, directed by Malika Dirèche, Paris, 2019, see my
70 book "Popular cultures, national culture, LHarmattan, Paris". , 2002)) ... (Look up my
71 name on Google or website [///www.cnplet.dz///](http://www.cnplet.dz))

72 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
73 **what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Al-**
74 **gerian government?**

75 See above

76 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
77 **government?**

78 To be in phase with the reality of the country (its true history, the various perceptions of
79 groups and ideologies) and its desire for modernity and scientific development, it is neces-
80 sary to affirm a multilingual language policy. For the formal domain: French and English;
81 and for the non-formal domain: indigenous languages. Languages in countries like China
82 ... in the process of becoming the powers of the future must also have their place.

83 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

84 The quality of their teaching has decreased so is the quality of their mastery.

85 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
86 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
87 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

88 There was a big discussion (during the CNRSE in 2000) on the year of the beginning of the
89 teaching, notably, French, which is not really a foreign language in Algeria, for ideological
90 reasons (Arab-Islamic conservatism) it was decided to introduce it in the third year in pri-
91 mary school. English was delayed until middle school due to lack of teachers and at the
92 time; so as not to disrupt the student, it was thought. University training in foreign lan-
93 guages is of lower quality than it was in the 1970s. If the level of teachers drops, the level
94 of learners also drops.

95 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

96 French plays a mediating role in universal scientific and technological knowledge. French
97 is the language used in major branches of technical and technological knowledge, but also
98 in the most modern sciences, whereas it is in the academic Arabic language that students
99 are trained at the pre-university levels. Academic Arabic does not have the metalinguistic
100 means and the necessary documentation in these fields and translation is rare and some-
101 times impossible to find because knowledge is considered seditious in the dictatorial Arab
102 countries.

103 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
104 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

105 Would English become even more globalized? Even in the face of the very remarkable
106 Chinese advance? Which has become the most important language of scientific creation in
107 the world? English is gaining ground against French and Spanish, certainly; its progress,
108 however, remains relative in the non-Latin world. In Algeria, English is present in small
109 circles of English speakers. In the press, we do not notice a newspaper in English, nor TV
110 broadcasting in this language. Some rare posters were, I think, for the first time, flaunted in
111 English by the Hirak “revolution” and even in Chinese! For the moment, French dominates
112 most of the social and scientific space in Algeria.

113 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
 114 **lish in the country?**

115 There is indeed important societal inertia in this regard.

116 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
 117 **geria? Why?**

118 In Algeria, French dominates the formal domain linked to science by the effect of history
 119 and spatial proximity (geography). The human relations between Algerians and French are
 120 very intertwined; mixed marriages, emigration, university relations ... Its domination is not
 121 a deliberate choice but historical, social and cultural perseverance.

122 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
 123 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

124 Popular? I doubt it. Islamist ideology encourages English thinking they would escape the
 125 brightness of centuries of enlightenment, secularism ... forgetting that the English language
 126 has participated and invented secularism!

127 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

128 Certainly. The English language carries with it a pragmatic tradition that the "theoretical"
 129 French language discredit. It is a supplement and another perspective for life, for the scien-
 130 tific reason.

131 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
 132 **tivities?**

133 Very rare! When I am facing a reading in this language, facing an Anglophone, or facing
 134 the need to write an article in this language.

135 When the decision of the Minister of Education to replace English by French in
 136 universities was announced, Prof. A1 states:

137 " The Minister of Higher Education has nothing to offer, and this idea is as old as
 138 the world in the Arabic and Islamist ideology that pose that the French language is imbued
 139 with the ideas of the Enlightenment while the English language which they know nothing
 140 about, would not be quite influenced by it. The English language and English-speaking
 141 philosophers have indeed contributed to the ideas of the ages of enlightenment but have

142 instead developed what Arabists and Islamists fear the most, a concept called "secularism".
143 The change of the language of study in Algeria will provoke and accentuate even more the
144 delay of the control of the sciences and the scientific thought because it will take the Alge-
145 rians at least 50 years to master this language for readings and publications of high level.
146 How many Algerians publish in English? How much in French? It is easy to compare and
147 decide! How many publications will this minister do and how many in English? "

148 "In all countries of the world we need to master the English language but not to with-
149 draw the French that already is there and has an important societal base! How many news-
150 papers in English in Algeria? How many TVs? How much radio? Developing the mastery
151 of English is useful as it is also useful to develop the mastery of Spanish "

Interview with A2

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 I had rather speak of the sociolinguistic profile in Algeria. We have two types of lan-
3 guages: the native tongues, on the one part; and the borrowed tongues.

4 The two native tongues are

- 5 ▪ Berber (called Tamazight nowadays) with a Libyc substratum, covering about 25 % of
6 the global speakers;
- 7 ▪ Darija (which I call Maghribi) with a Punic substratum covering more than 90% of the
8 global speakers (some are real bilinguals).

9 The borrowed languages are

- 10 ▪ Arabic – the tongue of the State available in Medias, institutions and religion. This
11 tongue is only written it has never been able to become the language of social every-
12 day exchanges.
- 13 ▪ French – the tongue of informal uses in Institutions, medias and everyday social ex-
14 changes.

15 If Tamazight has gained the status of national official language, Darija-Maghribi is still
16 minored by the ruling elite.

17 The rest of languages taught or sporadically spoken are external to social commu-
18 nication.

19 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the** 20 **individual?**

21 If Identity is the process of constructing subjectivity, only mother tongues can have an in-
22 fluence. Besides, culture can contribute to shaping opinions and bringing about a vision of
23 the world. Only then can we consider that language can have an impact on our vision of the
24 world.

25 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
26 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
27 **in the country? Why?**

28 The minoration of the native tongue of 90% of the speakers has engendered violence and
29 despair. The teaching of the state language, Arabic being based on memory only, there is a
30 loss of critical thought and an overwhelming feeling of fatalism which contribute to the
31 multiform violence in the society.

32 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

33 Algeria is a bilingual country (Maghribi and Tamazight) if we consider native tongues on-
34 ly. The fact that languages like standard Arabic, French, Spanish, English, Italian, Egypt-
35 tian, Lebanese can be used professionally or sporadically doesn't make the country a multi-
36 lingual one. The only languages used for everyday communication are Maghribi (90%) and
37 Tamazight (25%).

38 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

39 I, personally militate for the recognition of the intrinsic bilingualism born by the two native
40 tongues of the Algerian population. This would enable the mother tongues to be accepted
41 in school and used in official institutions. The recognition of mother tongues will ease the
42 speakers' troubled minds and open new avenues to democracy.

43 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
44 **what is your opinion about the language policy "Arabization" adopted by the Al-**
45 **gerian government?**

46 The choice of a state language is normal. What was not normal is the way Arabization took
47 place trying to become the substitute of a native tongue (maghribi). This languages substi-
48 tution policy has brought about cultural recession and massive schooling failure. After
49 nearly forty years of arabization, Arabic has not been able to replace Maghribi, as a matter
50 of fact.

