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***Language Planning and Policy in the Algerian Public Sphere:  
Analysis of Commercial Signage, Case of Two  
Oran Districts***

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Fulfilment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Doctorate 'LMD' in Sociolinguistics**

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## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that the present thesis, which I submit in candidacy for the degree of Doctorate in Sociolinguistics, is entirely my personal work. In fact, it has been written under my supervisor's guidance. I also announce that any research work that was previously conducted by any other author has been properly acknowledged.

Signed: Nakla Houcine Gherici.

Date: June 2020.

## **Dedication**

*To my precious parents, the candles of my life.*

*To my beloved wife.*

*To my dear brother Zine El Abidine and his wife.*

*To my dear sisters Fatma and Assia.*

*To my dear nephews Anes and Rayen.*

*To my uncles and aunts.*

*To all my family.*

*To the memory of my grandparents.*

*To my best friend Boutaleb Abd El Hadi.*

*To my colleague, friend and brother Nasri Kamel*

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## Abstract

The present research work examines the linguistic landscape of Oran city. It attempts to scrutinise the languages used on the different signs found in the city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district with the aim of finding similarities and differences between them. It also tries to investigate the codes appearing on bottom-up signboards vis-à-vis top-down items in addition to shop/ business owners' and clients' attitudes towards language use in these two public spheres. That is, this dissertation's aim is to discern whether top-down language policies that are fostering the use of Modern Standard Arabic are reflected in bottom-up practices. Besides, it aims at probing the reasons behind shop owners' use of some codes instead of others. Yet, this study is based on a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods using photography, questionnaires, observation and interviews that were conducted with some shop owners and customers encountered in those two sites. In fact, though they are located in the same city, the collected data unveil some discrepancies in terms of language visibility. In Oran city centre, a variety of languages occur on the façades of diverse shops and restaurants, viz. Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber, French, English, Italian and Turkish since it is a commercial area attracting plenty of Algerians coming from other cities as well as other people with different origins including businessmen and tourists with divergent ages, genders, cultures and intellectual levels. Each of these languages is used for some reasons and to attract different clients. On the other hand, *Sidi El Houari* is a working class area whose linguistic landscape (henceforth LL) is typically limited to Modern Standard Arabic, French, English and Spanish. It is worth noting that this thesis brings to light the Arabisation policy implemented by the authorities and the decree issued by the Ministry of Commerce requiring the use of Modern Standard Arabic on signboards in addition to another optional code. Hence, the findings reveal that there is a certain inconsistency between private and public signs since Modern Standard Arabic is absent from a considerable number of signages, especially in downtown. Then, various individuals demonstrate positive attitudes towards language diversity, i.e. the visibility of a variety of tongues. In this age of globalisation which is characterised by the predominance of an international language like English, the distance between diverse nations has shrunk and Oran has turned into a metropolis whose public sphere is considered as an arena where the aforementioned languages compete with one another.

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## Key to Abbreviations and Acronyms

- AA:** Algerian Arabic  
**ALG:** Algerian Arabic  
**BC:** Before Christ.  
**CA:** Classical Arabic  
**CM:** Code-mixing  
**CS:** Code-switching  
**DA:** Algerian Dinar (an Algerian currency)  
**ESA:** Educated Spoken Arabic  
**FFS:** Socialist Forces Front  
**FLN:** National Liberation Front  
**FSA:** Formal Spoken Arabic  
**H:** High variety  
**ICTs:** Information and Communication Technologies  
**L:** Low variety  
**LL:** Linguistic Landscape  
**LLC:** Limited Liability Company.  
**LP:** Language Planning/ Policy  
**MSA:** Modern Standard Arabic  
**Pic:** Picture  
**SA:** Standard Arabic  
**SDH:** Sidi El Houari district  
**SMS:** Short Message Service  
**USB:** Universal Serial Bus  
**Wi-Fi:** Wireless Fidelity

## Phonetic Symbols

### ➤ Consonants

Arabic	IPA	Example	English Gloss
١	[ʔ]	[ʔelf]	One thousand
ب	[b]	[ber]	Innocent
ت	[t]	[tu:t]	Raspberry
ث	[θ]	[θʌʔr]	Revenge
ج	[dʒ]	[dʒbəl]	Mountain
ح	[ħ]	[ħob]	Love
خ	[χ]	[χ a:l]	Uncle
د	[d]	[dɒb]	Bear
ذ	[ð]	[ðeɪl]	Tail
ر	[r]	[rɑ:s]	Head
ز	[z]	[zɪtu:n]	Olives
س	[s]	[smi:n]	Fat
ش	[ʃ]	[ʃəms]	Sun
ص	[s]	[ʂʌbu:n]	Soap
ض	[d]	[dʒi:f]	Weak
ط	[t]	[tʃi:l]	Tall
ظ	[ð]	[ðɒlm]	Unfairness
ع	[ɕ]	[ɕnəb]	Grape
غ	[ɣ]	[ɣɑ:z]	Gaz
ف	[f]	[fɑ:r]	Mouse
ق	[q]	[qɪ'ʂʌ]	Story
ك	[k]	[ktæb]	Book
ل	[l]	[li:l]	Night
م	[m]	[mɔɪrɒf]	Spoon
ن	[n]	[nʌhr]	River
ه	[h]	[hɒdu:ʔ]	Calmness
و	[w]	[wɒ dɔ:ʔ]	Ablution
ي	[j]	[lju:m]	Today

### ➤ Vowels

IPA	Example	English Gloss
[ɪ]	[ɪslɜ:m]	Islam
[i:]	[zi:t]	Oil
[ɜ:]	[klɜ:t]	She ate
[ə]	[mɒlħ]	Salt
[ʊ]	[skʊt]	Keep silent
[u:]	[gu:lhʌ]	Say it
[ɑ:]	[dʒɑ:r]	Neighbour
[ʌ]	[bħʌr]	Sea



# **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

## General Introduction

The Algerian linguistic case differs from many other countries' situations around the globe in terms of the coexistence of a number of languages and varieties. Indeed, these codes are used by different individuals in various regions and contexts for divergent purposes. They are Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber varieties, French and other tongues such as English, Spanish and Chinese which have also appeared due to some critical factors like colonisation and globalisation. In this vein, Tabory and Tabory (1987) argue that Algeria is under pressure owing to the fact that, in this country, different languages compete so as to be prominently utilised, viz. Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber varieties, French and English. Each of them has a certain status which is different from the others. This is what makes the Algerian linguistic situation a complicated one though diversity can sometimes be viewed positively when various tongues fulfil different people's daily needs. In fact, here, language would be considered as the source of plenty of problems instead of being a mere means of communication on the pretext that Algerians are still looking for their identity as well as the language(s) they are supposed to use. This specific case is considered as a useful lesson from which nations going through a similar experience may learn. Accordingly, in a public debate<sup>1</sup> bringing together Algerian think-tankers under the name NABNI<sup>2</sup>, a scholar acknowledged that Algeria is a unique society which is rife with problems (Dourari 2015). For him, the first issue to be cited has to do with identity since it has not been solved yet. The second one is that of language which led Algerians to tensions and conflicts rather than being a mere system of communication.

After numerous countries won their independence, language planning appeared as a remedial action aiming at finding solutions to language problems (Benrabah

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m0TUaHtgftw>

<sup>2</sup> NABNI is an acronym which stands for "Notre Algérie Bâtie sur de Nouvelles Idées" meaning "Our Algeria Built on New Ideas". In Modern Standard Arabic, this concept also means "we build".

2013). In fact, Language Planning and Policy (LPP) has gained an extensive interest from a great number of scholars throughout the world, viz. Haugen (1966), Fishman (1974), Benrabah (2007), Taleb Ibrahim (2004), Dourari (2015), Bouamrane (1986), Kaplan (2007), Baldauf (2007) and Spolsky (2004). They devoted their time and expertise to work on this field. It is worth mentioning that LPP is a sensitive issue that intersects with other various areas of research. It is often used to promote some languages over others. Indeed, decisions about which languages to be used and which ones people may sidestep are usually made by decision-makers, politicians and authorities all over the world. However, citizens have also a lot to say about it, i.e. people's choices and desires may also be taken into consideration. Though decision-makers do their best to rectify language problems and to stabilise language situations, there are still many other remaining linguistic issues because today people are living in a globalised world where they can be in contact with other different cultures and languages. The geographical borders are thus shrinking gradually and this has a great impact on language policies and individual practices as multilingualism has become a familiar phenomenon which has been normalised, globalised and accepted across the world.

More importantly, language is one of the main subjects that Algeria has dealt with since its independence in 1962. In fact, this North African country makes a fascinating context of research in this new world, especially in relation to LPP and Linguistic Landscape Studies. Interestingly enough, it is noticeable that discrepancies in terms of language use in the public space of Algeria in general and the province of Oran, which is this research context, in particular, are crystal clear and omnipresent due to the diversity of its residents and the people with different origins and competencies being encountered during this particular study. Yet, the LLs of Oran city centre and the working-class area named *Sidi El Houari* consist of both public and private signs, billboards and banners indicating names of streets, shops, restaurants, shopping centres and institutions. They may either be similar or different. In this context, top-down signs like those referring to street names and governmental institutions reflect the languages issued by the government which are mainly Modern Standard Arabic, French and sometimes Berber. Contrarily, bottom-up commercial signage that are designed by different people and merchants for their shops and restaurants display a variety of tongues such as Modern Standard Arabic, French,

English, Spanish and Algerian Arabic. It is worth pointing out that these languages are neither cited in the constitution nor officially recognised except for the first one. That is, they have neither an official nor a national status in Algeria. Some instances of language contact phenomena also appear on diverse walls of those sites' streets, namely borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing. Typically, all these signs and billboards are designed by the local authorities as well as other diverse individuals dealing with different businesses for the purpose of attracting particular types of customers.

Then, this social sphere is considered as an arena where several languages and varieties compete in order to impose their use over others. Here, one may refer to the languages and the variations people are supposed to use and the ones they may sidestep. This can be felt through the obvious presence of some languages such as Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, French and English instead of other tongues like Italian, Turkish and Portuguese, for instance. Linguistic landscapes (LL) thus serve as useful tools to send distinct messages related to language use in such regions. They may manifest the languages people prefer using and the ones that can be understood by the majority in various spaces and contexts in comparison with governmental preferences and policies. It is then noteworthy that LL is considered to be crucial as it has an impact on the actually implemented Language Policies. The opposite may also be true since a Language Policy can itself mould a certain linguistic landscape as it affects the variety of languages it consists of.

The stature that Oran has in Algeria is what made one focus on this specific city as a case study. It is considered as the second prominent city after the capital Algiers thanks to its importance in cultural, commercial and industrial domains. Besides, this city has been chosen to be under investigation owing to the fact that urban sites' walls are rich in languages which may attract the attention of people with varying competencies, originating from divergent backgrounds and using different tongues. This makes it a suitable place where sociolinguists can conduct researches on LL and LPP. In this age of globalisation, this big coastal city has become affected by changes like any other metropolitan area. Plenty of people tend to visit it after it has turned into a metropolis. Particularly, this dissertation aims at comparing the LL of Oran city-centre to that of *Sidi El Houari* district. The former is known for commercial activities

as it attracts a large number of people regardless where they live or where they come from, whereas the latter is famous for its old-fashioned structure. Interestingly, what is considered to be controversial is that, though languages like English and Spanish, for instance, do not occur on administrative and governmental signage since they are not officially referred to in the constitution, they can be seen everywhere in this city's public sphere as they have been considerably exhibited on bottom-up signs.

As far as this research is concerned, an underlying motive emerged from some visual experiences since there has been a high presence of some codes that have not previously been seen very much on the walls of the region of Oran, viz. Spanish, Turkish, Italian and English. Nowadays, Algerian Arabic can also be found in diverse places in a written form on the façades of different shops and restaurants notwithstanding that it is a spoken language. What is more, during the demonstrations<sup>3</sup> that took place in Oran, as in other Algerian cities, on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019 against Bouteflika's fifth presidential term, many languages have been noticed being used on the protestors' placards, namely, Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber varieties, French and English. In fact, people transcribed various texts in these different languages in order to express their dissatisfaction with the authorities and to show their whims. Yet, as said above, there is a kind of incompatibility between those visible languages and the ones displayed on the signs issued by governmental institutions. These are, in effect, the motivating factors to carry out a research in this city with an ambition to investigate the national and the city policies that are implemented by the government as well as the local authorities and to probe individual practices, i.e. the languages people prefer using in Oran city-centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. Basically, this allows one to know about whether there is a tension or rather compatibility between the languages imposed by the local authorities and the ones that people need and intend to use in this real globalised world. Then, this research work tries to enquire about the reasons lying behind this city's linguistic practices.

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<sup>3</sup> In Algeria, these protests have been planned to occur every Friday after it started on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019 as the demonstrators have stood up against the regime. These demonstrations are known as "El Hirak" /el hɪræk/, a word which means "movement" in Modern Standard Arabic.

The reflection upon the previous points allowed the formulation of four research questions that have been deemed crucial, taking into account the aforesaid sensitive issues of LPP and Linguistic Landscape Studies:

1. Are the linguistic landscapes of Oran city centre and *Sidi EL Houari* district similar or different?
2. Do these regions' LL reflect the language policy implemented by the state?
3. Why do business/ shop owners, in these areas, use some languages instead of others?
4. What attitudes do people hold towards the languages used on the walls, shop-fronts and the signs of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari*?

In an attempt to find answers to the aforementioned questions, several hypotheses have been formulated, which are:

- 1- The LL in Oran city centre differs from that of *Sidi El Houari*. Downtown is a commercial region whose public space is rich in languages such as Classical Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber, French, English, Chinese and Turkish owing to the fact that plenty of people from distinct places and origins visit it, whereas *Sidi El Houari*'s linguistic landscape does not contain all these languages since it is considered as an old and working-class district that may not attract all those people.
- 2- The LLs of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* do not reflect the language policy implemented by the state.
- 3- Shop-owners' choices of some languages instead of others depend on different criteria such as customers' ages, genders, origins, residences and their intellectual levels as well.
- 4- Unlike in *Sidi El Houari* district where few languages can be found, viz. Classical Arabic, Algerian Arabic and French, people feel comfortable and have a positive attitude towards language diversity in the city centre's linguistic landscape.

Methodologically speaking, this research is based on a mixed method where there is a mixture between quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to obtain trustworthy figures, and to be acquainted with people's attitudes and perceptions towards language use in LL. Basically, this study relies on photography when different

signs, which have been found in downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* district, were captured through the use of a digital camera so as to be analysed, be they monolingual, bilingual or multilingual ones. Both public and private signs' pictures were taken so that to be able to make a comparison between these two types of items and then to investigate top-down language policies and bottom-up practices. Accordingly, during analyses, the different languages that the stores and restaurants display and the various types of businesses each of them provides were taken into consideration. Besides, in the current work, there is a focus on semi-structured questionnaires that were administered to different shop owners who were encountered in both downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari*. Moreover, there are structured interviews that served as crucial instruments which allowed one to elicit trustful pieces of information that were needed. They were designed for diverse shop/business owners and clients who were selected randomly in the two sites mentioned above. This may help to know about the reasons lying behind people's choices of some languages to be put on their facades instead of others in addition to customers' attitudes and their preferences in terms of the languages displayed in those areas.

As for the structure of this thesis, there are five interrelated chapters. The first one is devoted to cope with the review of literature on language use, LL and LPP. It deals with definitions of the most important key concepts that are closely related to this field of study. It also tackles previous theories and scientific works that a number of scholars have previously dealt with in the realm of sociolinguistics. Moreover, this part discusses the process of globalisation due to the great impact it has on any region's linguistic landscape these days.

The second chapter has very much to do with the aspect of sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. It provides a brief historical background of this country in general and the city of Oran in particular. It also sheds light on this region's linguistic profile and the policy of Arabisation that have been implemented after independence in 1962. That is, this part exposes the long history that led to the appearance of different tongues and displays their status in this North African country. Besides, it refers to some linguistic phenomena that may protrude when a given language comes into contact with another one such as diglossia, bilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing. Then it ends with a glimpse of the city of Oran in this globalised world.

The third chapter focuses on the theoretical implications that have to do with the current research. It demonstrates the mixed method that has been emphasised and the different steps that one went through while enquiring into the LLs of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. Yet, it discusses the procedure pursued to investigate governmental and private signs in these two places, i.e. top-down (state and local) versus bottom-up (private undertaking) language policies. It also sheds light on the target population as well as this study's context and objectives. At this stage of the dissertation, numerous motivating factors for tackling this work and the different tools emphasised for data collection are also elucidated thoroughly.

The fourth chapter is considered as an analytical part that assesses and interprets the data collected by use of four chief instruments, vis. questionnaires, interviews, photography and observation. Indeed, it presents figures and charts for the purpose of illustrating and clarifying the main result that were obtained. Accordingly, all what was observed during this fieldwork has been depicted and the photographs that were taken in the two sites under investigation have been classified according to the types of signs they show and the languages they contain. Then, the answers obtained from the questionnaires and interviews that were conducted with shop owners and customers have been interpreted and explained in details.

The last chapter involves an investigation of top-down language policies vis-à-vis bottom-up practices. That is, it discusses the national and the local policies that have been implemented by the government and the way the local authorities regulate language visibility in the public sphere of Oran. Furthermore, it has to do with individual practices, i.e. the way shop/business owners utilise language(s) on their façades and signboards. This may bring to light whether merchants and business owners adhere to the regulations and respect the policies imposed by the local authorities or not. In the end, this chapter provides some suggestions and recommendations that may help to have a coherent and cohesive LL reflecting the Algerian cultural identity and, at the same time, making it easier for diverse people to comprehend the various texts appearing on the different signs that this particular LL is made of in an era of globalisation. This part even attempts to orientate one towards possible future research and directions related to LPP and LL studies so as to make a contribution to the development of these interrelated fields.



# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

## Chapter One: Review of the Literature

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### **1.1. Introduction**

It is necessary to define some specific concepts like language, dialect, speech community, ethnicity and identity since this research work is basically tackling a sociolinguistic issue which intertwines with all these crucial terms. Hence, this chapter is a literature review that sheds light on a number of fundamental key concepts which are closely related to the field of Language Planning and Policy as well as Linguistic Landscape studies. It also discusses important language contact phenomena that can be encountered in the public sphere, viz. bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia, code-switching and borrowing. Besides, this part elucidates the process of globalization owing to the great impact it has on the linguistic landscape of any region these days.

### **1.2. Language Defined**

Years ago, linguists like Sapir (1921) defined *language* but focused only on its communicative function. He claimed that “*language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols*” (qtd. in Logan 2007: 26). According to this scholar, language is what characterises human beings on earth. Its use makes them different from animals, i.e. the species which are unable to speak. It is in fact claimed to be used so as to convey messages, to communicate thoughts and to express feelings. Then, it is hard for anyone to imagine or spend his/ her day without using a language. Yet, this language is not considered as an innate means of communication; however, it is something that people learn during childhood.

Language plays a major role in people’s lives as it mirrors their own identities within various social groups. One can use it to exhibit his thoughts and to interact with others. That is, using a particular language helps people fulfil their needs and facilitates their lives since it allows them to blend in and to live sociably within a

given society. It is utilised to talk about one's desires, intentions and experiences. Hence, children are being socialised and acquire this language at an early age. In this regard, Widdowson (1996) explains that:

*Language certainly figures centrally in our lives. We discover our identity as individuals and social beings when we acquire it during childhood. It serves as a means of cognition and communication: it enables us to think for ourselves and to cooperate with other people in our community. It provides for present needs and future plans, and at the same time carries with it the impression of things past.*

(Widdowson 1996: 3)

According to the third edition of Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary<sup>4</sup> (2019), language is "a system of communication consisting of sounds, words and grammar, or the system of communication used by people in a particular country or type of work". Online English Oxford Dictionaries<sup>5</sup> (2019) also define this term and claim that it is "the method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way". Language is thus a communicative means that characterizes human beings living in a particular region. These two dictionaries explain that it can be found in both oral and scriptural forms. In other words, people can either use it orally or transcribe it by hand for the purpose of conversing with one another and discussing various subjects. In the same vein, language has been described by Crystal and Robins (2018) in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*<sup>6</sup> as:

*A system of conventional spoken, manual, or written symbols by means of which human beings, as members of a social group and participants in its culture, express themselves. The functions of language include communication, the expression of identity, play, imaginative expression, and emotional release.*

That is, people use language as a tool to evince their integration into a given society. It also helps them to build relations, to state their inner feelings and to express their desires explicitly. In this sense, any individual can turn abstract thoughts and knowledge which reside in his mind into uttered words or written texts. According to

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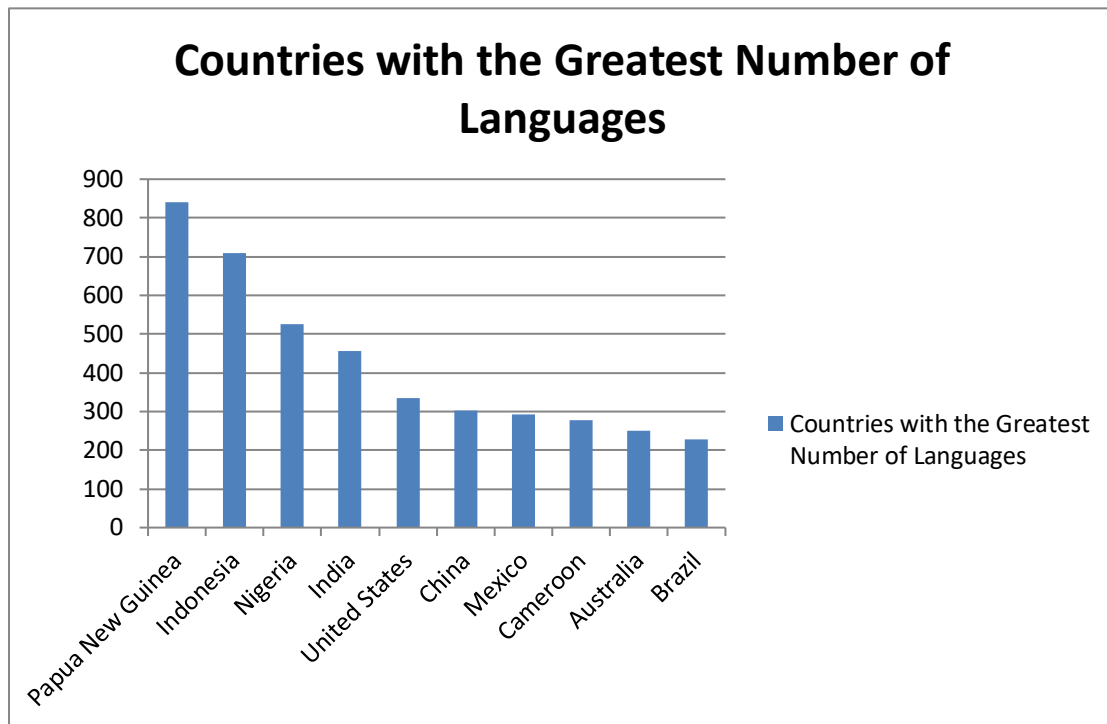
<sup>4</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org>

<sup>5</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/language>.

Fortin (2008: 82), nearly 7000 diverse languages exist all around the globe. In fact, there is a number of varied cultures as people speak different languages in diverse regions. Fifty percent of the countries in the world give one or several tongues the official status and a great number of their inhabitants frequently use these languages when they speak.

Languages are not spread in a similar manner around the world. Indeed, their use varies from one place to another. The ten countries where the greatest number of languages are spoken are Papua New Guinea with 841, Indonesia with 710, Nigeria 526, India 455, United States 334, China 302, Mexico 292, Cameroon 278, Australia 250 and Brazil with a number of 228 tongues<sup>7</sup>. The following bar-graph (figure 1.1) represents the ten languages where the most languages are utilised.



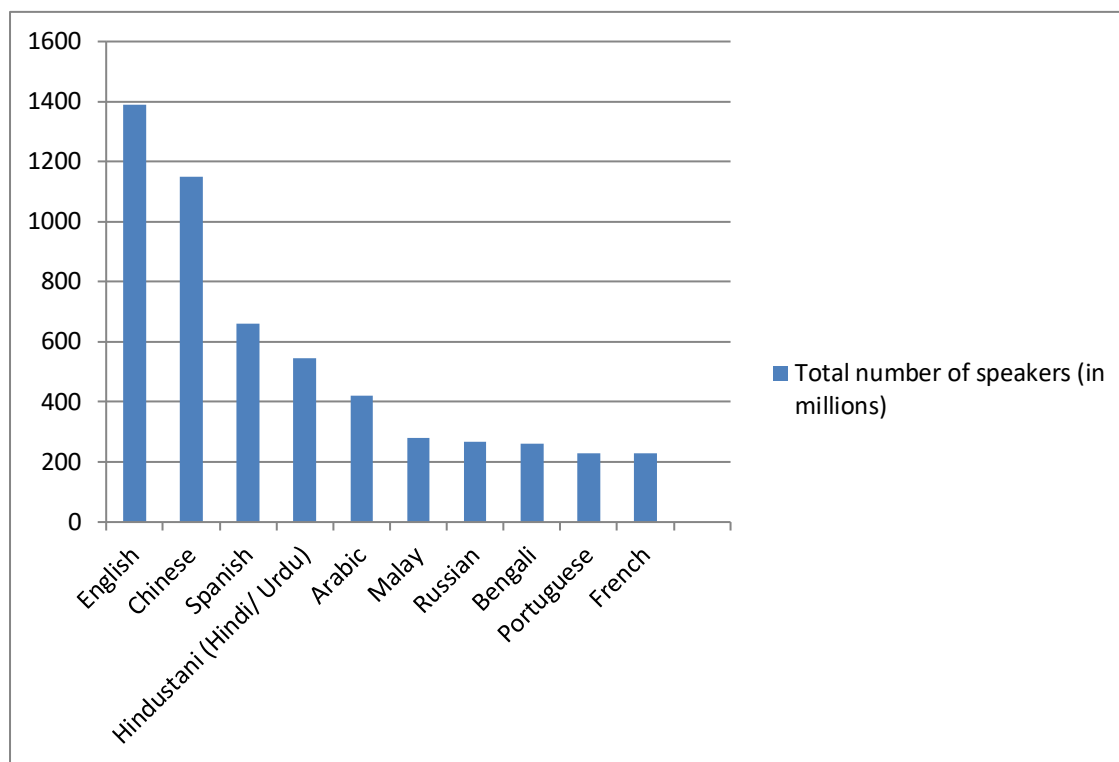
**Figure 1.1:** The Ten Countries with the Greatest Number of Languages across the World (2018).

The world's most spoken and widespread languages are mentioned in *World Atlas website*<sup>8</sup>. What is displayed there is the number of popular codes that are spoken in various countries across the world, viz. English, Arabic, Spanish, Chinese, French,

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.ethnologue.com/guides/how-many-languages>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/most-popular-languages-in-the-world.html>

etc. Among them, English earns pole position with a total number of 1.39 Billion speakers. The following bar-graph (figure 1.2) displays the most popular languages existing all around the world and provides the exact numbers of their speakers in the course of 2018.



**Figure 1.2:** The Most Popular Languages in the World (adapted from World Atlas 2018)

### 1.3. Dialect Defined

Unlike standard languages which are often associated with education, a dialect is spoken and has much to do with ordinary people who are not considered to be well-educated. Indeed, it is negatively believed that a dialect is employed in ordinary everyday utterances. Accordingly, its use may point to a language form with low status anywhere. It is generally described as being second-rate, rude, old-fashioned and insignificant. That is, an individual does not manage to put into words all what he intends to say by using a dialect. It is thus considered to be less prestigious, less important and its use is somehow restricted. Linguists generally point to this concept for the purpose of defining a certain language variety (Baker and Prys Jones 1998: 135-136). Furthermore, Online Cambridge Dictionary<sup>9</sup> (2019) describes a dialect as

<sup>9</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org>

*“a form of a language that people speak in a particular part of a country, containing some different words and grammar, etc”*. In this regard, some people living in different parts of a certain country can speak various forms of language that differ from one another in terms of grammar as well as vocabulary.

Baker and Prys Jones (1998) proclaim that a dialect can either be regional like Liverpool English and Cockney in England or urban such as Black American English in the United States of America owing to the fact that it may reflect a specific geographical area as well as a particular social stratum or employment. Linguistically speaking, all language varieties are said to be equal. This means that people who speak different varieties are all understood and viewed equally when they communicate with others or express certain ideas. Evidently, if two interlocutors, for instance, say something in their own dialects which are distinct, listeners will comprehend the same idea expressed by them, i.e. they will have a similar impact on them and the meaning will not change at all (Baker and Prys Jones 1998: 136). One can label any language variety a *dialect* without exception. This means that even the standard varieties are included. In Algeria, for example, Classical Arabic is to be considered as a dialect or more specifically a form of Arabic which is standardised. Along the same lines, dialectal divergence between distinct communities can sometimes go beyond geographical borders just like in the case of English that is spoken in different countries such as the British Isles, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. For example, English dialects like Cockney or Yorkshire English are heard in England; however, other varieties of this particular language are to be found in other separate countries, viz. African-American English and Chicano English in the United States, Quebec English in Canada and Australian English in Australia. In fact, this dialectal divergence occurs owing to the fact that some languages are used by a large number of people living in different and separate countries around the world. In this particular case, diverse communities or groups of people can be described to speak different dialects and not different languages. Yet, both Americans speaking African-American English and people living in England and speaking Cockney are considered to be using two different dialects or subdivisions of the same language which is English.

More importantly, Proctor (2004: 124-125) believes that what characterises a dialect and discriminates it from a language is “*mutual intelligibility*”. This refers to the fact that speakers of different dialects can comprehend one another. However, there are instances refuting this criterion like that of Cantonese and Mandarin, two language varieties spoken in China. In fact, the speakers of these two dialects find it difficult to understand each other, albeit they are under the same umbrella of the Chinese language. Conversely, some other languages are considered as mutually comprehensible such as Swedish and Norwegian, for example. Even though there are geographical and political borders separating Sweden from Norway, their people can comprehend each other. Sometimes the criterion of mutual intelligibility faces a sort of complication due to the fact that, in vast areas, there exists what is called “*a dialect continuum*” (Proctor 2004: 125). In a large country, where various dialects are spoken, the neighbouring varieties differ slightly from one another. But the linguistic distinctions between them rise as soon as the distance increases. That is to say, the longer the distance between the regions is, the less comprehensible people will be. If we take into consideration four contiguous locations, 1, 2, 3 and 4, what can be said is that people living in neighbouring cities can easily understand each other when they speak. Indeed, the dialects are mutually comprehended when one compares between 1 and 2, between 2 and 3, and between 3 and 4. Contrarily, this reciprocal intelligibility does not exist when it comes to the comparison between the varieties spoken in the peripheries. That is, people dwelling, for example, in 1 cannot understand interlocutors from 4. This may ipso facto elucidate that cities standing side by side have mutually comprehended forms of language. The intelligibility test then cannot solely be focused on in order to differentiate between a language and a dialect. In fact, this criterion can be significant in some countries but trivial and not trustworthy in others (ibid.).

#### **1.4. Language Socialisation**

Sociologically speaking, socialisation is a process through which an individual learns how to act and react as a member of a given society. It starts during childhood and lasts throughout one’s life. To put it simply, one learns to perfect his/ her behaviours throughout this lifelong process and becomes an ideal member in a certain community as he/ she mixes with others. Accordingly, sociologists claim that infancy



is usually considered as the most crucial period for acquiring such conducts. In this respect, Delaney (2012) asserts that:

*Sociologists view socialization as a lifelong process of learning— one that spans from infancy to old age. Although early-childhood development is generally emphasized as the most critical time for learning, ideally each of us will continue to learn throughout our lifetimes. We learn by interacting with others.*

*(Delaney 2012: 145)*

Besides, according to Cazden (1999: 63), in order for a human being to be part of society and to blend in a particular culture, it is necessary to go through this process labelled *language socialisation*. This helps them acquire appropriate behaviours, habits, norms and ways of speaking so as to be accepted within a social group. This generally starts at an early age inside home where parents and other members of the family are in charge of educating their sons and daughters. Successful language socialisation appears as children abide by some rules and follow certain instructions. That is why this is most of the time referred to as primary socialisation. But this process does not stop here; rather, it proceeds throughout the individual's life outside home where he grows up. This is what is called secondary socialisation (ibid).

To better understand this process, one must be acquainted with the several agents that help an individual to be successfully socialised, namely the family, peers, mass media, school and religion. These agencies do help in forging him/her so as to behave correctly as he/she is living and communicating with others within a given society, i.e. in a manner which is accepted by others (Delaney 2012: 156). In that case, they play a key role in teaching individuals how to speak and which languages or varieties can be used while interacting with other groups of people, for example. Hence, the socialisation process plays the role of guardrails that may prevent those individuals from deviating while using languages.

### **1.5. Language Standardisation**

Language standardisation is discussed by Haugen (1972) who believes that in order for a dialect to become a standard language, it must undergo this particular process which is characterised by having four aspects, namely selection, codification,

elaboration of function and acceptance by a given community (Haugen, 1972: 252). In the same vein, this author (1994) has offered a definition for this fourfold model of language standardisation and proclaims that:

*Any vernacular (language or dialect) may be “standardized” by being given a uniform and consistent norm of writing that is widely accepted by its speakers. It may then be referred to as a “standard” language.*

*(Haugen 1994: 4340)*

What is written above elucidates that any colloquial language or language variation which is spoken in any place around the globe can turn into a written form of language and can be recognised by people using it as being standard, or more precisely, being considered as the norm, i.e. both the status and the form of these spoken languages can change. Haugen (1999: 70) believes that before a standard language scatters across a country and before it is used by its whole people, it is usually employed by a united elite group from the very beginning of the old process of standardisation. The example of Sanskrit can be given to demonstrate that this process appeared a long time ago. According to Jamison & Witzel (2003), before being codified by the Indian linguist Pānini in approximately 500 BC and considered as a standard language in the fourth century, Sanskrit was used by a population dwelling in the North-East part of India as a language variation. And then it was saved and utilised in the scripture of Hinduism, i.e. spirituality (ibid.). To understand this four-step model, it is necessary to be acquainted with the four aspects characterising it. Each of them will be explained concisely below.

### **1.5.1. Selection**

It is considered as the first stage in the process of standardisation. Amongst other language varieties, one is to be chosen in order to become standard. During this step, each of the variants can have the chance to be selected and then to be standardised on the pretext that, linguistically speaking, there is no dialect which is inherently superior to another one. But power has a place in this process given that the varieties announced to gain standard status have to do with people in power. The French language can be taken as an instance to evince the credibility of the aforementioned words. In fact, the Parisian variety of the upper-class was selected to become the standard language in France. But sometimes some governments focus on

a mixture of various parts of language variations spoken in their countries instead of choosing only one dialect. This is the case of Received Pronunciation, the standard form of British English which is based on a blend of language forms spoken in London as well as the east of England (Tamasi and Antieau 2015: 40).

### **1.5.2. Codification**

According to Haugen, codification is concerned with the fact of forming linguistic criteria and establishing rules for the chosen variety. It is split into three phases, viz. graphisation (the creation of a system of writing), grammatication (setting grammatical rules) and lexicalisation (words and vocabulary identification) (1987a: 627). In this regard, codification means giving form to the selected variety in an explicit way.

Davies (2007) focuses on Haugen's idea and considers codification as the second step in this long process of standardisation. This author explains that "*the selected dialect is provided with a written grammar and a dictionary so that it can be used in official documents, taught in schools and learnt by foreigners*" (Davies 2007: 35). This means that after choosing any language variety, grammatical rules may be set and dictionaries may be written for the purpose of implementing it in formal and authoritative documentations as well as using it in the sphere of education. In this sense, these guide-books and dictionaries help to fix that language form. This may also make it easier for people to learn it regardless their location.

### **1.5.3. Elaboration of Function**

After the codification of any language is accomplished, there is a requirement for another step which is elaboration of function. Indeed, it is believed to be "*the continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of a modern world*" (Haugen 1983: 273). At this stage, the codified language must be brought up to date in order to be appropriately used in modern times which are continually changing. In other words, this phase has to do with the progress of that language in terms of its function. Haugen reinforced the aforementioned idea by stating that "*elaboration is in some ways just a continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of a modern world*" (1987b: 61).

A variety is only considered to be standard if it can be used in different literary, governmental, scientific and educational fields, for instance. In fact, this standard language must be able to meet the demands of individuals as it has to be used in various domains. In this way, neologism arises, i.e. new words are to be created whenever there is a need for them. When it comes to science and technology, for example, new terms are to be created or borrowed so as to serve people express their thoughts and to enable them to identify some items. This stage aims at supporting this process of standardisation. In this regard, Jenkins (2015) asserts that:

*To fulfil its role, the standard variety has to be capable of performing a wide range of institutional and literary functions particularly, though not exclusively, in government, law, education, science, and literature. At the elaboration stage, then, new lexical items are added and new conventions developed to fill any gaps.*

*(Jenkins 2015: 23)*

#### **1.5.4. Acceptance**

This is another momentous phase that must appear during the long standardisation process. Accordingly, Hudson proclaims that “*the variety has to be accepted by the relevant population as the variety of the community- usually, in fact, as the national language*” (1996: 33). This makes it crystal clear that a language cannot be considered to be standardised unless it is accepted by people living in such a community. To put it simply, a language variety cannot reach the status of *standard* without passing through this acceptance phase. In sum, a certain language variety can only be standardised by passing through this lengthy fourfold process that involves the selection of the form, codification, elaboration of function and acceptance.

#### **1.6. Language and Identity**

It is difficult to provide a general or accurate definition to a concept like identity on the pretext that it can be used in various contexts with different meanings. In fact, Lawler claims that “*‘identity’ is a difficult term: more or less everyone knows more or less what it means, and yet its precise definition proves slippery*” (2008: 1). The meaning of *identity* also appears in the words of Hogg and Abrams (1988, 2) who describe it as “*people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others*”. These features then allow anyone or any group of people

to be seen differently as a specific person or group, i.e. they may be viewed as unique in comparison with the others. Besides, according to Jenkins (1996: 4), identity “*refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities*”. This in fact sheds light on how a single person or groups of people are regarded and considered while being connected with the others surrounding them.

Interestingly enough, language was first considered as a means of communication between people. It facilitates their interaction within societies. Mangum confirms this communicative function by asserting that “*most linguists consider human language a unique type of communication system*” (2010: 257). However, this language is not restricted only to this feature; rather, it has to do with more than this. It goes further as it is said to mirror the identity of a given individual or social group. In addition to the fact that language is used to interact with one another, it is viewed as a symbol that represents a group of people. That is, it displays the identities of various interlocutors. In this respect, Spolsky (1998) asserts that:

*The answer lies not in the practical communicative realm, but in the symbolic function of languages and varieties. One of the most common ways of identifying a person is by his or her language. Because language is inherently involved in socialization, the social group whose language you speak is an important identity group for you.*

(Spolsky 1998: 57)

In the words of Llamas and Watt, it is essential for us as human beings to feel and experience the link existing between language and identity. This language is not only considered as a mirror through which one can see who others are, but it, in some way, introduces and describes them. These notions of language and identity are both considered as changing owing to the fact that people, while interacting with one another, often go through different situations and try to fit various contexts (2010: 1).

Additionally, Kroskrity (1999) focuses on membership as a momentous aspect while pointing to identity. He insists that “*identity is defined as the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories*” (Kroskrity 1999: 111). Through these words, he explains that it is noteworthy to be a member of a given society and that one can construct and negotiate his own identity through

linguistic interactions with the others. This therefore elucidates that identity is in close relationship with language.

### 1.7. Language and Gender

Centuries before Language and Gender Studies was established as an area of research, talks and discussions about language in relation to gender existed. Indeed, writings including proverbs as well as some quotes considered the way men and women do speak in addition to the manner in which they are supposed to talk. Hence, three sayings have been chosen to exhibit the distinction between the two different genders while conversing (Jennifer Coates 1993: 16 qtd. in Sunderland 2006: 2). The first quote is an English one; it says that “*a woman’s tong wags like a lamb’s tail*”. Another Sudanese one believes that “*three women make a market*”. And the last quotation has been circulating in China; it believes that “*there women together make a theatrical performance*” (ibid). The three of them were used in different regions around the world; they all provide us with a negative representation of women’s talk. In other words, the idea they hold is that women are too talkative in comparison with men who are considered as the norm. This view does not have to do with only one particular region; however, it is scattered all over the world. Therefore, this displays that writings dealing with gender issues existed long ago even before the establishment of Language and Gender Studies as said above (ibid.).

Interestingly enough, Jule proclaims that language and gender studies has appeared newly as a significant theme in the sphere of sociolinguistics. According to her, this area of study arises in the early 1970s, i.e. during the second wave feminist movement (2008: ix). Talbot (2010) then confirms that:

*Gender is an important division in all societies. It is of enormous significance to human beings. Being born male or female has far-reaching consequences for an individual. It affects how we act in the world, how the world treats us. This includes the language we use, and the language used about us.*

(Talbot 2010: 3)

In this regard, gender is viewed as being omnipresent in people’s lives. That is, it is part of them. It plays an influential role in any society as it splits humankind into two categories, viz. males and females. In fact, gender encloses human beings

from early childhood and this has a great impact on the manner people act and speak, as well as the way the others behave towards them and talk about them.

While dealing with gender studies, it is crucial to speak about the intersection of two significant concepts which are sex and gender. These terms differ from each other though some people consider them as synonymous. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet proclaim that “*sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex*” (2013: 2). Hence, the first term means something which is innate and stable as it is determined at birth; however, the second one is flexible and can change within a given society, i.e., it is a learned conduct.

Lakoff's pioneering published book *Language and Woman's Place* in 1975 is considered to be of importance in terms of research in language being connected with gender, i.e., the branch coming out of linguistics with the name Language and Gender Studies (Bucholtz 2004: 3). Since then, many scholars dove into this linguistic sphere; they wrote numerous articles and published various interesting books, viz., Cameron (1990), Tannen (1990), McConnell-Ginet (1978; 1992; 2003; 2011), Bucholtz (1995; 1999), Eckert (1989; 2000; 2003), Sadiqi (2007) and Abdelhay (2008). Lakoff's (1975) above-mentioned book takes into consideration gender issues in relation to language in general, and women's speech in particular. This author then focuses on how women use language and how they are spoken of, i.e. it demonstrates the way women are portrayed. She sees them as having a distorted image. Lakoff (1975: 53-56) assumes that women's way of speaking is prominently characterised by the following:

- The use of particular words related to some specific domains and fields they are interested in.
- The use of hedges, e.g. *well, kind of and you see*.
- The use of tag questions, e.g. *he is good, isn't he?*
- Rising intonation in declarative statements such as *this is fantabulous*.
- The use of empty adjective like *charming and gorgeous*.
- The use of hypercorrect grammar.
- Lack of joke and humour.

- The use of an italic style.
- The use of a super-polite form of language.
- The use of intensifiers, e.g. *so*, *very* and *too*.

Accordingly, this scholar asserts that, unlike men, women use a language which is far away from assertiveness and which disqualifies them from authority and power. Besides, two other published monographs insist on the notion that the language used by men and the one used by women are not similar. The first book is *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (1990) by Deborah Tannen. The second one is entitled *Men are From Mars, Women are From Venus: A Practical Guide for Improving Communication and Getting What you Want in your Relationship* (1994) whose author is John Gray. These two monographs elucidate that men and women belong to two different groups and deal with language differently though boys and girls living in the same home acquire the same language from early childhood. When one reads Gray's title (1994), he realises that this scholar is somehow exaggerating by portraying men and women as coming from two distinct planets where divergent languages are utilised, i.e. language polarisation.

Basically, changes appeared in the area of Language and Gender Studies during the previous four decades. Different approaches thus arise as speech behaviours are taken into account, namely the Deficit, the Dominance, the Difference and the Dynamic theories (Vellnagel 2011: 3). Each of them has a perspective differing from the others whilst focusing on the manner men and women use language.

