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LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE, USE AND ATTITUDES AMONG THE ALGERIAN COMMUNITY IN FRANCE

**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE REQUIREMENT OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTORATE ES-SCIENCES IN
SOCIOLINGUISTICS**

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my PARENTS, whose love, guidance, and sacrifices have shaped me into the person I am today. Your support and belief in me have been the foundation of this journey.

To my dear brother ABDELMADJID

And to my son ACHRAF, whose joy, inspiration, and presence in my life have given me the strength to persevere through every challenge. This achievement is as much yours as it is mine.

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At long last, this journey reaches its conclusion—a culmination of years of dedication, learning, and transformation. It has been a path filled with a mix of emotions: elation and relief, enthusiasm and nostalgia, happiness, and a touch of sadness. The completion of this thesis is not merely the closing of a chapter, but the result of the unwavering support, guidance, and kindness of many. I am profoundly grateful to all those who have contributed to making this experience both meaningful and enriching.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the transmission of Arabic as a heritage language among Algerian migrant families in France, focusing on Family Language Policy (FLP) as a key framework for understanding intergenerational language maintenance. FLP consists of three interrelated components: language practices, which refer to the daily use of Arabic, French, or both within the home; language beliefs and ideologies, reflecting parental attitudes toward Arabic and its perceived significance for identity and cultural continuity; and language management, which includes explicit and implicit efforts to support Arabic maintenance. At the macro level, the study situates Arabic transmission within France's linguistic policies, post-colonial legacies, and the dominant societal ideology of monolingualism, which often challenges heritage language maintenance. At the micro level, the research examines how parents cope with the tension between maintaining Arabic as a heritage language and meeting the linguistic demands of the host society, shaping their language choices, strategies, and perceptions of bilingualism. The findings reveal a disparity between parents' beliefs about the importance of Arabic transmission and their actual language practices. While parents express a strong commitment to language maintenance, their daily language practices with children suggest a shift towards the host language, driven by the need for social mobility and economic success in France. Parents frequently cite cultural identity, religion, and family ties as motivating factors for maintaining Arabic, yet the conflicting goals of preserving heritage and ensuring fluency in the host language present challenges. This work highlights the complex dynamics between heritage language maintenance, identity negotiation, and bilingualism within migrant communities. The findings offer insights for educators, policymakers, and families, providing guidance on how to support heritage language transmission and better understand the challenges migrant families face in a linguistically diverse context. Ultimately, this study emphasizes the importance of promoting positive attitudes toward heritage languages, addressing linguistic needs, and raising awareness about the role of language in minority communities. By exploring these themes, the present work contributes to a deeper understanding of language sustainability in migrant contexts and aims to inform language planning and practices for future generations.

Keywords: Arabic – Heritage Language Maintenance – Intergenerational Language Transmission – Family Language Policy – Algerian families – Migration - France

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Introductory Chapter

■ INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, migration has been a defining aspect of human mobility, driven by social and economic opportunities, conflict and displacement, or the pursuit of new experiences. The current United Nations estimate indicates that there are approximately 281 million international migrants worldwide, which accounts for 3.6 percent of the global population¹. These large-scale migrations are reshaping post-industrial societies, transforming them into increasingly heterogeneous, multilingual, and multicultural spaces. In this context, the present research explores one of the most pressing issues in many migration situations. Specifically, it examines the language practices of the Algerian migrant community in France, focusing on the challenges parents face in transmitting Arabic as a heritage language to their children. This chapter situates the study within its broader social and research contexts, offering an overview of key themes that will be further elaborated in subsequent chapters.

■ BACKGROUND

The growing socio-economic interconnectedness of the world has led to multilingualism becoming the norm in many societies. Linguistic diversity—encountered at home, in schools, workplaces, and social networks—is increasingly recognized not as a challenge, but as an asset for future generations. However, the intergenerational transmission of heritage languages, essential for their maintenance, remains a significant concern for migrant families. Speakers of minority languages in migrant contexts face two sets of tensions in the host country. The first tension stems from the conflicting aspirations of the migrants themselves; on the one hand, they seek to make the most of the new social and economic possibilities for which they have left their country of origin. On the other hand, they strive to preserve their religious, cultural and linguistic heritage in the host country. The second tension arises from the challenging expectations of the receiving society, which aims to incorporate the newcomers while ensuring equal rights, duties and opportunities. However, full assimilation often entails the domination of the incomers by the host society and a failure on the latter's part to value the contribution of those new members. These individual and societal tensions are obviously more salient when it

¹ World Migration Report 2024

comes to the question of language. Language, along with religion, is one of the most deeply rooted, clearest, and least negotiable markers of identity. At the community level, language serves as a symbolic link to heritage, connecting individuals to their origins, history, and collective memory. At the individual level, language functions as both an identity marker and a requirement for full participation in a speech community.

As migrants seek to carve a space in their country of settlement, the acquisition of the host country's language is crucial to integration and employment, shaping how they negotiate relations of power at work, school, and other settings. This negotiation of linguistic and social capital allows them to assert their presence in their adopted country while envisioning a future that balances integration and heritage preservation.

Among the diverse migrant communities in France, Algerians represent one of the most prominent groups, not only because of their numerical significance, but also because they are highly visible within the French society, contributing to the country's growing ethnic and linguistic diversity. This study situates Algerian migrants' Arabic language practices within the broader context of heritage language maintenance, addressing the challenges, strategies, and implications of language transmission across generations.

■ **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Interactions with Algerian families in France often reveal a distinctively interesting linguistic pattern that seems to distinguish the parents' and children's language practices: while parents switch or mix between Arabic and French, their children tend to speak almost exclusively in French and only use Arabic for short and brief responses. Such occurrences have left us as observers with questions about the future of their heritage language, and have led some to ask migrant parents whether their children are truly acquiring their home language. Consequently, it is essential to examine the extent to which migrant parents are actively engaged in transmitting Arabic to the next generation.

This research is carried out within the framework of minority language studies (Clyne, 2003; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Fishman, 1991; 1989), with a particular focus on migrant families' language practices and their impact on heritage language maintenance. Although research on heritage languages across different contexts and areas of focus has intensified in the last two

decades, there remains a notable gap regarding the specific challenges and tensions faced by Algerian migrant families in their efforts to pass on Arabic across subsequent generations. This study seeks to address this gap by investigating the factors that influence migrant parents' use of Arabic with their children and by questioning: Is the linguistic heritage being effectively transmitted to the next generation in migrant communities?

■ RATIONALE

Central to this research is the observation that many migrant families experience a dual linguistic reality, where the language spoken at home differs from the dominant language of the society in which their children are raised. This divergence creates a unique context in which the transmission of a heritage language—such as Arabic in the case of the Algerian community in France—becomes both a challenge and a critical marker of cultural identity.

To understand the nature of these families' linguistic experiences, it is essential to explore questions at both the individual family level and the broader migrant group level. At the family level, this involves examining how parents' language practices, beliefs, and management strategies work together to maintain the heritage language within the home. For instance, how do parents decide when to use Arabic versus French, and what measures do they take to ensure that their children acquire functional proficiency in Arabic? These questions speak to the heart of FLP and its role in intergenerational language transmission.

At the migrant group level, the focus shifts to the broader socio-cultural and institutional factors that influence language maintenance and shift. This includes understanding how community support networks, societal attitudes, and state policies either facilitate or hinder the preservation of minority languages. In a multicultural setting like France, where the host language dominates public life, migrant groups must navigate complex social dynamics to sustain their linguistic heritage.

By addressing these two levels of inquiry, this study aims to offer a comprehensive picture of how heritage language transmission is negotiated amidst the pressures of assimilation and cultural adaptation. This dual focus is especially pertinent in today's globalized world, where migration continuously reshapes societies into multilingual and multicultural spaces. Ultimately, the rationale behind this research is to illuminate the intricate interplay between family practices and wider societal influences, contributing to the development of effective

strategies and policies that support the sustainable maintenance of heritage languages in migrant communities.

■ **RESEARCH AIM**

This study aims to deepen our understanding of the factors that both facilitate and hinder the maintenance and transmission of heritage languages within multilingual migrant contexts. Focusing on Algerian migrant families in France, the research examines how family language practices and parental ideologies impact the intergenerational transmission of Arabic, particularly in light of children's acquisition of French, the dominant language in the host society.

■ **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

The following research objectives would facilitate the achievement of this aim:

1. Identify the key factors impacting language choice and heritage language transmission in multilingual settings.
2. Examine the language practices and ideologies of Algerian parents regarding the transmission of Arabic within the family context.
3. Analyse the impact of parents' language beliefs on children's Arabic language retention of Arabic among children.
4. Develop strategic recommendations for migrant families to enhance the effectiveness of language transmission.

■ **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The above-mentioned objectives lead us to address the following research questions:

1. How do Algerian migrant parents use Arabic heritage language within their homes, particularly in their interactions with their children?

2. What are the parents' views on Arabic heritage language transmission in migrant contexts? And how significant do they consider their heritage language for maintaining cultural identity?

3 Do Parents have any concerns about their children's proficiency in the language and its impact on their identity as Algerian Arabs? Furthermore, are parents aware of their role as

language planners, and what strategies do they implement to support the effective transmission of Arabic to their children?

▪ SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study focuses on the Algerian migrant community in France, specifically examining the processes of heritage language transmission within family settings. The research investigates how Algerian parents use Arabic at home, their attitudes toward maintaining Arabic as a core element of cultural identity, and the challenges they face in transmitting the language to their children in a predominantly French linguistic environment.

The scope of the study is confined to:

- Population: Algerian migrant families residing in France, with a particular emphasis on households where Arabic serves as the heritage language.
- Context: The everyday language practices within the home, exploring parental language ideologies, strategies, and management practices in the face of societal pressures favoring French.
- Focus: The study examines intra-familial dynamics, concentrating on the role of parental agency in heritage language maintenance. It does not extend to institutional or formal educational settings, although these may indirectly influence family language practices.
- Timeframe: The research reflects current sociolinguistic conditions and contemporary challenges associated with language transmission in migrant contexts.

By narrowing its focus to these parameters, the study aims to provide an in-depth understanding of how heritage language practices are negotiated at the family level and how these practices contribute to the broader dynamics of language maintenance and shift among Algerian migrants in France.

▪ RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

This study draws its significance from several key contributions to the fields of heritage language maintenance and migrant language practices. First, by investigating the

intergenerational transmission of Arabic among Algerian migrant families in France, the research enhances our understanding of how heritage languages are negotiated within multilingual settings. It illuminates the interplay between family language practices and broader socio-political factors, offering insights into the mechanisms that facilitate or hinder language maintenance in migrant contexts. Second, the study provides valuable insights into parental roles and strategies in heritage language transmission. By examining the language practices, beliefs, and management strategies employed by Algerian parents, the research highlights the critical role of FLP in preserving cultural and linguistic identity. These findings have practical implications for educators, policymakers, and migrant communities seeking to promote effective bilingualism and cultural continuity. Third, the study's integrative theoretical framework—which combines perspectives from language ecology, FLP, and reversing language shift models—advances methodological approaches in the field. This multi-layered analysis not only deepens our theoretical understanding but also serves as a model for future research on heritage language sustainability. Finally, in an era marked by increasing multiculturalism and linguistic diversity, the findings of this study would have broader implications for language planning and policy in multilingual societies. By shedding light on the challenges and opportunities faced by migrant families, this research contributes to ongoing debates about integration, cultural preservation, and the rights of linguistic minorities.

▪ **THESIS STRUCTURE**

The main body of this thesis is structured along the lines of the main objectives mentioned above. This introductory chapter precedes the main body and provides a general overview of the research. The thesis, therefore, consists of five chapters.

Chapter one is a review of key concepts and theoretical frameworks related to language maintenance, which are essential for understanding the dynamics of Arabic transmission among Algerian migrants in France. It introduces foundational concepts such as heritage language, language maintenance, shift, and loss, as well as theoretical models including Kloss' taxonomy, Clyne's adaptation of Kloss, marketplace theory, ethnolinguistic vitality, and core values theory.

Chapter two explores sociolinguistic models that account for language choice in multilingual settings. It establishes a theoretical foundation by discussing macro- and micro-

perspectives on language choice, including bilingualism, diglossia, the conflict model, code-switching theories, and social network theory.

Chapter three focuses on Family Language Policy (FLP) and serves as the most critical theoretical component of the study. It provides a contextual framework that examines the situation of Algerians in France, including migration patterns, educational experiences, and language-related challenges. Additionally, this chapter presents the theoretical framework of Family Language Policy, which underpins the study's investigation into Arabic language transmission within Algerian migrant families.

Chapter four details the research methodology, describing the study design, data collection tools, and analytical methods used to investigate language practices, attitudes, and management strategies among participants.

Chapter five presents the findings and discussion, linking empirical results to the theoretical perspectives explored in earlier chapters. This section examines the patterns of language use, transmission, and maintenance within Algerian migrant families, highlighting key trends and factors influencing linguistic choices.

Finally, the thesis concludes with some final remarks summarizing key insights and implications, recommendations, and study limitations. It summarizes the key findings, discusses their implications for language policy and education, and offers practical recommendations for reinforcing Arabic language and culture among Algerian migrants in France. The chapter also acknowledges the study's limitations and suggests avenues for future research

▪ **CONCLUSION**

This introductory chapter has provided a comprehensive overview of the research, outlining its background, rationale, and objectives. It has established the importance of studying Arabic language maintenance among Algerian migrant families in France by situating the research within its broader historical, sociolinguistic, and educational contexts. By presenting the research questions and scope, this chapter has set the foundation for the theoretical and empirical analyses in subsequent chapters. The following chapter will delve into the key concepts and theories related to language maintenance, offering a framework for understanding

language shift, heritage language transmission, and the factors influencing language preservation within migrant communities.

CHAPTER I

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE: KEY CONCEPTS & THEORIES

I.1 INTRODUCTION

From a transdisciplinary standpoint incorporating linguistics, sociolinguistics and social psychology, this chapter attempts to establish a robust empirical basis for the present study by offering a comprehensive review of pertinent empirical research and theoretical frameworks. It extensively explores the different areas of the literature about language maintenance, language shift and heritage language transmission processes. Language maintenance, shift, and loss are central concerns in sociolinguistics, particularly in the study of heritage languages within migrant communities. The survival of a language across generations depends on various sociocultural, political, and individual factors that either support its continuity or contribute to its gradual erosion. This chapter equally examines theoretical frameworks such as Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and the ecological perspective on language, aiming to grapple with the full range of issues and factors promoting or deterring the retention of a minority language over generations in a migration context.

I.2 HERITAGE LANGUAGE

In recent literature, the term heritage language has prevailed over many other relevant terms that are used worldwide in the bibliography of various academic fields such as linguistics, education and politics, “to identify the non-dominant languages in a given social context” (Kelleher, 2010, p. 1). Initially introduced as an alternative to the term “quasi-speakers,” it aimed to shift away from the deficit-based perspective associated with that label. Instead, it sought to provide a more comprehensive and affirming representation of “non-mainstream” languages in bilingual repertoires. The term was intended to highlight the value of heritage or background speakers, who were often viewed unfavorably in comparison to both native speakers and second-language learners. While, in theory, the concept of a heritage language applies to all languages—since, as Cummins (2005) points out, even mainstream speakers possess a linguistic heritage—in practice, it is primarily used to describe languages spoken by communities outside the mainstream. Heritage speakers are typically defined as individuals whose home or ancestral language differs from English, including both those whose ancestors lived in the region before the founding of the United States and more recent migrants². In Diasporas, heritage languages are usually viewed against the backdrop of dominant languages, and are, thus, always considered as ‘other’ languages wherever there is a widely used language

² Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages (Cummins, 2005, p. 586)

(Fishman, 2001; Valdés, 2001). The term heritage language was first coined and broadly used in the Canadian context in the 1970s and 1980s, to refer particularly to a language other than English and French officially recognized as culturally important to a national minority, whether it is indigenous (such as Ojibwa or Inuktitut) or migrant (such as Italian or Ukrainian)³.

According to Fishman (2001), heritage languages are classified into three categories: indigenous, migrant, and colonial. The first type includes indigenous heritage languages used by indigenous speakers who have always inhabited the area where the majority language is spoken: for example, Tamazight in North Africa, Catalan in Catalonia, and Welsh in Wales. The other type includes migrant heritage languages spoken by groups of migrants who live in a country where another majority language is spoken: Arabic speakers in Europe, Punjabi speakers in the United Kingdom, Spanish, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, Hindi, Russian, and many other immigrant groups in the United States and Canada (Cummins, 1995; Fishman, 2001). For Cho et al. (2004), a heritage language is a “language spoken by the children of immigrants or by those who immigrated to a country when young” (p. 23). The third type: colonial heritage languages, added by Fishman (2001) and Wiley (2005), includes the refugee and former colonial languages such as Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Spanish, and Swedish, which were used by European colonizers of North America.

Furthermore, other different terms are used to describe heritage languages, for instance, in the Australian context, heritage languages refer to all Languages Other Than English (LOTE) (Clyne, 1991), a version that was adopted by American researchers and policy makers in subsequent years. Additionally, other synonyms are still used such as: languages of origin, ethnic languages, community languages⁴, mother languages or mother tongues, ancestral languages, home languages, migrant minority languages, foreign languages, second languages (where there is one dominant/official language in the society), third languages (i.e., in Canada where the dominant/official languages are two), and so on. While most of the aforementioned terms refer to migrant minority languages, the choice of using one term instead of the other seems to be predominantly determined by the impact that each term may have in a particular context. The terminology varies across regions and has changed over time, also reflecting political and regional situations. As such, this research appropriately adopts most of these terms

³ The Oxford Companion to the English Language

⁴ In Britain and Australia, a term used by government officials, social workers, and others for a language used by immigrants, such as Hindi or Chinese: 'Today the term "Community Language" has become firmly established as a euphemism for low status languages of Britain' (Safder Alladina, *Language Issues* 1, Spring 1986).

to refer to the Arabic language used by Algerian migrants in France. Still, we acknowledge the criticisms and shortcomings of all those terms.

Such a diversity in heritage language terminology attests to a continuous effort aiming to develop a comprehensive view of what a heritage language is, taking into account multiple societal, political, and legal issues rather than a disagreement among sociolinguists and educators. According to Jim Cummins “the term was changed to reflect misgivings that the notion of ‘heritage’ entailed connotations of learning about past traditions rather than acquiring language skills that have significance for the overall educational and personal development of children. The term ‘international languages’ was intended to communicate that, in an era of globalization, these languages were highly relevant to business and cultural exchanges and had economic as well as ‘heritage’ value” (Cummins, 2014, p. 2). Nonetheless, the notion of heritage descriptively carries connotations of something distant, ancient and lacking contemporary relevance. It also draws attention to the speaker’s history, either individually or collectively, and implies that they come from somewhere, it allocates them roots either real or imagined.

I.2.1 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

The term language maintenance is used to describe “a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continues to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite pressure from a the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres” (Pauwels, 2004, p. 719). Fishman (1966) explained this as “efforts of minority cultural groups to maintain and develop their particular heritages as vibrant lifeways” (p. 21). These lifeways are not given a chance to fully develop unless the minority group’s language is maintained. The language is likely to be maintained when it is considered a significant symbol of a minority group’s identity, for example, Polish people have regarded language as very important for preserving their identity in the many countries they have migrated to, and they have consequently maintained Polish for three to four generations. The same is true for Greek migrants in places like Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. The language may also be maintained when some conditions are available such as access to education in the minority language.

Language maintenance is concerned with the stability in language use despite changing patterns of social, psychological and/or cultural orientation in minority groups. Language choice in this tradition is viewed in a larger context, as governed by communicative needs and

social norms, which in some cases might be in conflict with each other on the micro and macro levels of speech. Hence, the investigation language maintenance requires first the identification of domains and situations in which the language is gradually replaced by another language or no longer used. Moreover, the term language maintenance is used to describe “relative language stability in the number and distribution of its speakers, its proficient usage by children and adults, and its retention in specific domains” (Baker, 2011, p. 72). Mesthrie (2001) defines language maintenance as “the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially powerful or numerically stronger language” (p. 493).

Most of the literature on language maintenance and/or shift in migrant contexts has grown out of the study of languages and communities of bilingual speakers in language contact situations, including early studies in sociolinguistics, such as Weinreich (1953), Ferguson & Gumperz (1960) and Gumperz (1964). A predictable outcome of language contact is either the maintenance of the two languages (or more) in some form– that is stable bi/multilingualism, – or language shift, whereby the community eventually shifts to the use of one language over the other. Here again, two categories of studies can be distinguished– those focusing on the sociocultural factors promoting language maintenance/shift and those concerned with the structural effects of language contact on the second language or the target language. Bilingualism in migrant settings has primarily been considered as a transitory phenomenon, and an ongoing decline in the use of migrant languages over generations, as it has been documented in numerous studies, first of all in the United States and Australia. In two ground-breaking research findings, both published in 1953, Uriel Weinreich and Einar Haugen concluded independently of each other that language shift may be identified in two dimensions: as a structural change in the individuals’ language competency and as a social change affecting the community language use patterns. While investigating interference, changes at the structural level of language, which was Weinreich’s initial interest, he became more and more interested in socio-cultural aspects of language contact, and, by merging these two standpoints, he established a wider framework for research in contact linguistics. Conversely, Haugen’s initial interest was documenting language use in a bilingual community of Norwegian migrants in America. In addition to reporting his informants’ linguistic profiles (and the Norwegian dialects they spoke), he offered the first comprehensive analysis of social factors of language shift. Haugen (Haugen, 1953) examines language use within the family and in religious settings with regard to language attitudes and describes the constraints faced by his informants as a result of English use in the Media and the work life.

I.2.2 LANGUAGE SHIFT

Migrant families provide an obvious example of the process of language shift. Their pattern of language use at work gradually shifts over some time. At one stage they mainly use their ethnic language, then they use the mainstream language almost exclusively. In Fishman's (1989) words, "what begins as the language of social and economic mobility end, within three generations or so, as the language of the crib as well, even in democratic and pluralism-permitting contexts" (p. 206). This is a typical experience of ethnic groups who use a minority language in a predominantly monolingual culture and society. The order of domains in which language shift occurs may differ for different individuals and different groups, but progressively over time, the language of the wider society displaces the minority language. There are various social, political and economic factors that lead a community to shift from using one language for most purposes to using a different language, or from using two distinct codes in different domains, to using different varieties of just one language for their communicative needs. Fishman (1991) argues that language shift often occurs when the native languages of a speech community are threatened and thus "intergenerational continuity of the heritage language [proceeds] negatively, with fewer 'speakers, readers, writers, and even understanders' every generation" (p. 1). In sum, language shift denotes: "The gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members manifested as loss in number of speakers, level of proficiency, or range of functional use of the language" (Hornberger N. , 2012, p. 1)

Similarly, Clyne (2003) explains the emergence of language shift as "a product of pre-migration and post-migration experiences mediated through culture" (Clyne, 2003, p. 69). Nevertheless, language shift is not always the result of migration. Political, economic and social changes can occur within a community, and this may result in linguistic changes too. From the perspective of individual families, the gradual shift in language proficiency can be explained in a relatively simple way: individuals need to adapt to new circumstances as a result of migration, not the least of which is linguistic. For the sake of communication with institutions and people in the new context, they have to learn a new language. In the long run, however, the use of their ethnic language becomes restricted to interactions with members of the same group. This typically implies a limited use of their home language in terms of time and space, but most importantly, to a restricted set of settings and topics. Thus, most children born and raised in the new country have limited access to the minority language. Moreover, migrant parents also face real challenges regarding their choice of housing areas, childcare and schooling, building new

networks, etc., not always being aware that these initial decisions may not only shape the language use and but also the future of their children.

I.2.3 TYPES OF LANGUAGE SHIFT

Various types of language shift have been identified in language contact research in multilingual settings. For example, Tansfeldt (1992) distinguished four types of language shift. First, the on-going process of language shift in the community is known as a partial language shift. Second, the “point of no return” in language shift is referred to as a total language shift. Language shift has also been studied at the macro-societal level and the micro- societal level. Macro-level shift refers to the study of factors leading to language shift at the community level, and, micro-level shift refers to the study of how individual’s linguistic behaviour may drive to language shift (Tansfeldt, 1992, p. 151). An early example of investigating language shift at the macro-societal level has been provided by Fasold (1984) who examined community factors such as: industrialisation, urbanisation, migration, proletarianisation, and government policies in relation to language shift. In his study, Fasold concluded that there has been “very little success in using any combination of [these factors] to predict when language shift will occur” (Fasold, 1984, p. 217). Edwards (1985), in turn, provided an early example of a micro-societal study of language shift by considering the factors that are directly related to individuals’ motivations and goals. Edwards attributed language choice, and ultimately language shift, to “pragmatic decisions in which another variety is seen as more important for the future” (Edwards, 1985, p. 71). He stated that “pragmatic considerations’ such as power, social access, and material advancement are what need to be studied in understanding language use and shift patterns. He also maintained that these pragmatic considerations are the major determinants of success in any language planning activity (p. 94). Edwards ultimately summarised his statements by saying that the only way to influence language shift is to alter the entire social fabric of the language community (p. 98).

Similarly, Clyne (2003) differentiates two types of language shift as part of his investigation into linguistic behaviour and the “dynamics of language shift” among migrants in Australia, namely intra-generational and inter-generational shift. Intra-generational language shift refers to a shift within the same generation, and inter-generational language shift, which is a more common type, refers to a shift in language use between the second and third generations of a migrant group (Clyne, Dynamics of language contact, 2003). In investigating language shift, Clyne recommends to distinguish language shift in the second generation from the non-acquisition of a language, as some of second-generation speakers do not learn the ‘first’

language at all (Clyne, Dynamics of language contact, 2003). As a matter of fact, the degree of language shift is usually higher in the second generation than in the first generation (Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Clyne, 2003).

I.2.4 REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT (RLS): GRADED INTERGENERATIONAL DISRUPTION SCALE (GIDS)

In his seminal work entitled Reversing Language Shift (RLS), Fishman (1991) attempted to track and document how language shift could be reversed. Fishman (1966) observed that the written and printed word (in newspapers, letters, books) was the most compelling consistent factor in the Hungarian language community that he studied. Written texts (personal correspondence, newsletters, magazines, brochures, and books) served to bridge psychological and cultural gap between people, particularly if they were connected across distance, as often was the case in North America, where distances are vast. Fishman (1991) reached the conclusion that literacy facilitates “inter-individual, internetwork, and inter-communal communication” (p. 96), thus helping to support language maintenance and reverse language shift. However, literacy is not the panacea of all language shift situations. Fishman (2001) developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) to support work on threatened languages and to describe measures to be taken in order to maintain the language within its community of users. The GIDS identifies situations in which literacy may be an appropriate strategy to help to reverse language shift and other situations in which it is relatively useless. The eight stages identified by Fishman (1991) are shown in Figure 2 ; the scale is displayed on the Richter Scale and contains eight stages: stretching from stage 1, which stands for the least vulnerable state for minority groups, to stage 8, which represents the most disturbed situation, where only elderly and geographically isolated people can speak the language in question.

8. (no adult minority language speakers) Possible way of reversing language shift: reconstructing and relearning the language by adults
7. Most minority language users are socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active but beyond child-bearing age. Cultural interaction in the minority language primarily involves the community-based older generation
6. Intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood: the basis of minority language transmission
5. Minority literacy in home, school and community, but not in lieu of compulsory education.

Diglossia attained

4. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under minority curricular and staffing control (types a and b)⁵
3. Minority language usage in the local /regional work sphere (outside the minority based neighbourhood/community) involving both minority and majority members
2. Minority language use in mass media and governmental services on local/regional levels, but not in higher instances
1. Minority language use in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)

Figure 1 The GIDS Scale (Fishman, 1991; 2001)

According to Fishman, language maintenance depends significantly on the transmission of the community language in the homes. Though he acknowledges the importance of mother-tongue schooling for minority groups, he argues that this is a complementary strategy to community support which should be a higher priority in ensuring minority language maintenance (Fishman, 1991, p. 87). Of particular interest to migrant heritage language programmes are stages 4, 5, and 6 and their role in intergenerational transmission of heritage languages. Intergenerational language transmission is thus placed on stage 6, representing the watershed between language maintenance and language shift. Different levels of institutional support for minority language maintenance follow on lower stages, schooling in minority language being placed on stage 4 and supplementary education in the minority language outside school on stage 5. According to Fishman, at stage 5 a speech community has “guided literacy” (p. 96), in order to support oracy. Most importantly, stage 5 is “primarily under intragroup sponsorship, with respect to both its acquisition, its content and its control” and “agencies of RLS-oriented literacy acquisition will receive no governmental funding on the one hand, and will not satisfy compulsory education requirements, on the other hand” (p. 98).

I.2.5 INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION

In line with Fishman’s GIDS, it is obvious that the whole process hinges on successful intergenerational language transmission in the home and community. In other words, if intergenerational transmission of a minority language (Stage 6 in the GIDS) does not

⁵ The difference between type 4a schools and type 4b schools is the degree to which community schools depend (through funding or otherwise) on the dominant polity.

meet with success, the subsequent stages of the model will also achieve limited—if any—success, resulting in a constant precarious position of the language. Although, Fishman clearly and simply puts it, ‘without intergenerational mother tongue transmission [...] no language maintenance is possible’ (1991, p. 113), little attention has been devoted to family language transmission, within the paradigms of both language shift and loss. It is only recently, to the best of my knowledge, that scholars have investigated language shift by specifically looking at the interactions between parents and children in those instances of ethnic minority language groups characterised by societal bilingualism and language contact. Despite the fact that the ‘deliberate non-transmission of the ancestral language to young children is a theme repeated with dreary frequency in communities where a threatened minority language is the normal daily speech of the parental and grandparental generations’ (Dorian, 1986, p. 561), little attention has been given to the motivations and reasons behind parental decision to speak the dominant language to their children, and still ‘little is known about the factors which determine parents’ language use [...] with their children’ (Morris & Jones, 2007, p. 486). The term intergenerational language transmission is not adequately emphasised in the literature, and the focus has always been transposed to parts of the process, viewing the issue from either the children’s (referring to the language acquisition process) or the group’s perspective (language maintenance and shift).

It should be noted, however, that how the process of language transmission plays out in practice can vary considerably: it is affected by such factors as socio-economic status, education and demography as well as language attitudes within a family and in society. For example, some communities exhibit more language solidarity than others, and most authors agree that attitudes and ideologies which speakers associate with their languages (and with those who speak them) will be a determining factor in the maintenance of a language.

On the whole, however, intergenerational transmission of the ethnic language is a responsibility that mostly lies with the parents. Not unsurprisingly, research has shown that environments in which parents consciously decide to use the minority language with their children in the first place; provide high and varied minority language input to their children; and insert management strategies that mandate responses in the minority language are more likely to lead to intergenerational language transmission than those who do not do so (Altman, Feldman, Yitzhaki, Lotem, & Walters, 2014; Baker, 2011; Lanza, Multilingualism in the family, 2007; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). However, on the other hand, the decision to transmit a particular language in a minority setting may not always be so straightforward, and parents

may find themselves having to maintain a fine balance in making various decisions—for instance, not using a strict management style once the child has established a preference for the majority language, since this might disrupt family relationships, as well as negatively affect the child’s relationship with the minority or heritage language in question (Curd-Christiansen, 2016)

As Fishman (1991) writes: “The home-family-neighborhood-community complex is the normal ‘whole’ of childhood life and of intergenerational mother tongue transmission. Accordingly, it must remain at the centre of RLS-efforts, no matter what are the stages that necessarily come thereafter” (p. 95). Research highlights certain key elements in the sustainability of a language as a home language in a minority setting. A parent, or ideally parents having strong language skills, is the first key factor, but is not enough on its own for children to acquire and successfully continue to use the language among their siblings and to any extent beyond their immediate family networks. The active decision and determination of parents to bring up their children as speakers of the ethnic language was identified as the second key factor by the parents in the research. The local community institutions that support the linguistic endeavours of families, particularly the schools and social outlets for children in the younger age groups are a third key contributory factor (Ó hIfearnáin, Wider Community Stance and Irish-Speaking Families in the Gaeltacht, 2022).

I.2.6 LANGUAGE LOSS

Because of the prevalent use of the majority group language for most purposes and its spread into more and more domains, the number of contexts in which individuals use the ethnic language shrink more and more. Huss (2017) suggests that “language loss refers to a societal or individual loss in use or in the ability to use a language, implying that another language is replacing it” (p. 2). There is substantial empirical work that asserts that language loss occurs over a long period of time and never takes place abruptly, i.e.; competence in the language does not disappear overnight. It gradually erodes over time. (Wong Fillmore, 1991; Merino, 1983). The process of language loss comes about through a kind of gradual loss of fluency and competence by the language speakers. The language usually retreats till it is used only in the home, and finally it is restricted to such personal activities as praying, counting, and dreaming. The stylistic variation that people acquire when they use a language in a wider range of domains fades. Even in the contexts where the language is still used, there is a gradual decline in the complexity and diversity of structural features of the language – speakers’ sound rules become

less complex, their grammatical patterns get simplified and their vocabulary in the language gets smaller and smaller.

Ethnic language loss may refer to “a lack of first language development, delayed first language development, or a progressive loss of previously-acquired language ability” Verhoeven and Beschoten (1986) cited in (Kouritzin, 1999, p. 11). Arrested development of the first language (Shiff-Myers, 1992) also falls in the category of first language loss. Other terms often associated with this issue are subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1981), or lack of development of the first language; semilingualism (Cummins & Cameron, *The ESL student IS the mainstream: The marginalization of diversity in current Canadian educational debates*, 1994), or deficiency in both first and second languages; and additive bilingualism, referring to the successful development of two languages. In this study the general term language loss is used to describe the lack or decline of ability to use the first language.

Different people also experience language loss to different degrees. Based on those differences, ethnic language maintenance or loss should be seen on a continuum, rather than as a dichotomy. In one sense, ethnic language loss as children acquire the dominant language is not a new phenomenon. Few migrant groups have successfully maintained their ethnic languages as they became assimilated into a new life in the receiving countries. As they learn the new language, they use it more and more until it becomes their dominant language. The outcome in earlier times was nonetheless bilingualism. The second generation could speak the ethnic language and the dominant language, although few people were equally proficient in both languages. The loss of the ethnic language generally occurs between the second and the third generations because second-generation migrants rarely use the ethnic language enough to impart it to their children. Thus, the process of language loss used to take place over two generations (Fishman & Hofman, 1966; Portes & Rumbault, 1990).

The dilemma facing migrant children, however, may be viewed as less a problem of learning the dominant language than of ethnic language loss. While virtually all children who attend schools learn the host country's language, most of them are at risk of losing their home languages as they do so. The picture has changed dramatically in the case of present day migrants. Few current second generation migrants can be described as bilinguals. Ordinarily, we assume that when children acquire a second language, they add it to their primary language, and the result is bilingualism. But in the case of most present-day migrant children, the learning of the dominant language is a subtractive process (Lambert, *The effects of bilingualism on the individual: Cognitive and socio-cultural consequences*, 1977) with the dominant language

quickly displacing and replacing the primary language in young first generation migrants. The result is that few migrant children become bilinguals today by learning the dominant language.

Language loss is not a necessary or inevitable outcome when children acquire a second language. Otherwise, the world would have no bilinguals. In many places around the world, bilingualism and even multilingualism are commonplace. In France, however, and in other similar societies, powerful social and political forces operate against the maintenance of minority languages. To many and perhaps most French people, French is more than a societal language: it is an ideology. The ideological stance is this: to be French, one must speak French. French gives access to participation in the life of the society, but it is also an evidence of an individual's acceptance of and loyalty to the core values of the French society. Conversely, the inability to speak French is a sign that a person has not accepted the conditions of being French. These sentiments are powerful forces in how people see and deal with one another, especially in places with heavy concentrations of recent migrants.