51 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
52 **government?**

53 A positive bilingualism where both native tongues will be used in conjunction with stand-
54 ard Arabic and French and English, etc.

55 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

56 There are foreign languages that are taught in state institutions (English, Spanish, Russian,
57 Chinese, Turkish, etc.) but only French has a social status of a language of daily newspa-
58 pers, of higher education and unofficial state documentation.

59 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
60 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
61 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

62 An early language teaching is excellent and would be welcome. For the moment only
63 French is introduced in early education.

64 As for the assessment of language teaching I have no means of evaluation it.

65 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

66 French is “a tribute of war” as they say in Algeria. Besides it is the language of the mil-
67 lions of persons who live in the immigration in France. Even young people, as in the Hirak
68 movement now on in Algeria, would use it.

69 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
70 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

71 English has gained the obvious status of contemporary lingua franca. In Algeria as is the
72 case anywhere else in the world, scientists should write in English if they want to give a
73 chance to their work and win any consideration. It is true that some Islamic extremists
74 would like to substitute English to French. They had been trying hard in the nineties with
75 very poor results.

76 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
77 **lish in the country?**

78 For sure, the presence of French language is a hindrance to the expansion of English. But a
79 language wins audience if its usage becomes a necessity.

80 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
81 **geria? Why?**

82 Actually, the first foreign language in Algeria is standard Arabic, not French. Besides the
83 choice of a language should be issued out of a needs analysis and not out of a mere ques-
84 tion of goodwill.

85 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
86 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

87 The need of English is introduced via Egyptian and Saudi Arabia's influence. I don't think
88 these will become a model for the youngsters. Things would be different if it were linked
89 to US and GB's cultural cooperation initiatives.

90 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

91 I, personally use the language every day in my research work. It is a vital lingua franca.

92 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
93 **tivities?**

94 Yes, in reading mostly. Reading articles, books, news. Writing messages, projects and
95 notes.

Interview with A3

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 Above all, it is necessary to speak of a sociolinguistic, socially experienced and accepted
3 situation, which accounts for the presence of three major linguistic systems, namely dialectal
4 Arabic, Berber and French, and a situation designated by the official discourse referring
5 to a unilingualism of state (consecrated in the constitution). Which, at the same time as it
6 recognizes, after decades of denial of the Berber and its varieties, the existence of the Berber
7 as second national and official language "after the Arabic language", always the language
8 of the state.

9 French, spoken by millions of speakers, especially in the northern regions, benefits
10 from a co-officiality not assumed, and not recognized by the official discourse which uses
11 it nevertheless in the official texts and the speeches of the president and ministers and in
12 administration and official documents. This is a very complex and poorly managed situation,
13 especially the alienation and denial of linguistic diversity, by the language policy
14 adopted by the Algerian regime.

15 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the** 16 **individual?**

17 Having recently worked on the question of the relationship between identity and language,
18 particularly in the official Algerian discourse, represented by the discourse contained in
19 educational textbooks explaining the aims of French secondary education, I had to answer
20 a similar question. The answer is that one does not go without the other. That language
21 remains one of the fundamental criteria of self-identification and identification of the other.
22 However, the implication connection is not always effective, because if the identity often
23 implies a given language (being French means speaking French, Italian, Italian, German,
24 German, etc., the reverse is not always valid because the Spanish-speaking Argentinians
25 are not Spanish, just as the Brazilians are not Portuguese and the Algerians are not Arabs.

26 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
27 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
28 **in the country? Why?**

29 No one needs to be a sociolinguist, anthropologist or even ethno linguist to realize the im-
30 portance of the identity crisis that has shaken Algerian society for centuries, and even that
31 of all North African societies. Indeed, the so-called the Arab Maghreb is, in fact, an area
32 alienated by centuries of Arabization, through the Islamization of the countries of the re-
33 gion, from all times Berber, all the way from Egypt to Morocco. The Algerian today does
34 not know anymore "what he is" or "who he is". Sometimes Arab, sometimes Berber, some-
35 times Berber "Arabized by Islam". (Arabization designating, in principle, the Arabization
36 of expression, of speech and not of being, it is unthinkable that a religion, or any other ide-
37 ology or belief, can change or even transform an individual from one identity to another),
38 the Algerian lives a multiplication of personality, including, in addition to the two identi-
39 ties "Arab and "Berber", that of "Muslim".

40 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

41 The fact that I myself am Berber, Kabyle precisely, confronted with an official discourse
42 that defines me as Arab, reducing the only Algerianism that I can claim, to a supposed Ar-
43 abic identity, imposed by years of Arabization and alienating language policy. Having
44 evolved in a totally Berber-speaking region, where Arabic is totally absent from linguistic
45 practices, imposes my difference, in regard to linguistic and identity. This proves the exist-
46 ence of at least two different languages (Berber and Arabic dialect).

47 Being a teacher of sociolinguistics and having carried out a certain number of re-
48 search concerning the Algerian sociolinguistic situation, I will also add the important fact
49 regarding the presence of French in the daily use of many Algerian speakers (some re-
50 searches even raise the issue of French being the mother tongue of some children, from
51 families of intellectuals, especially in the city of Bejaia). Therefore, yes, Algeria is, by def-
52 inition, a multilingual country.

53 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

54 I can only support it, yes.

55 Because, quite simply, linguistic wealth implies a cultural richness. In addition, cul-
56 tural diversity, on the condition of guaranteeing the rights of everyone, without any segre-

57 gation or discrimination, contributes to the construction of a society open to the world,
58 based on tolerance, the acceptance of difference. It is, therefore, the best way to lay the
59 foundations of modern and democratic society, much more productive and more tolerant.

60 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
61 **what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Al-**
62 **gerian government?**

63 Forgive my expeditious answer, but I think I anticipated this question, in my answer to
64 question n03 and even n04. Otherwise, to express it in another way, the Arabization, initi-
65 ated by Napoleon III, in his project of the Great Maghreb, which he could rely on the de-
66 pendence and the eternal allegiance, constitutes the main cause of the crisis of identity, of
67 retardation of development and even of division of the companies of the former Numidia,
68 that constitutes the current North Africa. This project of alienation and acculturation is at
69 the root of all the evils that North African societies, in general, and the Algerian society, in
70 particular, are experiencing.

71 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
72 **government?**

73 Simply a policy of transparency, a policy of recognizing evidence. This will begin by eras-
74 ing classical Arabic as an official language and replacing it with Algerian Arabic (dialect),
75 which is the mother tongue of most speakers by promoting its dissemination through its
76 teaching and emancipation. To render, above all, the seized rights to Tamazight with all its
77 varieties: Kabyle, Chaouie, Targui, Mzabe, Chleuhe, chenouie), through a perfectly equal
78 recognition with the Algerian Arabic and grant both languages a national and official sta-
79 tus, with the same modalities dissemination and promotion throughout the national territo-
80 ry.