### **1.8. Language and Ethnicity**

The word *ethnicity* was mentioned for the first time in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1953 (Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 4). It is an intangible concept which is defined, according to English Oxford Living Dictionaries (2019), as “*the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition*”. It is crucial to be aware of the fact that the focus here is to be on the lineage in addition to the inherited cultures and customs. Indeed, an ethnic group can be attributed to a group of people having the same origin. Furthermore, English Oxford Living Dictionaries (2019) describe it as “*a community or population made*



*up of people who share a common cultural background or descent*". Along the same lines, Weber (1978) has defined this concept when he says that:

*We shall call "ethnic groups" those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists.*

*(Weber 1978: 389)*

In this manner, Weber puts emphasis on the notions of origin, lineage and tradition. From his words, one can understand that an ethnic group is a group of people whose members believe in a shared origin and look back on the same history. This means that they depend a lot on their past being considered as a crucial matter and this has to do a lot with their representations. Hence, common historical events and memories do play a major role in building, unifying and solidifying these groups. For Weber, these points are crucial for ethnic groups and for their spread as well.

In addition, Liebkind (1999) asserts that language has to do with ethnic identity. They intertwine inherently with each other. In fact, language is influential as it symbolises and characterises various ethnic groups. It is thus considered as a link between these groups' identities and other different separate individuals' identities. Now, multiculturalism exists nearly everywhere across this modern world. This means that nearly each country contains at least two social groups with different cultures which are prominently mirrored or even symbolised by distinct languages (Liebkind 1999: 143).

Tensions and problems arise within societies where several languages are spoken on the pretext of choosing some codes instead of others. That is, the underlying reason behind this can be explained by the manner in which the authorities favour a language over another one and then to ascribe it to practicality, politics or economy (Spolsky 1998: 57). Ethnic groups often consider language as a momentous element that is reflecting their identity. They see that its use helps them to keep their culture alive and to protect their customs from being lost, i.e. it allows them to confirm their existence (ibid). The instance of Catalan and Basque can be given to

exhibit this link between language and ethnicity. These two languages have been accepted as having official status in Catalonia and the Basque regions, respectively. However, it is evident that this recognition leads to conflicts as soon as these two ethnic groups go outside their autonomous territories. This problem is also faced by people speaking Castilian in case they go to live in Catalonia and the Basque regions, for example. In these multilingual countries, choosing a certain language instead of others can be the source of many issues. This can even be the reason behind the creation of a new nation (ibid: 58). The difficult situation that Algeria has experienced can also be provided as another example to illustrate the fact that language choice within a certain nation can lead to troubles. That is, the communities whose tongues are not recognised as official languages can protest against their government. In this regard, an interesting article<sup>10</sup> has appeared in Aljazeera<sup>11</sup> website on December 15<sup>th</sup>, 2017. Its headline is *"Algeria's Berbers protest for Tamazight language rights"* (Kestler-D'Amours 2017). This article displays the way Berbers, as an ethnic group, have complained and fought for the recognition of their language. They want Tamazight to be taught in the Algerian schools. They protest about it because this idea was refused by several governments throughout the country's history. For Berbers, this language has been marginalised by the authorities and then this makes them think that they have been alienated from the Algerian society. It even goes beyond language matters as it becomes an issue which has to do with identity. This, ipso facto, led to revolts against the Algerian government for the recognition of their language and identity. In fact, this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Broadly speaking, by looking at the aforementioned instances, one can comprehend that language interweaves strongly with the concept of ethnicity or ethnic groups.

### **1.9. Language Contact Phenomena**

Numerous language attitudes arise and a number of linguistic phenomena are triggered as different languages or varieties come into contact with one another, viz. diglossia, bilingualism, multilingualism, borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing. Accordingly, Eastman (1983: 30) explains that when *"one social group comes into contact with a second social group possessing a different language; each group then*

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<sup>10</sup> <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/12/algeria-berbers-protest-tamazight-language-rights-171213185709684.html>

<sup>11</sup> Aljazeera is a global news network which has several channels and divisions.

*develops ideas about the other group's language vis-à-vis its own*". The concepts mentioned above will be described thoroughly in the next phases.

### 1.9.1. Diglossia

Online English Oxford Living Dictionaries (2019) define the word "diglossia" as "*a situation in which two languages (or two varieties of the same language) are used under different conditions within a community, often by the same speakers. The term is usually applied to languages with distinct 'high' and 'low' (colloquial) varieties, such as Arabic*". That is to say, in such a diglossic situation, the same interlocutors of a certain speech community use two different languages or two language variations in various settings for diverse functions.

Diglossia is such a crucial concept that existed in sociolinguistics a long time ago. It was referred to by the linguist Krumbacher in 1902 in a book that he entitled *Das Problem der Modernen Griechen Schriftsprache*. In this monograph, the author dealt with this phenomenon while tackling both the Greek and the Arabic linguistic situations (Zughoul and El-Badarien 2004: 447). Greek was focused on owing to the fact that Greece witnessed the use of Dimitiki, the language that was utilised in daily communications and considered to be popular, and another pure language that appeared in writings, namely Katharevusa. Arabic was also taken into consideration so as to depict the Arabic speaking countries' situations in terms of language use, where there are two language forms, viz. colloquial Arabic and Classical Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic, i.e. the written form. Diglossia was first used by Marçais (1930) in an article entitled "*The Arabic Diglossia*"<sup>12</sup> while pointing to the Arabic-speaking world in general and North African countries in particular (Sayahi 2014: 3). In this context, Marçais (1930: 402) has suggested a description of diglossia when he said that it is "*a rivalry of a learned transcribed language and an everyday colloquial language which is, at times, exclusively spoken*"<sup>13</sup>. In this definition which is considered as archaic, Marçais focuses on the term "*rivalry*". He believes that there are two varieties of language competing against each other. One of them is learned and transcribed, whereas the other is commonly used by people and appears in a

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<sup>12</sup> La diglossie arabe.

<sup>13</sup> The original quote: "la concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire, parfois exclusivement parlée".

spoken form. This is how Marçais portrays the diglossic situation in the North African region.

Interestingly enough, Taleb Ibrahimi (2004) believes that, as far as Algeria is concerned, it is not acceptable to refer to the concept *diglossia*. Instead, she acknowledges the existence of different linguistic spheres, namely Arabic, Berber and foreign languages. In reality, distinct interlocutors use the languages belonging to these spheres in accordance to various situations. By indicating the complexity of the Algerian linguistic situation, Chachou (2011: 59) also speaks about the Algerian authorities' failure to replace French by English as the first foreign language of the country. Then, she has referred to the phenomenon of polyglossia when diverse languages compete against one another such as Classical Arabic with French and Algerian Arabic versus the other Berber dialects. Hence, it is worth noting that this author believes that the Arabic-speaking countries face problems in terms of diglossia. It is because the form of language they have chosen to be official and written has no native interlocutors. Yet, the Algerian speakers use different forms of dialectal Arabic which they consider as their mother tongue and the first language they utilise in informal contexts and private communications (ibid. 61).

Along the same lines, Mammeri (1985) provides an example of an Algerian Berber speaker who finds himself obliged to use diverse languages in different contexts so as to satisfy his daily communicative needs. According to him, this particular individual uses Berber with his relatives, Algerian Arabic outside in the street, Classical Arabic at work and French in other contexts. In this regard, Mammeri (1985: 153) believes that:

*An average Algerian who works in Algiers, a berberophone, for instance. In the morning, when he gets up, he speaks Berber at home. When he goes out to work, he is in the street and in the street, the language that is most commonly used is Algerian Arabic. Therefore, he must know or possess at least a part of this second instrument of expression. When he arrives at his work, the official language being classical Arabic, it is quite possible that there are pieces that come to him in this language and that he will have to read them. Thus, he needs to have more or less the use and the usage of this language. Once*

*going through this official stage, the real work is still currently done, in general, in French.*<sup>14</sup>

*(Qtd. in Chachou 2011: 74-75)*

Ferguson (1959) discusses the notion of diglossia and develops it in an article named *Diglossia*. He points to four languages, viz. Arabic, Swiss German, Haitian and Greek. This scholar (1959) defines it as:

*A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or original standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, a 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 1959: 336)*

In this definition, Ferguson asserts that there are two language varieties that he calls high or “H” variety and low or “L” variety. They are used complementarily in order to satisfy the needs of interlocutors within a given speech community. In this sense, they are arguably interconnected in a symbiotic way. Each one of them has its own function and can be used in a specific context. Yet, he does not believe in the concept of “rivalry” between the two above-mentioned varieties that Marçais (1930) has emphasised; rather, he reckons that it is a question of complementarity. Accordingly, the “L” variety refers to the spoken language which does not have an official status. The other “H” variety that Ferguson calls a superposed one is characterised by being written; its grammar is even more complicated. It can be acquired through education at schools, for example. Besides, it can only be used in formal contexts, in contrast to the low variety which is merely allowed to be employed during everyday common discussions, i.e. in informal settings. In this way,

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<sup>14</sup> The original text reads as follows: Un Algérien moyen qui travaille à Alger, un berbérophone, par exemple. La matinée, quand il se lève, chez lui il parle berbère. Quand il sort se rendre à son travail, il est dans la rue et dans la rue, la langue la plus communément employée c’est l’arabe algérien. Il devra donc connaître ou posséder au moins en partie ce deuxième instrument d’expression. Quand il arrive à son travail, la langue officielle étant l’arabe classique, il est tout à fait possible qu’il y ait des pièces qu’ils lui arrivent dans cette langue et qu’il va devoir lire. Il lui faudra donc posséder peu ou prou l’usage et l’utilisation de cette langue. Une fois passé ce stade officiel, le travail réel se fait, en général, encore actuellement en français”.

different specific domains designate the suitable variety to be used so as to fulfil certain functions. The individuals who do not respect this distribution will be considered as ridiculous. For instance, if an individual uses the high variety while gossiping with friends, he will be viewed as silly or even funny. The reason behind this is that this code is restricted to formal domains. In short, these two language varieties co-exist with each other and have distinct roles in a given speech community.

Interestingly enough, a scholar like Bouamrane (1986) criticised the research works that have been conducted by Marçais (1930) and Ferguson (1959). In fact, he has claimed that these two researchers tackled the diglossic situation of only two Arabic speaking regions which are North Africa and the Middle East, respectively. For him, this does not allow them to generalise about diglossia in the whole Arabic speaking world. Besides, he confirms that a linguistic and diglossic situation of a certain speech community differ from one time to another.

Fishman (1972a) goes further while investigating the concept of “diglossia” and widens it. Basically, he believes that a diglossic situation can even include two separate languages that are employed differently within a particular society, i.e. they may appear in different circumstances. According to him, it does not only have to do with two varieties deriving from the same language (Fishman 1972a: 145). By referring to two diverse languages, he differentiates diglossia from bilingualism which he sees as the capability to use two distinct languages. Diglossia thus means that these unrelated languages or varieties can have different functions within a given speech community (ibid). In this respect, he points to Paraguay as an instance where Spanish and Guarani<sup>15</sup> are used as “H” and “L”, respectively. Furthermore, Kloss (1966: 138) gives two terms which are “in-diglossia” and out-diglossia”. They respectively refer to “classical” diglossia that Ferguson (1959) coined and “extended” diglossia which is used by Fishman (1967).

Ferguson (1959) believes that diglossia is tied to and determined by nine criteria which are: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology. Each of these elements will be explained briefly.

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<sup>15</sup> Guarani is an Indian Language which is totally separate from Spanish.

As far as function is concerned, it is essentially important to claim that the high and the low varieties have different linguistic functions within diverse diglossic speech communities. These two forms do function differently in distinct contexts. In other words, each of them has a specific use within various circumstances (Ferguson 1959: 328). While the “H” variety, for instance, is utilized when it comes to religious or political speech and broadcasting, the “L” variety is suitable for informal communication such as daily conversations with relatives and friends. Indeed, the locus is influential in the choice of the appropriate variety. Interlocutors must respect this kind of functional distribution, otherwise they will be considered as outsiders. To well-understand this point, Ferguson (1959: 329) provides the following table in which he exhibits some contexts where “H” and “L” are used:

The situations	The variety
Sermon in church or mosque	H
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks	L
Personal letter	H
Speech in parliament, political speech	H
University lecture	H
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues	L
News broadcast	H
Radio 'soap opera'	L
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	H
Caption on political cartoon	L
Poetry	H
Folk literature	L

**Table 1.1:** The suitable language varieties that are used in some situations.

With regard to prestige or reputation, “H” is more important and more valuable than “L”. Moreover, being compared with the Low form, “H” is viewed as a noteworthy and prestigious form which is known for its beauty. It also has the capability to communicate crucial ideas and involve logic (Ferguson 1959: 329-330). This leads the interlocutors of a given diglossic community to have different positions towards these two forms. The high variety is of higher rank and worthy like its name

indicates, whereas the low form is lacking importance and prestige, i.e. it is considered to be inferior.

Then, a large amount of literary work is recorded in “H” variety which is respected by speech community members (Ferguson 1959: 330). Contrarily, Fasold (1993: 37) asserts that it is hard for anyone to write something in the “L” form on the pretext that it has no founded spelling rules. For example, there are no instructions explaining how to write a certain utterance correctly.

Besides, in diglossic societies, “H” and “L” are learned by means of two different ways. The former is informally acquired at home through everyday interactions with family members and particularly with parents who teach their children how to use this spoken form both tacitly and explicitly. By contrast, knowledge about the latter may be gained through formal instruction, i.e. schooling. One can mainly learn it at Qur’anic schools, governmental academic institutions or even private schools (Ferguson 1959: 331).

In addition, unlike the “L” form, “H” is seen as the standard variety of language. Books related to orthography, grammar, dictionaries, manuals and guides for a correct pronunciation are thus written in “H”. The low form, which is basically used for communication, can never be found in one of these books (Ferguson 1959: 331-332).

Another feature characterising diglossia is that it lasts for long periods. Indeed, it is claimed that it *“typically persists at least several centuries, and evidence in some cases seems to show that it can last well over a thousand years”* (Ferguson 1959: 332). In some situations, some diglossic nations face communicative problems; however, solutions are achieved by using another language form. In this form, interlocutors can, for instance, borrow words from “H” to L and vice versa. They can also utilise “H” in the context of the “L” form and the other way round. The varieties, which help individuals flee from difficulties and conflicts, are described as *“... relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language (Greek mikti, Arabic al-lugah al-wusta, Haitian créole de salon) and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L”* (ibid).

Furthermore, in diglossic communities, “H” differs considerably from “L” in terms of grammar. That is, dissimilarities in grammatical construction between the



high and the low varieties can be remarkably noticed. For instance, when it comes to syntax and verb or noun inflection, the former appears to be more complicated and sophisticated than the latter (Ferguson 1959: 333).

There are also differences between “H” and “L” in terms of the use of vocabulary and its significance. In this sense, technical concepts and special phrases appear essentially in “H”; however, they do not have proper synonyms in “L” due to the fact that the topics that are discussed in the “H” form are sometimes addressed too frequently or can never be broached in the “L” variety and vice versa. Ferguson (1959) also puts emphasis on another feature characterising diglossia and claims that:

*[...] a striking feature of diglossia is the existence of many paired items, one H one L, referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both H and L, where the range of meaning of the two items is roughly the same, and the use of one or the other immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as H or L.*

*(Ferguson 1959: 334)*

Accordingly, the verb “to go” is an instance that can illustrate Ferguson’s previous point. In Algeria, both [jruːh] and [jeðhebu] can be used to refer to this verb. Yet, the former is only used in “L” and cannot occur in certain contexts such as in written Arabic, for example, while the latter is utilised in “H” and can never be heard by Algerian interlocutors during ordinary daily conversations.

In the same vein, in a diglossic nation, it is not easy to give a general idea about the correlation between “H” and “L” at the phonological level. The case is not the same in various speech communities since data are unsteady and varying. In this respect, Ferguson (1959: 335) states that “*H and L phonologies may be quite close, as in Greek; moderately different, as in Arabic or Haitian Creole; or strikingly divergent, as in Swiss German*”.

### **1.9.2. Code-Switching and Code-Mixing**

Code-switching and code-mixing arise whenever languages come into contact. They appear predominantly in various bilingual and multilingual nations. Before tackling these two phenomena, one may comprehend what “code” means. Yet, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 11) sheds light on this term and explains that “*code is*

*understood as a neutral umbrella term for languages, dialects, styles/ registers, etc*". He considers it as an *umbrella* word since it covers or can even replace the terms "languages", "language forms" and so on. Wardaugh (2010: 84) labels a code as "*neutral*" and ascribes it to all the systems utilised by people while conversing. Similarly, this author states that he has "*observed that the particular dialect or language that a person chooses to use on any occasion is a code, a system used for communication between two or more parties*" (ibid: 98). In this sense, a code refers to a kind of system that individuals or groups of people use in a certain speech community in order to convey thoughts and ideas to the others. Similarly, a number of scholars like Haugen (1956), Poplack (1980), Gumperz (1982), Auer (1998) and Myers-Scotton (1993) discuss the meaning of CS; among them is Auer (1998: 1) who proclaims that this linguistic phenomenon is the "*alternating use of two or more codes within one conversational episode*". By this, he means that individuals sometimes tend to switch between two or more languages or language varieties while discussing. Myers-Scotton (1993: vii) supports this view when she explicates that CS means the "*use of two or more languages in the same conversation, usually within the same conversational turn, or even within the same sentence of that turn*". In fact, CS cannot be said to appear only in the same discussion, but sometimes it can also be found in the same sentence. In addition to that, she asserts that CS is "*the term used to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation*" (ibid: 1). What Myers-Scotton focuses on here is the use of two language forms alternately. These language varieties may be genetically related. However, Gumperz (1982: 59) elucidates that this concept signifies "*the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems*". This author therefore makes it clear-cut that one can allude to CS whenever there is a switch between two distinct languages within a conversation. According to him, these codes may be genetically unrelated. Haugen (1956: 40) has added that CS "*occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech*". This author wants to clarify that during the code-switching process, the interlocutor may not modify the elements used from the two languages. In brief, giving CS a precise and unique definition seems to be impossible; it is even a controversial matter. Various scholars and academics provide diverse meanings of this term since they see it differently. Some of them consider that the switch is between two unrelated languages and others believe that the shift may be

between two different language varieties. According to Poplack (1980: 605), there are three types of CS: Intra-sentential switching, inter-sentential switching and tag-switching which is also called extra-sentential code-switching. Each of them will be detailed with various examples in the second chapter (see 2.5.3).

Some scholars consider code-switching as being synonymous with the other linguistic phenomenon called code-mixing. Hill and Hill (1980: 122), for example, claim that “*there is no satisfactory way to draw a neat boundary between the two phenomena (code-mixing and code-changing)*”. For them, there is no difference between these two terms, one can replace the other. Notwithstanding that they are considered as synonymous by some scholars, Bokamba (1988) sees that they function differently. This author differentiates code-switching from code-mixing by proclaiming that:

*Code-switching is the embedding or mixing of words, phrases, and sentences from two codes within the same speech event across sentence boundaries, while code-mixing is the embedding or mixing of various linguistic units, i.e. affixes, words, and clauses from two distinct grammatical systems or subsystems within the same sentence and the same speech situation.*

*(Bokamba 1988: 24)*

From these words, one can comprehend that code-switching involves intersentential switching, while code-mixing has to do with intrasentential switching. Bokamba’s words also imply that in code-switching the syntactic rules of one language do not interact with those of the other one because the shift occurs on the boundaries of the sentences. However, the interaction between these languages at the grammatical level seems to be present as the switch appears within the same sentence.

Besides, McClure (1978) discusses this topic and makes clear that code-mixing is:

*The individual’s use of opposite language elements which cannot be considered to be borrowed by the community. It occurs when a person is momentarily unable to access a term for a concept in the language which he is using but access it in another code or when he lacks a term*

*in the code he is using which exactly expresses the concept he wishes to convey.*

*(McClure 1978: 7)*

In this definition, McClure clarifies that CM arises in case an interlocutor uses a particular language and finds himself abruptly integrating another language element such as a noun, a verb or an adjective from the opposite language on the pretext that it is not borrowed by his speech community. Indeed, he uses this word owing to the fact that he does not find the right element that can fulfill his needs while expressing a certain thought. This can thus make it easier for this speaker to transmit his ideas rapidly.

In some speech communities where someone code-mix, it is unlikely that any listener will recognise which language this speaker is using because of the mixture between two codes within the same sentence. In this regard, Trudgill (2003) announces that code-mixing means:

*the process whereby speakers indulge in code switching between languages of such rapidity and density, even within sentences and phrases, that it is not really possible to say at any given time which language they are speaking.*

*(Trudgill 2003: 23)*

Interestingly enough, the French language and culture are strongly embedded in the Algerian society owing to this country's historical background which has to do with the French colonialist. As a result, Algerian interlocutors move back and forth between Arabic and French, for instance, while conversing with one another. In this sense, Dendane (2007: 144) clarifies that "*with French as a solidly-rooted language in Algeria, code-switching has long become a linguistic tool that many Algerian speakers use in their communicative strategies*".

A lot of Modern Standard Arabic words and phrases can sometimes be heard while listening to teachers of Arabic language, for instance, discussing with colleagues or even with their relatives outside school. As they are using Algerian Arabic in an informal context, they spontaneously switch to MSA, i.e. the language they usually use while teaching. Yet, the combination of these two language varieties

is referred to as the middle variety. Hence, Hamzaoui (2013: 88) confirms that “*the mixture of H and L in a single conversation is called the middle variety. Indeed, this variety has been recognized by Ferguson when he revised his theory in 1991*”. In a similar vein, in Algeria, there is a type of CS called “diglossic CS” that Dendane (2007) sheds light on though it is not such a widespread phenomenon in comparison with AA-French CS. He alludes to some particular contexts where it can be noticed. This scholar elucidates that, in the situations where MSA is formally utilised, some Algerian interlocutors switch to AA, which is considered as the mother tongue of the majority, for the purpose of clarifying what cannot be comprehended by the others in MSA. Accordingly, Dendane (2007) affirms that:

*Such CS can only be observed in certain contexts, such as the school, the mosque a public formal speech and the like, in which the speaker usually switches to AA to insist on things that may not have been clearly understood in MSA.*

*(Dendane 2007: 149)*

### **1.9.3. Borrowing**

Another outcome of language contact situations is the phenomenon of borrowing. Unlike code switching which requires the speakers to master two languages to a certain extent, borrowing may be heard in the speech of those who are competent in only one language, i.e. monolinguals. This means that it is not compulsory to be bilingual to use borrowed words within a conversation or a speech. Bandia (1996: 139) claims that “*borrowing can occur in the speech of those with only monolingual competence, while code-switching implies some degree of competence in the two languages*”.

In the same manner, Gumperz (1982) says that:

*Borrowing can be defined as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures.*

*(Gumperz 1982: 66)*

For Gumperz (1982), borrowing is a linguistic process that involves importing a word, a phrase or an expression, that may not be too long, from a language or a language variety into another one. They are sometimes loaned for the purpose of being used by the members of some groups of people in particular contexts or domains such as medicine, politics and business. These are called jargons. He focuses on the fact that after being borrowed, these language elements will be integrated into the vocabulary of the recipient language. Moreover, these borrowed items will adhere to the grammatical rules of that language. This refers to the assimilation of these elements into the borrowing language. Similarly, Grosjean (1982: 308) supports this view and says that “*a borrowing is a word or short expression that is adapted phonologically and morphologically to the language being spoken*”. It seems crystal-clear that Grosjean puts great emphasis on the phonological adaptation of the loan words in addition to the syntactic integration. This view is also supported by Bentahila and Davies (1983) who distinguish lexical borrowing from code-switching and consider borrowings as being characterised by adaptation in terms of phonology. They illustrate their point by giving the example of the French word “*épicerie*”<sup>16</sup> which is used by Moroccan bilinguals. In Morocco, this term is adapted to Arabic and becomes “*bisri*” /bisri/. In fact, the interlocutor’s pronunciations can clarify whether he is code-switching or using the loan word (Bentahila and Davies 1983: 302- 303). Another Algerian instance that sheds light on this feature is the word “*électricien*” which means an electrician. It is phonologically adapted in Algerian Arabic to become “*tricien*” /trisɪə/. By listening to an Algerian speaker’s pronunciation, one may thus be familiar with whether this individual is shifting in order to use the French word or using the borrowing.

Benali-Mohamed (2007) asserts that the Maghreb countries and the Middle-East region differ in terms borrowing. According to him, the former borrow words from French because of their colonial history and their economic dependence on the French market and products. The latter, on the other hand, uses loanwords that are taken from English and imported into Arabic owing to the fact that the British colonists conquered this region in the past. Besides, there is a strong commercial reciprocity between the Middle-East and the countries where English is spoken, i.e. Anglophones

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<sup>16</sup> It means “grocery” in English.

Myers-Scotton (1993a: 5) believes that the phenomenon of borrowing is split into two sorts, viz. cultural borrowing and core borrowing. The former refers to the items that are not part of the culture of the recipient language, i.e. the things and the concepts that people are not au courant with. For example, Wi-Fi, USB, Facebook and SMS are concepts which are borrowed and incorporated into various languages since they are needed to fill the gaps in the source language. The latter, on the other hand, means that some words are borrowed even though their equivalents exist in the recipient language. That is, these items are not new for the culture of that language and there is no need to borrow lexemes so as to describe them (ibid).

#### **1.9.4. Bilingualism**

Bilingualism is a term that is defined by a number of scholars such as Bloomfield (1933), Haugen (1953), Macnamara (1967), Grosjean (1989), Mohanty (1994) and Baker and Prys (1998). They discuss it in different ways. According to Online English Oxford Living Dictionaries (2019), this concept means “*fluency in or use of two languages*”. A person who manages to speak two codes fluently is thus called a bilingual. One of the most prominent scholars in this field is Bloomfield (1933); he believes that what characterizes a bilingual person is the “native-like control of two languages” (Bloomfield 1933: 56). This definition is problematic and this scholar seems to be exaggerating since he required perfection. This point can be reached by only few people. Yet, if a person is not that proficient like native speakers while using two codes, he can never be considered as bilingual even if he can express his thoughts in these languages. By this, he excludes, for example, the ones who speak two languages but not fluently or without the accent of native speakers. Baker and Prys Jones (1998) elucidate that a small number of bilingual people are capable to use and master two languages to the same degree. They seldom have equilibrium between two codes as knowledge about them varies. Then, these authors shed light on the fact that not too many people are “balanced bilinguals” because their competencies in terms of using two languages vary and any language around the globe is changing through time. They can rarely speak and read them at the same level in various contexts (Baker and Prys Jones 1998: 12). They also clarify that “*in the majority of bilinguals one language is more dominant than the other*” (ibid). They are most of the time competent in their mother tongues in comparison with the second language. As

far as “balanced bilingualism” is concerned, Grosjean (1989) argues that a bilingual’s competency is compared to that of a monolingual whose language is one of the two he is supposed to use. That is, the focus is on monolingual standards. For instance, an Arabic-French bilingual is thought to be using both these two tongues just like monolinguals speaking Arabic and those utilising French do. Yet, this bilingual should be considered as an Arabic speaking person and a French speaking one at the same time. In this regard, this author considers that “*bilinguals are (or should be) two monolinguals in one person*” (Grosjean 1989: 3). More importantly, this “monolingual” view is not far from being flawless; it is subject to criticism. Grosjean states another opposing view that he labels “wholistic”. He says that “*the bilingual is NOT the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration*” (ibid). This makes it crystal clear that a bilingual is essentially considered as a whole entity, i.e. a single person who is able to use two languages. Then, this bilingual can never be viewed as two individuals speaking two different languages while living in the same body. He cannot be split into two diverse components.

Macnamara (1967: 59) differs from Bloomfield who believes in perfection. He delineates a bilingual by saying that he is “*anyone who possesses a minimal competence in only one of the four language skills, listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, in a language other than his mother tongue*”. He therefore neglects excellence in terms of language use. He suggests that what qualifies someone for being bilingual is his minimal ability to use, at least, one language skill in addition to his native language. When one looks at the definitions provided by authors such as Bloomfield and Macnamara, he may realize that these two authors’ attitudes may raise problems since they appear to be at the extreme edges.

Other researchers in this field have also dealt with this subject in their own ways. Haugen (1953), for instance, states that bilingualism can simply be reached at “*the point where a speaker can first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language*” (Haugen 1953: 7). That is, an interlocutor is said to be a bilingual as soon as he can express his thoughts or utter significant and comprehensible sentences in a second language in addition to his mother tongue. Yet, it is worth noting that



Mohanty (1994) shows that bilingualism has also to do with other non-linguistic aspects as he puts great emphasis on the social dimension. He explains that:

*Bilingual persons or communities are those with an ability to meet the communicative demands of the self and the society in their normal functioning in two or more languages in their interaction with the other speakers of any or all of these languages.*

(Mohanty 1994: 13)

For him, a bilingual may express his thoughts and interact normally with other individuals who are speaking two or more languages. Additionally, this type of person is supposed to satisfy his needs by communicating easily within a certain social context. Bilingualism has also been defined by Bouamrane (1986) who explains that it can be either individual or societal. He also emphasises the use of two or more languages. In this respect, this scholar refers to it as “*the use by an individual, a group or a nation of two or more languages in all uses to which they put either*” (Bouamrane 1986: 15).

### **1.9.5. Multilingualism**

The prefix *multi-*, which means many, can be found in a number of English words, one of them is “multilingualism”. The Online English Oxford Living Dictionaries (2019) define the concept “multilingual” as “*in or using several languages*”. That is, so as to be multilingual, one may use many languages, i.e. more than one. Some academics sometimes use the term multilingualism synonymously with bilingualism. Haugen, for instance, believes that multilingualism is “*a kind of multiple bilingualism*” (1956: 9). However, authors such as Cenoz and Genesee (1998) see this concept differently. In fact, they explain that someone will be said to have a multilingual competency as soon as he manages to “*use several languages appropriately and effectively for communication in oral or written language*” (Cenoz and Genesee 1998: 17). Here, what they want to elucidate is that the use of those languages must be suitable and efficient. A multilingual must either utter meaningful utterances or write significant sentences while interacting with the others. They do not put emphasis on the use of a precise scriptural or spoken form of language. Li also describes a multilingual as any individual who manages to express himself in more than one code either actively or passively (2008: 4). More importantly, the societal

aspect of multilingualism has been discussed besides the individual one. This appears to be clear in the definition given by the European Commission which regards this linguistic phenomenon as “*the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives*” (European Commission 2007: 6). Here, there is an emphasis on the usual and daily use of these codes not only by single interlocutors but also by social groups and organisations.

Like bilingualism, multilingualism is a linguistic phenomenon that may appear as different languages come in contact with one another; it can be found anywhere around the world since people are not static. Some of them, for instance, need to go on tours or to immigrate; others travel for business reasons as they reach other destinations where diverse languages may be spoken. Other reasons lying behind the emergence of multilingualism are invasions as well as technological advances through which any person can communicate with other groups of people regardless of their locations.

#### **1.10. Language Planning and Language Policy**

The Arabisation policy, which will be discussed thoroughly in chapter two, is closely related to language planning and language policy. One may be acquainted with these two concepts in order to comprehend this Arabisation process. Language planning and language policy are sometimes viewed differently by some scholars who provide a number of definitions based on various viewpoints. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), for instance, regard them as two divergent concepts. They indeed refer to language planning as a governmental and political apparent “activity” that leads to big changes in terms of language use within a given speech community. Indeed, they claim that “*language planning is an activity, most visibly undertaken by government [...], intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers*” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: xi). Language policy, on the other hand, means “*a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system*” (ibid). Thus, such language planning leads to the existence of what is called language policy which itself seems to represent the goals of the former. From the words of Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), it seems clear that they believe that the way in which a community speaks can be

influenced and altered by regulations and beliefs. They even assert that it is not the government which is responsible for that.

Interestingly, despite the different views provided by specialists between these two concepts, they are most of the time used synonymously as one can be chosen in order to refer to the other. They are even sometimes used together as one concept to be labeled as Language Planning and Language Policy (LPLP) or Language Planning and Policy (LPP). Much has been said about this sociolinguistic branch of research. Haugen (1966: 133), who is apparently considered as one of the most influential authors and the first to define language planning, proclaims that it is *“the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and a dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community”*. That is to say, it is the process of standardising a non-standard language variety, creating new terms and linguistic items, establishing grammar books and dictionaries. This is in fact done in the nations where more than one linguistic form is spoken for the purpose of helping the citizens to follow the norms while speaking and writing, i.e. it is a sort of guide that shows the right and the normative way to speak and write. Gorman (1973: 73) supports Haugen’s viewpoint and says that *“the term language planning is most appropriately used in my view to refer to coordinated measures taken to select, codify and, in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon”*. From these words, one can grasp that this activity points strongly to the standardisation process that a nation goes through during a planned period of time.

Significantly, Weinstein (1980) argues that it is the authority that undertakes language planning deliberately in order to make changes in terms of language use and behaviours. This process aspires to facilitate communication between people living within the same country. It lasts for a long time and appears in nations where there are language problems like those related to communication difficulties between diverse people living in a certain country or an ethnic group’s fights for the official recognition of its language, for instance. This generally happens in the newly independent countries. Weinstein describes this activity as *“a government-authorized, long-term, sustained and conscious effort to alter a language’s function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems”* (1980: 56). In a similar way,

Fishman (1974: 79) limits language planning to “*the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems*”. According to him, it aims at solving a country’s linguistic problems. Besides, Cooper (1989: 45) reveals that language planning signifies “*deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language orders*”. Indeed, this displays that language planning has an impact on private or public institutions’ and decision makers’ behaviours as it intends to persuade them to alter the construct or the status of a certain language, its use and even the way it is learned.

Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971: 211) keep language planning away, as an activity, from the linguistic realm. They believe that it has to do with politics when they describe it as “*a political and administrative activity*” undertaken by authorities and those in power who seek after solutions to language problems within their frontiers. By reading these different definitions, what can be realized in broad terms is that nations go overtly through LPLP so as to sidestep linguistic issues, to improve communication and social interactions or to elaborate and favour some languages or varieties over others within their limited frontiers. That is, this activity intends to make linguistic and social changes at a national level. About fifty years before, Kloss (1969: 81) split language planning studies into two parts, namely Corpus and Status Planning. For him, the former is essentially considered as a linguistic activity which has to do with modifications in terms of the form and the content of the language, i.e. its nature. The latter, on the other hand, refers to choosing a given language among others, regarding its status, and allocating it to a certain function within a nation. Then, Cooper (1989) coins the new concept of Acquisition Planning which he considers as another type of language planning in addition to the two other activities mentioned above. By this, he means the attempt to increase “*the number of users-speakers, writers, listeners or readers*” (Cooper 1989: 33). This activity is strongly related to the spread of language through education, i.e. learning a particular language instead of others. Therefore, these are the three diverse types that language planning and policy comprise in addition to some attitudes of a number of scholars towards this field of research.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) believe that while implementing language planning, two opposing ways can be followed, vis. top-down and bottom-up planning.

The former refers to the decisions that come from the upper side, i.e. the government or people in power. The latter, on the other hand, has to do with ordinary people who are hierarchically low or less powerful.

### **1.11. Sign and Signage**

The terms sign and signage are used synonymously though there are distinctions between them. The former signifies the items that are either erected outdoors or fastened to walls while the latter refers to the messages that those signs contain. The term signage commonly points to any form of graphic exhibition that is designed for the purpose of communicating or presenting useful information needed by a certain public. Nowadays, signage have become an integral part of people's lives as they regularly surround them everywhere. While being outdoors, one may encounter scattered traffic signs that are either erected or fixed on various walls so as to provide essential instructions and pieces of information related to directions, speed limits and street names, for instance. Wherever one goes, he can see signs at the entrance of groceries, shops, restaurants and diverse institutions exhibiting details about the opening hours, the products they sell and the various services they offer to customers. Signage performs some particular functions in a certain society<sup>17</sup>. That is, they usually appear for some reasons. In fact, the use of signs and banners helps different restaurants, trademarks, companies, places and directions to be recognisable. Those signs allow one to distinguish between different stores and institutions. For example, they make it easier for customers and passers-by to find boutiques trading in men's clothes, those dealing with women's beauty products, shopping malls and groceries as well. Then, the appearance of texts and images related to food ingredients, dishes, devices' beneficial characteristics and some special offers may certainly make passers-by eager to visit those specific places. Moreover, companies take advantage of these items to promote their products and the businesses they deal with. Hence, billboards and other means such as advertising posters and building wraps are considered as common and effective instruments to direct people's attention towards particular places, goods and services. It is worth noting that well-designed sigs help shop/restaurant owners to improve their reputations as they play an important role in stimulating clients and helping them to have an overall idea about their businesses. In

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. <https://octink.com/what-is-signage-and-what-is-its-purpose/>

addition, signage has other interesting functions. Yet, a lot of people get lost while attending gigantic events like carnivals and international conferences or when entering big institutions since they are not familiar with some specific places. In these cases, signs and placards play a crucial role in helping visitors to find their ways and to know about the structures of the different buildings where those events take place. For instance, the texts and drawings used by the organisers and institutions make it easier for one to be acquainted with where the reception hall, diverse rooms, bathrooms, elevator and the various hospital services are located. More importantly, so as to stay safe and to avoid health problems, mishaps and accidents, diverse signs are utilised warning people about dangerous sites and keeping them safe from dangerous illnesses. In this regard, placards and notices displaying messages and drawings related to Coronavirus<sup>18</sup> have appeared all around the world for the purpose of preventing people from being infected with this contagious virus.

### **1.12. Speech Community**

It is of gigantic importance to be acquainted with the meaning of speech communities before tackling any sociolinguistic research or issue. According to English Oxford Living Dictionaries (2019), a speech community is “*a group of people sharing a common language or dialect*”. One of the earliest definitions of this concept seemingly goes back to 1933 when Bloomfield claimed that “*a group of people who use the same set of speech signals is a speech-community*” (1933: 29). This shows that this author attributes this concept to any group of people who share a particular language or a language variety. Lyons (1970: 326) similarly describes a speech community when he says that it refers to “*all the people who use a given language (or dialect)*”. Yet, this definition seems to be a general one; it implies that different groups of people who use a common language form a speech community regardless of their geographical dispersion. Accordingly, British, Americans, South Africans and English speakers who are scattered all around the world may be considered as a single speech community. Additionally, by implicating dialects, Lyons (1970) clarifies that people speaking diverse language varieties comprise various speech communities, albeit within the same country. The emphasis in this definition seems also to be put on

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<sup>18</sup> Coronavirus or COVID-19 is a pandemic that has appeared in the 21<sup>th</sup> century and spread at a fast pace across the world. The carrier of this virus shows symptoms like fever, dry cough, shortness of breath and tiredness.

languages and dialects at the expense of the groups speaking them. Interestingly enough, many other scholars have thrown light on this concept; they have given various definitions. For example, Gumperz (1972: 219) asserts that a speech community is “*any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage*”. In this quote, Gumperz attributes another feature to speech community. It is that of communicating through a common language. In order for certain groups of people to be labelled speech communities, they may speak and interact regularly with each other. Furthermore, this scholar states that it is necessary for the members of such a speech community to be divergent from other people who are not part of it. From the words of Gumperz , one can comprehend that what makes each speech community different from the other ones is the diverse beliefs that it holds in terms of language use.

In the same way, Morgan (2014) claims, in an influential definition, that:

*Speech communities are groups that share values and attitudes about language use, varieties and practices. These communities develop through prolonged interaction among those who operate within these shared and recognized beliefs and value systems regarding forms and styles of communication.*

(Morgan 2014: 1)

In this context, this scholar focuses on the beliefs that these groups of people have in common, their attitudes towards language use and the way they speak. She also illuminates that these communities evolve and expand through everyday participation and communication between their members. What is more, for Morgan (2014), *speech community* is a term that goes beyond the notion that groups of people share a similar language. Yet, it focuses on the fact that language participates in a significant way in building, forming and representing a certain society and its culture (ibid.).

Hockett (1958) asserts that communication is a crucial criterion marking speech communities. For him, two groups are considered as separate and different speech communities in case they speak the same language but there is no contact or interaction between them in a certain way, be it direct or indirect. In this sense,

Hockett claims that (1958: 8) “*each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, directly and indirectly, via the common language*”. In brief, the way various scholars have hitherto provided diverse descriptions of the term “speech community” clarifies its importance in the sphere of sociolinguistics. It also makes clear that it is hard to have a unique and precise definition of this concept since it can be discussed from different perspectives.

### **1.13. Globalisation**

Globalisation is such a widespread term that a number of scholars and academics have discussed all over the world like Giddens (1990), McGrew (1992), Netland (2001) and Hamilton (2009). Online English Cambridge Dictionary (2019) refers to it as “*a situation in which available goods and services, or social and cultural influences, gradually become similar in all parts of the world*”. This means that different countries or regions on earth will co-operate and live alike when it comes to trading, culture, beliefs and knowledge. There will be no differences felt, albeit the long distance between them. Then, Hamilton suggests that globalisation is “*the worldwide integration of economic, technological, political, cultural, and social aspects between countries*” (2009: 10). This leads people from different nations to think in the same way. According to her, globalisation is a concept that existed from ancient times. It becomes in the public eye and people started using it as a common term only a few decades ago. The story goes back to more than 50,000 when people living in East Africa moved from their countries to reach different places around the world. They did so for a number of reasons, viz. wars, transaction and desire to know about the others. The way those people were scattered across other continents permitted the contact between diverse knowledge, cultures and civilizations (ibid: 18-19). This made the world seem smaller than it was before and some knowledge, beliefs, traditions and languages have gradually become widely known as they appear in various places around the globe. Indeed, this phenomenon is not only restricted to the domain of economy but also to culture, language and social interaction. Globalisation, according to Giddens (1990: 64), is described as “*the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa*”. In a similar manner, McGrew (1992) asserts that this process is:



*The multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation states (and by implication the societies) which make up the modern world system. It defines a process through which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe.*

*(McGrew 1992: 65)*

Notwithstanding the fact that diversity characterises different countries around the world and that their people have dissimilar lifestyles, divergent cultures, and speak diverse languages, it is possible for them to be in touch. The abovementioned definitions imply that different nations around the globe have become intertwined with one another. Indeed, people's interconnectedness goes beyond the local level and neighbouring nations to reach other further scattered countries. Therefore, what happens in one place can have an impact on people's living in other regions across the world. This elucidates that a nation's thoughts, beliefs, activities and even languages can be found and felt everywhere. What facilitates contact between different countries, for example, is the rapid means of transportation as well as technological advances which enabled the emergence of the telephone, television, radio, satellite, camera, computer and internet as well. Technology thus allows globalisation to affect a group of people without crossing their geographical borders, i.e. without leaving their countries or the regions where they live. In this way, the world shrinks so quickly that people can hear of anything regardless of their position. In this globalised world, peoples' contact will nearly make it hard to notice the geographical borders; there will almost be no boundaries between them, i.e. the frontier lines will be blurred. This may also bring the developing nations and the least developed ones closer to the developed world and allow them to change. Basically, Netland (2001: 86) believes that being part of a globalised world does not mean to get rid of one's local culture; however, the new one will be added to the old one as there will be a coexistence between both of them. This means that what is local continues to be highly considered and will never vanish just because of the coming of a new culture, knowledge, belief, or language; rather, they would exist side by side.