I.3 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE THEORIES

What factors lead a community to maintain its language or shift from using that language to using another? Sociolinguistic research has long sought to identify the key variables that encourage communities to either sustain their language or adopt another. Conceivably, there is no magic formula to guarantee language maintenance or to predict a shift, as “different factors combine in different ways in each social context, and the results are rarely predictable” (Holmes, 2001, p. 67). Initially, the most observable factor is that the community sees an important reason for learning or using a particular language. Economic incentives often serve as primary motivators, yet political support, social cohesion, and cultural identity also play critical roles in shaping language practices within society. These in turn are all tied to the communicative, cognitive, symbolic and instrumental functions of language in society. In this section, we highlight the most important theories of language maintenance, aiming to unravel these dynamics and shed light on why communities may choose to preserve or abandon their native language.

I.3.1 ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

Over the last decade, language maintenance and shift research was typically carried out at the individual level in relation to language use by members of different generations (Fishman, 2013; 2001; 1991). The present study, however, focuses on the maintenance and shift at the

level of the heritage language speech community as a whole, which is in line with the language ecological paradigm. The framework of language ecology requires the investigation of the interplay of a given language to other languages, the speakers of those languages, and the broader social environments wherein languages are spoken. As we will argue, this is highly relevant regarding our focus on the Algerian migrant community with an interest on how processes of language maintenance and shift of the communities are shaped by the changing socio-demographic backgrounds of the communities' members living abroad. The theoretical framework of language ecology is adopted in studying language practices within the France-based Algerian community, to inform our understanding of language maintenance and shift in a multilingual context. Language ecology emphasises the importance of the environment where several languages are present by analogy with the ecosystem: ecology is taken as a metaphor to be used for languages, which are dynamically co-existing in a given geographical or social space (Blackledge, 2008; Haugen, *The Ecology of Language* (Language Science and National Development), 1972; Steffensen & Alwin, 2014).

Linguistic ecology has made significant contributions to our understanding of the phenomena of contact between “majority” and “minority” language groups owing to the broad, dynamic perspective that the ecosystem view offers. Besides its focus on the structural variation that may result from contact between languages, linguistic ecology also allows us to apprehend the main factors influencing the evolution of each case. As a matter of fact, some necessary socio-political measures can be carried out to reverse negative dynamics or support the sustainable maintenance of the languages involved. Worth mentioning, states with linguistically diverse populations, recognising only one official language and often striving to impose language homogenisation among the various minority groups, notably demonstrate the most typical and frequent situations of linguistic marginalisation.

The term “ecology of language” is simply defined by Haugen as “the study of the interaction between any given language and its environment”, thus suggesting some sort of analogy with the natural world. The term ‘environment’ of language makes one think immediately of the physical surroundings in which language is spoken. However, Haugen defined environment in a different, and at first sight somewhat unexpected, way: the environment is not the physical setting but the social and cultural setting in which the language is used. In other words, the environment is the speakers of the language. Haugen further defines the environment of a language as:

The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others. (Haugen, 1972, p. 325)

According to Haugen, language could be viewed as an organism, and its speakers as its environment. He considered ecology as consisting of three elements: (1) an organism, (2) its environment, and (3) the process that connects them (their interaction). Therefore, linguists' focus should lay in describing the characteristics of the organism and its environment in order to show how the interaction between them gives rise to different phenomena. Furthermore, Haugen argues that the ecology of a language is partly psychological in terms of speakers, and partly sociological in terms of the social attribution of the language. This implies that the use, maintenance and development of a language in a given ecology, on the one hand, are basically determined by the individual speakers' decision on whether or not to learn a certain language, use it and transmit it over to others; on the other hand, they are also shaped by the broader societal context in which languages acquire different social functions and values that ultimately exert an influence on language behaviours of individual speakers. Therefore, the study of language ecology takes a particular interest in "how languages are shaped and changed by their environment, and reciprocally, how the environment is shaped by languages" (Wendel, 2005, p. 51). Garner (2005, p. 97) further adds: "the linguistic and social environment, the languages involved, and their speaker bases are intimately interactive".

Despite being non-living organisms in their own right, languages nonetheless share many properties with biological species mainly in terms of diversity, variation, lineage and transmission. The following table summarises a list of defining properties along which language and species may be compared:

PROPERTY	SPECIES	LANGUAGE
Diversity		Communication communities
Interdependence of organisms or languages organized in	Biological ecosystems display structured diversity at all levels of scale	exhibit a multi-layered structural diversity: transnational and languages of

multiple layers of an ecological system.		inter-community communication at the upper levels; vernaculars at the lowest level
Variation The variation of organisms within a species or languages within a communication community	Morphological variation is commonplace among biological organisms: for example, flower height, style length.	Variation forming continua are found on all dimensions of a language such as pronunciation and vocabulary.
Transmission The passing on of information from generation to generation.	Transmission occurs only vertically from parent to off spring.	Transmission can occur both vertically (parent to child) and horizontally (e.g. Borrowing)
Lineage The formation of lines of descent over generations showing historical relationships.	Lineages are traced using comparative morphological, genetic, and fossil information.	Lineages are traced through sound and typological correspondences, cognates, and through surveying the migrations of people throughout history.
Selection and Adaptation Those features that result in reproductive success are favored by selection. Such features have a high adaptive value	Selection among species is the result of historical forces. Selection is blind.	Both deliberate and accidental selection can occur among languages. Speakers have the ability to create or choose adaptive features (memes).
Niche Changes in the support systems result in corresponding changes in the survivability of the organisms or languages	There is a wide range of niche sensitivity among biological organisms from ‘weeds’ (notoriously tolerant to many habitats) to many orchids (notoriously intolerant).	Sensitivity to change has resulted in language endangerment or extinction.
Rate of Change The speed with which changes occur within a species or language	Changes typically occur slowly over many generations	Changes can occur rapidly, even within generations. Linguistic evolution outstrips biological evolution.

Table 1 Similarities between languages and species

Source: Wendel (2005, p. 56)

Table above directs the spotlight on the functional, adaptive, and dynamic properties of language to show how it exhibits many of the same properties and processes as biological organisms, the ecology of language has implications for a wide range of issues that apply equally to biological species such as the maintenance of linguistic diversity, the endangerment and extinction of languages and language planning. Similar to other species in nature, contact and competition between languages also often happen in a given ecology due to the relative power relationships that are inherent in the use of any given set of languages (Haugen, 1972, p. 57; Mackey, 2001, p. 67). Similarly, entities at the bottom of the linguistic hierarchy such as minority languages have to struggle for their maintained use under the pressure of dominant languages (Mühlhäusler, 2010).

Moreover, like individual organisms of biological species, languages are transmitted from generation to generation. Transmission of languages is achieved through the learning of memes (Blackmore, 2000) and through cultural learning (Tomasello, 1999) in the context of communication. One significant distinction is that language transmission, not only occurs vertically but can also occur horizontally across diverse speech inputs such as word translation or the introduction of new cultural notions. Another difference is that, unlike most biological organisms, languages do not make exact copies of themselves.

Adopting an ecological philosophy of language, however, offers richer possibilities for advancing the study of minority languages than simply employing ecology as a metaphor. A healthy language ecology can account for the sustainability of minority languages even in areas of high linguistic diversity and drive us to value the diversity that thrives around us today and raise awareness about its protection. The language ecology framework explains the intricate interactions between environment, language and ethnolinguistic groups and the roles each language plays with respect to different sociocultural groups. In many significant ways, the fate of languages is tied to the fate of the landscapes in which they are used. Language ecology thus provides fresh and intriguing perspectives that acknowledge the value of any language as part of the human ecology and an essential component of the natural system. These insights open up new possibilities for our understanding of the many ways in which language is an ecological phenomenon in its own right and the extent to which it is integrated in a network of relationships. In our study, we adopt a language ecology perspective to inform our understanding of language maintenance and shift in a multilingual context, i.e. how Arabic

language negotiates position to coexist in a multilingual setting and under different circumstances through language practices of the France-based Algerian community.

I.3.2 KLOSS TAXONOMY

Kloss (1966) examined the dynamics of German-English contact in the American migrant situation, offering a model that identifies various social factors influencing a community's language maintenance or shift. He differentiates between clear-cut and ambivalent factors, with the latter depending on demographic characteristics and language attitudes that can either promote or hinder language maintenance.

I. CLEAR-CUT FACTORS

Kloss identifies several factors that consistently promote language maintenance. These include:

1. Early period of immigration: Immigrants arriving early tend to have stronger linguistic ties to their heritage language and a better chance of transmitting it to future generations.
2. Sprachinseln (linguistic enclaves): The creation of linguistic enclaves facilitates the preservation of the language by offering opportunities for use in everyday life, such as schools, businesses, and cultural spaces.
3. Denominational affiliation with parochial schools: Ethnic or religious groups with their own schools help to ensure language transmission and cultural preservation across generations.
4. Pre-immigration experience with language maintenance: Communities with a history of maintaining their language are more likely to continue doing so, even in new contexts (Clyne, 2003).

II. AMBIVALENT FACTORS

Kloss (1966) also identified ambivalent factors that influence language maintenance, which may either promote or hinder language use depending on their context:

1. Educational level: Higher education levels often promote assimilation into the host society and reduce language maintenance. In contrast, lower education levels may limit integration and strengthen attachment to the heritage language.
2. Numerical strength of the group: Larger, more concentrated communities can better support language maintenance through schools and social institutions, though fragmentation can also increase pressure to assimilate.

3. Linguistic and cultural similarities with the dominant group: Groups whose language and culture are closer to the majority's may face less resistance to maintaining their language.
4. Dominant group's attitude toward the minority language: Negative attitudes toward the minority language can lead to forced assimilation, but can also foster resistance and drive efforts to protect the language.
5. Sociocultural aspects of the group: Other ethnic or cultural factors, such as religious beliefs, social values, and traditional practices, can impact the degree to which language maintenance is prioritized (Pauwels, 2005)

CLYNE'S ADAPTATION OF KLOSS'S FRAMEWORK

Building on Kloss's taxonomy, Clyne (1982, 1991) adapted the model to reflect the nuances of modern multilingual societies, adding new factors that are particularly relevant in contemporary contexts. Clyne's additions to the clear-cut factors include:

1. Status and usefulness of the ethnic language: The practical value of the heritage language in the host society, particularly in economic, social, and educational domains, impacts its maintenance.
2. Role of grandparents: Grandparents play a crucial role in language transmission, often helping to reinforce the language within the family unit and across generations.
3. Use of dialects or non-standard varieties: The presence of dialects or non-standard varieties of the heritage language can strengthen cultural ties and encourage language use within the community.

Clyne also introduced several ambivalent factors:

1. Ethnic denominations: The role of religious or ethnic denominations can either support language maintenance (if they encourage language use in religious settings) or hinder it (if they emphasize the dominant language).
2. Political situation in the homeland: Political instability or change in the homeland can affect how important language maintenance becomes for migrant communities.

3. Personal characteristics: Individual factors such as motivation, identity, and personal attitudes toward the heritage language can strongly influence language choices and language transmission patterns.

The size and distribution of the community are sometimes critical factors in accounting for language maintenance. Some ethnic groups tend to maintain their language to a greater degree and longer than others given the fact that they are demographically numerous and geographically concentrated in closer areas. Moreover, when the community is numerically substantial and possibly settled in an ethnically dense area, it may be capable of providing the community with the necessary resources and thus reducing their need to interact with the mainstream or other ethnic communities. A denser community may establish ethnic institutions on a large scale, the fact that makes the minority group more visible to the dominant community and favors a more regular use of the minority language (Bettoni & Rubino, 1996).

Interestingly, more opportunities to come into contact with and practice of the ethnic language take place through exchanges with other people of the same group. Participating in ethnic social networks beyond the sphere of family, friends and neighbourhood provides minority speakers with more opportunities to use the language in different contexts, and therefore use a greater variety of registers and formality. There might be, for example, associations which can offer a vast range of activities, related for instance to the cultural, social or sporting sphere. There is also the existence of ethnic neighbourhoods and the occasions to shop in the community shops. In particular the presence of a peer-group, in relation to the young generation, that supports and values the use of the first language is reckoned particularly important: it not only helps these young people to develop positive attitudes towards the first language, but also offers them opportunities to be exposed to a variety of activities in their language (Li, 2007). This contributes to the limitation of contacts with the majority language and subsequently to limiting language shift. Also, language maintenance is more likely to take place if the community has arrived more recently in the new country and if there are continuous arrivals of immigrants to support their community.

Besides, resistance to language shift is more likely to last longer in rural areas relative to urban ones. This is explained by the fact that rural groups are relatively socially isolated from the centres of political power where the majority language prevails, and they can meet most of their social needs using their ethnic language. This can also be partly explained by the fact that those who grew up in an urban environment have more need (and opportunity) to communicate

in the majority language (Holmes, 2001). The communities in New Zealand, for example, where Maori has survived as a language of everyday communication are rather inaccessible rural areas, populated almost entirely by Maoris. In these communities, before television broadcasting became widespread, schooling was the only domain where English (dominant language) was commonly in use. Maori, on the other hand, was used in everyday interactions, at church, in the shops, for community meetings and in the pub (Holmes, 2001). If, for instance, a member of a minority group can shop, go to the doctor and access other services in the language of his or her choice, there is less need to shift to the majority language. Yet, Clyne states that “numerical strength is not a key value in language maintenance / shift” (1985, p. 33)

Furthermore, some larger ethnic groups find it more difficult to avoid extensive contact with the host culture than small groups; language shift takes place as a result. Thus, demographic factors may at times bolster language shift. For example, when the population is dispersed, and contacts between group members are rather infrequent, the minority language has less chance to be retained (Grenier, 1984). As explained by Ehala (2010) “network structure, in turn, is heavily related to language usage: as intergroup contact often involves two languages, the network structure will determine the language usage patterns. The more numerous are contacts with the dominant group, the more the dominant language is used” (p. 372). Appel & Muysken (2006) add “the geographical distribution in itself is not the causal factor in language maintenance and shift, but related communication patterns and the absence or presence of daily social pressure to use the prestigious language” (p. 36).

Another factor which may contribute to language maintenance is the degree and frequency of contact with the homeland. The prospect of regular trips back ‘home’ due to geographical proximity and ease of travel to the homeland provide a major motivation to maintain fluency in the home language. Regular streams of new migrants or even visitors, such the case between Algeria and France, will keep the need for using the language recurrently. Clearly, this provides a very strong incentive to maintain proficiency in the heritage language. On the other hand, moving to a far-away country has been found to usually (although not always) trigger a major language shift (Bettoni & Rubino, 1996). In reality, a greater distance from the home country tends to result in less frequent homecomings, it fosters the idea among migrants that their choice is less reversible; they believe that they had left for good and that they are permanently settled in a new country (Auer, 1991). Also, because travelling requires a long time and high expenses for some migrant families, they find that they have fewer chances

to send their children back to their home country to keep up their culture and language of origin by spending time with their families (Auer, 1991).

The level of endogamy/exogamy and more particularly cross-language marriages has also been identified as an important factor in language maintenance and/or shift. It has been observed that in most predominantly monolingual societies despite their multicultural character, the general pattern is when a minority language-speaking man marries a majority language-speaking woman, the majority language is usually the dominant language of the home, and the main language used to the children. Inter-linguistic marriages usually contribute to a faster shift, as the minority language has less opportunity to be used in the family domain . Whereas, intra-linguistic marriages favour language maintenance, as the minority language is regularly and continuously used at home by the parents to their children. Moreover, “in these marriages [mixed or inter-ethnic] the most prestigious language generally has the best chance to survive as the language of the home, and hence as the first language of the child” (Appel & Muysken , 2006, p. 35). For example, the level of exogamy is reported to be the most important factor in French-English language shift in French and English communities along the border of Quebec and Ontario (Pendakur, 1990). In Australian immigrant groups, language shift is considerably higher among descendants from inter-linguistic marriages than from marriages within one ethno-linguistic group (Clyne, 2003).

Also, when the language is highly valued as a major construct of ethnic identity, it is generally expected to be maintained within the family and transmitted to other generations. Positive attitudes support efforts to use the minority language in a variety of domains, and this helps people resist the pressure from the majority group to switch to the dominant language. As such, attitudes are deeply ingrained and closely linked to identity when parents are rigorously concerned with developing ethnic identity and pride within their children, they tend to emphasize the maintenance of home language as a key distinguishing characteristic of their ethnic belonging. Their logic seems to say: without the home language, you no longer belong to the community. In fact, the relationship between language and identity has never been in dispute in the literature. According to Lambert (2008) “language keeps in step with identity development, and accordingly, linguistic expressions of that identity will change diachronically, at different life stages, and synchronically, in present situations of social interaction. The content of the individual life experience will influence the range and type of expressions that are available for the construction and performance of identity” (p. 38). In other

words, heritage language is often acknowledged as serving as a symbol of cultural heritage and solidarity among language minority groups. Language is the most significant aspect of identity as people do construct their identities through the language(s) they use (Joseph, 2004; Lambert, 2008). Joseph (2004) makes the point that language is a major semiotic form of representation of self to others as people ‘read’ an identity onto each other, based on the manner of speech rather than content. In addition, as Joseph (2010) also points out how research on language attitudes shows that humans form “strong conceptions of each other’s identities based on the way we speak” (p. 12). On the contrary, if parents hold negative attitudes toward their ethnicity or country of origin, they try to separate the whole family from the ethnic background. Accordingly, they will choose to abandon the heritage language use and promote children’s dominant language acquisition. Consequently, the heritage language will lose its ground in these families (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). Some research also suggests that ethnic identity does not necessarily contribute to a high level of heritage language proficiency. Parents may value their heritage. Nevertheless, they think there is less need to transmit the heritage language to their offspring in the host society (Cunningham & King, 2018).

Demographic variables and language attitudes explain how language maintenance and shift are not simply driven by objective social factors but also by subjective, individual and community-level considerations. The complex interaction of these factors—especially over time—makes the outcomes of language maintenance and shift difficult to predict, yet provides valuable insight into the multilingual dynamics of migrant communities.

I.3.3 THE MARKETPLACE THEORY

The social and economic goals of individuals play a crucial role in language maintenance or shift, often depending on the perceived financial benefits of learning either a minority or a majority language. One of the most common economic incentives for language learning is finding a job. For example, in English-speaking countries, bilingual individuals—those who speak English alongside their native languages—are often more likely to secure well-paying jobs. This phenomenon can lead to bilingualism, which, although commonly associated with language shift, does not always result in a shift, as seen in stable diglossic communities.

Bilingualism has been linked to economic advantages. Garcia (1995) conducted a study in the U.S. that found a correlation between bilingualism (in English and Spanish) and higher income for certain Hispanic groups. Bilingual speakers of English and Spanish had better

financial outcomes, whereas many English-only Hispanic speakers faced poverty. Garcia concluded that bilingualism is a valuable commodity in some communities, offering a better chance for economic success than speaking only English.

Bourdieu (1986) introduced the concept of *linguistic capital*, a form of cultural capital that can be converted into social or economic benefits under certain conditions. This idea is central to the *linguistic marketplace theory* (Bourdieu, 1982), where languages are seen as currencies that can be exchanged for social goods, like employment or group membership. In this theory, there are two types of linguistic markets: the primary market, where speakers of a community language interact with speakers of the dominant language, and the secondary market, where they engage with other speakers of the community language. In the primary market, dominant language norms can lead to language shift, particularly for minority ethnic groups with low socio-economic status. Language shift often occurs among the young and upwardly mobile, as they seek economic success in a society where knowledge of the majority language is crucial.

Gender dynamics also influence language shift. In some cases, women lead the shift to the majority language because they benefit most from new job opportunities. In contrast, migrant women with lower education levels and limited knowledge of the majority language may initially stay at home, preserving the minority language. When they enter the workforce, they often take low-wage jobs, such as in cleaning or bakeries, where they interact with other members of their ethnic group, maintaining their community language at work.

The marketplace theory also applies in international and multinational contexts, where knowledge of multiple languages is viewed as a valuable asset for economic success. However, this perspective may have limited appeal for the maintenance of minority languages at the community level, as it primarily motivates individuals at the higher socioeconomic tiers.

Additionally, the concept of *investment* is used to describe the time, effort, and financial resources individuals invest in acquiring language skills, especially when discussing parental motivations for language transmission within families. Piller (2001) uses the linguistic marketplace theory as a metaphor for the investment parents make in their children's future by fostering bilingualism. Parents weigh the costs of this effort against the potential benefits, such as balanced bilingual proficiency, though outcomes are not always as expected.

Bourdieu's theory predicts that languages will be maintained as long as they provide socio-economic utility. In the Australian context, Clyne and Kipp (1999) highlight the marketplace value of community languages, such as Spanish, that have instrumental significance for international trade. The *marketplace value* of a language often intersects with its *ethno-linguistic vitality*, a concept that reflects both its symbolic and practical roles in communication. Bourdieu asserts that languages will endure if they serve a socio-economic purpose, a view that aligns with Haugen's (1980) observation that language competence is a skill with market value that determines who will acquire it. Even a first language will be maintained only if it remains a viable means of communication with those with whom one wishes to interact.

I.3.4 ETHNO-LINGUISTIC VITALITY THEORY

Many of the socio-economic factors relevant to language maintenance, discussed earlier, are incorporated into the concept of ethno-linguistic vitality theory, developed by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977). This theory aims to explain why intergroup relations follow one course over another. According to Fishman (1972), the attitudes or beliefs group members hold toward their language varieties are largely influenced by the degree to which those languages exhibit "visible vitality," meaning they are used in essential functions within active interaction networks. Fishman argues that a group's linguistic vitality and its ability to survive depend significantly on the number of speakers and their social status.

Giles et al. (1977) later redefined ethno-linguistic vitality as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (p. 308). They suggested that the likelihood of a language's maintenance can be predicted by measuring its ethno-linguistic vitality. Three structural variables, through which vitality can be "objectively" assessed, have been identified: first, the language's status, reflected in attitudes toward it; second, the size and distribution of the language's speakers (whether concentrated or scattered); and third, the extent to which the language receives institutional support. These factors together offer a way to classify ethno-linguistic groups as having high, medium, or low vitality. Groups with low vitality are more likely to undergo linguistic assimilation and may not be perceived as a distinct collective entity, while groups with high vitality are more likely to maintain their language and cultural uniqueness in multilingual contexts.

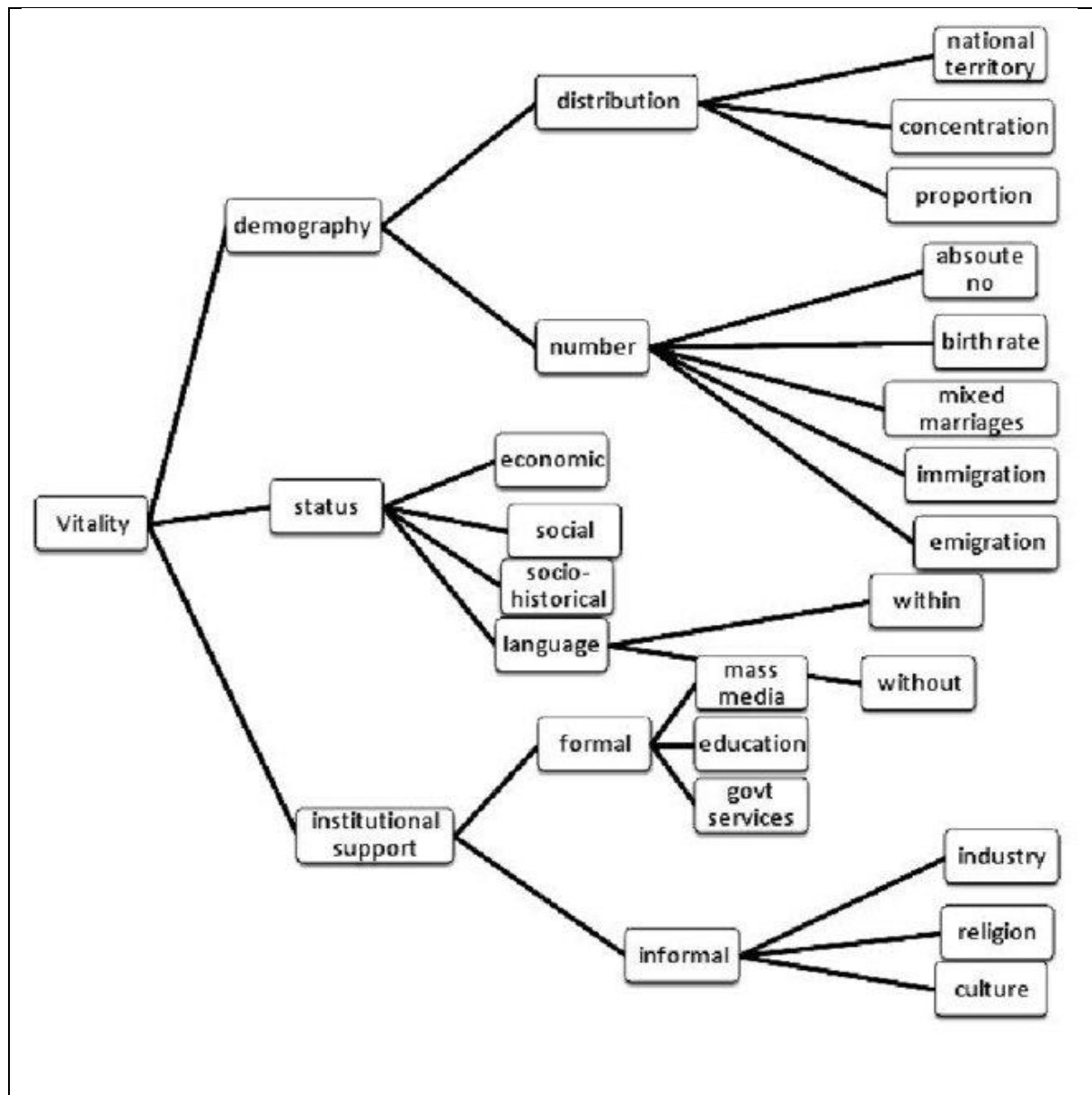


Figure 2 A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethno-linguistic vitality (Giles et al., 1977)

In Giles et al.'s (1977) framework, status variables include economic, social, socio-historical, and language status within or outside the mainstream community. Demographic variables encompass the number of group members, their distribution patterns across a particular region or country, as well as birth rates, rates of mixed marriages, and migration trends. Institutional support factors refer to the degree to which a language group receives formal and informal representation within the various institutions of society. This includes support in mass media, education, government services, industry, religion, culture, and politics. Together, these factors shape the linguistic vitality of a group and influence the likelihood of language maintenance.

I.3.5 THE CORE VALUES THEORY

Complementary to the ‘ethno-linguistic vitality’ theory is the concept of *core values*, which addresses the motivational aspects of language maintenance. The *core values* theory focuses on values that are integral to a group’s identity and its existence as a distinct ethnic group. According to Smolicz & Secombe (1981), these are "the values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group’s culture, and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership" (p. 11). Smolicz (1981) further suggests that social groups can be recognized as distinctive ethnic, religious, scientific, or cultural communities. Within this framework, language can be a central core value for some groups, while other cultural aspects may take precedence for others.

Smolicz (1981) distinguishes between two types of groups in multilingual communities: *language-centered groups* and *non-language-centered groups*. Language-centered groups view language as a fundamental element for expressing or supporting their ethno-cultural identity, which increases their likelihood of maintaining their language. In contrast, non-language-centered groups may prioritize other cultural factors—such as religion, social structure, or racial affiliation—over language, potentially reducing the emphasis on language maintenance. By the same token, Al-Sahafi (2015) explored Arab migrant fathers’ language practices and attitudes toward their children’s heritage language maintenance in New Zealand. Data were collected from ten (10) Arab migrant fathers whose children were aged 14 and less, all living with their families in Auckland. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used to gain insight into the participants’ language attitudes and practices toward their children’s heritage language maintenance. The findings reveal that the participants were very positive toward their heritage language maintenance. Although the participants were from different countries of origin, Arabic, as a pluricentric language, seems to operate as a unifying core cultural value (Smolicz J. , 1981) that intertwines with other core values such as religion and ethnic consciousness. While emphasizing the complementary nature of their own and their wives’ roles in the process of heritage language maintenance, the participants highlighted some of their key roles and contributions as Arab Muslim migrant fathers in the process of heritage language intergenerational maintenance, such as explicitly setting and monitoring family language policy, establishing co-ethnic contacts, and providing Arabic materials to enhance Arabic literacy learning among their children.

However, Clyne (1982) challenges this binary distinction, noting that some language-centered groups (e.g., German and Polish) exhibited more significant language shift than others (e.g., Italian), which were considered non-language-centered. This raises the question: *To what extent do groups still rally around language as an independent symbolic value?* (Clyne, 1991, p. 94). Clyne argues that core values must be seen as interdependent. For instance, while Italians may prioritize the family unit over language, language is nonetheless essential for communication among family members and for maintaining family unity across generations. Clyne (1982, p. 30) emphasizes that extended family structures, which often include grandparents, distant relatives, and close family friends, are more conducive to language ecology than nuclear family structures. The presence of an extended family network creates a broader social framework where language can be maintained and reinforced.

I.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored the fundamental concepts and theoretical perspectives that shape our understanding of language maintenance, shift, and loss, particularly in migrant contexts. It began by defining heritage language and examining the challenges of maintaining minority languages across generations. The discussion then addressed language shift, intergenerational transmission, and the various factors influencing linguistic continuity or decline. To provide a theoretical foundation, key models and frameworks were introduced, including Kloss's taxonomy, the marketplace theory, ethnolinguistic vitality theory, and the core values theory. These perspectives highlight the complex interplay between sociopolitical forces, economic opportunities, identity, and cultural belonging in shaping language choices within migrant communities. Additionally, the ecological approach to language maintenance emphasized the importance of a supportive linguistic environment that fosters the intergenerational transmission of heritage languages. Overall, this chapter has established a conceptual and theoretical basis for analyzing the transmission of Arabic among Algerian migrant families in France. Understanding language maintenance, however, cannot be separated from the broader sociolinguistic environment in which speakers operate. Language choices in multilingual settings are influenced by a complex interplay of social, cultural, and political factors that either support or hinder the use of heritage languages. The following chapter will build on this foundation by exploring language choice in multilingual contexts, examining how speakers manage linguistic repertoires, code-switching practices, and sociolinguistic hierarchies in everyday interactions.

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN MULTILINGUAL SETTINGS: MACRO AND MICRO PERSPECTIVES

II.1 INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguistics has been defined as "the study of speakers' choices" (Coulmas, 2005). These choices involve not only the selection of a language from a speaker's existing repertoire but also their motivation and willingness to learn and use a new language. Language choice operates at both the macro and micro levels of analysis, serving both descriptive and theoretical functions. It has also been a central theme in Fishman's work (1972), which bridges these levels of analysis and provides a crucial foundation for understanding language use in society. To examine the patterns of Arabic maintenance among migrant communities, it is essential to consider sociolinguistic models that account for language choice in multilingual settings. This section establishes a theoretical foundation by exploring key concepts such as bilingualism, diglossia, and code-switching. Additionally, it explicitly connects these frameworks to the transmission of Arabic among migrants in France in subsequent sections, offering insights into how and why Algerian migrant families choose between Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, and French across different domains. Also, to show how macro-level forces (education, policy, societal pressures) interact with family-level language choices, ultimately influencing Arabic language maintenance or shift among Algerian migrants in France.

II.2 THE MACRO-SOCIETAL APPROACH

The macro-societal approach views language choice as being derived from and determined by higher-order social structures. Li Wei (1994) states that: "The macro-societal perspective is founded on the assumption that individuals' language behaviour is structured by social, situational context, and what activities individuals produce are seen to be the result of, or at the very least to be greatly influenced by, the organization and structure of the society in which they live" (p. 6). Within this perspective, Li Wei identifies two main analytic models: a) the complementary distribution model and b) the conflict model. They both deal with factors affecting the societal arrangement of languages but they are different in terms of the explanations they give about 'how' and 'why' languages in contact function the way they do.

II.2.1 THE COMPLEMENTARY DISTRIBUTION MODEL

The first attempt to build a complementary distribution model of bilingual language choice

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was made by Weinreich (1953), who explored the functional differentiation of languages in contact situations. Weinreich used the term 'domain of language use', a term initially introduced by the German linguist Schmidt-Rohr (1932). The underlying idea was that any two languages or language varieties coexisting in a particular society are assigned specific functions to complement each other, thus creating cohesive and stable societal bilingualism or multilingualism. To help explain the complementary distribution model we need to understand the related relevant concepts such as “diglossia”, “compartmentalization of language use” and “domains of language behaviour”. They are fundamental concepts to the understanding of the research Fishman defined as “socio-functionally contextualized” (as this study is) and therefore it is important to explain their meaning and societal application in more detail.

II.2.2 DIGLOSSIA AND BILINGUALISM

One of the fundamental concepts in the study of societal multilingualism is Diglossia. A phenomenon that is observed at the macro-level of sociolinguistics since it is relating more to a group rather than an individual. The term diglossia refers to a specific relationship between two or more co-existing varieties of the same language (genetically related) in use throughout a speech community with a clearly defined function. Ferguson (1959) developed the notion of diglossia to depict situations of relatively stable use of individual bilingualism at the societal level whereby a binary distinction is made between the standard language which fulfills the so-called ‘high’ functions that are appropriate for formal contexts, while the ‘low’ functions are ascribed to dialectal forms employed in the privacy of one’s home (Ferguson, Diglossia, 1959, p. 246). Hence we speak about a highly codified, superposed variety called the High (H) and the primary variety called the Low (L). For example, in Arabic, H is Classical Arabic, and L applies to the various non-standard forms of the language, which differ from one Arab country to another.

Ferguson provided a further description of the concept of diglossia by establishing nine categories which are prioritised according to function, prestige, literacy heritage, acquisition, level of standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. The specialisation of H and L functions, or the functional linguistic distribution, is the most ‘existential’ feature of diglossia. H variety is largely learned through formal education, whereas the L varieties are learned from family members at home. Accordingly, the two varieties are provided with separate institutional support systems. Table 1.1 lists some of the typical situations in which the two varieties are used.

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Table 2 Typical Diglossic Situations

<i>Situation</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
Sermon in church or mosque	+	
Instructions to servants, waiters, etc.		+
Personal letter	+	
Speech in parliament, political speech	+	
University lecture	+	
Conversation with family, friends, or colleagues		+
News broadcast	+	
Radio soap opera		+
Newspaper editorial, news story	+	
Caption on political cartoon		+
Poetry	+	
Folk literature		+

Source: (Ferguson, 1972, p. 236)

In those cases of classical diglossia described by Ferguson (1959), the varieties in contact tend to coexist peacefully and therefore refer to these situations as being characterised by language maintenance, in which a complementary functional distribution (where each variety fulfills a different social role) is by and large accepted by the community of speakers as a whole. To characterise the H and L varieties does not pose a problem, suffice it to say that “H and L have disjoint functions: in one set of situations H and only H is appropriate while L is inappropriate and vice versa” (Sebba, 2011, p. 450). Thus, the differences concern the codes themselves, for example, their syntax, phonology, and lexicon, which are merely a reflection of the social characteristics, such as their function, status, acquisition, and degree of standardisation. The languages in a bilingual community are thus seen as falling into a neat pattern of complementary distribution with very minimal or no overlap. That is, H is assigned pre-selected, formal, and exclusive functions. While the L variety is used in informal and relaxed situations. Examples that have been cited to support the diglossia concept include Swiss German (L) and (Standard) High German (H) in Switzerland, classical Arabic (H) and colloquial Arabic (L) in Egypt, and Haitian Creole (L) and French (H) in Haiti.

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It is essential to understand that H and L varieties of the same language, not separate languages. Yet, there are linguistic differences between H and L that go beyond variations in style or register. Lastly, but respectively important, diglossia is different from other bilingual phenomena in that the diglossic community never uses H in casual conversations. Ferguson's full and often-quoted definition of diglossia is as follows:

DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson, Diglossia, 1959, p. 245)

Thanks to Ferguson (1959), it is not only the concept of diglossia that has become well-known in sociolinguistic circles but also the four languages he selected to be the “defining cases” of diglossia, including the pair, Classical Arabic and spoken Arabic. Nevertheless, Ferguson's conception of diglossia implies that all members of a bilingual community are seen as being constrained in their language choice, at best simply reflecting a set of established society-wide norms. Thus, according to this model, frequent and rapid code-switching which is observed as a major feature of conversational interaction in many bilingual communities is eliminated. As Eckert (1980) points out, “complementary distribution of the co-existing languages virtually eliminates the possibility of random choice” (Eckert, 1980, p. 1054). Consequently, researchers who have adopted Ferguson's notion of diglossia tend to concentrate on bilingualism at the macro-societal level, far removed from the concrete, interactional behaviours of individual speakers.