81 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

82 The Algerian state must give more importance to the teaching of foreign languages, espe-
83 cially English. French already having the benefit of a sociolinguistic foundation, can also
84 guarantee development horizons through a better organized and especially better-
85 distributed education in all these languages. The teaching of foreign languages must bene-
86 fit from more material and human resources in order to ensure a better command of new

87 technologies and progress in scientific research throughout the world and thus ensure better
88 economic and social development.

89 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
90 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
91 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

92 Insufficient and poorly managed. Foreign Language Teaching can be a source of sustaina-
93 ble development and quality. The teaching of foreign languages at the primary level is a
94 good thing because it allows Algerian speakers to become acquainted with these languages
95 at an early age and will facilitate their mastery at the higher levels of their school curricu-
96 lum. Observation, therefore, regarding the performance of teaching foreign languages in
97 Algeria: "can do better! "

98 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

99 French enjoys a very privileged status within the Algerian society. Spoken by thousands of
100 speakers, rooted for at least two centuries in use, including administrative and political.
101 This language can today be considered, not as a foreign language, but as a second official
102 language. It has always constituted the third language of communication, but also the ve-
103 hicular language between the two major categories of Arabic-speaking and Amazigh-
104 speaking communities. This language becomes an essential requirement in cinema, litera-
105 ture, and even in economics and political management. It is also always the second lan-
106 guage of the administration.

107 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
108 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

109 English remains a truly foreign language in the country and the number of speakers, whose
110 level remains questionable, is limited to Anglicans, consisting of students specialized in
111 literature and English language, as a university specialty. It remains absent from spontane-
112 ous exchanges and language practices, administrative and cultural exchanges. It is absent
113 in the linguistic landscape of the country and its teaching and promotion must be further
114 encouraged and promoted.

115 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
116 **lish in the country?**

117 No language hinders the growth of another. It is up to the language policies adopted in
118 each country to reconsider the usefulness of foreign languages, but especially to reconsider
119 the Jacobin relations that link national identities to linguistic identities, by releasing them
120 from unitary and exclusive thoughts. French can be, alongside English, through egalitarian
121 promotion by the state, an asset for development and promotion of the economy and tour-
122 ism, for example.

123 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
124 **geria? Why?**

125 Yes. But first, it is necessary to agree on this status of a foreign language. (Read the article
126 by Yacine Derradji: You said, "foreign language", French in Algeria (<http://www.unice.fr/bcl/ofcaf/15/derradji.html>). Indeed, and as Y. DERRADJI explains in his article,
127 French is not a foreign language but a second language and even, sometimes, mother
128 tongue in certain cases of affluent or rich families. It is a language that has been able to
129 blend with the structures of the two languages already present in the practices of Algerian
130 speakers, notably Algerian Arabic and Berber (in particular Kabyle), of which it constitutes
131 a large part of the lexicons, even the syntaxes, and the grammar respectively. It is a lan-
132 guage strongly present which even pushes the question of the existence of a French Cre-
133 olized Algerian. English remains, by essence a foreign language that owes its existence only
134 to its teaching.

136 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
137 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

138 The popularity that English enjoys among Algerian speakers is only due to its international
139 renown and its economic and technological prestige. In the last five years, there has been a
140 rise in a phobia against French, fueled by politico-ideological considerations (particularly
141 favorable to Algeria's chimera of being Arab and is allergic to all forms of diversity, and
142 therefore of difference), and encouraged by certain political groups and circles of influ-
143 ence, represented by some pan-Arabian intellectuals and politicians). Otherwise, it re-
144 mains, once again, simply a language that is totally foreign to the sociolinguistic landscape
145 of Algeria. As for its future, it depends only on the political will of those in power and their

146 ideological projects. The latter cannot escape the socio-economic fluctuations that the
147 country is currently experiencing, and which will no doubt end up giving it a little more
148 space and therefore influence in the years to come). In any case, the place of this language
149 on the international level already assured, undoubtedly, a better future, including in Alge-
150 ria.

151 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

152 It's not only essential, it is necessary.

153 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
154 **tivities?**

155 In speaking, never. In writing, sometimes.

156 Very, very rarely, in a few deadlines on the internet (Facebook and mails).

Interview with S4

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 Multilingual, multicultural, rich and diverse as almost all countries around the world

3 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the**
4 **individual?**

5 Language is a critical component for identity but it's not the only. An Arab is not an Arab
6 just because they speak Arabic and not any speaker of Arabic is Arab necessarily. Howev-
7 er, these linguistic choices in multilingual settings reflect the orientation of speakers and
8 which ethnic group they want to identify with. It might be more critical with minorities as
9 it's central in their calls of human rights but not always the case.

10 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
11 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
12 **in the country? Why?**

13 Language and identity have been continuously changing and reconstructing the perceptions
14 of Algerians, particularly after French colonialism and the rise of imperial identities. The
15 Arabization process, afterwards, increased the complex of this dilemma and continues to
16 do. For me, an Algerian is by nature a hybrid. Mostly Imazighen, or Arabized Imazighen,
17 and few are ethnically Arab with a very small minority of others. There is absolutely an
18 identity crisis where people have always been wondering who they are and what's their
19 true history and I think the main reason behind that is the school.

20 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

21 Yes, but it's not a surprise to find monolinguals

22 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

23 Absolutely yes!

24 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
25 **what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Al-**
26 **gerian government?**

27 It's a policy that proved to be a marked failure in the Algerian contemporary history. It
28 alienated many people, disadvantaged thousands and created an unnecessary linguistic
29 hierarchy that favors nonfunctional languages over native ones.

30 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
31 **government?**

32 I'll be publishing whole articles on that so I can't really answer it in few lines. A policy
33 that does not consider the opinion of its people is a policy doomed to failure and so I be-
34 lieve in a bottom up policy, accompanied with a top-down one that is generated by a scien-
35 tific sociolinguistic committee and communicated to educators in all sections. But most
36 importantly, a policy that is flexible to change in response to social and economic changes.

37 The more they advocate for English, the most Algeria becomes bilingual or even
38 monolingual, as the ME, which is dominantly of speaker of Arabic and English but not so
39 much of other foreign languages. That means cultural assimilation and imitation and ac-
40 commodation to what they perceive as economically better than themselves. For language
41 policy, I would say it is not my decision at the end, nor my expertise for the moment but I'd
42 rather say the world is essentially multilingual and Algeria should be too. While Europeans
43 and Americans are embracing this multilingual education and putting efforts to raise their
44 kids in such environments even if not immediately available in their neighborhood, Algeria
45 is losing its diversity by limiting and policing its languages. All languages are nice, none of
46 them is better than another, none of them is scientific, rural, religious, or secular in itself
47 and so none of them should be judged on these grounds. When it comes to early education
48 and because language acquisition theories highlight the value of exposure to mother
49 tongues, I would personally opt for Tamazight varieties and derja in schools as mediums of
50 instructions for the first years then introduce other languages respectively and wisely.
51 There is nothing special about learning French or English next, it can be any language or
52 many languages and again any language is great! BUT most importantly, introducing all
53 available ones to socialize the kids into diversity.