#### 1.14. Linguistic Landscape

The word “landscape” is essentially described by English Oxford Living Dictionaries (2019) as “*all the visible features of an area of land, often considered in terms of their aesthetic appeal*”. This refers to everything viewable characterising a geographical space. By associating this concept with sociolinguistics, a new term has come into view which is “Linguistic Landscape”. Hence, Landry and Bourhis (1997) affirm that:

*The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. The linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function.*

*(Landry and Bourhis 1997: 25)*

Similarly, scholars like Shoamy and Gorter (2009) show support for the idea given by Landry and Bourhis (1997). They explain that “*it is the attention to language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces, that is the center of attention in this rapidly growing area referred to as Linguistic Landscape (LL)*” (Shoamy and Gorter 2009: 1). These two definitions demonstrate that LL refers to the letterings which publicly surround people outdoors. In fact, this may indicate any word, phrase or text exhibited in the public sphere. From the definition of Landry and Bourhis (1997), one can notice that there are two distinct types of signs, viz. private and governmental ones. Examples of private signage comprise those non-official items referring to names of shops and restaurants as well as food advertisements, whereas names of streets or schools, and the various texts that may be found on governmental institutions’ fronts such as hospitals constitute instances of official signage. It is noteworthy that signs and banners play an important role within society as they provide people with essential pieces of information that they need. That is, they are used to transmit interesting messages. Furthermore, LL typically serves as a symbol representing some languages and denoting their significance and status vis-à-vis other ones. Ben-Rafael et al. also point to LL as (2006: 14) “*any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location*”. Yet, like Landry and

Bourhis, these scholars have made a distinction between two sorts of signage that they call “top-down” and “bottom-up” visible items. The first type then refers to administrative and governmental signs. On the contrary, the second one indicates private signboards designed by any individual owning a shop or dealing with a specific business. In this respect, Ben-Rafael et al. (ibid.) explain that:

*The ‘top-down’ LL items included those issued by national and public bureaucracies– public institutions, signs on public sites, public announcement and street names. ‘Bottom-up’ items, on the other hand, included those which were issued by individual social actors- shop owners and companies– like names of shops, signs on businesses and personal announcements.*

*(Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 14)*

In addition to that, Shohamy and Gorter (2009: 2) claim that specialists interested in LL field consider that it is essentially crucial to scrutinise the languages existing in the public space. They believe that there is a reason behind the use of some codes instead of others. To put it simply, choices about a particular language to be utilised on a given façade, signboard or billboard, be it private or governmental, is made on purpose. To well-understand this point, one may look at Shohamy and Gorter’s (2009) quote in which they assert that:

*[...] language in the environment is not arbitrary and random in the same way that researchers in language learning do not view the phenomenon as random; rather there is a goal to understand the system, the messages it delivers or could deliver, about societies, people, the economy, policy, class, identities, multilingualism, multimodalities, forms of representation and additional phenomena.*

*(Shohamy & Gorter 2009: 2-3)*

At times, the two aforementioned types of signs intersect and meet each other as they appear side by side within a given public space. In fact, Landry and Bourhis (1997) discuss instances where they occur together by claiming that:

*In some cases, the language profile of private signs and government signs may be quite similar and thus contribute to a consistent and coherent linguistic landscape. There are instances, however, in which the language of private signs is quite discordant with the language*

*profile of government signs. More often than not, there is greater language diversity in private than in government signs.*

*(Landry and Bourhis 1997: 27)*

What Landry and Bourhis (1997) seek to explain is that sometimes the languages displayed on non-official signs may be congruent with those issued by the government. Yet, this indicates that shop/business owners are satisfied with the languages that the authorities have given priority. It means that they consider those languages to be comprehensible and effective in communicating messages and addressing customers in such a place. Notwithstanding this fact, there are other examples where official signs show certain tongues, whereas private ones exhibit other divergent ones. Thus, this delineates the fact that the two language profiles within this specific linguistic landscape are not in agreement. In short, LL is seen as an arena where various languages appear in a written form and compete with one another. They may either be issued by the authorities or by ordinary people. Then, it is momentous to investigate the presence or the absence of some languages in different sceneries as it helps one to be acquainted with the linguistic profile of diverse regions.

### **1.15. Conclusion**

It is of great importance to be acquainted with definitions of terms related to a certain sociolinguistic research work as well as the various studies that have previously been conducted in that field before tackling any sociolinguistic issue. This makes it easier for one to deal with any scientific investigation in this sphere. The present chapter thus provided details about some key-concepts which help reaching fruitful results in relation to this research, viz. dialects, language, standardisation process, language planning and policy, globalisation, linguistic landscape and some language contact phenomena like bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia, borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing. From our vantage point, Algeria is a country with a complicated linguistic situation where code-switching and code-mixing appear as prevailing linguistic phenomena. In addition, a lot of words are borrowed from French, Spanish, Turkish and English because of either the effect of long years of colonialism or globalization. We also strongly believe that Algeria is a multilingual nation where, in addition to Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber and French, new comers such as English and Chinese are gaining ground.

## Chapter One: Review of Literature

All in all, this part discussed and analyzed preceding works done by various sociolinguists and academics around the world. This is essentially important for any researcher as it prepares him to step towards the fieldwork. But before moving to the practical part, one may ponder over the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria. In fact, this may help answering our research questions and conducting our study successfully.

# **CHAPTER TWO**

## **THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF ALGERIA**

## **Chapter Two: The Sociolinguistic Situation of Algeria**

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## **2.1. Introduction**

Algeria is best known for its cultural and ethnic diversity. This is yet what makes it unique among the Arabic-speaking countries. In this sense, Grandguillaume (2001) believes that, in Algeria, language intertwines with other crucial concepts like identity and ideology. Thus, it has been considered as a controversial matter to be discussed. Unlike Algeria's previous presidents, viz. Ben Bella, Boumediène, Chadli, Boudiaf and Zéroual who emphasized the fact that it is strongly considered as an Arab country and that Islam is its unique religion, the head of state, Bouteflika, proclaimed that the Algerian culture is characterized by its plurality (Kaplan and Baldauf 2007). Broadly speaking, this chapter reviews this country's sociolinguistic situation which appears to be complicated. Algerians then seem to be seeking after their own identity as well as the language(s) they are supposed to use. So as to achieve the thesis' scientific crucial objective, a brief glimpse of what historically happened in this area may first be given. In fact, this may provide one with essential information about the previous dwellers and the different people, with diverse origins, who visited the area. That is, those people's contributions in shaping the Algerian society and language use are to be acknowledged here. Furthermore, this part discusses the languages formerly and currently used in this region such as Arabic, Berber, French and English, for instance. It also tackles some linguistic phenomena which may protrude when a given language comes into contact with another one, namely diglossia, bilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing.

## **2.2. A Brief History of the City of Oran**

In this dissertation, the focus is to be on an important Algerian city which is Oran. Yet, it is noteworthy that one may know about Algeria before dealing with this metropolitan area. In fact, much has been written about this nation and its historical knowledge. *Algeria Business and Investment Opportunities Yearbook* (2015: 10)



elucidates that Algeria or El-Jazair<sup>18</sup> is a North African coastal country officially labelled as People's Democratic Republic of Algeria<sup>19</sup>. It has an area of 2.381.741 km<sup>2</sup> which qualifies it to be ranked as the largest country in Africa and the tenth-largest one on earth. Algiers is the name of its capital. To the north, it is bordered by the Mediterranean Basin. To the south, by Niger, Mali and Mauritania; to the East it is bordered by Tunisia and Libya. It also shares frontiers with Morocco and Western Sahara in the west. This strategic location is what makes Algeria a shining target that infatuates different ethnic groups.

According to Pellegrin's (1949) book entitled "*Les noms de lieux d'Algérie et de Tunisie. Ethymologie et interpretation*", Oran is a Berber word that means "lion" (Qtd. in Benramdane 2004). In a similar vein, an article appeared on the pages of the Algerian newspaper *Réflexion* with the title "*History of Oran*"<sup>20</sup>. It explains that Oran is an Algerian city whose name is derived from the Arabic word "*Wahrán*" which refers to "*two lions*"<sup>21</sup>. It is claimed that in ancient times, during the year 900, there were still existing lions in the region. The two last hunted carnivores were found in a mountain called "the mountain of the lions" near Oran. That is why there are two big statues in the shape of two lions in front of the town hall. They are thus symbolizing the two captured wild cats.

Oran, according to *Larousse Encyclopédie*, had a population of about 775 666 inhabitants during the year 2010. It was inhabited by different races in the past and it was first founded by Andalousian Moslems in 903. At that time, the city was viewed as a trading centre that joined together the Maghreb countries and Islamic Spain until Grenada fell down in the end of the XV century. After that, Oran was conquered by the Spanish colonizers between 1509 and 1708. The city then became the capital of the Ottoman Empire who was the next to visit Algeria. Several years later, the time came for the French to colonise the country. As a result, this opened the door to a wave of European immigrants to take turn and settle in Oran.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> El-Jazair is an Arabic word which means "the islands". This name has been given to this country on the pretext that there were small islands off the seaside (DiPiazza 2007: 8).

<sup>19</sup> The English translation of the Arabic phrase which reads as follows: "Al Jomhurya Al Jazayria Al Dimoqratia Al Cha'bya".

<sup>20</sup> The original title reads as follows: "Histoire d'Oran".

<sup>21</sup> [https://www.reflexiondz.net/HISTOIRE-D-ORAN\\_a665.html](https://www.reflexiondz.net/HISTOIRE-D-ORAN_a665.html)

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/ville/Oran/136210>



**Map 2.1:** Towns and Villages Surrounding Oran.

**Source:** <https://www.google.dz/maps/place/Oran>

### 2.3. Historical Background of Algeria

Algeria has gone through several periods throughout centuries. It was invaded by different people who came from various places. This evinces that history forged this North African country. In this part, this nation's history will be divided into three periods, vis. before 1830, from 1830 to 1962 and after 1962. These two years have been chosen as markers owing to the fact that they represent sequential events that happened in this country. The former symbolises the arrival of the French coloniser who ruled it for more than a century. The latter is the year when Algeria won its independence and started a new life as a free nation.

#### 2.3.1. Algeria before 1830

Denver confirms that the original dwellers of Algeria were the *Berbers*. The Romans gave them this name while they called themselves *Amazigh* which means

*“free men”* (Denver 2013: 23). According to Oxford Business Group (2010: 9), through the millennia, Berber people witnessed different invasions on the grounds that Algeria was occupied by different people who crossed North Africa while heading to Europe and the Middle East. Before the Arabs ruled the country in the seventh century, Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Vandals, Romans and Byzantines had had control over it. Indeed, this had an impact on Berbers’ language. It is worth mentioning that the arrival of the Arabs served as a significant factor helping the Islamiation of the majority of the country when they brought Arabic. In fact, Beni Hilal were the tribes who had spread this language in less than three centuries. They arabised the largest part of the region both linguistically and culturally (Camps 1995 :1). Then, in the sixteenth century, the Ottomans seized the majority of the area after the Spanish trial to settle in some parts of North Africa (Oxford Business Group 2010: 9). This bird-eye view evinces that Algeria has been fragmented and suffered from political instability.

### **2.3.2. Algeria from 1830 to 1962**

During this period, Algeria witnessed one of the cruellest kinds of colonialism that affected their culture, language and identity. Oxford Business Group (2010) explains that after the Ottoman Empire, the French were the next outlanders who cruelly annexed Algeria in 1830. Yet, the coloniser settled in Algeria on the pretext that the latter was considered as an inseparable portion of France even though it was not the fact in reality (ibid). Interestingly, French officials targeted school and considered it as a weapon to rid Algeria of its language, religion and identity. To elucidate this point, Gordon (1962: 7) argues that *“when the Portuguese colonized, they built churches; when the British colonized, they built trading stations; when the French colonize, they build schools”*. This implies that the French government fully intended to make a change by means of education; they thought that this might help to seed fruitful trees which are rich in French language as well as their identity that represents their supposedly superior culture. In the words of Albuyeh (2013: 177), few years after the colonisers settled in Algeria, the head of the state emphasised the momentousness of *“the Frenchification Policy”*. Their ultimate goal was to propagate the use of French progressively in the region. This led to the eradication of the coming generation’s national identity, indoctrinating them with new ideas and a new cultural values rooted in this new language. That is, they wanted to brainwash them and to

plant the French culture in their minds (ibid). Since the aforementioned policy was implemented throughout the whole colonial era, it stood as a chief obstacle preventing Algerians from learning Arabic.

Gordon believes that among the Maghreb countries, Algeria was “*the most vociferous in proclaiming its Arab Muslim identity*” (1978: 151). Algerians therefore were rife with stubbornness and enthusiasm to regain their language, their personality and to announce their identity as Arabs and Muslims, i.e. the creation of a new nation. All in all, Johnson (2005: 101) clarifies that after living gloomy years under the authoritarianism of the French imperialist, Algerians rebelliously constituted the National Liberation Front (FLN) and declared war on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1954. Therefore, Algeria put an end to this terrifying history of colonialism and finally became a totally independent country on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962.

### **2.3.3. Algeria after 1962**

After being under control for 132 years, Algeria won its independence and put the French yoke out. It was not easy to gain such a political and linguistic stability as it was a battlefield hosting several contenders who fought for the sake of imposing their cultures and languages in the region during centuries. Indeed, this historical presentation epitomises Algeria’s cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity. Benrabah (2013) asserts that different languages have hitherto appeared in Algeria, such as Turkish, Classical Arabic, Vernacular Arabic, various forms of Berber, Sabir<sup>23</sup> and French as well (Benrabah 2013: 23). Right after gaining its independence, an initiative was introduced by the Algerian authorities as they stepped towards addressing the problem of language in the country (Albuyeh 2013: 177). Yet, thanks to Algeria’s uniqueness in the Arabic-speaking world and among the Maghreb countries more precisely, one can consider it as a territory where language issues can be investigated.

#### **2.3.3.1. The Arabisation Policy in Algeria**

After the colonial epoch, Ahmed Ben Bella<sup>24</sup> took control of the recently liberated Algeria as it got its independence. With him, Algerians started looking for

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<sup>23</sup> In the Middle Ages, people living in the Mediterranean banks used Sabir which was considered as a lingua franca (Stockwell 2002: 175).

<sup>24</sup> In September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1963, Ben Bella was officially nominated as the first president of independent Algeria (Lentz 2013: 26).

their authentic real identity while they seemed to find it in the Arabic language and Islam. This implies that they wanted to bring back the Algerian culture which was eradicated and lost, i.e. the government was searching for the restoration of the Algerian identity as well as the unity of its speech community by using one official and national language which is Classical Arabic. In fact, in April 1962, after being liberated from jail, the would-be president, Ben Bella, made his position crystal clear and announced “*we are Arabs, Arabs, Arabs*” (Benrabah 2013: 52).

Accordingly, Kramersch believes that people’s identity is closely related to the language they use. The way they speak, for instance, leads one to label them as parts of a certain speech community and this is what makes them feel proud as members of those groups (1998: 65). Additionally, to regain a country’s autonomy refers not only to fighting the coloniser and ousting him from one’s land, but, as Fanon explains, it also implies “*the creation of new men*” (1963: 2). In this respect, this author means giving this country a new look based on a culture and a new belief far away from the colonial one.

For the purpose of putting an end to the colonialist’s culture and language, Ben Bella advocated the policy of Arabization as he chose to Arabize the educational system in October 1962. All he wanted was to get rid of the French language by any means. The former Minister of Education Benhamida was in discord and advised him not to rush due to the fact that this action should be done slowly; otherwise it would perish and drive to unwanted issues. He explained that an abrupt implementation of this process of Arabization won’t work well (Altoma 1971: 699; Gordon 1966: 200).

According to Callagher, during the year 1962, the educational system was poor and deficient in skills or even without any competency. This is intimately related to the great number of teachers who fled the country as well as the keen desire expressed by children to join primary schools. To satisfy their needs, around 10,988 teachers were recruited by the governor as stopgaps (Callagher 1968: 138). Indeed, what was crystal-clear is that not all of those educators were sufficiently competent and skilful to rely on.

In September 1964, Ahmed Ben Bella managed to make Arabic the only language to be used in the first year in elementary schools despite the fact that some

people expressed their opposition and made a fuss about it. They did not accept to enrol their children. This refusal to arabise the country was also manifested by the intelligentsia who were supporting secularism and liberation; they preferred other alternatives like Berber (Murphy 1977, 7; Saad 1992, 61). McDougal reveals that during this year, the political leader Ben Bella brought approximately 1000 teachers speaking Arabic from Egypt so as to achieve his goal and to give the primary school a new look with the Arabic language being stuck on its façade, i.e. to focus on Arabic as a main language (McDougall 2011: 251). This displays that Algeria had become dependent on the Middle East since it could not satisfy the requirements of its whole population who were in need of teachers mastering the Arabic language. In the words of Grandguillaume, since the number of instructors was unsatisfying, Ben Bella asked the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser to send him educators “*even if they were greengrocers*” (Grandguillaume 2004: 28). Regrettably, most of those recruited teachers appeared to be ordinary people and artisans who had nothing to do with education. What is more embarrassing is that it was difficult for Algerians to comprehend them when they spoke, i.e. their accent was unintelligible. Besides, those teachers were not familiar with what was happening in the Algerian society. During this epoch, other problems arose owing to the fact that those people coming from Egypt were fanatic and could meddle with religious affairs as most of them were members of Muslim Brotherhood (Abu-Haidar 2000: 161, Wardhaugh 1987: 189).

### **2.3.3.2. Arabisation against Arabicisation**

Ibrahim (1989) exhibits the existence of two words which are “*Arabization*” and “*Arabicization*”. He points out the fact that one can sometimes replace the other; however, they are different from each other. While differentiating between these two terms, Ibrahim asserts that:

*Although the two terms are used interchangeably by some, the difference between them is not insignificant. ‘Arabicization’ refers to and involves the use of the Arabic language in place of some other language. The term ‘Arabization,’ however, has a much wider application as well as a more profound implication for modern Arab society. Thus, whereas ‘Arabicization’ is a linguistic process whereby a foreign language is replaced by Arabic, ‘Arabization’ is cultural as well as linguistic.*

*(Ibrahim 1989: 53)*

This author clarifies that even though the two aforementioned terms are interrelated, they differ from each other. Linguistically speaking, Arabicization has only to do with language, i.e. the use of the Arabic language as a substitute to replace French for the case of Algeria. Arabisation, on the other hand, is closely related to culture, ethnicity as well as language. That is, it mainly aims at recognizing Arabic as the first basic language of the country and bringing back the Arab identity while considering this society as an Arab one.

Algeria was arabised for a period of time but, surprisingly, right after Bouteflika's election as a leader of the country in 1999, he began tackling language issues in front of everyone. He proclaimed that the government did not succeed in implementing this policy of Arabisation. According to the Algerian newspaper *Le Matin*, the governor made it clear that "*it is unthinkable ... to spend ten years studying pure science in Arabic when it would only take one year in English*" (Kaplan and Baldauf 2007: 9). The Algerian head of state yet hinted at the importance of using English and other languages, for instance, for the evolution of the country in various domains. Yet, he used both classical Arabic and French while delivering his speeches. In doing so, he wanted to show that an Algerian citizen should master these two tongues. This means that Bouteflika displayed his desire to go back to bilingualism (ibid).

#### **2.4. Algeria's Linguistic Profile**

What characterises Algeria is the coexistence of diverse tongues since it witnessed the presence of a number of people with different cultures and origins. In this respect, Taleb-Ibrahimi (2010) confirms that Algeria is considered as a multilingual country where there is a kind of competition between different languages that are used in parallel. These languages are standard Arabic, dialectal Arabic, Berber and French. For her, what leads to conflict is disparity between their statuses within society. Taleb-Ibrahimi (1998) believes that:

*Algerian speakers live and evolve in a multilingual society where the languages which are spoken, written and used, namely dialectal Arabic, Berber, standard Arabic and French, live a difficult cohabitation which is marked by the relationship of competition and conflict between the two dominant norms (one by the constitutionality of its status as an*

*official language, the other foreign but legitimized by its preeminence in economic life) on the one hand. On the other hand, there is a constant and stubborn stigmatization of popular speech.*<sup>25</sup>

(Taleb-Ibrahimi 1998: 22)

Similarly, in an international conference, entitled “*Pour une Histoire Critique et Citoyenne: le Cas de l’Histoire Franco-Algérienne*”, held in Lyon, France, Khaoula Taleb-Ibrahimi spoke about “*the Algerians and their Language(s) From the Colonial Period to these Days*”. She enunciated that in Algeria there are “*three large spheres or strata*”<sup>26</sup> which are “*the Arabophone Sphere*”, “*the Berberophone Sphere*” and “*the Foreign Languages Sphere*” where French and English are to be found. That is, Arabic, Berber and other foreign languages such as French and English are hitherto spoken and/ or written in Algeria.

Then, Chachou (2013: 196) emphasizes that there are stereotypical images tying Classical Arabic to the Holy Qur’an, sacredness and identity, i.e. being Arabs. French is viewed as the colonizer’s language and sometimes that of modernity. Algerian Arabic refers to a mere dialect used inappropriately. And Berber is a regional dialect which reminds Algerians of their origins.

#### **2.4.1. Arabic**

The Holy Qur’an explains that there is a strong relation between the origins of the Arabic language and its revelation as a sacred book to the Prophet Mohamed (Peace be upon Him): “*We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur’an in order that you may understand*”. (The Holy Qur’an, S.12, V.2). In other words, Arabic and Islam are so inseparable that one cannot speak about any of them without mentioning the other.

Importantly, Arabic is considered as a Hamito-Semitic language (Benrabah 2007: 46). It is recognized around the world as an official language in 22 countries that

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<sup>25</sup> The original text reads as follows: Les locuteurs algériens vivent et évoluent dans une société multilingue où les langues parlées, écrites, utilisées, en l’occurrence l’arabe dialectal, le berbère, l’arabe standard et le français, vivent une cohabitation difficile marquée par le rapport de compétition et de conflit qui lie les deux normes dominantes (l’une par la constitutionnalité de son statut de langue officielle, l’autre étrangère mais légitimée par sa prééminence dans la vie économique) d’une part, et d’autre part la constante et têtue stigmatisation des parlers populaires.

<sup>26</sup> [https://www.canal-u.tv/video/ecole\\_normale\\_superieure\\_de\\_lyon/26\\_les\\_algeriens\\_et\\_leur\\_s\\_langue\\_s\\_de\\_la\\_periode\\_coloniale\\_a\\_nos\\_jours.4351](https://www.canal-u.tv/video/ecole_normale_superieure_de_lyon/26_les_algeriens_et_leur_s_langue_s_de_la_periode_coloniale_a_nos_jours.4351)



constitute the League of Arab States or the Arab League. Algeria is among these nations (Abi-Hashem 2011: 152). In fact, three varieties of Arabic are to be focused on which are Literary Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic, Colloquial or vernacular Arabic and what is known as Educated Spoken Arabic. El-Shareef and Hain (2016) state that nearly 300 million interlocutors officially use Modern Standard Arabic. This language form, according to Ryding (2005: 4), is described to be “eloquent” and called *al-lugha al-fus’ha*<sup>27</sup>. In addition, he says that, in the Arab World, all what is written such as in books and newspapers is to be found in MSA. The broadcasters also speak this language variety on TV and the radio, i.e. modern media. It is therefore essential for anyone to be familiar with this form so as to understand what people living in the Arab World say or write. In this respect, Ryding explains that:

*MSA is the language of written Arabic media, e.g., newspapers, books, journals, street signs, advertisements – all forms of the printed word. It is also the language of public speaking and news broadcasts on radio and television. This means that in the Arab world one needs to be able to comprehend both the written and the spoken forms of MSA.*

(Ryding 2005: 5)

Significantly, in a monograph entitled *Modern Arabic*<sup>28</sup>, Monteil (1960) refers to MSA as “*Neo-Arabic*” and considered it as a modernised version of CA. In this regard, he describes MSA as “*Classical Arabic, or regular, or written, or literal, or literary, in its modern form*”<sup>29</sup> (Monteil 1960: 25).

Grandguillaume (1983: 11) believes that “*the Arabic language, called classical, or literal, or literary, is the language in which the Qur’an was revealed, and in which all the Arab culture was expressed*”<sup>30</sup>. In a similar vein, Ennaji and Sadiqi explain that CA, as a language of Islam and the Holy Qur’an, is claimed to be a respected and sophisticated language which has a high status especially when it comes to literature and religion. The other standard and codified form of Arabic, which is Standard Arabic, is also considered to be important. It is used in the educational sector,

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<sup>27</sup> اللغة الفصحى

<sup>28</sup> L’Arabe Moderne

<sup>29</sup> The original text reads as follows: “l’arabe classique, ou régulier, ou écrit, ou littéral, ou littéraire, sous sa forme moderne.”

<sup>30</sup> The original text reads as follows: “La langue arabe, dite classique, ou littérale, ou littéraire, est la langue dans laquelle fut révélé le Coran, et dans laquelle s’est exprimée toute la culture arabe”.

the administrative sphere and the media as well, i.e. it is utilised by official institutions (2008: 47). Ennaji and Sadiqi (2008) also focus on the differences existing between these two varieties when they explain that in MSA there is an absence of what is called the case marking affixes. To illustrate their point, the following example was given: CA *kutubun* (books) → SA *kutub* (books). Besides, these authors emphasised that there is a plain French mark left on SA; this is linked to the word order of Subject-Verb-Object that may appear in this variety and that has nothing to do with CA. The last thing Ennaji and Sadiqi (2008) focus on is that, unlike Classical Arabic, many French words and phrases became parts of SA because of the process of borrowing (ibid). In fact, Ryding (2005: 51) illustrates the fact that diverse languages have loaned Modern Standard Arabic several words by providing various examples, viz. computer, radio, film and bank.

According to Kaye (1970), *Amma, darija or lahja* are concepts used to refer to the colloquial varieties or dialects. It is an essentially spoken language with less complex grammar and this is what differentiates it from the other written form or CA. In the eyes of most of people who are speaking it, this vernacular language is a worthless language that lacks in grammar. Yet, Kaye (1970) explains that:

*It refers to the colloquial language known as amma, darija or lahja (dialects). The colloquial varieties number in the hundreds. Being spoken and not written, they are distinguishable from Classical Arabic as a result of a general grammatical simplification in structure with fewer grammatical categories.*

(Kaye 1970: 67)

Grandguillaume (2004: 2) asserts that the majority of Algerians use *darija* in their daily interactions and consider it as a native language. He also underlines the crucial role of the Arab States in disapproving the use of any Arabic dialect in a written form so as to unite the Arab World (ibid). Notwithstanding the diversity of Algeria's regional dialects, interlocutors can comprehend one another. For instance, when people living in Oran go to the capital Algiers or even to Constantine in the west of Algeria, they do not have difficulty understanding individuals living there while conversing and using their own regional dialectal Arabic, i.e. both the language they speak and the one they hear are intelligible. In this respect, Arezki (2008) confirms that colloquial Arabic:

*[...] is the mother tongue of the majority of the population (the first shared language in Algeria) with regional variation which do not constitute any hindrance to incomprehension.*<sup>31</sup>

(Arezki 2008: 23)

Harrat et al. (2016) assume that a mixture or a fusion between different variations and these spoken languages exists. In fact, traces are left by diverse ancient local people and Europeans, viz. French, Spanish, English and Italian. In the Arab world, dialects such as those utilised in the Middle-East cannot be understood by people living in the Northwest of Africa who use Maghreb dialects due to the fact that the variations of spoken Arabic differ greatly from one country to another and this is why they are sometimes seen as different languages (Harrat et al. 2016: 385).

Since the Arab world is divided into two parts which are the East and the West, Bouamrane (1986: 11) differentiates between two important dialects, namely “*Oriental*” and “*Maghrebian*” ones. The former is used in the east and the latter may be heard in the west. Similarly, Saadane and Habash (2015) state that dialects do split the Arab world into two main groups, the Maghreb and the Mashriq. The first one refers to the Western group which is located in the north of Africa while the second one points to the Eastern countries. In Algeria, this spoken language, which belongs to the Maghreb group, is referred to as Algerian Arabic (ALG). The percentage of people using it as their mother tongue is higher. It is about 70 to 80 % (70). Queffélec et al. (2002: 590) argue that, in different areas in Algeria, four varieties exist which are the Oranais, the Algérois, the rural and the Sahara. Therefore, this evinces that these dialects lack homogeneity. The Oranais is the language spoken in the Western region. The Algérois is used in the central part. The rural dialect is the one that people living in the East of Algeria such as in Constantine and Setif use during ordinary daily conversations. The last one is called the Sahara dialect. It is a language which is spoken in the South of Algeria. Indeed, this spoken language (ALG) can be encountered in unofficial contexts, for example while watching some TV shows, communicating with the others and sending or receiving informal messages via internet (ibid).

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<sup>31</sup> The original text reads as follows :“[...] est la langue maternelle de la majorité de la population (première langue véhiculaire en Algérie) avec certes des variantes régionales qui ne constituent cependant aucun obstacle à l'intercompréhension.”

Ryding (1991) sheds light on another language form named Educated Spoken Arabic (henceforth ESA). According to her, this language is comprehensible in the Arabic speaking countries. Educated people using diverse dialects can use it in the circumstances where they find themselves in between formality and informality. For instance, Arabic speakers are sometimes involved in conversations when they can neither use Classical Arabic nor Colloquial Arabic. Therefore, ESA will be the only medium to turn to. Ryding (1991) explains that:

*A new form of widely intelligible spoken Arabic seems to be emerging in the Arab world, however, used for inter-dialectal conversation by educated native speakers, for semiformal discussions, and on other social occasions when the colloquial is deemed too informal, and the literary, too stilted.*

*(Ryding 1991: 212)*

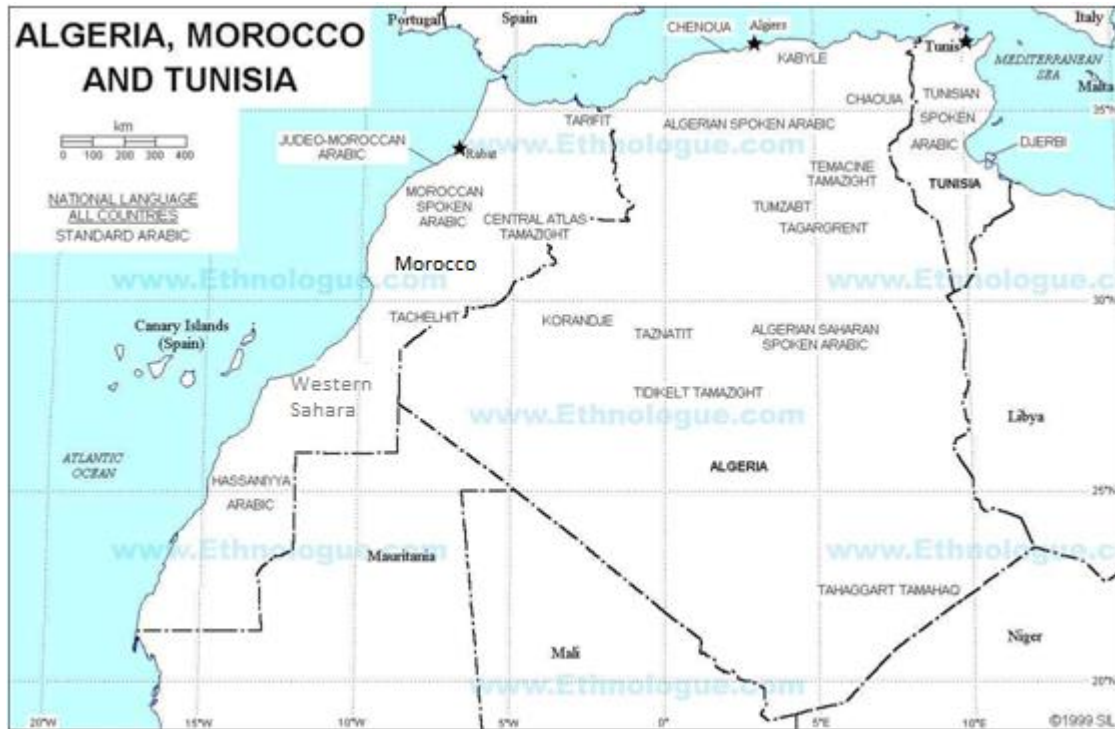
Additionally, Ryding (1991) clarifies that ESA can also be called Formal Spoken Arabic (henceforth FSA) which she describes as “*a supra-regional, prestige form of spoken Arabic practical as a means of communication throughout the Arabic-speaking world*” (ibid). But the term FSA displays a sort of contradiction owing to the fact that it refers to both “formal” and “spoken” in parallel. This prestigious intermediate variety is thus bound by CA and Spoken Arabic. That is, it is made up of a mixture of these two forms.

Mitchell (1986: 9) further says that “*vernacular Arabic (meaning dialectal/colloquial Arabic) is never plain or unmixed but constantly subject to the influences of modern times*” (Qtd. in Bassiouney 2009: 16). For him, this contemporary world has an enormous impact on colloquial Arabic in being a mixed language. He also evinces that, in an age of globalization and modernization, people living in certain regions need to exceed their vernacular languages when tackling some topics. For instance, some educated people desire to reach other Arabic countries and exchange ideas with some individuals who are living there and having similar interests and specialities. According to Mitchell, using vernacular Arabic seems to be considered as a hindrance to those people’s contacts and ambitions that they are supposed to get rid of. That is, they may face obstacles while communicating their thoughts. Indeed, in order to overcome these difficulties and to cope with pressure in these modern times, the Educated Spoken Arabic form has been created. This author then stresses the

importance of ESA in bringing Arabs closer and facilitating communication between them in spite of the fact that they do live in different distant communities (Qtd. in *ibid*: 16-17).

#### **2.4.2. Berber**

Chaker (2004) believes that, Berber is an Afro-Asiatic language that is actually dispersed in about ten countries in the Maghreb-Sahara-Sahel, i.e. North Africa. Algeria and Morocco are the nations where the most important Berber-speaking populations gather. In the words of Dalby (1998: 89) and El Aissati, (1993: 92), Berber comprises four languages which are ‘Tamashek’, ‘Mzab’, ‘Shawia’ and ‘Takbaylit’. ‘Kabyle’ or ‘Takbaylit’ is used by Kabylis; in the Sahara, Tuaregs speak ‘Tamashek’; ‘Shawia’ is used by Chaouias; while the ‘Mzab’ variety is spoken by Mozabites. According to a research carried out by *Ethnologue*, in addition to those four main tongues, there are other separate languages which are well-spread around Algeria such as ‘Chenoua’ which is utilised in the west of the capital Algiers, in the region between two towns named ChercHELL and Tipaza. ‘Tarifit’ can be heard around some western seaside small cities, viz. Arzew and Beni Saf. ‘Korandje’ and ‘Tchelhit’ are two other Berber languages spoken in the oasis of Tabelbala which is located in the south of Algeria. Besides, ‘Tagargrent’, ‘Tamazight of Central Atlas’, ‘Taznatit’ and ‘Temacine Tamazight’ are used in the southern part of Constantine, the southern section of Oran, Timimoun and close to Touggourt, respectively. ‘Tidikelt Tamazight’ is also found in the Sahara, in Salah and Tit precisely. Hetzron (1987: 648) and Weber (1987: 12) believe that most of these tribes find it difficult to comprehend one another while interacting. In other words, when an individual belonging to one of the aforementioned groups converse with other Berber-speaking people living in a different tribe, he will be considered to be unintelligible.



**Map 2.2:** Geographical Spread of some Berber Varieties.

**Source :** <https://algeriepaysavoir.wordpress.com/2016/01/21/les-langues-parlees-en-algerie/>

Skutsch (2005) affirms that Berber language or Tamazight is based on three scripts. The first one is the Arabic alphabet; the second graphic system is Latin; and the last one is Tifinagh<sup>32</sup>. Women, according to some experts in history, played the role of saviours to that language when they used its characters in their clothes, jewels and other handmade objects. Berber women thus left Tifinagh traces on everything they touched and then this helped ensure its survival (Skutsch 2005: 213). Accordingly, the fact that Berber is solely spoken is a fallacious idea. In this sense, while writing poetry and delivering different messages for thousands years, Berber people living in tribes and merchants in North Africa used the Tifinagh script while engraving rocks (Stokes 2009: 114).

Skutsch (2005) points out that right after independence, Berbers found themselves brushed aside, albeit the significant role they played in freeing Algeria from the French nightmare. Yet, they felt the government's ignorance of their

<sup>32</sup> Tifinagh or Tchifinagh is an old alphabetic witing system used by the Tuareg whose language is "Tamashek" (Geels 2006: 31).

contribution and all the efforts they have made. In 1963, Aït Ahmed<sup>33</sup> was at the heart of the foundation of the party labelled Socialist Forces Front (henceforth FFS). This was considered as a sign of hostility against the FLN which was the only ruling party in Algeria. In 1965, after two years of confrontation, the government caught Aït Ahmed and made him sit on death row (Skutsch 2005: 213). From that time, the division between the state and Berbers occurred. In other words, there had been conflicts and a sort of fragility appeared in Algeria. According to a weekly magazine called *Jeune Afrique*, the former president of Algeria, Ben Bella, declared that Aït Ahmed had often been “*more Kabyle than Algerian*”<sup>34</sup> (Rochebrune 2012). Benmoussat (2003) also explains that Berbers have not yet felt the taste of liberty and autonomy. They believe that, instead of setting them free, it was their owners who have been substituted. Hence, Benmoussat says that they “*felt themselves to be at a disadvantage and argued that independence for them had resulted in no more than an exchange of masters*” (2003: 109).

According to Evans and Phillips (2007), on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1980, the government attempted to add fuel to the fire after preventing the poet and the writer, Mouloud Mammeri, from giving an educational speech about the use of Berber at the university of Tizi-Ouzou. In fact, this act gave birth to what is called the “*Berber Spring*” in May 1980. People and students in particular made a fuss over it; this gradually reached all Kabylia and led to the rise in tension there. That is to say, during the 1980s, Algeria went through a period of instability when Berbers felt the government’s non-recognition of their own identity in general and their language in particular. They expressed their separatist tendency by refusing the Arabo-Islamic identity. This evinces that Berbers’ wish was to see their language having the same weight as Arabic in Algeria (Phillips 2007: 122). Since then, Berber people have not been in harmony with the state.

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<sup>33</sup> Hocine Aït Ahmed is a former member of the “FLN” party and one of “les chefs historiques” or “the historical leaders” who triggered the War of Independence in Algeria. These nine members are Hocine Aït Ahmed, Larbi Ben M’Hidi, Moustapha Ben Boulaid, Mouhamed Boudiaf, Mourad Didouche, Belkacem Krim, Mohamed Khider, Rabah Bitat and Ahmed Ben Bella.

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/191656/politique/alg-rie-une-soir-e-avec-ben-bella/>

On April 18<sup>th</sup>, 2001, people erupted in Kabylia after a dramatic incident in the region. This is what *Perspective Monde*<sup>35</sup> team has written in an article<sup>36</sup> in which they referred to “*The Beginning of the Black Spring*”<sup>37</sup> in Algeria. In this regard, they state:

*The death of a secondary school student by gunshot shot dead in a gendarmerie in Beni Douala, a town in Kabylia, Algeria, triggers a wide movement of protest. It expands On June 14, with the appearance of an immense protest in which about 2 million persons participates with a number of demands*<sup>38</sup>.

In the words of DiPiazza (2007), in 2002, under Bouteflika<sup>39</sup>, Berber was given the status of a national language after a long period of struggle when the country witnessed fear and bloodshed (DiPiazza 2007: 36). People’s demands there even went further when they wanted Berber to be an official language in Algeria. This began to materialise as it was written in the news. Yet, it appeared in a big headline<sup>40</sup> in the magazine *Jeune Afrique* on February 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016 which reads “Algeria officially recognizes Berber after a long struggle”<sup>41</sup>. This has also occurred in the Algerian news website *Algérie 360*<sup>42</sup> on April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2016 as follows: “1980-2016: from Berber spring to the recognition of Tamazight as an official language”<sup>43</sup>. In these articles, the recognition of Tamazight by the Algerian state has been proclaimed and its promotion so as to become an official language after a long-suffering period has been brought to the forefront. Then, Berbers’ dream finally became true and this can even be read in the Constitution of Algeria (Chapter1, Art 4). That is, Tamazight is recognized as the official and the national language of the country just like Arabic. This legal document has also been translated into Tamazight as it is mentioned in the Algerian daily

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<sup>35</sup> “Perspective Monde” is an informative and educational website of the University of Sherbrooke which is located in Québec, Canada. It provides news, events, statistics, and maps; it also tells of what has happened around the world since 1945.

<sup>36</sup> <http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMEve?codeEve=1322>

<sup>37</sup> The original title reads as follows : 18 Avril 2001: Le début du « printemps noir » en Algérie.

<sup>38</sup> The original text reads as follows: “La mort d’un lycéen par balle dans une gendarmerie de Beni Douala, une commune de Kabylie, en Algérie, déclenche un mouvement de contestation plus large. Il culmine le 14 Juin avec une immense manifestation à laquelle participent environ 2 millions de personnes ralliées derrière un ensemble de revendications”

<sup>39</sup> The former president Abdelaziz Bouteflika took control of Algeria in 1999 (East and Thomas 2003: 7).

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/depeches/300391/societe/lalgerie-consacre-langue-berbere-apres-longue-lutte/>

<sup>41</sup> The original headline reads as follows : “L’Algérie consacre la langue berbère après une langue lutte”.

<sup>42</sup> <https://www.algerie360.com/1980-2016-du-printemps-berbere-a-la-consecration-de-tamazight-langue-officielle/>

<sup>43</sup> The original title reads as follows: “1980 – 2016: du printemps berbère à la consécration de Tamazight langue officielle”.



newspaper “Echourouk<sup>44</sup>”. This Tamazight copy can be found in both a numerical form and a hard copy<sup>45</sup>.

More importantly, the Algerian Prime Minister Ouyahia clarifies everything apropos Tamazight in an article<sup>46</sup> written on the pages of the daily newspaper *La Voix d’Algérie*. He explicates that “those who claim that the state has forgotten Tamazight want to ignite Kabylia”<sup>47</sup> (Gnaoui 2017). Here, he has been making it crystal clear that the state is lending weight to Tamazight and that this is the opposite of what some people said so as to pour oil on fire and to stimulate people living in some Algerian cities, viz. Tizi Ouzou, Bouira and Bejaia to rage against the government. Indeed, the fact that this language has been taught in the middle and secondary schools in 38 cities among 48 ones, that it can be found in 7 universities as well as 10 university research centres and that it appears in the constitution epitomizes its recognition by the Algerian government.

Moreover, on March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018, an article<sup>48</sup> published in the Algerian daily newspaper *Alseyassi* exhibits that the president Bouteflika commanded the government to expedite the submission to Parliament of the organic law’s plan relating to establishing an Academy of the Tamazight Language (Samira 2018). This comes after the decision he made at the Cabinet of Ministers held on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 2017 when he emphasised that January 12<sup>th</sup> of every year would be considered as a paid vacation<sup>49</sup> (Takheroubt 2017). In fact, this is the first day of the year in the Amazigh calendar; this first month is called *Yennayer*.

But, despite all the struggles between Algerians for some languages and identity recognition, they always show their unity and patriotism. And this may be illustrated in the way they fought together against the French colonizer when they vanquished it. Thus, this epitomises these people’s unity and *Algerianity* regardless of their origins, ethnicity and the dialects or the languages they speak or write.

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<sup>44</sup> <http://www.echroukonline.com/ara/articles/488842.html>

<sup>45</sup> <http://fr.calameo.com/read/000781596215adf2b1503>

<sup>46</sup> <http://lavoixdelalgerie.com/ouyahia-de-tamazight-pretendent-letat-a-oublie-tamazight-veulent-embraser-kabylie/>

<sup>47</sup> The original text reads as follows: “Ceux qui prétendent que l’Etat a oublié Tamazight veulent embraser la Kabylie”.

<sup>48</sup> <http://www.alseyassi-dz.com/ara/sejut.php?ID=84217>

<sup>49</sup> <http://www.lexpressiondz.com/index.php/nationale/bouteflika-yennayer-journee-chomee-et-payee-282862>

### 2.4.3. French

In the words of Emie, the French ambassador to Algiers between 2014 and 2017, Algeria is ranked as the second francophone country in the world. Indeed, he stresses the great number of Algerians speaking this language. This person claims “*you are the 2<sup>nd</sup> most francophone country in the world with 11 million speakers in Algeria*”<sup>50</sup> (Oki 2014). This language is so widespread that it is used almost everywhere in this North African country. It yet occupies a significant position in this region despite its absence from the constitution. The chief reason behind the presence of such a French language in an African country like Algeria is the long period of occupation that spanned 132 years. In this sense, the French colonisers left visible scars on Algeria. Everybody can hitherto notice the existence of their language in the Algerian territory even though the colonists departed the country a long time ago. Accordingly, in 1966, Kateb Yacine, a major writer and poet in Algeria and in the Arabic world said:

*“La Francophonie” is a neo-colonial political machine, which is only perpetuating our alienation, but the use of the French language does not mean that we are the agent of a foreign power, and I do write in French in order to tell the French that I am not French*<sup>51</sup>

(Kateb 1994: 132)

This clarifies that French has been considered as a strong language that serves as a tool or more specifically as a weapon to fight the colonial forces. It has nothing to do with subordination and submissiveness. Therefore, this author names this French language as “*war booty*”<sup>52</sup> (Kateb 1994). This signifies that Algerians took this language from the settler by force and that it was not given to them as a present. In addition, “*booty*” here refers to something that someone finds useful and takes advantage of.