Evidence from research on bilingualism and language choice has revealed how associating diglossia with stability can be a highly misleading assumption. Moreover, sociolinguistic stability is a relative term, as societies are constantly changing, it is irrational to anticipate the same norms of linguistic behavior to apply indefinitely. Also, research repeatedly shows that some bilingual communities (or groups within a bilingual community maintain their language less successfully than others, and their patterns of language use shift as time goes by (Gal, 1979; Dorian, 1986; Edwards, 1985). Ferguson's conceptualisation of diglossia has drawn criticism for being unable to cope with change; it provides no explanation for the social and linguistic processes involved in language retention and shift within and between groups; it

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provides no account of the linguistic and social processes involved in language retention and shift in and across communities.

Whilst Ferguson's terminology has been widely adopted and applied by sociolinguistic researchers when examining the use of binary languages in society. However, over time his rigorous, rather restraining definition of 'diglossia', has undergone many modifications in an attempt to accommodate bilingual settings in which one language variety has just been used for functions that were previously reserved for another. In 1967 Fishman introduced his extended definition of diglossia by putting forth terms of reference that allow the linguist to account for bilingualism and diglossia, and the inter-relationship between the two, within one conceptual framework. His definition differed from Ferguson's original concept in two crucial aspects: the number of languages and the degree of linguistic divergence between them. Ferguson limited his view of diglossia to only two language varieties. Fishman does, however, allow for instances wherein more than two languages co-exist. Although the separation is said to fall most often into the lines of a High language, on the one hand, and a Low language, on the other. According to Fishman (1967) "the use of several separate codes within a single society (and their stable maintenance rather than the displacement of one by the other over time) was found to be dependent on each code's serving functions distinct from those considered appropriate for the other" (Fishman, 1967, p. 92). The other aspect is that Fishman consents the view, which he credits to John Gumperz, that diglossia obtains not only in bi/multilingual societies which officially recognise several languages, but also in societies that utilize "separate dialects, registers, or *functionally differentiated, language varieties of whatever kind*"⁶ (Fishman, 1967, p. 92). Thus, for Fishman, as long as the linguistic differences within one language or two separate languages have functional distinctions, the situation qualifies as diglossic⁷. Conclusively, the key point of convergence between the two linguists is the functional distribution into H and L varieties or, as Fasold (1984) puts it, "only function remains unchallenged; it is the very heart and soul of the diglossia concept". (p. 53)

Fasold (1984) refers to Ferguson's (1959/1972) view of diglossia that explicitly disregarded the functional distribution of unrelated languages or the pairing of a standard language and its dialects, and claims that Ferguson implicitly evoked contexts in which there

⁶ Original Italics

⁷ Based on Fishman's model further 'sub-types' of diglossia were identified. For instance, Abdulaziz Mkilif (1978) described 'triglossia' in Tanzania. Other examples are provided by Fasold (1984) who refers to the Tanzanian situation as "double-overlapping diglossia" and to the Chinese communities educated in English in Malaysia as "linear polyglossia".

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are two moderately related language varieties. On the other hand, Fishman (1967) unequivocally broadened the notion of diglossia to encompass any degree of relatedness between languages according to their functional distribution in society. He also described diglossia as “an enduring societal arrangement, extending at least beyond a three-generation period, such that two ‘languages’ each have their secure, phenomenologically legitimate and widely implanted functions” (Fishman, 1980, p. 3), or as “the co-presence within an ethnolinguistic community of a widely implemented, generally accepted, and long-lasting complementary functional allocation of languages” (Fishman, 1988, p. 4). A review of the concept of diglossia, proposed by Ferguson and Fishman, put forward by Fasold in the following definition:

BROAD DIGLOSSIA is the reservation of highly valued segments of a community’s linguistic repertoire (which are not the first to be learned, but are learned later and more consciously, usually through formal education), for situations perceived as more formal and guarded; and the reservation of less highly valued segments (which are learned first with little or no conscious effort), of any degree of linguistic relatedness to the higher valued segments, from stylistic differences to separate languages, for situations perceived as more informal and intimate. (Fasold, 1984, p. 53)

Though Fishman extended the original definition of diglossia to include any two functionally distinguishable dialects or registers, he maintains that it should not be confused with bilingualism. Moreover, Fishman (1980) explains that “The concept of diglossia is sociological, as opposed to the more vague concept of bilingualism, which is merely an individual skill used for communicating in two or more languages in as many domains as possible” (Fishman, Bilingualism and biculturalism as individual and as societal phenomena, 1980, pp. 3-4). Most importantly, he argues that the relationship between individual bilingualism and societal diglossia is neither necessary nor causal. Accordingly, he elaborated on the possible relationships between bilingualism and diglossia within his theoretical construct of **diglossia with or without bilingualism** as well as **bilingualism with or without diglossia** as shown in table 2 below:

Table 3 Relationships between Bilingualism and Diglossia

	Diglossia +	Diglossia –
Bilingualism +	1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
Bilingualism –	3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

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Source: Fishman (1967, p. 30)

In societies that are fully bilingual and diglossic, all the population is practically bilingual and use the two languages according to their allocated prestige and functions. For Fishman (1967; 1972) the Swiss-German cantons illustrate a scenario of diglossia with prevalent bilingualism below the national level. In the German-speaking part of the country everyone, regardless of their age, alternates between the standard variety and the Swiss German dialects in line with their established functions. A rare combination of diglossia without bilingualism is found in communities that form a political and economic unity but never managed to constitute one speech community. Either or both speech communities have firmly enforced boundaries, leading to restricted linguistic access and hence the necessity to communicate through intermediaries. Fasold (1984) observes that diglossic communities without bilingualism are not speech communities as no interaction exists between the two groups, except minimally through interpreters or by using a pidgin language. Equally rare is the case of bilingualism without diglossia as “it implies a society where two languages are in regular use but without significant status differences between them. In practice, this means two high-status or prestige languages” (Sebba, 2011, p. 451). Moreover, these are communities where there are large numbers of bilinguals, without restrictions on one language to one set of circumstances. Either language may serve almost any purpose. Bilingualism without diglossia gives rise to what has often been called ‘leaky diglossia’. This refers to cases in which one variety ‘leaks’ into the functions formerly reserved for the other. A contemporary example is Canada, bilingual in English and French at the federal level. Fishman (1972) considers the conditions created by bilingualism without diglossia to be transitional. He writes that “without separate tough complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the others” (1972, p. 105). However, leaving aside the intricacies of the Canadian context, despite being aware of certain linguistic tensions in that country, we can hardly contradict Fishman’s concerns. The last pattern suggested by Fishman (1972) is neither diglossia nor bilingualism which requires that there must be only one linguistic variety in existence and no differentiation of roles requiring even stylistic differences in speech, at least stylistic differences that would result in High and Low styles, as yet a purely hypothetical construct.

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However, individual bilingualism cannot be considered diglossia. It becomes diglossia only when '*an enduring societal arrangement*'⁸ extends itself 'at least beyond a three-generation period, such that two "languages" each have their secure, phenomenologically legitimate, and widely implemented functions' (Fishman *et al*, 1985, p. 39). Fishman *et al* (1985) offer a list of 'a dozen or more' societies that have relatively stable and widespread societal bilingualism (diglossia) outside the classical parameters. He points out that the classical situations are good examples of diglossic societies, but sociologically speaking, they are not examples of "classicism *per se* but of a stress on *social compartmentalisation*" (Fishman *et al*, 1985, p. 39) and social and linguistic compartmentalisation is where the answer to cultural and linguistic maintenance in minority groups lies. Non-compartmentalisation would lead to inter-group dependency and language shift.

II.2.3 COMPARTMENTALISATION OF LANGUAGE USE

When strict boundaries are maintained between the functions performed by the mother tongue (usually associated with the 'low' variety in the concept of diglossia) and the official or more widespread language (usually associated with the 'high' variety), societal compartmentalisation and subsequent linguistic compartmentalisation take place. Romaine (1994) describes the process of attributing languages to domains as "compartmentalisation of varieties" (Romaine, *Language in society: An introduction to sociolinguistics*, 1994, p. 47), which understandably limits access to some of the domains due to the mismatch between a particular variety and a given context (Fasold, 1984). Ferguson (Diglossia, 1972) and Fishman (1988) assert that the compartmentalisation of H and L use in diglossic contexts stabilised societal bilingualism and enhanced language maintenance. However, Chen (1997) notes that empirical studies, including Ferguson's diglossic case studies, have shown that compartmentalisation of language use may not actually occur because "either intermediate varieties may be used or one variety may be displaced by the other" (Chen, 1997, p. 4). Such power asymmetry between two languages or varieties generates unstable diglossia, which eventually leads to language shift. Even though Ferguson emphasises that diglossia may be a long-lasting phenomenon (which is most often the case), more evidence is still required to show its actual contribution to stable societal bilingualism. Diglossic relationships "undergo changes

⁸ Italics in the original

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which are usually signalled by either leakage in function, or mixing in form” (Fasold, 1984, p. 54).

Moreover, compartmentalisation may be almost impossible to implement in the everyday, interactive life of minority groups which are not protected by major religious ideologies or physical distance from urban centres (i.e Sprachinsel (linguistic enclaves) – as in the closed rural German groups established in Australia in the late 19th century (Clyne , 1982). Besides, most immigrants seeking full membership in the host society do not consider compartmentalisation a suitable alternative as it implies a high degree of alienation from mainstream society. Nevertheless, a limited form of compartmentalisation may be favoured by immigrants hoping to maintain a certain degree of their mother tongue. This form of compartmentalisation, which also covers functional and complementary allocation of language use, is known in sociolinguistics as ‘domains of language behaviour’.

II.2.4 DOMAIN ANALYSIS

One basic foundation of macro studies is the “domain” construct, which existed prior to Fishman’s writings, but was largely embellished through his study of the sociology of language. In fact, Fishman himself refers to Schmidt-Rohr, who worked with expatriate Germans in multilingual environments in 1932, as the one who first spoke about domains; he called domain ‘spheres of activity’. Fishman also stresses that Schmidt-Rohr’s domain taxonomy (the family, the playground and the street, the school, church etc.) was advanced and similar to others which have been put forward during 1960s. Domains of language behaviour were identified by Schmidt-Rohr (1932) as a means of analysing the language behaviour of people living in multilingual settings in pre-World War Two. He is believed to be the first to write about the need of dominance pattern to be able to discern the language choice made by bi/multilingual speakers in the various domains of their existence.

Based on the belief that the identity of a people means the unity of language and thought, Schmidt-Rohr addressed the question of whether bilingualism and multilingualism described as-“a necessity for many, many millions of the population of the world” (1933, p. 178)- are detrimental or not, and came to the conclusion that “There are types [of bilingualism] which are totally harmless, there are others that have a disastrous effect, murdering souls and destroying minds and cultures.” ” (1933, p. 179). He then identified at least eight types of “disastrous” bilingual settings according to the distribution of several languages (standard and dialect) across

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different situations of language use. By distinguishing the following nine elements of dominance configurations in bilingual situations: The family, the playground and street, the school (with three sub-elements: the language of instruction, subject of instruction, the language of breaks and conversation), the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and governmental administration- he effectively introduced the idea of domain - as acknowledged by Fishman (1972, p. 441) - without coining any term.

One could call what is implicit in Schmid-Rohr's writings a 'naive domain concept' (Hartmut, 2005, p. 230). Yet even at this early stage of almost pre-theoretical elaboration, a significant issue emerges: how is the linguist to discern which of the appropriate languages is associated with, or at least predominates within, each element of the configuration (or each 'domain')? Language use is sometimes regulated by law or practice, like in the courts or in the classroom. In other contexts, such as in the school outside the classroom, it can only be determined empirically. In other cases yet, the claim of a dominant language remains typically blurred: why is standard Italian seen as predominant in literature? Does this imply that there are not any local writers who write in Standard German or German dialect? Or does it imply that books in German are not sold in bookshops? When a domain is associated with a specific language this can have other implications. Furthermore, these examples show that Schmidt-Rohr's approach does not account for a potential differentiation of elements of dominance configurations in relation to spoken vs. written communication and productive vs. receptive language use. Italian might well be used by a German customer who would like to buy a German book in a bookshop.

In Germany, only a few studies adopted Schmidt-Rohr model, but the concept of domain has been taken up for good by Joshua Fishman who revived the idea in the 1960's - 1970s and coined the term 'domain' in order to analyse the choices that were taken recurrently by multilingual group members in multilingual settings with widespread and relatively stable multilingualism. Fishman describes language choice within such multilingual groups as a far from random; rather "Proper" usage dictates that only *one* of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties *will* be chosen by particular classes of *interlocutors* on particular kinds of *occasions* to discuss particular kinds of *topics*⁹ (1972, p. 437) Accordingly, language choice is viewed as an 'orderly' social behaviour, rather than a random or impulsive decision. It is assumed that individuals' language behaviour is structured by social, situational context, and

⁹ Original italics.

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what activities individuals produce are seen to be the result of, or at the very least to be greatly influenced by, the organisation and structure of the society in which they live. This brings us to the question of which elements in the context determine the choices made by speakers. Relevant choice patterns include: topic, place and interlocutor, but they are not sufficient in themselves to describe all language behaviours. Correspondingly, in contrast to the naïve domain notion, Fishman puts forwards the term ‘domain’ as an analytical concept. The elements of dominance configuration now called ‘domains’, are not considered as given previously but are “defined, regardless of their number, in terms of institutional contexts and their congruent behavioural co-occurrences.” (1972, p. 441). In other words, a domain would be founded whenever a corresponding field of congruent patterns of behaviour exists. The notion of congruence is essential to understanding the concept of domain on two levels: (i) congruence among domain components, of which participant, topic and setting are considered crucial; (ii) congruence of domain with specific language or language variety, i.e. there are specific norms and expectations of language choice in specific domains.

Fishman observes that in certain institutional contexts, called domains, one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. Domains are characterized by constellations of such patterns as location, topic, and participants. Fishman defined domain as “a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics [my emphasis] of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture, in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other” (Fishman, 1972, p. 20). Fishman strongly rejected the idea of an invariant set of domains applicable to all multilingual settings or to all members of the same community, as language behaviour reveals the socio-cultural patterning. Therefore, regardless of their number, domains can be explained intuitively, theoretically or empirically. They, too, can vary in terms of socio-psychological and socio-institutional levels. The socio-psychological analysis distinguishes formal, informal, intimate and intergroup domains. These domains can then be identified with domains at the socio-institutional level (such as home, school, etc.): which coincide with which activities (Fishman, 1972, pp. 19-20).

In Greenfield’s (1972) study, aiming to test the theoretical validity of the domain concept, informants were given two congruent elements and were asked to select the third. For instance, they were invited to imagine themselves in a hypothetical situation where they were speaking to their parents (participants) about domestic affairs (topic); they were then supposed

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to select the most likely setting among 'home', 'beach', 'church', 'school', and 'workplace' to accomplish such a communicative event. In this particular case, the expected congruent setting home was selected by 100% of Greenfield's informants. In fact, with one exception (the selection of 'beach' as the appropriate location for 'friendship' domain) the expected congruent third element was selected by at least 81% of the subjects (Greenfield, 1972, p. 23). Subsequently, Greenfield asked his informants to specify which language was most fitting for a given domain. It was revealed that the Puerto Rican community in New York City often used Spanish in the more 'intimate' domains such as family and 'friendship', while English was typically used in domains involving a status difference between participants, such as 'religion', 'education', and 'employment'. The findings appeared to confirm Greenfield's hypothesis as it revealed that the New York City Puerto Rican community is diglossic with Spanish being used in the 'family' and 'friendship' domains (intimacy value cluster) and English being used in the 'religion', 'work', and 'education' domains (status stressing value cluster).

Greenfield concluded that language choices in the New York Puerto Rican speech community is governed by five domains: Family, Friendship, Religion, Education and Employment. In contrast to Schmidt-Rohr who assumed his domains beforehand, Greenfield constructed them carefully on the basis of observations. Another reason why Greenfield identified fewer domains than Schmidt-Rohr might be because Greenfield seems to have eliminated written communication (writing and reading) from his investigation. The same domain might not be equally significant to different communities just as the number of domains can vary between groups; Mak (1935)¹⁰, used more domains than Schmidt-Rohr, but still overlooked the work domain. Frey¹¹ (1945) used only three domains (home, school, church). Mackey (1962), recommended using only five domains to investigate language choice.

However, irrespective of the number or type of domains, the home/family and school domains were always cited and placed at the top of the list. Equally, later studies (Clyne, 1982; Pauwels, 1986; Li, 1994) have highlighted the relevance and significance of the domain construct. These researchers as well have mostly focused their investigation and data analysis on the family/friendship, the education and the employment domains. "However, domains themselves are not the only significant factor in code selection" (Clyne, 1991, p. 113) "Language selection within one domain is influenced by participants, setting, and topic, 'possibly in that order'" (Sankoff & Poplack, 1979, p. 35). Moreover, Fishman's concept of domain was later labelled "the domain theory" by McConvell (1991, p. 144). Eventually,

¹⁰ Mak (1935) as reported in Fishman (1972).

¹¹ Frey (1945) as reported in Fishman (1972)

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Fishman argues that: “if a strict domain separation becomes institutionalised so that each language is associated with a number of important but distinct domains, bilingualism may well become both universal and stabilised even though an entire population consists of bilinguals interacting with other bilinguals” (Fishman, 1972, pp. 115-116). Thus, according to this theory, language maintenance can be achieved through stable bilingualism (as opposed to transitional bilingualism) coupled with the separation of domains. Seemingly, this idea is inspired from Joan Robin’s study of bilingualism in Paraguay which revealed many issues related to the domain theory (Rubin, 1972). For instance, the separation of the school and the home in the Australian aboriginal context led to the removal of the indigenous language from the local school when the school can be (or has been in some cases) the centre for community language activities (McConvell, Review of Joshua A. Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, 1992, p. 217).

As such, if no taxonomy or a set of principles is established for defining domains one would end up with an infinite number of domains as speakers’ backgrounds and social statuses affect their perception of domains. Besides, in bi/multilingual societies, it is quite challenging to predetermine which language is spoken by whom and with who. In some situations one may come across quite unexpected people, given the dynamic nature of contemporary social life. For instance, a student and his teacher might suddenly meet in a football stadium and have a talk about their respective favourite football players. It is not at all certain how Fishman’s concept of domain analysis accounts for such incongruent circumstances. This raises the question of how extra-linguistic variables affect language choice. While macro-societal factors such as setting and topic do influence speaker’s language selection to a certain degree, the interlocutor is the main determinant of language choice¹². This idea has been further discussed openly and cogently by Bell (1984) who contends that language variability in general is a matter of “*audience design*”, that is, “people are responding primarily to other people” (p. 197). The impact of non -audience factors such as setting and topic on the speaker’s language choice is derived from the association with the audience, particularly, with the addressee. For instance, a setting such as a store is typically associated with a more socially distant kind of addressee than a household setting, while the *danger of death* question (Labov, 1972) addresses a topic associated with an intimate addressee, and so on. The audience may include addressee, auditor, over-hearers, eavesdroppers and non-participant listeners, who will affect the speaker’s

¹² See (Gal, 1979; Li, 1994; Li, 2000).

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language choice in different ways. Many speakers reported that with certain types of interlocutors, two languages may be used, which goes against Fishman's (1972, p. 437) view.

Martin-Jones (1989) argues that domain analysis seems to be a rather rigid account for defining situations of language use. Bilingual language choice is seen as a mere reflex of macro-level statuses and structures. This view fails to explain the issue of how large-scale social processes influence 'connotations' of dominant and dominated languages. The concern with the social origin of functional differentiation of languages and the relationship of dominant and dominated languages have given rise to the second macro-societal model of bilingual language choice known as 'language conflict'. This perspective of bilingualism and language choice which provides an understanding of the relationship of domination and conflict between languages and ethnic groups within different levels of social, political, and economic structures, is the focus of our discussion in the next section.

II.2.5 CONFLICT MODEL

The work of sociolinguists aligned with the conflict approach focuses initially on the reinterpretation of diglossia. They argue that diglossia presupposes conflict rather than complementarity (Eckert, 1980; Gardy & Lafont, 1981). "Sociolinguistics of the periphery" is a term coined in the earliest studies of bilingualism and language choice incorporating a conflict perspective. This latter was initiated by Catalan linguists working in Spain¹³, and was extended by researchers working on varieties of Catalan and Occitan spoken in southern France (Eckert, 1980; Gardy & Lafont, 1981; Bernardó & Rieu, 1973; Kremnitz, 1981)¹⁴. The main social phenomena and social processes seen as primary by those working within this tradition are summarised by Martin-Jones (1989, p. 118) as follows

- (1) the ways in which divisions between linguistic groups are related to class divisions and to political and economic relations within the framework of the state
- (2) the processes involved in the imposition of power and the reproduction of power relations; and
- (3) the nature of conflicts and social struggles generated by relations of power. In other words, the main argument put forward by these researchers is that the two languages involved in diglossia are unequal in relation to social status.

¹³ For example (Ninyoles, 1969; Vallverdú, 1970).

¹⁴ See further Martin-Jones (1989)

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Under the conflict model, a “local language functions as a vehicle for community solidarity and an intrusive language as the language of power epitomized in the form of economic activity, administration and communications which core society establishes in the periphery” (McKinnon, 1977, p. 495). These studies depict symbolic oppositions between different linguistic systems which are by no means restricted to bilingual ethnic minority communities.

The major argument put forward by these researchers is that inequality between H and L varieties or languages in diglossia, in terms of their social status, implies conflict and change rather than complementarity and stability. This inequality is illustrated by constraints on the 'proper' use of L which are not accompanied by similar constraints on the use of H; very often only the minority language is deemed to be 'trespassing' on the domains of the dominant language (Eckert, 1980). The conflicts are seen to derive from attempts to reinforce the power of the dominant class through the exercise of political power. One is “imposed from above in the form of an administrative, ritual or standard language. By virtue of its political and economic status, this language becomes requisite for access to power and mobility within the society” (Eckert, 1980, p. 1056). As it relates to societal distribution of languages in the Pyrenees at Ariege, Eckert (1980) shows that Gascon, the local variety of Occitan, was initially considered to be the 'inside' language, whereas French was the 'outside' language. But this symbolic evaluation gradually gave way to a 'private' versus 'public' opposition in the domains of language use and led to the legitimisation of French as the standard language. This latter was introduced through institutional structures such as local governments and schools, leading to symbolic oppositions between Gascon and French, and eventually a shift away from Gascon. Ninyoles (1969) and Kremnitz (1981) have documented a similar stigmatisation process with respect to Catalan.

The notion of conflict seems to be widespread in Africa; in most countries contact between the respective languages led to a horizontal competition and a scramble for the roles as people choose which language to use in which context or relationship. While some languages continue to move upward by increasing the number of functions or domains in which they are used, others are pushed into a minority position. As a matter of fact, the dominant languages that are used as national means of communication seem to gain much status and prestige that they are deliberately devaluing the minority languages. Moreover, “when the dominant or majority language has established its supremacy as the language of prestige/power/status, the dominated/minority language has lost the battle and soon, when in time total shift occurs, the

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war” (Finocchiaro, 2004). As a result, speakers of minority languages prefer their children to become proficient in the dominant language as they believe it would offer them more socio-economic and political benefits, therefore, losing their loyalty to their native languages (Batibo, 2005). Indeed, the scramble for domains has not only deepened the phenomena of competition and conflict between languages but also gave rise to some linguistic phenomena such as code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, etc; with considerable linguistic interplay- or, simply put, push and pull – between languages, which may eventually result in some being overpowered while other weaker and less prestigious languages left out.

To conclude the discussion of the macro-societal approach to analysing bilingualism and language choice, it is important to emphasise that this approach consists of two models, namely *the complementary distribution model* and *the conflict model*. Both models analyse societal diglossia and both endeavour to explain how the communicative resources that bilinguals draw on in their everyday interactions are being determined and constrained by higher-order social structures. Their chief difference seems to be that the complementary distribution model regards diglossia, wherein different languages or language varieties are socially and functionally compartmentalized, as a necessary condition for language maintenance and social stability, whereas the conflict model throws a new light on the societal arrangement of languages and emphasises the inequality and struggles between languages. Both models, however, aim to discover the descriptive and analytical variables that restrict and dictate the patterns of language choice within bilingual communities. The macro-societal perspective on bilingualism and language choice contrasts sharply with the micro-interactional perspective which is the area of sociolinguistics that studies the ways in which individuals manage the constraints present in the many communicative situations encountered in their daily life. The literature related to the micro-interactional perspective is reviewed next.

II.3 MICRO-INTERACTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The major concern of the interactional approach is individuals’ psychological processes. It views the different patterns and orders of language choice as the product of an ongoing interactional process. Here, the focus is the way speakers deploy the linguistic resources available to them in producing and reproducing social structures and social relations. This research is more individuals-centered than society-centered. A host of researchers have carried out important work on the interactional aspects of language choice and bilingualism. According

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to Tabouret-Keller (1995) researchers who adhere to the micro-interactional perspective of studies of bilingualism traditionally follow three currents of thought. These are:

- i. socio-pragmatism or the social and interactive properties of social systems in general
- ii. linguistics or the study of the formal properties of linguistic systems in contact
- iii. psycholinguistics or the relation between linguistic systems in contact *and* the properties of the human mind.

John Gumperz (1982) stands out as a leading figure in the study of the interactional aspects of bilingualism. He wrote a comment regarding a study he was carrying out that lucidly describes the kind of issues that interactional sociolinguistics should help resolve:

Individuals who speak English well and have no difficulty in producing grammatical English sentences may nevertheless differ significantly in what they perceive as meaningful discourse cues. Accordingly, their assumption about what information is to be conveyed, how it is to be ordered and put into words and their ability to fill in the un verbalized information they need to make sense of what transpires may also vary. This may lead to misunderstanding (...). (Gumperz, 1982, p. 172)

More specifically, the interactional perspective should explain the fact that people share the same language, defined as a lexico-grammatical system, yet it happens that they fail to understand each other. Conversely, therefore, this approach should also account for the ways participants in interaction manage to communicate effectively. He states his main concern in the following:

There is a need for a social theory which accounts for the communicative functions of linguistic variability and for its relation to speakers' goals without reference to untestable functionalist assumptions about conformity or non-conformance to closed systems of norms. (Gumperz, 1982, p. 93).

Unlike Fishman, Gumperz underscored the importance of actual face to face communication rather than the structure of language in society. According to Gumperz, "communication is a social activity requiring the *coordinated effort of two or more individuals*. Mere talk to produce sentences, no matter how well formed or elegant the outcome is, does not by itself constitute communication." (Gumperz, 1982, p. 1). Clearly, the idea of communication

as a coordinated activity implies the negotiation of social meanings between participants. It is so because linguistic forms do not always reflect actual meaning.

II.3.1 GUMPERZ: METAPHORICAL CODE-SWITCHING

Beginning at least with his 1982 volume, *Discourse strategies*, Gumperz put emphasis on the various prompts that reside in the discourse and through which listeners find social meaning in conversations. He calls them contextualisation conventions or contextualisation cues because they give listeners the context (or connections) that help in understanding the speakers' meanings. According to Gumperz, successful communication, just like the lack of it, is a matter of *contextualization cues*. He defines them as “surface features of message form which [...] speakers (use to) signal and listeners (to) interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 131). Such cues may be phonetic, syntactic, lexical or stylistic variables. They may consist of formulaic routines, formulaic expressions, discourse routines such as openings and closings, speech delivery features such as prosody (loudness, tempo, stress, intonation, silence, laughter, back channels) and even of language alternation (Gumperz, 1982, p. 129). Gumperz' contextualization cues are conventional in the sense that their meanings and their uses can vary from culture to culture. Thus, when these cues are shared by all participants, “interpretive processes are taken for granted and tend to go unnoticed. However, (when they are not shared), interpretation may differ and misunderstanding may occur” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 132).

Code-switching here refers to “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59). Drawing on extensive participant observation in a bi-dialectal community in Hemnesberget, Norway, Gumperz allows us to identify two ways in which language alternation can be considered as a conversation strategy. First, when bilingual participants use language alternation as a strategy for negotiating a change in specific aspects of the speech situation such as participants' identities and topic of interaction, this is referred to as Situational Code-Switching. It depends on the societal consensus that a particular linguistic variety is allocated to a particular cluster of topics, places, persons or purposes. A switch in code symbolizes a switch in cluster. For example, an adult kabyle-speaking Algerian in Spain speaks Kabyle with another Kabyle-speaking Algerian, but changes to Algerian Arabic when speaking to a non-

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Kabyle Algerian. As Blom & Gumperz comment, 'the notion of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and social situation' (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, p. 425). Subsequently, predictive models of language choice at the community level can be formulated¹⁵. Second, code switching does not necessarily involve changes in situational context. In some situations, participant and setting remain the same, while participants alternate between language varieties. This discourse strategy known as metaphorical code-switching. Unlike situational code-switching, which consists of a direct application of co-selectivity, metaphorical code-switching operates through "violation of co-occurrence expectations" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 98). Moreover, metaphorical code-switching draws on the symbolic value of the language switched to in order to communicate meanings or to achieve particular communicative effects. It is viewed as an instance of deviance from the norm that consists of two stages (Gafaranga, Code Switching as a conversational strategy, 2007). Initially, deviance from the norm serves as a pointer telling the interlocutor that something other than ideational content is being communicated. At the second stage, the shift indicates a candidate interpretation. In this case, as Gumperz says, language alternation is directional, has a semantic value

The semantic effect of metaphorical code switching depends on the existence of a regular relationship between variables and social situations [...] the context in which one of a set of alternates is regularly used becomes part of its meaning so that when this form is then employed in a context where it is not normal, it brings in some of the flavor of this original setting. (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, p. 425)

Blom & Gumperz's (1972) illustrate this possibility in their study in Hemnesberget when a resident approaches a clerk's desk and exchanges greetings and talks about domestic affairs using Ranamål, the local dialect, but switches to Bokmål, the standard variety, when conducting official business with the same person. According to Blom & Gumperz, the use of Ranamål here calls attention to community social network and shared membership, while Bokmål serves to highlight status (Li, 1994).

The social symbolism of metaphorical code-switching was further elaborated by Gumperz on the basis that languages in bilingual communities are associated with different values and identities. He distinguishes between '*we code*' and '*they code*'. He asserts that:

¹⁵ One such model is Rubin's (1968) 'decision tree' (see also Sankoff, 1972)

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The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we code' and becomes associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the 'they code' associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations. (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66)

It is worth noting that the dichotomy '*we code*' versus '*they code*' is quite different from the distinction High versus Low put forward by Ferguson (1959). The latter is the product of social arrangement defined in advance and imposed on language users as in the case of diglossia i.e. it refers to the status of languages or language varieties *per se*, whereas the former is the result of long-term interactional process of language choice and social exchange i.e. it signifies alternative interpersonal relationships of languages users.

In conjunction to his investigation of the social symbolism of code-switching, Gumperz addresses the conversational loci where speakers are likely to alternate between languages by identifying a number of discourse functions which code-switching is seen to fulfil. The functions typically consist of the following: a) quotations b) addressee specification c) interjections d) reiteration e) message qualification f) personalisation versus objectivisation. (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 75-84)

The framework of interactional sociolinguistics as developed by Gumperz has sparked the interest of many researchers and motivated them to identify new functions and meaning for code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1983, 1993, 1999; Peter Auer, 1984a, 1988, 1991, 1998, 2000). These two studies which, respectively, endeavoured to formulate a consistent theory of language choice by building their research upon Gumperz work on the micro-interactional aspects of bilingualism, are reviewed in the following section

To sum up, Gumperz' concept of *metaphorical code-switching* involves alternating languages in a conversation not due to a change in the situational context but for symbolic purposes, reflecting social values, identities, or roles. He introduces *contextualization cues*—aspects of communication such as tone, intonation, and language alternation—that help listeners interpret the meaning behind an interaction. These cues may differ across cultures, leading to possible misunderstandings if they are not shared. Gumperz distinguishes between *situational code-switching* and *metaphorical code-switching*. The first occurs when participants switch languages to reflect changes in the situation (e.g., a shift in topic or participants). Metaphorical code-switching, on the other hand, involves switching languages for symbolic

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purposes, even when the situation remains the same. This form of code-switching carries social symbolism, such as using a minority language to emphasize in-group solidarity or a majority language to indicate formality or status. Gumperz's work underscores the importance of understanding how languages function not just as tools for communication but as carriers of social meaning and identity. His distinction between *we code* (used in in-group contexts) and *they code* (associated with out-group or formal contexts) is key in understanding how bilinguals use language alternation for specific social and communicative effects.

This framework of code-switching is highly relevant to your study of Arabic language transmission among Algerian migrant families in France. It can help explain how families might alternate between Algerian Arabic (the "we code") and French (the "they code") or Standard Arabic, depending on context, audience, and the social meaning they wish to convey. For instance, parents might choose to speak Algerian Arabic with family members to reinforce cultural ties, while switching to French or Standard Arabic in formal settings such as schools or work. Understanding these dynamic language practices can help you explore the relationship between language use, identity, and the language management strategies of families.

II.3.2 SCOTTON: THE 'MARKEDNESS' THEORY OF LANGUAGE CHOICE

The centerpiece of the markedness theory is a 'negotiation principle' which leads language users to: 'choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speakers and addressee for the current exchange' (Scotton, The possibility of code-switching: Motivation for maintaining multilingualism, 1983, p. 116). That is to say, unmarked choices, on one hand, are those that are predicted as part of the normative anticipations for each interaction type, given the ingredients of the interaction (participants, topic, setting, and so on), referred to as Rights and Obligation (RO) set (Myers-Scotton, Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Code-Switching, 1993a). In Myers-Scotton's words, when speakers make an unmarked language choice they are causing no social ripples, because participants, based on experience, expect such a choice. This pattern is also selected when participants:

[...] are not satisfied with either the identity associated with speaking (one language) or that associated with speaking (the other) alone when they are conversing with each other. Rather, they see the rewards in indexing both identities for themselves. (...). Thus, code switching becomes their unmarked

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choice for making salient simultaneously two or more positively evaluated identities. (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 122)

On the other hand, when the switch is a marked choice, it involves a negotiation for another RO set than the one expected in such ongoing exchange. Put simply, the speaker attempts to construct a new social meaning for his own status or his relation to other participants, thereby negotiating a new norm, for a new RO set to be in effect. According to Myers-Scotton (2006), making a marked choice is a negotiation about either the power or solidarity dimension (or both).

Under the 'markedness' model of language choice, Scotton advocates four possible reasons for engaging in code-switching:

- (1) to make a sequence of unmarked choices in cases where situational factors change during the course of a conversation and therefore a new code becomes unmarked
- (2) as an unmarked choice in cases in which it is expected that a person with the sociolinguistic profile of the speaker will wish to index the social identities associated with two or more codes in the same conversation and therefore the speaker switches between these codes to invoke simultaneous identities
- (3) as a marked choice in cases where the speaker wishes to dis-identify with the unmarked rights and obligation set for an interaction and negotiate a change in the social distance holding between other participants and him/herself
- (4) as an exploratory choice in cases where the speaker is unsure which norms apply in a given interaction, either because the interaction is novel or the speaker does not have full information about other participants¹⁶.

It is intuitively clear that the markedness model of code-switching (Scotton, 1983; 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; 1993b) explores code switching from a socio-psychological side external to specific contexts in which code-switching takes place. One important premise of this model is that speakers make choices with a sense about which linguistic choice will bring them the best income. It is inspired by Social Psychology, particularly by the Social Exchange Theory. Briefly put, Social Exchange Theory views social action as the result of a balancing act between costs and benefits. These costs and benefits may be tangible just as they may also be

¹⁶ See further Myers-Scotton, (1992) .