54 This issue of languages will never end in Algeria. While the future of the world is
55 multilingual, but our policies insist on monolingualism and indoctrination

56 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

57 Theoretically, foreign language, but pragmatically, national languages and even more im-
58 portant than the official ones themselves. French continues to decrease in use while Eng-
59 lish flourishes.

60 What I really mean is that theoretically we consider them as foreign language but in
61 practice they are more important than the national ones, Arabic and Tamazight in this case.
62 French and English are associated with research, prestige, science and technology, travel
63 and prosperity and so they are very important for many Algerians despite their unrecog-
64 nized status. However, as I mentioned before, and now proved by the latest social move-
65 ment and policy changes, French is decreasing while English is gaining more support.

66 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
67 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
68 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

69 Yes, for teaching them but after at last two years of teaching native ones. As to how to as-
70 sess them, it's very hard considering the current pedagogies and lack of cooperation and
71 transparency. Communities are different and so assessment should be different and the
72 success of one method in one region or even one school does not necessarily mean it would
73 be successful in the others.

74 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

75 It remains powerful for social mobility and good professions, but in continuous decrease
76 because of its colonial memory and the current policies

77 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
78 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

79 It's increasing especially among the youth, but it still has a long way to go through. Alt-
80 hough it's competing French at a micro level in areas of research and publications, the sta-
81 tus of French is still stronger considering that the elite and policy makers are mainly fran-
82 cophones

83 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
84 **lish in the country?**

85 Yes

86 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
87 **geria? Why?**

88 Considering the current state of affairs in the world as a whole, I would say I'm in favor of
89 English rather although both is still a better option. French has not only decreased in Alge-
90 ria but in France itself and in many other previous French colonies and its access to tech-
91 nology and science is limited compared to English, Mandarin and Spanish

92 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
93 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

94 A positive prosperous one, but still a dangerous One if it's at the expense of other lan-
95 guages already spoken in the country. Also, in my own perspective, English bring NA
96 closer to the ME and gulf countries while it distances it from Europe and that in itself is
97 something for policy makers to consider!

98 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

99 As important to learn all languages. But considering my research area and where I live,
100 English has become my first language and part of my daily life and even nighty dreams

101 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
102 **tivities?**

103 Always, every day and everywhere.

104 Socializing, shopping, studying, researching, travelling, reading, watching, chat-
105 ting, posting on social media, and even communicating with my family

Interview with A5

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 Unlike other countries, the linguistic situation in Algeria tends to be quite complicated, due
3 to the overwhelming history of the country. Between Tamazight, the Algerian dialect, Ara-
4 bic, French, and even English, it is hard to linguistically classify Algeria in a specific box.
5 The situation is far from being simple but still is a very interesting phenomenon.

6 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the**
7 **individual?**

8 Language is without any doubt a crucial aspect in shaping one's identity, for language is
9 not just words, it's a whole culture of communication and interaction, therefore, one cannot
10 build his/her identity without it. Due to that, people from multilingual countries tend to
11 face identity complexities, a considerable number of Algerians often are left with the ques-
12 tions: am I Arab? Berber? partly French? It's complicated.

13 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
14 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
15 **in the country? Why?**

16 As I strongly believe language plays an important role in shaping the individual's identity,
17 the perplexing linguistic situation in Algeria has totally affected and continues to affect the
18 Algerian individual. Not only he/she faces multiple languages in different phases of his/her
19 educational life. There's also a certain ambiguity when it comes to learning Algeria's com-
20 plex history, which is also somehow a shaper of identity.

21 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

22 Yes, totally!

23 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

24 As sophisticated as it may seem, I find multilingualism an interesting aspect in shaping
25 one's identity. Having the sheer ability to speak multiple languages boost the cultural di-
26 versity as well as boosts the individual's skills of understanding and interacting in different

27 areas mainly linguistically, but also on other spheres of knowledge. In multiple cases, be-
28 tween a monolingual and bilingual, a bilingual tends to be more skillful. The same theory
29 applies for a bilingual and a multilingual... so as knotty as it could get, Multilingualism is a
30 plus to a country, if well-constructed.

31 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
32 **what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Al-**
33 **gerian government?**

34 In my personal opinion, the policy adopted by the Algerian government after the country's
35 independence was not a wise one, because it simply does not apply to the true identity of
36 the country (historywise). The decision to label Algeria as Arab is a confusing one since
37 apart from Religion, it has nothing to do with other Arab countries (apart from having
38 things in common with Morocco and Tunisia, which also face the same issue). This has left
39 the country in deep confusion when it comes to recognizing its identity, and placed hard-
40 ships when it comes to the use of language since the official Arabic is almost never spo-
41 ken, except learned in schools and used in administrations (along with French). I would say
42 I am not against having Arabic as one of the languages of the country, but clearly not in
43 favor of the Arabization policy.

44 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
45 **government?**

46 The most ideal language policy the government should adopt is to let go of the Arabization
47 policy and upgrade the Algerian dialect to an official language to better organize a plan of
48 teaching languages in schools and universities to avoid confusion. This way, it is assured
49 language will be a plus to the individual, not an obstacle.

50 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

51 I would define the status of foreign languages in Algeria as a linguistic mess. It is clearly a
52 positive thing to have multiple languages, however, as long as it is difficult to classify
53 these languages, the situation isn't perfectly positive. lots of questions bounce here and
54 there, and the answers aren't necessarily the same, for instance, if you ask the question:
55 "What is native and what is foreign?" to different people you will get many different an-
56 swers to it.

57 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
58 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
59 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

60 I think the problem doesn't lay in teaching foreign languages at an early stage in Algerian
61 School, the problem is in the way they are taught divided along the years of education.

62 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

63 French is deeply rooted in the country's language system, it is regarded as a native lan-
64 guage by many, and we cannot deny that it plays a role in shaping the country's identity as
65 a whole. It is everywhere, in schools, home, streets, and administrations...Therefore its role
66 is an important one, and it's not easy if not impossible to just erase it or replace it by anothe-
67 er language easily.

68 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
69 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

70 English started to make its way through the Algerian's individual not so long ago. It is pre-
71 sent in today's daily conversations and on social media. However, it is still a bit far from
72 replacing French.

73 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
74 **lish in the country?**

75 Yes! Due to its presence in every sector of life, French totally stands in the face of the Eng-
76 lish language growth.

77 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
78 **geria? Why?**

79 Yes for now, but not for the future. I am in favor of the slow emergence of more English
80 until it replaces French in the future. A sudden change in language positions will only
81 make the situation more chaotic.