After the French went back home, their language did not leave the Algerian land and completely return to the fold. This can be easily distinguished on account of

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<sup>50</sup> <http://www.djazairiss.com/fr/lnr/239000>. The original text reads as follow: «Vous êtes le 2<sup>ème</sup> pays le plus francophone du monde avec 11 millions de locuteurs en Algérie».

<sup>51</sup> The original text reads as follow: «La francophonie est une machine politique néocoloniale, qui ne fait que perpétuer notre aliénation, mais l’usage de la langue française ne signifie pas qu’on soit l’agent d’une puissance étrangère, et j’écris en français pour dire aux Français que je ne suis pas français.»

<sup>52</sup> The original concept is “un butin de guerre”.

the presence of French in education from primary school to the university, where different specialities are based on its use, especially the scientific ones such as medicine, engineering, chemistry and other different fields. This language also appears on Algerian radio stations such as “*Radio Chaîne 3*” as well as TV channels like “*Canal Algérie*” which are broadcasting in French. Besides, it is noteworthy to point to many Algerian newspapers and magazines that are written in this language, namely “*Le Quotidien d’Oran*”, “*El-Watan*”, “*El-Moudjahid*”, “*La tribune*”, “*Liberté*”, “*L’expression*”, “*Le Soir d’Algérie*”, “*Le Buteur*”, etc. In this respect, it has been claimed that:

*French still enjoys a high status in Algeria. It is a major foreign language and is still widely read and spoken by many educated Algerians. National radio has a French station. The only TV channel is in Arabic with some French material. The majority of newspapers and magazines are in French. French is widely used in higher education; scientific material in school and university text books is almost exclusively in French.*

*(Baker and Prys Jones 1998: 355)*

The aforesaid words prove that French is omnipresent in the Algerian territory where it occupies a large space, i.e. the momentous role it plays within this society is crystal clear. What is more is that not only intellectuals communicate by means of this language, but also uneducated people do even if they use only few individual words or expressions that seem to be common.

When somebody hears an Algerian using Colloquial Arabic, he can say that, in this language, there is a sort of mixture between Arabic and French. That is, Algerian Arabic or spoken Arabic is rife with French words, phrases and sentences. Accordingly, Benhouhou (2014: 128) sheds light on the fact that interlocutors in the Arab world in general and the Middle East in particular consider that “*the language spoken in Algeria reveals more French than Arabic*”<sup>53</sup>. At this point, people from the Orient, for instance, may think that Algerians speak French or a strange language instead of Arabic although the official language used in this country is called “*Arabic*.” For Algerians, it seems normal to hear somebody using French words and phrases or even loan words which are of different origins when speaking. The

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<sup>53</sup> The original text reads as follows: “*La langue parlée en Algérie révèle d’ailleurs beaucoup plus du français que de l’arabe*”.

following instances are my own words. I was home, during a weekend, talking on the phone to a close friend of mine. In fact, these examples illustrate the aforesaid point:

- (1) La fois passée /mɑrki:t/ un beau but.  
[Last time, I scored an amazing goal].
- (2) /ʒjebni/ l maillot /ʒdid taʃ/ l'équipe nationale.  
[I liked the new kit of the national team].
- (3) /ʃrit/ yaourt /w/ confiture /w/ jus /m/ centre commercial /ʒdid/.  
[I bought yoghurt, jam and juice from the new shopping centre].
- (4) ça fait plaisir /tɪʒeb mʃaya/.  
[It is a pleasure for you to play with me].
- (5) /Sborli/ une minute! /baghi belkhaf nelbes vi:stə/  
[Wait a minute! I will wear a jacket quickly].

Algerians also sometimes find difficulties when they speak owing to the fact that they do not find an equivalent to some technical terms. For example, /*Rani nrigli fel/ parabole* means in English that I am adjusting the satellite dish. In this sentence, an Algerian interlocutor may not find an alternative to the word “*parabole*” to utilise in Arabic. For this reason, any individual may sometimes find himself obliged to use some French terms when speaking.

Similarly, in an article published in *the Algerian Journal of Anthropology and Social Sciences “Insanyat”*, Miliani (2002: 79) refers to the existence of a paradox in Algeria. He asserts that there is “*a progressive decline in scriptural competency among the majority of secondary school students*”<sup>54</sup>. What must be noted here is that, day by day, pupils’ writings in French are becoming worse. This seems to be true because this is what I have noticed and even experienced, as a teacher of English in the secondary education, from my colleagues teaching French. They continually say that students do

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<sup>54</sup> The original quote reads as follows: “Une détérioration progressive des compétences scripturales chez une grande majorité d’élèves”.

not master this language and that their level is low or even disastrous when it comes to both speaking and writing especially in little isolated villages.

Accordingly, on July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016, an article<sup>55</sup> appeared on the pages of *Echourouk* newspaper with the headline that reads “*French instead of Arabic to teach scientific subjects in the baccalauréat!*”<sup>56</sup> (Kouadri 2016). According to this article, the Algerian Minister of National Education Benghabrit had every intention of teaching the scientific subjects such as mathematics, physics, chemistry and science in French. What is more is that the ministry is claimed to be justifying this “*alternative*” with the increase in the ratio of failure at the university on the pretext of “*language handicap*”. After studying in Arabic as the main language and passing the baccalauréat exam, students who are willing to choose a scientific speciality will find it difficult to succeed even if they are competent. This is because all the modules are taught in French and the students are not accustomed to be instructed in this language. Per contra, Benghabrit refuted what *Echourouk* newspaper attributed to her and referred to it as a rumour. In fact, on August 06<sup>th</sup>, 2016, a website named *Huffpost* displayed the Algerian Minister of National Education saying: “*it is not true*”<sup>57</sup>. In this article<sup>58</sup>, she confirmed that she did not intend to teach scientific subjects in French instead of Arabic which is currently used at secondary schools. Thus, Benghabrit has put an end to the polemic that was on the increase and explained that Arabic has been still considered as the main language to be used while teaching scientific subjects.

Tessa<sup>59</sup>, who was invited by *Echourouk News Tv* so as to appear on the news broadcast<sup>60</sup>, spoke about the book he wrote which is entitled “*The Impossible Eradication: the Teaching of French in Algeria*”<sup>61</sup>. In this monograph, he accentuates the government’s desire to eradicate the teaching of the French language. To illustrate this, he has given the concrete example of the parents who were asked to choose, in a referendum, between French and English as a main subject to be taught in elementary

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<sup>55</sup> <https://www.echouroukonline.com/ara/articles/492628.html>

<sup>56</sup> The original headline reads as follows: “الفرنسية بدل العربية لتدريس المواد العلمية في البكالوريا!”

<sup>57</sup> The original text reads as follows: “Ce n’est pas vrai”.

<sup>58</sup> [https://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2016/08/06/algerie-langues-denseigne\\_n\\_11362392.html](https://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2016/08/06/algerie-langues-denseigne_n_11362392.html)

<sup>59</sup> Ahmed Tessa is an Algerian pedagogue and education specialist who worked for years at the Ministry of National Education.

<sup>60</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-V97mlmAwHM>

<sup>61</sup> The original title of the book reads as follows: “L’impossible eradication: l’enseignement du Français en Algérie”.

schools. This author claims that French is rooted in the Algerian culture and that the local news which is broadcast in French on *Echourouk TV* confirms what he said. Moreover, Tessa admitted that the followers of the removal of the colonisers' language are engaging in a doublespeak. On the one hand, they want to get rid of this language and to replace it by English. On the other hand, they enroll their children in private schools or secondary schools where French is considered as the primary language of instruction. He also elucidates that he was not against the use of the Arabic language, but he criticized the government's haste in implementing the policy of Arabization. For him, Arabic and French complement each other in Algeria. At last, the Algerian pedagogue proclaims that the French language belongs to the Algerian cultural heritage, but there is a problem that he called *the linguistic cut*. Yet, this break seems to be crystal clear because pupils are using the Arabic language while learning scientific subjects in the secondary school. However, by following scientific specialities at the university, they will be lectured in French.

Contrarily, some individuals are still not accepting to hear influential people or those having power using French instead of the official Arabic language while being interviewed or delivering public speeches. It even seems that they hate this language, especially the individuals who were tortured or the ones whose parents or relatives witnessed the worst atrocities committed against Algerians during colonialism. From their vantage point, French appears like a sort of scarecrow. Indeed, the declaration<sup>62</sup> made by Kernache, the member of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema, against the new Algerian football team manager, Madjer, epitomizes the rejection of this colonial language. Kernache criticised Madjer for speaking in French at his first press conference after being appointed as a new head coach. He claimed:

*Why does one insist on prioritising the colonizer's language over the Arabic language by violating the article of the Constitution that stipulates that the latter is the official language of the country?*<sup>63</sup>

Here, Kernach tried to remind Madjer that Algerians must speak in Arabic and that the French language that he used at the conference is the language of the enemy who

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<sup>62</sup><https://observalgerie.com/actualite-algerie/equipe-nationale-oulemas-musulmans-sen-prennent-a-madjer/#.Wfm13lvWzIV>.

<sup>63</sup> The original text reads as follows: "Pourquoi l'on insiste à primer la langue du colonisateur sur la langue arabe en violant l'article de la Constitution qui stipule que cette dernière est la langue officielle du pays ?"

oppressed and subjugated his predecessors and ruled Algeria unfairly and savagely for 132 years. Then, he added “*We regret the bitter reality that the founding principles of the Nation are foreign in their own country*”. This makes things perfectly clear that French has nothing to do with Algeria; it is rather seen as a foreign language. For him, this is a matter of identity and principles. At last, Kernache claimed that he was not attacking this emblematic figure of the Algerian football, but instead he was dispensing fraternal advice and spurring him to use Arabic especially as the latter masters this language.

#### **2.4.4. Other Languages**

Benrabah (2014) proclaims that in addition to the local languages used in Algeria, namely Standard or Literary Arabic, Berber and French, there are several other languages. This in fact refers to English which is strongly present because of the phenomenon of globalization in addition to the new comer which is Chinese, the language that recently appeared in Algeria. It seems that there is a sort of competition between these languages (2014: 56). All these tongues interact in a territory that witnessed a long history of colonisation and that knew a number of visitors with diverse backgrounds. Interestingly enough, Souiah (2011) wrote an article entitled “*L’Algérie made by China*”. In this piece of writing, this author explains that Chinese companies have been playing a crucial role in the improvement of the field of construction and public works in Algeria since the beginning of the year 2000. Yet, they were at the heart of the construction of the East-West Highway and the extension of Algiers international airport. They also built the University hospital centre, the prestigious and luxurious Sheraton hotels in Oran and Algiers and thousands of apartments. She also clarifies that the workers used by these companies are mainly Chinese (Souiah 2011: 139). In addition, in 2008, the Chinese Ministry of Commerce provided contact details of 34 Chinese companies located in Algeria. They have to do with different fields, namely hydrocarbon and petroleum services, Construction and road works as well as telecommunication.<sup>64</sup> Along the same lines, according to the Algerian news website *Algérie Presse Service*<sup>65</sup>, the ambassador of Algeria to China, Boukhelfa, proclaims that several Chinese companies that have to do with information

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<sup>64</sup> <http://dz2.mofcom.gov.cn/article/bilateralcooperation/inbrief/200810/20081005862211.shtml>

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.aps.dz/economie/66279-des-entreprises-chinoises-souhaitent-investir-dans-l-industrie-automobile-en-algerie>

and communication technology and automobile sectors aspire to collaborate with Algeria. Therefore, these Algeria-China relations and collaborations are playing a crucial part in the spread of the Chinese language in Algeria. Furthermore, Benrabah (2013) asserts that today English goes head to head with French owing to the fact that technology, computing and scientific data are mostly available in English, for instance. He qualifies the former as a strong and confident rival when he confirms that, “*for several years now, English has been gaining dominance in the oil sector, computing and in scientific and technological documentation*” (Benrabah 2013: 124). In fact, using English leads to Algeria’s openness and allows it to be a part of this world where it is ranked as the first widely spoken language on earth with a number of “*1500 million speakers*”<sup>66</sup>, i.e. it earns pole position. Thus, this seems to be beneficial to Algerians when it comes to science, technology, economy and success. Most importantly, an article<sup>67</sup> which is entitled “*France seeks to conquer the world by forcing its students to master English*”<sup>68</sup> has appeared on *Euronews* website on February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2018 (Elserty 2018). It displays the weight that English carries as a worldwide language. In this line of thought, the French Prime Minister Philippe appears to focus on obliging students in France to learn or even to master English which, according to him, allows them to be present and to impose themselves in this globalized world. This also helps them get rid of trade deficit. In this sense, he insists on the fact that “*English is the (globally) common language. You must speak English if you want to move to globalisation*”<sup>69</sup>. This evinces the momentousness of this language. That is, English is a powerful language that everyone wants to learn so as to be clearly visible, to prosper and to be recognised in various domains.

## 2.5. Language Contact and Linked Phenomena

When languages come into contact, different linguistic phenomena arise, viz. diglossia, bilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing.

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<sup>66</sup> <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-most-widely-spoken-languages-in-the-world.html>

<sup>67</sup> <http://arabic.euronews.com/2018/02/23/france-wants-to-increase-exports-by-improving-english-language-levels>

<sup>68</sup> The original headline reads as follows: “فرنسا تسعى لغزو العالم عبر إلزام طلابها بإجادة الإنجليزية”

<sup>69</sup> The original text reads as follows: “الإنجليزية هي اللغة المشتركة (عالمياً). يجب عليك أن تتحدث الإنجليزية إذا كنت "ترغب في الانتقال إلى العولمة”



### 2.5.1. Diglossia

According to Aloch (2005: 2), unlike the majority of languages existing around the globe, Arabic is depicted as having two different varieties in juxtaposition. They are used differently in a speech community for different special purposes, i.e. each of them has its own function. Marçais (1930) is the first to coin the term “*diglossia*” while alluding to societies where there is a literary language and a dialect simultaneously. He focuses on the case of Algeria and claims that in this country, two forms of language are used in parallel, namely a written variety and other spoken vernaculars. In this regard, Marçais describes the linguistic situation of Algeria while focusing on the Arabic language. He clarifies that:

*The Arabic language appears in two noticeably diverse forms: On the one hand, a literary language called written Arabic ... or regular or literal or classical that is considered as the only one that has always and everywhere been transcribed in the past, the one in which, the one in which only today are still written literary or scientific works, press articles, judicial documents, private letters, in short, all that is written ... and on the other part, spoken idioms, patois, none of that has ever been transcribed, but that everywhere and maybe for a long time are considered as the only language used for conversation in all popular and cultural fields.<sup>70</sup>*

(Marçais 1930: 401)

Here, this author believes that in Algeria there is a diglossic situation which simply entails the use of two noticeably different varieties of Arabic, i.e. Classical Arabic and dialectal Arabic. They are not utilised in a similar way, the former is found in a written form while the latter is a spoken language which is far away from being penned.

Ferguson (1959) also perceives that there are two varieties of Arabic that are Classical Arabic and colloquial Arabic. The first one is considered as the High variety in which the Holy Qur'an is written while the second one refers to the Low variety that

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<sup>70</sup> The original text reads as follows: « La langue arabe se présente à nous sous deux aspects sensiblement différents : D'une part, une langue littéraire dite arabe écrite ... ou régulière ou littérale, ou classique, qui seule a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passé, dans laquelle seule aujourd'hui encore sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, les articles de presse, les actes judiciaires, les lettres privées, bref tout ce qui est écrit ... et d'autre part, des idiomes parlés, des patois, dont aucun n'a jamais été écrit, mais qui partout, et peut-être depuis longtemps, sont la seule langue de la conversation dans tous les milieux populaires ou cultivés. »

is variable between the Arab countries. Yet, Ferguson proclaims that each of these two forms has its own function or is used in a certain context, i.e. there are some situations in which the use of H is viewed as suitable and L is considered to be unacceptable and vice versa. Based on this idea, one may pay close attention to using the appropriate linguistic variety in the right place; otherwise he would face derision and ridicule. For instance, in Algeria, a journalist will be considered to be absurd and lacking in professionalism if he uses the L variety, which is Algerian Arabic, during the news bulletin that must be broadcast in MSA. At the same time, while speaking in an informal context such as gossiping with friends, people are supposed to avoid using the H variety; otherwise they will become object of mockery. This can be illustrated by Kaye (2001) who claims that “*speaking MSA to one’s maid at home or bargaining over the price of an item in a crowded market in MSA would be absurd, even ludicrous*” (Qtd. in Horn 2015: 101). That is, this indicates that in such a speech community people are required to choose H or L in the appropriate context, each of them then fulfils a specific function.

Marçais’s (1930) and Ferguson’s (1959) works were not exempt from criticism. Bouamrane (1986), for instance, explains that neither of them can generalise about the Arab world’s sociolinguistic situation as they only focused on two different regions which are North Africa and the Middle East, respectively. He also focused on the fact that these two scholars’ researches were done at diverse periods of time and that the diglossic situations and realities may differ and not remain the same. The aforementioned definition provided by Marçais (1930) is also criticised and considered as old-fashioned owing to the fact that it lacks credibility in some speech communities just like in the Maghreb region. This author believes that, unlike Classical Arabic that can be written, colloquial Arabic can never be transcribed; however, Benali Mohamed (1993:19) elucidates that this form of dialectal Arabic can be found on the pages of some newspapers in Algeria, namely *Al Haddaf*. These days, it is also used among people, especially the youth, to chat on the net and to express different ideas on social media such as Facebook and Twitter. In addition, scholars such as Blanc (1960), Bouamrane (1986) and Benali Mohamed (1993) do not accept the way Ferguson distinguished between the various levels of Arabic, they believe in the existence of middle varieties instead.

Later on, Fishman (1972b) made refinements to the concept of *diglossia* and even went further. This sociolinguist related this notion to situations where two separate languages satisfy certain functions and considered them as H and L. This is what he called *extended diglossia*.

As an Arabic-speaking country, Algeria is regarded as a diglossic speech community. By taking into account the definition given by Ferguson, Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic co-exist. The first one represents the H variety, whereas the second one refers to the L variety. On the one hand, SA is used in formal situations like writing, reading, giving sermons, emitting the news via television or the radio. On the other hand, Algerians use AA whenever they plunge into an informal conversation such as family or friends assemblies and this has to do with informality (qtd. in Djennane 2014: 53). Besides, SA is recognised to be prestigious in comparison with the Algerian dialects since it is the language in which the Holy Qur'an is written. SA has also to do with literature which occupies an important place in this country. Then, AA is seen as a valueless and deviant oral form while compared with the other written one. This vernacular language is used everyday inside and outside home so as to communicate naturally and to satisfy one's daily needs. Moreover, unlike the localised forms of spoken Arabic, SA is completely far from being changed on the pretext that it is recorded on papers and used in education (ibid.).

If one comes to Algeria, he will certainly hear or notice the use of at least three languages which are Arabic, Berber and French. In other words, this North African country is linguistically rich. Their usage is limited by different regions and the domains in which people are involved. As far as French is concerned, Algeria has not only to do with classic diglossia, the term that was coined by Ferguson (1959), but also with extended diglossia. In some universities, for instance, the students who are specialised in technical or scientific domains are taught in French. However, in other faculties, students majoring in law, history and philosophy are lectured in SA. French and SA are yet viewed as having a higher prestige and occupying the place of the H variety whilst AA is the L variety on the grounds that students in both cases use this vernacular form to communicate informally outside the classrooms (ibid.).

In Addition, while taking into consideration the Berber community, diglossia appears differently. It is crystal clear that Arabic, Berber and French are three different

languages with different histories, and that Arabic and French have been used when it comes to formality, educational and administrative issues. Thus, in the Berberophone areas, the Berber variations are acting as L, whereas SA and French represent the H variety. In this case, this phenomenon is labelled as “*extended triglossia*”. Diglossia in Algeria is therefore depicted as being divided into three categories which are classic diglossia, extended diglossia and even extended triglossia (ibid. 54).

### **2.5.2. Bilingualism**

After Algeria won its independence in 1962, the French colonisers left the country but their language is hitherto still present in the region. French has a significant place within the Algerian speech community; it is central to both uttered words and lettered sentences. It even becomes normal to hear people adopting French words and using them as part of their common speech. In fact, the French colonial era that lasted 132 years succeeded in the rise of bilingualism in Algeria though it has been much more accumulated in the northern part. The Algerian bilingualism is thus known for its lack of homogeneity (Mouhadjer 2002: 990). Indeed, it commonly appears in the cities where people are used to a high lifestyle and where they are usually in touch with French through school, for instance; however, monolingual people can be found everywhere in Algeria. These days, bilingualism has changed in comparison with the epoch when Algeria was under the French colonialism and even years after its independence. In the past, a great number of Algerians were considered to be bilinguals regardless of their literacy level, their social class and the way they used to live. That is, both literate and illiterate individuals were bilinguals. They were able to communicate in both Arabic and French. Per contra, today’s bilingualism is measured according to literacy and closeness to the French language. The more the person is instructed at school and close to French, the more he will be viewed as bilingual. According to Mouhadjer (2002), the pre-independence period witnessed the policy of Arabization which helped in some way in replacing French with Arabic in various areas. Hence, this formerly dominant language began to appear differently within the Algerian society. Indeed, it has not been exactly the same as it was during the colonial era. In this country, two generations of bilinguals have appeared. The first one represents those Algerians mastering both their Arabic language and French since they had the chance to be in touch with French people before independence; they are

labelled as “*balanced bilinguals*”. The second generation, who came after 1970, has to do with bilinguals mastering one language instead of the other. They are referred to as “*unbalanced bilinguals*” and they generally have a low level in French. This may lead one to talk about two distinct types of Algerian bilinguals which are “*active*” and “*passive*” bilinguals (ibid). On the one hand, the first category refers to the individuals who actively succeed in communicating in these two languages regardless of their educational level, i.e. they are skilful when talking in both Arabic and French. On the other hand, the second type of Algerian bilinguals points to those who are not able to speak in French but they do understand all what is said in this language. That is, they have the receptive skills but lack the productive one (ibid: 991). As far as school is concerned, Miliani (2000: 20) shows that the level of both Algerian pupils and students is deteriorating. He claims that they are not proficient when it comes to language use and refers to them as “*illiterate bilinguals*”.

### 2.5.3. Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

According to Myers-Scotton, code-switching “*is the term used to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation*” (1993b: 1). This scholar claims that one can refer to “code-switching” as soon as he notices that, within a certain verbal interaction, two persons are using two or more different languages or language varieties alternately. It is considered as a prevalent linguistic phenomenon in Algeria. The number of languages existing there and used by various citizens is what helps its spread within this nation. In fact, what characterizes the Algerian speech community is the common use of AA as well as French. This means that these two languages are usually utilised by Algerian people during their everyday conversations. In this regard, Dabène and Moore confirm that:

*Moreover, particularly complex linguistic behaviours can be at work when code-switching does not arise from the migration situation: in Algeria, code-switching between French and Algerian Arabic is part of ordinary everyday conversation.*

*(Dabène and Moore 1995: 26)*

In addition to the noticeable fusion of AA and French, there is even that of MSA and AA. That is, when Algerians converse in informal contexts, one can hear them switching between AA and MSA or using AA and French in the same

conversation. AA is clearly present in both cases as it is the mother tongue of the majority of citizens. Then, Poplack (1980) suggests that there are three kinds of code-switching which are inter-sentential, intra-sentential and extra-sentential code-switching. The following instances may well epitomize each of these three types:

- **Inter-sentential code-switching:** In this type of code switching, the switch appears at the boundaries of the clauses and sentences. That is, the first clause is in a certain language, whereas the second one is in another language. This can be viewed in the following examples that were taken from a conversation I was engaged in with a friend of mine who was studying at the University of Mascara:

1. /Mæʀʌnɪʃ ndi:r læmen fi hæðʊ nes/, je vais vérifier par moi-même.  
[I don't trust these people, I will check by myself].
2. /Læzəm tətwa:dʌʃ jʌ sʌhbi/, il ne faut pas être arrogant.  
[You must be modest my friend, you don't have to be arrogant].
3. /Mʌrʌk mɪɑ:dʒəʃ wæɪʊ!/ Lɪmæðe lem tʊdʒɪb ʃelæ hæðɪhɪ ʔel ʔesʔɪlʌtɪ sehʌ?  
[You haven't revised anything! Why haven't you answered these easy questions?]
4. /Li:q nʃæwnʊ bʌʃdʌnʌ/. Lɪmæðə ʔæntʌ ʔənz:nɪ?  
[We must help one another. Why are you selfish?]

- **Intra-sentential code-switching:** Here, the switch appears within the boundary of the same sentence or clause just like in the examples that follow. In fact, the first one is taken from my own utterances while I was home, talking to my brother about an old laptop computer that broke down; whereas the second one depicts a friend of mine, who is coaching a youth football team in Tighennif (Mascara), conversing with me:

1. /rʌk ʃærəf bəɪɪ di:t l'ordinateur ʃend/ réparateur /w gæɪɪ bəɪɪ/ le microprocesseur /mʌrɑ:hʃ jəmʃɪ/.  
[You know that I took the computer to the repairman and that he told me that the microprocessor is not working].
2. /hdʌrt mʃə l mʊdɪrɪb qbəl mʌ təbdʌ l mʊqʌbelʌ w gæɪɪ el ferɪ:q tæʃkʊm jəlʃeb kʊrʌ ʃæbʌ/.  
[I must have a moderator for the youth football team in Tighennif, Mascara].

[I spoke to the coach before the game begins and he told me that our team plays an attractive football].

- **Extra-sentential code-switching:** This type of code-switching focuses on using and embedding expressions which are already made into the host language. The next instances epitomize this point; the first three examples are taken from a discussion that I had with a colleague of mine at the University of Oran 2, whereas in the last one I was talking to a person who was teaching with me at a secondary school in Tighennif (Mascara):

1. Ça y est, /kəmelt/ la thèse /tæʃi/.  
(I got it, I finished my thesis.)
2. Ça fait plaisir /nətlæqɑ bi:k xu:ja/.  
It is a pleasure for me to meet you my brother.
3. /RANI raɪəh/, məʃe səlemə.  
I am going, good bye.
4. ʔehlən wa sehlən /hæðɪ lyaɪbə/, /twehefnækʊm/.  
Welcome! Long time no see, we miss you.

Algerians sometimes switch purposefully between Arabic and French when they speak. All they focus on is what other people think of them. Their intent is to be seen as civilized citizens and to show the others that they are living in the French-style. Others seem purposeless whenever they switch. They unintentionally do it since people surrounding them are acting the same way and then it becomes a habit.

*Code-switching* is sometimes used interchangeably with *code-mixing* but Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004) differentiate between these two terms when they explain that:

*Code-switching refers to a switch in language that takes place between sentences, also called an intersentential change. Code-mixing refers to a switch in language that takes place within the same sentence also called an intrasentential change.*

*(Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir 2004: 75)*

According to these two scholars, code-mixing differs from code-switching in terms of the way this code is changed by different interlocutors. One can say this is code-mixing as soon as an individual uses, for instance, two distinct languages within a

single sentence. This has been elucidated above and referred to as “*intrasentential code-switching*”. Yet, various examples have been previously given.

Once again, Myers-Scotton (1993a) sheds light on an important feature distinguishing between code-switching and code-mixing. For her, code-mixing is commonly regarded as being negative in comparison with code-switching. Code-mixing usually refers to the speaker’s incompetency in one of the used languages. For instance, the fact that an interlocutor utters a single sentence, while alternating between two distinct languages, indicates that he is trying to shun the use of a specific language. In this case, code-mixing can be said to make up for an individual’s linguistic imperfection. In one way or another, this excludes this speaker from being able to master both of these languages and this is what lead people to share this particular belief which is far away from positivity. Contrarily, code-switching does not fundamentally show that a bilingual is not good enough at using one language or another. For example, sometimes, when some people hear bilinguals uttering two sentences in two different languages, they automatically think that they are competent and that they can express themselves easily in these two tongues.

#### **2.5.4. Borrowing**

To understand the meaning of borrowing, one may see the definition of Gumperz (1982: 66) who claims that it is “*the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other*”. This means that some words and phrases are loaned from a given language into another one, i.e. a recipient language. These loanwords then appear strongly in the latter. This linguistic phenomenon occurs in speech communities where languages are in contact and Algeria is considered as one of them. The reason behind the appearance of borrowing in this country is the presence of different races speaking diverse languages throughout history. The Spanish, the Ottoman and the French, for instance, dwelt in Algeria for varying periods of time. Thus, many words have hitherto been borrowed from their languages and used among Algerians in their daily conversations. These words are, in essence, incorporated into AA and become part of its everyday vocabulary. For example, some of the Spanish words that are still used in AA are /'ʃæŋgl/, /'dɔ:ɾɔ/, /kʌ'bo:tʃ/, /tʃɔ'zi:nʌ/, /tʃɾʌbendɔ/ and /'kʌræŋtikʌ/ which mean flip-flops, a coin, a coat, a dozen, contraband and the name of a famous dish in the West of Algeria, respectively. The Turkish traces can also



be felt in some words such as /kɑ:ʕɑtʕ/ which refers to a paper and /raɪs/ meaning a leader or a chief. These languages are said to have an impact on the way Algerians speak but French is considered to be the most powerful and prevailing one on the pretext that the French coloniser ruled Algeria for more than a century. This language is omnipresent in Algeria and a large amount of words are loaned from it into Arabic. This can be noticed in the examples than have been chosen and that are mentioned in **table 2.1** below. These words can be heard by any Algerian interlocutor when engaging in everyday conversations.

AA	FR	Gloss
/tʕɑ:blɔ/	Tableau	Board
/vi:stʌ/	Veste	Jacket
/kɑ:blɪ/	Cable	Cable
/bɔli:s/	Police	Police
/portʕɑɪ/	Portail	Gate
/kɑ:rtʕʌ/	Carte	Card
/tʕɑ:blʌ /	Table	Table
/kʌski:tʕʌ/	Casquette	Cap
/sɑ:bu:n/	Savon	Soap
/sɑ:ʃɪθ/	Sachet	Bag
/bækɪθ/	Paquet	Packet

**Table 2.1:** Some Instances of Algerian Arabic Words that are Borrowed from French.

Phonologically and morphologically speaking, the above-mentioned words, among so many others, do slip from French into Arabic with an exposure to adaptations. This part will then explain how the examples that have been chosen from French turned into words that can be used in AA. For instance, in /tʕɑ:blɔ/ the consonant /tʕ/ replaces /t/. That is to say, the latter is pharyngealized. Furthermore, in /vi:stʌ/ the vowel /i:/ has been used as a substitute for /e/ and the /ʌ/ vowel has been added to refer to its grammatical gender which is feminine. Besides, in the borrowed word “*savon*”, it is apparent that the vowel /ʌ/ has changed into /ɑ:/, the vowel /u:/ has replaced the nasal vowel /ɔ̃/ and the consonant /v/ has been omitted when /b/ has taken its place. Sometimes verbs are also adapted into this host language and used in different tenses such as “*to criticise*” which can be used in the past as /critiki:t/: “*I*

*criticised*”, in the present as /nəkɾiti:kɪ/: “*I criticise*” and in the future as /ɣɑ:di nəkɾiti:kɪ/: “*I will criticise*”.

In some cases, technology can also be said to have such a powerful impact on people concerning the use of borrowed words since we are living in an age of technology. What illustrates this is the way Algerians in general and the youth in particular spontaneously use some terms in their conversations, viz. /lwɪfi/, /nfɛisbɒki/, /nɛskɑ:nɪ/, /nkɒnɛktɪ/ and /ntɛlɪfɑ:rɜɪ/ which mean “*Wi-Fi*”, “*I use Facebook*”, “*I scan*”, “*I connect*” and “*I download*”, respectively. These are yet some of the words that are loaned from French, adapted and slipped into AA. Indeed, they are altered in order to be *Algerianised* and not to sound weird. Some people cannot even notice that these terms come from French because they have become part of AA and what is more is that Algerians use these words and phrases spontaneously while conversing with others. Therefore, they have become prevalent among them.

In a paper entitled “*Students’ Spoken Language*”<sup>71</sup>, Cherrad-Benchefra (2002: 125) affirms that “*the meeting between local languages and French produces a word that is adorned with all sorts of modifications at different levels: (phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic)*”<sup>72</sup>. The fact that Algeria lived under the French occupation for a long time facilitated the meld of the various local languages with French and then resulted in the production of words which are incorporated into the recipient language which is AA. These words are phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and semantically altered. Cherrad-Benchefra (ibid.) also asserts that “*the loan can be total -the word is introduced without morphological modification- but with a new connotation*”<sup>73</sup>. This means that some words are borrowed from MSA and French into AA but, semantically speaking, their meanings do not stay the same. For example, in MSA, “*karitha*” literally means “*a catastrophe*”; however, when two Algerians converse with each other and one of them says /hædə ʒʊər kærɪθɔ/, he means that this is a great player. Indeed, this is far away from its real meaning. *Mesmar* is another MSA word signifying “*a nail*”; however, in some contexts, its meaning

<sup>71</sup> The original title reads as follows: “*Paroles d’étudiants*”.

<sup>72</sup> The original text reads as follows: “*La rencontre entre les langues locales et le français produit une parole émaillée de toutes sortes de modifications à divers niveaux: (phonologique, morphologique, syntaxique, sémantique)*”.

<sup>73</sup> The original text reads as follows: “*L’emprunt peut être total -le mot est introduit sans modification morphologique -mais avec une connotation nouvelle*”.

changes as it may become completely different when it is used in AA. It refers to the adjective “*stingy*”. In fact, when a person says /*hædə bnædəm məsma:r*/, it means that this person is stingy. Besides, “*artiste*” is another French word that has become part of colloquial Arabic but it differs from its literal meaning which is “*artist*”. In AA, /*rʌk a:rtɪst*/ means you look “*handsome*”. “*Clochard*” is another instance that sheds light on the fact that loanwords adopted from French into AA can appear with a new connotation within this recipient language. In French, “*clochard*” means a homeless person, whereas Algerians understand this uttered word as a gangster, a thug or a bandit.

## 2.6. Oran as a Part of this Today’s Globalised World

This part depicts the new face of Oran. It is gradually turning into a significant city and one of the factors that helped in its modernisation is the coming of the former prefect Boudiaf. This influential person aimed high when he said in an article that “*the city of Oran is a Mediterranean metropolis*”<sup>74</sup> during the celebration of the International Day of Tourism. According to this piece of writing<sup>75</sup>, which appeared in the Algerian daily newspaper *Réflexion*, Boudiaf acknowledged that Oran had all the characteristics that may be required so as to shine as a big city standing on one of the banks of the Mediterranean Sea (Medjadji 2011). On September 16<sup>th</sup>, 2013, a similar headline<sup>76</sup> appeared on the pages of the same newspaper asserting that this city is on the rise. This article elucidated that, before departing from Oran, the ex-prefect claimed that “*El Bahia is a pearl that must be smoothed down*”<sup>77</sup> (Medjadji 2013). Here, Boudiaf was giving new impetus to the capital of the West of Algeria by allocating 14 billion Euros for the sake of its modernisation concerning hotel trade, infrastructure, architecture, commerce, etc. After carrying out a study with some university researchers and experts, the former head of the city made it clear that this great project would be realised between 2012 and 2025 and that his wish was to make Oran a real metropolis, “*National and international, in the same way, if not better, than Barcelona, Marseilles, Naples, ....*”. Indeed, the fact of competing with the major European cities would help building a *New Oran* and classing it as one of the most

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<sup>74</sup> The original text reads as follows: “La ville d’Oran est une métropole Méditerranéenne”.

<sup>75</sup> [https://www.reflexiondz.net/La-ville-d-Oran-est-une-metropole-Mediterraneeenne\\_a13944.html](https://www.reflexiondz.net/La-ville-d-Oran-est-une-metropole-Mediterraneeenne_a13944.html).

<sup>76</sup> [https://www.reflexiondz.net/L-EX-WALI-M-ABDELMALEK-BOUDIAF-AVANT-SON-DEPART-D-ORAN-El-Bahia-est-une-perle-qu-il-faut-degrossir\\_a25399.html](https://www.reflexiondz.net/L-EX-WALI-M-ABDELMALEK-BOUDIAF-AVANT-SON-DEPART-D-ORAN-El-Bahia-est-une-perle-qu-il-faut-degrossir_a25399.html).

<sup>77</sup> The original text reads as follows: “El Bahia est une perle qu’il faut dégrossir”.

important and attractive places in the region. More importantly, these days, globalisation and technological advancements are playing a major role in rendering the world smaller. Thus, they may help bring Oran up to date, make it more visible and turn it into a bridge facilitating contact between Algerians and other people speaking diverse languages. This may essentially lead to the appearance of different languages in this city.

## 2.7. Conclusion

This chapter tackled the sociolinguistic situation of a North African country where different populations from around the world dwelled for varying durations and whose original people are called the Berbers. Yet, it displayed the way Algeria was moulded throughout the ages. It takes one back in time and enables him to catch a glimpse of the various languages that have hitherto been used by people across Algeria. In fact, this country stands at an intersection where people face different languages, namely MSA, AA, Berber, French, English and other tongues that have appeared in the region for some particular reasons such as colonialism and globalisation. Hence, Algeria may be regarded as a multilingual place where, in addition to the aforementioned languages, Spanish, Italian, Chinese and Turkish have become prevalent. More particularly, they have been part of its current public space as they appear in a written form on diverse walls and signboards. Besides, this chapter had a glance at the city of Oran which is considered as the focus of the current sociolinguistic investigation. From a historical perspective, all what has been said in this part evinces that this country in general and this coastal city in particular are linguistically and culturally rich. The question of language in Algeria is subject of debate. It acts as a lure to so many sociolinguists and researchers from across the world. In the end, it is necessary to state that this chapter helps to open a door to the research design as well as the practical part in which the emphasis is to be on the particular language(s) utilised by shop owners and the local authorities for various signs and façades in Oran city centre and a working-class area like *Sidi El Houari* and the possible reasons behind their choices.

# **CHAPTER THREE**

## **RESEARCH DESIGN**

## **Chapter Three: Research Design**

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### 3.1. Introduction

A great part of this thesis focuses on the previous theoretical implications that have a lot to do with the current research enquiring the various private and public signs that are visible in Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district as well. In fact, those works have been referred to as it is essential to be aware of what other researchers have accomplished in relation to this particular topic. After that, it is of great importance to move to the practical part but before doing so, one may display the methodology he has undertaken as well as the different steps he has followed to reach trustworthy results and to get to some conclusions. In other words, this chapter takes into consideration the various steps that one has gone through so as to enquire into the linguistic landscapes of two different sites which are downtown Oran and the aforementioned popular district located in the same city. This refers to the path he followed while comparing between these two areas in terms of language use. It also sheds light on the procedure pursued while investigating governmental signs vis-à-vis private ones, i.e. top-down (state and local) versus bottom-up (private undertaking) language policies. More importantly, in this part, the way data were collected to carry out this research work will be discussed thoroughly. That is, it evinces the tools that were emphasised, namely photography, questionnaires, interviews and observation. In this sense, these instruments were selected due to their efficiency. In fact, photography was focused on in order to enable one to scrutinise various pictures displaying diverse signs and then to differentiate between them carefully. Furthermore, questionnaires were distributed to shop-owners to obtain the needed data in terms of the languages that those LLs consist of. Then, interviews were conducted so as to be aware of people's perceptions and attitudes towards the languages appearing in the public sphere. In addition, shop-owners were interviewed to confirm the answers gathered by use of the questionnaires preceding them or to see whether there are contradictions with regard to what they said before. This tool was chosen since it can make it easier for one to elicit useful information from different people within a short period of time including those who cannot read and write, i.e. illiterate individuals. Besides, it is noteworthy that observation was dealt with as an additional instrument for the purpose of gaining further knowledge and to make this study more valuable. At this stage, what will also be manifested are the different factors

motivating one to tackle this research like the visibility of AA, which is a dialect, and some other languages like English, Spanish, Italian and Turkish on various private signs and their absence from other public ones. Then, it is essential to know about the reasons behind the use of some codes on some particular signs instead of others. This chapter also refers to one's objectives of tackling such an original research in the city of Oran while enquiring whether the languages appearing in a commercial site like downtown and a working-class area such as *Sidi El Houari* are different or similar. Finally, the research questions and the hypotheses are to be reaffirmed.

### 3.2. Research Objectives and Motivation

What stimulated one to tackle this type of topic which is enquiring the linguistic representations within the public spheres of both Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district, in this era of globalisation, is the great significance of the term linguistic landscape (Landry & Bourhis 1997, Shoamy & Gorter 2009) and the weight it carries around the world. Yet, it plays an influential role in affecting people's attitudes towards the visible languages and their statuses as well. It may have an impact on different individuals' conducts when it comes to language use. In this respect, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) assert that:

*The linguistic landscape contributes to the construction of the sociolinguistic context because people process the visual information that comes to them, and the language in which signs are written can certainly influence their perception of the status of the different languages and even affect their own linguistic behaviour.*

(Cenoz and Gorter 2006: 68)

It is worth mentioning that the languages constituting a certain LL may have a considerable impact on people's thoughts and their attitudes towards language use since they are not supposed to look at the various visual words and phrases surrounding them inattentively. Yet, they sometimes absorb them without their conscious desire. Then, the appearance of some languages on signs and their absence from others may lead to the development of an individual's linguistic awareness and the building of a particular sociolinguistic structure. In addition, LL may affect people's opinions on the status and the importance of diverse languages.

One of the most crucial objectives of this thesis is to analyse the linguistic landscape of downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* for the purpose of being acquainted with the major



similarities and differences between them. In fact, investigating the languages appearing in those regions' public spheres is considered as a key concern. Accordingly, Backhaus (2007) explains that this kind of study:

*... can provide valuable insights into the linguistic situation of a given place, including common patterns of language and script use, official language policies, prevalent language attitudes, power relations between different linguistic groups, and the long-term consequences of language and script contact, among others.*

*(Backhaus 2007: 11)*

Through this comparative study, one tries to enquire about the different tongues that are visible in the aforementioned sites and the reasons lying behind various business/shop-owners' choices of some languages for their signs and façades instead of others. Moreover, this study seeks to explore the customers' attitudes towards language use in the public space as well as their own linguistic preferences. The growing interest in studying such a topic also derives from a desire to know if these two sites' LLs are characterised by multilingualism or not. Besides, in this work, there is an investigation concerned with top-down language policies and bottom-up practices so as to recognise whether they are compatible or not. That is, it attempts to find out if the languages utilised on the signs issued by governmental institutions and the ones employed by shop-owners follow the same pattern. In other words, this allows one to know about whether those linguistic landscapes reflect the language policy emphasised by the state.

Interestingly enough, it should be noted that what piqued one's interest is the number of shop-fronts in downtown Oran looking classy and displaying various languages in comparison with the ones that have been found in the old and popular district under investigation, namely *Sidi El Houari*. Furthermore, unlike private signs, the ones designed by the local authorities seem to be characterised by the omnipresence of some languages in lieu of others, viz. MSA, French and sometimes Berber. Hence, the motive to tackle this issue emerged from one's visual experiences as dissimilarity has been observed between governmental and private signs. Thus, this drove one to carry out research in this particular field which people hardly ever take initiatives to deal with simply because they think that it is the sociolinguists' responsibility to tackle such sensitive issues.