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symbolic. The influence of the Social Exchange Theory on Myers-Scotton's account of language choice in social interaction is openly conveyed in the following:

“I argue that a major motivation for using one variety rather than another as a medium of interaction is the extent to which this choice minimizes costs and maximises rewards for the speaker.” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 100)

The idea that speakers make some cognitively based calculations to speak one language rather than another has brought the markedness model into the tradition of rational choice models (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001). However, a rational choice paradigm does not necessarily produce quantitative evidence. Rationality as a social mechanism allows us to explain, but does not necessarily anticipate, future choices individuals make. More specifically, the markedness theory does not claim that speakers always make rationally based choices or the best choices from an objective point of view. Being rational does not mean that one is always successful in recognising one's intentions. It only means that one has no reason to think that one should have behaved in a different way, given what one knew (and could have known) at the time. Given such shortcomings, another approach was adopted in the analysis of code-switching behaviour stemming from the work of Gumperz (1982). This approach is based on Conversation Analysis (CA); it views social meanings as a product of the conversation itself as they are co-constructed by participants. Applications of this model to bilingual speech are most associated with Peter Auer. The following section is devoted to review Auer's approach to language choice.

Scotton's theory can be useful in analyzing how Algerian migrant families in France make language choices (Arabic, French, or even both). The unmarked and marked choices can help explain when and why individuals use Algerian Arabic or Standard Arabic in different contexts. For instance, unmarked language choices in family settings may reflect the natural expectation of speaking in a familiar language, while code-switching could be seen as a marked choice to express multiple social identities, such as being both Algerian and French. The theory can also be applied to explore when speakers switch between Arabic varieties or between Arabic and French to negotiate social relationships, like maintaining solidarity or asserting authority, in interactions within families or in broader social settings. Moreover, this theory connects with the notion of implicit/explicit language management strategies. Families may consciously or unconsciously employ code-switching (as a marked or unmarked choice) to reinforce certain identities or adapt to evolving family dynamics. It may also help explain

language shift trends, especially in cases where participants feel more comfortable or competent using French in daily conversations.

II.3.3 AUER: SEQUENTIAL ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE CHOICE

The study of bilingualism and language choice from a micro-interactional perspective has been further advanced by Auer's sequential analysis of code-switching on data collected among Italian speakers in Constance, Germany (Auer, 1984a; 1984b; 1988). Auer's work may be described as a reaction against Gumperz classification of discourse functions of code-switching. Auer asserts that establishing a list of functions of code-switching is problematic for a number of reasons. For instance, the different conversational structures cannot be subsumed under a single category of functions, there should not be a confusion between conversational structure, linguistic form, and function of code-switching, and the list of functions of code-switching cannot be a closed one as these functions are infinite¹⁷. According to Auer (1991), it would be more fruitful to analyse code switching as a contextualisation cue, rather than trying to classify speaker's linguistic choices according to a pre-established set of functional categories.

The concept of contextualisation had been initiated by Gumperz (1982; 1992) and later explained by Auer in general terms as: 'all the processes by which members construe the local and global contexts which are necessary for the interpretation of their linguistic and non-linguistic activities' (Auer, 1990, p. 80). Li Wei (1994, p. 18) explains that for both Gumperz and Auer, context is not something given *a priori* and influencing or determining linguistic detail, rather, it is continually shaped, maintained and changed by participants in the course of interaction. It has been demonstrated that conversational participants use cues at the verbal level (prosodic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, rhetorical)¹⁸ and the non-verbal level (gestural, kinesic and proxemic)¹⁹ to contribute to the signaling of contextual presuppositions. Gumperz (1982) calls these cues 'contextualisation conventions' (or contextualisation cues). They have the following features:

- (1) They do not have referential (de-contextualised) meaning of the kind we find in lexical items. Instead, contextualisation cues and the interpretation of the activity are related by a process of *inferencing*, which is itself dependent on the context of

¹⁷ See further Auer (1991, pp. 326-33).

¹⁸ See, for example, Local, 1986; Local, Kelly, Wells, & Sebba, 1984; French & Local, 1986.

¹⁹ See, for example, Duncan, 1972; Kendon, 1977.

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its occurrence. The situated meaning of code-switching therefore cannot be stated unless a sequential analysis is carried out. The same cue may receive a different interpretation on different occasions.

(2) The way in which inferencing leads to contextual interpretation is twofold: by contrast or by inherent meaning potential. In the first, most simple case, contextualisation cues establish contrasts and influence interpretation by punctuating the interaction. The mere fact of (usually abruptly) changing one (or more than one) formal characteristic of the interaction may be enough to prompt an inference about why such a thing has happened. In this process of inferencing, it is necessary to rely on information contained in the local context of the cue's occurrence. The only 'meaning' the cue has is (to paraphrase Jakobson's definition of the phoneme) to 'indicate otherness'. The direction of the change is irrelevant.

Yet, many contextualisation cues do more than that. They establish a contrast and thereby indicate that something new is going to come; but it also and at the same time restricts the number of possible plausible inferences as to what this might be. This is so because cues may have (received) an inherent meaning potential. This may be 'natural', e.g. when we observe a natural correlation between diminishing fundamental frequency on the one hand, and 'rest' or 'termination' on the other, or it may be conventionalised (as in the case of code alternation).

(3) Contextualisation cues often bundle together, e.g. there is a certain redundancy of coding which has specific interactional advantages. For the analyst, this redundancy provides methodological access to the conversational functions of one cue (e.g. code alternation), since, other cues supporting the same local interpretation can be used as 'external' evidence for the meaning of conversational code alternation. (Auer, 1991, pp. 334-5)²⁰

Auer claims that code-switching should be analysed as a contextualisation cue. He identifies a number a sequential patterns of language choice

1. The first pattern 'discourse related code-sitching' is illustrated thus: Pattern Ia: ... *Al A2 Al A2 // BI B2 BI B2...* Auer (Auer, 1991, pp. 124-5) explains this pattern as follows: "A language of interaction 'A' has been established; at a certain point, speaker 1 switches to language 'B'; this new language choice is accepted by speaker 2 as the new language of interaction so that beyond the switching point only 'B' is used. " . In most instances

²⁰ Original Italics

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this pattern is taken to be the prototypical case of conversational codes-switching. This alternation of code is usually interpreted as “contextualising some feature of the conversation” for example because of a shift in topic or activity type, participant constellation, and so forth... therefore, writes Auer, “I use the term discourse related code-switching” to describe this pattern of code alternation. An alternate pattern would be: Pattern Ib:... A1 A2 A1 A2 A1 // B1 B2 B1 B2... This pattern represents an instance of code-switching occurring within a single speaker's turn. Auer explains that discourse-related code-switching helps in the organization of bilingual conversation in an interaction episode.

2. Auer identifies another pattern of language choice referred to as ‘(participant’s) preference-related code-switching’. It can be represented as follows: Pattern II a:... A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2... “Here, speaker 1 consistently uses one language but speaker 2 consistently uses another language” (Auer, 1991, p. 125). This pattern of language choice is not normally sustainable in spontaneous conversation. After a short run of divergent language choices, one participant usually accepts the other's language, and the sequence continues with an agreed language as the language-of-interaction. The resulting pattern takes this form: Pattern IIb:... A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 //A2 A1 A2 A1... “The reasons for such a preference are an altogether different issue. By preference related, a speaker may simply want to avoid the language in which he or she feels insecure and speak the one in which he or she has greater competence” (ibid). The function of code-switching here is interpreted as a negotiation of language-of-interaction and tells us something about participants’ preferred choices. It allows the assessment by participants of the speaker’s preference and competence in one language or the other. The word preference says Auer “must not be understood as a psychological disposition of the speaker, but rather in the more technical, conversation-analytic sense of an interactionally visible structure.” (ibid)
3. In this sequential pattern “bilingual speakers keep language choice open by switching between languages within a turn in a way that makes it impossible to decide if language ‘A’ or ‘B’ is the base language.” (Auer, 1991, p. 126). Speaker 2 may continue to keep the language choice open or may choose the language s/he thinks appropriate or preferred. The choice of language can be due to a conversational function, such “as in the case of reiterations for emphasis, or topic/comment switching” Therefore the turn-internal switching of this type are often discourse related and at the same time preference-related. This pattern looks like this:

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IIIa: AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2

IIIb: AB1 // A2 A1 A2

4. Finally, in the fourth pattern the bilingual speaker may insert a word or another structure from the other language and then goes back to using the language of interaction, not influencing the choice of the other participant/s to the conversation. This is designated by Auer as *transfer* (as opposed to *code-switching*). Like the pattern above (3), it may be discourse- or participants-related. This pattern is schematically presented as IV: A1 [B1] A1. Auer calls this pattern transfer.

The main motivation for distinguishing discourse-related from participant-related code-switching, as Auer explains, is because the discourse functions of code-switching have been copiously dealt with in the existing literature, while processes of language negotiation and preference-influenced or competence-influenced language choices are usually not discussed under conversational code-switching, but are deemed to be determined by higher order (macro-societal) or psycholinguistic factors²¹. Auer's study of German/Italian code-switching, for instance, reveals that participant-related code-switching ought to be seen as a contextualisation cue. What it contextualises, however, transcends discourse structures to incorporate the social attributes and relationships of the participants.

Studying code-switching as a contextualisation cue entails an analytic process which focuses on the sequential development of interaction, because the meanings of contextualisation cues are communicated as part of the interactive process and cannot be discussed without taking into account the conversational context. This is best done by using the framework of Conversation Analysis²². In Auer's view, the conversation analysis approach has at least two advantages. First, it gives priority to “the sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation, i.e. the fact that whatever language a participant chooses for the organisation of his or her turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers” (Auer, 1984a, p. 5). Second, it “limits the external analysts' interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretations back to the members' mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behavior” (Auer, 1984a, p. 6). Conversation analysis is a fast developing, interdisciplinary approach whose application to bilingual data is new and not yet systematic.

²¹See, for example, Lüdi (1987). Gardner-Chloros (1991).

²² See Atkinson & Heritage (1984); Levinson, (1983, p. Ch.6).

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Auer's sequential analysis offers a more detailed, micro-level understanding of language choice, making it highly relevant when studying language practices within migrant families. For example, if family members or children are switching between Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, and French, Auer's patterns (such as discourse-related and preference-related code-switching) can help uncover the specific conversational motivations behind these choices. Do they switch to express solidarity with one family member, or is the language choice driven by a shift in the topic or setting, such as when talking about school or community events? Auer's model helps investigate the dynamics of language choice in real-time interactions, offering insights into how family members negotiate language use and manage communication within the household. This is particularly useful for understanding how bilingual children (or adults) maintain or shift their language preference based on competence, emotional comfort, or social expectations. Sequential analysis could also reveal if there are patterns of language dominance or preference that emerge as a result of external social pressures or family strategies.

Both Scotton's and Auer's frameworks provide tools to explore *how* and *why* language choices occur in bilingual families. Scotton's markedness theory is helpful for understanding broader social motivations behind code-switching and how family members balance multiple identities through language. Auer's sequential analysis complements this by focusing on the immediate context of interactions, offering insights into the dynamics of language choice in action. These theories could be applied to examine how Algerian migrant families in France manage the transmission of Arabic while negotiating their relationships with French and Algerian cultural identities. You can explore how language shifts and management strategies in these families are influenced by social norms, competence, and the negotiation of identity in bilingual environments. The remaining part of this chapter discusses a paradigm of language choice that integrates both the social, situational contexts in which individuals' linguistic practices take place and the interactional process through which languages become socially meaningful using the concept of *social network*.

II.3.4 SOCIAL NETWORK MODEL

There exist many different methods of analyzing the social (inter-speaker) aspect of language variation. One perspective which is usually used in quantitative sociolinguistics is to select an aspect of the speaker's social status such as age, sex, class, and so on and examine it

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separately of social interaction. In this perspective the social status of the speaker is seen as the main determinant of his/her linguistic behaviour in social interaction. Another perspective studies the identities of the people with whom the speaker regularly interacts, in addition to the speaker's own identity. This second perspective is known as the social network approach. This approach pivots on the belief that there is a dialectic link between speakers' linguistic behaviours and interpersonal relations; that is, speakers' language use is shaped and determined by the types of social contacts they have, i.e., "...by pressure and inducements, participants impose linguistic norms on each other" (Gal, 1979, p. 14)²³. Thus, instead of focusing on some *ad hoc* categorisation of speakers, this perspective initiates with empirically observable behaviours of individual speakers and investigates how speakers develop their social identities through interaction (Woolard, 1985).

"A social network may be seen as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely" (Milroy & Milroy, Social network and social class: Towards an integrated sociolinguistic model., 1992, p. 5). Network theory, thus, deals with issues like linkage in the network, the nature of the linkage and how it affects linguistic behaviour. Linguistic research has been concerned with the idea of networks or connections among individuals since Bloomfield, 1933 who held the view that linguistic diversity is the direct outcome of varying degrees of speaker interaction. Milroy and others' work on social networks and language is influenced by Le Page's concept of the individual's creation of a verbal repertoire that allows him/her, to imitate the linguistic characteristics of a group (or groups) with which he or she wishes to be identified. As Le Page (1978) puts it, "Each speech act is an announcement: "to this extent I wish to be thought of as my own man, to this extent like A, to this extent like B, to this extent like C . . ." and so on".²⁴

Unlike domains, social networks have been used by sociolinguists (Labov, 1972) and Milroy (1980) among others as predictors of language behaviour. Gumperz (Gumperz, 1982)(1982) work sets out to "explore alternatives to established sociolinguistic approaches to the analysis of language shift that can account for the intuitively obvious fact that language shift reflects basic changes in the structure of interpersonal relations rather than mere macro-alterations in the extralinguistic environment" (Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, 1982, p. 57). He then suggests that language choice is significantly determined by network relations, In these research works networks refer to an empirically measurable and observable set of interactional

²³ See also Bott, 1957

²⁴ See also Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985.

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relations individuals have to one another by reference to frequency or intensity of interaction, transactional (one-way) versus exchange (two-way) interactions, and so on (Preston, 1987).

One of the fundamental claims of the network analysis is that individuals intentionally create social networks for special purposes. This purposefulness of social networks implies that members of a given network will deliberately or undeliberately develop unique norms of behaviour and will come to expect one another to conform to these norms if they wish to be considered members of the network. It also implies that members of particular social networks are viewed as vigorously contributing to the constitution of social relations and social structure through their interactive behaviour. Granovetter (1973; 1982) refers to two broad types of network ties using 'strong' and 'weak' dichotomy. A 'strong' network would be dense in terms of structure (dense or close-knit versus open or loose-knit networks), but the degree of intensity and frequency of contact involved in it would also be high. Whilst in terms of interaction they can be multiplex. "In dense and multiplex networks everyone would know everyone else (density) and the actors would know one another in a range of capacities (multiplex) e.g. co-worker, kinsman and friend" (Milroy L. , 1987a, p. 21; Milroy & Milroy, 1992, pp. 5-6). In turn, a distinction between 'exchange' and 'interactive' networks was adopted by (Milardo, 1988, pp. 26-36) who explains that exchange networks comprise individuals such as kin and close friends with whom ego not only interacts regularly, but also depends for support, aid, advice, and criticism. Whereas interactive networks consist of individuals with whom ego interacts routinely (and perhaps over extended periods of time) but on whom ego does not exchange personal favours and other material or symbolic resources. In addition to exchange and interactive ties, a third type is also generally identified, namely, those associated with a 'passive' network. Passive ties are those that entail an absence of regular contact, but are regarded by ego as a source of influence and moral support. Examples would therefore be physically distant family members or friends, such ties being particularly important to immigrant families. The social network model addresses the identities of the people with whom the speaker regularly interacts, in addition to the speaker's own identity.

Strong ties and weak ties and the variation in "the structure of different individuals personal social networks will, for a number of reasons, systematically affect the way they use the two languages in the community repertoire" (Milroy & Li Wei, 1990, p. 138). In fact, the concept of social network is closely related to that of 'speech accommodation' proposed by Giles and his associates (Giles, 1980; Giles & Smith, 1979; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Coupland, N., Henwood, K., Coupland, J. and Giles, H, 1990), which situates the notion of verbal repertoire creation using either 'convergent' or 'divergent' strategies in the general set of

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expressing aspiration towards and identification with a particular social group. In other words, seeking social approval from others²⁵.

Empirical studies (Labov, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Milroy L. , 1987a) suggest that dense, close-knit networks have a particular capacity to maintain and even enforce local conventions and norms, including linguistic norms i.e.; they account for adherence to a vernacular or non-legitimised language norm (a non-standard) whilst open or weak networks least approximate to vernacular norms. By the same token, Milroy's (1980) analysis of the relationship between linguistic variation and network structure in three inner city communities in Belfast (Ballymacarrett, Clonard and Hammer) "attempted to demonstrate that a close-knit, territorially based network functions as a conservative force, resisting pressures for change originating from outside pressure." (Milroy & Milroy, 1992, p. 4). Milroy's (1980) main thesis is that dense and closed networks explain the preservation of illegitimatised or non-standard forms (p. 190).

The value of network analysis lies in offering a theoretical standpoint for understanding community level mechanisms (in close-knit networks) that underlie processes of language maintenance and the persistence of vernacular's vis-a-vis imposed institutional standard varieties or official languages. Milroy and Milroy (1992) argue that for economically impoverished or weak groups in homogeneous and well-delineated communities "a strong sense of ethnicity or of local identity often creates and maintains localised cultural and linguistic norms and value systems that are presented and perceived as sharply opposed to the mainstream values of outsiders." (p. 6) As such, network analysis complements domain analysis by focusing systematically on inter-linkages and social relation organisations in networks. Migrant and other communities apparently vary in their intergenerational communication practices and hence are not all equally successful in maintaining their community languages.

Another important postulate of network analysis is that when an individual is related to others to form a social network, the interpersonal ties and their embedded resources constitute the focal individual's social capital which can help him/her not only for pursuing political or economic goals but also for coping with crises or emergencies (Baron, Field, & Schuller, 2000; Bourdieu, Language and symbolic power, 2005; Marsden & Lin, 1982; Levy & Pescosolida, 2002). Such a focus makes the social network approach a useful tool for sociolinguists investigating relatively clearly definable communities, as well as for researchers from other disciplines. Social psychologists, for example, have used the concept as a means of analysing sources of stress, leadership, and information flow.²⁶

²⁵ See also Trudgill (1986a).

²⁶ For example : Moreno (1986a) , Erbe (1977).

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In migrant communities, social networks can help maintain community languages and norms, especially when the network is tightly knit. This approach is useful in studying language maintenance, as it highlights the importance of social connections in determining linguistic behavior. However; methodologically this theory cannot handle open or less multiplex networks (Milroy & Milroy, 1992) nor can it explain the long term social processes that underlie migration (Boissevain, 1987, p. 169). The model has limitations, particularly when dealing with open or less multiplex networks. It may not fully explain linguistic behaviour in societies where individual ties carry little information about the speaker's language use, such as in less cohesive or more dispersed communities. Contrary to linking an individual's linguistic behaviour to relations in a network, other studies have showed that societies do exist in which the individual's place in the network carries little identifying information concerning the low level grammatical and phonological performance of the speaker (Preston, 1987). There are speakers whose linguistic behaviours cannot be comprehensively explained by merely examining the number of ethnic versus non-ethnic ties they contract in their exchange networks.

II.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored key sociolinguistic models that account for language choice in multilingual settings, providing a theoretical foundation for understanding bilingualism, diglossia, and code-switching. The macro-societal approach has been examined through models such as the complementary distribution model, domain analysis, and the conflict model, highlighting how broader social structures and institutional factors shape language use. This perspective illustrates the ways in which societal norms and expectations influence the distribution of linguistic varieties across different domains. On the other hand, the micro-interactional perspective has emphasized the role of individual agency and interaction in shaping language choice. Gumperz's theory of metaphorical code-switching, Scotton's markedness model, and Auer's sequential analysis have demonstrated how speakers strategically switch between linguistic codes to construct meaning, negotiate identities, and manage social relationships. Additionally, the social network model has shown how interpersonal ties and community structures impact language practices within bilingual and multilingual groups.

By integrating these perspectives, this chapter has laid the groundwork for analyzing the linguistic practices of Algerian migrant families in France. Understanding the interplay between macro-societal influences and micro-interactional dynamics is essential for interpreting the

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factors that contribute to Arabic language maintenance, shift, and transmission in migrant contexts. The next chapter will build upon these theoretical insights by examining family language policy, which plays a crucial role in shaping intergenerational language transmission and maintenance.

CHAPTER III
FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY
AMONG ALGERIAN
MIGRANTS IN FRANCE

III.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to situate the study within its broader historical, sociolinguistic, and educational contexts. It provides a comprehensive overview of Algerian migration to France, the role of the French language in Algeria, and current practices in Arabic teaching in France. By reviewing previous studies on Arabic maintenance in migrant contexts, the chapter highlights the challenges and opportunities related to heritage language transmission among Arabic-speaking migrant families. Ultimately, this contextual framework identifies gaps in the existing literature and transitions into research on Family Language Policy (FLP) as a key framework for understanding language transmission within the family domain, establishing a foundation for the empirical analyses presented in subsequent chapters.

III.2 A SOCIO-HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ALGERIAN PRESENCE IN FRANCE

Migration from Algeria to France has deep historical roots and continues to play a significant role in shaping both societies. This longstanding relationship, embedded in a complex history marked by colonial ties, labour migration, and evolving socio-political dynamics, has established a migration corridor that is still active to this day. The Algerian-French migration corridor can be traced back to the early 19th century, when France began its colonization of Algeria in 1830. This period marked the beginning of a sustained movement of people between the two territories. With Algeria's integration as an administrative department of France in 1848, the relationship deepened. During this time, about one million European settlers—primarily French, along with Spanish and Italian migrants—established themselves in Algeria. Their presence, facilitated by policies of land expropriation, significantly disrupted traditional economic, social, and cultural structures of the indigenous population (Temine, 1987; López García & Berriane, 1996).

From the onset of colonization, the movement of Algerians to mainland France began in earnest. Since the first influx of Algerian migration before and during World War I, the migratory stream has never stopped. Algerian labor migration was initiated in the early years of French colonization and intensified with the mobilization of Algerians in French factories and the army during World War I. By the early 1920s, male labor migration had become a well-established component of the colonial economy (Asselah-Rahal, 2004, pp. 60-61). These early migrants primarily settled in industrial centers such as Marseille, Lyon, and areas in northern France, where they found work in dockyards, factories, and other labor-intensive sectors. The

post-World War II era witnessed a significant escalation in Algerian migration. With the free mobility policy introduced in 1947 and later consolidated by the 1962 Evian Accords, migration became even more fluid. Algerian migrants, who were legally considered French nationals during the colonial period, experienced little formal barrier to movement. In effect, leaving Algeria was akin to moving from one part of the French nation to another, despite substantial social, cultural, and linguistic differences. This period witnessed vigorous two-way migration flows, particularly between 1919 and 1931 from regions such as Kabylia and Oranais, further cementing the migration corridor between Algeria and France.

The tide of migration slightly slowed down following Algeria's independence in 1962. However, migration trends soon picked up again through various channels: labor migration, family reunifications for those whose relatives remained in Algeria, and, later, as a result of political and economic instability. By the mid-1980s, approximately one million people of Algerian descent were living in France. The turmoil during Algeria's civil conflict in the 1990s added to this movement, as tens of thousands fled violence, further expanding the Algerian diaspora.

Today, the Algerian presence in France is characterized by diversity in terms of legal status, age, gender, and occupation. Algerians have been described as "the most immigrant of immigrants" (Talha, 1983, p. 8) due to their deep-rooted historical ties and continuing high visibility in French society. They contribute significantly to France's ethnic and linguistic mosaic, yet their status remains complex. The cultural distinctiveness of the Algerian community, coupled with persistent socio-political challenges, often leaves Franco-Algerians navigating dual identities—at once part of mainstream French society while maintaining strong links to their Algerian heritage.

Abdelmalek Sayad is widely regarded as one of the foremost chroniclers of Algerian migration. His work offers a nuanced and multifaceted perspective on this migratory phenomenon. Sayad famously described Algerian migration as "an immigration unlike any other, an immigration that is exceptional in every respect, as much by its overall history as in each of its characteristic details" (Sayad, 1985, p. 101). He argued that the migratory process is not merely about the physical movement of people but also encompasses profound shifts in identity, social relations, and cultural belonging. A central element of Sayad's analysis is his characterization of "three ages of Algerian migration to France." In the first phase, during the early years of colonization, migration was primarily driven by economic necessity. Algerian

laborers were recruited to meet the burgeoning industrial needs of France, and their movement laid the groundwork for what would become a sustained migratory stream. The second phase, emerging in the post-World War II era, saw the consolidation of migration through labor movements, family reunifications, and the establishment of robust Algerian communities in metropolitan centers. It is during this period that an “Algerian colony” began to form in France—culturally distinct from mainstream French society yet still intricately connected to its origins in Algeria. In the third phase, as migration continued into the later decades of the twentieth century, successive generations experienced a growing sense of detachment from Algeria. Migrants and their descendants increasingly found themselves caught in a state of “double absence”: fully present in the host society while simultaneously experiencing a loss of connection to their homeland.

Sayad’s concept of “double absence” captures the paradoxical experience of Algerian migrants. They are physically and economically integral to French society yet often remain marginalized in terms of full social and cultural inclusion. Simultaneously, the migrants are distanced from Algeria, as successive generations adopt aspects of French culture while the direct ties to the homeland weaken. This dual marginality underscores the complexity of Algerian migration and highlights the enduring impact of historical, political, and social forces in shaping the migratory experience. Sayad’s work provides critical insights into the evolution of Algerian migration, emphasizing that it is a dynamic process marked by shifting identities and enduring challenges. His analysis not only contextualizes the historical and socio-political dimensions of migration but also underscores the intricate ways in which migration affects cultural continuity and belonging—issues that remain central to contemporary debates on heritage language maintenance and intergenerational transmission.

III.2.1 ALGERIAN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR MIGRATION

Due to its long colonial experience, Algeria today exhibits one of the most diverse and intricate linguistic landscapes in the world. This complexity arises from the country’s multifaceted socio-demographic composition, historical legacies, and the simultaneous need to satisfy both national language policies and international communication demands. At the core of this diversity are two completely distinct mother tongues: the various Algerian Arabic dialects used by the majority of the population, and Berber varieties spoken by approximately 25% of Algerians. In addition to these, Standard Arabic, French, and English are employed—

primarily in formal settings—to fulfill different or overlapping linguistic functions. The coexistence of these languages, each with its own sphere of influence and function, creates genuine challenges for applied linguists, language policymakers, decision-makers, and community leaders alike.

Historically, the 132 years of French occupation have had a profound impact on Algeria's educational system and linguistic practices. During the colonial era, the French language became deeply entrenched in the realms of education, administration, and government, despite the virtual absence of a formal Algerian elite. Following independence in 1962, the introduction of compulsory education further accelerated the spread of French. As a result, French quickly emerged as a dominant language in many formal domains within Algeria.

Today, Algeria is recognized as having one of the largest French-speaking communities in the world. With approximately 16 million speakers—equating to one in two Algerians²⁷—the prevalence of French is remarkable. A poll conducted for *Le Point* magazine²⁸ revealed that, aside from France, Algeria is the largest French-speaking country, with over 14 million people aged 16 and over (or about 60% of the population) using French. This widespread use of French is not seen as a rejection of Arab identity; rather, many Algerians view French as a vital tool for international communication and access to global opportunities.

Paradoxically²⁹, despite being classified as a foreign language within the national curriculum, French remains a major component of Algerian education. Its pervasive presence is particularly evident at the university level, especially in fields such as medicine and engineering. Additionally, a significant portion of the Algerian press is published in French, and a majority of media outlets—including radio, newspapers, and magazines—operate predominantly in French. Satellite television further reinforces the language's presence in Algerian households, with one out of every two families regularly watching French channels.

The intricate linguistic situation in Algeria significantly influences the language practices of Algerian migrants in France. The inherent linguistic diversity in Algeria, shaped by historical, educational, and cultural factors, contributes to the development of mixed language practices among migrants. As these individuals negotiate between the language of their country

²⁷ Rapport de l'OIF, *Le Français dans le monde*, 2006-2007.

²⁸ Article dated 03/11/2000, no. 1468, study carried out by the private Algerian polling institute Abassa.

²⁹ Despite arabisation imperatives and the introduction of English as a Medium of Instruction more recently.

of origin and that of the host country, they often develop hybrid modes of communication. This linguistic blending reflects both their diverse linguistic repertoires and the ongoing negotiation of identity and belonging in a transnational context. Understanding this complexity is essential for analyzing the heritage language transmission among Algerian migrant families in France. The multilingual reality that Algerians bring with them—shaped by centuries of colonial legacy, national language policies, and contemporary global influences—provides a unique backdrop against which their language practices in the diaspora must be examined.

III.2.2 ARABIC LANGUAGE IN FRANCE

In France, dialectal Arabic in its Maghrebi form is the primary variety that prevails in the interactions of most Arabic speakers. It is the second most widely spoken language in the country after French, with an estimated 3 to 4 million speakers³⁰. The term ‘Maghrebi Arabic’ refers to the Arabic spoken by migrant communities from Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia (Caubet, 2003a, p. 196). However, its use is not exclusive to Muslim migrants of North African origin. Four main groups of speakers contribute to its presence in France:

1. North African migrants and their descendants – individuals who arrived through migration or family reunification.
2. Harkis and their descendants – people of Arab or Berber origin who served in the French army during the Algerian War and resettled in France after Algeria's independence (Boulhaïs, 1996).
3. French repatriates from North Africa – Europeans³¹ who were born or lived in the Maghreb during the colonial period and moved to France post-independence, along with their descendants (Barontini, *Locuteurs de l’arabe maghrébin, langue de France : Une analyse sociolinguistique des représentations, des pratiques langagières et du processus de transmission*, (Thèse de doctorat), 2013).
4. Jews of North African origin and their descendants— many of whom refer to their language as "Judeo- Arabic"³² (Caubet, 2004).

³⁰ Ministry of Culture, 2017 <https://doi-org.bibdocs.u-cergy.fr/10.3917/deps.mcc.2017.01>

³¹ “Pieds-Noirs” (black feet)

³² Arabic variety characterised by the mixture of Hebrew terms with an Arabic oral substratum.

Varieties of Maghrebi Arabic in France

Ennasiri (2022) identifies four main forms of Maghrebi Arabic spoken in France:

- Original North African Arabic dialects – Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian Arabic, spoken by recent migrants who maintain their native language as it is spoken in their country of origin.
- North African Arabic influenced by French – a variety spoken by long-term migrants, incorporating French vocabulary and grammatical adaptations (Biichlé, 2014).
- French Arabic – a fusion of North African dialects and French (Cerquiglini, 1999), commonly spoken by second- and third-generation descendants who make no distinction between the different Maghrebi varieties, often marked by an accent distinct from native Maghrebi speakers (Biichlé, 2014; 2020).
- Middle (and) artificial Maghrebi Arabic – a simplified variety used by speakers from different Maghrebi backgrounds to facilitate mutual understanding (Caubet, 2003a).

Maghrebi Arabic as a Recognized Language in France

On May 7, 1999, France signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages³³, which aims to protect these languages and promote linguistic diversity (Council of Europe, 1992). According to the Cerquiglini (1999)³⁴ report, for a language to be recognised as a language of France³⁵, it should be a ‘non-territorial’³⁶ language brought about by migration, used for a long time by a large number of French people and not attached to a particular geographical area of the country. On the basis of these criteria, Cerquiglini included Maghrebi Arabic in the list of ‘languages of France’. Although the Charter had been signed by France, it was not ratified following a decision by the Constitutional Council, which considered, on the basis of Article 2 of the French Constitution, which states that ‘the language of the Republic is French’, that the Charter ‘contains clauses that are not in accordance with

³³**Regional or minority language**, as defined by the Charter, are languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state’s population; they are different from the official language(s) of that state, and they include neither dialects of the official language(s) of the state nor the languages of migrants. (Council of Europe, 1992).

³⁴ In April 1999, Bernard Cerquiglini was appointed by the Ministry of Culture to draw up a list of the languages of France that complied with the definition of the European Charter’s.

³⁵ Les langues de France. Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France 2010

³⁶ The expression “non-territorial languages” means languages used by nationals of the state which differ from the language(s) used by the rest of the state’s population but which, although traditionally used within the state’s territory, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof.

the Constitution'. Two other attempts were made to ratify the Charter, in 2008 and 2015, but these were unsuccessful as well. Despite this failure to ratify the Charter, Maghrebi Arabic and the other languages concerned continue to enjoy at least the 'administrative' and 'moral' recognition received from the Ministry of Culture (Barontini & Caubet, 2008).

Maghrebi Arabic in French Society

Maghrebi Arabic occupies a significant place in France's linguistic landscape, functioning as a language of communication for millions of speakers across generations. Despite the lack of formal institutional support, it continues to thrive in familial, cultural, and social spheres. While its presence in education is growing, challenges remain in securing its recognition and integration into mainstream linguistic policies. The transmission of Maghrebi Arabic remains a dynamic process shaped by historical, social, and cultural factors, reflecting the evolving identity of France's Arabic-speaking communities.

Caubet (2007a) argues that linguistic and cultural inputs of the Maghrebi community in France have reshaped French culture beyond simplistic notions of dual identity or juxtaposition. Maghrebi Arabic is actively used in families and communities, as well as in various socio-professional domains, including arts, entertainment, and media (theatre, music, cinema, and literature). It has also influenced youth language across different backgrounds, affecting vocabulary, pronunciation, and intonation (Caubet, 2007b; Melliani, 2000).

The transmission of Maghrebi Arabic primarily occurs in informal settings, such as family and community interactions, as it is rarely taught institutionally. Lepoutre (2005) describes transmission as a dynamic and interactional phenomenon, where linguistic knowledge is often acquired subconsciously by children rather than deliberately taught by parents. He further argues that transmission is a two-way process, involving interaction rather than a one-directional flow of knowledge.

Arabic in the French Educational System

During the national census of 1999³⁷, a family history survey was carried out by the national institute for statistics and economic studies (INSEE)³⁸ and the national institute for

³⁷ This census was an extension of the family surveys that accompanied every population census from 1954 onwards.

³⁸ Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques

demographic studies (INED)³⁹; 380.000 people aged 18 and over, living in regular households in the metropolitan France answered the self-administered questionnaire. It mainly focuses on family history; children and unions, career paths, social origin and languages spoken⁴⁰. The section on family language practices shed light on the situation of Arabic in the French linguistic landscape. Among the questions addressed to respondents were those concerning the ‘languages, dialects or patois’ that their parents had used to communicate with them at the age of five. The results revealed that around a quarter (26%) of adults living in mainland France had learned a language other than French from their parents during their childhood (Héran, Filhon, & Deprez, 2002). Arabic was the most frequently cited ‘language of migration’, followed by Portuguese. Of the 110,000 respondents who had learned Arabic, 80% had received regular exposure during childhood, while 20% had been exposed occasionally alongside French.

In France, Arabic is part of the official curriculum in elementary school, secondary, and high school (both general and professional streams). The curriculum acknowledges the diglossic reality of Arabic, prioritizing Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) for written and formal communication while also recognizing the importance of spoken dialectal varieties. This teaching is firmly in line with the widely accepted view in the scientific community of a global language, involving the notions of variation and linguistic continuum. It should be noted that dialectal varieties are given a prominent place in the curricula of teaching jobs⁴¹, including an oral examination.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, French baccalaureate candidates who have knowledge of a language that is not taught in school, had the chance to take a test in one of these languages; in a way of promoting independent learning outside school and also an option for candidates to improve their scores in the baccalaureat exam. Until 1994, it was an oral test in which candidates had to demonstrate a good command of the speaking skills in that language. However, applicants’ number increased significantly that this exam proved challenging to organise⁴². Instead, it was thought more convenient to introduce a written version of the test. INALCO⁴³ was then designated by the Ministry of Education to organise and evaluate the exam for a list of 29 languages (Amharic, dialectal Arabic, Bambara, Berber, Bulgarian, Cambodian, Swahili, Tamil...). From the beginning, the figures were very impressive, Maghrebi Arabic

³⁹ Institut national d'études démographiques

⁴⁰ See appendix 1

⁴¹ Concours d'agrégation

⁴² Maghrebi Arabic and Berber with more than 12.000 candidates

⁴³ Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales

represented from 65% to 77% of all papers. The success rate of students (who got from 11 to 20/20) was 72 % in 1999⁴⁴.