82 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
83 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

84 There is a chance that English becomes the first foreign language in the country as more
85 people are learning and using it continually. However, there is also a bigger chance that
86 French will maintain its position and remain largely used by Algerians.

87 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

88 Due to its great power, it is certainly a crucial thing to learn English. As an Algerian who
89 studies abroad, I wouldn't have achieved a lot of what I have, on the professional and per-
90 sonal level if it weren't for English.

91 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
92 **tivities?**

93 As I live in Germany and do lots of activities with internationals, I certainly use lots of
94 English. but even back when I was in Algeria, English was strongly present in my every-
95 day life.

96 I often used in English, whether in texting, on writing social media posts, watching movies
97 and tv shows, and even in a number of youth associations that I used to take part in.

Interview with R6

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 The linguistic situation in Algeria is quite complex due to historical reasons. The different
3 colonialists left different influences on the cultural identity of the original inhabitants and
4 thus their communication skills and ethnicity were affected.

5 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the**
6 **individual?**

7 As an Algerian who has been, and still is, in touch with people who speak two or more
8 languages I cannot help but notice the difference in their manner of speaking or even the
9 way they present the information when they switch from a language to another.

10 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
11 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
12 **in the country? Why?**

13 There is definitely an identity crisis in Algeria and that is not limited to the use of different
14 languages. According to my experience working with Algerian youth who label themselves
15 as "Francophones" as well as those who label themselves as "Anglophones" I noticed that
16 youth whose preferred language is French are far more pretentious and sophisticated (or
17 that's what they believe) and less interactive with their fellows. In the other hand those
18 whose preferred language is English or Arabic even, tend to be easier going, fun, and direct
19 in their communication. That is to say in a conference where we had different language
20 speaking committees (Arabic, French, and English) the English and the Arabic groups
21 were interacting with each other far more noticeably than the French speaking once.

22 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

23 If by multilingual you mean French and Arabic, then Algeria has always been a multilin-
24 gual; Even though since 2012 the use of English language in Algeria is largely noticeable
25 in youth activities, English cannot not, yet, be added to this multilingualism equation.

26 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

27 Yes, I am! for both social and economic reasons, the use of different languages will surely
28 open new horizons economically speaking, and also open minds in social context.

29 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
30 **what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Al-**
31 **gerian government?**

32 I think it is the biggest mistake Algeria adopted as a post-colonial country.

33 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
34 **government?**

35 The ideal language policy would be using English as a language of scientific education,
36 French as a language of administration and also literary studies (since most of the Algerian
37 literature is written in French) and Arabic as an optional language that could be used upon
38 request. Last but not least Algeria should bring its original language “Tamazight” to the
39 front page.

40 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

41 It really depends on which part of Algeria are we talking about. In some places (big cities)
42 where people have more learning opportunities, foreign languages are quite evolved, but
43 unfortunately it is not the case in rural areas.

44 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
45 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
46 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

47 Although French is already taught at a relatively early age in Algeria, I think it should be
48 taught even earlier at the age of 4 per say (which is the case in private schools in big cit-
49 ies), as for English, which is taught at around the age of 12, I think it could also be taught
50 earlier.

51 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

52 Apart from the fact that French is the administrative language in the country, most of the
53 Algerian literature, as I mentioned earlier, is written in French. This literature carries with-
54 in an overview of the Algerian Cultural History and therefore it carries Algerian identity.

55 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
56 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

57 There is no doubt that the use of English in Algeria is increasing, yet it is still not the dom-
58 inating language and is far from being so.

59 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
60 **lish in the country?**

61 No, I don't think so.

62 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
63 **geria? Why?**

64 I think French should be the first language in Algeria (not foreign) because its importance
65 in defining the Algerian cultural identity.

66 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
67 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

68 I think English will remain emerging regularly especially with Americanization of the
69 global mindset (which includes the Algerian mindset) and also the exposure to American
70 pop culture.

71 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

72 Far more important than Arabic

73 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
74 **tivities?**

75 Yes, I use English in communicating with my teachers and fellow students as well as in my
76 research and leisure time.

Interview with M7

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 rather confused. Dominant languages are still dictating their rule (Arabic and French) to
3 the detriment of the mother tongues. The intervention of the state is not welcome, except
4 for Tamazight to declare it official.

5 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the**
6 **individual?**

7 they are definitely central to determining our identity, except that school and university
8 policies temper with the language dynamics that exist in Algeria

9 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
10 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
11 **in the country? Why?**

12 there is a definite separation between the languages of school and those of home. This is
13 contrary to normal personal development leading to a kind of language schizophrenia. One
14 cannot call it an identity crisis, each individual has developed their own strategies for sur-
15 vival despite a rigid system of schooling not taking into account all parameters that make
16 up the cultural identity of people.

17 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

18 without any doubt, it is

19 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

20 I was brought in a multilingual environment that has lost its richness. once again school
21 bears the blame

22 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
23 **what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Al-**
24 **gerian government?**

25 could have attained better results had it been less top-down, participatory and progressive.
26 It also needed to be implemented by experts

27 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
28 **government?**

29 Start with the mother tongues that should not be forbidden at school level, avoid the policy
30 of English-only, all languages are equal

31 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

32 It is a reality to be reckoned with. It should be developed within a balanced policy towards
33 all foreign languages and in particular African ones

34 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
35 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
36 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

37 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

38 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
39 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

40 it has imposed itself but lacks the necessary support and one needs to avoid claiming it is
41 the unique language of development.

42 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
43 **lish in the country?**

44 not at all. The 1993 attempt has been a total failure because of a number of amateurish de-
45 cisions. A language cannot disappear or develop overnight.

46 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
47 **geria? Why?**

48 it's not the position or rank that counts. It is the state policy that can help bring serenity into
49 language matters

50 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
51 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

52 its spoken form will develop enormously. The problem will be its writing

53 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

54 in a global world, it's part of normality

55 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
56 **tivities?**

57 I teach English

Interview with O8

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 The linguistic situation in Algeria is as diverse as it has always been. You find Arabic, Al-
3 gerian dialect, Tamazight, French and English, all in one country. I personally see this as a
4 beautiful thing.

5 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the**
6 **individual?**

7 I believe that language is strongly attached to the culture of the native people speaking it,
8 therefore every language comes with a set of values and a way to look at life. So when a
9 person learns a new language especially at young age, they get elements added to their
10 identity, they also get access to contents with that language that widen their perspective
11 and changes their way of looking into things.

12 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
13 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
14 **in the country? Why?**

15 No matter how much I think that diversity is beautiful, the fact that many Algerian speak
16 different dialects or languages leads to them not being able to communicate effectively,
17 which isolate them from one another. Their isolation has led to them developing different
18 ideas of what an Algerian means, and with no consensus being made on this point a crisis
19 emerged.