### 3.3. Setting of Research

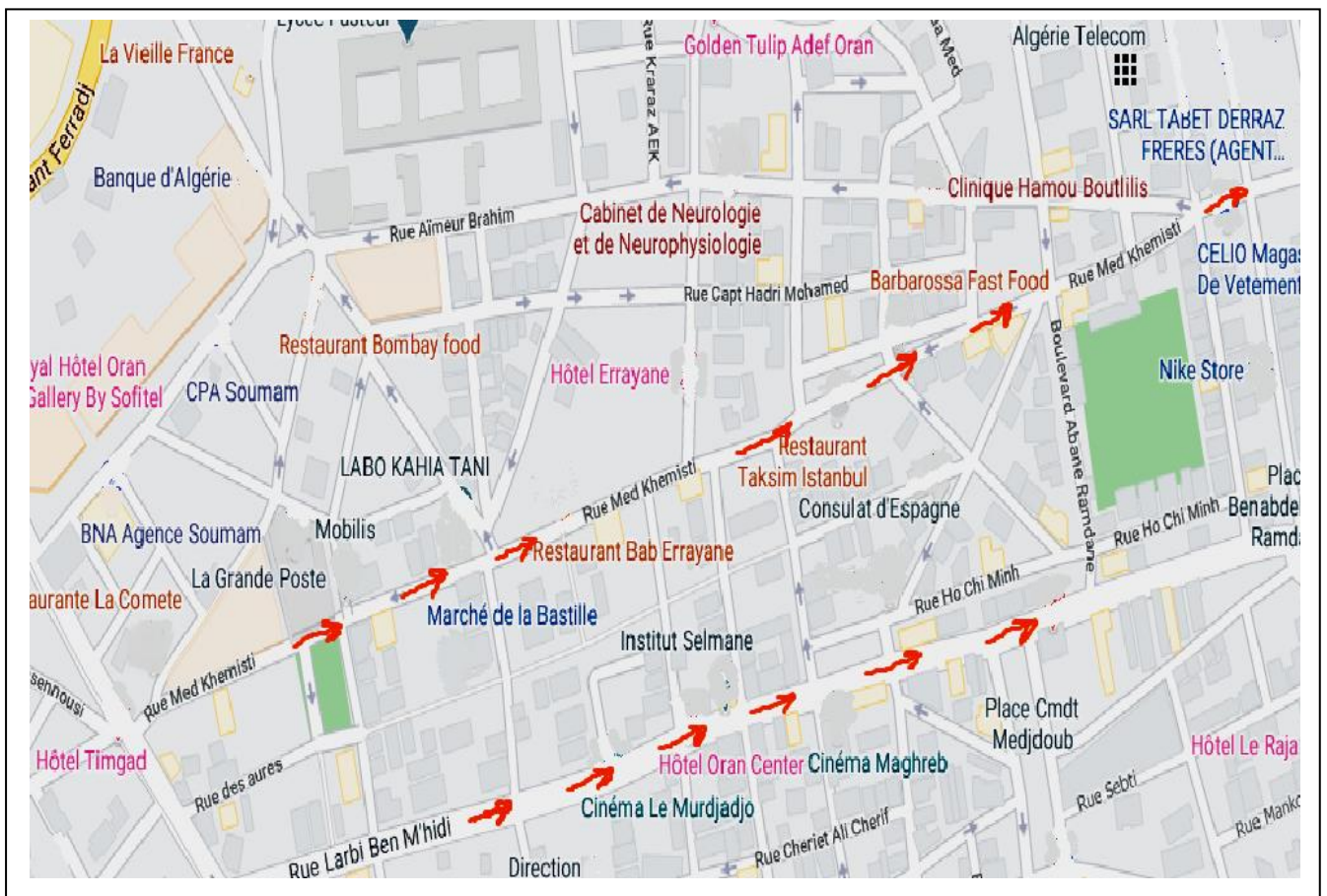
It is essentially crucial to select a particular geographical site while conducting a study on the type of languages used in a given public space. Indeed, Blackwood (2015) finds it very difficult or even impossible to scrutinize a whole city or a large town. This author affirms that “*it is challenging to the point of being unfeasible to survey an entire city or town*” (Blackwood 2015: 41). Thus, it is so hard to entirely investigate the process of denomination of the city of Oran. In this thesis, Oran was chosen to be examined due to the fact that urban areas are rich in languages that co-exist and that may hold the attention of diverse people who differ in terms of their origins and the tongues they use as well. Accordingly, Backhaus (2007) acknowledges that the area where one can find languages in contact is the city. Thus, he believes that various texts appearing on its walls have always drawn the attention of different kinds of people using diverse languages. Besides, according to Backhaus (2007), while an investigator is conducting research on the languages used on signs, banners, billboards and shop-fronts, cities are to be favourably appropriate. In this regard, he elucidates that:

*Every urban environment is a myriad of written messages on public display: office and shop signs, billboards and neon advertisements, traffic signs, topographic information and area maps, emergency guidance and political poster campaigns, stone inscriptions, and enigmatic graffiti discourse.*

*(Backhaus 2007: 1)*

In a similar vein, Oran was chosen as a case study because of the high stature it has in Africa in general and in Algeria in particular. It is in fact considered as an important, popular and influential city in terms of various domains. It is the second influential city after the capital Algiers thanks to its cultural, commercial, touristic and industrial significance. Since it is a coastal beautiful metropolis that has a pleasant weather especially in summer; it attracts a lot of tourists. Ergo, this region is regarded to be suitable for investigating scientific and linguistic issues. Then, specific sites are to be chosen within this particular city for being investigated as it was done by some scholars in preceding research works such as Leeman and Modan (2009) who scrutinized Chinatown’s LL in Washington DC and Backhaus (2006) who focused on 28 Yamanote line’s railway stations while conducting research on the linguistic landscape of Tokyo.

To be more precise, in this work, two areas are focused on, namely downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* district. Yet, Oran city-centre is chosen and considered as a focal point in this study on the grounds that it is a crowded and commercial area where many malls, shops, restaurants and institutions can be found, in addition to the large number of people who can be encountered wandering along its streets, shopping, eating meals or having other concerns there. This specific urban area is referred to by Ben-Rafael et al (2006: 11) as one of “*those parts of the cities that have prolific LLs – that is, where the major commercial activity takes place and the principal public institutions are located*”. However, since downtown Oran is large, one could not consider all its streets and boulevards. That is why the corpus of study focused on three well-known main streets, namely *Mohamed Khemisti*, *Larbi Ben M’hidi* and *Emir Abd El Kader* Avenues in addition to some shops and institutions located alongside the *Seafront* which is on the edge of the city centre; it is mostly visited by the majority of tourists and visitors. Indeed, **Map 3.1** below displays the three boulevards mentioned above. Accordingly, what made one to choose these particular areas and streets is the high density of signs and billboards and their linguistic variety.



**Map 3.1:** A Google Map of Larbi Ben M’hidi, Emir Abdelkader and Mohamed Khemisti Boulevards. (Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/place>)

In the present thesis, the second centre of attention is *Sidi El Houari* district. It is spotlighted on the pretext that, in Oran, it is considered as an ancient and popular neighbourhood that is known for its old-style buildings and valleys. This quarter is depicted in **Map 3.2** below. Yet, research about linguistic landscapes can be carried out in neighbourhoods as it is illustrated by Huebner (2006) who stressed the importance of this kind of sites by focusing on Bangkok when he perceived the existence of “*separate and identifiable neighbourhoods, each with its own linguistic culture*” (Huebner 2006: 32). *Sidi El Houari* is referred to as “*the oldest neighbourhood of Oran*”<sup>78</sup> according to an article published in the Algerian newspaper *El Watan* (Abane 2015). It is also viewed as a “*historical district*”<sup>79</sup> containing ancient architecture, fortress and other important sites. In fact, these factors play a major role in attracting different people to visit this old place. But, according to Galván (2008: 116), this historical neighbourhood had steadily experienced deterioration during the last decades.

As far as *Sidi El Houari* is concerned, “*la Scalera*”<sup>80</sup> and the fishery quarter are essentially investigated. Indeed, it is impossible to talk about this district without mentioning these two sites. They are considered to be of importance in the history of Oran as they hosted a large number of people, mainly of Spanish origins. Most of them used to live with Algerians in “*patios*”, i.e. big houses with a number of rooms adjoining one another, where different people dwell and share a common courtyard as well as a unique entrance. Some of them also used to work side by side with Algerians in the harbour and the fishery. In this regard, Galván (2008) elucidates that:

*La Calère (Escalera) was the real Medina of Oran. Before its destruction from the 1970s it was one of the most important residential areas of the city. L'Escalera hosted a large part of the population of Spanish origin.*<sup>81</sup>

(Galván 2008: 119)

What made this research easy to be accomplished is the fact that the researcher is studying at *the University of Oran 2* and that he lives in Mascara, a city which is 92 km far from it, i.e.

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<sup>78</sup> <https://www.djazairress.com/fr/elwatan/491421>

<sup>79</sup> <https://oran-2021.com/visiter-le-quartier-historique-de-sidi-el-houari/>

<sup>80</sup> Escalera is a Spanish word which means staircase.

<sup>81</sup> The original text reads as follows: “*La Calère (Escalera) était la vraie Medina d’Oran. Avant sa destruction à partir des années 70 elle constituait un des quartiers résidentiels les plus importants de la ville. L’Escalera accueillit une grande partie de la population d’origine espagnole*”.

it shares borders with Oran. Thus, it should be noted that his familiarity with this coastal metropolis is a crucial factor that made it easier for him to deal with such an issue. Yet, it made it an appropriate region for conducting this research.



**Map 3.2:** A Google Map of Sidi El Houari District  
 (Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/place>)

### 3.4. Target Population

It is essential to shed light on a sample population when conducting a particular research since Mason asserts that it is impossible to consider all the population (1997: 84). In fact, certain groups of people might be selected as cases while tackling a particular study and then the researcher will be able to generalise about the results, i.e. this may allow him to refer to the whole population. Besides, it is noteworthy to refer to important details about the population focused on such as age, gender, educational level and the places where those individuals reside, for instance. Thus, this may make crystal clear the varying types of people under investigation. In this study, the sample population focused on is split into two groups of people who were encountered in the two aforementioned areas, viz. Oran city-centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. The first group consists of different individuals owning shops, businesses

and restaurants or those working as shop assistants, whereas the second one comprises various passers-by and customers who were randomly met shopping in addition to pedestrians. Diverse business/shop owners, vendors or even sales assistants were chosen according to the distinct languages they have used for their stores such as MSA, AA, Berber, French, English, and Spanish. Thus, all the languages utilised on shop-fronts were taken into consideration. What also has been taken into account is the different services those stores provide people with and the products they sell such as electrical appliances, food, toys and clothes, for example. In order for their businesses to prosper, shop owners may choose the language(s) that they find appropriate in transmitting particular messages and drawing the attention of some specific clients. On the other hand, the customers who differ in terms of age, sex, origin, place of residence, social class and educational level were selected randomly for the purpose of acquiring reliable data without bias. In this sense, men, women, elders and teenagers constitute this population since they may all be targeted when designing any sign or board; they may all be taken into consideration by shop-owners, bakers, patissiers, florists and restaurant proprietors when mentioning any language on the fronts of their buildings and stores. Dealing with those people during interviews and questionnaires helped having a real idea of the desired languages and the language policy that is implemented in Oran. As this scientific research aimed at investigating the linguistic landscapes of Oran city centre and *SDH*, different people encountered in these two sites have been selected at random for the purpose of being interviewed. This includes 60 shop owners and 60 customers and passers-by. The first group of informants consisted of 55 males and 5 females; however the second one was made up of 30 males and 30 females. According to Coulmas (2009: 22-23), it is important for the investigator to identify and recognise the individuals who can read the various signs that are present in a particular public space since the plainly exhibited texts are supposed to be read by different people. Yet, the visible languages are chosen by various actors. They may or may not be officially permitted to be displayed. Some texts are used by the authorities while others are written by individuals who employ them either deliberately or carelessly.

### **3.5. Data Collection Methods and Research Tools**

While tackling any scientific study, one is required to shed light on the research design that aims at showing the strategies that he used and the procedure that he went through so as to respond to some research questions. For Brink and Wood (1998: 100), this design “*is a blueprint for action*”. The way one acquires data varies from one research to another

depending on what he aspires to reach and which questions he wants to answer. Thus, it is important to say that gathering trustworthy information is not an easy activity at all and that there is a number of methods that can be emphasised in order for one to accomplish his goals of answering some research questions. The method to be followed depends on the type of the investigation, the context, the target population and the researcher's objectives. Hence, each of them has particular advantages as well as drawbacks. In this regard, O'Leary asserts that *"collecting credible data is a tough task, and it is worth remembering that one method of data collection is not inherently better than another"* (2004: 150). It is noteworthy that some studies require the use of a quantitative approach while others need to be investigated by focusing on a qualitative method. The quantitative model is based on objectivity since one is supposed to tackle the data he gathered and test the theory or the hypothesis he has already formulated through numbers and statistics. In this sense, Hamzaoui and Negadi (2013: 48) affirm that *"in quantitative research we classify features, count them, and even construct more complex statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed"*. As far as qualitative approach is concerned, the researchers *"are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world."* (Merriam 2009: 13). But sometimes both of them can be emphasised and mixing between them may be fruitful and provides better findings rather than being limited to only one method that does not work properly. In fact, Bouma and Atkinson (1995: 208) make clear that *"some subjects are best investigated using the quantitative approach whilst for others, qualitative approaches will give better results. However in some cases both methods can be used"*. Employing these two methods in the same scientific investigation is referred to by Tashakkori and Creswell (2007: 4) who explain that it is a *"research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study"*. Yet, the combination of these two methods enables one to have profound knowledge of a particular topic under investigation.

In this fieldwork, there is a mixture between quantitative and qualitative methods in order to obtain trustworthy figures, people's attitudes towards language use in LL and interpreting these in-depth data. The quantitative study refers to the classification of a number of signs gathered through the use of a digital camera according to the different languages they display and, if possible, the various types of products and businesses they provide.

Accordingly, Spolsky and Cooper (1991) depict the way in which he gathered his data as he emphasises the significance of signs' photography by stating:

*My curiosity piqued by these signs, I set off with my camera to record as many as I could: trilingual, bilingual and monolingual advertisements and signs on stores; warning notices; labels on buildings, commercial establishments, institutions, and homes; directions and information about hours*

*(Spolsky and Cooper 1991: 8)*

Thus, taking pictures of signboards and banners can be done by anyone; it is not a difficult task especially with the use of smartphones containing digital cameras. Gorter (2012: 9) affirms that these devices “*can capture photographs of sufficient high quality for most items in public space. Taking photos of the Linguistic Landscape requires hardly any effort and poses no particular difficulties*”. In fact, this allows one to play the role of the photographer. In this research work, photography was focused on so as to capture as many images as possible of both top-down and bottom-up signs. Indeed, those pictures were taken while walking along the streets of downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* district during a period of two weeks in October 2019 for the purpose of documenting these two sites' LLs, analysing the various signboards and interpreting them. That is, this made it easier for one to count those signs and then to primarily classify them according to the languages they display, their functions like street names, shop-signs and advertisings, for instance, and their types which can either be governmental or private, i.e. official or non-official signs. This may help to show the languages which are visible and the ones which are absent from the public spaces of both this city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. Each of the photographs targets and represents one sign separately. Yet, all the signs taken into account contain written texts in addition to some cases of pictures and drawings. The investigator has also included the texts shown on digital screens but ignored the ones used on moving items like automobiles, buses and tramways. Accordingly, Backhaus (2007: 66) asserts that a sign is referred to as “*any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame [...] including anything from the small handwritten sticker attached to a lamp-post to huge commercial billboards*”. This research then intends to display the way in which particular languages are chosen in the Linguistic Landscape. That is why the signs exhibiting only pictures and logos instead of texts have not been considered. It also investigates the reasons why some individuals or certain organisations and institutions have used some languages instead of others (Shohamy and Ben-Rafael 2015: 1). According to Du Plessis (2011), three possible LL related aspects may have an impact on language use in



the public sphere, viz. locality, agency and functionality. These three terms refer to the precise area where the Linguistic Landscape is located, the designers of the different signs, be they governmental institutions or other private organisations and ordinary individuals owning shops or working for their owners, and the intention to use or the reason lying behind the visibility of a language in such a sign. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) refer to those who really create or shape the signs constituting a particular LL as “*linguistic landscape actors.*” These authors describe them as:

*The actors who concretely participate in the shaping of the linguistic landscape by ordering from others or building by themselves linguistic landscape elements according to preferential tendencies, deliberate choices or policies.*

*(Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 27)*

In addition, Gorter (2012) asserts that those actors are mainly responsible for the languages that are present in the linguistic landscape of any region. Yet, they are the ones who design the signage that people can see in a given public space. In this regard, this scholar explains that: “*the totality of the signs in a particular Linguistic Landscape is, of course, the end result of the doings of many actors*” (Gorter 2012: 10). Thus, the way the LL of a certain region appears is greatly affected by different shopkeepers, business owners and restaurant proprietors owing to the fact that they design their own shops signs and they decide which languages to be seen on their façades. This then allows a variety of languages to come into view especially in cities. However, Gorter (ibid) elucidates that this LL can also be controlled by the government that permits the appearance of some languages and prevents others from being present in some public spaces. From his vantage point, decision makers and people in power may give priority to some languages instead of others. As an illustration, the case of Brussels, which is the capital of Belgium, was referred to where Dutch and French are explicitly imposed by the state as they are omnipresent in the public sphere albeit there is language conflict in this region (ibid). In this sense, this author clarifies that:

*The use of languages in the public sphere can be strictly regulated by the authorities, who dictate the use of certain languages and prohibit the use of others. Often the authorities try to control and steer the use of languages in the linguistic landscape and thus they develop language policies that contain detailed requirements. As the linguistic landscape can be one of the most perceivable signs of diversity in a city the authorities may use their power to*

*give preference to certain language groups and to exclude or diminish the presence of others.*

*(Gorter 2012: 10)*

More importantly, it is not sufficient just to photograph signs and to recognise the different languages used in a certain area. What is also essential is to analyse and interpret a particular LL thoroughly after taking the pictures. That is, one may get to the reasons behind the use of some languages and elicit information about the relation between them by also focusing on other research tools such as interviews or questionnaires. In this respect, Barni and Bagna (2010) make clear that:

*Simply identifying the languages present within a country or area in quantitative terms does not provide us with any information about the relations between the languages observed and their uses in a given place”.*

*(Barni and Bagna 2010: 4)*

All the signs photographed were coded in accordance with the way Ben-Rafael et al (2006) categorised all the signage they gathered in their study by distinguishing between top-down and bottom-up ones, i.e. by making reference to whether they are official or non-official items and their “*specific subareas of activity*” (Ben-Rafael et al 2006: 11). As far as public signs are concerned, what has been taken into consideration is whether they belong “*to national or local, and cultural, social, educational, medical or legal institutions*” (ibid). Furthermore, private signboards have been classified in terms of other variables like “*professional (legal, medical, consulting), commercial (and subsequently, according to branches like food, clothing, furniture etc.) and services (agencies like real estate, translation or manpower)*” (Ben-Rafael et al 2006: ibid). Besides, these items, be they top-down or bottom-down ones, have essentially been cyphered by considering the displayed languages, the prominence of each of them, their precise positions on each sign and their font sizes as well (ibid). Accordingly, Scollon and Scollon (2003) discuss the notion of language preference when they stress the importance of the position of written words and texts. They affirm that the language that may be given priority is to be put on the top, on the left or in the centre of the sign. In this respect, these two scholars emphasise that “*the preferred code is on top, on the left, or in the centre and the marginalised code is on the bottom, on the right, or in the margins*” (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 120). Furthermore, while analysing some of the different signs that were captured, the researcher has found that it is crucial to focus on the

meaning of some words, phrases and expressions owing to the fact that, in some contexts, some words are powerfully used over others. The meaning of these written texts can also change by altering their font albeit with the use of the same words and colours. Yet, this can be confirmed by Scollon and Scollon (2003: 130) who said that “*a change in font, even when the colour scheme and the words are the same, brings about a significant change in meaning*”. In sum, the main aspects that may be taken into account while analysing one of the signs under investigation are the authorship, the institutions they belong to or the sign-makers, the languages that can be seen, the way they are written, their sizes, their positions and the order in which they appear in case the sign is a bilingual or a multilingual one.

The total number of signs that has been photographed in Oran city centre is 120 signs, among them 100 private ones and 20 governmental others. In addition, there are 50 pictures taken in *Sidi El Houari* when 10 signs are issued by the state and 40 others are designed by different individuals owning shops, restaurants and other businesses. In fact, the precise number of signs being photographed in these two sites is displayed in table 3.1 below.

	Number of top-down signs	%	Number of bottom-up signs	%	Total number of signs	%
Oran city centre	40	18.18%	180	81.81%	220	100%
Sidi El Houari	20	25%	60	75%	80	100%

**Table 3.1:** The Number of Languages Displayed on Signs.

One of the most effective tools for gathering data in a short period of time is the questionnaire. Pawar (2004: 21) defined it as “*a document consisting of closed (forced choice) and/or open-ended structured questions covering research objectives, questions and variables.*” This document is designed in accordance with the objectives of the research. It is made of a variety of questions that are asked in order to elicit valuable pieces of information from different informants who are supposed to answer them. In this regard, this data collection technique is also defined by Jankowicz (2000) who claims that:

*Questionnaires are particularly useful when you want to contact relatively large numbers of people to obtain data on the same issue or issues, often by posing the same questions to all.*

*(Jankowicz 2000:222)*

Seliger & Shohami (1989:172) assert that questionnaires are “*printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often unanimously*”. The questionnaire has been focused on because of some advantageous characteristics that it has. Gillham (2007: 6) affirms that it is an efficient instrument that is not costly and that does not take a long time for acquiring data from a large number of individuals who respond to them anonymously. In fact, this gives the informants more freedom. They even do not feel in a rush or under pressure while answering the questions whatever their number since they are not supposed to provide the researcher with instant responses.

In the current work, a semi-structured questionnaire was administered to a number of 30 shop-owners in Oran city centre and 30 others in *Sidi El Houari* district for the purpose of gathering data related to language use in these two LLs. Thus, this questionnaire (see Appendix A), which was made of both open-ended and closed questions including yes/no questions as well as multiple choice ones, has been developed for the purpose of being aware of those individuals’ linguistic backgrounds, their attitudes towards language use in the public sphere and the languages that are visible on their signboards and the reasons behind their appearance and the absence of some others. In fact, two versions of questionnaires were given to every respondent being encountered. The first one was transcribed in MSA whereas the second one was in French. This was done in order to give them more freedom to choose the language they master more. These two codes were chosen since the former is Algeria’s official language and the latter is the first foreign language used by most of educated people in this country due to colonial reasons. All the informants who have been met were Algerians. Then, this questionnaire was followed by interviews that were particularly designed for those shop-owners so as to express their thoughts and feelings freely. Yet, this has made them provide more information which may allow one either to confirm what they have said in the questionnaire or to find out any contradictions in case they exist. Indeed, the questionnaire consists of 5 rubrics. The first one is from question 1 to question 4; it aspires to elicit information about shop/business owners’ linguistic backgrounds. That is, it attempts to enquire about the languages they use, the ones they master and their mother tongues as well. The second rubric, which consists of questions 5 and 6, explores the different languages appearing on signs and the specific meanings of the visible texts. Then, rubric 3 comprises questions 7, 8 and 9 that investigate the clientele’s attractiveness to those shops and restaurants and the texts utilised on their signboards. The objective of the next one, which is made of questions 10 and 11, is to contrast public and private signs in terms of language use.

The last rubric contains questions 12 and 13 which ask the informants about their preferences for language visibility in the public spheres of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. Yet, what is noteworthy is that questionnaires were not distributed to customers and passers-by due to the fact that the majority of them were in a hurry. They did not have enough time to read and answer all the questions one by one. They said that they had much more important things instead. But fortunately, those individuals accepted to answer some interview questions since they had not taken them a long time.

In this study, interviews were conducted being considered as effective tools through which one can collect reliable data. Accordingly, Burns (1999: 118) asserts that “*interviews are popular and widely used means of collecting qualitative data.*” In a similar vein, Dörnyei confirms that researchers commonly gather this type of (qualitative) data by using interviews and questionnaires (2007: 132), notwithstanding that interviews are considered as very influential instruments when it comes to getting detailed information about opinions and attitudes (Kvale 1996, 2003). They permit the investigator to obtain enough detailed and trustworthy data that cannot be reached through other instruments. Blaxter et al (2006: 172) acknowledge that interviews are sometimes conducted since some data are “*probably not accessible using techniques such as questionnaires and observations*”. Yet, one can reach the information he needs directly while facing the interviewees. He can even be acquainted with their feelings and the way they think as well owing to the fact that the interviewed individuals may “*speak in their own voice and express their own thoughts and feelings*” (Berg 2007: 97). More importantly, this particular kind of research tool has been conducted since not all the shop-owners and the customers encountered are literate, i.e. some of them are not capable of reading and responding to the questionnaire. In a similar vein, Flick (2006: 160) demonstrates that “*a goal of interviews in general is to reveal existing knowledge in a way that can be expressed in the form of answers and so become accessible to interpretation*”. Hence, one conducts an interview for the purpose of uncovering responses and trustworthy information that can be interpreted and analysed. It is therefore easier to elicit fruitful data and to have insight into people’s perceptions while interviewing them. Then, it is crucial to point to this instrument’s importance by mentioning Cohen et al. (2000: 267) who believe that “*interviews enable participants- be they interviewers or interviewees- to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view*”.

Nunan (1992) recognises the existence of three kinds of interviews, namely structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews as well. According to him, this categorisation has very much to do with whether they are formal or not. In this respect, this author elucidates that *“interviews can be characterised in terms of their degree of formality, and most can be placed on a continuum ranging from unstructured through semi-structured to structured”* (Nunan 1992: 149). The first type, which is unstructured interview, is characterised by its flexibility and informality in comparison with the other ones. The interviewer here can improvise as he is not controlled by a planned list of question, but rather he is restricted by the interviewees' replies. In this particular case, the researcher cannot be aware of where the interview will go. Yet, he claims that *“the direction of the interview is relatively unpredictable”* (ibid.). The second type of interview to be explained is the semi-structured one. Nunan (1992) asserts that, in this sort of interview, the researcher is approximately familiar with his direction. He already knows what he wants to reach and what should result from it when he is interviewing any individual. The interviewer does not face this interview with designed and prepared questions. What really defines and control the course of the semi-structured interview are topics and issues (ibid.). Unlike the two above-mentioned sorts of interviews, the last one, which is structured interview, is characterized by formality. In this case, the researcher organises a set of questions in a certain scheduled order in advance before facing a particular interviewee (ibid.).

In order to gain reliable data and to find answers to this thesis' research questions, one focused on structured interviews. In this sense, two diverse structured interviews containing a combination of closed and open-ended questions were designed, one for business/shop proprietors and another one for their clientele and some passers-by who were met face to face so as to solicit spontaneous answers. Most of the interviews were held inside the visited shops and on pavements as well. All the informants were reassured that this is a scientific research that has a linguistic purpose. They were even shown that it has nothing to do with politics in order not to be afraid, to feel safe and to answer the different questions while having complete freedom. In fact, the interviews have been conducted in either Arabic or French owing to the fact that this population could speak and/or comprehend one of these two languages or both of them. Additionally, another English copy has been prepared in case of meeting a tourist since this language is considered as an international one. However, no tourist was encountered out there. All the questions were then asked out loud while one was holding a notebook so as to take notes of their replies. It is noteworthy to state that before the interviews, the researcher

trained himself not to be anxious and to play the role of a journalist while being friendly, polite and smiley. This made the interviews easier and helped to obtain the needed data. In this respect, Hoyle, Harris and Judd explain that “... *proper training and proper interviewer behaviour can help greatly in achieving the goals*” (2002: 145). Besides, the interviewer made sure that the interviews were accessible and valid before conducting them in order to avoid long, difficult and ambiguous questions and to make the interviewee understand and answer them effortlessly. This has already been explained by Nunan (1992) who highlights the necessity of piloting an interview by arguing that:

*...it is very important that interview questions are piloted with a small sample of subjects before being used. This gives the researcher the opportunity to find out if the questions are yielding the kind of data required and to eliminate any questions which may be ambiguous or confusing to the interviewee.*

*(Nunan 1992: 151)*

In a similar vein, for the purpose of collecting pertinent data, the researcher played the role of a participant observer by wandering along the streets of the city-centre and *SDH* and visiting diverse shops and restaurants while holding a smartphone containing a camera. This was done without plotting to meet any particular kind of customers or shop-owners in order not to falsify the collected data.

By using the aforementioned instruments, data were gathered in a period of three months from September to November 2019. Yet, in the course of photographing shop-signs and interviewing people, one guaranteed that this investigation has nothing to do with politics. It is because the interviewers were afraid of being implicated in such a governmental affair or any complicated problem. It is noteworthy that the researcher “*will find suggestions such as, to carefully explain to the interviewees what you expect from them during the interview, how to create a good atmosphere in the interview, and to give room to your interviewees to open up*” (Flick 2006: 169). In this sense, it is essentially momentous to put the informants at ease before and even in the course of the interview. Despite the fact that they have been told that this research work is totally disinterested in socio-political constructions, some customers and shop-owners did not feel secure and refused being interviewed. They even did not permit taking pictures of their stores due to the fact that they were afraid that their shops would be robbed, especially jewellers. However, what the researcher must admit is that most of those people were hospitable and helpful. That is, the majority of shopkeepers allow one to

photograph their storefronts and almost all the customers and pedestrians encountered accepted being interviewed. The total number of Shopkeepers, business owners and restaurant proprietors who were interviewed in downtown Oran is 30 while there were 30 other ones in *Sidi El Houari* district. In addition, the investigator has interviewed 30 customers and pedestrians who were met either inside different shops or walking along the streets of the city centre; however, there were 30 other ones in *Sidi El Houari* (see table 3.2 below).

	Shop/business owners	Customers/pedestrians	Total number of individuals interviewed
City centre	30	30	60
<i>Sidi El Houari</i>	30	30	60

**Table 3.2:** The Total Number of Shop/Business Owners and Customers Interviewed.

A structured interview was designed for clients. It consists of only two rubrics since almost all of them did not have enough time to have a long one (see Appendix B). Yet, it is made of a mixture of open-ended and close-ended questions so as to elicit useful information about the Linguistic Landscapes of both Oran city centre and *SDH*. In this regard, the first rubric contains questions 1 and 2 which attempt to elicit data about the customers' linguistic backgrounds and the speech communities they belong to. The second one includes questions from 3 to 7. It aspires to investigate the languages that the interviewees prefer to see in the public spaces of the aforementioned two areas and their attitudes towards the use of some particular codes on signs instead of others. It also tries to reveal whether those sites' LLs have changed or not as Oran has turned into a globalised city. Indeed, those interviews were conducted in AA, MSA or French depending on the diverse customers' linguistic competencies. Then, their detailed answers were recorded using a smartphone. For a better understanding of what those interviewees said and to be able to put them into diverse categories, they were also asked for demographic data including age, sex and the level of education they have reached before starting the interviews.

Another structured interview, containing a number of 10 questions, was designed for shop/business owners and restaurant proprietors (see Appendix B). While being encountered, those individuals were asked diverse multiple-choice as well as open-ended questions. In fact, this interview consists of four rubrics. The first one contains the three first questions. They scrutinise the particular languages utilised by shop-owners and their perceptions of those codes. The second one is made of questions 4 and 5 which ask about the reasons behind the



appearance of some languages instead of others and the various customers they target. The third rubric consists of questions from 6 to 8 that attempt to elicit crucial information about shop-owners' attitudes towards the obligatory use of MSA on signboards and banners. The last part has to do with questions 9 and 10; they allow one to enquire about the languages that different shop-owners prefer to be surrounded with and the reasons behind their choices. Yet, those interviews were conducted in AA, MSA or French depending on which languages the interviewees were able to comprehend and utilise. During this process, the interviewer had recorded every single answer using his smartphone.

In addition to photographing shop-signs and interviewing people, it should be noted that initial observation was emphasised to acquire additional information and to make this study more valuable. Research works in which observation is considered as a tool to collect data are those that "*involve the systematic recording of observable phenomena or behaviour in a natural setting*" (Gorman and Clayton 2005: 40). This tool is described by Marshall and Rossman as "*the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study*" (1989: 79). This means that the researcher must be well-organised and follow a methodical way while portraying what surrounds him. Accordingly, Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte point to participant observation and define it as "*the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting*" (1999: 91). Here, these scholars speak about the fact of taking part in a particular scene to be investigated for the purpose of finding out how things work and depicting the way people usually act. More importantly, during an observational study, the researcher must bear in mind that he must aim to gather and analyse the data which are pertinent to the issue he is examining. Interestingly enough, in this fieldwork, what may be observed are the language(s) salespeople have utilised while communicating with their customers and vice versa, the languages that have been visible on walls, shop-signs and billboards in relation to the different sites under investigation, i.e. Oran city-centre and *Sidi El Houari* district and their attractiveness as well. While walking around these two regions' streets, the researcher has also made a comparison between the utilised languages as he has discerned similarities and differences between the two linguistic landscapes. Besides, observations about the categories of people visiting the various shops and institutions which are providing diverse products and services are to be noted. This has been made in order to verify shop owners' answers about the individuals entering their shops, for instance. In fact, this has been done in informal settings in Mohamed Khemisti Avenue, Larbi Ben M'hidi

Boulevard and the streets of *Sidi El Houari* district as well. The researcher played the role of a participant observer as he was wandering along these streets and holding his smartphone containing a notepad application for the purpose of taking notes of the different languages prevailing in the public space and any individual's behaviours in relation with this language use. This phone application has been used by the researcher instead of a real notebook and a pen in order to work stealthily and not to draw the attention of shop/business owners in particular and people surrounding him in general.

### **3.6. Reaffirming the Research Questions and Hypotheses**

Stating research questions and hypotheses is of gigantic importance to any sociolinguistic research. In fact, it may allow the reader to be aware of the exact points that the researcher wants to reach as well as the path he is walking through while tackling a particular subject. The ones related to the present study are referred to below.

#### **3.6.1. Research Questions**

Research question is such a momentous concept that Flick (2009: 103) compared to a "door" through which one can walk for the purpose of tackling a particular topic. Yet, unless the researcher formulates research questions, the literature review cannot be collected appropriately and the research methodology, data collection procedure and the instruments that may help conduct a certain research cannot be selected suitably. Kellett (2005: 8) affirms that any study comprises four stages among which research question comes at the very beginning, i.e. it is considered as a starting point. After that, there appears research design, data collection and then the final phase which is data analysis and interpretation. Indeed, without a research question, no researcher can be able to conduct or even to start any scientific investigation. This may be confirmed by Bordage and Dawson (2003: 378) who stress its significance by saying that "*the single most important component of a study is the research question. It is the keystone of the entire exercise*". Hence, this work focused on four questions that one found crucial. They open the door to a scientific study in the fields of LPP and Linguistic landscape studies in the city of Oran. They contain all the keywords that necessarily allow one to stay within the limits of this study. The research questions that have been highlighted are as follows:

1. Are the linguistic landscapes of Oran city centre and *Sidi EL Houari* district similar or different?

2. Do these regions' LL reflect the language policy implemented by the state?
3. Why do shop/business owners, in these areas, use some languages instead of others?
4. What attitudes do people hold towards the languages used on the walls, shop-fronts and signs in Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari*?

The first question aims at distinguishing between the public spheres of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district in terms of language use. The second one enquires about whether these two sites' linguistic landscapes mirror the language policy applied by the government and the local authorities. The third question investigates the reasons lying behind language use in the public sphere of those two regions. The last one seeks to search for the attitudes of shop-owners and customers towards the languages utilised on both private and public signs.

### 3.6.2. Hypotheses

A hypothesis has been referred to as “*a tentative answer to a research problem expressed in the form of a clearly stated relation between independent ('cause') and dependent ('effect') variables*” (UNESCO 2005: 5). Thus, the researcher may put forward some answers that may be tested while tackling a particular scientific problematic. By the end of the investigation, the hypotheses may be corroborated or invalidated. That is, they may be tested. Yet, in the present study, so as to answer the aforementioned research questions, the following hypotheses have already been formulated:

- 1- The LL in Oran city centre differs from that of *Sidi El Houari*. Downtown is a commercial region whose public space is rich in languages such as Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber, French, English, Chinese and Turkish owing to the fact that plenty of people from distinct places and origins visit it, whereas *Sidi El Houari*'s linguistic landscape does not contain all these languages since it is considered as an old and working-class district that may not attract all those people.
- 2- The LLs of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* do not reflect the language policy implemented by the state and the local authorities.
- 3- Shop-owners choose some languages instead of others to attract and stimulate various clients depending on different criteria such as their ages, genders, origins, residences and intellectual levels as well.
- 4- Unlike in *Sidi El Houari* district where few languages can be found, viz. MSA, AA and French, people feel comfortable and have a positive attitude towards language diversity in the city centre's linguistic landscape.

### 3.7. Data Analysis Procedure

After data are collected, they may be analysed and discussed in details. In fact, data analysis is incontestably considered as a crucial step that the researcher may go through while carrying out a study. It is a time and effort consuming process that is not easy and that requires someone who is skilled at data scrutiny. In this sense, Marshall and Rossman (1989) acknowledge that:

*Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. It is a messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative, and fascinating process. It does not proceed in a linear fashion; it is not neat*

*(Marshall and Rossman 1989: 112)*

Sometimes while tackling some sociolinguistic topics, the investigator analyses the data he acquires both qualitatively and quantitatively even though some others focus only on one of them in other studies. Indeed, they can be combined compatibly in a single research in order to ensure more reliable results. The usefulness of these two data analysis methods being used in parallel in the same investigation, especially in sociolinguistic studies, has been emphasised by Johnstone (2000) who states that:

*This means that analyzing sociolinguistic data often involves some counting, explicit or implicit, in order to answer questions about how often things happen, in addition to the descriptions that help answer qualitative questions about how and why things happen.*

*(Johnstone 2000: 37)*

Quantitative data analysis consists of examining the information that are obtained and transforming the findings into figures, statistics, percentages, charts and graphs. In this research work, this has been done through counting the number of languages appearing on the private and public signs that were photographed in Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district and comparing between them. This particular type of analysis is also considered as part of this study since the researcher has scrutinised closed and multiple-choice questions after conducting the interviews with the shop/business owners and the customers he has met in the two sites mentioned above. In this regard, Burns (2010) believes that this kind of data analysis is essentially crucial as she claims that:

*Quantitative data can have a very important place in the way we discover things and present our findings. We can gain insights about the extents, measures, or “weighings up” of the main issues that are important to our research focus.*

*(Burns 2010: 118)*

As far as qualitative data analysis is concerned, the investigator is supposed to portray in words the diverse information he acquired in details being far away from referring to figures, percentages and rates. While breaking up data, he can interpret and even criticise them; this needs more concentration because it is a difficult task that takes time and effort. In this thesis, the responses obtained from the interviews’ open-ended questions as well as the researchers’ observations are to be analysed qualitatively as he may give a description of shop owners’ and customers’ perceptions towards the languages appearing in the public space of downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari*. Along the same lines, Ochieng (2009) argues that:

*The aim of qualitative analysis is a complete, detailed description. No attempt is made to assign frequencies to the linguistic features which are identified in the data, and rare phenomena receive (or should receive) the same amount of attention as more frequent phenomena.*

*(Ochieng 2009: 17)*

In short, the whole research design that has previously been detailed in this methodological chapter will be summarised in figure 3.1 below. In fact, it will present the main steps that the researcher has gone through starting from data collection and finishing with data analyses and interpretations.

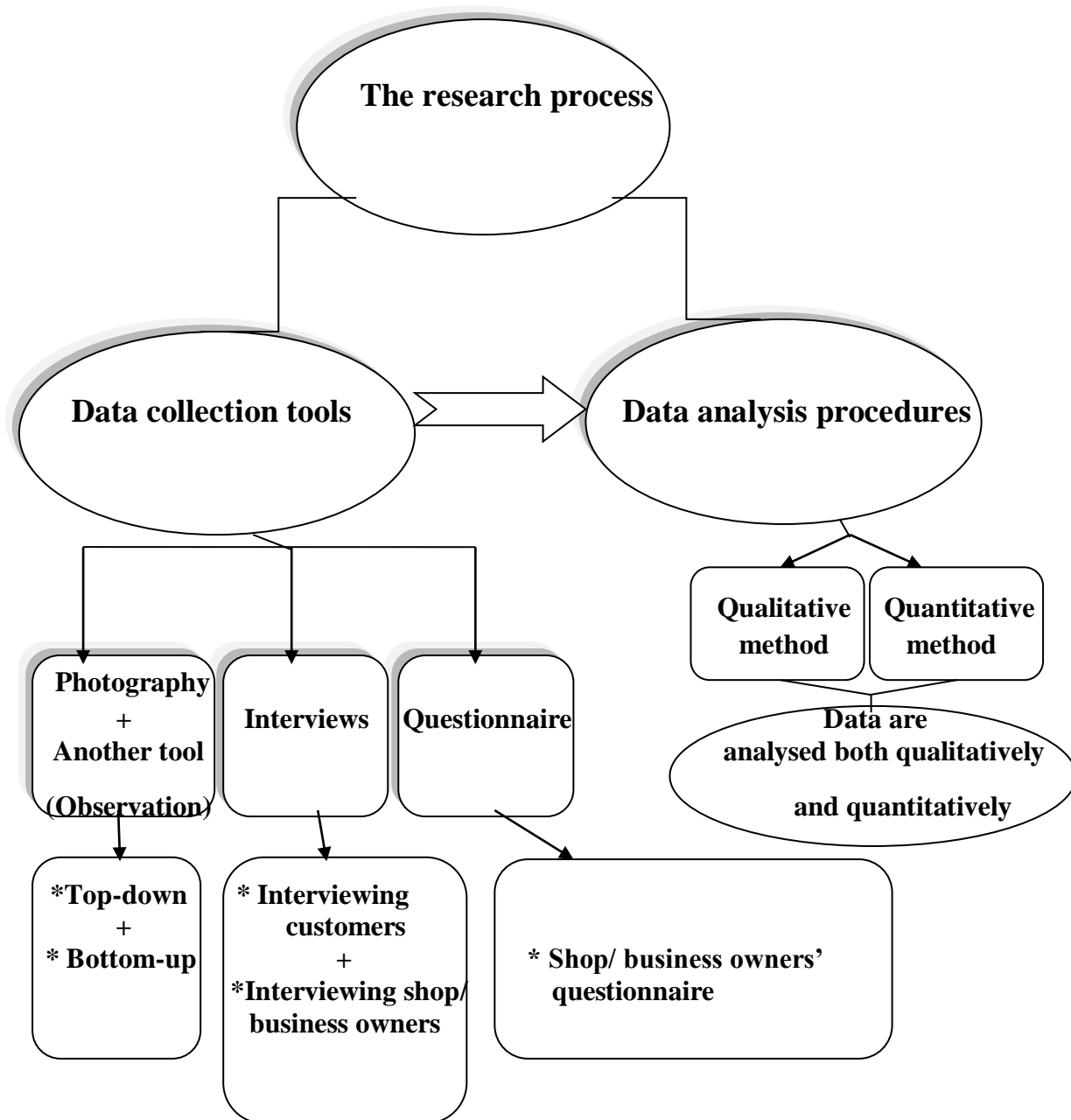


Figure 3.1: Summary of the Present Research Process.

### 3.8. Conclusion

In this part, the researcher made reference to the study motivations and objectives. In fact, he referred to every single source that spurred him to tackle this topic related to LPP and LL studies. He also pointed to his objectives by addressing such a sociolinguistic subject. Yet, this is a methodological chapter that displayed the way the researcher used a mixed method involving both quantitative and qualitative approaches. It shed light on the sites under investigation which are Oran city centre and the popular district of *Sidi El Houari*. It also described the tools used for gathering enough credible data such as interview, questionnaire,

photography and observation so as to enquire about the languages appearing in those public spaces, the reasons lying behind those linguistic choices and peoples' attitudes towards them. To be more precise, this chapter stressed the data collection procedure for the purpose of providing detailed information about every single step he went through during this scientific expedition. Besides, it discussed the target population that included both shop/business owners or vendors and customers being encountered in the regions mentioned above. Moreover, it showed that everything was done in an ethically correct way when respecting every single individual who did neither accept being involved in this research work nor permit shops' photography. The difficulties and the hindrances that have been faced were also referred to here. Yet, to answer the research questions and to solve a certain scientific problem, it is of utmost importance to specify and to make clear the methods and the methodology focused on. Then, so as to answer the research questions and to check the hypotheses that were previously cited, the photos taken by the researcher and the data gathered by use of questionnaires, interviews and observation will be interpreted and analysed exhaustively in the upcoming data analysis chapter which is considered as a momentous phase in this research paper.

In sum, in addition to the target population, the setting and the duration of the study, this part described the research process thoroughly and summarised the data analysis procedure that will be emphasised in the next part in order to reach this investigation's objectives. Hence, the collected data will be analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively through classifying the diverse signs that were photographed, counting the languages utilised on them, discussing, breaking down and scrutinising the questionnaires' and the interviews' questions and stating observations as well. Thus, the next chapter will be an empirical part which is mainly devoted to analysing and interpreting data and discussing the findings as well.