Arabic in Higher Education

At the university level, Arabic instruction is often associated with ‘the different aspects of Arab-Islamic culture and civilisation’ and is based essentially on literal Arabic, without, of course, neglecting the importance of ‘acquiring active competence in the different registers of Arabic, by learning a dialect’ (Deheuvels, 2009, p. 8). INALCO remains the only institution in France offering Arabic language courses that places a great deal of emphasis on dialectal Arabic, offering a complete course in Maghrebi Arabic from the bachelor's to the doctorate level (Barontini, 2007). The institute has a long history of dialectal Arabic instruction, dating back to 1803 when the first professor of Arabic Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, was appointed ‘professor of literary and dialectal Arabic’ (Bourgey, 2001, p. 181). Egyptian Arabic was the first Arabic dialect to be taught at the Institute alongside literary Arabic. Sixteen years later, an independent field was created under the name of ‘Vulgar Arabic’. This name was retained until 1916, when it was renamed ‘Maghrebi Arabic’ (Caubet, 2001).

III.2.3 RESEARCH ON ARABIC LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN MIGRANT CONTEXTS

Numerous studies have explored the maintenance of Arabic as a heritage language among migrant communities worldwide (Gomaa, 2011; Othman, 2006; Abu-Haidar, 1994). These studies highlight the factors influencing language maintenance and transmission, including family language policies, religious practices, community networks, and educational support. Across different migrant settings, common themes emerge regarding Arabic language maintenance:

In multiple contexts (UK, US, Canada, and Australia), Arabic is maintained largely due to its connection with Islam, particularly through Quranic studies and religious practices. A substantial body of research underscores the role of religion in sustaining Arabic language maintenance. For example; Abu-Haidar (1994) investigated language loyalty among Algerian migrant children in France. Her findings revealed that first-generation Algerian migrants maintained their ethnic language within their community. Their children, however, expressed language loyalty by promoting Algerian Arabic beyond the community, granting it greater

⁴⁴ See Caubet 1997, 1999, 2000a.

prestige than it had previously held as a minority language. Abu-Haidar concluded that a language's symbolic function as a core value may persist long after its communicative use declines. For French-born individuals of Algerian descent, identification with the ethnic language—rather than its active use—was a key factor in language loyalty. Despite its limited use within the host community, Algerian Arabic became a marker of communal allegiance and ethnocultural pride.

Similarly, Othman (2011) studied Arabic language maintenance across two generations in the Arabic-speaking migrant community in Manchester, United Kingdom. The study analyzed language choice patterns within family interactions, linguistic competence across generations, and attitudes toward Arabic and bilingualism. The results indicated functional compartmentalization between Arabic and English, with notable differences between the two generations. One key strategy for maintaining Arabic was its use in daily family interactions. Additionally, children demonstrated high competence in both spoken and written Arabic. Parents reinforced language transmission by speaking Arabic at home, subscribing to Arabic satellite channels, visiting their homeland, and enrolling their children in Arabic literacy programs.

Gomaa (2011) reached similar conclusions in a sociolinguistic micro-level study of five Egyptian families residing in Durham, United Kingdom. Using in-depth interviews and participant observations, the study found that Egyptian Arabic was perceived as a cultural core value closely linked to religion and identity. Consequently, parents implemented deliberate language-related decisions to develop their children's spoken proficiency in Egyptian Arabic.

Gogonas (2011) investigated language maintenance and shift among second-generation Arabic speakers in Athens, focusing on adolescents of predominantly Egyptian origin and their parents. The study revealed a language shift among Coptic adolescents, while Muslim participants were more likely to maintain Arabic. Qualitative data from parental interviews indicated that religious practices played a significant role in determining language maintenance, with both Muslim and Coptic families viewing Arabic and Coptic, respectively, as integral to their identity. These findings highlight how internal community dynamics and religious affiliations shape Arabic language transmission.

In the United States, research on Arabic language maintenance has attracted significant scholarly interest, focusing on parental influence and family policies (Bale, 2010; Sehlaoui,

2008; Turjoman, 2013; Martin N. , 2009). Across studies, families that adopted explicit language policies, such as enforcing Arabic use at home, showed higher levels of language retention. For instance; Bale (2010) provided a historical overview of Arab migration to the United States, examining demographic trends and Arabic language practices. He predicted that Arabic language maintenance would persist due to a strong awareness among Arabs of its importance. Notably, he pointed out that efforts by the “U.S. government to promote Arabic as a strategic language further supported its maintenance (Bale, 2010, p. 131) .

Many studies also highlight the impact of community support and institutional structures on language maintenance. Arabic maintenance is strengthened when supported by community institutions such as Arabic schools, religious centres, and media access as illustrated by Martin (2009), who investigated the language practices and attitudes of 94 Arab-American parents, particularly in relation to perceived societal racism. Results indicated that parents held positive attitudes toward Arabic and actively promoted its use within their families. They encouraged children to speak Arabic at home to preserve their cultural heritage and used the language for social and religious interactions. Religious schools played a crucial role in teaching both Arabic and the Qur'an. Interestingly, racism was not found to significantly influence language attitudes or maintenance efforts.

Similar results were reported by Rouchdy (1992) in her study of spoken Arabic among the Arab community in Detroit. She observed an increase in Arabic usage and improved Arabic language learning quality, attributed to parental support, the availability of Arabic media, and the establishment of religious institutions and private schools offering Arabic instruction. Likewise, Seymour-Jorn (2004) studied the Arab-American community in Milwaukee and found that Arabic education, frequent visits to the homeland, and communication with relatives played essential roles in maintaining Arabic. The motivation to read the Qur'an in Arabic, cultural identity, and attachment to the parents' country further contributed to intergenerational transmission. Additionally, Sawaie (1992) examined language loyalty and shift among Arab migrants in the U.S. His findings indicated that early Arab migrants (1882–1930) demonstrated strong loyalty to Arabic, evident in their periodical writings. However, second-generation Arabs exhibited a decline in Arabic use, facing increasing pressure to assimilate into American society.

In Canada, the multicultural and multilingual landscape provides an ideal setting for studying language contact situations (Dweik, Nofal, & Qawasmeh, Language use and language

attitudes among the Muslim Arabs of Vancouver/ Canada: A sociolinguistic study, 2014; Qawar, 2014). Dweik et al. (2014) investigated language use and attitudes among Muslim Arabs in Vancouver. Their findings indicated that Arabic and English coexisted in different domains, with Arabic being actively maintained among second-generation Muslim Arabs. Participants expressed pride in their Arabic identity, viewing the language as crucial for social and religious interactions. English, meanwhile, was associated with their Canadian identity and aspirations.

Qawar (2014) explored language choice among Arabs in Quebec, examining attitudes toward Arabic, French, and English. Respondents considered Arabic essential for social and religious interactions, often expressing emotions and dreaming in Arabic. Positive attitudes toward French and English reflected their role in facilitating educational and professional opportunities, aligning with Dweik's (1986) findings on identity pride and language maintenance.

Alike Canada, in Australia, language maintenance has been studied extensively, particularly after the adoption of multicultural policies and the abolition of restrictive assimilation laws (Clyne & Kipp, 2006; Batrouney, 2006; Hatoss, 2013). In such multicultural societies where multilingualism is officially recognized, Arabic maintenance appears stronger compared to contexts with assimilationist policies, such as historical migration patterns in the US (Sawaie, 1992). As an example, Clyne and Kipp (1999) investigated Arabic maintenance in Melbourne, finding that religious affiliation played a key role, as the Qur'an and classical Arabic were central to Muslim communities. Even in mixed families, Arabic was often learned due to its religious significance. Similarly, Bahhari (2014) explored Arabic maintenance among Saudi children in Melbourne, whose parents were international students. Strategies for maintenance included speaking Arabic at home, restricting communication to Arabic, using video calls with extended family, and leveraging digital media. Arabic literacy, particularly through religious education, was found to be a critical component of intergenerational transmission. Notably, Saudi international students were more successful in maintaining Arabic than long-term migrants due to their temporary stay and expected return to their homeland.

In the Asian context, Abdalla (2006) studied Arabic maintenance among Malaysian citizens born in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, who later settled in Malaysia. The study found that Arabic maintenance was facilitated by media exposure, positive attitudes, literacy, and religious practices. Similarly, Vaish (2008) examined language use in Singapore, revealing that Arabic

was maintained for religious purposes among Malay Muslims, reinforcing their cultural and religious identity.

Likewise, studies in New Zealand have also explored Arabic language maintenance. Al-Sahafi (2015) investigated Arab migrant fathers' language practices and found strong support for intergenerational transmission. Fathers emphasized their role in setting family language policies, fostering co-ethnic connections, and providing Arabic literacy resources. Al-Sahafi and Barkhuizen (2006) further highlighted the use of Arabic within families, social gatherings, and religious settings, with satellite television playing a critical role in language maintenance.

Overall, these studies underscore the complex interplay of identity, religion, education, and media in Arabic language maintenance across diverse sociolinguistic contexts.

III.2.4 RESEARCH GAPS SPECIFIC TO ALGERIAN MIGRANTS IN FRANCE

While extensive research exists on Arabic language maintenance, several gaps remain, particularly concerning Algerian migrant families in France. One significant gap relates to language shift dynamics, as Algerian migrants in France experience strong sociopolitical pressures toward linguistic assimilation, yet little research has explored how these pressures impact intergenerational transmission. Another key issue is the distinction between Standard and Colloquial Arabic, with few studies examining how families navigate the maintenance of Standard Arabic—linked to literacy and religious education—versus Algerian Arabic, which is central to everyday communication. Additionally, educational and institutional policies in France overwhelmingly favor French, limiting formal support for Arabic, and more research is needed to understand how Algerian families compensate for this lack of institutional reinforcement. Finally, while studies recognize the role of bicultural identity and language attitudes in language maintenance, little attention has been given to how young Algerians in France perceive their linguistic identity and how these perceptions influence language retention. These gaps in the literature highlight the need to examine how language transmission is actively managed within the family domain. This brings us to the concept of Family Language Policy (FLP), which provides a framework for understanding the explicit and implicit strategies families adopt to maintain Arabic across generations. By addressing FLP research, this study provides a deeper understanding of Arabic language transmission among Algerian migrant families in France, considering both individual family strategies and the broader sociopolitical landscape shaping language choices.

III.3FLP AND HERITAGE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

In line with more recent understandings of FLP, researchers have acknowledged that heritage language maintenance requires intergenerational transmission of a language as a process in which families and their policies (family language policies or FLPs) play a critical role (Fishman , 1991; 2001; Schwartz, Exploring the relationship between family language policy and heritage language knowledge among second generation Russian–Jewish immigrants in Israel, 2008; Spolsky, 2004; 2012). Fishman (1966) postulates that when populations “differing in language are in contact with each other, such as in the case of immigration, changes in the habitual language use of the immigrant population induces process of language maintenance and shift” (p. 424). When a family is unwilling or unable to transmit the heritage language to the next generation(s) Language shift comes into play with a concomitant increase in the habitual use of the new dominant language. Such processes can ultimately lead to language loss unless proper measures towards language maintenance or reversing language shift are taken (Fishman , 1991; 2001). These processes take place across generations; in many families the heritage language is lost altogether by the third generation, yet, there are families who successfully maintain their heritage language and promote bilingualism. As Spolsky (2012) noted, “the loss of ‘natural intergenerational transmission’, as it was called, was recognized as a key marker of language loss, and it occurred within the family. Thus, the family was added to the state as a domain relevant to language policy, though seldom until recently studied independently” (p. 2). By and large, FLP research looks at parents’ role in preserving “heritage language by modifying children’s language development” (Spolsky, 2012, p. 7). The parents’ initial decision on language maintenance or shift may be strongly related to complex emotional processes. As was highlighted by Tannenbaum (2005) and Okita (2002), to the extent that home language maintenance can serve as a powerful tool for cohesion between generations of migrants, its loss can contribute greatly to creating emotional distance between past and present.

III.3.1 DEFINING FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY

In recent years, language policy research has focused mainly on areas that determine which types of policies can effectively support the maintenance of endangered languages, such as Navajo in the USA (McCarty, 2002; McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2008) or Quechua in Andean nations (Hornberger N. H., 1988; King, Language revitalization processes and prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes, 2001). In addition to emphasizing close analysis of other important questions related to family domains, such as whether (and how) FLP successfully enable minority language acquisition and use in the home. Parent's impact on language use is particularly evident in migrant families, where differences between ethnic values and the norms of the new environment where children grow up may lead to intra-familial gaps and negotiations. On the one hand, parents need to negotiate social spaces where their children can use the heritage language while being immersed in the host language. On the other hand, children in these situations tend to be faster at acquiring the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) of the majority and have the potential to actively socialize their parents into the dominant language and culture (Luykx, 2005).

The field of research known as family language policy has gained impetus within sociolinguistic literature and has become a field in its own right over the last decade, arguably due to the efforts of King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry (2008) seeking to formally define FLP. According to King et al. (2008) FLP can be defined 'as explicit (Shohamy, 2006) and overt (Schiffman, 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members' (p. 907). This definition has been expanded by Fogle (2013) who went further to claim that parents' decisions about language use within the family are not always overt and explicit, including language learning and literacy practices: 'FLP refers to explicit and overt decisions parents make about language use and language learning as well as implicit processes that legitimize certain language and literacy practices over others in the home' (p. 83). In the same line, the dimension of implicit and covert language policy at home has already been emphasized by Curdt-Christiansen (2009) to include literacy practices in her definition: 'family language policy (FLP) can be defined as a deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members.' In any case, FLP is 'shaped by what the family believes will strengthen the family's social standing and best serve and support family members' goals in life' (p. 352). Such empirical developments attest to the continuous efforts to develop a more comprehensive framework of FLP aiming to cover more nuanced and appreciatory approaches, including the analysis of the factors and processes related to language practices in the home at different levels. Furthermore,

these redefinitions have promoted greater awareness about certain issues and contexts that have been overlooked in the past and motivate a closer analysis of the directions in which the field has been going as well as the paths yet to be taken.

More importantly, FLPs are considered to be a basic aspect of children's language development (Spolsky, Language Policy, 2004) because these plans can generate interactions between children and family members and ultimately determine the framework for how children's language learning develops (Kang, 2015; Kaveh, 2017). FLPs lay the foundation for children's heritage language maintenance and enhance parents' efforts to manage and practice this language with their offspring. This is also true for cross-cultural marriage families who may consider bilingualism or multilingualism a crucial child-rearing goal.

III.3.2 SPOLSKY'S FRAMEWORK

FLP is conceived as a relatively newly developed interdisciplinary field of inquiry that draws on theoretical frameworks of language policy, child language acquisition, language socialization, and literacy studies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; 2012; De Houwer, Bilingual first language acquisition, 2009; Gafaranga, 2010; King & Fogle, 2006). An important shift can be observed in the initial assumptions and paradigms of language policy that, traditionally, were centered around solving "language problems" of newly independent, former colonial nations (Berry, 1968; Fishman, Charles, & Jyotirindra, 1968; Ray, 1968) toward providing insights into the dynamicity of language policies as part of social, cultural, and ideological systems (Ricento, 2000; Ricento, 2006; King, 2003). It is within this understanding of the development of language policy that King et al. (2008) adopt Spolsky's (2004) framework, which was historically situated in the development of language planning and considers language policy being made of three components: language practices, language beliefs, and language management. As Schwartz (2010) advocates: 'research on family language policy (FLP) incorporates analysis of language ideology, practice and management, which were classified by Spolsky (2004) as components of the language policy model with respect to the speech community' (p. 172)' Inasmuch as these three components are distinguished, Spolsky (2004) defined language practices as "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management " (p. 5)

Most research in the field of FLP applied Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy at the family level. Spolsky (2009) concurs that family language policy has raised considerable interest and curiosity among researchers in the past ten years, mostly in countries where ethnic minorities are found, especially as researchers seek:

... to understand questions such as: why (and how) do members of some transnational families maintain their language while members of other families lose their language? How is it that some children, growing up in a largely monolingual society, become bilinguals while other children, growing up in a bilingual environment, become monolinguals? What policies and practices do parents implement to promote or discourage the use and practice of particular languages? And how are these language policies and practices negotiated in private domains, and concomitantly, related to broader ideologies of language and language education policies? (Curd-Christiansen, 2013, p. 1)

In applying this framework, a number of studies⁴⁵ specifically following Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy have focused their analysis of families in multilingual settings in terms of their language beliefs or ideologies (how family members think about language), of language practices (what they do with language); and of efforts to modify or influence those practices through any kind of language intervention, planning, or language management (what they try to do with language). (Spolsky, 2008). A more detailed discussion of each of these components is presented here.

III.3.2.1 FAMILY LANGUAGE PRACTICES

Research on FLP vary in terms of the type, situation, and context of the families studied (Lanza, Can bilingual two-year-olds code-switch?, 1992; Romaine, Language in society: An introduction to sociolinguistics, 1994) , also the strategies enacted in each family to promote the transmission of the minority language. The one person- one language (OPOL) approach appear to be the foci in many studies on child bilingual acquisition. It concerns parents speaking different native languages, the language of one of them is the majority language spoken in the wider community, and each parent uses their native language to address their children (Ronjat, 1913; Leopold, 1939-1949; Sondergaard, 1981; Harding & Riley, 1986; Arnberg, 1987; De

⁴⁵ For example King, et al., (2008); Altman, et al., (2014); Curdt-Christiansen, (2013).

Houwer, 1990; Döpke, One parent – one language: An interactional approach, 1992; Kasuya, 1998)⁴⁶. Other studies focused on what Romaine (1989) terms ‘double non-dominant home language without community support’, that is, families in which the parents each speaks a different minority language in the home (Hoffmann, 1985), in addition to the third language being the majority language used outside the home, thus creating a trilingual environment. Other OPOL studies went further to look at families in which one parent uses a minority language that is not their native language in the home (Saunders, 1982; 1988; Fantini, 1985; Döpke, One parent – one language: An interactional approach, 1992). The overall amount of minority language input a child receives would be one of the most relevant factors that determine the levels of fluency he may attain in that language. Perhaps not surprisingly, the more minority language input the child receives the more productive he tends to be (Döpke, 1988; De Houwer, 2007; Quiroz, Snow, & Zhao, 2010). For instance, Lyon (1996) and Varro (1998) surmise that usually mothers tend to be children’s primary caregivers and thus having a mother who speaks the minority language may be an optimal condition for minority language maintenance. As such, language practices are the byproduct of conscious and unconscious language preferences (Spolsky, 2004). In the family context, these preferences are translated into practices, affecting children’s bilingual development. Parental language beliefs are expected to determine the language practices in the family. De Houwer (2007) asserts that language practices of parents are crucial predictors of their children’s language practices. In that sense, transmission of a language to the next generations largely depends on parental use of that language in the family. In other words, reduced exposure to a minority language results in a decrease in the child’s minority language use. However, language ideologies and practices in a family are highly influenced by external social forces (Spolsky, 2004) which often make it difficult to transmit the minority language to the next generations (Tuominen, 1999).

III.3.2.2 FAMILY LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND PARENTS’ IMPACT BELIEF

The role that language ideologies and practices play in heritage language maintenance has been increasingly addressed in the literature⁴⁷ particularly within bilingual families in various socio-cultural conditions, such as in migrant contexts. Parental beliefs about the value of language

⁴⁶ See also Juan-Garau & Perez-Vidal (2001), Kasuya (1998)

⁴⁷ See for example Anderson, Kendrick, Rogers, & Smythe (2005); Martínez & Smith (2003); Okita (2002); Zentella (2005)

and multilingualism and parents' own roles in the process of language transmission can shape their language ideology, which, in turn, can have a substantial effect on parents' linguistic behavior (language practice and management) toward their children (De Houwer, 1999; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Spolsky, 2007). More specifically, these beliefs could impact parents' decisions about the language trajectories of their children and determine the maintenance or loss of the heritage language.

A significant focus of the FLP studies is family language ideologies which, following Spolsky & Shohamy (2000), are defined using Silverstein's definition (1979) as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure or use' (p. 93). Language ideologies can foreground the value of maintaining the heritage language(s), and emphasize the need to control and even exclude the use of the mainstream language at home or, on the contrary, allow bilingual practices (e.g., the use of mainstream and heritage languages). In this case however, speakers often unconsciously ignore the conversational patterns by which language shift may occur and therefore unknowingly participate in its advent despite their pro-minority language ideologies (Gafaranga, 2010, p. 242). Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1998) further argue that these pro-minority language ideologies are often in conflict with other deeply embedded language ideologies resulting from the majority/minority asymmetry.

Similarly, Language ideologies can be defined as a set of beliefs and attitudes toward social status of bilingualism and about ways of its development in early childhood. These language ideologies include parents' beliefs and attitudes about the bilingual development of their own child in a specific social-cultural context. De Houwer (1999) draws on a three-tier model from developmental psychology to illustrate the relationship between beliefs, practices, and outcomes (see Figure 1) in child bilingualism. De Houwer (1999) suggests that both parental attitudes and impact beliefs influence their linguistic choices and interaction strategies, which in turn affect children's language development. As such, positive attitudes towards the two languages being acquired by the child and to early child bilingualism are a basic and necessary condition for active bilingualism. Yet, they are an insufficient condition on their own. She argued that parents need also to have an impact belief regarding their roles in their children's language development. Parents' impact belief provides the necessary support for the development of active bilingualism.

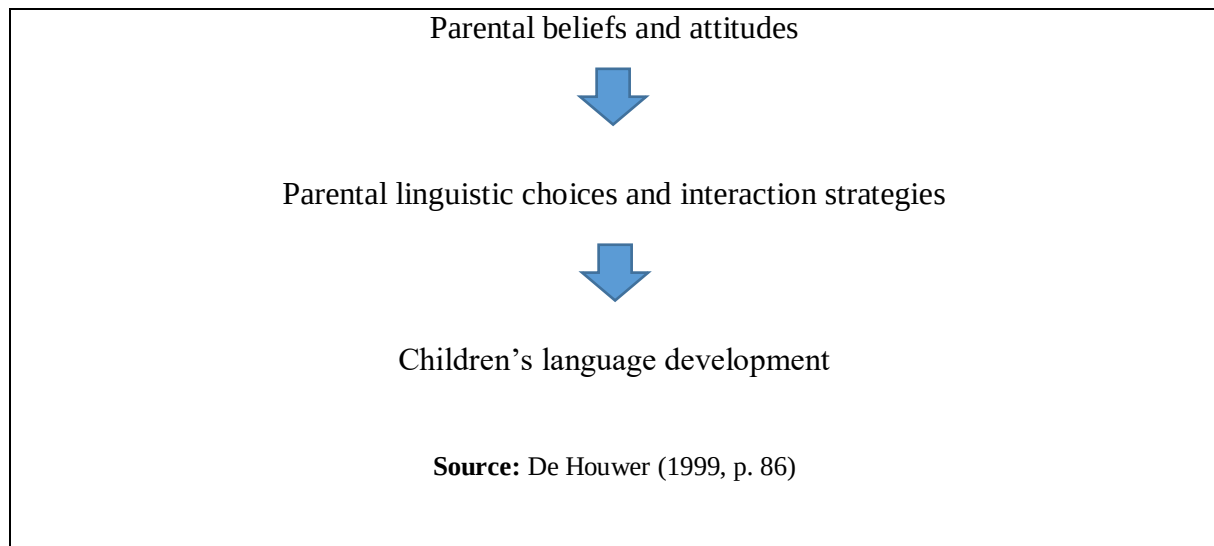


Figure 3 Relationship between parental beliefs/attitudes and children's language development

The figure shows that parents' attitudes toward languages and their beliefs about children's language acquisition have an impact on their communication strategies with their children. The choice of parents eventually affects the styles, variety, and language use of their children (De Houwer, 1999). Hence, parents' beliefs and attitudes play an important role in forming the language input environment for bilingual children (De Houwer, 1999; 2017). Likewise, Curdt-Christiansen (2009; 2012; 2018) maintains that the decision-making process for children's multilingual development and educational achievement is connected to parental beliefs and goals. Besides, it is worth noting that language ideologies are often considered as the hidden power or strength in language practices and policy, and they are accordingly "the mediating link between language use and social organization" (King, 2000, p. 169). This is the process whereby language ideologies are negotiated within a family or community and reflected via language practices.

In fact, language ideologies are key to heritage language development given that they inform FLPs, which in turn shape the language use patterns of parents. Nevertheless, parents must have an impact belief regarding their roles in their children's language development. Without an impact belief, there would be insufficient support for the development of active bilingualism.

The disparity between language ideology and language practice may be attributed to parents' lack of 'impact belief'. A concept introduced by De Houwer (1999, p. 83) to describe the parents' conviction of their ability to 'exercise some sort of control over their children's linguistic functioning'. Parents undoubtedly affect children's language development

intentionally or without any deliberate intention. Nevertheless, parents' interaction strategies may contribute effectively to their children's acquisition of the heritage language when they are deliberate and explicit; particularly in migrant contexts where the heritage language typically receives less support (De Houwer, 1999; Pérez Báez, 2013). A strong impact belief demonstrates parents' awareness of the active role they play in their children's bilingual development. As well as, their caution about their language use as they know that it has a direct effect on what their children will learn to say. Conversely, weak impact beliefs reflect parents' conviction that they have little control over their children's language development. Chumak-Horbatsch (2008) argues that a parental impact belief "is accompanied by strategies such as home language rules and praising/punishing children's language behaviour" (p. 5). Kulick (1993), for instance, describes how parents in Papua New Guinea explain their children's monolingualism as an outcome of children's own will and innate personality, placing 'blame' for language shift on the children themselves rather than family and community language practices. Schwartz (2008) found in her research on first-generation Russian parents and their second-generation Russian-Hebrew bilingual children in Israel, that parents' beliefs did not have an effect on Russian language skills of their children. Instead, how children position themselves towards language maintenance influenced their actual performances.

III.3.2.3 FAMILY LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

Family language management refers to "efforts to control the language of family members, especially children" (Spolsky, 2007, p. 430). It involves parents/caregivers' attempts to determine what language the children should use in order to enhance their language learning. Such efforts include travels to the country of origin, enrolling children in home language classes, visiting heritage language speakers (e.g., relatives) and, importantly, using the target language in interactions with children (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8). Three major tendencies can be distinguished in the data on family language management in different contexts: explicit management, implicit management and laissez-faire policies.

First, explicit management that (Spolsky, 2009, p. 25) explains as verbal requests or interventions commanding the use of a particular language. Such strategy has proven quite fruitful in the transmission of the heritage language (Kasuya, 1998; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). For example, Kasuya (1998) carried out a study on families living in the USA, who wanted to raise their children acquiring both Japanese and English through the OPOL strategy. Replicating Lanza's (1997) study, Kasuya sought to examine the efficiency of parental

discourse strategies by looking closely into the relationship between parental response types and children's subsequent choice of language. Her study reported that explicit strategies (i.e., those explicitly requiring the child to use Japanese such as the use of instruction or correction) are more effective in eliciting the children's appropriate use of Japanese compared with implicit strategies (i.e., those which do not strongly require the child to produce Japanese such as repetition or moving on). Then, explicit strategies are likely to be associated with implicit management, i.e. child-directed activities supporting this management. Moreover, controlling the home language environment, selecting children's peers, allowing or forbidding TV and computers are examples of explicit language management strategies (Spolsky, 2009, p. 24). In situations where a family member dislikes the language use of another member, they might initiate organized language management by, for instance, consciously discouraging specific language use patterns or by giving explicit instructions (Spolsky, 2009, p. 16).

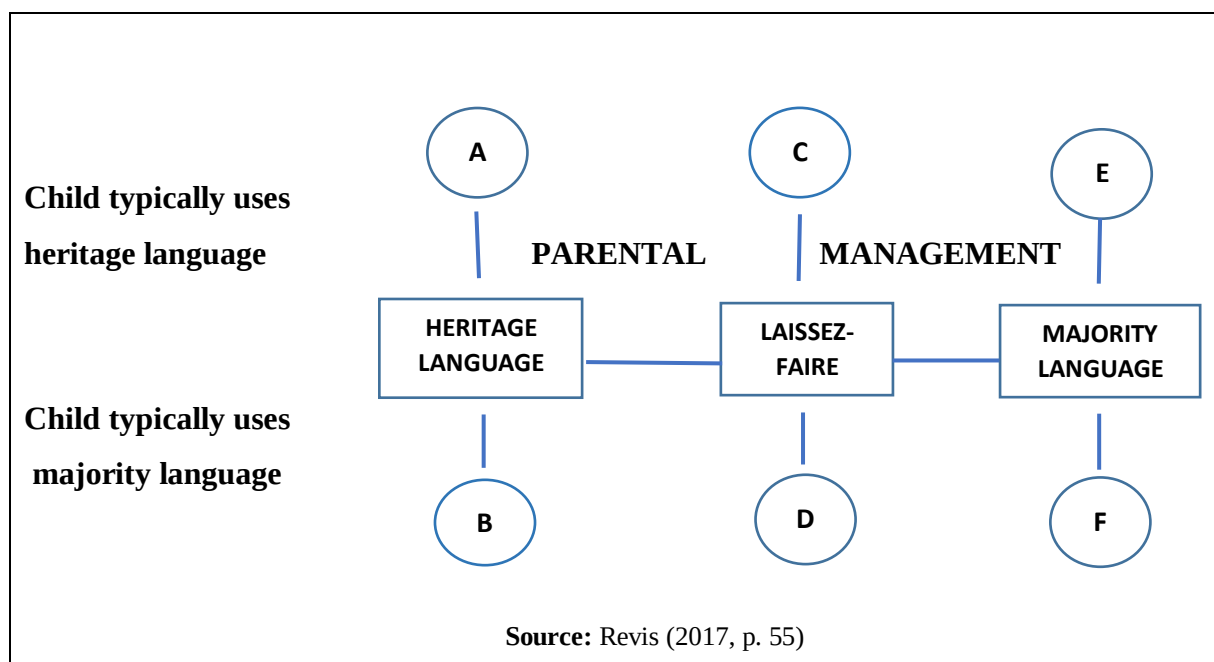


Figure 4 Model for categorising management-practice scenarios in family language policy

According to the model above, parental management strategies and children's language practices are categorized into six different scenarios. Language management is conceptualized along a continuum ranging from explicit management that promotes the use of the heritage language, through a laissez-faire policy, to explicit management that encourages the use of the majority language. In terms of language practices, children are classified into two broad

categories based on whether they predominantly use the heritage language or the majority language.

For example, Scenario D applies to families that adopt a *laissez-faire* approach, where parents do not actively manage language use, and children typically speak the majority language. In contrast, Scenario A represents a "success" scenario, in which caregivers explicitly promote the heritage language, and children follow this management by regularly using it.

Since the model aims to describe management and practice scenarios within ethnic communities, it also incorporates a quantitative dimension to indicate the prevalence of each scenario. To achieve this, it uses varying luminosity levels, with darker shades representing a higher incidence of a given scenario within the community.

Curdt-Christiansen (2013) refers to implicit language management strategies—where parents do not deliberately enforce a language policy but still create an environment that favors a particular language—as "*laissez-faire* policies." In her study of Singaporean Chinese families, she observed that some mothers refrained from interfering with their children's language choices while still providing routine academic support. Consequently, their children primarily spoke English, a dominant language in Singapore. This pattern suggests that many families do not consciously plan a language policy; instead, their language practices are shaped by historical and situational factors (Caldas, 2012, p. 351).

Moreover, research indicates that an unsystematic approach to language use within families does not necessarily facilitate heritage language transmission. Curdt-Christiansen (2016, p. 11) found that habitual linguistic practices, without explicit reinforcement, often failed to establish a stable "language reproduction" pattern. This supports arguments by Ó hIdearnáin (2013) and aligns with Spolsky's (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8) observation that some language practices emerge from an "unmanaged" situation rather than deliberate intervention.

Overall, family language policies exist on a spectrum, ranging from highly structured and strategically planned approaches to more implicit, *laissez-faire* practices. (Caldas, 2012, p. 352) describes this continuum as including "pragmatically inspired language strategies" that families develop in response to sociolinguistic realities, weighing the practical consequences of their language choices on their children's linguistic development.

III.3.3 CHILD AGENCY IN FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY

One of the recent shifts in the research agenda of FLP to date addresses children's role in the language socialization of their parents - this focus has been initiated by Luyks (2005) who highlights "children's role in the language socialization of adult family members" (p. 1408). Language socialization studies⁴⁸ consider children to be agents who actively act in the processes of their own socialization and who themselves socialize parents and other members into particular language practices. The metaphor of children as "family language brokers" was used by Luykx (2005) to underline the "direct influence of children on adults' linguistic development" (p. 1409). In this context, Valdés has documented parents' and children's perceptions of such brokering activities and emphasized how children gain valuable skills through such undertakings and related mostly to the children's role in the introduction of new, socially-valued and dominant language into the immigrant or indigenous language speaking family's daily language behavior or life (Valdés, *Expanding Definitions of Giftedness: The Case of Young Interpreters from Immigrant Communities*, 2003). These may range from answering the phone in the home context for their virtually monolingual parents to transmitting medical diagnoses or carrying out financial business. In a similar vein, Lanza (2007) maintains that the child is not "something that needs to be molded and guided by society in order to become a fully-fledged member", but should to be seen as "active and creative social agents who produce their own unique children's cultures, all the while contributing to the production of adult society" (p. 47).

As demonstrated by several ethnographic language studies⁴⁹, FLP is not necessarily a top-down process i.e., parent to child, but instead is a dialogical process and a constantly evolving co-construction, which is in turn shaped by the dynamic relationship of the family to the wider society (Smith-Christmas, 2016). Children's peer talk and peer culture can constitute a major factor in family language maintenance or shift (Gafaranga, 2010; Kulick, 1997). Children's peer groups provide a site for negotiations and exploitations of multiple languages, for example, in a study of children's language practices in Dominica, Paugh (2005) shows how young children can contribute to the maintenance of their heritage language particularly during time for out-of school peer play which created possibilities for children to use Patwa (heritage language) for entertaining play purposes, despite their parents pressure to use English (the

⁴⁸ Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin (2011); Fogle & King (2013); Gafaranga, (2010); Kyratzis; (2004); Luykx, (2005)

⁴⁹ Such as Kulick (1997); Lanza (1997); Okita (2002); Cruz-Ferreira (2006); Gafaranga, (2010; 2011); F; Fogle (2012).

dominant language). Thus, Children can reject parents' efforts and the family can become a site for conflictual understandings of what constitutes family members' appropriate language choices (Spolsky, 2008, p. 18).

III.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has established the broader historical, sociolinguistic, and educational contexts necessary for understanding Arabic language transmission among Algerian migrant families in France. By reviewing the key factors influencing language maintenance—including migration history, the status of French and Arabic, and institutional support—this chapter has highlighted the complex interplay of sociopolitical and familial influences on heritage language retention. Additionally, the identification of gaps in the existing literature has emphasized the need for further investigation into intergenerational transmission, the distinction between Standard and Algerian Arabic, and the role of family strategies in navigating linguistic challenges.