20 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

21 Yes, it is.

22 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

23 I don't think I can be for or against. Multilingualism is just a fact to be accepted.

24 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
25 **what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Al-**
26 **gerian government?**

27 I don't know so much details about the policy. From what I know, I judge that it was nec-
28 essary after the independence in order to replace French with Arabic. I am however ab-
29 horred the use of this policy to delete the Amazigh language and therefor identity.

30 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
31 **government?**

32 I believe the government should take more measures to protect and promote Tamazight in
33 the regions where it is spoken. I also think it should re-enforce language teaching (Arabic,
34 French and English) in public schools by providing trainings for teachers.

35 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

36 It is bellow average. Very few can communicate in either French or English even after +10
37 of education.

38 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
39 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
40 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

41 I believe you can assess the level of teaching of foreign language by the percentage of stu-
42 dents able to communicate effectively in speaking and in writing at the end of their educa-
43 tional cycle.

44 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

45 I think it is a very important language in business, politics and in most administrative
46 work. What I mean is that if you'd like to run a business in Algeria, reach investors com-
47 municate with experts you'll need French. French is also one of the widely spoken lan-
48 guages in Europe and Africa, the language therefor plays a great role in international coop-
49 eration.

50 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
51 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

52 Most of the youth view English as easier and cooler because of the huge media content in
53 English. That has led to the creation of an Anglophone generation in Algeria.

54 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
55 **lish in the country?**

56 Not at all. I think that the quality of education is what slowed down the progress of both
57 languages.

58 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
59 **geria? Why?**

60 Positions don't matter, but it is the type of policies that the government takes that actually
61 reflect reality. Although French is considered the first foreign language in Algeria that has
62 come with any sort of progress for the language, the capital is still the only place where
63 you find the greatest number of people mastering the language while people in the rest of
64 Algeria have almost equal skills in both English and French, and sometimes even better
65 English than French.

66 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
67 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

68 I think that slowly English will dominate the scene in all fields by the next 10 years.

69 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

70 I didn't set myself to learn it, it just happens. I was a hyper consumer of American Tv se-
71 ries and movies as a child.

72 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
73 **tivities?**

74 Talking to my team members, talking to my sisters, posting in social media, almost all the
75 content I consume is in English.

Interview with Y9

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 the problem does not arise in terms of perspectives to me, but the reality itself which is
3 very complex in addressing the issue of languages in Algeria. There is ideological interfer-
4 ence. The language is "ideologized" and its teaching is being diverted from its original
5 purpose. Currently, in my opinion, there is a return to the mother tongues and an attempt to
6 appropriate them, which is against the will of the system in place. That is advantageous for
7 learning other languages, because from within we can integrate and embrace the universal.

8 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the**
9 **individual?**

10 I believe rather conversely; it is from one's self and from the blossoming in one's own iden-
11 tity, that one can seize other languages and understand their secrets.

12 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
13 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
14 **in the country? Why?**

15 The linguistic situation in Algeria is the result of a policy and system that has made, since
16 the independence, of the language issue a political project. By dividing it into three catego-
17 ries as follows: a mother tongue ignored and combated, an Arabic language ideologized as
18 the language of the state, carrier of the project society of nationalism and unlike other secu-
19 lar Arab nationalism. There was an alliance with Islamism to give it, as opposed to franco-
20 phones cataloged as secular, the sacredness. Moreover, a language of science and
21 knowledge, which is French and after, we have integrated English. It happened in the '70s
22 and '80s, as I was told, where students who went abroad to study through fellowships were
23 asked to bring back only science, no culture, it is like the brain is divided into compart-
24 ments, that of science and that of culture.

25 As for the identity crisis, I do not believe that there is a crisis of identity in the
26 country, but a repressed and confined identity, despite some progress on the institutional
27 level in recent years.

28 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

29 why not! But it will go through the appropriation of mother tongues to go towards the uni-
30 versal without complexes and without the obligation to justify oneself. In this sense, the
31 internet plays an important role, towards openness to other languages.

32 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

33 I am in favor and for obvious reasons, of acquiring knowledge and to be part of the move-
34 ment of history and that we will not escape.

35 However, institutionalized multilingualism must not be the subject of language ded-
36 ication, I attended a meeting in France where the German teacher wanted to convince par-
37 ents to enroll their children for German as the only option. Evoking only the technological
38 and automation aspect, a reducing aspect of a language. I had to intervene to remind him of
39 the German culture, its men of letters, its universally known artists and composers, the
40 theater with Bréchet. We must not reduce a language to its usefulness or in a specific field,
41 it is an inseparable whole.

42 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
43 **what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Al-**
44 **gerian government?**

45 It goes back to the period of Arabization, which was not a process of reclaiming a language
46 or an identity, but an instrumentalization of the language for political ends in alliance with
47 the most retrograde ideological movements of society, opposing it in the process to pro-
48 gressive movements, qualified by their opponents as Francophone or Francophiles.

49 And finally, the last aspect that remains a blockage in the learning of the French
50 language and even Arabic, is the autarky that the mother tongue undergoes, whether
51 Tamazight with all its components or Darija (the language Spoken). The learner cannot
52 develop his capacities of reflection and enlightenment if he is not allowed to express him-
53 self, to reason and to dream in the language he speaks at home and in the street. Teaching
54 the mother tongue will help learn other languages.

55 These are parameters to consider in any attempt to intrinsic reforms at school. They
56 tend to hinder any modernization of the education system, including the teaching of the
57 French language. It would thus be simplistic to limit the problems of learning to the teach-
58 ing method only or to the internal situation that is specific to school. Because the external

59 aspect plays an important role and school cannot face alone a societal crisis, dominated by
60 alienation, dogmatization, indoctrination and irrationality ... it would be too much to ask
61 and to play a role which is not yours. "

62 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
63 **government?**

64 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

65 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
66 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
67 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

68 The teaching of foreign languages, and particularly of the French language, does not es-
69 cape the question of the place of school in society, namely the promotion of knowledge
70 and science.

71 Although it has shudders through initiated reforms revolving around programs, new
72 learning methods putting the student at the center of the transmission of knowledge by
73 promoting critical thinking, the environment remains hostile and it will not help real pro-
74 gress in education in general, including that of the French language in particular. Because
75 the problem is not only educational. It requires other answers and other, more global solu-
76 tions. It is the place of school in society to which we must find an answer. The very one
77 that will allow us to dare to ask the equation: which school for which social project?

78 The street-school relationship is decisive in this equation. That the school is inter-
79 ested in the street and understand it is a scientific imperative, but it must not follow the
80 street and be under its influence. In Algeria, we note the abandonment by the school of its
81 initial mission, to inculcate science, and its primary vocation to shine on the street. And
82 relation was reversed, it is the school that has adapted to the street. It is therefore not nec-
83 essary to initiate reforms, but a rehabilitation and valorization of knowledge allowing the
84 school to be reconciled with rationality and universalism.

85 The global diagnosis is thus inflicted, we do not speak about learning foreign lan-
86 guages, including French, which undergoes mostly this reversed change in connections and
87 values.