# **CHAPTER FOUR**

## **DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS**



## **Chapter Four: Data analysis and interpretations**

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## 4.1. Introduction

This chapter is an analytical part that assesses and interprets the data collected by use of four chief instruments, viz. questionnaires, interviews, photography and observation which is considered as an additional tool for the fortification of the findings the researcher has already reached. Yet, it will provide various data, figures and charts for the purpose of explicating in details, illustrating and clarifying the main results that have been obtained. This will eventually help one to find cogent answers to the research questions, to test the hypotheses that have already been stated in the previous chapter and then to get out of ambiguities. That is, this way, he may gain knowledge about the reasons lying behind shop-owners' choices of some codes instead of others in addition to customers' and different pedestrians' perceptions towards language use in the public spheres of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. In this section, one will also be aware of all the diverse languages constituting these two sites' linguistic landscapes.

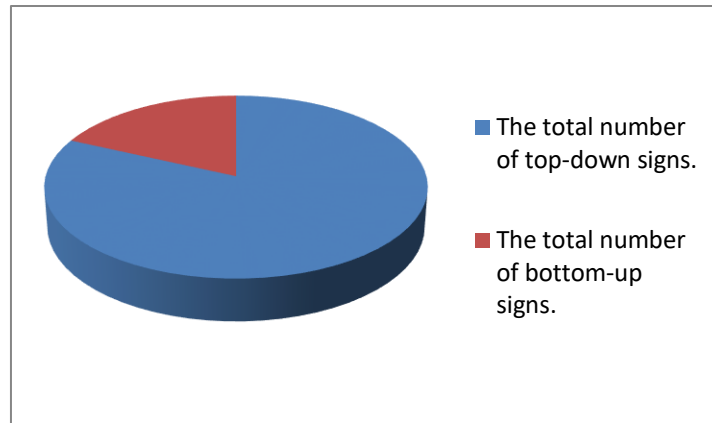
## 4.2. Sign Analysis

### 4.2.1. Oran City Centre

Oran city centre is so rife with signs, hoardings and display panels that its linguistic landscape is considered to be eminently rich. Hence, it comprises divergent types of top-down and bottom-up signs, including monolingual, bilingual, hybrid and multilingual ones. In fact, there is a number of 220 signs that were photographed (see Appendix C). Among them, there were 180 bottom-up items and 40 top-down others. This clarifies that the former type appears predominantly in this particular public space in comparison with the latter. Then, this distribution will be illustrated by table 4.1 and pie chart 4.1 below.

	The number of top-down signs	(%)	The number of bottom-up signs	(%)
Oran city centre	40	18.18%	180	81.81%

**Table 4.1:** Public vs. Private Signs in Oran City Centre.



**Pie chart 4.1:** Top-down vs. Bottom-up Signs in Oran City Centre.

The diverse languages displayed on the different types of signs that are mentioned above will be detailed in table 4.2 below. In fact, by looking at it, one may become familiar with the exact number of languages that are used on each type of the photographed signs, be they top-down or bottom-up ones. After that, the total percentage of those codes will be presented thoroughly being shown separately on monolingual, bilingual, multilingual and hybrid signs. Interesting enough, these collected data reveal that there are 124 monolingual signs (56.35%), 26 hybrid ones (11.81%), 61 bilingual signage (27.72%) and only 8 multilingual other ones (3.63%). Yet, it is worth mentioning that the majority of signs that have been found in Oran city centre are monolingual signs.

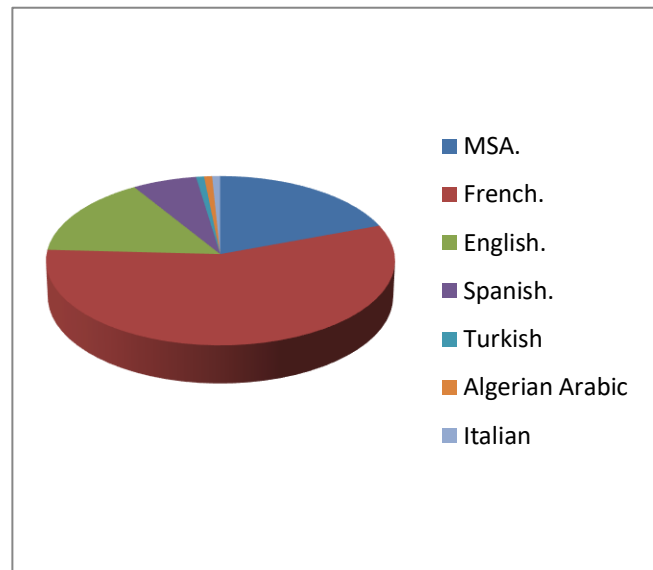
	<b>Monolingual Signs</b>	<b>Bilingual Signs</b>	<b>Hybrid Signs</b>	<b>Multilingual Signs</b>
<b>Top-down signs</b>	MSA 12 French 2	MSA – French 25		MSA – Berber – French 1
<b>Bottom-up signs</b>	MSA 12 French 68 English 19 Spanish 8 Turkish 1 AA 1 Italian 1	MSA – French 24 French – English 4 MSA – English 3 MSA – Spanish 1 MSA – AA 1 CA – MSA 1 AA – French 2	French–English 13 MSA – French 9 French – Spanish 2 English – Spanish 1 AA – French 1	MSA French –English 3 MSA – AA – French 3 MSA – French – Spanish – Italian 1 AA – Berber – French 1

**Table 4.2:** The Languages Displayed on Top-down vs. Bottom-up Monolingual, Bilingual, Hybrid and Multilingual Signs in Oran City Centre.

The diverse languages that are visible on both private and public monolingual signs in Oran city centre are illustrated in table 4.3 and pie chart 4.2 below.

(1) French	70 (56.45 %)
(2) MSA	24 (19.35 %)
(3) English	19 (15.32 %)
(4) Spanish	6.45 %
(5) AA	1 (0.80 %)
(6) Italian	1 (0.80 %)
(7) Turkish	1 (0.80 %)

**Table 4.3:** Monolingual Signs.

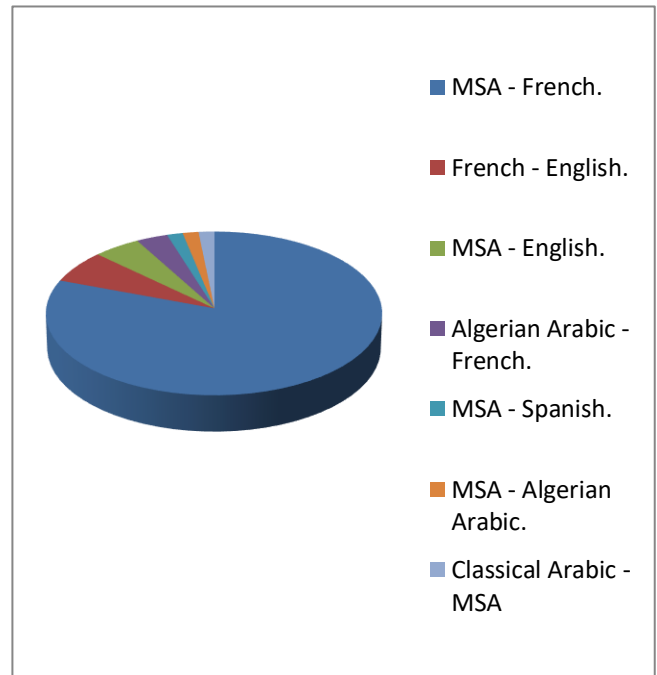


**Pie Chart 4.2:** The Languages Shown on Monolingual Signs in Oran City Centre.

In a similar vein, Table 4.4 and pie chart 4.3 below depict the various languages that are shown on those two types of bilingual signs in downtown Oran.

(1) MSA – French	49 (80.32 %)
(2) French – English	4 (6.55 %)
(3) MSA – English	3 (4.91 %)
(4) AA – French	2 (3.27%)
(5) CA – MSA	1 (1.63 %)
(6) MSA – AA	1 (1.63 %)
(7) MSA – Spanish	1 (1.63 %)

**Table 4.4:** Bilingual Signs.

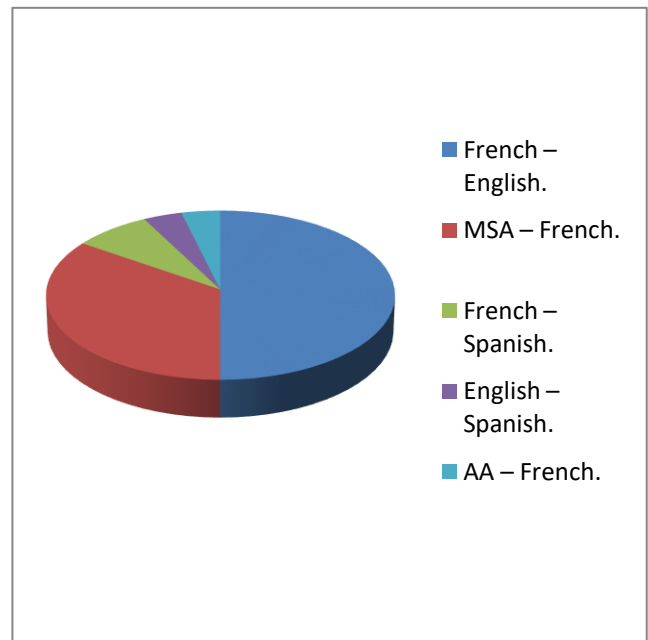


**Pie Chart 4.3:** The Languages Shown on Bilingual Signs in Oran City Centre.

The different tongues displayed on the hybrid signs that were photographed in the city centre are shown in table 4.5 and pie chart 4.4 below.

(1) French – English 13 (50 %)
(2) MSA – French 9 (34.61 %)
(3) French – Spanish 2 (7.69 %)
(4) AA – French 1 (3.84 %)
(5) English – Spanish 1 (3.84 %)

**Table 4.5:** Hybrid Signs.

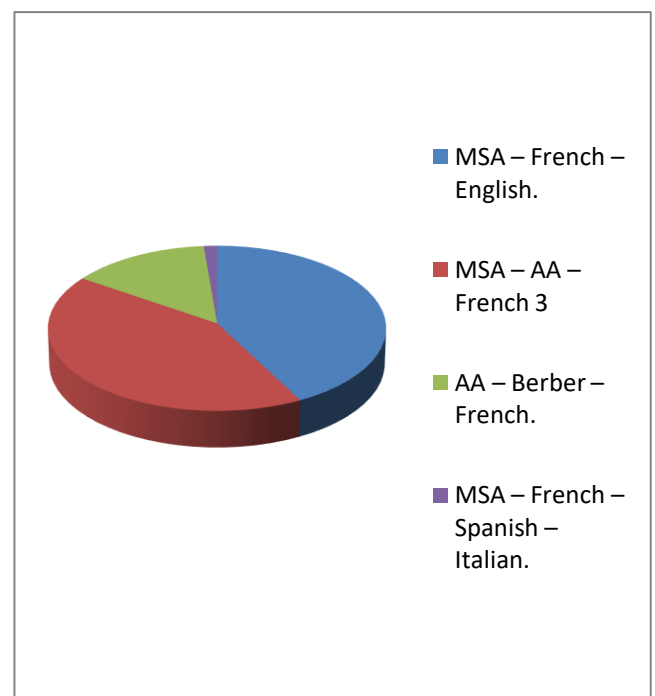


**Pie Chart 4.4:** The Languages Shown on Hybrid Signs in Oran City Centre.

Then, the total number of codes that are visible on both top-down and bottom-up multilingual signs in downtown Oran are illustrated in table 4.6 and pie chart 4.5 below.

(1) MSA – French – English 3 (33.33%)
(2) MSA – AA – French 3 (33.33%)
(3) AA – Berber – French 1 (11.11%)
(4) MSA – Berber – French 1 (11.11%)
(5) MSA – French – Spanish – Italian 1 (11.11%)

**Table 4.6:** Multilingual Signs.



**Pie Chart 4.5:** The Languages Shown on Multilingual Signs in Oran City Centre.

#### 4.2.1.1. Monolingual Signs

Monolingual signs are private and public signs displaying texts in only one language for the purpose of transmitting particular messages to different people and providing them with useful pieces of information. During this investigation one has noticed the existence of a number of 124 monolingual signs (56.36%) with various languages written on them, viz. French (56.45%), MSA (19.35 %), English (15.32%), Spanish (6.45%), AA (0.80%), Italian (0.80%) and Turkish (0.80 %). All the photographs that will be analysed below are mentioned in Appendix C.

Pictures 4.23 and 4.24 (see Appendix C, p.251) display two Arabic phrases which read “the White Angel” and “Traditional Cakes”, respectively. These are examples illustrating the use of MSA on private signs in Oran City Centre. The former is a clothing store where wedding dresses are sold. It is targeting women in general and brides in particular, who are compared to angels since they dress in white. This sign designer used a black board on which the Arabic white decorative lettering appears so clearly that it may attract any passer-by. In fact, this white phrase may be attributed to the light that is shining out of darkness. This depicts the moment of joy and the good feeling that the bride would have while wearing a dress or a wedding gown that is bought from this particular boutique. Hence, the writing matches with the selected colour since the word angel to whom brides are compared alludes to whiteness, happiness, hope, goodness, purity and optimism. The latter is a store where people can find all types of traditional cakes. This shop sign and awning is old and of poor quality; however, it is viewable. Yet, this old-fashioned item is in line with the type of food that is sold there and the meaning of the text it displays, i.e. “Traditional Cakes”. In the background, which is showing pictures of various kinds of cakes, pies and doughnuts, these Arabic words occur plainly in golden brown that reflects well the colour of cooked loaves of bread and cakes. Besides, picture 4.1 (see Appendix C, p.243) is another instance that emphasises the use of MSA. In fact, it is a banner that is designed for a public bathroom in downtown Oran. What is transcribed on it is the phrase “Public Toilet” in addition to the words “Men” and “Women” that one can see on its upper-right and upper-left corners, respectively. All of them are used in MSA on the pretext that it is Algeria’s official and national language. Thus, this language seems to be understandable by any educated Algerian. Furthermore, the use of this code appears in photos 4.25, 4.26 and 4.27 (see Appendix C, p.251-252). These are pictures of a cinema, a women’s clothes shop and an old household furniture store. Indeed, Arabic is the only language that can be seen on their walls. The three visible phrases read as follows

“West Hall”, “Whisper of the East” and “the Antique Furniture”, respectively. These letterings occur in large type and alluring golden colour on a light beige background in order to catch people’s eyes. It is worth noting that this particular colour, which took its name from a precious metal, is emphasised as it is strongly associated with luxury, excellence, elegance and prestige. Hence, its use is an allusion to the high status of Arabic and the great importance it has been given in this region. It also makes those places look more glamorous and luxurious. In this sense, it may be utilised to show people about the interesting and high-quality movies that one can watch in this cinema. It is also a way to draw women’s attention to the aforementioned clothing store since they can be easily attracted by jewellery and gold colour. For the third shop, this tint may imply that the articles sold there are special and precious.

In a similar way, pictures 4.2 and 4.3 (see Appendix C, p.243) are monolingual traffic signs that are issued by the local authorities illustrating the presence of MSA. The first one displays the sentence “For the Cars of the Municipal People’s Council” and the written message appearing on the second item is “Bus Station, line 11.31.101”. In these cases, Arabic appears to be the only language emphasised by the local officials without any other competitor. Hence, the texts are transcribed in white, the colour that may be ascribed to purity, light, clarity and goodness. Picture 4.6 (see Appendix C, p.244) also shows the usage of MSA by an Algerian governmental institution like the post office whose name can be visible in large and bold characters on the very top of its façade. This can be similarly seen on the front of both Oran’s town hall and the cultural centre as well. What one can read in the middle of their walls is “City Hall, the Mayor’s Office” (see picture 4.5 in Appendix C, p.244) and “The Cultural Centre El Emir Abd El Kader” (see picture 4.6 in Appendix C, p.244). The latter derives its name from an Algerian icon who led this country’s army and rose up against the French coloniser. In fact, this may be considered as an emphasis on the Algerian cultural identity which is strongly related to Arabic and Islam. Most importantly, the large golden typeface and decorative Arabic words employed on these institutions’ walls also elucidate the great importance the authorities have given to this tongue. That is, it mirrors the high value of MSA.

The second language appearing on a number of monolingual signs is French. It is the first foreign language that most of Algerians tend to use due to historical and colonial reasons. Yet, as far as private signboards are concerned, this code’s use is obviously exhibited by photos 4.31 and 4.32 (see Appendix C, p.254) that represent a shop selling cosmetic and

beauty products as well as a bridal store, respectively. The first one is called “Le Petit prince” which means “The Little Prince.” These words which are written in white colour are placed on a predominant pink background to depict femininity and beauty. However, it is paradoxical that a masculine word like “Prince” has been chosen to represent this feminine boutique. The second one is named “La Rose des Sables”; it may be translated into English as “Sand Rose”. Accordingly, this golden phrase is put on a sandy wall so as to make customers and passers-by feel the word “Sand”. Even though the term “rose” occurs to allude to the beauty and attractiveness of women, this façade is incompatibly designed to please and attract women since, at first glance, one may think that this particular store is selling handicrafts especially with the appearance of the word “sand” and its colour which is predominantly utilised on the wall. As far as language is concerned, it is important to state that in these cases, those signs’ designers have not used French at random. In this sense, it is considered as a prestigious language that may express love, chic and tenderness. It is thought to attract more women and young girls. In picture 4.33 (see Appendix C, p.254), one can see another store whose owner also focuses wholly on use of the French language. He employs the name “Fruits d’Or” meaning “Golden Fruits” on a large banner displaying pictures of appealing fruits. These letterings appear in blue, the colour that may allude to tranquillity, affection and stability. In this shop, one can find various delicious fruits including eye-catching passion and tropical ones. Similarly, this code’s preference can be obviously noticed by looking at picture 4.34 (see Appendix C, p.255). It contains a text which reads “La Maison Du Papier Peint” meaning “The House of Wallpaper.” In addition to the rolls of wallpaper and the drawing of a house in yellow, the colour that may be associated with cheerfulness and friendliness and that may indicate that those products are easy to use and bring joy, this board contains other French letterings which are “Papier Peint”- “Parquet”- “Gerflex”- “Gazon Artificiel”- “Moquette”- “Tapis”- “PVC.” These may be translated into “Wallpaper”- “Parquet”- “vinyl”- “artificial grass”- “carpet”- “rug”- “PVC”, respectively. By looking at this signboard, one can clearly see another phrase at its bottom though it is written in yellow and in small size in comparison with the other letterings. This reads “... La Mode du Papier Peint est de Retour ... ”. It may be rendered into English as “... Wallpaper Fashion is Back ...”. This store may be the destination of diverse individuals including newly-wed couples who need to coat or surface their houses using wallpaper, turf and Poly Vinyl Chloride, for instance. Then, the use of French here indicates the way this language is given importance being related to indulgence, luxury and high quality products.



In a similar vein, picture 4.35 (see Appendix C, p.255) depicts another instance of shop-front in Oran city centre emphasising French instead of other tongues. The phrase mentioned at the top of this façade reads “Ventes de Matériel Informatique et Accessoires” signifying “Computer Hardware and Accessories Sales”. Even though hardware and ICTs<sup>82</sup> are strongly related to English, the data provided on this sign are predominantly visible in French. This language is also emphasised by the local authorities who chose it for some traffic signs. For, example, picture 4.10 (see appendix C, p.245) represents a no parking signage that also carries an extra message which reads “Reservé Véhicules SARL Sanitherm.” In English, it implies that this area is reserved for LLC<sup>83</sup> Sanitherm vehicles. It is located next to a company specialised in industrial and professional tools and equipments. There is also a “no entry for vehicular traffic” sign containing a French sentence which is “Sauf Riverains” (see picture 4.9 in Appendix C, p.245). This is a public sign that has been illegally manipulated by some citizens for their benefit. They have transcribed an instruction explaining that none can pass through that road in that particular direction “except for the residents” of that neighbourhood. In addition, monolingual signboards using French as the sole language to refer to some particular stores’ names can be illustrated by some façades of men’s and women’s clothing stores that have already been photographed (see pictures 4.36, 4.37 and 4.38 in Appendix C, p.255-256). In fact, they sell dresses, outfits and wedding suits as well. The two first boutiques’ names are “C’est A Vous” and “Ma Jolie Robe.” What is meant by these texts is “It is Yours” and “My Pretty Dress”, respectively. Both of them appear in large and bold characters that may easily attract clients. The first phrase occurs in white to refer to cleanliness and coolness while the second one is transcribed in three different colours, namely red, green and blue that may allude to romance, freshness and confidence. In fact, these writings appear to match with the selected colours. Along the same lines, the shopfront that is shown in picture 4.21 (see Appendix C, p. 249) exhibits the word “Hipnoz” which is written in French though it contains a spelling mistake. Indeed, it sounds like the correct word “Hypnose” that this store proprietor is supposed to use instead. In English, it signifies hypnosis. Accordingly, this term is utilised in order to make clear that the suits and tuxedos sold there are so classy that they can hypnotise any customer. Yet, this word is referred to in blue since it is a stereotypical colour utilised so as to point to men, i.e. the targeted clients’s gender. It is worth mentioning here that these sign makers link the use of French to fashion while targeting different sorts of customers, including young men and young women. This

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<sup>82</sup> Information and communication technologies.

<sup>83</sup> This is an acronym that means Limited Liability Company.

language use implies that these targeted individuals are supposed to comprehend this language. There are also pictures of two other boutiques situated in downtown Oran illustrating the presence of French in this particular public sphere. The first one sells girls' sneakers and sports shoes whereas the second one deals with stylish women's shoes and bags. The two phrases that can be seen on their fronts are "Chez Elle" (picture 4.39 in appendix C, p.256) and "Sûr D'elle, Sac et Chaussure" (picture 4.40 in appendix C, p.257). In English, they mean "At her Home" and "Sure of herself, Bag and Shoe", respectively. Yet, these may be considered as other tangible instances indicating that French has been given much importance by shop owners. It appears to be part of this region's linguistic landscape when it comes to fashion, elegance and femininity.

Similarly, in this site, an optician has chosen this particular foreign language to point to his office (see picture 4.41 in appendix C, p.257). One can see a large board to its entrance displaying a pair of glasses and eyes that are drawn in different colours. This is to refer to the coloured contact lenses. In addition, there is a French text written in bold type and large font that reads "Examen de la Vue, Lentille de Contact." By translating it into English, one may obtain the following sentence: "Eyesight test, Contact Lens". In fact, though this optician is targeting all types of people including the elderly and uneducated persons, he has leant towards the use of French as it is an important language in Algeria due to colonial reasons.

English is the second foreign language that has been found in the public space of Oran city centre. This is what pictures 4.49 and 4.50 reflect (see Appendix C, p.260). They show two shop-fronts with big English words used as names to attract as many people as possible. The former displays the word "Jewels" while the latter is called "Joker". Yet, this implies that, in this commercial area, this code has been employed for naming classy clothing stores for both men and women so as to look fashionable. Basically, the first signage has nothing to do with the sold products. By visiting this boutique, one may not find jewellery and accessories, but he will be surrounded by young women's garments instead. Then, it is paradoxical that this sign designer has chosen this inappropriate concept at the entrance of his shop. The second name is a well-known American brand dealing with young men's clothing. It has been utilised to attract the attention of the youth. Figure 4.51 (see Appendix C, p.260) is another instance demonstrating the use of English in this linguistic landscape. Hence, it is a restaurant's sign exhibiting diverse pictures of pizza, hamburgers, some dishes, fizzy drinks in addition to two phrases placed in the middle that are "Pizzeria Cool" and "Fast Food". Their two last words contain two tongue out emoticons with winking eyes and two tomatoes instead

of the double “O” owing to the fact that they have the same shape as this letter. In the same vein, “Havana Coffee” seems to be another English concept that a café’s monolingual sign has emphasised (see figure 4.52 in Appendix C, p.261). Indeed, this language is mainly preferred by the proprietor of this place who referred to the capital of Cuba as it is considered as a major coffee producing region. More importantly, this name has been taken from an international company dealing with one of the best coffee beans in the world. Concerning the colours, those written words occur in yellow which may be attributed to joy and friendliness being put on a green board that may also be associated with safety and relaxation. All in all, this sign has been designed this way for the purpose of persuading different people to visit this comfortable place where delicious coffee may be served.

Besides, the terms “Lady” and “Rosaria Lingerie”, which appear in English, are used on the façades of two shops selling women’s clothing and underwear (see pictures 4.53 and 4.54 in Appendix C, p.261). Interestingly enough, the way in which the word “LADY” is wholly written in capital letters may be ascribed to the great emphasis that is put on women and young girls being the targeted customers. Furthermore, the occurrence of this white term on a black background may give the impression of brightness, freshness, coolness and optimism. In fact, the combination of these two colours made this lettering more visible and attractive to passers-by. Similarly, as far as the second signboard is concerned, “Rosaria” may either be considered as an English word which is the plural form of rosarium meaning garden of roses or a famous girls’ name that can be part of any language. Being put on a large white signboard, the black colour in which the whole phrase appears refers to sophistication and power being attributed to women.

Then, language use in downtown’s linguistic landscape is not only restricted to Arabic being the official and national language of Algeria, French which is considered as its first foreign language due to colonial reasons and English that is the first and international language utilised in this globalised world, i.e. lingua franca. In fact, Spanish has also its place in this public sphere since Oran was occupied by the Spanish military forces that left traces of their culture and language. This can effectively be illustrated by picture 4.58 (see Appendix C, p.263) that refers to the front of a shop where women’s shoes, boots and sandals are sold. Indeed, when facing it, one can read the phrase “Zapatos Hispanitas” whose meaning is “Hispanic Shoes.” In order to look shining and to attract the attention of passers-by, this golden large decorative writing is put on a black background. It essentially highlights the shoe brand “Hispanita” that comes from Spain. This is the reason behind the visibility of Spanish

on this sign. Furthermore, “La vida” and “Moda Nova” are other examples shedding light on Spanish being used on shop windows trading in ladies’ fashionable bags and men’s trendy clothes, respectively (see pictures 4.59 and 4.60 in Appendix C, p.263-264). In English, the first word refers to “Life” while the second concept signifies “Fashion Nova.” Here again, the link between fashion and Spanish language is crystal clear.

As far as monolingual signage is concerned, Italian has only been seen on one façade in the city centre. It is because this language has nothing to do with the Algerian history, culture and identity. In this regard, picture 4.62 (see Appendix C, p.265) depicts a catching shop sign with the phrase “Casa Mia” meaning “My House”. In this shop, people can purchase linens, pillows and suitcases, i.e. it is the destination of various individuals and couples who intend to equip their homes with any type of tissue, duvet, bed sheet, curtain and even suitcases or other items used for carrying clothes during their trips. The signboard’s colour is beige. It stands for calmness, relaxation, elegance and softness. It is a way to make customers trust in the sold products and feel safe, comfortable and satisfied. Besides the written text, there is the drawing of a home used as an illustration to show people that this store has to do with household items and decor, especially those who cannot understand Italian.

In addition to the aforementioned languages, this area’s LL witnesses the presence of Algerian Arabic though it is very rare. Although it is the mother tongue of almost all Algerians, it is only employed on one monolingual sign since it is a spoken language and not an officially written one. Its appearance may be illustrated by picture 4.63 (see Appendix C, p.265) that exhibits a shop selling women’s clothes and lingerie. Indeed, its window shows the lettering “griffa” that slips from the French word “une griffe” into spoken Arabic with a slight modification. The vowel /ʌ/ is added to its end in order to refer to its grammatical gender which is feminine. This concept is commonly used among Algerian people especially the youth. Yet, this term means a brand or a designer label and it is used so as to refer to the high-quality products that may be found in this shop, i.e. brand-name garments. What may be noticed here is that Latin characters are preferred for transcribing this word. It is because most of the clients who are targeted by this sign are young women and even young couples who are supposed to be able to communicate in Algerian Arabic and text one another using these specific letters. In addition to the white colour which is a sign of freshness, purity and positivity, red is predominant in the picture as it is stereotypically associated with femininity and represents women who use it frequently to attract men.

#### 4.2.1.2. Hybrid Signs

In addition to the monolingual signs analysed above, another complexity has been encountered; it is that of hybrid signs and banners consisting of a mixture of languages. Among all the signboards photographed, a number of 26 (11.81%) hybrid items has been found. Accordingly, a shop trading in decorative wallpapers displays a sign on which the phrase “Europa Papier Peint” occurs (see picture 4.72 in Appendix C, p.268). Here, “Europa” is considered as an Algerian Arabic word that Algerians use during daily conversations; however, “Papier Peint” is a French term referring to “Wallpaper”. Thus, this photo depicts the usage of both AA and French in the same text to show that the products sold in this store are of high quality as they are brought from Europe. Admittedly, the second term is so prevailing that it is utilised among Algerians while communicating informally with one another. Hence, the whole phrase is appearing side by side with rolls of coloured wallpapers’ pictures so as to reach a large number of customers and to convince them of the high-quality and unique goods this shop owner deals with.

Along the same lines, one may notice the use of some foreign languages together in the same sign such as French and English. As picture 4.73 illustrates, the name “Boutique Jet 7” has been chosen to be put on this shop window for the purpose of attracting women to his classy clothing store (see Appendix C, p.268). Yet, “Boutique” is a common French word meaning “Shop” while “Jet 7” is an English concept that is supposed to be written as “Jet set”. It stands for wealthy and stylish individuals whose passion is travelling. Here, it is worth mentioning that “set” has been replaced by “7” owing to the fact that this number sounds like this English term when it is pronounced in French. Thus, this specific text alludes to fashion and prestige. It shows women that this store is the right place from where they can buy stylish clothes. In addition, the pink colour appears primarily in the background in order to refer to femininity.

French-English hybrid signs are also exhibited in some other instances, namely pictures 4.74 and 4.75 (see Appendix C, p.268-269). The former shows two written words that are “A.BI Shop”. Unlike the second term which is basically English, the first linguistic item does not exist in any language; however, it is utilised just to sound like the French word “Habit” meaning clothing. This shop designer is making a play on words here. He even added the drawings of a sweater, a short and trousers so as to make it easier for people to comprehend the meaning of this text. Then, the latter is a perfumery whose signboard

contains a perfume bottle's photo and the flag of the United Kingdom as a reference to the products' origins. Its colours, which are white, red and blue, are predominantly used in the sign's background and while transcribing the text which reads "London Parfum". This is a way to associate the sold products with this country and then to make people believe that while visiting this shop, they would find only first-class perfumes that are made in England. In this example, "London" is considered as an English name that refers to the capital of England while "parfum" is a French word that signifies perfume. Indeed, this latter term is commonly used by Algerians during their daily interactions.

In addition, as far as hybrid signs are concerned, there are shop windows illustrating the usage of both Arabic and French in the same phrase. Picture 4.76, for instance, highlights the text "Boutique Anwar" appearing at the entrance of a bridal clothing store (see Appendix C, p.269). The first word belongs to French whereas the second one is part of MSA meaning "Lights". It is the plural form of the word /nu:r/. Yet, French is used on this classy signboard by virtue of colonial reasons. As mentioned above, it is the first language that most of educated Algerians tend to use and comprehend while the Arabic term "Anwar" reminds passers-by of the Arabic and Algerian culture and origins. This concept also makes an allusion to optimism, joy and satisfaction. It even matches with the pink colour that has been chosen to refer to the feminine gender.

There is another boutique where women's shoes, high heels, garments and bags are sold with the name "Prix fou/مهبول" (see picture 4.77 in Appendix C, p.269). This sheds light on the phenomenon of language mixing emphasising the concurrent use of Algerian Arabic and French. Interestingly enough, the French word "Prix" meaning "price" is written at the top of this signboard in large and bold style to show that it can be combined with the two other terms appearing at its bottom, namely "مهبول" and "fou" that signify "crazy" in AA and French, respectively. Yet, while looking at this shop's façade, passers-by can read either "Prix fou" or "Prix مهبول". Accordingly, though "Prix" can be heard in AA in everyday conversations, it is an originally French term in comparison with the word "مهبول"; that is why it is transcribed in Latin characters. What this signboard elucidates is that the products that may be found in this particular store are so cheap that one may think it is unbelievable and not true, i.e. the prices are amazingly cheap. This shop owner even tries to demonstrate this craziness by focusing on a comic font. Furthermore, he employed two colours like purple and green to allude to luxury, growth and money which certainly confirms the meaning of the text. What is worth noting is that the message conveyed by this signboard is displayed in both AA

which is the mother tongue of the majority of Algerians and French which is this country's first foreign language. In this way, this shop owner intends to reach a large number of Algerian clients.

“Boutique Jenna, Vente & Location Couture” (picture 4.78 in Appendix C, p.270) and “Boutique Aya آية” (picture 4.79 in Appendix C, p.270) are other instances exhibiting shop proprietors designing hybrid signage in which MSA and French are given priority. The first one has labelled his store “Jenna” which is an Arabic word meaning “Heaven”. It appears in Latin characters concurrently with various pieces of information provided in French and clarifying that the person working there is specialised in “Sales and Sewing Rental”. Similarly, since the second store proprietor is trading in Algerian traditional clothing, scarves, shawls and veils for women and brides, he called his boutique “Aya/ آية” which means “sign” or “verse”, i.e. Koranic verse. Yet, it is self-evident that this word is mentioned in MSA since it hints at the Islamic way of dressing. That is, wearing Hidjab, long skirts and modest or prudish dresses. The word “Aya” is also considered as an Arabic girl name that is commonly used in the Islamic world. Like any proper name, this may either be transcribed in Arabic or Latin characters. In particular, it is employed so as to make reference to this shop's feminine side. This femininity has also been manifested through the use of the pink backgrounds on which the aforementioned letterings appeared in addition to the pictures of women in traditional dress. Those signboards exhibit the use of both MSA being Algeria's official and national language and French which is viewed as a tongue that most of educated Algerians intend to use and can understand.

Another crucial sign that has been faced during this study is the one shown in picture 4.80 (see Appendix C, p.270). It comprises two parts; a large banner displaying the phrase “Cute Footwear” in both MSA and French to catch the eyes of passers-by as well as another supplemented sign hung by its side. The latter emphasises these shoes' brand, i.e. “Manuca” in addition to a horse logo. This name has been written using both Arabic and Latin characters. It also communicates a message in AA that is “My Country's Shoe = A work for my Children”. This is a way to show that this product is made in Algeria and that it is specifically made for Algerians. Thus, through their mother tongue, a large number of customers may comprehend the meaning of this slogan and then they may be convinced to purchase these products.

The linguistic landscape of the city centre is also made of hybrid signage referring to two forms of the same language. Pictures 4.81 and 4.82 (see Appendix C, p.271) shed light on the simultaneous use of MSA and AA. The first sign displays the name “Gazelles Shower”. In fact, the first word that this photo consists of is a French term meaning “Public Showers”. It is transcribed using the Arabic characters since it is used in Algerian spoken Arabic. The second linguistic unit is a MSA noun whose meaning is “Gazelles”. This particular code also occurs at the bottom of this sign. There is a text showing the opening hours which reads “from 6 AM to 10 PM”. In the background, one may even see the picture of a shower head and a prevailing blue colour which depicts water. Illustrations like these may help different people to know about the meaning of those written words effortlessly. In the same vein, the second signboard consists of a mixture between MSA and AA. It is a boutique whose name is “The Oranee’s Bride”. This phrase has been employed in MSA. It also contains a list of five words referring to different types of dress that a bride may wear on her wedding day. They are all written in Arabic characters. All of them are AA words that are commonly used among Algerians in everyday conversations except for the fourth one which belongs to MSA and signifies “fabric”. Basically, these two languages have been given priority to represent these regional and traditional garments as they may appropriately symbolise the Algerian cultural identity.

There is also another sign showing information in both AA and French. It has to do with a clothes shop selling Spanish products (see picture 4.83 in Appendix C, p.271). The first language is reflected in the word “Sbania” meaning Spain. It is a widespread term especially among Algerian young people. These days, a large number of them believe that the garments that traders bring from Spain are of superior quality. Hence, this term has been purposefully utilised to attract the youth and to show them the origins of their goods. The second visible code consists of the concept “La Famille” that refers to “The Family”. One can also notice another French sentence providing customers with extra information about this boutique; it reads “Habillement et Chaussures, Enfants et Femmes”. This may be rendered into English as “Clothing and Shoes, Children and Women”. Qualitatively speaking, French is predominantly present on this sign in comparison with AA. In addition to the Spanish flag and pictures of children, a drawing of a pink cat and a woman with her daughter, the red and yellow colours have been put in the background in order to illustrate the written letterings.

Pictures 4.84 and 4.85 display two shops selling women’s shoes and clothes that have been mentioned, respectively (see Appendix C, p.271-272). The former, whose name is “Vedette High Shoes, Cheussure Femme,” highlights the use of French because the French



word “Vedette” is the eye-catching term which is placed in the middle of this signboard in large and bold type. In fact, it signifies “star”. It has appeared to attract as many women as possible. Comparing them with stars may stimulate them and make them more confident since they give too much importance to their look. The English phrase “High Shoes” is, however, less clear as it occurs at the bottom in small characters. Here, the great emphasis on French has also been confirmed by the usage of the other words “Chaussure Femme” that anyone can see clearly at the top. Contrarily, the second sign focuses on English rather than French. This may be illustrated by the word “Spring” which is the first crystal clear thing that one can notice when looking at this store’s façade. It has been chosen due to the fact that this particular season may be associated with the rainbow, tranquillity, pastel colours and fragrant blossoms that women adore. Although the French lettering “Habillement Femmes” meaning “Women’s Clothing” is written in the upper side, it looks smaller and less plain in comparison with the aforementioned English word which is transcribed in bigger font so as to draw clients’ attention. This is because, in this globalised world, English is importantly considered as an international language.

MSA has also been put side by side with English in phrases occurring on the same banner. This may be corroborated by picture 4.86 (see Appendix C, p.272) that has been taken at the entrance of a restaurant. While facing it, one can read “El Chami Foods” on the left and the Arabic word /e’ʃæmi:/ to the right-hand side in addition to a covered dish and a knife image in the middle. Accordingly, “El Chami” signifies an individual from the Levant, i.e. a Levantine person. Specifically, this region refers to modern Syria which is part of the Arab world. In fact, this restaurant owner utilised this Arabic word and transcribed it using Latin characters which has been added to the English word “food” to refer to the Syrian origin of his dishes.

The last example to be mentioned is “Boutique La Casa” (picture 4.87 in Appendix C, p.272). It is a hybrid French-Spanish sign. This is the name of a shop window displaying fashionable garments for young men. On this board, the Spanish word “La Casa” meaning “The House” appears to be importantly bigger and more attractive than “Boutique” which is a French term. Here, Spanish is clearly focused on so as to attract the youth to visit this particular store and to motivate them to purchase various garments and products. It has been chosen owing to the fact that it is part of the history of Algeria in general and Oran in particular. It is also considered as an important language which is widespread across the world.

#### 4.2.1.3. Bilingual Signs

Bilingual signs are those providing people with useful information in two different languages being used side by side. During this research, a total number of 61 (27.72%) bilingual signs have been photographed. In fact, some of them show preference for Arabic-French use. Interestingly enough, picture 4.64 and 4.65 (see Appendix C, p.266) shed light on a restaurant named “The Bosphorus Restaurant” and a cafeteria called “Larbi Ben M’hidi Café”, respectively. These two names appear in MSA at the top of both signs and in French at their bottom. Yet, the higher position of Arabic on these signboards demonstrates the great importance it has been given among Algerians being considered as this nation’s official and national language. The aforementioned restaurant takes its name from a strait situated in the northwest of Turkey. It alludes to a region whose culture is strongly related to Algeria due to colonial reasons. Hence, this signage shows passers-by that they may find Turkish cuisine there. It has also been chosen since the name “Bosphorus” has become a reference in the Algerian food service industry. Accordingly, there is a prestigious restaurant with the same name in Algiers, the capital of Algeria. This one is famous for its hospitality, cleanliness and high-quality food. Thus, the appearance of this particular name may give this place a good image and help to attract a lot of people. Concerning the second signboard, the cafe has been named after a well-known martyr, i.e. Larbi Ben M’hidi to make reference to Algeria’s culture and history. Another reason behind this choice is that the boulevard where it is located has the same name. Then, this signage makes clear that this cafeteria is part of this commercial street.

In a similar vein, photo 4.66 (see Appendix C, p.266) considers another shop selling women’s clothes and shoes. It shows the way some individuals utilise bilingual signs containing Arabic and French texts. The expression “the Golden Wings” as well as a drawing of a bird’s wing have occurred in golden colour which seems to be in accordance with both the meaning of the lettering and the type of products targeting women. It is written in decorative large and bold characters. Since this store has two façades, MSA has been used on one side while French has appeared on the other one. Thus, this illustrates the importance this shop owner has given to both MSA being this country’s officially recognised language and French that most Algerians tend to use due to colonial reasons.

The use of these two languages has also been found on the fronts of a number of governmental institutions, viz. banks, post offices, police stations and insurance companies.

The texts occurring on their façades are shown in pictures 4.11, 4.12, 4.13 and 4.14 (see Appendix C, p.246-247); they read as “the National Savings and Reserve Fund- Bank”, “the National Bank of Algeria”, “the National Insurance Company” and “Algeria Post Office”, respectively. More importantly, by gazing at these pictures one may notice that both MSA and French are considered by the public authorities since they are used side by side on all of these governmental signboards so as to refer to those specific institutions and to provide citizens with useful pieces of information. But what may be noticed is that Arabic has been given much significance being used at the top of all boards in comparison with French which is written at their bottom. That is, these two codes are supposed to be used and understood by a large number of Algerians but Arabic comes first as it is considered to be of gigantic importance when compared with French. This is clearly because it is Algeria’s official and national language.

This linguistic configuration focusing on the usage of MSA and French is also depicted by picture 4.15 (see Appendix C, p.247). It exhibits a police guardroom located in the city centre. In addition to their logo which is put in the middle, one can see the word “Police” being written in both Arabic at the top and French at the bottom. Along the same lines, this is to be confirmed by picture 4.16 (see Appendix C, p.248) that shows street names designed by the local authorities, namely Emir Abd El Kader, Mohamed Khemisti streets and Larbi Ben M’hidi boulevards being mentioned from left to right. Thus, the visibility of these two languages on these walls refers to the great significance they have been given by the local officials and the fact that the Arabic letterings occur in a higher position also affirms the official and high status it has in Algeria.

These two codes have also been seen on governmental traffic signs just like the stop sign that is displayed in picture 4.17 (see Appendix C, p.248). In this example, the word “Stop” appears in Arabic in the higher part while its French translation is placed right under it. Other direction and indication signs designed by the local authorities also emphasise Arabic-French bilingualism and shed light on the importance of MSA being all the time mentioned at the top. In this sense, picture 4.18 focuses on a multiple sign showing a number of phrases and words that read, from top to bottom, as follows “the Central Post Office”, “Open Air Theater”, “Port” and “Fishery” (see Appendix C, p.248). As it is said above, all of them are written in both MSA at the top and French at the bottom.

Bilingual signs in downtown Oran also consist of varieties of the same language. MSA and CA are, for example, present on the same restaurant window illustrated by picture 4.90 (see Appendix C, p.274). Its name is /Ibnə'fæm/, it is written in MSA and refers to “the Son of Damascus”. Furthermore, there are other phrases transcribed in this particular language such as “the Son of Damascus Welcomes you” or the names of some dishes that may be served there in addition to their pictures. What is important to state is that this restaurant proprietor also mentioned a Koranic Verse that reads as follows: "Eat of the good things that We have provided for you"<sup>84</sup>. In fact, it is written in CA and it is crystal clear for anyone to see. These two forms of language are basically used to refer to the Arabic and Islamic origins of this restaurant owner as well as the food that may be found there. This is even done since it may appropriately attract a large number of customers who are interested in Syrian cuisine.