Building on this foundation, the following chapter outlines the research methodology employed in this study. It details the research design, data collection methods, and analytical approaches used to explore language practices, attitudes, and management strategies among Algerian migrant families. By adopting a rigorous methodological framework, this study aims to provide a nuanced and empirically grounded understanding of Arabic language transmission in the French migrant context.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGICAL

FRAMEWORK

IV.1 INTRODUCTION

Family Language Transmission as well as its upshots is a very intricate phenomenon that requires a well-founded and carefully considered methodology to be effectively examined from multiple perspectives. Accordingly, this study endeavours to use a research approach that would provide a comprehensive and clear account of the behavioural patterns of the Algerian community living in France regarding the transmission and maintenance of their language of origin. This chapter outlines the research design and the methodology adopted to carry out this research. It opens with a detailed description of the research paradigm, grounding the study in realist constructivism as its philosophical stance. It then describes the research design, approach, and sampling strategy, followed by an explanation of the data collection and analysis methods. Given the study's objectives, a quantitative research method has been chosen, with a questionnaire serving as the primary data collection tool. Additionally, this chapter discusses the challenges and rewards of this approach and concludes with an overview of the methodology used in the analysis of the findings of the analytical framework used to interpret the findings. Overall, this chapter not only documents the systematic and rigorous execution of the field research but also serves as a foundation for the subsequent chapter, which presents the analysis and discussion of the results.

IV.2 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

The present work aligns with a positivist philosophy of research based on the premise that reality can be objectively comprehended through empirical evidence. A positivist inquiry focuses on identifying explanatory associations or causal relationships through quantitative approaches, where empirically based findings from large sample sizes or samples of sufficient size are favoured. Studies aligned with positivism generally generate observable and quantifiable data that ultimately lead to the prediction and control of the phenomenon in question, utilizing techniques such as experiments, surveys, and statistical analysis. This approach is closely linked to the scientific method, positing that all significant knowledge derives from observable phenomena. Essential characteristics of positivism include the necessity for objectivity, where researchers remain impartial and minimize biases; a strong emphasis on empirical evidence that can be observed and verified; the use of quantification, often involving numerical data and statistical techniques; hypothesis testing through structured experiments or data collection; and the principle of replicability, ensuring that research findings can be reproduced by others following the same methodologies.

The positivist paradigm, also known as the scientific paradigm, is grounded in the principles of empirical observation, objectivity, and the search for generalizable laws governing human behavior. As a scientific approach, positivism seeks to investigate, confirm, or predict patterns of behavior through systematic inquiry and hypothesis testing. Positivist researchers begin their investigations by formulating hypotheses—tentative assumptions based on existing theories—which are then tested using structured methodologies and empirical data.

In the context of this study, the initial assumption is that Algerian communities in France are undergoing language shift, a phenomenon widely documented in sociolinguistic research. Scholars such as Fishman (1966; 1972) have posited that language shift among migrant groups typically follows a three-generation pattern, whereby the dominant language of the host country gradually replaces the heritage language over time. Gogonas (2007, p. 16) succinctly summarizes this process as follows:

- The first generation attempts to acquire the host community's language but predominantly speaks the heritage language in intra-group settings, particularly within the home.
- The second generation may still use the heritage language at home but increasingly shifts to the dominant language in public domains, such as school and the workplace.
- By the third generation, the dominant language becomes the primary language of the home, leading to the progressive erosion and eventual loss of effective knowledge of the mother tongue.

However, while this three-generation model serves as a general framework for understanding language shift, it does not apply uniformly to all migrant communities. There are significant variations among ethnic groups, with some maintaining their native language for three generations or more due to factors such as strong cultural ties, community cohesion, religious institutions, or bilingual education initiatives. Consequently, this study seeks to empirically assess whether the Algerian community in France conforms to this theoretical model or demonstrates patterns of language maintenance that challenge it.

By adopting a positivist approach, this research aims to systematically test the extent to which language shift is occurring among Algerian migrant families, using quantitative methods to measure linguistic behaviors, intergenerational transmission patterns, and attitudes toward Arabic and French. This approach ensures that findings are based on objective, measurable data,

contributing to a broader understanding of the sociolinguistic dynamics at play within this community.

IV.3 RESEARCH PARADIGM

As mentioned above, the quantitative paradigm is articulated by assumptions that align with positivist philosophy, that is, the approach is based on the foundations of the positivist paradigm, through its shared emphasis on objectivity, empirical evidence, and systematic inquiry. Both focus on measurable phenomena, hypothesis testing, and generalizability, making quantitative research an ideal methodological approach for studies rooted in a positivist worldview. This alignment enables the pursuit of universal laws and cause-and-effect relationships that are central to the positivist approach to understanding the world.

To systematically investigate current research questions, this study employs a quantitative research approach, which aligns with the positivist paradigm. The use of structured data collection methods, such as a questionnaire, allows for the objective measurement of linguistic behaviors, intergenerational transmission patterns, and language attitudes. The choice of a quantitative methodology is justified by its ability to provide:

1. Measurable and comparable data on language use and transmission within Algerian families.
2. Replicable findings that can contribute to broader sociolinguistic research on migrant communities.
3. A large-scale analysis that captures trends and patterns across multiple generations.

Through the application of statistical analysis, this study aims to identify key factors that influence language maintenance or shift among Algerian families in France. The structured nature of quantitative research ensures that findings are objective, systematic, and generalizable, contributing to a deeper understanding of the linguistic dynamics within this community. Thus, by adopting a positivist and quantitative research framework, this study provides an empirical basis for assessing the extent of Arabic language transmission and shift. The insights gained will inform discussions on heritage language maintenance and the sociolinguistic impact of migration, setting the stage for further analysis in subsequent chapters.

IV.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study adopts a descriptive-analytical and correlational research approach, emphasizing empirically grounded findings. Its primary objective is to examine the language practices of Algerian migrant families and their attitudes toward Arabic heritage language transmission and maintenance.

According to Calderon (2006), descriptive research is a purposive process that involves collecting, analyzing, classifying, and tabulating data to identify prevailing practices, trends, conditions, and cause-effect relationships. The interpretation of findings may be conducted with or without statistical methods or with minimal statistical support, depending on the nature of the data. This approach enables researchers to determine factual conditions within the study population, leading to the identification of general traits and patterns, which may be qualitative, quantitative, or a combination of both.

In addition to describing language practices and attitudes, this study incorporates a correlational component, aiming to explore associations between various sociolinguistic factors. Specifically, it investigates whether family language practices, parental attitudes, and external sociocultural influences have a measurable impact on heritage language transmission and maintenance. By adopting this approach, the study seeks to determine how different variables—such as frequency of Arabic use at home, parental educational background, linguistic policies in schools, and exposure to Arabic media and religious settings—may interact and contribute to shaping the linguistic trajectories of second- and third-generation Algerians in France.

This comprehensive research design ensures a nuanced understanding of how individual, familial, and societal factors interplay in shaping language maintenance efforts. By integrating both descriptive and correlational elements, the study not only documents existing patterns but also examines potential influences and predictors of language shift or preservation. This approach ultimately provides a solid empirical foundation for analyzing heritage language transmission within Algerian migrant families and contributes to broader discussions on language shift, bilingualism, and linguistic identity in migrant contexts.

IV.5 RESEARCHER'S POSITION

When conducting case study research, the researcher assumes multiple roles and responsibilities that evolve throughout different research stages (Stake, 1995, pp. 91-105). These roles can be categorized from practical, scholarly, and interpersonal perspectives. The interpersonal dimension involves navigating social identities during participant recruitment and fieldwork. The practical aspect pertains to the technical execution of the research, such as data collection, transcription, and analysis. Meanwhile, the scholarly role encompasses responsibilities such as acting as an evaluator, interpreter, biographer, or teacher, depending on the study's objectives.

In research on family bilingualism, a researcher's role is often—though not always—shaped by a shared linguistic and/or cultural background with the research group. This has been documented in studies on Arabic (Dweik & Qawar, *Language Choice and Language Attitudes in a Multilingual Arab-Canadian Community: Quebec-Canada: A Sociolinguistic Study*, 2015), German (Döpke, *Discourse structures in bilingual families*, 1986), and Italian (Bettoni, 1985), where researchers' personal experiences with language maintenance informed their research focus and methodology. A notable example is Marray's (1995) unpublished study on third-generation language maintenance in German families, where the researcher's personal linguistic background influenced participant recruitment and the study's overall design.

For the present study, I initially approached the research from a postpositivist perspective, aligning with my predominantly quantitative research approach and positioning myself as an objective outsider. However, throughout the course of this research, my philosophical stance evolved significantly. Initially grounded in postpositivism, I gradually came to appreciate social constructionism, ultimately engaging with realist social constructionism, as advocated by Elder-Vass (2012). The process of navigating and critically engaging with these theoretical perspectives was both challenging and transformative, requiring me to re-evaluate my assumptions about reality and the ways in which knowledge is constructed. While complex, this intellectual journey deepened my conceptual and theoretical understanding of human relationships within the social world, introducing me to perspectives that challenged my existing beliefs and assumptions.

My research assumptions were initially informed by direct observations and interactions with Algerian migrant families in France during multiple visits and extended stays within their

communities. The present work also has its genesis in the experiences of some close family relatives of Arabic maintenance and transmission. Having long observed the different circumstances of language contact and the linguistic challenges for overseas-born generations within my own family, I became increasingly interested in the factors influencing heritage language transmission.

Moreover, I was particularly struck by oversimplified explanations that suggested Arabic speakers willingly ‘give up’ and abandon their language. This perspective seemed reductive and insufficient in explaining the complexities of language transmission among Algerian families. Recognizing these nuances led me to develop a research agenda aimed at exploring the deeper social, cultural, and ideological factors influencing Arabic language maintenance. A key focus of my inquiry is to determine whether parents are consciously aware of their role as language planners and to investigate the extent to which their decisions shape the linguistic experiences of their children.

IV.6 SAMPLING METHOD

Informant selection is highly relevant in sociolinguistic research, given that people are constantly looked upon to impart their knowledge and experiences to researchers. The sampling methods used in sociolinguistics are fundamental methodological aspects that need to be actively discussed here. A substantial bibliography dealt with these aspect (Milroy L. , 1987; Milroy & Gordon, 2003; Bernard, 2002). This section briefly reviews the background to focus on the sampling method used when conducting the fieldwork of this research. Preferably, a researcher should include every single member of the community; in order to provide an entirely accurate depiction of the population under investigation, but this option is not feasible in an overwhelming majority of cases, as such some sort of sampling approach has to be applied in order to survey a representative group of the whole population. In order to draw conclusions about a defined population (the sampling universe), the notion of representativeness has to be considered (Milroy & Gordon, 2003).

In general, sampling techniques fall into one of two categories: probabilistic or non-probabilistic. The first group includes methods aiming to ensure an equal chance of being selected to each member of a sampled population. Even though subject to some inevitable bias, probabilistic methods manifestly permit the claim that the sample is representative to some extent, thus enabling generalisation of the findings of the study to the whole population. Non-probabilistic sampling techniques, on the other hand, target specific individuals according to

the researcher's subjective judgment and select elements of a particular population in non-random ways. The chosen technique is systematically correlated to the aims of the study and to the set of conditions in which the research is being conducted. While some researchers contend that non-probabilistic methods are not as efficient as probabilistic ones in terms of representativeness, their application is bolstered by sound methodological premises. Moreover, Milroy (1987) observes a change in the approach to fieldwork methodology starting from the early 1960s. She states that a "shift in attitude which comes with the maturing of sociolinguistics as a field of research enables researchers to select more freely than was once possible from a range of methods which, within a defensible theoretical framework, will best enable them to achieve their goals" (p. 38). It is therefore necessary to start by defining the research objectives and clearly explaining the overall scenario in which the study is embedded. At a later stage, it would be possible to choose the most appropriate method to be used.

In view of this background and the scope of this research, a non-probabilistic approach was applied to select the participants in this study, namely a purposive sampling⁵⁰. This choice was driven by the aims of the study, which are to specifically investigate and address home language use, maintenance and transmission across the Algerian Arabic-speaking community in France. This study therefore does not seek to be proportionally driven or representative of the different generations of Algerian migrant community. When applying this sampling method, 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 (Bernard, 2002). It depends on the researcher's belief that some informants are fit for the research than others to yield the most information possible about the topic.

IV.6.1 PARTICIPANT SELECTION CRITERIA

The selection of respondents and their participation in the questionnaire were guided by the following criteria:

1. Participants had to be Algerian parents with at least one school-aged child raised in France.
2. At least one parent in the family had to have Arabic as their first language, regardless of how the language was acquired.
3. Participants had to be residents of France.

⁵⁰ Also called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses. It is a non-random technique that does not need underlying theories or a set number of informants.

Initially, the study aimed to select families where both parents spoke Arabic as their mother tongue. However, this requirement was deemed too restrictive and was ultimately relaxed to allow for a broader and more representative sample. As a result, the sampling criteria were revised to include parents of Algerian descent living in France with at least one school-aged child, with at least one parent being a native Arabic speaker. No additional limitations, such as a specific age range, were imposed.

The objective was to capture a diverse range of family profiles within the defined framework. A key aspect of this approach was to include all interested parents, regardless of their educational background or socioeconomic status. Additionally, the study sought to incorporate families that had actively maintained Arabic within the household, as well as those where Arabic was no longer in use, ensuring a more comprehensive understanding of transmission patterns. This inclusivity was explicitly emphasized during the recruitment phase to secure a sufficiently large sample and maximize insights into Arabic language maintenance in France.

Regarding the generational profile, the first selection criterion mandated that participants include at least one Algeria-born parent and their dependent child. Criteria 2 and 3 effectively excluded families in which neither parent had Arabic as a first language and those who were not residents of France.

IV.6.2 RECRUITMENT AND DATA COLLECTION

The formal data collection phase of this study commenced in December 2021 and lasted approximately six months. However, engagement with members of the Algerian community began much earlier and continues to this day. Eligible parents who met the study's criteria were invited to participate in the research and voluntarily complete the online survey.

To enhance participation, snowball sampling—also known as chain referral sampling (Ruane, 2005)—was employed. This method encouraged initial respondents to refer other eligible Algerian families who met the study's criteria. Snowball sampling allowed the researcher to reach a broader pool of participants, including individuals outside of direct social networks, thereby increasing the sample size and improving the representativeness of the findings. Participants were recruited through both direct invitations and referrals, with some joining early in the process and others participating later. Ultimately, 65 completed

questionnaires were collected. However, after data verification, only 56 were considered valid for analysis. The remaining nine responses were excluded because:

1. The participants did not have children.
2. Neither spouse spoke Arabic as a mother tongue.

To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, detailed respondent profiles were not disclosed. This measure was taken to protect participants' identities, as they were assured that their responses would remain anonymous.

IV.7 DATA COLLECTION THROUGH QUESTIONNAIRE

Traditional methods of data collection, such as in-person interviews, phone calls, and printed questionnaires, may not always be the most cost- or time-effective. Moreover, they do not fully align with the dynamic technological trends of modern society. By leveraging the Internet as a tool for information dissemination and communication, the research process can be streamlined, enhancing both efficiency and accessibility. Online data collection allows for faster and more accurate interactions between researchers and participants. Given the increasing global access to the Internet, virtual environments have become a prevalent and preferred medium for data gathering. While younger age groups continue to dominate Internet usage, older generations are also adopting digital tools at an accelerating rate.

A questionnaire serves as a “fact-finding mission” that provides a broad overview of a research topic (Wellington, 2009, p. 101). It is widely regarded as one of the most effective methods for obtaining insights into a population. Designed for efficiency, questionnaires allow researchers to reach large numbers of participants and analyze data quantitatively (Wagner, 2010, p. 26). Their popularity stems from their ease of administration, versatility, and ability to collect substantial amounts of information (Dornyei, 2007, p. 101). Additionally, when well-structured, questionnaires facilitate faster and more efficient data processing (Dornyei, 2003).

To achieve the objectives of this study, the researcher selected a sample of 56 participants, representing diverse residential areas, age groups, genders, and educational and professional backgrounds. A sociolinguistic questionnaire was designed, comprising 43 questions that explored language practices, attitudes, and the factors influencing Arabic language use among Algerian immigrants in France.

The questionnaire aimed to gather data across a wide range of variables relevant to the study's outcomes. These included:

1. Core information on the languages spoken by parents with their children and the languages used by children within the family environment.
2. Participants' language background, including their exposure to and proficiency in Arabic and French.
3. Attitudes toward heritage language maintenance and factors influencing language transmission within families.

While large-scale questionnaire-based research provides valuable quantitative insights, it has certain limitations. Self-reported data may not always reflect actual language ideologies and practices. In monolingual-based societies such as France, institutional spaces like schools often reinforce government policies that do not actively support multilingualism in heritage languages. As Deprez (2015) notes, heritage language education provided by the French Ministry of Education remains insufficient, leaving the responsibility for language and cultural transmission largely to families.

IV.7.1 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

The questionnaire was designed and created in line with the research questions and objectives. The current study aimed to explore respondents' language practices, behaviours, and attitudes toward their home language. It was structured into four main sections, each addressing a specific aspect of language use and transmission:

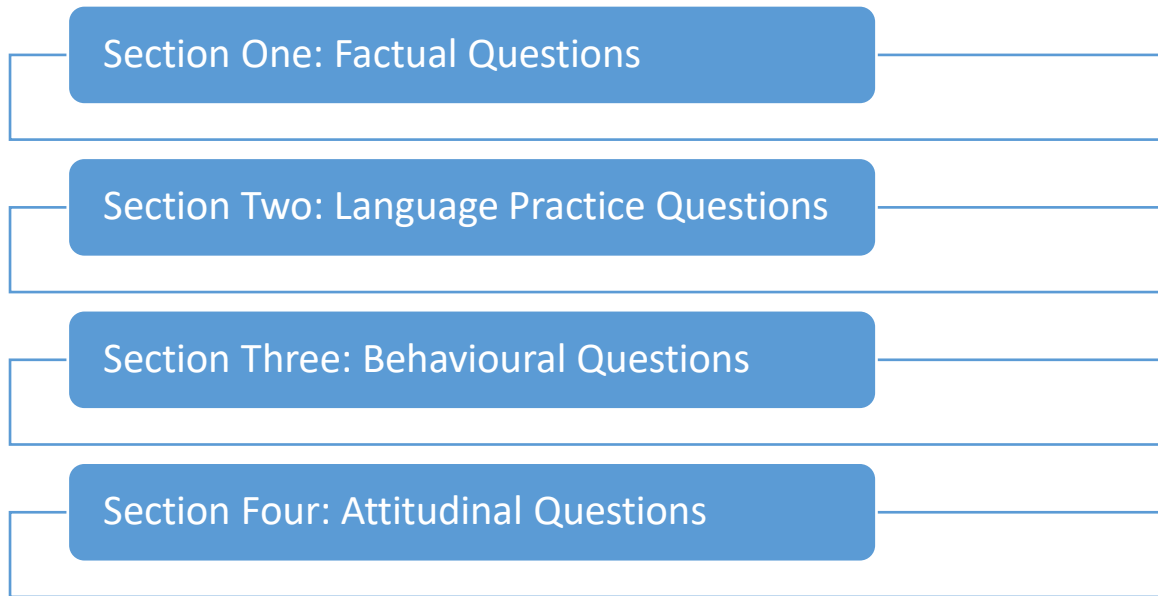


Figure 5 Questionnaire Structure

1. Factual Questions – Gathering demographic and personal background information (e.g., age, length of residence in France, number and age of children).
2. Language Practice Questions – Examining parents’ language use and choices within the family.
3. Behavioral Questions – Investigating parental efforts in managing Arabic heritage language transmission at home.
4. Attitudinal Questions – Assessing parents’ beliefs and attitudes toward the maintenance of Arabic as a heritage language (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010).

The questionnaire consisted of a mix of ordinal variables (such as respondents’ age), Likert 5-point scale responses measuring language use frequency (e.g., Arabic use in daily life, contact with relatives or friends in Algeria), and some interval variables such as length of residence in France. To complement the quantitative data collected through closed-ended questions, open-ended questions were also included to gain deeper insights into respondents’ perspectives.

The questionnaire was designed based on psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic literature on heritage language transmission and maintenance. In addition to collecting personal information, the main section focused on parental beliefs regarding their children’s Arabic acquisition and maintenance. Family language use was further explored in subsequent sections, particularly within the home environment. Parents were also asked how they encourage their children to

develop Arabic and how their children respond to these efforts. Additionally, the questionnaire included questions about family visits to Algeria and potential future plans to return to their home country. All questionnaires were conducted in French, with participants free to code-switch between languages if they wished. However, all parents reported feeling more comfortable speaking in French.

IV.7.2 QUESTIONNAIRE RELIABILITY AND CONSISTENCY: CRONBACH'S ALPHA TEST

The descriptive analysis of the survey data was conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics (Version 26.0.1.1). This analysis allowed for an overview of the dataset's key characteristics. Two statistical measures were used: the mean and standard deviation. The mean, as a measure of central tendency, represents the average value of a variable, indicating where most data points are concentrated. By examining mean values, this study identifies representative trends among Algerian migrant families, including their family language policies and children's Arabic proficiency.

Standard deviation quantifies the degree of variation or dispersion within the dataset. A low standard deviation indicates that data points are closely clustered around the mean, reflecting low variability, whereas a high standard deviation suggests greater dispersion, indicating high variability.

To ensure the reliability of the questionnaire, Cronbach's Alpha was calculated to assess internal consistency. The analysis yielded a coefficient of 0.782 across 43 items, demonstrating a satisfactory level of reliability. This suggests that the questionnaire items are well-correlated and consistently measure the intended constructs, reinforcing the robustness of the data collection instrument.

IV.8 RESPONDENTS' DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES

To better understand the linguistic practices, attitudes, and management strategies of Algerian migrant families in France, it is essential to first outline the demographic and sociolinguistic characteristics of the study's participants. This section provides an overview of the respondents' profiles, including key factors such as age, length of residence in France, number and age of children, educational background, and professional status. There were no age restrictions for the parents; all respondents come from Algerian migrant families with at

least one school-aged child and where Arabic is the first language of at least one parent. These demographic details provide important context for analyzing language transmission and maintenance within the family. The descriptive statistics of these responses are presented in the following tables and figures. These variables offer valuable insights into the family environments in which Arabic and French are used, as well as potential influences on heritage language transmission.

IV.8.1 Respondents' Gender Distribution

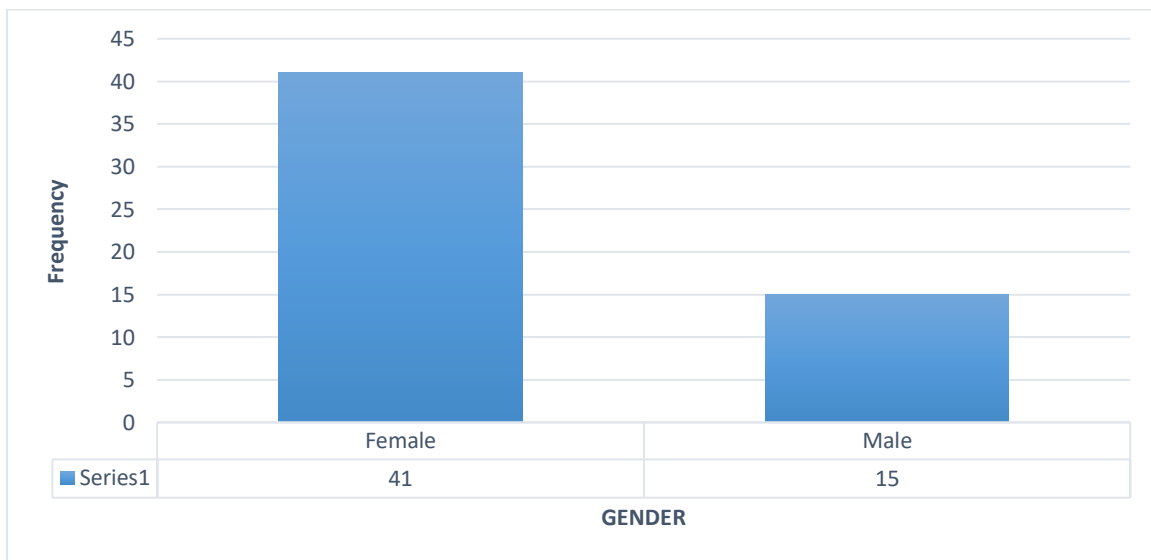


Table 4 Respondents' Gender Distribution

The sample consisted of 56 respondents (n=56). As indicated in the graph below, forty-one female respondents, representing (73.2%) of the total sample, while male respondents make up (26.8%) of the total sample. There is a notable gender imbalance, with female respondents being almost three times more than male respondents. This higher participation rate among women in the study is likely due to women being more engaged in language transmission, household language management, or being more available to answer surveys.

IV.8.2 RESPONDENTS' AGE DISTRIBUTION

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	-30	1	1,8
	30-40	12	21,4
	40-50	12	21,4
	50-60	22	39,3
	+60	9	16,1
	Total	56	100,0

Table 5 Respondents' Age distribution

The table presents the age distribution of the 56 respondents in the study. The majority of respondents (39.3%) fall within the 50-60 age range, indicating that middle-aged individuals are the most represented group in the study. This could suggest that language transmission and management decisions are often made by parents or individuals with significant life experience. Both the 30-40 and 40-50 age brackets account for (21.4%) each, highlighting a balanced representation of younger parents and middle-aged adults. About (16.1%) of the participants are over 60, indicating the presence of older generations in the study. Their attitudes towards language transmission might reflect more traditional views on maintaining Arabic and cultural heritage. Only one respondent (1.8%) is under 30, suggesting that the study predominantly reflects the views of older individuals and further research might be needed to explore how younger generations perceive their linguistic identity and bilingualism.

IV.8.3 RESPONDENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	ALGERIA	47	83,9
	FRANCE	9	16,1
	Total	56	100,0

Table 6 Respondents' Place of Birth

A significant majority of respondents (47 out of 56, or 83.9%) were born in Algeria. This suggests that most participants are first-generation migrants who moved to France at some point in their lives. A smaller proportion (9 out of 56, or 16.1%) were born in France. These respondents are likely second-generation migrants, born to Algerian parents but raised in

France. First-generation migrants (Algeria-born) might have stronger ties to Arabic, as they were exposed to it in their homeland before migration. Second-generation respondents (France-born) may have had more exposure to French from birth, potentially influencing their language preferences and transmission to their own children. The differences in place of birth may correlate with language practices at home, impacting the maintenance of Arabic in migrant families.

IV.8.4 LENGTH OF STAY IN FRANCE

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Less than 10	2	3,6
	10-15	9	16,1
	15-20	8	14,3
	20-25	9	16,1
	25 & more	28	50,0
	Total	56	100,0

Table 7 Length of Stay in France

The table provides an overview of the number of years respondents have lived in France. Half of the respondents (50%) have lived in France for 25 years or more. This suggests that most participants are long-term residents, possibly first-generation migrants who have established their lives in France and raised children there. Their extended stay implies that they have had significant exposure to French society, which may influence their language practices, ideologies, and management strategies. The 10-15 years and 20-25 years categories each account for (16.1%), while 15-20 years represents (14.3%). This distribution shows a balanced representation of individuals who migrated at different stages of their lives, possibly including both those who arrived as adults and those who came as children or teenagers. Only (3.6%) of respondents have lived in France for less than 10 years, indicating that newly arrived migrants are underrepresented in this study. Their limited presence suggests that most respondents have already developed strategies for language use and transmission over a long period. Overall, this study primarily captures the experiences of well-integrated individuals, who might also have developed strong language maintenance strategies to preserve Arabic, as they have witnessed the challenges of linguistic assimilation, rather than those still in the early stages of adaptation.

IV.8.5 RESPONDENT'S MOTHER TONGUE

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Algerian Arabic	49	87,5
	French	3	5,4
	Berber	4	7,1
	Total	56	100,0

Table 8 Respondent's Mother Tongue

The table above presents data on the respondents' mother tongue, highlighting the linguistic diversity among Algerian migrants in France. The vast majority of respondents (87.5%) identify Algerian Arabic as their mother tongue. Given this dominance, language transmission efforts likely focus on maintaining Algerian Arabic within the home and across generations. (7.1%) of respondents identify Berber (Tamazight) as their mother tongue. While a minority, this reflects Algeria's linguistic diversity, as Berber languages are indigenous to many regions in Algeria. The presence of Berber-speaking respondents may indicate different language transmission challenges, as Berber is a minority language both in Algeria and among Algerian migrants in France. Only (5.4%) of respondents reported French as their mother tongue. This suggests that Language management strategies (implicit/explicit) may vary depending on whether families seek to maintain Algerian Arabic, Berber, or both alongside French.

IV.8.6 SPOUSE'S MOTHER TONGUE

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Algerian Arabic	39	69,6
	French	15	26,8
	Berber	2	3,6
	Total	56	100,0

Table 9 Spouse's Mother Tongue

The above table indicates that Algerian Arabic is the primary linguistic background for the majority of respondents' spouses with (69.6%) [39 spouses] reporting Algerian Arabic as their mother tongue, which is significant for family language transmission. While, (26.8%) [15 spouses] identified French as their mother tongue. This suggests a considerable proportion of

spouses have French as their first language, which might influence language use at home, particularly in mixed-language households. Only (3.6%) [2 spouses] reported Berber as their mother tongue.

IV.8.7 NUMBER OF CHILDREN

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	One	7	12,5
	Two	15	26,8
	Three	19	33,9
	Four and More	15	26,8
	Total	56	100,0

Table 10 Number of Children

The highest proportion of respondents (33.9% or 19 families) have three children. This suggests that having three children is the most typical family size among respondents. A significant 26.8% (15 families) have four or more children. This indicates that large families are relatively common in the sample. Another 26.8% (15 families) reported having two children, making it a common family size as well. Only 12.5% (7 families) have one child, suggesting that having a single child is the least frequent family size among respondents. These family size dynamics may be relevant when analyzing how Arabic is maintained across generations.

IV.8.8 CHILDREN'S PLACE OF BIRTH

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Algeria	9	16,1
	France	47	83,9
	Total	56	100,0

Table 11 Children's Place of Birth

The majority of children were born in France (83.9%), suggesting that they are likely more dominant in French, as they are immersed in the French educational system and social environment, their primary exposure to language and education occurs in the French context,

which may impact their Arabic proficiency and use. Only 9 children (16.1%) were born in Algeria, meaning they migrated to France at some point. These children may have had early exposure to Arabic in Algeria before moving to a French-speaking environment. They might demonstrate stronger Arabic proficiency or attachment compared to those born in France. Children born in Algeria may have a stronger Arabic foundation, but their continued use of Arabic depends on family practices and community support.

IV.8.9 CHILDREN'S AGE

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Less Than 10	12	21,4
	10-20	19	33,9
	20-30	14	25,0
	30 or more	11	19,6
	Total	56	100,0

Table 12 Children's Age

Most respondents' children are aged 10 to 20 (33.9%). This suggests that many families have school-aged children, which could influence language transmission through education and peer interactions. A significant portion are young children under 10 years old (21.4%). This age group is crucial for early language socialization, where parental efforts in Arabic transmission could have a strong impact. A quarter of the sample (25.0%) with 14 children fall in the 20-30 age range, meaning they are likely in higher education or entering the workforce and are more exposed to French, particularly through social interactions. Their language use may be shaped by academic and professional environments, potentially leading to more frequent use of French. Older Adults (30 & More) make up the smallest group (19.6%). This may indicate long-term trends in how Arabic is maintained or lost over generations.

IV.9 CONCLUSION

This study adopts a quantitative approach, utilizing a questionnaire as the primary data collection method to explore the language practices, ideologies, and management strategies among Algerian migrant families in France. The use of a questionnaire allows for the efficient

gathering of data from a larger sample, enabling the identification of patterns and trends in language use and attitudes toward Arabic transmission within this community.

The questionnaire was designed to capture a range of information related to participants' language preferences, their experiences with Arabic in both family and community settings, and their attitudes toward language maintenance. By focusing on these key areas, the questionnaire provides a comprehensive overview of the factors influencing language use in the homes of Algerian migrants, while also allowing for cross-comparison between different family contexts and language practices.

The participant sample includes Algerian migrant families from various socio-economic backgrounds, with a broad representation of families maintaining varying levels of Arabic proficiency. This diversity ensures that the data reflects a wide range of experiences, from those actively engaging in Arabic language maintenance to those experiencing language shift.

Data analysis was conducted through statistical methods, which allowed for the identification of significant patterns in language preferences and attitudes. The quantitative nature of the data provided a clear, objective foundation for understanding the broader trends in language transmission and management strategies.

Ethical considerations were thoroughly addressed throughout the research process. Participants were informed about the study's goals and procedures, and their consent was obtained prior to completing the questionnaire. Additionally, confidentiality was maintained, with all personal information anonymized to protect participants' identities.

While the study provides valuable insights, it is important to acknowledge its limitations. The reliance on self-reported data may introduce bias, as participants may provide responses that align with social expectations or personal ideals rather than actual behaviours. Moreover, the study's focus on a specific migrant group in France may limit the broader applicability of the findings to other migrant communities.

Despite these limitations, the methodological framework used in this study offers significant contributions to understanding Arabic language transmission in the context of migration. By employing a structured questionnaire, the study provides valuable quantitative insights into the factors that influence language use, attitudes, and management strategies among Algerian migrant families in France. The findings will be useful for future research on

heritage language maintenance and for developing practical strategies to support Arabic language transmission in migrant communities.

CHAPTER V
OVERVIEW OF KEY
FINDINGS AND
INTERPRETATION

V INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a comprehensive analysis of the key findings from this research, shedding light on the patterns of Arabic language transmission among Algerian migrant families in France. By examining language practices, beliefs, and management strategies, the study uncovers both the challenges and facilitators of heritage language maintenance in a multilingual and often linguistically assimilative environment. The discussion will first summarize the main empirical results, highlighting trends in parental language choices, intergenerational transmission efforts, and the role of external factors such as education and social networks. These findings will then be interpreted in relation to the theoretical frameworks introduced earlier, allowing for a deeper understanding of how linguistic behaviors align with or diverge from established models of language maintenance, shift, and bilingualism. Ultimately, this chapter aims to bridge the gap between data and theory, providing a nuanced perspective on the dynamic interplay between language ideologies, identity negotiation, and practical language management within migrant families.

V.1 FAMILY LANGUAGE PRACTICES

This section examines the daily linguistic interactions among Algerian migrant families in France, focusing on the extent to which Arabic is spoken at home, the role of Arabic and French in family communication and patterns of language choice in different family interactions

V.1.1 RESPONDENTS' LEVEL IN ALGERIAN ARABIC (AA)/ STANDARD ARABIC (SA)/FRENCH (FR)

	<i>VG (%)</i>	<i>RG (%)</i>	<i>Avg (%)</i>	<i>RW (%)</i>	<i>VW (%)</i>	<i>Nn (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Respondents' Level in AA</i>	39 (69.6)	9 (16.1)	3 (5.4)	3 (5.4)	1 (1.8)	1 (1.8)	1.59	1.125	VG
<i>espondents' Level in SA</i>	27 (48.2)	15 (26.8)	7 (12.5)	5 (8.9)	1 (1.8)	1 (1.8)	1.95	1.197	RG
<i>Respondents' Level in Fr</i>	41 (73.2)	14 (25.0)	1 (1.8)	0	0	0	1.29	.494	VG

Table 13 Respondents' Level in Algerian Arabic (AA)/ Standard Arabic (SA)/French (FR)

Note: *n*= 56

VG: Very Good (1.00-1.82)

RG: Rather Good (1.83- 2.65)

Avg: Average (2.66- 3.48)
RW: Rather Weak (3.49-4.31)
VW: Very Weak (4.32-5.14)
Nn: None (5.15-6.00)⁵¹

Respondents reported high levels of proficiency in Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, and French, with the highest scores for French. Specifically, (69.6%) of respondents rated their level as "Very Good" in Algerian Arabic, and (16.1%) rated it as "Rather Good". The mean score of 1.59 (SD = 1.125) indicates high self-reported proficiency, with most respondents confident in their Algerian Arabic skills. While, (48.2%) of respondents rated their level in Standard Arabic as "Very Good" and (26.8%) rated it as "Rather Good". The mean score of 1.95 (SD = 1.197) reflects good proficiency, but slightly lower than Algerian Arabic, indicating less familiarity with the formal variety. French proficiency was the highest, with (73.2%) of respondents rating their level as 'Very Good'. The mean score of 1.29 (SD = 0.494) shows that French is dominant and widely mastered among respondents. These findings highlight the bilingual or trilingual nature of respondents, with French dominating due to its relevance in their host country, while Arabic remains integral to cultural and linguistic identity.