88 The method of learning the Arabic language and other subjects is in itself archaic,
89 based on inculcation and recitation. Regardless of the programs taught, but the discourse
90 held in and out of class is dominated by irrationality, destructiveness, and resignation. The
91 student cannot be encouraged to think freely in his learning of the French language, where-

92 as in the other subjects and outside the school he is offered what we can call a “prêt à por-
93 ter” of knowledge to prohibit interrogation and critical thinking. We are witnessing the
94 embracing of the whole society and the school as a machine for producing learners that can
95 fit into "molds" designed and imagined by the dominant ideology in society.

96 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

97 Although it is part of the public space, the French language suffers the reverse of the ideal-
98 ization of languages. A dominant discourse, even in the institutions, tends to drain it of its
99 linguistic, literary and civilizational contents to contain it in a political conception and ide-
100 ology by putting it in confrontation and in opposition to the Arabic language. The latter
101 itself is the victim of this ideologization, which reduces it to a language symbolizing archa-
102 ism and obscurantism in the face of the French language, that of openness and a bearer of
103 modernity.

104 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
105 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

106 it's a language like any other which is still behind Spanish when it comes to the most used
107 language for talking in the world.

108 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
109 **lish in the country?**

110 no, it is the policy of the regime that wants to put them in competition, and it is an error
111 that will penalize English. Every language has its place, although the regime wants to gen-
112 eralize English by ideology.

113 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
114 **geria? Why?**

115 We cannot reduce the French language in Algeria to a foreign language, it is a language
116 related to Algeria, through history and culture, proximity and descent, tens of thousands of
117 families who are linked to on both sides of the river.

118 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
119 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

120 it will have a future, but it must not be opposed to French for ideological hints, as the re-
121 gime currently does. Any language introduced by ideology will provoke reticence and re-
122 jection. It must not be put in competition with the French language.

123 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

124 Yes.

125 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
126 **tivities?**

127 no I do not use English in my daily life and I feel that I lost my English and yet, I was a
128 scientist and I studied it only in middle and high school, but in my first years of the faculty
129 I had talks with Americans and British, they were amazed at the literary way in which we
130 spoke English. Since then I did not use either in my work or in my readings, I felt lame
131 especially due to a lack of confidence, except in rare cases, like two years ago, I had drunk
132 a little and I found myself In a MacDo and there was a German couple behind me and we
133 exchanged in English and they were delighted and the salesgirl asked me to stay to do the
134 translation.

Interview with A10

1 **1. What is your view on the linguistic situation in Algeria?**

2 The linguistic situation in Algeria is still problematic since it is characterized by the coex-
3 istence of several languages, which are modern or standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic,
4 Tamazight and French.

5 **2. What is your opinion about the role of languages in shaping the identity of the**
6 **individual?**

7 Languages play an important role in the construction of identity because they are not just a
8 communication tool, a system of signs and sounds. They make it possible to formulate the
9 thought and to express the vision of the world of a nation.

10 **3. How, in your opinion, has the linguistic situation in Algeria affected the identity**
11 **of the Algerian individual? Moreover, do you think that there is an identity crisis**
12 **in the country? Why?**

13 The linguistic situation in Algeria is so weak and mediocre that even our two native lan-
14 guages are lost between slang and real Arabic.

15 **4. Do you recognize Algeria as being a multilingual country?**

16 Yes, Algeria is a multilingual country.

17 **5. Are you in favor of Multilingualism in the country? Why?**

18 Yes, I am in favor of multilingualism in Algeria because the fact of knowing how to com-
19 municate in several languages offers individuals the possibility of experiencing richer ex-
20 periences whether on a personal level (cultural and traditional), or social and professional
21 experiences with the development of globalization.

22 **6. Language policy in Algeria has been a controversial matter since independence,**
23 **what is your opinion about the language policy “Arabization” adopted by the Al-**
24 **gerian government?**

25 The policy of Arabization is a mistake; it should remain as only administrative.

26 **7. What is, in your opinion, the ideal language policy that should be adopted by the**
27 **government?**

28 In my opinion, the ideal language policy that the Algerian government must apply in Alge-
29 ria is to promote language learning by facilitating the process to obtain certifications for
30 opening language schools, organizing language trips, literary cafes, committees of lan-
31 guages...etc.

32 **8. What is, according to you, the status of foreign languages in Algeria?**

33 Foreign language learning in Algeria is evolving, thanks to the opening of several language
34 schools, which make it possible for people to learn several languages using modern equip-
35 ment.

36 **9. What do you think about teaching foreign languages, namely French and Eng-**
37 **lish, at an early stage in Algerian schools? Moreover, how can you assess the level**
38 **of teaching of foreign languages in the country?**

39 The teaching of French and English must be at the primary level in Algeria because at that
40 age the child has the capacity to assimilate quickly.

41 **10. What is your opinion about the role of the French language in Algeria?**

42 The French language plays a very important role in Algeria since it is omnipresent in the
43 daily lives of Algerians as a means of communication; it is also used in many sectors.

44 **11. English has reached a global status and it is dominating as the first language**
45 **worldwide, what is your view on the status of English in Algeria?**

46 English is a language that is less spoken in Algeria compared to French.

47 **12. Do you think that the French language has slowed down the emergence of Eng-**
48 **lish in the country?**

49 French has never been a hindrance to the emergence of English in Algeria.

50 **13. Are you in favor of French maintaining the first foreign language position in Al-**
51 **geria? Why?**

52 Yes, I support the opinion that French must maintain its first position in Algeria because it
53 is the language of communication and work in Algeria.

54 **14. There are views on the growing popularity of English in Algeria; what is, accord-**
55 **ing to you, the future of English in the country?**

56 In my opinion, English will be welcomed in the language basket of the Algerian.

57 **15. How important is it for you to learn English?**

58 Yes, I find it necessary to learn English like any other language

59 **16. Do you use English in your daily activities? If yes, can you cite some of these ac-**
60 **tivities?**

61 No, I don't use English in my daily activities.

Appendix D: The Linguistic Landscape of Algeria

Table 17:

Collection of Photographs of the Presence of English in the Linguistic Landscape in Algeria

Shopping stores, restaurants, and other miscellaneous stores



Clothing store in Constantine, Algeria



Clothing store for kids Oran, Algeria



Clothing store in Batna, Algeria



Clothing store in Constantine, Algeria

Shopping stores, restaurants, and other miscellaneous stores



Cosmetics store Batna, Algeria



A shoe store in Batna, Algeria



Clothing store for men in Batna, Algeria



Restaurant in Constantine, Algeria



Restaurants in Batna, Algeria



Snack restaurant in Batna, Algeria

Shopping stores, restaurants, and other miscellaneous stores



Pastry shop in Constantine, Algeria



Home appliance shop in Batna, Algeria



Phone store in Oran, Algeria



Spa center in Batna, Algeria

Photographs of Private Businesses



Bank in Algiers, Algeria



Language and informatics school in Batna, Algeria



Consulting agency in Batna, Algeria



Private business bureau in Batna, Algeria

 Photographs of Protests



Student Holding a “game over” Sign during a protest in Algeria [S11]