The last shop-front to be analysed in relation to the city centre is the one mentioned in picture 4.91 (see Appendix C, p.274). In this store, diverse accessories and materials that have to do with aesthetics and beauty are sold. The language appearing at its façade's top is MSA since it is considered to be understood by the majority of literate Algerians; the cited phrase reads “Hairstyling and Beauty Accessories”. This shop owner also used the Spanish word “Estetica” which is bigger in size but being put in a lower position on this signboard. This particular language is crucially focused on because diverse Spanish people used to live in the city of Oran, i.e. they left cultural and linguistic traces in the region. That is, this tongue is considered as an inseparable part of this city's history and identity. Yet, the Spanish term that is visible signifies “Aesthetics” and may summarize the aforementioned Arabic text. It is used to point to the various items that customers may find in this store. Therefore, MSA and Spanish are importantly employed side by side for the purpose of stimulating people to visits this place. They are believed to lead to the prosperity of his business.

#### **4.2.1.4. Multilingual Signs**

The linguistic landscape of downtown Oran is not made up of only monolingual, bilingual and hybrid signs but also of multilingual ones though they are not predominantly present. Hence, among all the pictures that have been captured, there are only 8 multilingual signs. They represent 3.63 % of the total number of signboards that has already been encountered. Some of them are not located in the three boulevards emphasized above but they are considered as part of Oran city centre, i.e. they are situated in other streets and corners in

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<sup>84</sup> The Holy Qur'an, S.2, V.172

this particular commercial site. Picture 4.92 (see Appendix C, p.275) displays a shop-front with four languages, viz. AA, French, English and Spanish. In this regard, the words /hæmi/ and “Caliente” appear next to each other in the middle of the main restaurant’s sign. The former, which is transcribed using both Arabic and Latin characters, is a commonly widespread Algerian Arabic term that literally means “Hot”. However, in this context, it refers to an Algerian famous dish which is of Spanish origins. This is why the Spanish word “Caliente” has been employed next to “Hami”. These letterings are what customers can first see while standing in front of this eating place as they point to the main food that one may find there. Moreover, on this shop-sign, there are pictures and nouns written in French referring to various dishes, sandwiches, ice creams and beverages that may be served. There is also the English phrase that reads “Fast Food”. Though it is photographed from another side, it is considered as an important part of this particular shop-sign. In sum, in addition to French and English which have been utilised for listing different types of food, the two tongues this restaurant owner clearly emphasised and considered to be crucial to catch the customers’ eyes are AA and Spanish. Yet, they have been importantly utilised in golden large and bold font due to their importance. AA is considered as the mother tongue of most Algerians and Spanish is the language which is present due to colonial reasons. They have even been appropriately used to refer to this Spanish food known under the name /hæmi/ which is particularly widespread among people in Oran and many other Algerian cities.

Picture 4.93 is a private telephone service provider advertising hoarding that displays various tongues, namely MSA, AA and French (see Appendix C, p.275). The message it holds reads as “Composez \*151#, Hadra + Internet illimités A seulement 200 DA” meaning “Dial \*151#, Talk + Unlimited Internet with only 200 AD<sup>85</sup>”. In fact, this whole text is written in French except for the AA word “Hadra” that almost all Algerians can comprehend. Indeed, in this context, this specific term may be considered as a keyword that subliminally affects passers-by in general and telephone users in particular. Moreover, right under the name of the Algerian telephone operator “Ooredoo”, there is a slogan saying /ʕi:ʃ el internæt/ that may be rendered into English as “Live the Internet”. Hence, the first word is part of AA because it contains a long “i” instead of a short one that can be utilized to refer to the same concept but in MSA. By contrast, /internæt/ is an MSA word that appears to complete the meaning of the sentence. In short, the aforementioned codes are used side by side for the purpose of communicating certain messages to both people living in Oran and visitors coming from other

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<sup>85</sup> Algerian Dinar is an Algerian currency.

Algerian cities. Thus, MSA, AA and French have been considered as effective languages appearing side by side to advertise this chip and to stimulate Algerians to deal with this specific telephone operator.

In the same vein, picture 4.22 illustrates a public company whose façade consists of three languages (see Appendix C, p.250). Indeed, its name which is “Algeria Telecom” occurs in both MSA at the top and French at the bottom of its right-hand side. By contrast, the left part of this board displays the phrase “the Commercial Agency” in both MSA and Berber, i.e. Tifinagh alphabet. These two codes are importantly utilised in big and bold characters since this signboard belongs to a governmental agency and, according to the constitution, Arabic and Berber are considered to be the state’s official languages. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that because of its nationally high status, Berber has been taken into consideration by the local authorities though Oran is not a Berber-speaking area. It is rather an Arabic-speaking one where very few people can understand it. The aforementioned French text has also been present in a smaller size in comparison with MSA and Berber since it has no official status but it is the most widespread foreign language that a large number of educated Algerians can comprehend.

This multilingual configuration has also been represented by picture 4.94 (see Appendix C, p.276). It exhibits a restaurant whose name is “La Corrida”. This is a Spanish word signifying “Bullfight”. It refers to a famous event taking place in Spain. This is the reason lying behind the use of this Spanish language. Accordingly, red is the only colour that one may see in the background of the signboard as well as the awning since bullfighters hold a red sheet utilised as a lure to distract the bulls. Then, it appears to match with the term “Corrida” and to please the lovers of this event. Additionally, the term “restaurant” is to be read on the right and left sides in Arabic and French, respectively. Yet, this leads to the formulation of the phrase “La Corrida Restaurant”, having a mixture of both Arabic-Spanish and French-Spanish languages. This specific language use clarifies that, in this region, MSA, French and Spanish are of gigantic importance. They are so crucial that this restaurant owner has employed them to stimulate clients to venture inside.

Picture 4.95 is another women’s clothing shop sign illustrating multilingualism in the public sphere of this particular area (see Appendix C, p.276). While standing in front of this boutique, one can see the name “Blanco & Nero, Faten” in the middle of a large board. The first and the second nouns are referred to in Spanish and Italian, respectively. They mean

“White and Black”. When looking at this, one may feel the two mentioned colours due to the fact that white letterings are written on a black background. This way, this sign designer tries to make passers-by feel these two concepts. In other words, there is compatibility between the predominating tints and the visible words. However, it is paradoxical that they are emphasised even though they are not women’s favourite colours. Put differently, they do not depict the girlish garments displayed in the shop window. Contrarily, “Faten” is another Arabic adjective that has been transcribed in Latin characters signifying “glamorous”. It is also considered as a girlish Arabic name that is widespread in Algeria. Its appearance besides the pink “&” are symbols of femininity which may let people know about the type of customers being targeted. In addition to the aforementioned eye-catching phrase, other different French words occur on the sign’s right and left sides, namely “Lingerie”, “Pyjama”, “Sac”, “Pafumerie” and “Cosmétique”. They mean “Lingerie”, “Pyjamas”, “Bag”, “Perfumery” and “Cosmetics”, respectively. This shop owner has leant towards employing these French terms so as to target educated young women and to provide them with useful information about the various products that are sold there.

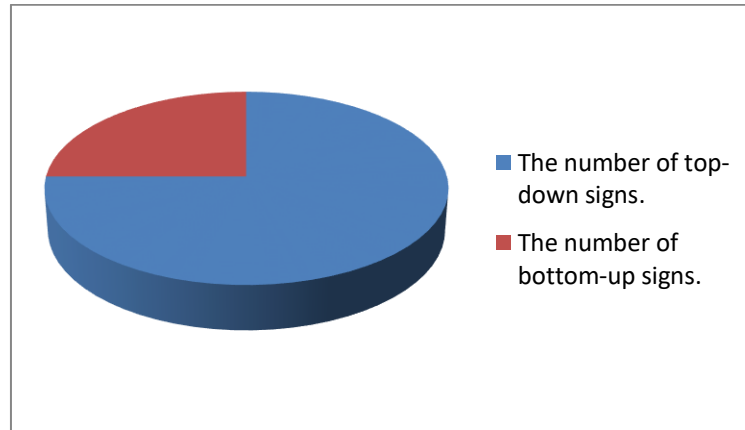
Photo 4.96 illustrates the last sign referring to multilingualism in downtown Oran (see Appendix C, p.276). It is an Algerian insurance agency whose name is “Amana” meaning “Honesty.” This word is the first thing that one can see while looking at this sign as it is transcribed in large size. It is a way to make people feel secure. This is in fact a term that can be used in both MSA and AA but here it is written by use of Latin characters. Right under this name appears a slogan in Algerian Arabic that reads “For you and your Beloved”. This particular language is used so as to address a great number of people including ordinary ones who are supposed to communicate in it. There is also the phrase “Insurance Providence and Health” occurring in both MSA and French. These tongues are thus employed together to formally convey diverse important information about this agency and to make people have trust in it.

#### **4.2.2. Sidi El Houari**

The LL of *Sidi El Houari* district is made up of divergent languages. The signs that have been photographed are classified into three categories which are monolingual, bilingual and hybrid ones. They will be displayed in details in the following section. Indeed, no multilingual signage has been encountered there.

	The Number of Top-down Signs	(%)	The Number of Bottom-up Signs	(%)
<i>Sidi El Houari</i>	20	25%	60	75%

**Table 4.7:** Public vs. Private Signs in *Sidi El Houari* District.



**Pie chart 4.6:** Top-down vs. Bottom-up Signs in *Sidi El Houari* District.

The various languages that are visible on the different types of signs, i.e. public and private ones will be detailed in table 4.8 below. Yet, it provides the exact number of languages that have been shown on the monolingual, bilingual and hybrid signs.

	Monolingual Signs	Bilingual Signs	Hybrid Signs
Top-down Signs	MSA 5	MSA – French 15	
Bottom-up Signs	(1) MSA 8 (2) French 25 (3) English 5 (4) Spanish 1	MSA – French 19	(1) French – Spanish 1 (2) French – English 1

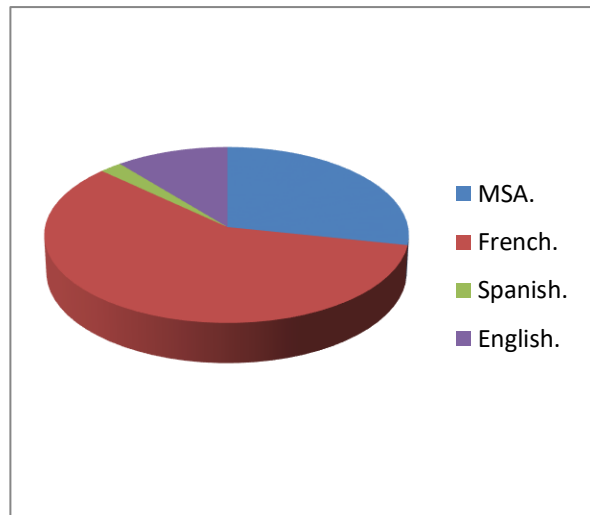
**Table 4.8:** The Languages Displayed on Top-down vs. Bottom-up Monolingual, Bilingual and Hybrid Signs in *Sidi El Houari* District.

The languages that are used on both top-down and bottom-up monolingual signs in *Sidi El Houari* district are depicted in table 4.9 and pie chart 4.7 below.



<p>(1) French 27 (58.69 %)</p> <p>(2) Modern Standard Arabic 13 (28.26 %)</p> <p>(3) English 5 (10.87 %)</p> <p>(4) Spanish 1 (2.17 %)</p>
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**Table 4.9:** Monolingual Signs.

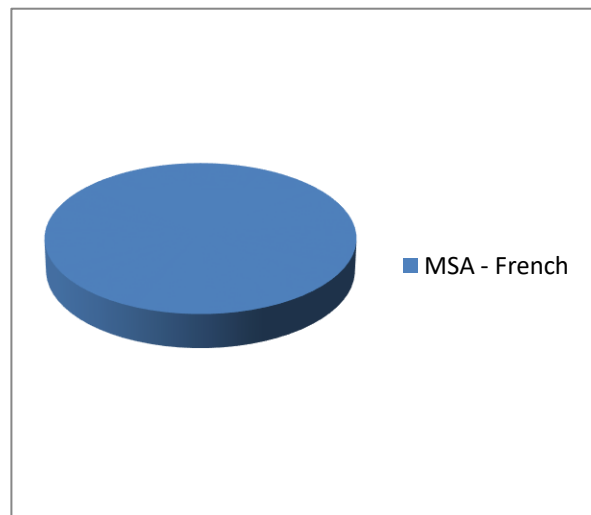


**Pie chart 4.7:** The Languages Shown on Monolingual Signs in *Sidi El Houari*.

The diverse codes displayed on the bilingual signs that were photographed in *Sidi El Houari* are illustrated in table 4.10 and pie chart 4.8 below.

<p>(1) MSA – French 15 (100 %)</p>
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**Table 4.10:** Bilingual Signs.

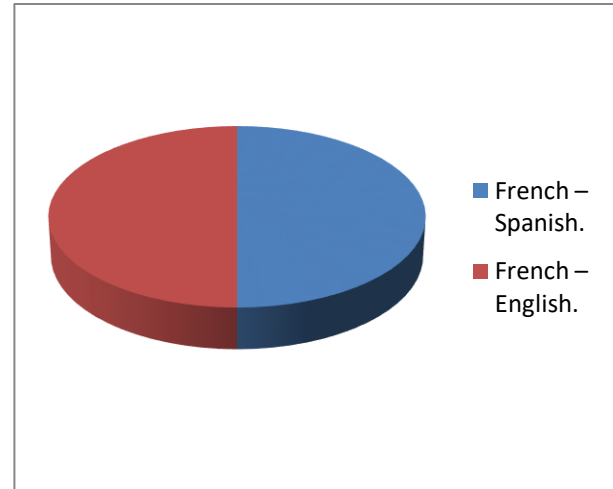


**Pie chart 4.8:** The Languages Shown on Bilingual Signs.

Then, table 4.11 and pie chart 4.9 below represent the various languages that are visible on both top-down and bottom-up hybrid signs in this particular district.

<p>(1) French – Spanish 1 (50 %)</p> <p>(2) French – English 1 (50 %)</p>
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**Table 4.11:** Hybrid Signs.



**Pie chart 4.9:** The Languages Shown on Hybrid Signs.

#### 4.2.2.1. Monolingual Signs

In *Sidi El Houari*, what has been found is that the public space consists of a number of 46 (57 %) monolingual signboards. They manifest various codes, namely French, (58.69 %), MSA (28.26 %), English (10.87 %) and Spanish (2.17 %). Interestingly enough, pictures 4.7 and 4.8 (see Appendix C, p.244) clarify governmental institutions' reliance on MSA as the sole language to be seen on signs in this particular district. The first picture is the "Municipality Library" and the second one is the "Algerian Muslim Scouts' office" whose large signboard contains the Algerian flag on its right and the Algerian Muslim Scouts' logo on its left with the letterings "Be ready" and "Algeria" being written in MSA. This is considered as a sign of patriotism. In the middle of this signboard, different phrases are to be found, they read as follows: "the Algerian Muslim Scouts", "the province of Oran" and "Sidi El Houari group". As far as this monolingual sign is concerned, all the letterings are predominantly used in Arabic without exception since it is the language of Islam and the Holy Qur'an. In other words, MSA is considered to be an appropriate code that may represent this organisation since it is an Islamic one.

Besides, as it can be observed in pictures 4.29 and 4.30 (see Appendix C, p.253), other individuals have chosen monolingual signs emphasising MSA for their shops. The former displays the name "Sidi El Houari Restaurant" while the latter shows the phrase "Orchard of Vegetables, Fruits and Drinks" as well as the lettering "Sidi El Houari" which is used as a reference to this particular district, i.e. to manifest these stores' strong sense of belonging to this area. Hence, these two signs' writings are utilised in only one language which is MSA due to the official status it has in Algeria. It is employed as it is thought to be understood by

the majority of educated Algerians and since this is not a touristic area where strangers can be encountered. Indeed, this may help stimulating a large number of Algerians especially those living in this popular district. In addition, this form of Arabic is focused on by someone owning a fitness centre in this place (see picture 4.28 in Appendix C, p.252). In addition to the photo of a bodybuilder lifting a weight that is put at its entrance, he wrote the phrase “Heroes’ Room” as well as the name “the Martyr Benaoum Ben Zarga”, both of them occur in MSA. This code has been chosen to be put on this monolingual sign for many reasons. It is to make reference to the Arabic term “Shahid” which has appeared in the Holy Qur’an denoting “Martyr”. In addition, the person whose name has been mentioned is an Algerian and an Arab man who used to strive against the colonial forces. Hence, in this case, Arabic may well reflect the Algerian and the Arab culture and identity.

The second language that has been noticed in this public sphere is French. Picture 4.42 (see Appendix C, p.257) sheds light on an instance of a monolingual signboard belonging to a restaurant. Accordingly, the French phrase “Restaurant Kenza” is what clients can see at the entrance of this eating place. Though the first term can be used in English, it is considered to be a French one here because of the importance this language has been given in Algeria. Yet, most of educated Algerians are supposed to use this tongue due to colonial reasons. Additionally, the second word appearing on this board is the girlish proper name “Kenza” which is commonly used in Algeria. It has been transcribed using Latin Characters in order to match with the French word it is associated with, i.e. “restaurant”. In a similar vein, various French texts are present on a shop window exhibited in picture 4.43 (see Appendix C, p.258). These are “Salon de Coiffure Homme”, “Chez Aek”, “Soyez les bienvenus” and “fermé” meaning “Men’s Hairdressing salon”, “At Aek’s”, “Welcome!” and “Closed”, respectively. These are uncomplicated words that are used by the majority of Algerians especially the youth who are particularly targeted. There is also another hairdresser who points to his salon by mentioning the word French “coiffeur” instead of other tongues (see picture 4.44 in Appendix C, p. 258). This term is prevailing among Algerians. Thus, these hairstylists have given priority to this foreign language so as to reach a large number of customers and to look *à la mode* and stylish as well. It is thought to be understood and to attract a large number of youngsters, i.e. the new generation. Furthermore, picture 4.45 (see Appendix C, p.258) focuses on a wall of an old-fashioned shop located in an inclined area that is surrounded by stairs. On this blue façade, the French word “Résine” which signifies “Resin” is the only thing that one can clearly read in white colour. Though this store is not new, attractive and

fashionable, the French language is chosen to be part of its façade for the purpose of informing people about what is sold there.

As far as machinery is concerned, a mechanic in *Sidi El Houari* also shows preference for French by hanging a large sign at his garage's entrance containing the text "Pièces détachées d'Origine" meaning "Original Spare Parts" (see picture 4.46 in Appendix C, p.259). Besides, it manifests the automobile spare parts' logo "Motrio" as well as its slogan which reads "Le réparateur multimarque". This may be rendered into English as "the multi-brand repairer". Hence, this garage's owner did not use this code randomly. He did so since he believes that this is the right way to make people identify him and to provide them with information about the different types of reparations made there. The reason lying behind this particular choice is that, as mentioned above, French is the first foreign language that a large number of educated Algerians tend to use for historical reasons. This linguistic configuration may also be felt by gazing at pictures 4.47 and 4.48 (see Appendix C, p.259). They represent a café and a hardware store, respectively. The former is known under the name "Caféteria des Jardins". In English, it refers to "Gardens' Cafeteria". The latter points to a board that is attached on a wall showing different words and phrases that are only in French, viz. "Quincaillerie Générale", "Article en Inox", "Quincaillerie Marine", and "Boulonnerie and Visserie". Indeed, these linguistic items may be translated into English as "General Hardware", "Stainless Steel Items", "Marine Hardware", and "Bolts and screws". These examples then manifest signs emphasising the presence of French in this working class area. Hence, this code appears to play a major role in shaping this particular linguistic landscape.

The next language that has been found in *Sidi El Houari* is English. Yet, "Family's Pizza" and "Pizzeria, Fast Food" are two names used by pizza restaurant owners so as to draw people's attention and to make their business prosper. Yet, these two eating places have been illustrated by pictures 4.55 and 4.56, respectively (see Appendix C, p.261-262). In this respect, English has been chosen being the first international language which is utilised in this globalised world that Oran is considered as part of. The terms occurring on those signs are even not complex; they are common words that a large number of Algerians are familiar with. Similarly, this code has been found on a café's awning whose name is "Bilbao Coffee" (see picture 4.57 in Appendix C, p.262). Yet, Bilbao is a proper name designating a city that is located in the north of Spain. Its visibility alludes to the fact that the Spanish language and culture are considered as an important part constituting this region's identity. It may remind people of Oran's history as it was colonised by the Spanish who used to live side by side with

Algerians in this particular district. Then, linguistically speaking, this city's name is considered to belong to the English language owing to the fact that the word "Coffee" with which it is associated is an English word. It is noteworthy that even though there is reference to this Spanish city or culture, English has been given priority to be visible so as to make people visit this specific space where to drink coffee, tea and juice. In short, this illustrates the importance that this international language has gained there these days.

Interestingly enough, a single case of Spanish has importantly been found in *Sidi El Houari*'s LL. In this sense, the word "Zapatos," which refers to "Shoes" is mentioned on a men's shoe shop sign (see picture 4.61 in Appendix C, p.264). In fact, this appears clearly on its centre with the expression "Clasico & Deportivo" signifying "Classic and Sports". This latter occurs in a little bit small size; however, it can be clearly read by anyone standing in front of this boutique. Therefore, this language use indicates that the Spanish language is a crucial part of this region and its identity.

#### **4.2.2.2. Hybrid Signs**

Unlike the city centre, *Sidi El Houari* is characterized by the presence of few hybrid signs. By considering the pictures captured in this specific site, one may notice that this category of signboards represents only 2.5 % of its linguistic landscape. Only two examples have been found; they will be mentioned in this part. The first one appearing in this public sphere is a restaurant where fish is served. Its name is "Scalera Poisonnerie" meaning "Staircase Fish Shop" (see picture 4.88 in Appendix C, p.273). Here, in addition to the French language, there is the word "Scalera" that derives from the Spanish term "Escalera". It is in fact the name of a popular place situated in this district where the Spanish people used to dwell. Yet, it stands for "staircase". It is specifically utilised to elucidate that this is an old neighbourhood that was influenced by the Spanish language and culture.

One may also notice the existence of another hybrid sign that is made up of both French and English. Accordingly, the letterings that can be clearly seen are "Nice Shop" and the French phrase "Tabac & Cosmétique" that stands for "Tobacco and Cosmetics" (see picture 4.89 in Appendix C, p.273). Although the French phrase provides passers-by with essential information about the products sold there, it appears in small size in the lower part of this sign, i.e. it looks less important. By contrast, this shop's English name is what is predominantly visible in large characters at its top. It is then primarily used to charm customers and passers-by who are living in this era of globalisation and technology.

### 4.2.2.3. Bilingual Signs

By visiting *Sidi El Houari*, one may observe the clear-cut spread of bilingual signs issued by the local authorities and other diverse individuals owning shops and restaurants. Yet, the two languages that are essentially focused on are MSA and French. In this sense, among the whole photos taken in this area, there is a total number of 15 (18.75%) bilingual signs. More importantly, all of them emphasise MSA-French bilingualism. This may be elucidated by picture 4.19 (see Appendix C, p.248) that shows direction and indication signs. The one on the right refers to “Pacha Mosque” while the other multiple signage on the left points to two different sites that read “1<sup>st</sup> November 1954 Square” and “the City Hall”. They significantly highlight the importance of MSA since, in all of them, it is the language used at the top in comparison with French which is put at the bottom. This effortlessly makes one aware of the fact that this Arabic form has been given priority by the local authorities. But, at the same time, it shows that French is still viewed as an important language. In the same vein, this language configuration has been manifested by other governmental institutions such as “the National Bank of Algeria” and “Algeria Post Office” that are respectively displayed in pictures 4.20 and 4.21 (see Appendix C, p.249). Hence, they all show that MSA letterings are always placed at the higher parts of these public boards because of this code’s significance and the status it has in Algeria, i.e. being recognised as an official and national language. They also allude to the salience of French though it has no official status.

The usage of these two languages in the public space is not only favoured by local officials but also by other individuals owning shops, restaurants, bakeries and companies, for instance. That is, it has been noticed on private signs. Among different examples, some shop-fronts focusing on Arabic-French bilingualism has been selected. In fact, this is the only type of bilingual signs that has been found there. “The Corsair Restaurant” (see picture 4.67 in Appendix C, p.266) and “the Palm tree Restaurant” (see figure 4.68 in Appendix C, p.267) are two names chosen by diverse individuals so as to attract various people to have lunch and dinner in these specific eating places. Hence, the Arabic and French decorative letterings are plainly seen by any passer-by.

Besides, “the Fisherman” is another term used in these two tongues on the façade of a store trading in fishing equipments such as buoys, hooks fishing rods, nets, canoes and kayaks. The banner’s colour on which this term appears is blue. It refers to the sea that is

related to the maritime items being sold in this shop. Then, since Arabic is written from right to left, which is the opposite of French, the store proprietor focused on using the aforementioned word in MSA on the right side of the board whereas its French translation is transcribed on its left (see picture 4.69 in Appendix C, p.267). In this popular district, there is also a tailor who looks to be supporting this bilingualism in terms of LL. At the entrance of his sewing studio, he hung a board on which he wrote the term “Tailor” in both Arabic at the top and French under it (see picture 4.70 in Appendix C, p.267). These individuals designed these signs this way as they consider it to be suitable to help people to recognise their shops. That is, the targeted individuals are supposed to understand MSA and French or at least one of these two languages. The last example to be mentioned in *Sidi El Houari* is an Algerian famous newspaper headquarters’ façade (see figure 4.71 in Appendix C, p.267). It also demonstrates the way MSA and French are employed. The term “the Patriot”, which is this national daily newspaper’s name, appears in both these codes in a very large size on the right and the left parts of the sign, respectively. Thus, it is worth noting that this bilingual board sheds light on the momentousness of these two languages in this particular area. What is more, this signboard’s background is made of three main colours that are attributed to the Algerian flag, viz. white, green and red. It is simply because this newspaper’s name refers to the love of one’s country.

### **4.3. Findings from the Questionnaire**

This part has to do with the interpretation and analysis of the results obtained from the questionnaires that were distributed to the shop/business owners who encountered in both Oran city-centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. Yet, this particular questionnaire is made up of 5 rubrics containing a number of 13 questions (see part 3.5). In fact, the first rubric is meant to investigate those merchants’ linguistic backgrounds. In this regard, question 1 (see Appendix A) enquires about the various areas that the different respondents come from. This enables one to be aware of the languages or the varieties they speak. In other words, this clarifies whether the informants are tourists or Algerian individuals speaking Arabic, Berber or any other code, i.e. it specifies their mother tongues. Hence, this sheds light on the different speech communities they belong to. When asking this question, diverse responses were received. Yet, among 30 shop-owners and restaurant proprietors, 20 individuals said they were from Oran, 4 of them were from other Algerian western cities, namely Mascara, Tlemcen, Chlef and Sidi Bel Abbès, 2 others were from Algiers, another one was from Tizi Ouzou and the last 3 informants were from the East of Algeria, viz. Constantine and Sétif.

Similarly, in *Sidi El Houari*, 24 respondents, who constitute the majority, were from Oran. Besides, 2 restaurant proprietors were from Algiers, 2 other shop owners were from Mascara, another individual was from Sétif and the last one was from Béjaïa. Thus, the various answers provided above clarify that all the informants were Algerians who are coming not only from Oran or from only one specific region; however, they were from different parts of Algeria. This means that the informants were from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

The second question enables one to know about the languages that those shop-owners could speak (see Appendix A). In fact, different answers were obtained in the two areas under investigation. In Oran city centre, 8 out of 30 individuals reported that they spoke MSA, AA and French; 10 other ones referred to MSA and AA; 6 others claimed MSA, AA French and English; 3 persons said MSA, AA, Berber and French; 2 others said MSA, AA, French and Spanish and only one of them pointed to MSA, AA, French and German. In a similar vein, in *Sidi El Houari*, among the 30 informants who were encountered, there were 11 persons who said that they mastered MSA, AA and French; 10 other ones referred to MSA and AA; 6 individuals claimed MSA, AA, French and Spanish; 2 others acknowledged that they were able to use MSA, AA and English, and only one of them declared that he spoke MSA, AA, Berber and French. What is worth mentioning here is that none of the respondents who were met in both sites was monolingual; all of them were either bilingual or multilingual speakers who were all able to use both MSA and AA. These are considered to be Algeria's official language and the mother tongue of the majority of its citizens, respectively. Besides, 40 out of 60 individuals with a rate of 66.66% could speak French. Indeed, this corroborates the high importance of this language being viewed as this nation's first foreign language due to colonial reasons. Furthermore, the data gathered here elucidate that there is a variety of foreign languages that different Algerian shop/business owners master in both downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* district. The most common languages are French, English, and Spanish. In sum, table 4.12 below sheds light on the diversity in terms of the tongues that various shop-owners utilise.



The areas	The number of shop/ business owners	The languages they speak
Oran city centre	8	MSA - AA – French
	10	MSA – AA
	6	MSA - AA - French – English
	3	MSA - AA - Berber – French
	2	MSA - AA - French – Spanish
	1	MSA - AA - French – German
<i>Sidi El Houari</i>	11	MSA - AA – French
	10	MSA – AA
	6	MSA - AA - French – Spanish
	2	MSA – AA - English
	1	MSA - AA - Berber – French

**Table 4.12:** The Languages that Shop Owners Speak Enough.

The third question (see Appendix A) was asked for the purpose of being aware of the diverse languages and varieties that those merchants and businessmen were able to comprehend while reading certain letterings or listening to someone speaking. In fact, this question differs from the previous one in terms of the fact that sometimes one can understand the meaning of a given text or a spoken phrase but he cannot master the language which is focused on. In this regard, the diverse replies provided by every single respondent will be displayed in details in table 4.13 below.

The Areas	Languages	The Number of Shop Owners Understanding these Languages	Rate
Oran City Centre	MSA	30	100%
	AA	30	100%
	French	25	83.33%
	Berber	5	16.66%
	English	13	43.33%
	Spanish	5	16.66%
	German	3	10%
	Other languages	0	0%
<i>Sidi El Houari</i>	MSA	30	100%
	AA	30	100%
	French	23	76.66%
	English	7	23.33%
	Berber	3	10%
	Spanish	10	33.33%
	German	0	0%
	Other languages	0	0%

**Table 4.13:** The Languages that Shop Owners can Comprehend.

By looking at the aforementioned table, one can notice that all the shop owners encountered were able to comprehend both MSA and AA including those whose mother tongue was Berber. What is more important is that 48 out of 60 individuals declared that they could understand French. Indeed, this may be viewed as evidence that this language is crucial and highly considered by people there. Furthermore, unlike in *Sidi El Houari* where English is understood by only 7 persons, in downtown Oran, nearly half of the respondents are able to comprehend this international language. Yet, this elucidates the spread of this global tongue and the great importance it has been given these days. It also shows a remarkable tendency towards learning it in the city of Oran.

The fourth question is an attempt to know about those interviewees' mother tongues (see Appendix A). That is, it enquires about the language(s) they usually use when being engaged in everyday informal discussions with their relatives, namely their parents, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc. In fact, in the two areas under investigation, 54 individuals referred to AA

while only 6 other ones pointed to Berber. Thus, all of them were Algerians and none of them has made reference to any other language such as MSA, French, English, Spanish or German.

Then, the fifth question (see Appendix A) was emphasised to give a deeper insight into the different languages employed on the façades and signboards of various stores and restaurants located in both downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* district. In other words, it attempts to identify the diverse codes that those two linguistic landscapes are made of. Accordingly, in the first place, the answers received from the informants shed light on the presence of 20 monolingual signs among which 7 ones display MSA, 6 ones show French, 5 other ones are written in English and 2 others exhibit Spanish. There are also 5 bilingual signs and 5 hybrid others. The first type consists of 2 Arabic-French signs, 2 French-English ones and an Arabic-English item. However, the second category of signboards comprises only 3 French-English banners, 1 French-Spanish signage and another one that is made up of English-Spanish letterings. Then, in *Sidi El Houari*, there are 18 monolingual signs, 7 ones exhibiting MSA, 6 others displaying French, 4 other ones showing English and only one written in Spanish. Interestingly enough, the remaining other 12 signboards were bilingual ones on which MSA and French appear. It is noteworthy that, according to the different shop-owners responding to the questionnaire, the two public spheres mentioned above are characterised by multilingualism in terms of language use on signs and banners. Hence, this supports the hypothesis that downtown Oran is a commercial region whose public space is rich in languages owing to the fact that plenty of people from distinct places and origins visit it, whereas *Sidi El Houari*'s linguistic landscape does not contain many languages such as Italian and Turkish, for instance, since it is deemed as an old and working-class district that may not be the destination of a large number of people. But this latter also manifests multilingualism.

The sixth question was asked to elicit information concerning the precise interpretation and signification of the various letterings occurring on different shop-windows and banners whose owners were given this particular questionnaire (see Appendix A). This may help one to be aware of the messages that these individuals want to transmit as well as the hidden meanings of some utilised phrases. In this sense, this allows one to gain insight into the sense of the different texts that were included. In fact, the detailed data provided by diverse informants will be illustrated in table 4.14 below.

Area	Texts Appearing on Signs	Language Use	Meaning	The Products Sold
Oran City Centre	مكتبة	MSA	Library	Pens, copybooks, school bags, etc.
	مجوهرات و ساعات	MSA	Jewellery and watches	Bracelets, necklaces, rings, etc.
	العروسة الوهرانية	MSA	The Oranese bride	Dress for brides
	حلويات تقليدية	MSA	Traditional cakes	Cakes
	جنة الألعاب	MSA	Paradise of games	Toys
	الأثاث العريق	MSA	Antique furniture	Antique household furniture
	أحذية	MSA	Shoes	Shoes for men
	C'est à vous	French	It is yours	Clothes for young men
	Ma jolie robe	French	My pretty dress	Clothes for young women
	Sabots et souliers orthopédiques médicaux	French	Orthopedic medical shoes and clogs	Shoes and clogs
	Habillement homme	French	Men's clothing	Clothes for men
	La perle d'or	French	The golden pearl	Clothing and shoes for young women
		La cité de l'image et du son	French	The city of image and sound
Lady		English	Lady	Dresses for brides
Italian shoes		English	Italian shoes	Shoes for men
Jewels		English	Jewels	Rings, brooches, pearls, etc.
Joker		English	Joker	Clothes for young men
For men		English	For men	Clothes for men
Mondo		Spanish	The world	Cigarettes, sweets, chocolate and newspapers.
La casa mia		Spanish	My house	Household furniture

صيدلية - pharmacie	MSA French	–	Pharmacy	Medicines
مقهى النسيير - Café l'aiglon	MSA French	–	Eaglet café	Coffee, tea, juice and soft drinks
Shoes for women - Souliers pour femmes	French English	–	Shoes for women	Shoes for women
Mode – Fashion	French English	–	Fashion	Clothes for young girls
مجوهرات – Jewellery	MSA English	–	Jewellery	Bracelets, necklaces, pearls, rings, etc.
Miss mode	English French	–	Miss fashion	Clothes and shoes for young girls
Jewellery argent	English French	–	Silver jewellery	Bracelets, necklaces and rings made of silver.
Boutique Jet7	English French	–	Jet set shop	Clothes for young girls
Boutique la casa	French Spanish	–	Home shop	Clothing for women
Casa shop	English Spanish	–	Home shop	Household furniture
حلاق	MSA		Hairdresser	Place where hair is cut
مطعم سيدي الهواري	MSA		<i>Sidi El Houari</i> restaurant	Food and drinks
مكتبة و ورقة	MSA		Library and paper shop	Pens, papers, rulers, etc.
قاعة الأبطال	MSA		Hall of heroes	Weights room
قصابية المهدي	MSA		Mehdi butcher's	Meat and chicken
حلويات الأفراح	MSA		Wedding cakes	Cakes
مقهى الأحباب	MSA		Friends' café	Coffee, tea and soft drinks
Restaurant	French		Restaurant	Food and drinks
Salon de coiffure	French		Hairdresser	Place where hair is cut and arranged
Boutique	French		Tobacco	Cigarettes
Alimentation générale	French		Grocery	Food, juice and soft drinks

	Quincaillerie	French	Hardware store	Metal items and tools
	Hotel	French	Hotel	Place for temporary accommodation
	Shoes	English	Shoes	Shoes for women
	Nice shop	English	Nice shop	Cigarettes and cosmetic products
	Family's pizza	English	Family's pizza	Pizza, sandwiches and soft drinks
	Pizzeria, fast food	English	Pizzeria, fast food	Pizza, sandwiches and soft drinks
	Zapatos	Spanish	Shoes	Shoes for men
	الصيد - Le pêcheur	MSA French	Fisherman	Fishing equipments like buoys, hooks, nets, canoes and kayaks
	عقاقير و خردوات عامة - Quincaillerie générale	MSA French	General hardware	Metal items and tools
	لوازم المساجد - Tapis & déco	MSA French	Mosque's equipments	Equipments and carpets for mosques
	مطبعة سيدي الهواري - Imprimerie Sidi El Houari	MSA French	<i>Sidi El Houari</i> print shop	Printing books
	مسمكة جزر حبيبية - Pêcherie Iles Habibas	MSA French	Habibas island fish restaurant	Fish, juice and soft drinks
	مطعم النخيل - Restaurant les palmiers	MSA French	Palm trees' restaurant	Food, pizza, sandwiches, soft drinks, etc
	صيدلية - pharmacie	MSA French	Pharmacy	Medicines
	مخبزة و حلوية - Boulangerie et pâtisserie	MSA French	Bakery and pastry	Bread and cakes
	خياط - Tailleur	MSA French	Tailor	Place where to sew professionally
	بزار - Boucherie	MSA French	Butcher's store	Meat and chicken
	حلاق - Coiffeur	MSA French	Hairdresser	Place where hair is cut and arranged
	مرشاة - Douche	MSA French	Shower	Place where to take a shower

**Table 4.14:** The Meaning of the Written Texts Appearing on Signs.

In addition to mentioning the meaning of the letterings appearing on signs, table 4.14 above manifests the various products that are sold in those shops. Indeed, this may enlighten one about the relationship between some utilised languages and the types of businesses those merchants are dealing with, i.e. it elucidates the connection existing between the diverse commercialised products and the languages or the varieties that are used on signs so as to promote them and so that some specific businesses prosper. In fact, when it comes to fashion, clothes' and shoes' shops, French and English are predominantly employed on signboards. Furthermore, French appears to be strongly visible on hotels' fronts since the word "*hotel*" is commonly used among Algerians while using either French or AA. By contrast, MSA was found on the façades of only a few shoe stores in addition to other shops selling antique items, traditional cakes and bridal dresses reflecting the Algerian cultural identity which is an Arabic and Islamic one. Moreover, MSA appears on bookshops' and libraries' fronts as it is the language emphasised within the Algerian educational system at primary, middle and secondary stages. Interestingly enough, Spanish occurs on very few signs. There were only two stores whose banners were written in this particular code; the first one is trading in men's shoes while the second one has to do with clothing for women. Another tobacco shop's signboard, where newspapers and magazines are sold, also displays the word "*Mondo*" which alludes to the famous Spanish newspaper "*El Mundo*". As far as jewellery business is concerned, MSA and English are usually utilised on shop-fronts, whereas French is rarely considered by jewellers. When it comes to cafés, restaurants and groceries, MSA and French texts predominate with very few English terms that are commonly used among Algerians such as "*fast food*", for example. MSA and French are also given priority being present on bilingual signboards appearing on the façades of drugstores and shops selling household tools, items and hardware. They are also utilised by tailors, hairdressers and people owning showers so that the visible texts can be comprehended by a large number of Algerians who are supposed to understand at least one of these two languages.

The next question allows one to investigate the different types of customers targeted by shop-owners while utilising some languages instead of others (see Appendix A). Yet, clients were classified into various categories, viz. men, women, youth, elderly and any other types in case someone wants to refer to any other kind of people. What is noticed is that the individuals selling clothes and shoes for women/young girls and the ones trading in computers and telephones preferred using French and/or English. They attempted to attract men, women, young girls and the youth who are interested in fashion and computer technology.

Interestingly enough, cafeterias, hotels, bookshops, libraries, cake shops, doctor’s offices and stores dealing with traditional and bridal clothes have signboards displaying MSA and/or French. In fact, they were designed to draw the attention of all kinds of people who are supposed to comprehend MSA which is Algeria’s official language and this nation’s first foreign tongue, i.e. French. Then, people owning restaurants, jeweller’s and household appliances’ stores gave priority to MSA, French and English. Then, foreign languages like French, English and Spanish are usually found when it comes to shops trading in cosmetics, furniture items and clothing for men and the youth as well. In short, the answers provided by all the respondents have been grouped according to the diverse businesses existing and the particular languages being employed. They are depicted in table 4.15 below.

Area	The Type of Shop/ Business	The Language(s) Used on Signs				Type of Customers Targeted
		MSA	French	English	Spanish	
Oran City Centre and Sidi El Houari	Clothing/ shoes for women/ young girls		✓	✓		Women - young girls
	Traditional clothes for brides	✓	✓			Women - young girls
	Clothing/ shoes for men/ young men		✓	✓	✓	Men - young men
	Cafeteria	✓	✓			Men – youth
	Restaurant	✓	✓	✓		Men - women - youth - elderly.
	Furniture items		✓	✓	✓	Men - women - youth - elderly.
	Bookshops	✓	✓			Men - women - youth
	Hotels	✓	✓			Men - women - youth – elderly
	Household appliance	✓	✓	✓		Men - women – youth
	Cake shop	✓	✓			Men - women - youth – elderly
	Cosmetics		✓	✓	✓	Men - women – youth
	Computer and telephone		✓	✓		Men – youth
	Doctor/ dentist/ optician	✓	✓			Men - women - youth – elderly
	Jeweller/ clockmaker	✓	✓	✓		Men - women – youth

**Table 4.15:** The Types of People Targeted while Using some Languages.



Similarly, question eight tries to elicit information about whether the languages utilised on the respondents' shop-fronts were effective in terms of attracting customers and passers-by. Indeed, 50 of them (83.33%) reported "yes" while only 10 individuals (rating 16.66%) said "no". That is, on the one hand, the first group, which represents the majority, claimed that the languages they employed on their façades helped them to attract the attention of the targeted people. This means that they found those codes comprehensible and effective in highlighting their shops and depicting the different businesses they are doing. On the other hand, the second group of informants acknowledged that the languages appearing on their signs were not attractive and efficacious in informing passers-by about their stores and making different people visit them. This may be due to the unfamiliarity of particular clients with some displayed languages or the complexity of the visible letterings. The responses provided by shop-owners concerning the effectiveness of those languages are clearly illustrated in table 4.16 below.

Answers	Effectiveness to Attract Customers	Rate
Yes	50	83.33%
No	10	16.66%

**Table 4.16:** The Effectiveness of Languages in Attracting Customers.

The individuals who assert that the languages used on their signs are effective in attracting the customers they are targeting referred to the way in which they did so. Yet, the ones owning bookshops and trading in traditional clothes considered that MSA is the most appropriate language that may represent their stores being attributed to education since the Algerian educational system is based on MSA at primary, middle and secondary stages. This system has been Arabised after independence in 1962. They also acknowledged that Arabic is this nation's official and national language that can be understood by the majority of educated people and that it even reminds them of their traditions and customs. They believe that languages like French, English and Spanish, for instance, cannot represent a store where traditional items are sold since they have to do with other cultures. From their vantage points, the code which is strongly related to their businesses is MSA. Besides, some other individuals claim that the use of Arabic makes the information exhibited on their shops' and restaurants' façades more clear and understandable while being used side by side with other foreign languages such as French and English, the languages that they consider to be more prestigious but that cannot be understood by everyone including even some educated people. Those who

utilised English clarified that it is linked to worldwide trademarks, fashion, beauty, technology and the internet that the youth, in particular, are interested in. That is why they acknowledged that this code fits their shops where clothing for young men and young women, cosmetic products as well as household equipments and appliances were sold. In a similar vein, Spanish was thought by some shop owners to be associated with fashion, clothing and beauty products. They elucidate that they chose it in order to attract the youth who are aware of the fact that a large number of high-quality clothes and other various products were brought from Spain. Hence, it has been employed to show the Spanish origin of their goods.