V.1.2 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THEIR CHILDREN'S LEVEL IN AA/SA

	<i>VG</i> <i>(%)</i>	<i>RG</i> <i>(%)</i>	<i>Avg</i> <i>(%)</i>	<i>RW</i> <i>(%)</i>	<i>VW</i> <i>(%)</i>	<i>Nn</i> <i>(%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std.</i> <i>Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Children's level of AA</i>	3 (5.4)	7 (12.5)	16 (28.6)	10 (17.9)	16 (28.6)	4 (7.1)	3.73	1.342	RW
<i>Children's level of SA</i>	0	7 (12.5)	13 (23.2)	13 (23.2)	17 (30.4)	6 (10.7)	4.04	1.220	VW

Table 14 Respondents' Perception of their Children's Level in AA/SA

Note: N= 56

VG: Very Good (1.00-1.82)
RG: Rather Good (1.83- 2.65)
Avg: Average (2.66- 3.48)
RW: Rather Weak (3.49-4.31)
VW: Very Weak (4.32-5.14)
Nn: None (5.15-6.00).

⁵¹ Jonald (2019)

Parents generally perceive their children's proficiency in Arabic as weak, with mean scores of 3.73 (SD = 1.342) for Algerian Arabic and 4.04 (SD = 1.220) for Standard Arabic. A significant proportion of parents (28.6%) rated their children's Algerian Arabic as 'Rather Weak' or 'Average,' while (30.4%) described their Standard Arabic as 'Very Weak'. The results indicate that a significant proportion of children have limited proficiency in both Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic, with Standard Arabic being perceived as even weaker. The fact that (30.4%) of parents rated their children's Standard Arabic proficiency as "Very Weak" suggests that younger generations are experiencing difficulties in acquiring Arabic, especially the formal variety of Arabic is not being effectively transmitted, possibly due to its limited use in daily family interactions. Given that most children are born and raised in France, where French is the dominant language, exposure to Arabic—especially Standard Arabic—is likely to be lower. The higher percentages of "Rather Weak" and "Very Weak" responses suggest an ongoing language shift, where younger generations may be losing fluency in Arabic over time in favor of French. The dominance of French in the educational and social environment may contribute to this trend, highlighting challenges in the intergenerational transmission of Arabic within migrant families.

V.1.3 THE LANGUAGE MOSTLY USED AT HOME

	<i>Ar > Fr</i>	<i>Fr>Ar</i>	<i>Ar=Fr</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std.Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>The language mostly used at home</i>	18 (32.1)	27 (48.2)	11 (19.6)	1.88	.715	Fr>Ar

Table 15: The Language Mostly Used at Home

Note: *n=56*

Ar > Fr: *Arabic more than French (1.00 -1.66)*

Fr>Ar: *French more than Arabic (1.67 -2.33)*

Ar=Fr: *As much Arabic as French (2.34-3.00)*

The results indicate that French is the dominant home language for nearly half (48.2%) of the respondents, while (32.1%) report using Arabic more than French and (19.6%) use both languages equally. The mean score of 1.88 (SD = 0.715) confirms this trend toward greater French usage in daily family communication. While Arabic remains present, its lower frequency in home use suggests a potential shift toward French dominance, particularly in younger generations. This shift likely reflects external pressures such as the influence of schooling, social interactions, and integration into the French-speaking environment, which may pose challenges for the long-term transmission of Arabic within migrant families.

However, 19.6% of families use both languages equally, which may indicate a bilingual household environment where both Arabic and French coexist. This could reflect language management strategies where parents intentionally maintain Arabic while accommodating the practical need for French.

V.1.4 USE OF ALGERIAN ARABIC BETWEEN SPOUSES

	<i>Alwys</i> (%)	<i>Oftn</i> (%)	<i>Smtms</i> (%)	<i>Rrly</i> (%)	<i>Nvr</i> (%)	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std.</i> <i>Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Algerian Arabic Use With Spouse</i>	21 (37.5)	13 (23.2)	9 (16.1)	8 (14.3)	5 (8.9)	2.34	1.352	<i>Oftn</i>

Table 16 Use of Algerian Arabic between Spouses

Note: $n=56$

Alwys: Always (1.00-1.80)

Oftn: Often (1.81-2.60)

Smtms: Sometimes (2.61-3.40)

Rrly: Rarely (3.41-4.20)

Nvr: Never (4.21-5.00)

The majority of respondents continue to use Algerian Arabic as the primary language with their spouse, with (37.5%) reporting they 'Always' use it and (23.2%) stating they use it 'Often.' The mean score of 2.34 (SD = 1.352) places spousal communication in the 'Often' category, suggesting that Arabic remains an important language within couples' interactions. However, a significant minority (30%) use Arabic only "Sometimes," "Rarely," or "Never," indicating that French or another language may be preferred in some cases. This shift could be influenced by linguistic adaptation in mixed-language marriages, individual language preferences or the increasing dominance of French in everyday life. Given that language choice with spouse often influences children's language environment, these findings highlight the need for conscious language management if Arabic transmission is a priority.

V.1.5 LANGUAGE USED WITH CHILDREN BEFORE SCHOOLING

	<i>AA</i> (%)	<i>Fr</i> (%)	<i>SA</i> (%)	<i>Br</i> (%)	<i>Mix</i> <i>AA& Fr</i> (%)	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std.Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>The language used with children before schooling</i>	20 (35.7)	27 (48.2)	3 (5.4)	3 (5.4)	3 (5.4)	2.39	1.189	Fr

Table 17 Language Used with Children before Schooling**Note: n=56****AA:** Algerian Arabic (1.00-1.80)**Fr:** French (1.81-2.60)**SA:** Standard Arabic (2.61-3.40)**Br:** Berber (3.41-4.20)**Mix AA&Fr:** Mix of Algerian Arabic and French (4.21-5.00)

Findings indicate that French is the most commonly used language with children before schooling, with (48.2%) of parents reporting that they primarily spoke French. In contrast, only 35.7% used Algerian Arabic, while a much smaller percentage used Standard Arabic (5.4%) or Berber (5.4%). The mean score of 2.39 (SD = 1.189) confirms that French is the dominant language in early childhood communication. These results suggest that parents may prioritize French from an early age to facilitate their children's integration into the French education system. However, the relatively low use of Arabic before schooling may pose challenges for its transmission across generations, as early language exposure strongly influences long-term linguistic development. The minimal use of Standard Arabic (5.4%) further suggests that it is not commonly spoken at home and remains largely limited to formal or educational settings.

	<i>Yes</i> (%)	<i>No</i> (%)	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Do parents keep using the same language after schooling?</i>	44 (78.6%)	12 (21.4)	1.21	.414	

Note: n=56**Yes** (1.00 – 1.5)**No** (1.51 -2.00)

(78.6%) of parents reported that they continue to use the same language with their children after schooling. While (21.4%) indicated that they switch to a different language after their children begin formal education. The mean is 1.21 (SD = 0.414), which falls within the "Yes" category. These findings show that a large majority of parents maintain the same language practices after their children begin school, demonstrating consistency in language use. This suggests a strong commitment to reinforcing the language that aligns with their cultural identity, whether it is Arabic, French, or a mix. The (21.4%) who switch languages may reflect parents adapting to their children's evolving linguistic needs, particularly if the school

environment requires greater use of French. This could also signal external pressures, such as the dominance of French in education and society.

V.1.6 PARENT'S LEVEL OF SATISFACTION ABOUT THEIR CHILDREN'S LEVEL IN AA/ SA

	<i>VS</i> (%)	<i>RS</i> (%)	<i>RDis</i> (%)	<i>Dis</i> (%)	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Children's level of AA</i>	14 (25.0)	14 (25.0)	9 (16.1)	19 (33.9)	2.59	1.203	RDis
<i>Children's level of SA</i>	6 (10.7)	11 (19.6)	10 (17.9)	29 (51.8)	3.11	1.073	RDis

Table 18 Parent's Level of Satisfaction about their Children's Level in AA/ SA

Note: *n*= 56

VS: *Very Satisfied* (1.00-1.75)

RS: *Rather Satisfied* (1.76-2.50)

RDis: *Rather Dissatisfied* (2.51- 3.25)

Dis: *Dissatisfied* (3.26- 4.00).

The results indicate that parents are generally dissatisfied with their children's proficiency in both Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic, with a mean satisfaction score of 2.59 (SD = 1.203) for Algerian Arabic and 3.11 (SD = 1.073) for Standard Arabic. The highest dissatisfaction is with Standard Arabic, where 51.8% of parents reported being 'Dissatisfied' with their children's level, compared to 33.9% for Algerian Arabic. While some parents remain satisfied with their children's Algerian Arabic proficiency (50% either 'Very Satisfied' or 'Rather Satisfied'), the higher dissatisfaction with Standard Arabic suggests that it is not being effectively transmitted. This may be due to its limited role in daily family interactions and reliance on formal education for proficiency development. The findings align with broader patterns of language shift, where younger generations are becoming increasingly dominant in French, raising concerns about the long-term transmission of Arabic within migrant families.

V.1.7 ARABIC LANGUAGE POTENTIAL LOSS

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Mean	Std Dev	Interp
<i>Arabic language loss</i>	22 (39.3)	34 (60.7)	1.61	.493	No

Table 19 Arabic Language Potential Loss

Note: $n=56$

Yes (1.00 – 1.5)

No (1.51 -2.00)

When asked about Arabic language loss, (60.7%) of respondents stated that they do not believe Arabic is being lost within their families, while (39.3%) expressed concern about its decline. With a mean score of 1.61 (SD = 0.493), the majority position is that Arabic is still being maintained. However, the significant minority who perceive language loss suggests that some families are experiencing difficulties in transmitting Arabic, possibly due to the dominance of French in education and daily interactions. While Arabic is still present in most homes, the increasing use of French and parents' dissatisfaction with their children's Arabic proficiency may contribute to the perception of a gradual decline. These findings indicate that although Arabic is not yet lost, proactive language management strategies are essential to ensure its long-term transmission.

V.2 LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

This section explores the strategies employed by Algerian migrant families in France to promote Arabic transmission, including enrolling children in Arabic language classes, encouraging the use of Arabic in daily interactions, and exposing them to Arabic media and religious practices.

V.2.1 RESPONDENTS' LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Mean	Std Dev	Interp
<i>SA Use with children</i>	35 (62.5)	21 (37.5)	1.38	.489	Yes
<i>Transmission of Arabic to Other Generations</i>	56 (100)	0 (0.00)	1.00	.000	Yes
<i>Parents' Language Decisions</i>	20 (35.7)	36 (64.3)	1.64	.483	No

<i>Parents' Language Management</i>	32 (57.1)	24 (42.9)	1.43	.499	Yes
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Table 20 Respondents' Language Use and Language Management**Note:** $n=56$ **Yes** (1.00 – 1.5)**No** (1.51 -2.00)

The results highlight a strong collective desire to maintain linguistic and cultural identity through the transmission of Arabic to their children, with 100% expressing agreement on the importance of transmitting Arabic. However, the extent to which parents actively manage language transmission varies. Only 57.1% actively engage in language management strategies, meaning that while parents want their children to learn Arabic, not all of them take deliberate steps to reinforce its use. On one hand, the (62.5%) of parents who report using Standard Arabic with their children suggest that some families make efforts to incorporate formal Arabic into their homes. On the other hand, however, a significant proportion (37.5%) do not use it at all, suggesting that it remains largely confined to formal or religious contexts. Additionally, only (35.7%) of parents actively make language-related decisions at home, and (64.3%) do not engage in structured language management. The mean Score of 1.64 (SD = 0.483) indicates that most families do not have an explicit family language policy. Moreover, (57.1%) of parents actively engage in language management, meaning they take specific steps to reinforce Arabic learning, while (42.9%) do not engage in structured language management. With a mean Score of 1.43 (SD = 0.499), suggesting that slightly more than half of families make conscious efforts to support Arabic learning. This suggests that, while all parents support Arabic transmission in principle, many rely on natural exposure rather than strategic reinforcement, which may contribute to the perceived decline in their children's Arabic proficiency. Thus, without more deliberate language management, Arabic—especially Standard Arabic—may continue to weaken in future generations as French becomes increasingly dominant.

V.2.2 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THEIR CHILDREN'S INFLUENCE ON THEIR LANGUAGE CHOICE

	<i>Cert (%)</i>	<i>Prob (%)</i>	<i>Unkn (%)</i>	<i>ProbNot (%)</i>	<i>CertNot (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Children's Influence on Parents'</i>	15 (26.8)	14 (25.0)	12 (21.4)	7 (12.5)	7 (12.5)	2.58	1.357	prob

<i>Language Choice</i>								
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Table 21 Respondents' Perceptions of Their Children's Influence on Their Language Choice**Note:** *n*: 56**Cert:** Certainly (1.00-1.80)**Prob:** Probably (1.81-2.60)**Unkn:** Unknown (2.61-3.40)**ProbtNot:** Probably Not (3.41-4.20)**CertNot:** Certainly Not(4.21-5.00)

The findings suggest that children play a significant role in influencing language use within the family. A combined (51.8%) of respondents ("Certainly" + "Probably") reported that their children impact their language choices, with a mean score of 2.58 (SD = 1.357), indicating a general trend toward child-driven linguistic shifts. Given that French is the dominant language among children, this influence may lead to an increased use of French at home, potentially accelerating a shift away from Arabic in daily communication. However, a quarter of parents (25%) stated that their children do not influence their language choice, suggesting that some families actively resist this trend and prioritize Arabic regardless of their children's linguistic preferences. The presence of 21.4% of parents who are "Uncertain" further highlights that the extent of child influence varies across households. These findings underscore the dynamic nature of family language practices, where language use is shaped by both parental intentions and children's evolving linguistic habits

V.2.3 PARENTS' LANGUAGE PREFERENCE IN INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION

	<i>SA (%)</i>	<i>AA (%)</i>	<i>BV (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Variety of Arabic to Transmit to next Generations in France</i>	10 (17.9)	3 (5.4)	43 (76.8)	2.59	.781	Both varieties

Table 22 Parents' Language Preference in Intergenerational Language Transmission**Note:** *n*=56**SA:** Standard Arabic (1.00 -1.66)**AA:** Algerian Arabic (1.67 -2.33)**BV:** Both Varieties (2.34-3.00)

The overwhelming majority of respondents (76.8%) believe that both Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic should be passed on to the next generations, with a mean score of 2.59 (SD = 0.781), suggesting that parents see the importance of preserving both the colloquial and formal varieties of Arabic, ensuring that children are proficient in daily communication and well-equipped with literacy skills in Standard Arabic. A smaller proportion (17.9%) prioritized Standard Arabic alone, while (5.4%) preferred only Algerian Arabic. These findings indicate that parents value a dual Arabic proficiency model, recognizing the importance of Algerian Arabic for social interactions and cultural identity, while also seeing Standard Arabic as essential to access to education, religious texts, and broader Arabic-speaking communities. However, given that many parents report dissatisfaction with their children's Standard Arabic proficiency, this ideal balance may be difficult to achieve in practice. The findings suggest that, while parents aspire to transmit both varieties, the dominance of French and the limited exposure to Standard Arabic in daily life may pose challenges to this goal.

V.2.4 THE IMPACT OF LEARNING ARABIC ON CHILDREN'S ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

	<i>Pv</i> (%)	<i>RP</i> (%)	<i>Nt</i> (%)	<i>RV</i> (%)	<i>Nv</i> (%)	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
Impact	27 (48.2)	18 (32.1)	10 (17.9)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.8)	1.75	.879	Rather positive

Table 23 The Impact of Learning Arabic on Children's Academic Achievement

Note: n=56

Pv: Positive (1.00-1.80)

RP: Rather Positive (1.81-2.60)

Nt: Neutral (2.61-3.40)

RV: Rather Negative (3.41-4.20)

Nv: Negative (4.21-5.00)

The majority of respondents (80.3%) combining 'positive' and 'rather positive' perceive learning Arabic contributes positively to their children's academic performance, with (48.2%) describing the impact as "Positive" and (32.1%) as "Rather Positive." The mean score of 1.75 (SD = 0.879) falls within the "Rather Positive" category, confirming that most parents view Arabic proficiency as an academic advantage rather than a barrier. Only (1.8%) of respondents expressed concerns about a negative impact, and no respondents selected 'Rather Negative'.

These findings suggest that parents believe that bilingualism, particularly in Arabic, can contribute to intellectual and cognitive development, enhancing school performance. However, (17.9%) of parents were ‘Neutral’ about the impact, indicating that some may not see a direct connection between Arabic learning and academic success. The overwhelmingly positive perception reinforces the idea that multilingualism, including Arabic, is seen as an educational asset within migrant families.

V.2.5 FREQUENCY OF TRAVEL TO HOME COUNTRY

	<i>Freq</i> (%)	<i>OnaY</i> (%)	<i>LthYr</i> (%)	<i>Rrely</i> (%)	<i>Nvr</i> (%)	<i>Mean</i> (%)	<i>Std. Dev</i> (%)	<i>Interp</i> (%)
<i>Frequency of Travel to Home Country</i>	18 (32.1)	11 (19.6)	18 (32.1)	7 (12.5)	2 (3.6)	2.36	1.167	

Table 24 Frequency Of Travel To Home Country

Note: $n=56$

Freq: Frequently (1.00-1.80)

OnaY: Once a Year (1.81-2.60)

LthYr: Less than once a Year (2.61-3.40)

Rrely: Rarely (3.41-4.20)

Nvr: Never (4.21-5.00)

The frequency of travel to Algeria varies among respondents, with (32.1%) traveling frequently and an equal percentage (32.1%) visiting less than once a year. Additionally, (19.6%) of respondents travel once a year, while 12.5% travel rarely, and only (3.6%) never travel. The mean score of 2.36 (SD = 1.167) suggests that, on average, travel occurs less than once a year. These findings indicate that while some families maintain regular contact with their home country, a significant proportion has limited travel opportunities. Given the role of travel in reinforcing Arabic language use and cultural identity; particularly for children who may have fewer opportunities to engage with Arabic in France, less frequent visits may contribute to a weaker connection to Arabic and a stronger shift toward French in daily life. Barriers such as financial constraints, work responsibilities, or permanent settlement in France may explain why nearly half of respondents (44.6%) travel rarely or less than once a year. These findings highlight the importance of alternative cultural and linguistic reinforcement strategies for families who cannot travel regularly.

V.2.6 POTENTIAL PLANS TO RETURN TO LIVE IN HOME COUNTRY

	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>No (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Plans to return to live in Home Country</i>	13 (23.2)	43 (76.8)	1.77	.426	

Table 25 Potential Plans to Return to Live in Home Country**Note:** n=56**Yes:** (1.00 – 1.5)**No:** (1.51 -2.00)

Findings indicate that more than three quarters (76.8%) of respondents do not plan to return to live in their home country, while only (23.2%) express intentions to return at some point, indicating that for some families, the idea of relocating remains a possibility because they may still feel of strong connection to their home country or see economic, social, or cultural advantages in returning. The mean score of 1.77 (SD = 0.426) suggests that most families see their future in France and this aligns with broader migration trends, where second and third-generation migrants tend to integrate into the host country rather than return to their country of origin. These results have important implications for language management strategies, as families who do not plan to return must rely on domestic efforts to sustain Arabic transmission, such as enrollement in Arabic classes, community engagement, and media exposure in Arabic rather than immersion in an Arabic-speaking environment. Without the reinforcement of regular visits or relocation, children may have fewer opportunities to develop strong Arabic proficiency, placing greater responsibility on parents and community initiatives to maintain linguistic and cultural ties.

V.3 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

This section examines how Algerian migrant parents in France perceive the value of Arabic, French, and bilingualism, and how these beliefs shape their family language policies.

V.3.1 RESPONDENT'S LANGUAGE CHOICE

	<i>AA (%)</i>	<i>SA (%)</i>	<i>Fr (%)</i>	<i>ALL (%)</i>	<i>AA&Fr (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Respondents' Language Attitudes</i>	23 (41.1)	4 (7.1)	11 (19.6)	4 (7.1)	14 (25.0)	2.68	1.653	French

Table 26 Respondents' Language Choice

Note: n=56

AA: Algerian Arabic (1.00-1.80)

SA: Standard Arabic (1.81-2.60)

Fr: French (2.61-3.40)

All: (3.41-4.20)

AA& Fr: Algerian Arabic and French (4.21-5.00)

With two thirds of respondents (66.1%) reporting that they feel most at ease speaking French, it is clear that French has become the primary language of communication for most participants. In contrast, only (25.0%) of respondents feel most comfortable in Algerian Arabic, and just (5.4%) in Standard Arabic. A small proportion (3.6%) report feeling equally comfortable in all three languages. The mean score of 1.46 (SD = 0.741) confirms that French is, on average, the language in which respondents feel most at ease. These findings suggest that French has become the primary language of expression for most individuals, likely due to its dominance in education, work, and public life. While Algerian Arabic remains significant in informal and family settings, its lower ranking compared to French reflects a shift in linguistic comfort across generations. Standard Arabic, by contrast, is not naturally acquired as a spoken language, reinforcing its role as a formal and religious language rather than one used in daily interactions. The results highlight the growing prominence of French in respondents' linguistic identity, while Arabic varieties, particularly Standard Arabic, may require deliberate efforts to maintain as active spoken languages.

V.3.2 PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN'S USE OF ARABIC

	VP (%)	RP (%)	Nt (%)	RI (%)	In (%)	Mean	Std.Dev	Interpret
<i>Parents' attitudes towards their children's use of AA</i>	29 (51.8)	12 (21.4)	15 (26.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1.75	.858	VP
<i>Parents' attitudes towards their children's use of SA</i>	33 (58.9)	8 (14.3)	14 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.8)	1.71	.967	VP

Table 27 Respondents' Attitudes towards their Children's Use of Arabic

Note:n=56

VP: Very Proud (1.00-1.80)

RP: Rather Proud (1.81-2.60)

Nt: Neutral (2.61-3.40)

RI: Rather indifferent (3.41-4.20)

In: Indifferent (4.21-5.00)

The findings reveal a strong positive attitude among parents toward their children's use of Arabic, with (51.8%) feeling "Very Proud" of their children's use of Algerian Arabic. An even greater proportion (58.9%) expressed being 'Very Proud' of their children's use of Standard Arabic. The mean scores of 1.75 (SD = 0.858) and 1.71 (SD = 0.967) respectively, confirm that Arabic is perceived as an important cultural and linguistic asset within the family. Parents' slightly higher pride in Standard Arabic suggests that they view it as a prestigious language linked to education, literacy, and religious identity. However, despite this strong ideological attachment to Arabic, previous findings indicate that French is the most commonly used language at home. This suggests a disconnection between language ideology (valuing Arabic) and language practice (frequent French use). While parents' desire for their children to maintain Arabic, their reported dissatisfaction with their children's Arabic proficiency highlights the challenges of intergenerational language transmission and the need for stronger language reinforcement efforts.

V.3.3 ALGERIAN ARABIC AS A MAKER OF BELONGING

	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>No (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>Use of AA as an expression of belonging to the Algerian community</i>	38 (67.9)	18 (32.1)	1.32	.471	Yes

Table 28 Algerian Arabic as a Marker of Belonging

Note: $n=56$

Yes: (1.00 – 1.5)

No: (1.51 -2.00)

The majority (67.9%) of respondents believe that using Algerian Arabic is a key marker of belonging to the Algerian community, while (32.1%) do not share this view. The mean score of 1.32 (SD = 0.471) suggests a general agreement on the role of AA in identity construction, but with noticeable variation. The relatively high proportion of respondents who do not view AA as essential to their identity may indicate a shift towards alternative identity markers or a preference for other linguistic varieties such as Standard Arabic or French. This is particularly significant in the context of migrant families, where language shift is a known phenomenon. While many parents ideologically support AA, its daily use may be declining in favor of French.

These findings highlight the importance of reinforcing AA through structured language management strategies to ensure its transmission across generations.

V.3.4 ARABIC PROFESSIONAL UTILITY IN FRANCE

	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>No (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>AR mastery and potential job prospects in France</i>	29 (51.8)	27 (48.2)	1.48	.504	Yes

Table 29 Arabic Professional Utility in France

Note: $n=56$

Yes: (1.00 – 1.5)

No: (1.51 -2.00)

The findings indicate that respondents are nearly evenly divided on whether Arabic mastery can provide job prospects in France, with (51.8%) responding "Yes" and (48.2%) responding "No" ($M = 1.48$, $SD = 0.504$). While a slight majority acknowledges the potential utility of Arabic in the job market, a significant portion does not see it as an asset. This division may reflect the reality that while Arabic is spoken by a large population in France, it does not have official recognition in professional domains. Respondents who view Arabic as beneficial may associate it with specific career fields such as translation, teaching, or business. However, others may perceive French and English as more dominant for career advancement. These attitudes could influence language transmission choices within families, particularly if parents prioritize languages perceived as economically advantageous for their children

V.3.5 PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF FRENCH VS. ARABIC

	<i>Fr (%)</i>	<i>AR (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>Importance of Fr vs AR</i>	24 (42,9)	32 (57,1)	1.57	.499	AR

Table 30 Perceived Importance of French vs Arabic

Note: $n=56$

Fr: French: (1.00 – 1.5)

Ar: Arabic: (1.51 -2.00)

The findings indicate that 57.1% of respondents prioritize Arabic over French, while 42.9% consider French more important ($M = 1.57$, $SD = 0.499$). Although Arabic is the preferred language, the relatively high percentage of respondents favoring French suggests a recognition of French's dominance in education, administration, and the job market. These findings highlight the tension between cultural identity and practical integration needs. While Arabic remains a central aspect of identity, the strong support for French suggests that bilingualism is a key goal for many families. This has implications for language transmission strategies, as families must navigate the balance between maintaining Arabic and ensuring their children's fluency in French.

V.3.6 IMPORTANCE OF ARABIC TRANSMISSION AND TEACHING

	<i>VI</i> (%)	<i>RI</i> (%)	<i>RnI</i> (%)	<i>NIaA</i> (%)	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std.</i> <i>Dev</i>	<i>interpretation</i>
<i>AA Transmission</i>	20 (35.7)	27 48.2	5 (8.9)	4 (7.1)	1.89	.888	RI
<i>SA Transmission</i>	31 (55.4)	21 (37.5)	4 (7.1)	0	1.52	.632	VI
<i>SA Teaching in France</i>	35 (62.5)	15 (26.8)	1 (1.8)	5 (8.9)	1.50	.739	VI

Table 31 Importance of Arabic Transmission and Teaching

Note: $n = 56$

VI: Very important (1.00-1.75)

RI: Rather important (1.76-2.50)

RnI: Rather not important (2.51- 3.25)

NIaA: Not important at all (3.26- 4.00)

The findings indicate that parents strongly value both Algerian Arabic (AA) and Standard Arabic (SA) transmission, with additional emphasis on the need for SA teaching in France. This reflects the dual role of Arabic in the diaspora: AA as the spoken heritage language and SA as the language of literacy, religion, and formal education. While AA is associated with cultural identity and familial ties, SA is often prioritized for academic, religious, and linguistic prestige. These results suggest that parents may support bilingual or diglossic learning environments, balancing the transmission of both varieties. The demand for SA teaching in France highlights the need for institutional support, as families seek structured opportunities for their children to develop Arabic proficiency.

V.3.7 SOCIAL EXCLUSION WHEN USING ARABIC IN FRANCE

	<i>Alwys</i> (%)	<i>Oftn</i> (%)	<i>Smtms</i> (%)	<i>Rrly</i> (%)	<i>Nvr</i> (%)	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Respondent's feeling social exclusion when using Ar in France</i>	6 (10.7)	6 (10.7)	16 (28.6)	8 (14.3)	20 (35.7)	3.54	1.361	

Table 32 Social Exclusion when using Arabic in France

Note: $n=56$

Alwys: Always (1.00-1.80)

Oftn: Often (1.81-2.60)

Smtms: Sometimes (2.61-3.40)

Rrly: Rarely (3.41-4.20)

Nvr: Never (4.21-5.00)

A significant proportion (35.7%) reported 'never' feeling socially excluded when using Arabic, while 28.6% indicated they 'sometimes' experienced exclusion. The mean score of 3.54 (SD = 1.361) reflects variability in experiences of social exclusion, with many respondents not perceiving it as a major issue. The findings suggest that a significant proportion of respondents feel socially excluded when using Arabic in France, highlighting issues of linguistic discrimination and marginalization. The extent of exclusion appears to vary depending on context (public vs. private use), variety of Arabic (AA vs. SA), and generational background. While some respondents maintain strong ties to Arabic despite exclusion, others may avoid using the language in public, leading to linguistic assimilation. These results reflect broader sociolinguistic debates on minority language visibility, integration challenges, and the impact of language ideologies on identity. The findings indicate a need for more inclusive language policies that recognize Arabic as part of France's multilingual reality.

V.3.8 BILINGUALISM AS AN EXPRESSION OF DUAL IDENTITY AND DUAL BELONGING

	<i>Yes</i> (%)	<i>No</i> (%)	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>Use of AR/Fr as an expression of dual identity & dual belonging</i>	47 (83.9)	9 (16.1)	1.16	.371	Yes

Table 33 Bilingualism as an Expression of Dual Identity and Dual Belonging

Note: n=56

Yes: (1.00 – 1.5)

No: (1.51 -2.00)

The results indicate that the majority of respondents perceive their bilingualism (Arabic-French) as an affirmation of dual identity and belonging. This suggests that rather than viewing their linguistic repertoire as conflicting, they embrace it as a marker of cultural hybridity. The use of Arabic connects them to their heritage and familial roots, while French represents integration into French society. However, the extent to which individuals identify with both languages may depend on generational background, social setting, and external language ideologies. While some respondents experience a harmonious dual identity, others may feel linguistic pressure or a hierarchy between Arabic and French. This finding reinforces the complex ways in which Algerian migrants and their descendants navigate multilingualism as part of their cultural identity in France.

V.3.9 RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR DUAL BELONGING

	<i>Richness (%)</i>	<i>Disruption (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev</i>	<i>Interp</i>
<i>Parents' Attitudes towards their dual belonging</i>	56 (100)	0 (0.00)	1.00	.000	<i>Richness</i>

Table 34 Respondents' Attitudes towards their Dual Belonging

Note: n=56

Richness: (1.00 – 1.5)

Disruption: (1.51 -2.00)

A remarkable finding is that 100% of respondents consider their dual belonging (French-Algerian identity) as a source of richness rather than a source of disruption. This unanimous perspective reflects a strongly positive attitude towards bilingualism, bicultural identity, and the coexistence of Arabic and French in daily life. Parents in this study appear to embrace their linguistic and cultural hybridity, seeing it as an advantage that contributes to their children's personal development, cognitive skills, and social integration. This positive outlook may also encourage Arabic language transmission, as parents perceive it as an integral part of their enriched identity rather than a challenge to integration. The findings highlight the potential for harmonious bilingual practices and reinforce the importance of maintaining Arabic as a cultural asset within Algerian migrant families in France.

V.4 RESULTS INTERPRETATION

This section critically examines these results, exploring the extent to which family language practices align with stated beliefs, the impact of external pressures on parental decision-making, and the underlying tensions between heritage language maintenance and integration into the host society. By situating these findings within relevant theoretical frameworks, this interpretation aims to uncover the nuanced ways in which language choices reflect both individual agency and structural constraints in the migration context.

V.4.1 LANGUAGE PRACTICES: A SHIFT TOWARD FRENCH-DOMINANT BILINGUALISM

The analysis of language practices among Algerian migrant families in France reveal significant patterns in home language use, intergenerational transmission, and the influence of external factors such as schooling and societal integration. Parents remain committed to Arabic transmission, but many express dissatisfaction with their children's fluency, especially in Standard Arabic. Algerian Arabic is maintained more than Standard Arabic, but it is not transmitted with full effectiveness, leading to declining proficiency among children. The perceived decline in children's Arabic proficiency suggests that, even though Arabic is still used at home, exposure alone may not be enough to ensure fluency. While most families do not believe Arabic is being lost, the combination of limited Arabic proficiency among children, increasing French use, and dissatisfaction with Standard Arabic skills suggests that Arabic transmission may weaken further without active reinforcement.

While many parents express a strong desire to maintain Algerian Arabic within the household, some also acknowledge their struggles and perceived failure in doing so. As Latifa admits⁵², *'I tried, but in vain!'*⁵³, while Wardia reflects, *:'I often try to speak AA with them, but French seems to take over.'*⁵⁴ Karima's one-word response, *'Unwillingly,'*⁵⁵ encapsulates the linguistic shift happening within families, where parents find themselves using French against their will.

⁵²All translations are my own unless otherwise noted

⁵³ *J'ai essayé mais sans résultat*

⁵⁴ *J'essaie de parler très souvent avec eux en dialecte algérien mais le français prend le dessus*

⁵⁵ *Involontairement*

These testimonies highlight the growing dominance of French in intergenerational communication, making it increasingly difficult to maintain Arabic as a language actively spoken within families. Parents who express regret over their language choices reveal a common sociolinguistic challenge in migrant families, where French—despite efforts to reinforce Arabic—naturally becomes the preferred language due to schooling, peer influence, and broader societal factors. Without strong language management strategies, families risk Arabic being relegated to a passive or symbolic role rather than an active means of communication.

Many parents in this study express a strong attachment to Arabic, while some also highlight the practical advantages of prioritizing French, particularly for school success. Mokhtar explains, *'French made learning at school easier,'*⁵⁶ while Najia, a parent working in the education sector, argues that *"I am not for using Arabic before entry to school since I work in schools and constantly see how challenging it is [learning] for kids who speak only Arabic, which regrettably remains a barrier for them."*⁵⁷ Many parents justify their choice of speaking French at home as a response to teachers' recommendations, fearing that an Arabic-dominant household might put their children at a disadvantage in the French education system. This trend suggests a shift toward French-dominant bilingualism, where Arabic remains part of cultural identity but is increasingly limited to specific contexts (e.g., religion, older generations, and spousal communication). Overall, French is becoming the dominant language in family interactions, particularly for children, even though Arabic is still present.

This perspective reflects a common dilemma among migrant families: while they ideologically value Arabic, they feel compelled to prioritize French for academic and social integration. This can create a contradiction in language practices, where Arabic is still regarded as important but is gradually replaced by French in daily interactions. The perception of Arabic as a potential "barrier" to schooling also reveals a lack of institutional support for bilingualism in the education system, reinforcing French monolingualism at the expense of home language maintenance. Unless proactive measures are taken, these patterns could contribute to a progressive language shift where Arabic is increasingly weakened in younger generations.

⁵⁶ *Le français facilitait l'apprentissage scolaire*

⁵⁷ *Je ne suis pas d'accord d'utiliser la langue arabe avant la rentrée scolaire étant donné que je travaille dans les écoles et je vois constamment la difficulté des enfants qui pratiquent que la langue arabe ça reste un frein pour eux malheureusement.*

All in All, Arabic is still present in family language practices, but its dominance is declining. French is the strongest language among children, particularly before and after schooling. Parents recognize the importance of Arabic but struggle with its full transmission. If current trends continue, Arabic—especially Standard Arabic—may become even weaker in future generations.

V.4.2 LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT: STRATEGIES BETWEEN PRESERVATION AND ADAPTATION

The Language Management section examines how parents attempt to reinforce Arabic within their families and whether they adopt structured strategies or a more relaxed approach. The findings reveal three key patterns of language management

V.4.2.1 EXPLICIT LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Some parents take active measures to ensure their children maintain Arabic proficiency. This includes structured language exposure, such as enrolling children in Arabic schools and enforcing Arabic use at home.