Algerian protestor holding a banner [S6]



Hemingway sign with a translation in Arabic [S7]



A crowded protest in Algeria [S8]



Protesters holding a queen song lyric. [S9]



Young man holding a sign during protests in Algeria. [S10]

Appendix E: The typological Differences between the languages of Algeria

Typological Features	French	MSA	Tamazight
Language family	Romance (Indo-European) language	Semitic language	Afro-Asiatic language (African branch)
Orthography:			
▪ Alphabet	Latin script: A, B, C....	Abjad script: ا, ب, ت...	Tifinagh alphabet: ⵝ, ⵉ, ⵓ...
▪ Directionality	Left to right	Right to left	Left to right
▪ Letter case	Lower and upper case	No distinctions between letters	No distinction between letters
▪ Script	Cursive or block letters.	Cursive script	Block letters
Grammar			
Syntax:			
▪ Word order	SVO	VSO	VSO/SVO
▪ Case system	No case system	Three cases: nominative, genitive, accusative marked by “Case endings” to indicate the grammatical functions of the words	No case system
▪ Articles	Definite: le, la, les Indefinite: un, une, des	Definite: the invariable ال/il/ (like “the”) Indefinite: no article defines the indefinite noun	No articles (except for loanwords from Arabic)
Morphology:			
▪ Root and pattern system:	The lexical meaning resides in the stem, suffixes, prefixes and infixes define the grammatical information	The root consists of consonants only. Whereas the pattern is a set of vowels added to the root modifying its lexical meaning.	The root consists of consonants only. Whereas the pattern is a set of vowels added to the root modifying its lexical meaning.

Typological Features	French	MSA	Tamazight
Nouns:			
▪ Gender	Feminine and masculine nouns defined by (Article le for masculine, la for feminine, or adding « e » at the end of feminine nouns” Exceptions: “euse, trice” at the end of feminine nouns	“a ” at the end defines most Feminine nouns. With exceptions Masculine nouns do not end in “a ”.	Prefix /a-/ for masculine nouns, affix /t...t/ for feminine nouns.
▪ Plural	Commonly defined by adding an “s” at the end. There are exceptions like: aux, x, eux	Three types of plural: broken plurals, regular masculine plurals, regular feminine plurals. Dual nouns are used for the dual form of nouns	Three types of plural: sound plurals “regular change”, broken plurals “internal vowel change”, a combination of both types.
▪ Adjective	Inflection for gender and number. They come before the noun they describe	Inflection for gender and number. They follow the noun they describe	Inflection for gender and number. They follow the noun they describe
Verbal morphology:			
▪ The stem	Stem-changing verbs and regular verbs	Verbs are classified based on the configuration of the stem	Verbs are derived from common roots
▪ Verbal inflection	conjugation is the inflected forms of verbs	Affixes are used to mark the verb’s inflection	Alternation of vowels govern the verb stems which are described as tenses
Phonology:			
▪ The phonetic system:	37 total sounds	34 Total sounds	Not a tone language with 41 total sounds -Some consonants and vowels share the same pronunciation.

Typological Features	French	MSA	Tamazight
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Vowels 			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Oral vowels 	12 vowels	6 vowels: (3 are short: not represented with letters but with signs. 3 are long: /j/, /w/, /a:/)	3 vowels: a, I, u
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ nasal vowels 	4 vowels: /ɛ̃/, /œ̃/, /õ/, /ã/	/	/
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Semi vowels 	3 vowels: /ɥ/, /w/, /j/	2 vowels: /j/, /w/	2 vowels: /j/, /w/
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Consonants 	18 consonants	28 consonants	38 consonants
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Special features 	Final consonants are usually silent	Two additional consonants, are not part of the alphabet (ⵉ) / ʔ/, (ⵓ) /t/	Some consonants called “weak radicals” can be used as vowels
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stress 	Word stress is not distinctive “flowing words” with a flat intonation.	Determining stress depends on the number of syllables a word have.	Falls on the last vowel in a word.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Voiceless, voiced, emphatic sounds 	There are both voiced and voiceless Consonants	There are voiceless and voiced consonants. Emphatic sounds (ط /t ^ɛ /, ظ /ð ^ɛ /) are also employed.	Emphatic sounds such as: ظ /ð ^ɛ /, ض /d ^ɛ / are included in the speech.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The interdental sounds 	Nonexistent	ث /θ/, ذ /ð/, ظ /ð ^ɛ /	ث /θ/, ذ /ð/, ظ /ð ^ɛ /
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The pharyngeal, and uvular sounds 	Nonexistent	Uvular: ق /q/, خ /x/ Pharyngeal: ح /ħ/, ع /ʕ/	Uvular: ق /q/, خ /x/ Pharyngeal: ح /ħ/, ع /ʕ/

Appendix F: The Arabic Alphabet

Arabic Alphabet		
Symbol	Transliteration	IPA transcription
ا	a	a
ب	b	b
ت	t	t
ث	th,	θ
ج	J, g, ġ	dʒ
ح	h	ħ
خ	kh, ḫ	x
د	d	d
ذ	th, ḏ	ð
ر	r	r
ز	z	z
س	s	s
ش	sh	ʃ
ص	ṣ	s ^ʕ
ض	ḍ	d ^ʕ
ط	ṭ	t ^ʕ
ظ	ẓ	z ^ʕ
ع	‘	ʕ
غ	gh, ġ	ɣ
ف	f	f
ق	q	q
ك	k	k

Arabic Alphabet		
Symbol	Transliteration	IPA transcription
ل	l	l
م	m	m
ن	n	n
هـ	h	h
و	w	w
ي	y	j

Appendix G: The Tamazight Alphabet

Tifinagh (Tamazight Script)		
Symbol	Transliteration	IPA transcription
◦	a	æ
⊖	b	b
⌘	g	g
∧	d	d
Ǝ	ɖ	d ^ɕ
⋮	e	ə
⌺	f	f
⌻	k	k
⊕	h, b	h b
∕	ħ	ħ
⠠	ⵍ	ɟ
⌘	Kh, ħ	x
⌻	q	q
ⵍ	y	i
⠠	j	ʒ
⠠	l	l
⠠	m	m
⠠	n	n
⋮	w	w

Tifinagh (Tamazight Script)

Symbol	Transliteration	IPA transcription
ⵝ	r	r
ⵞ	ɾ	r ^h
ⵟ	gh	ɣ
ⵠ	s	s
ⵡ	ʃ	s ^h
ⵢ	sh	ʃ
ⵣ	t	t
ⵤ	ⵜ	t ^h
ⵥ	w	w
ⵦ	y	j
ⵧ	z	z
⵨	z	z ^h