These examples illustrate how some families adopt structured and interventionist approaches to maintain Arabic, ensuring that children actively engage with the language in various domains of their daily lives. Some parents actively promote Arabic transmission through deliberate strategies, such as: enforcing Arabic at home: insisting children speak Algerian Arabic within the household, Mohamed, for instance, said: *‘When it comes to talking about everyday topics I use Algerian Arabic and I insist that they respond in the same language so that they can later on do the same with their children. When it comes to technical or scientific subjects, I speak to them in French and often translate certain terminology into Arabic.’*⁵⁸ Mohammed equally demonstrates an institutional approach; sending children to Arabic schools where Arabic is the primary language of communication and enrolling children in Arabic classes (mosques, community centres, private tutoring). This aligns with formal language planning as a way to reinforce Arabic proficiency. He adds: *‘Enrolling them in special [Arabic] schools where they speak mostly in Arabic and watching cartoons in Arabic’*⁵⁹. Within the

⁵⁸ *Quand il s’agit de parler des choses de tous les jours j’utilise l’arabe algérien et j’insiste pour qu’ils me répondent pareil pour qu’eux même puissent faire la même chose avec leurs enfants. S’agissant des domaines techniques ou scientifiques je leurs parle en français et souvent je fais la traduction de certaines terminologies en Arabe.*

⁵⁹ *Les inscrire dans des écoles spécial leurs parlé le plus souvent en arabe et regarder les dessins animés en arabe*

Algerian migrant community, social and religious institutions such as associations and mosques have also been found to work in support of ethnic language maintenance. As Yamina declares: *“For me, the mosque helped a lot”*⁶⁰

However, most community-based initiatives remain limited and/or tend to depend on unreliable resources, leaving children with limited opportunities to approach the learning of their heritage language other than enrolling in foreign language courses.

Samira highlights a home-based language strategy using Arabic media (books, TV, online content) to reinforce exposure. She encourages children to practice Arabic through short sentences, video conversations, and exposure to Arabic cartoons and Quranic content : *“it's not very complicated, children learn very quickly, so my first tip is to give them short sentences in Arabic from time to time and ask them to repeat after me, as well as when they're watching cartoons. I replace this with video conversations and Arabic cartoons for children but above all with videos of Quran chapters that can be found on YouTube.”*⁶¹ . This reflects an intentional yet flexible form of language management. Likewise, Fatima's family implements explicit rules for language use at home, primarily triggered by their children's linguistic development. She takes a household immersion approach, setting an explicit rule to avoid speaking French at home and prioritizing Arabic use in daily interactions: *“Once at home, we avoid speaking French and try our best to speak Arabic”*⁶²

This structured approach reflects a belief that Arabic will be lost without active reinforcement. However, parents report challenges in maintaining consistency, as French remains dominant outside the home. Children often resist speaking Arabic, even if they understand it.

V.4.2.2 IMPLICIT LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT: INDIRECT REINFORCEMENT WITHOUT STRICT RULES

Unlike explicit strategies that involve formal teaching or strict language policies, implicit approaches rely on natural exposure and habitual use within everyday interactions, by adopting strategies that promote heritage language transmission without direct enforcement or

⁶⁰ *Pour moi la mosquée a beaucoup aidé*

⁶¹ *Ce n'est pas très compliqué les enfants ils apprennent très vite ma première astuce Je leur donne de temps en temps des petit phrases en arabe et je les demande de répéter derrière moi et aussi les moments qu'ils regardent des dessins animés. Je remplace par les vidéos dialogue et les dessins animés arabes pour enfant mais surtout avec vidéo des surates qu'on trouve sur YouTube.*

⁶² *Une fois à la maison on évite de parler français on s'efforce de tout son cœur de parler la langue arabe*

structured instruction. Many parents attempt to maintain Arabic through daily exposure but without rigid enforcement. Speaking Arabic occasionally at home but allowing children to respond in French. Using code-switching (mixing French and Arabic) in conversations. Traveling to Algeria to increase children's exposure to Arabic-speaking environments. Implicit language management refers to strategies that promote heritage language transmission without direct enforcement or structured instruction. Unlike explicit strategies that involve formal teaching or strict language policies, implicit approaches rely on natural exposure and habitual use within everyday interactions.

One common implicit strategy observed among Algerian migrant families is seasonal immersion in the country of origin, allowing children to experience full linguistic and cultural immersion. As Farid explains, his family reinforces Arabic through '*seasonal immersion in the country of origin as well as daily use [of the language]*'.⁶³ By spending extended periods in Algeria, children are placed in environments where Arabic is the primary means of communication, encouraging them to use the language naturally in social interactions. This type of immersion provides both linguistic and cultural reinforcement without formal instruction.

Another implicit strategy is modeling and habitual exposure, where parents regularly use Arabic in daily life, allowing children to acquire the language effortlessly through interaction. Fahima illustrates this approach, stating, '*In fact, children usually follow their parents who speak Arabic so that they get into the habit of speaking Arabic without realizing it.*'⁶⁴ In such cases, children are not explicitly instructed to speak Arabic but naturally integrate it into their speech by following parental linguistic patterns. This subconscious acquisition process mirrors natural language development and can be particularly effective in reinforcing Arabic as a home language.

This strategy relies on the assumption that exposure alone will sustain Arabic proficiency. However: Without reinforcement, children often shift to French as their dominant language. Arabic remains a passive skill (understood but not spoken).

⁶³ *Par l'immersion saisonnière dans le milieu d'origine et par l'usage quotidien*

⁶⁴ En fait c'est l'habitude les enfants suivent leur parents qui parlent la langue arabe comme ça ils vont prendre l'habitude de parler l'arabe sans rendre compte

V.4.2.3 LAISSEZ-FAIRE POLICY: NO ACTIVE LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

Unlike families that actively promote Arabic through structured practices, those adopting a laissez-faire stance prioritize linguistic autonomy, viewing language choice as a personal decision rather than a parental responsibility. They take a hands-off approach, allowing language use to develop naturally without intervention. Believing that bilingualism will emerge spontaneously, they refrain from structured efforts to reinforce Arabic. This non-interventionist approach is characterized by minimal parental involvement, giving children the freedom to choose their preferred language without explicit encouragement or restrictions.

Some parents believe that children should have the freedom to determine their preferred language. As Fatiha succinctly states, *'It's their choice.'*⁶⁵ This perspective reflects a hands-off approach where parents refrain from imposing Arabic, allowing their children to naturally gravitate toward the language that feels most comfortable to them. Similarly, Zined expresses a comparable view, emphasizing linguistic freedom: *'Giving them the choice to speak the language they prefer.'*⁶⁶ In such families, Arabic is neither actively reinforced nor discouraged; instead, children are exposed to it but left to decide whether or not they will use it. While this approach respects individual agency, it often results in a gradual shift toward French, particularly when Arabic is not reinforced in external environments such as school or peer interactions. This policy is less effective in language maintenance because it reduces children's use of Arabic (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008, p. 11). Moreover, the children's opportunities to receive rich heritage language input (i.e. Arabic) becomes harder, which leads to a loss of interest in that language. However, the use of such strategy can also infer into the implicit language beliefs they hold in relation to the majority language, i.e. their perceptions of the social structures, which are enacted in their choice of the language for interaction between them and their children. These parents often prioritize French due to school and social integration pressures. However, this approach may contribute to language shift over generations, as passive exposure alone is often insufficient to ensure Arabic maintenance within migrant families. Arabic transmission weakens as it is used less frequently in daily life. Abdelkrim *"Being resident in France, speaking French language is more useful"*⁶⁷

⁶⁵ *C'est leurs choix*

⁶⁶ *En lui laissant le choix de parler la langue qu'il souhaite*

⁶⁷ *Étant résident en France, la langue française est plus utile*

Explicit strategies help maintain Arabic but require constant effort and reinforcement. Implicit strategies allow for flexibility but do not prevent French dominance. Laissez-faire policies lead to gradual Arabic erosion over generations. Child agency plays a crucial role—children's preferences and external influences (school, peers, media) often override parental efforts.

V.4.3 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES : POSITIVE PERCEPTIONS OF ARABIC AND BILINGUALISM

The language ideologies of Algerian migrant families in France reveal a strong emotional and cultural attachment to Arabic, particularly Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic. Parents' beliefs about language play a crucial role in shaping their children's linguistic trajectories through their family language practices and management strategies. Many parents view Arabic not only as a means of communication but also as a fundamental aspect of their cultural and religious identity.

A significant number of parents emphasize religious motivations for maintaining Arabic, particularly its connection to Islamic teachings. As Mohamed explains, *“As Muslims, it is essential for us to understand the text of the Quran and this will never be possible if we do not master the Arabic language in which the Koran was revealed. In order to give our children this opportunity, we enrol our children from an early age in schools or mosques so that they can acquire this knowledge”*⁶⁸. This perspective reflects a strong ideological link between Arabic proficiency and religious literacy, motivating parents to seek educational opportunities that reinforce their children's exposure to the language. Respondents like Zohra, Ilhem and Hanane explicitly associate Arabic with their religious identity as they affirm:

Zohra *“Very important for learning the Quran and everything that concerns our religion Islam”*⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *En tant que musulmans il est primordial pour nous de comprendre le texte de Coran et cela ne le sera jamais possible, si on ne maîtrise pas la langue arabe avec laquelle le Coran était révélé. Et afin de donner à nos enfants cette possibilité on inscrit nos enfants dès leurs jeunes âge dans des écoles ou mosquées pour pouvoir avoir cette connaissance.*

⁶⁹ *Très important dans l'apprentissage du Coran et tout ce qui concerne notre religion l'Islam.*

Ilhem “*The language of the Quran and religion that is obligatory to learn*”⁷⁰

Hanane “*The language of Islam, messengers, believers..etc*”⁷¹

Other respondents point out to the high international status of Arabic and its outstanding literary heritage. For example: Mounia “*a universally renowned language*”⁷², Dalila “*Standard Arabic is a very important language, it is the language of the Quran and is ranked among the top languages in the world*”⁷³

Besides the religious attachment to Standard Arabic, parents view Algerian Arabic as a key to maintaining cultural roots and ethnic identification, as it closely connects their children to their Algerian heritage and distinguishes them ethnically and culturally. Farid emphasizes that Algerian Arabic is ‘*A vernacular of everyday communication and an indicator of Algerian identity*’⁷⁴, while Faiza highlights its importance in maintaining intergenerational communication with Algerians abroad. Sakina also considers Algerian Arabic as a marker of identity and belonging, she says that it represents “*My origins, my roots*”⁷⁵. Similarly, Dalila declares that Algerian Arabic is: “*Our culture, our pride, our history, our roots*”⁷⁶

Such beliefs contribute to the prioritization of Standard Arabic in religious and formal contexts, while Algerian Arabic remains central to family interactions and cultural continuity. These ideological distinctions influence parental decisions regarding language transmission and education, reinforcing the perception that Arabic proficiency is not only a linguistic asset but also a religious and cultural duty.

Another interesting finding is that many parents recognize the importance of Arabic and French as an integral part of their dual identity. While some recognise bilingualism as an enrichment, others express concerns about a language shift towards French, which may threaten Arabic transmission. Nevertheless, some parents regret not speaking Arabic enough with their children. They express frustration, acknowledging that French dominates despite their efforts. Others feel pressured by educational institutions to prioritize French for academic success.

⁷⁰ *La langue du Coran et de la religion musulmane qu'il est obligatoire d'apprendre.*

⁷¹ *La langue de l'islam. Des messagers, des croyants etc.*

⁷² *Une langue mondialement reconnue*

⁷³ *La langue Arabe standard est très importante c'est la langue du coran et elle est classée parmi les premières langues dans le monde*

⁷⁴ *Une langue vernaculaire de communication dans la vie quotidienne et un support identitaire de l'algérianité .*

⁷⁵ *Mes origines mes racines.*

⁷⁶ *Notre culture, notre fierté, notre histoire, nos racine*

Impact of parental beliefs parental ideologies directly influence language practices and management strategies. Those who see Arabic as essential for identity and religion tend to implement explicit strategies to maintain it (e.g., Arabic schools, home language policies). Conversely, those who prioritize French for academic success are more likely to unintentionally contribute to a language shift.

This complex interplay of beliefs, identity, and practicality shapes the linguistic future of second-generation Algerians in France.

Some parents regard their heritage language as an important resource that the children could take advantage of in their academic advancement and future career. Findings reveal that the majority of Algerian parents view bilingualism as the ideal linguistic outcome for their children. They express their preference for bilingualism for their children in terms of two rationales: 1) bilingualism enhances the maintenance of a family and ethnic culture, and 2) bilingualism can offer their children an advantage in the labor market.

V.5 CONCLUSION

This final chapter has synthesized the key findings of the study, offering a comprehensive interpretation of how language practices, management strategies, and ideologies interact in the context of Arabic transmission among Algerian migrant families in France. The results highlight the complexities of heritage language maintenance, revealing both the persistent efforts of parents to sustain Arabic and the challenges posed by the dominant societal and educational structures that favor French.

A significant takeaway from this research is the apparent gap between parental aspirations for Arabic transmission and actual language practices within the home. While parents express a strong ideological commitment to Arabic, their daily interactions with their children often reflect a shifting linguistic landscape where French assumes a more dominant role. This shift can be attributed to multiple factors, including the pressures of schooling, social integration, and the broader monolingual policies of the host country.

Additionally, the findings underscore the role of explicit and implicit family language management strategies in shaping intergenerational language transmission. Some families adopt structured approaches, such as enrolling their children in Arabic classes or reinforcing Arabic through transnational ties, while others rely on more informal methods or adopt a laissez-faire policy in response to competing linguistic demands. Ultimately, this study

emphasizes the need for greater institutional support, community initiatives, and family awareness to strengthen Arabic maintenance efforts.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

CONCLUDING REMARKS

▪ SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study has explored the transmission of Arabic within Algerian migrant families in France, focusing on three key dimensions: language practices, language ideologies, and language management strategies. By examining these interconnected aspects, the research has provided valuable insights into how families deal with the complex challenges of maintaining their heritage language in a predominantly French-speaking environment. In doing so, it sheds light on the broader sociolinguistic dynamics at play in migrant communities, where language maintenance often competes with the pressures of linguistic assimilation.

The findings reveal that while many Algerian families express a deep emotional and cultural attachment to Arabic—often viewing it as an integral part of their identity and heritage—their actual language practices frequently reflect an ongoing shift toward French, particularly among younger generations. This discrepancy between ideology and practice underscores the multifaceted nature of language transmission, where intentions to maintain the heritage language do not always translate into consistent use within the household. Children, in particular, tend to adopt French as their dominant language in daily interactions, a trend driven by their schooling, peer relationships, and exposure to the broader linguistic landscape of France.

Several interrelated factors contribute to this linguistic shift, including the influence of the French education system, which prioritizes French as the language of instruction and social integration. The school environment is one of the first and most significant domains in which children of migrant families come into direct and sustained contact with the mainstream language. While they may have been exposed to the dominant language prior to starting school—through television programs, interactions in shops, or encounters in public spaces—formal education marks a critical turning point in their linguistic development. Unlike previous passive exposure, school presents an environment where active engagement in the dominant language is not only encouraged but expected. From the very first day, children must use the mainstream language as their primary means of communication, as it is the sole language of instruction, interaction with teachers, and engagement with peers.

For many children from migrant backgrounds, this early and continuous immersion in the dominant language quickly establishes it as their default mode of communication outside

the home. The language of the school, which at first may be unfamiliar or secondary to their home language, rapidly becomes normalized as the language of social interaction. Through daily conversations, group activities, and playtime interactions, the dominant language becomes their preferred medium for speaking with classmates and, often, even with their siblings at home. As a result, many children begin to shift toward using the dominant language not only in educational settings but also in their everyday social lives, leading to a gradual transformation in their linguistic repertoires.

This linguistic shift frequently extends beyond peer interactions and begins to reshape language use within the family. In many migrant households, the dominant language infiltrates home life as children bring elements of their school experience into family conversations. Siblings may discuss school assignments, friendships, and extracurricular activities in French, reinforcing their comfort with the language. Over time, this linguistic influence can extend to parent-child interactions as well. Parents, particularly those who work in environments where the mainstream language is predominantly or exclusively used, may find themselves increasingly using the dominant language with their children. This shift can be driven by practical reasons—such as assisting with homework or participating in school-related discussions—but it can also stem from the children's preference for speaking the mainstream language, which they associate with academic success and social integration.

As a result, the home—traditionally a stronghold for heritage language maintenance—can become a bilingual or even predominantly mainstream-language environment, depending on the family's level of language reinforcement strategies. In some cases, this transition happens subtly and gradually, with parents accommodating their children's linguistic choices to facilitate communication. In other cases, it may be more intentional, as parents recognize the importance of their children mastering the dominant language for educational and professional opportunities. Regardless of the pathway, this process highlights the crucial role that school plays not only in shaping children's linguistic identities but also in influencing broader patterns of language use and transmission within migrant families.

Additionally, broader societal pressures, such as the perceived necessity of French for academic success, career advancement, and social mobility, further reinforce the dominance of French in the lives of migrant children. Parental involvement in language transmission also plays a crucial role; while some parents make conscious efforts to reinforce Arabic at home—through speaking, reading, and enrolling children in complementary Arabic classes—others

struggle to maintain consistent language practices due to external pressures, time constraints, or their own evolving linguistic habits.

The study also highlights the potential role of bilingual education and the cognitive advantages associated with maintaining Arabic alongside French. Research has shown that bilingualism offers numerous cognitive, academic, and cultural benefits, enhancing children's linguistic awareness, problem-solving skills, and overall academic performance. In this context, structured language support—whether through heritage language programs, community-based Arabic instruction, or formal bilingual education initiatives—can serve as a crucial mechanism for fostering Arabic proficiency among second- and third-generation migrants. Such support not only helps sustain Arabic as a living language within families but also strengthens children's linguistic and cultural ties to their heritage.

In terms of language ideologies, Arabic is widely regarded as a fundamental pillar of cultural and religious identity among Algerian migrant families in France. It serves as a marker of heritage, a connection to ancestral roots, and, for many, a vehicle for religious practices, particularly in the context of Quranic education and Islamic teachings. However, within this broad consensus on the importance of Arabic, notable differences emerge regarding attitudes toward its different varieties—Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic. These distinctions play a crucial role in shaping how families conceptualize and prioritize their language transmission efforts.

For some families, Standard Arabic is perceived as the more prestigious and "authentic" form of the language due to its formal status, its role in education, and its deep association with religious texts. Parents who emphasize Standard Arabic often do so with the belief that proficiency in the standard form grants their children greater access to Arabic literary traditions, religious knowledge, and even potential educational and professional opportunities in the Arab world. In contrast, other families prioritize Algerian Arabic as the primary vehicle for home communication, viewing it as a natural, familiar, and emotionally significant mode of expression that fosters a sense of belonging within the family and community. For these families, Algerian Arabic represents a direct link to their origins, regional identity, and everyday interactions, making it an essential part of their linguistic and cultural continuity.

These ideological perspectives significantly shape family language policies and influence the specific strategies parents adopt in their efforts to maintain the heritage language.

Some families take an active role in promoting Arabic at home, ensuring its regular use in daily conversations and reinforcing it through structured learning methods, such as Arabic classes, religious schooling, or media consumption in Arabic. Others adopt a more flexible or passive stance, allowing language use to evolve naturally without strict reinforcement, leading to varying degrees of Arabic retention among younger generations.

From a language management perspective, the study identifies a broad spectrum of strategies that families employ to support Arabic transmission. These range from explicit, structured efforts—such as enrolling children in Arabic courses, setting rules about speaking Arabic at home, or integrating Arabic into religious instruction—to more implicit, *laissez-faire* approaches where language use is left to individual preference. The effectiveness of these strategies often depends on external factors, including the family's access to Arabic-language educational resources, their social networks, and the frequency of travel to Algeria.

Families who travel regularly to Algeria, for example, tend to have higher success rates in maintaining Arabic proficiency among their children. Immersion in an Arabic-speaking environment, even temporarily, provides children with valuable linguistic reinforcement and cultural exposure that is difficult to replicate in France. Additionally, families with strong ties to Arabic-speaking social networks—whether through extended family, religious institutions, or community-based initiatives—are often better positioned to sustain intergenerational language transmission.

Conversely, families with limited opportunities for Arabic exposure—whether due to financial constraints, lack of access to Arabic schooling, or social environments dominated by French—frequently struggle to maintain their children's proficiency in the heritage language. In such cases, French gradually becomes the dominant language at home, particularly among siblings, further accelerating the shift away from Arabic.

Despite these challenges, the study highlights the resilience and adaptability of families as they navigate their sociolinguistic realities. Many parents express a strong commitment to heritage language maintenance, even in the face of external pressures, and actively seek creative ways to reinforce Arabic and sustain cultural ties. However, the findings also underscore the need for broader supportive measures to aid migrant families in their efforts. Improved Arabic language education in France, including greater access to high-quality heritage language programs, could provide structural support for families striving to maintain bilingualism.

Additionally, community-based initiatives, such as language-focused cultural centers, heritage language playgroups, and digital resources tailored to bilingual children, could play a crucial role in sustaining Arabic proficiency.

For families with limited access to frequent visits to Algeria, alternative methods of reinforcing Arabic and maintaining cultural ties become particularly important. Virtual exchanges with relatives, online Arabic learning platforms, Arabic-language media consumption, and participation in cultural or religious events can help bridge the gap and provide children with meaningful exposure to their heritage language.

Ultimately, this study underscores the need for a more nuanced understanding of heritage language transmission, recognizing both the challenges and opportunities that shape the linguistic trajectories of migrant families. While French remains the dominant language in public and educational spheres, the desire to preserve Arabic reflects a broader effort to maintain cultural continuity across generations. Moving forward, further research and targeted policy initiatives could play a vital role in supporting bilingualism and ensuring that heritage languages like Arabic continue to thrive within multilingual migrant communities. This the study emphasizes the importance of both individual and collective efforts in sustaining Arabic within the Algerian migrant community in France. While family strategies are central to language maintenance, institutional support and community-based initiatives can play a transformative role in ensuring that Arabic remains a living and vital part of the linguistic repertoire of future generations.

▪ **RESEARCH LIMITATIONS**

This study does not claim to be representative of all Algerian migrants in France. Rather, it offers an initial insight into Algerian parents' linguistic backgrounds, their daily language use and practices, as well as their attitudes and representations regarding the Arabic heritage language in the French context. Given the diversity of the Algerian migrant population in terms of regional origin, socio-economic status, educational background, and migration trajectory, a more comprehensive and large-scale investigation is necessary to capture the full spectrum of linguistic experiences within this community. This highlights the need for further research, particularly through the collection and analysis of more extensive quantitative data, to better understand patterns of language transmission, use, and maintenance among Algerian families residing in France.

One of the key limitations of this study is its relatively small sample size (N = 56). While the data collected provide valuable empirical evidence, caution must be exercised when attempting to generalize the findings to the entire Algerian migrant population. A larger, more diverse sample would enable researchers to draw stronger conclusions regarding broader trends in language practices and attitudes within this community.

Another limitation is the reliance on a single research method, namely, a questionnaire survey. Although surveys are useful for gathering structured and comparable data, they do not always allow for an in-depth exploration of respondents' perspectives, motivations, and underlying ideologies. Ideally, this study should have been complemented by additional qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, focus groups, and on-site ethnographic observations. These methods would have provided a richer understanding of the complexities surrounding language use and transmission within Algerian migrant families, particularly in relation to parental strategies, intergenerational dynamics, and external sociolinguistic pressures. Future research incorporating a mixed-methods approach would be highly beneficial in addressing these gaps and capturing a more nuanced picture of heritage language maintenance.

Despite these limitations, this study provides valuable insights into the dynamics of heritage language maintenance and shift within a multilingual society such as France. By shedding light on the ways in which Algerian families manage their linguistic repertoires in a context where multiple languages coexist, our research contributes to a broader understanding of the challenges and opportunities associated with heritage language preservation. The findings underscore the importance of linguistic diversity as an integral and routine facet of contemporary societies, with significant potential to be further explored and harnessed in support of multilingualism.

Furthermore, the insights gained from this study regarding the interplay between linguistic environment, speakers, and heritage languages offer a deeper understanding of the complexities involved in language maintenance and shift. These findings are not only relevant to the Algerian migrant community but may also have broader implications for other minority and migrant communities facing similar linguistic challenges. As such, we hope that this research will serve as a foundation for further academic inquiry and policy discussions aimed at supporting heritage language transmission and fostering an inclusive multilingual society.

▪ **RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

While this study provides valuable insights, several avenues for future research remain open:

1. Longitudinal Studies – Future research could track language use and transmission over time to better understand shifts in linguistic behavior across generations. This would provide a clearer picture of how family language practices evolve in response to external factors such as schooling, social networks, and media exposure.
2. Qualitative Approaches – Given the reliance on self-reported questionnaire data in this study, qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews or ethnographic observations could provide deeper insights into family language dynamics, parental decision-making, and the emotional dimensions of language transmission.
3. Comparative Studies – Examining Arabic transmission in other migrant communities in France or other European countries could help determine whether the patterns observed in Algerian families are unique or part of broader trends in heritage language maintenance.
4. Impact of Formal Arabic Education – Further research could assess the effectiveness of Arabic language programs in France, particularly in complementary schools, mosques, or online learning platforms, and their role in reinforcing language transmission.
5. The Role of Digital Media – As digital resources play an increasingly significant role in language learning, future studies could explore how online platforms, social media, and Arabic-language entertainment influence language retention and attitudes toward Arabic among younger generations.
6. Linguistic Identity and Well-being – Investigating the psychological and social impact of language loss or maintenance on children's identity, self-esteem, and sense of belonging could provide important insights into the broader implications of language shift.

▪ **CONTRIBUTION**

Ultimately, this research contributes to the broader understanding of heritage language transmission in migrant contexts and highlights the ongoing negotiation between linguistic identity, cultural belonging, and linguistic integration pressures. By examining the specific case of Algerian migrant families in France, the study provides valuable insights into how language practices, beliefs, and management strategies interact in shaping intergenerational language maintenance.

Beyond its theoretical contributions, this research has practical implications for educators, policymakers, and community organizations working to support heritage language preservation. It underscores the importance of creating supportive linguistic environments that acknowledge the sociopolitical and ideological challenges heritage language speakers face. The study also emphasizes the need for bilingual education initiatives, culturally responsive pedagogy, and family-oriented language policies that empower parents to sustain Arabic within the home while balancing their children's linguistic adaptation to the host society.

Furthermore, by recognizing both the challenges and opportunities that arise in maintaining Arabic in the diaspora, this research lays a foundation for further scholarly inquiry into the dynamics of minority language sustainability. It opens pathways for comparative studies on other migrant communities facing similar linguistic dilemmas, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of language transmission in transnational settings. In doing so, it calls attention to the broader sociolinguistic and educational stakes involved in heritage language maintenance, ultimately advocating for a more inclusive and multilingual approach to migration and language policy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDICES

FAMILY USE OF LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS	
19 IN WHICH LANGUAGE, DIALECT OR "PATOIS" DID YOUR PARENTS USUALLY SPEAK TO YOU WHEN YOU WERE A CHILD, ABOUT FIVE YEARS OLD?	
YOUR FATHER or the man who brought you up	1. usually spoke to you in... 2. and also in...
YOUR MOTHER or the woman who brought you up	1. usually spoke to you in... 2. and also in...
<i>Examples: Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Creole, Flemish, Occitan, Platt, Provençal, Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, sign language</i> • For FRENCH, just write "F" • <i>For dialects or "patois," specify area (ex. Picardy, Béarn, Rouergue, Moselle)</i> • <i>For foreign languages, do not write the country, but the language.</i> <i>Examples: do not write "Algerian, Moroccan, Senegalese, etc. but Arabic, Kabyle, Wolof, etc.</i>	
20 IN WHICH LANGUAGE, DIALECT OR "PATOIS" DID YOU SPEAK TO YOUR YOUNG CHILDREN WHEN THEY WERE ABOUT FIVE (or speak to them nowadays if they are younger than five)? If you still live with your parents, check this box: ☐	
1. You usually spoke to them in... 2. and also in...	
21 And nowadays, DO YOU SOMETIMES USE A LANGUAGE OTHER THAN FRENCH IN EVERYDAY SITUATIONS (e.g. with spouse/partner, relatives, friends, colleagues, shopkeepers...)?	YES ☐ 1 → If yes: Which one, or which ones? NO ☐ 2
22 DO YOU WISH, IN THE FUTURE, TO RETURN TO LIVE IN THE REGION OF YOUR CHILDHOOD (whether in France or abroad) ?	
☐ 1 YES ☐ 2 NO ☐ 3 You don't know ☐ 4 You already live there	

33f, page 4

Questionnaire

Dans le cadre d'élaboration d'une thèse de doctorat en sociolinguistique, nous menons une enquête sur les représentations et l'utilisation de la langue arabe dans un contexte d'immigration. Nous vous serions reconnaissants de participer à cette enquête en remplissant ce questionnaire. Toutes les données recueillies restent confidentielles et seront traitées de manière anonyme. (Ce questionnaire est destiné aux familles algériennes vivant en France ayant au moins un enfant scolarisé et l'arabe comme langue maternelle d'au moins l'un des parents)

* Indique une question obligatoire

Informations Personnelles

1. 1.Prénom *

2. 2.Sexe *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Féminin ☐

Masculin

3. 3.Age *

4. 4.Lieu de naissance *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Algérie ☐ France

5. 5.Lieu de résidence (Précisez la ville) *

6. 6.Combien d'années avez-vous vécu en France ? *

7. 7. Votre Niveau d'étude *

8. 8.Votre langue maternelle *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Arabe Algérien ☐

Français

9. 9.Langue maternelle du conjoint *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Arabe Algérien ☐

Français

10. Nombre des enfants *

11. Age des enfants *

12. Lieu de naissance des enfants *

Pratiques Langagières en Famille

13. 1-Comment estimez- vous parler l'arabe algérien (dialecte)? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Très bien
 ☐ Bien
☐ Plus ou moins bien
 ☐ Mal
☐ Très mal

14. 2-Comment estimez- vous parler la langue française? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Très bien
 ☐ Bien
☐ Plus ou moins bien
 ☐ Mal
☐ Très mal

15. 3-Comment estimez- vous parler l'arabe standard? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Très bien ☐ Bien
☐ Plus ou moins bien ☐ Mal
☐ Très mal

16. 4-Avez-vous pensé à utiliser l'arabe standard avec vos enfants à la maison? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Oui ☐ Non

17. Veuillez justifier votre réponse. *

18. 5- Est ce que vous utilisez l'arabe algérien avec votre conjoint *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Toujours ☐
Souvent ☐ Parfois ☐
Rarement ☐ Jamais

19. 6- Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez le plus souvent avec vos enfants avant leur scolarisation ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Arabe algérien ☐ Arabe
standard ☐ Français

20. 7-Et maintenant s'ils sont scolarisés, utilisez-vous toujours cette même langue? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

21. Veuillez nous dire pourquoi? *

22. 8- Dans votre famille, quelle est la langue la plus utilisée? *

Une seule réponse possible.

Arabe plus que le français Français plus que l'arabe

Autant d'arabe que du français Autre :

☐
☐

23. 9-En général, comment évaluez-vous le niveau de vos enfants en arabe algérien? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Très bon niveau ☐ Bon

niveau

☐ Un niveau moyen ☐ Un niveau

faible ☐ Un niveau très faible ☐

Nul

24. 10-En général, comment évaluez-vous le niveau de vos enfants en langue arabe standard? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Très bon niveau ☐ Bon

niveau

☐ Un niveau moyen ☐ Un niveau

faible ☐ Un niveau très faible ☐

Nul

25. 11-Est ce que vous êtes satisfait(e) du niveau de vos enfants en langue arabe standard? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Très satisfait(e) ☐ Plutôt

satisfait(e)

☐ Plutôt pas satisfait(e) ☐ Pas du tout

satisfait(e)

26. 12-Est ce que vous êtes satisfait(e) du niveau de vos enfants en arabe algérien? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Très satisfait(e) ☐ Plutôt

satisfait(e)

☐ Plutôt pas satisfait(e) ☐ Pas du tout

satisfait(e)

27. 13-Pensez-vous que vos enfants exercent une influence sur le choix de la langue à la maison *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Certainement ☐

Probablement ☐ Je ne sais pas

☐ Probablement pas ☐

Certainement pas

28. Merci de nous expliquer comment? *

29. 14-En France, connaissez-vous des familles algériennes qui utilisent l'arabe standard avec leurs enfants à la maison? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

30. Si oui, que pensez vous de leur choix?

Transmission de la langue maternelle

31. 1-Etes-vous d'accord pour la transmission de la langue arabe aux autres générations nées en France? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

32. Si oui, quelle variante? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Arabe standard ☐ Arabe
algérien ☐ Les deux

33. 2-Avez- vous décidé avec votre conjoint de la langue que vous utiliserez pour communiquer avec vos enfants? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

34. Si oui, quelle langue avez-vous choisi? pour quel motif?

35. 3-Quelle importance accordez-vous à la transmission de l'arabe standard à vos enfants? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Très importante
 ☐ Importante
☐ Plutôt pas importante
 ☐ Pas du tout importante

36. 4-Quelle importance accordez-vous à la transmission de l'arabe algérien à vos enfants? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Très importante
 ☐ Importante
☐ Plutôt pas importante
 ☐ Pas du tout importante

37. 5-Quelle importance accordez-vous à l'enseignement de l'arabe standard en France? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Très importante ☐ Importante
☐ Plutôt pas importante ☐ Pas du tout importante

38. 6-Avez- vous des stratégies/ méthodes particulières pour transmettre la langue arabe à vos enfants? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

39. Si oui, lesquelles?

40. 7-Pensez-vous que vos enfants ont perdu leur langue d'origine? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

Représentations Linguistiques

41. 1-Que représente pour vous l'arabe algérien? *

42. 2-Que représente pour vous l'arabe standard? *

43. 3- Vous vous estimez le plus à l'aise lorsque vous parlez en *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Arabe algérien ☐ Arabe
standard ☐ Français
☐ Les deux variantes de l'arabe ☐ Arabe
Algérien et Français

44. 4-A votre avis, quelle serait l'influence de l'apprentissage de l'arabe standard sur le parcours scolaire de vos enfants? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ favorable
☐ Plutôt favorable ☐ Neutre
☐ Plutôt défavorable ☐
défavorable

45. Pouvez- vous nous expliquer votre point de vue ? *

46. 5-En général , pensez-vous que la langue française est plus utile que la langue arabe? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

47. Veuillez justifier votre réponse. *

48. 6-Pensez-vous que la maitrise de la langue arabe (standard et/ou algérien) peut éventuellement être utile pour intégrer le marché du travail en France? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

49. Veuillez justifier votre réponse *

50. 7-Selon vous, l'utilisation de l'arabe algérien est-t-elle une intention pour exprimer l'appartenance à la communauté algérienne? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

51. Pouvez-vous nous expliquer votre point de vue *

52. 8- Lorsque vos enfants parlent en arabe algérien, vous vous sentez *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Très fier(e) ☐ Plutôt fier(e) ☐ Neutre ☐ Plutôt pas fier(e) ☐ Pas du tout fier(e)

53. 9- Lorsque vos enfants utilisent l'arabe standard, vous vous sentez *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Très fier(e) ☐ Plutôt fier(e) ☐ Neutre ☐ Plutôt pas fier(e) ☐ Pas du tout fier(e)

54. 10- Vous arrive t-il- de sentir un rejet lorsque vous utilisez la langue arabe en France? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Toujours ☐ Souvent ☐ Parfois ☐ Rarement ☐ Jamais

55. 11- L'emploi des deux langues arabe/français affiche-t-il une affirmation d'une double identité et culture ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐ Non

56. 12- Comment considérez-vous cette double appartenance? *

Une seule réponse possible.

Une richesse ☐ Une perturbation Autre :

☐
☐

57. Merci de nous expliquer votre point de vue *

58. 13-Faites-vous des voyages à votre pays d'origine? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Souvent
- ☐ Une fois tout les ans
- ☐ Une fois par an sur un temps égal ou inférieur
- ☐ Rarement
- ☐ Jamais

59. 14-Avez-vous un projet de retour dans votre pays d'origine? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui ☐

Non

60. Nous vous remercions pour le temps que vous nous avez accordé afin de répondre à ce questionnaire. Si vous avez d'autres commentaires ou suggestions en relation avec nos questions, n'hésitez pas à nous en faire part.