When being asked about whether the languages utilised on private signboards and banners were compatible with the ones occurring on governmental signs, among 30 informants in *Sidi El Houari*, 25 shop-owners (83.33%) reported “yes” whereas only 5 of them with a rate of 16.66% said “no”. Per contra, in downtown Oran, 17 individuals (56.66%) gave positive answers by saying “yes” while 13 others (43.33%) did not see any compatibility between them. Thus, the respondents who believed that the signs they designed and the ones issued by the local authorities go together elucidate that this compatibility lies in the way they used MSA and French either separately on monolingual signs or side by side on bilingual signboards. Yet, they asserted that these two languages were predominantly visible on the aforementioned two sites’ public signs. In fact, the different road/traffic signs and the various boards exhibiting street names were all written in MSA and/or French. The informants who referred to disparity between the languages appearing on those two types of signs (public and private ones) explained that while wandering along those regions’ streets, they had not found any text written in languages such as English, Spanish, Italian or Algerian Arabic on traffic signs and public boards exhibiting street names or showing governmental institutions, for instance. However, they claimed that these codes were what a considerable number of jewellers, people owning restaurants or clothing stores and those trading in computer hardware utilised to name their shops and to provide passers-by with diverse useful pieces of information as well.

After that, various answers have been collected concerning the languages that shop-owners and restaurant proprietors prefer to see in the public sphere. More importantly, the majority of the respondents provided more than one answer. In the city centre, among 30 individuals, a number of 27 ones preferred MSA, 6 others said Algerian Arabic, 24 persons chose French, 25 ones opted for English and only 2 of them pointed to Spanish. As far as *Sidi El Houari* is concerned, 28 out of 30 informants had a preference for MSA, only 4 persons

leaned towards AA, 15 merchants favoured French, 13 ones said English and 6 others had a bias for Spanish. It is worth mentioning that the respondents who were encountered did not opt for the visibility of those languages at random. However, they declared that there were several reasons behind their choices. Their responses are not to be mentioned individually and separately; rather, they are to be grouped according to the number of people referring to diverse languages. According to most of them, MSA was chosen since it is Algeria's official and national language. Besides, those who preferred seeing this specific code added that Algerians are considered as Arabs and Muslims who must comprehend and even master this particular code. Though AA was referred to by only few shop owners, they justified this particular choice by indicating that it is the mother tongue of most of Algerians, i.e. it can be understood by the majority of citizens. In a similar vein, French was preferred by some of the respondents who asserted that it is this nation's first foreign language. That is, they acknowledged the central role it occupies among Algerians though it is not officially recognised by the authorities. Indeed, they believe that a large number of Algerians can be familiar with the different French letterings constituting those linguistic landscapes since a lot of words occurring there are considered as part of AA which is used in daily informal conversations. Then, those who opted for the use of English argued that it is an international language attributed to fashion, progress, prosperity and technological advances. They believe that its presence in the public sphere may lead the city of Oran to openness and makes it belong to this globalised world. They also acknowledged that this helps pave the way for the attraction of more tourists who may feel at ease while wandering along the streets of Oran. Hence, business and commerce will evolve in the city centre as well as *Sidi El Houari* which would certainly change and not remain as an old working-class area. In other words, this way, Oran will turn into a real developed metropolis. Some shop-owners also affirmed that they wanted Spanish to be visible in *Sidi El Houari*'s public space. For them, it must be used as it is importantly considered as the second most significant language in the world. Indeed, they acknowledged that they were aware of the importance it has around the globe. They also claimed that it reminds one of the history of this particular district where Algerians used to live side by side with diverse Spanish families. In addition, they elucidated that this commercial area might attract a large number of tourists including Spanish speakers.

#### **4.4. Findings from the Interviews**

##### **4.4.1. Interviews with Shop Owners**

The first question being asked during this interview is an attempt to investigate whether the interviewees were the real owners of the visited shops, restaurants and premises or they were just salespeople (see Appendix B). This is because proprietors are considered as the ones who may be involved in designing the local signboards while vendors do not take part in this process. Indeed, asking this particular question enlightens one about the extent to which the interviewees can provide reliable data. That is, it enables one to know about whether the interviewees can give essential information about their signboards in case they were responsible for the visible words, drawings and colours or they were just sellers who cannot go into details. In fact, in 55 shops and restaurants that were visited, proprietors themselves had been encountered whereas in the 5 remaining ones, salespeople, who were all university students, had been met. These responses really helped in collecting detailed and trustworthy information.

The second question was emphasised so as to confirm the results obtained from the questionnaire that were distributed earlier (see Appendix B). It is a way to be acquainted with the different languages employed on the façades and signboards of the various stores and restaurants that have been visited. It also investigates whether the interviewees are really aware of the different languages utilised on their signs or they are just ignorant people using them for the sake of imitation. Thus, the collected responses were similar to the ones acquired from the questionnaire. They elucidate that all the interviewees were aware of what have been written on signboards and banners. After that, another question was asked concerning the shop owners' competencies in terms of the codes emphasised on their signs (see Appendix B). Yet, it sheds light on whether those sign designers master the languages they have utilised or they are incompetent and just using them for some reasons. Thus, the provided replies will be shown in table 4.17 below in details.

The Areas	The Languages Used on Signs	Shop/ Business Owners' Answers			
		Yes	Rate	No	Rate
Oran City Centre	MSA	30	100%	0	0%
	French	20	66.66%	10	33.33%
	English	7	23.33%	23	76.66%
	Spanish	2	6.66%	28	93.33%
<i>Sidi El Houari</i>	MSA	30	100%	0	0%
	French	18	60%	12	40%
	English	3	10%	27	90%
	Spanish	6	20%	24	80%

**Table 4.17:** Shop Owners' Mastery of the Languages Used on their Signs.

Table 4.17 above clarifies that the languages that the interviewed shop/restaurant owners mostly master are MSA and French. This reflects the high status this Arabic form has and the importance that French has been given as well. Interestingly enough, the rate of language mastery concerning English and Spanish differs in the two public spaces under investigation. A number of 7 (rating 23.33%) individuals among 30 ones acknowledged that they were proficient in English in the city centre which is considered as a commercial area attracting diverse tourists. However, in *Sidi El Houari*, only 3 (rating 10%) persons said they mastered this tongue. Then, only 2 shop owners with a rate of 6.66% mentioned that they were skilful in Spanish in downtown Oran in comparison with the above mentioned working-class area where 6 interviewees with a percentage of 20% pointed to proficiency in that foreign language. Thus, this manifests that this tongue is considered as a part of this district's history.

The fourth question (see Appendix B) was focused on for the purpose of seeking the reasons lying behind the interviewees' choices of some languages instead of others to be displayed on their façades, namely MSA, French, English and Spanish. Their responses will be clearly depicted in table 4.18 below.

The Reasons	The Number of Shop Owners in Oran City Centre who Used:				The Number of Shop Owners in <i>Sidi El Houari</i> who Used:			
	MSA	French	English	Spanish	MSA	French	English	Spanish
Religious Conviction	9	0	0	0	18	0	0	0
Identity Attribution	7	0	0	0	16	0	0	0
Nationalism	7	0	0	0	14	0	0	0
Imitating	0	8	11	3	5	15	3	1
Influencing Particular Customers / Commercialism	5	10	11	1	5	10	3	0
Looking Fashionable	0	14	12	4	0	17	4	1

**Table 4.18:** The Reasons Lying behind Language Choice on Signs.

This table illustrates the way shop/business owners used MSA on their signboards and banners to reflect their Arabo-Islamic identity and to show their pride in belonging to their country, i.e. Algeria which is part of the Arab and Islamic world. Furthermore, foreign languages like French and English were employed by a considerable number of individuals. They believe that writing texts in these two tongues helped them draw customers' attention and look chic and fashionable especially in the city centre which is considered as the destination of different people and tourists with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Interestingly enough, more than half of those merchants and businessmen, i.e. 19 of them in downtown Oran and 20 others in *Sidi El Houari* district focused on these languages for the sake of imitating other shop/restaurant proprietors. Besides, a large number of interviewees referred that French and English were utilised in those two sites for some reasons, namely commercialism and influencing particular groups of people including educated ones and the youth who are interested in technology, international trademarks and foreign languages. They added that they often try to utilise common and uncomplicated words and phrases in order to make them understandable since they know that Algerians are not native speakers of French, English or any other foreign language.

After that, the fifth question (see Appendix B) allows one to know about the diverse types of people visiting various stores whose owners are doing different businesses. Yet, the shops and restaurants under investigation were put into many categories taking into consideration the kind of products they are trading in. What has been noticed is that several

shops are visited by different people according to their needs, i.e. considering the products they sell. For instance, places where food and drink are served or sold like restaurants, cafés and tea rooms as well as hotels, bookshops, libraries and doctor's offices are usually visited by all types of people including men, women, the youth and the elderly. Besides, boutiques dealing with clothing for young girls often attract women and the youth. Thus, the detailed answers gathered in both downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* will be provided in table 4.19 below.

Areas	The Type of Shop/ Business	The Types of Customers Visiting them				
		Men	Women	Youth	Elderly	Others
Oran City Centre and <i>Sidi El Houari</i>	Clothing for Young Girls/ Men's Shoes	✓	✓	✓		
	Traditional Clothes for Brides		✓	✓		
	Clothing for Men/ Youth	✓		✓		
	Cafeteria/ Tea Room	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Restaurant	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Furniture Items	✓	✓		✓	
	Bookshops	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Household Appliance	✓		✓	✓	
	Cake Shop	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Cosmetics	✓	✓	✓		
	Computer and Telephone	✓		✓		
	Doctor/ Dentist/ Optician	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Jeweller/ Clockmaker	✓	✓	✓			

**Table 4.19:** The Types of Customers Visiting Different Shops and Restaurants.

More importantly, while being asked about their attitudes towards the compulsory use of MSA and whether they accept to include it on signs while naming their shops or providing customers with various useful pieces of information (see Appendix B), the majority of interviewees, i.e. 50 out of 60 individuals in those two areas declared that it was a good idea and showed their satisfaction with this initiative including those who have already

utilised it. That is, they acknowledged that this Arabic form deserves to be present on every single banner. There were even some shop owners utilising only foreign languages such as French, English and Spanish who manifested a greater readiness to make MSA visible on their signs. The simple reasons they gave to justify their answers were related to identity, nationalism and religion as well. In other words, they all referred to the fact that Algerians are Arabs and Muslims. Then, they added that Arabic is the language of the Holy Qur'an. Per contra, 10 other ones did not like this idea at all when they showed their disagreement by asserting that they must be free to choose other languages that they want to display. In fact, they explained that in this globalised world, MSA is not considered as an international and modern language that has to do with progress and technology advancement. For them, the use of this form of Arabic may not lead to the prosperity of their businesses and the economic progress of Oran city. They found other tongues like French and English, for instance, more effective in attracting passers-by and customers.

#### **4.4.2. Interviews with Customers**

The answers that were gathered from the first question (see Appendix B) revealed that the majority of customers being interviewed were from Oran; however, there were some individuals coming from other different corners of Algeria, i.e. the East, the West, the Centre and even the South of this country. This may provide insight into the attitudes of different Algerian citizens including those living in Oran towards language use in Oran's public space. It may also make one aware of the different languages or varieties that those individuals speak and the speech communities they belong to. Accordingly, in *Sidi El Houari*, 26 out of 30 interviewed clients were from Oran while 2 passers-by were from Mascara, another one was from Algiers and the last one was from Tizi Ouzou. Similarly, concerning the other 30 interviewees who were met in the city centre, all of them were from Oran except for 8 persons who were from other regions. In this regard, 3 individuals were from Chlef, 2 others were from Boumerdès, 2 other ones were from Constantine and the last one was from Ghardaïa. The collected data elucidate the absence of tourists during these interviews as they were conducted out of tourist season.

Concerning the number of languages that the interviewees speak enough, various answers have been given in the two sites under investigation. In *Sidi El Houari*, for example, 5 customers said they utilised 4 languages, 2 others indicated 3 languages, 17 ones referred to 2 tongues and 5 other ones pointed only to one code. The interlocutors who were interviewed



in the city centre also differed in terms of the languages they mastered. Yet, there were 10 persons who made reference to 3 languages, 17 others said 2 codes and only 3 of them alluded to only one tongue. Hence, the responses provided by these shoppers and passers-by clarified that there is diversity in terms of the number of languages utilised by people in these two areas, i.e. there were monolingual, bilingual and even multilingual speakers. Interestingly enough, when being asked about the specific languages that were utilised, the above-mentioned customers referred to divergent answers even in the same region. Thus, table 4.20 below provides details about the different tongues mentioned by those individuals.

The Areas	The number of Customers	The Different Languages they Used
Oran City Centre	8	MSA - AA – French
	10	MSA – AA
	7	MSA - AA - French – English
	2	MSA - AA - Berber - English – French
	2	MSA - AA - French – Spanish
	1	AA – French
<i>Sidi El Houari</i>	10	MSA - AA – French
	10	MSA - AA – English
	3	MSA - AA - French – Spanish
	5	MSA - AA - English
	1	MSA - AA - Berber – French
	1	AA - French

**Table 4.20:** The Different Languages Used by Customers.

What this table illustrates is that AA, the form of language that is utilised by most of Algerians in everyday informal conversations, was spoken by all the shoppers encountered in those two sites. MSA, which is Algeria’s official and national code, is also utilised by all of them except for two. Besides, French is confirmed to be highly important being this country’s first foreign language due to colonial reasons. In fact, it is used by 66.66% of the interviewees. Then, English appears to be the second most significant foreign tongue in these areas. Yet, it is employed by half of the customers in *Sidi El Houari* district and 30% of them in the city centre. Moreover, Spanish is another foreign tongue that is claimed to be spoken in

Oran but by very few people. It has appeared because of colonialism that brought various Spanish families to live side by side with Algerians in this particular city in the past.

When asked different clients about whether they faced difficulties understanding the letterings that have been visible on signs, be they private or public ones, diverse answers have been collected. As far as *Sidi El Houari* is concerned, 25 out of 30 interviewees said that they did not find any problem to comprehend the texts written on both types of signboards which were generally made up of MSA and/or French. On the contrary, 5 other individuals claimed that they encountered problems when looking at some signs. Interestingly enough, 3 young men explained that it was because they left school at an early age. Hence, they could barely understand some words in MSA and French that they studied in the primary and middle schools. In addition, they affirmed that they had no idea about the English and Spanish languages except for very few common words that they have heard from friends or family members such as fashion, fast food, caliente, deportivo, etc. In a similar vein, two other interviewees, who said they were students of history and law, acknowledged that the only language they could understand was MSA since, at the university, they pursued their studies in Arabic. They even admitted that they were not good at foreign languages when they were pupils. They had no basic abilities to comprehend or to communicate in those languages. Thus, they asserted that they feel lost whenever they face signs with letterings transcribed in these tongues. In the city centre, 20 out of 30 customers said they found it easy to comprehend the different texts surrounding them in this public space while 10 other ones asserted that they sometimes find it difficult to understand some words and phrases appearing on signs and banners especially on private ones. Indeed, 5 out of 10 customers reported that they did not understand any language except for MSA and French that they acquired at school from early childhood. They also referred to AA which is their mother tongue though it appears on very rare occasions. Furthermore, 4 other clients clarified that even though they acquired the basics of both French and English, they could not comprehend a lot of words and expressions which they described as complex or which have cultural connotations that are ambiguous for them. Then, the last remaining interviewee who was illiterate affirmed that he always finds it difficult whenever he faces any signboard written in whatever language. He even clarified that he could not distinguish what codes are utilised on those diverse signs.

The last phase of the interview enables one to be aware of the language(s) that clients and passers-by would like to see in the visible space of both downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* district. In fact, some interviewees showed preference to only one tongue while the

majority referred to more than one, i.e. two and even three languages. Hence, in this part, the answers are not displayed as they were given by every single individual; however, the diverse languages being given by different people are exhibited separately. Yet, in the city centre, 25 customers leaned towards MSA, 23 ones reported French, 24 other ones said English, 8 persons pointed to AA, 4 others referred to Berber, only 3 of them claimed Spanish and none spoke about German or any other language. Then, in *Sidi El Houari*, 24 passers-by said they would like to see MSA on signs, 21 ones showed preference for French, 12 other ones referred to English, 10 others said Spanish, 8 individuals preferred AA, only 2 passers-by referred to Berber and none of them mentioned any other tongue. It is worth mentioning that the answers provided in both sites concerning MSA and French were very close, i.e. the majority of customers said they liked seeing these two languages constituting LL. After that, English was supported by a large number of people in the city centre. Per contra, in *Sidi El Houari*, just less than half of the interviewees wanted to see it in its public sphere. Besides, unlike in downtown, a considerable number of shoppers leaned towards the use of Spanish in this working-class area.

What is noteworthy is that all the answers that have been received concerning the languages that should be part of the two investigated linguistic landscapes were justified. That is, diverse reasons were provided by the interviewed individuals to clarify why they preferred the visibility of some particular languages instead of others. Accordingly, in Oran city centre, some clients who emphasised MSA explained that their choices were based on religious convictions. They asserted that they considered it as a valuable language as it is associated with the Holy Qur'an. Others said that it should be widespread because Algeria is an inseparable part of the Arabic world. According to them, it may be visited by many people from different countries belonging to this particular zone such as Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Palestine and Syria, for instance. Thus, the use of MSA would make it easier for them to understand what various shops were selling and the diverse information they were displaying on signs. Those who said that they liked seeing French on banners asserted that it was because this code is part of the Algerian history. For them, French is the first foreign language that the majority of educated Algerians can understand as they start learning it at an early age in the primary school and they utilise a large number of French words and phrases in everyday conversations. In addition, it was thought to be a prestigious language that was strongly linked with education, culture, fashion and elegance. Then, the other code that some people wanted to see in those particular public spaces was English. In fact, they

acknowledged that it was an international language that was associated with prestige, fashion, development and technology. Indeed, they claimed that its visibility would attract diverse tourists from the West and make them feel at ease. Hence, they believed that the use of English would make Oran a metropolis which takes part in this globalised world. In the same vein, AA was believed by few customers to be an appropriate tongue to be utilised on some signboards providing that passers-by are Algerians, be they in the city centre or *Sidi El Houari*. They argued that since AA was their mother tongue, its use would make them comprehend a considerable number of displayed information effortlessly. Then, the interviewees who reported that they would like to see Spanish in the city centre justified their answers by stating that it was considered as the second most important and widespread language in the world. However, in *Sidi El Houari*, the ones who referred to its usage explained that it was because this particular region witnessed the presence of the Spanish coloniser. In this sense, the inhabitants of this district used to live and work side by side with Spanish people. Thus, for them, this language is part of this area's history and identity. Hence, it should occur in its public sphere. The small number of customers who wanted the appearance of Berber in both downtown and *Sidi El Houari* gave justifications for their responses by saying that its absence from both public and private signs would make Berber people feel excluded. In other words, they shed light on the fact that the appearance of this tongue would show the Berber community that their language is importantly regarded with esteem by the authorities and the citizens as well. That is, its use would make the Berber people who are wandering along the streets of Oran feel at home. And then, this may lead to unity between Algerians.

At the end of the interview, all the customers encountered in both Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* gave diverse answers concerning whether these two sites had changed in terms of language use in the public space in comparison with the past. Yet, in the first region, 27 out of 30 individuals said "yes" while only 3 of them reported "a little". In the second district, 18 out of 30 shoppers answered with "yes", 5 of them said "no" and 7 others claimed that it changed "a little". These figures are illustrated in table 4.21 below.

Responses \ Areas	Oran City Centre	<i>Sidi El Houari</i>
Yes	27	18
No	0	5
A little	3	7

**Table 4.21:** Changes in Terms of the LLs of Oran City Centre and *Sidi El Houari* in Comparison with the Past.

#### 4.5. Conclusion

While relying on a mixed approach based on both qualitative and quantitative methods, valuable results were acquired in terms of language policy and the diverse languages appearing on public and private signs in both Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district in an era of globalisation. Yet, in these two sites, the local authorities focus mainly on two languages, viz. MSA and French while referring to road signs, street names and indicating different governmental institutions as well. Interestingly enough, in the city centre, private signboards show something different since, in addition to MSA and French, a considerable number of people owning shops, restaurants and other diverse businesses tend to use other codes such as English, Spanish, AA, Turkish and Italian. Per contra, in *Sidi El Houari*, one may not feel a great difference between top-down and bottom-up signs since both of them display various texts transcribed in MSA and/or French except for a few private banners which are exhibiting languages like English and Spanish. Indeed, no other foreign tongues were found there. Hence, Oran city centre's LL does not reflect the language policy implemented by the state; however, the one of *Sidi El Houari* nearly mirrors it. Then, what is noteworthy to mention is that these two linguistic landscapes differ from each other in terms of language use, yet both of them are characterised by multilingualism. The first place is a commercial region whose public space is rich in languages like MSA, CA, AA, Berber, French, English, Spanish, Italian and Turkish due to the fact that plenty of people from distinct places and origins may be found there, whereas *Sidi El Houari* is a an old and working-class district that lacks all this variety of codes since it does not attract a lot of people and tourists. Then, in addition to MSA and French, its public sphere contains English and Spanish. People's attitudes towards the use of some languages instead of others differ from one individual to another. The majority of informants and interviewees who were encountered showed their satisfaction with the presence of MSA on signs being the language of the Holy Qur'an and the Arab world, a few others showed preference for Berber so as to feel

recognition from the local authorities and many others acknowledged the importance of French being the first foreign language that is used and understood by many educated Algerians. Besides, a large number of people declared their awareness of the appearance of English in this globalised world. Accordingly, they affirmed that Oran has turned to a metropolis which is considered as part of this interconnected world. Thus, the use of this particular language will importantly lead this city to development, prosperity, technological advancement and the easy contact with diverse people from around the world.

# **CHAPTER FIVE**

**TOP-DOWN LANGUAGE POLICIES**

**VS.**

**BOTTOM-UP PRACTICES**

## **Chapter Five: Top-down language policies vs. bottom-up practices**

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## 5.1. Introduction

People are everywhere surrounded by linguistic landscapes that are made up of both top-down and bottom-up signage. Yet, these two types of signs may either be compatible or incompatible with each other. That is, they may display texts in either similar or different languages. The present chapter discusses the national as well as the local policies in details, i.e. the language policy implemented by the Algerian officials and the way the local authorities regulate language visibility in the public space of the city of Oran. It also tackles the extent to which this language policy and the environment affects language use in the Algerian administrations that are essentially considered to be crucial in people's social and professional lives. Undoubtedly, linguistic issues are strongly related to political ones. Interestingly enough, this particular part of the research sheds light on the languages that have been given much importance by the government being accorded a high status in relation to this city's linguistic landscape. It is worth mentioning that in this era of globalisation, the spread of some languages such as English and Spanish has strongly affected a number of Algerian individuals owning shops, restaurants and other diverse businesses. Yet, they chose to utilise them on their signs and façades instead of their official and national languages, i.e. MSA and Berber. Hence, this chapter tries to enquire language use in the public space of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. This may bring to light whether merchants and business owners in these areas adhere to the regulations and respect the policies imposed by the local authorities or they resist them. In other words, it sheds light on the efforts made by the Algerian government with regard to the compulsory use of MSA, i.e. it takes into consideration what the local officials regulate concerning language use in those visible spaces vis-à-vis individual practices. This part also provides some suggestions and recommendations that may help finding solutions to some language problems and that may orientate one and lead him to further developments and future research concerning LPP and LL studies.

## 5.2. The National Policy

Right after Algeria had gained its independence in 1962, its authorities acknowledged that they found their authentic and real identity in the Arabic language and Islam. They considered this tongue as the best means of communication through which Algerians could restore their values and national characters. In fact, the previous president Ben Bella decreed that French, the colonial legacy that have been reduced in status to turn into a foreign language, had to be replaced by Arabic that he considered to be Algeria's official and national language. Besides, Islam which is strongly related to this tongue was confirmed to be its only religion. This was clearly illustrated in the Algerian constitution designed in 1963 in which three important articles appeared being connected with language use and religion. Accordingly, they assert that Algeria is considered as a fundamental part of the Arab world as well as the Maghreb region. They also confirm that Arabic is its official and national language and that Islam is its main religion. These are the two main components that the Algerian authorities focused on. In fact, Arabic is the language of the Holy Qur'an. This is confirmed by many Quranic verses, some of them read as follows: "*And thus We have revealed to you an Arabic Quran ...*" (The Holy Qur'an, S.42, V.7), "*In a clear Arabic language*" (The Holy Qur'an, S.26, V.195) and "*An Arabic Qur'an, without any deviance that they might become righteous*" (The Holy Qur'an, S.39, V.28). Indeed, all these verses reveal the strong relationship between the Arabic language and this sacred book.

Accordingly, what the authorities wanted to do was to bring back their own culture and the values that they lost during the French colonial epoch. In other words, this way, they attempted to restore the high status of Arabic and the Islamic identity as well. They also sought to unify the Algerian speech community by imposing the use of only one language which is MSA. In this sense, the process through which this code has been put in use is called the Arabisation policy (see part 2.3.3.1). Hence, after implementing this overt language policy, MSA replaced French in diverse domains, namely administration, education and even politics. It is not only considered as a policy but also an ideology that aims at changing the social and cultural beliefs, values and ethos among Algerians. In essence, conflicts between Algerian Arabophones, Berberophones and Francophones unfortunately resulted from this process of Arabisation. There were even altercations between the Berber-speaking

community and the Algerian authorities. It is worth noting that this policy weakened the relationship between this particular speech community and the Algerian regime's officials, i.e. it destabilised social cohesion as well as this country's unity. Interestingly enough, the non-recognition of Berber by the Algerian authorities led to what is called the Berber spring (see part 2.4.2). Admittedly, this obliged those in power to rethink their decisions in terms of language use and status in Algeria. In fact, in 2002, after a long period of struggle, Berber was given the status of national language. Yet, the Berber-speaking community across Algeria remained firm and ambitiously demanded that their tongue would be recognised as an official one just like MSA. Ultimately, like Arabic, Tamazight was formally claimed to be an official and national language by appearing in the Algerian constitution in 2016 (see article 4). Hence, this was done for political reasons to show consideration for the Berber community and for the unity of Algeria. In the same vein, the codes that have hitherto been explicitly and officially taken into consideration by this nation's authorities are MSA and Tamazight while French is only viewed as a foreign language.

It is of great importance to investigate the language policy implemented in a particular country while enquiring a certain region's LL since issues associated with this latter are strongly connected to LPP research area. Indeed, this has been confirmed by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 24) who claim that *"it is in the language planning field that issues related to the notion of linguistic landscape first emerged"*. Then, Spolsky (2004: 5) asserts that three main parts constitute language policy, viz. language management, language beliefs and language practices. The first one refers to the predetermined and conscious attempt to make changes in terms of language use and various linguistic behaviours in a particular context. The second part has to do with the values that diverse people correlate with some languages. Then, the third one consists of the different language choices that are made by some people in some specific contexts. Thus, this may be associated with the languages used on various public and private signs constituting a given linguistic landscape.

### **5.3. Language Policy in Administrations**

It is worth noting that Language Policy contributes greatly to the alteration of language use in administrations which play a crucial role in people's professional and social lives. Yet, it is essentially related to the appearance of some languages and the

exclusion of others. While investigating the policy of Arabisation that has been implemented in Algeria after gaining independence in 1962, an online article<sup>86</sup> that has been transcribed by Jean (2009) described the situation of administrations as follows:

*In this regard, it should be pointed out that the day after independence, the country's public administration had remained gallicized. The 22.000 Algerian civil servants who were trained by France constituted an impressive force resisting the Arabisation policy, but the Algerian government could not do without its servants. It was thus necessary to deal with them and proceed in steps since the civil servants tended to oppose the transformation of the colonial administration into that of an Arab-Muslim state.<sup>87</sup>*

The aforementioned words clarify that, after independence, French continued to be an important language when it comes to Algerian public administrations. However, it was in competition with MSA that had just started to be compulsorily utilised in professional fields and formal contexts after being recognised as the only official and national tongue in this country. The problem that the Algerian civil servants faced was that they found it difficult to use MSA owing to the fact that they were trained in French. Hence, they were against the general usage of this Arabic form and then French was considered as a predominant language in different Algerian administrations until 1970. In fact, this language use in the professional sphere is construed as a French heritage. It should be noted that the Algerian authorities found the fact to replace French with the Arabic language from one day to the next as a challenging task though they were aware of the need for this instant change for the purpose of restoring the Algerian identity. Yet, at the time, the former Minister of National Education and Culture Taleb-Ibrahimi (1981) demonstrated the officials' intention to make an immediate change in terms of language use. In this regard, he affirmed that:

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<sup>86</sup> [http://www.axl.cefanel.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie-3Politique\\_ling.htm](http://www.axl.cefanel.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie-3Politique_ling.htm). Visited on March 25<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>87</sup> The original text reads as follows: "Il faut, à ce sujet, noter qu'au lendemain de l'indépendance, l'administration publique du pays était restée totalement francisée. Les 22 000 fonctionnaires algériens formés par la France constituaient une redoutable force de résistance à l'arabisation, mais le régime algérien ne pouvait pas se passer de ses fonctionnaires. Il a donc fallu composer avec ces derniers et procéder par étapes, car les fonctionnaires tendaient à s'opposer à la transformation de l'administration coloniale en celle d'un État arabo-musulman".

*It is an objective because it is about becoming oneself again, recovering and spreading our cultural heritage of which language is a crucial element. It is also a means since we propose to acquire a tool so as to gradually manage to substitute the national language for a foreign language as a means of communication (through speech and in writing) in both public and private relations.<sup>88</sup>*

*(Taleb-Ibrahimi 1981: 83)*

By these words, Taleb-Ibrahimi meant that after Algeria regained its sovereignty, the first thing those in power focused on was the use of MSA instead of French and its spread in all Algeria's corners. Accordingly, the authorities believed that this Arabic language was the most important element through which Algerians could get back their identity as well as the cultural heritage that they lost during a period of 132 years of colonialism. In addition, this previous minister confirmed that, for those officials, this language was considered as a crucial means of communication that deserved to appear in professional fields and administrations in both spoken and written forms. Interestingly, Gahmia (2015) asserted that right after independence, the process of Arabisation seemed to be on the right track as it started to be implemented in administrations. Yet, from 1963, MSA began to be predominantly utilised in the judicial system. In this sense, the first official and administrative documents that were arabised in Algeria were legal documents including criminal records, citizenship certificates and so on. Then, it is worth mentioning that what helped the effective application of this policy in this particular sector was the arrival of a considerable number of Algerian students who graduated from various universities in the Middle East after receiving scholarships. In fact, they were majoring in juridical and administrative science when MSA was the main language of instruction. Hence, those new executives and employees were prepared for constructing the core of a new administration based on Arabic (ibid.). Then, the other official documents that were wholly arabised were those issued by town halls such as records of births, marriages and deaths, residence certificates and sworn statements as well. The only words to be transcribed in French on these papers were names (ibid). However, these first and

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<sup>88</sup> The original text reads as follows : "C'est un but puisqu'il s'agit de redevenir soi-même, de récupérer et d'étendre notre patrimoine culturel dont la langue est un élément capital. C'est aussi un moyen puisque l'on se propose de faire acquérir un outil afin d'arriver progressivement à substituer la langue nationale à une langue étrangère comme moyen de communication (par la parole et par l'écrit) dans les relations publiques et privées".

family names were not considered to be written in French for good. Indeed, they too have been arabised, but the authorities have faced a lot of problems during this procedure owing to the high number of complaints that the citizens have registered. This is because of the mistakes they found on important documents that they needed so as to complete some crucial files required by particular administrations, companies and institutions. In this respect, on April 08<sup>th</sup>, 2018, an article<sup>89</sup> shown on the pages of the Algerian daily newspaper *Essarih* has displayed the headline which reads “*a Mass of Mistakes in the Process of Arabising the Names of Citizens*”<sup>90</sup>(Gherib 2018). It uncovers the problems encountered by civil servants and officers in an Algerian eastern city named *Tébessa* due to birth certificates containing names being translated into MSA but with no compatibility with their French versions. Hence, six months later, the head of the Supreme Council of the Arabic language<sup>91</sup> *Belaid* announced the development of a software correcting the mistakes occurring on those Arabic official documents. This has been demonstrated by a video<sup>92</sup> posted on *Youtube* with the title that reads “*Digitisation: a Software Correcting the Arabic Language Mistakes in Civil Status Documents*”<sup>93</sup>. It emphasises the increasing number of grammar and language errors that have exhausted a lot of citizens and led them to courts in order to rectify them. In this regard, the Supreme Council of the Arabic language was the body that took the initiative to fix the problem as it introduced a typical software taking into consideration all possible linguistic mistakes. According to this news report, this artificial intelligence enables the automatic correction of mistakes even if the civil servants working in town halls were ignorant of the Arabic grammar. This was a crucial step taken by this Algerian advisory body since an error like that can accompany those documents’ owners throughout their social and professional lives. Significantly, the aforementioned video sheds light on the great efforts that the Algerian government has made in order to support the use of Arabic and to make official documents free from any mistakes.

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<sup>89</sup> <http://www.essarihonline.com/> / صوت-الشرق/أخطاء-بالجملة-في-عملية-تعريب-أسماء-أ-

<sup>90</sup> The Original headline reads as follows: "أخطاء بالجملة في عملية تعريب أسماء المواطنين"

<sup>91</sup> An essential advisory body to the president of Algeria which is responsible for the use of the Arabic language.

<sup>92</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CxoegmmiUxY>

<sup>93</sup> The Original title reads as follows: "رقمنة: برنامج رقمي يعمل على تصحيح أخطاء اللغة العربية في وثائق الحالة المدنية"

Similarly, on May 06<sup>th</sup>, 2009, an article<sup>94</sup> entitled “*The Algerian judiciary adopts the Arabic language after many years of interactions in French*”<sup>95</sup> appeared on one of the most prominent Arabic websites that is spreading awareness in diverse legal, educational, social and cultural aspects. As said above, this piece of writing states that the first official body being arabised after independence was judiciary. That is, it clarifies that MSA has replaced French in Algeria’s judicial system after long years of absence. Then, this Arabic form has been considered as the main language to be used during defence speeches, legal discourses as well as in contracts and all documents related to the court. Besides, it explains that the Algerian legal sector has reached the last stage of its entire Arabisation by rejecting any document or contract written in French. This is regarded as an implementation of amended laws within this country’s code of civil procedure. Accordingly, these regulations require lawmen, litigants and lawyers to utilise only Arabic; no other language would be accepted. This article demonstrates that in this particular sector, most people in charge excluded that those amendments, which were approved by the members of parliament in 2008, would lead to fundamental problems even though they faced some barriers that were posed by some individuals supporting the use of French, i.e. the Francophones. In fact, they were optimistic about this Arabisation process because it has been given a period of one year before its implementation for the purpose of being able to tackle and avoid any complications that might arise from this general use of MSA in the Algerian judiciary. Thus, this particular law depending on this language use has been successfully put into effect on April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Indeed, this might be seen as a significant step towards the Arabisation of the entire Algerian administrative structure. On the day that this regulation was officially enforced, an article appeared on the pages of the Algerian newspaper *Echorouk*<sup>96</sup> with the headline “*the Arabisation of Documents has led to a crisis in Courts and Judicial Councils*”<sup>97</sup> (Belhadj et al. 2009). Importantly, it reveals that the demand for only the documents that are transcribed in MSA in courtrooms may lead to diverse problems when it sets back and even spoils a number of judicial affairs due to the fact that various litigants own essential official papers in French that are to be rejected. Certainly, those issues

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<sup>94</sup> <https://www.lahaonline.com/articles/view/16142.htm>

<sup>95</sup> The original headline reads as follows: "القضاء الجزائري يعتمد اللغة العربية بعد سنين من المعاملات بالفرنسية"

<sup>96</sup> <https://www.djazairss.com/echorouk/35671>

<sup>97</sup> The original headline reads as follows: "تعريب الوثائق يحدث طوارئ في المحاكم والمجالس القضائية"

may emerge since, unlike courts, many other administrations and sectors are still interacting in this particular foreign language. Translating those documents may take both time and money, i.e. one may spend a lot of time and money rendering official French texts into Arabic. And this may be impossible without the help of a certified translator who is able to provide a compatible copy in MSA. The problem is that each of the translated documents costs more than 1000 Algerian Dinar which may be considered as a burden for citizens especially the poor ones. Hence, this article tends to prove that the implementation of this complete Arabisation rule is disadvantageous for the Algerian judiciary in general and litigants in particular.

A crucial thing to remember is that, on January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1991, the Algerian People's National Assembly has issued Law No. 91-05<sup>98</sup> containing a number of 41 articles which are stipulating the general use of MSA in Algerian administrations and institutions. In this sense, it illustrates that anyone is to be penalised in case he does not abide by those regulations. Some of the articles constituting this law are mentioned as follows:

**Article 3:** All institutions must work to develop the Arabic language, to ensure its security and its good use as well. It is forbidden to write the Arabic language without using its own characters.

**Article 4:** All public departments, bodies, institutions, and associations of all kinds are required to use only Arabic in all its tasks of communication, as well as administrative, financial, technical and artistic management

**Article 5:** All official documents, reports and the minutes of public administrations, bodies, institutions and associations are to be written in Arabic. The use of any foreign language in discussions and deliberations is prohibited during official meetings.

**Article 6:** Contracts must only be written in Arabic, it is prohibited to record and promote them if they are not in the Arabic language.

**Article 7:** Arabic is to be used when writing petitions and consultations, and when entering pleas in front of judicial authorities. Judgements and court decisions of the

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<sup>98</sup> <https://algeria-watch.org/?p=55421>



Constitutional Council and the Court of Audit, and their decisions are issued in the Arabic language.

**Article 8:** Contests and exams for admission to all positions in administrations and institutions must be held in MSA.

**Article 10:** Official seals, stamps and distinctive signs of authorities, public administrations and institutions of any nature are to be in MSA only.

It is noteworthy that the aforementioned articles emphasise the compulsory use of MSA in all Algerian administrations, organisations and institutions being this country's official and national language. In fact, it is a way to completely replace French, which was imposed during the colonial era, in professional contexts and official services as well. This explicates that the Algerian authorities had every intention of spreading MSA across the country and encouraging citizens including civil servants and managers working in different administrations and organisations to use it since, in diverse official contexts, they may find themselves obliged to interact using this particular language. That is, in the arabised institutions, Algerians may sometimes have no alternative but to read official documents and to fill out administrative forms only in Arabic characters. What is more, through those articles, the authorities shed light on the great importance they have given to MSA by stating that the individuals who intend to take part in contests which allow them to assume different positions in public administrations and institutions are required to master this particular form of Arabic.

In an article<sup>99</sup> tackling the underbelly of the Arabisation process in Algeria that was published in *Echorouk* news website, it was admitted that the aforementioned law was planned to be legally imposed on all departments and administrations on July 05<sup>th</sup>, 1992, i.e. during the period of the former president *Boudiaf*. However, it was not accepted by many authorities who believed that this would paralyse the country and result in the exclusion of a number of senior leaders and executives in the government. Thus, they proposed its suspension and this is what really happened. Yet, at that time, this law remained as a dead letter. But with the coming of the other

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<sup>99</sup> <https://www.echoroukonline.com/حجّار-بيروي-خبيايا-التعريب-بالجزائر/>

president *Zéroual*, this suspension was cancelled and the ordinance related to the general use of Arabic has been put into effect (Hadhami 2018).

This law contains a third chapter which includes an article amended in 1996 emphasising the establishment of the Supreme Council of the Arabic Language. It is the body which is responsible for checking the implementation of the laws related to the compulsory appearance of MSA. Besides, it works on supporting and developing this language use. That is, it has led to the foundation of a national centre which has to do with the creation of dictionaries and glossaries so as to make the Algerian citizens familiar with the administrative terminology in MSA, including civil servants and officers working in diverse administrations and institutions. The Supreme Council of the Arabic Language has also to do with the translation of official documents whenever needed. Then, in the law referred to above, there is a fourth chapter clarifying that penalties are to be imposed on people who disrespect and violate the content of those articles. It even demonstrates that the official documents that are transcribed in languages other than Arabic are to be declared void.

Though those regulations were strictly issued, they were not taken into consideration by many Algerian administrations and institutions that kept using French while corresponding with the others in official contexts. This is asserted by *Saâdi*<sup>100</sup> in an article<sup>101</sup> published on the pages of an online newspaper named *Alittihad* on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2006. In this piece of writing, this scholar acknowledged the main reason behind the retrogression of the use of Arabic in Algeria when he claimed that what impeded this country from getting back its linguistic supremacy is the Francophone Lobby. In this sense, he explained that, even though Algeria gained its independence, this group of people has plotted its dependency on France and its language. Yet, this article demonstrates that Saâdi's intention was to raise awareness of the necessity to support Arabic which he considered to be marginalised when it comes to administrations and other fields. From his vantage point, this marginalisation is due to the predominant use of French. But, what is worth mentioning is that he was optimistic about the future of this tongue since, in Algerian

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<sup>100</sup> Othman Saâdi is considered as one of the most influential defenders of Arabic. He has established an association to defend this language in Algeria.

<sup>101</sup> <https://www.alittihad.ae/article/45470/2006/>- استعادة-الجزائر-العميل-يعيق-سيادتها-اللغوية

schools, millions of young people have been studying in Arabic. Hence, he considered that this particular language would have a better chance of gaining its place in its own home.

In another article<sup>102</sup> displayed on the pages of the Algerian newspaper *Echorouk*, the previous Minister for Relations with Parliament *Eddalia* spoke on behalf of the former Prime Minister *Sellal* and claimed that the government was striving to implement the aforementioned law referring to the general use of Arabic in every single administration and public institution (Bahlouli 2016). In this sense, she pointed to the giant leap that has been made as reports show that all official documents have been issued in MSA in addition to the trainings that have been held in this particular language. She even discussed the procedures followed by the authorities to give it back its superiority as they have been creating dictionaries and translating interesting scientific books into Arabic. Moreover, *Sellal* was criticised for the regular appearance of French in Algerian ministers' speeches. Yet, he answered by stating that all of them have received instructions for the obligatory use of MSA (ibid.). Furthermore, on July 19<sup>th</sup>, 2017, an article demonstrating the Algerians' insistence on the compulsory use of Arabic in administrations and official documents occurred on the pages of an influential news website called *Elaph Morocco*<sup>103</sup>. Its headline reads "*The law requires the use of the national language in all official documents. There are claims to implementing the arabisation of Algerian administrations and divorcing French*"<sup>104</sup> (Laïd 2017). In fact, this written part has shed light on the continuous domination of the French language in diverse important sectors despite the fact that Algeria gained its independence in 1962. It also reminds one of the regulations issued in 1991 that have to do with the imposition of the use of MSA in all Algerian administrations in addition to the constitutional laws pointing to both MSA and Berber being considered as this nation's official and national languages. Yet, it clarifies that all those ordinances have been considered as a dead letter since the use of Arabic is limited to few sectors such as the police, the army, judiciary and the local administration to some extent. Besides, it illustrates the way the Minister of Post, Telecommunications, Technologies and Digitalization insisted

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<sup>102</sup> <https://www.echoroukonline.com/اللغة-العربية-إجبارية-في-الوزارات-وال>

<sup>103</sup> <https://elaphmorocco.com/Web/news/2017/07/11940.html>

<sup>104</sup> The original title reads as follows: "القانون يلزم استعمال اللغة الوطنية في جميع الوثائق الرسمية. مطالبات بتطبيق تعريب الإدارات الجزائرية وتطبيق الفرنسية"

on the removal of the French language from all the documents issued by this specific company in an official meeting that she chaired on June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017 even though she referred to this process earlier without being implemented. More importantly, this piece of writing exhibits a campaign that has been circulating on social media with the title which reads “*No to French on Official Documents*”. This was run by a number of Algerians so as to support the decision of Arabisation that had been taken earlier by the ministry of posts and telecommunications and *Sonelgaz*<sup>105</sup> company as well. Certainly, this campaign is considered to put pressure on those in power as it spotlights their keen desire to utilise MSA instead of French in the various official and administrative contexts.

By the same token, on July 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017, an article<sup>106</sup> entitled “*the Arabisation of Official Documents in Algeria is a Political Will or a Show!*”<sup>107</sup> appeared on the pages of the Algerian news website *Al Masdar dz*. In fact, it points to the decision taken in terms of the official use of MSA in post office departments as a replacement for French. It even demonstrates that this step has whetted the appetite of other companies and institutions since *Sonelgaz*, for instance, has followed the same path by making an announcement about the appearance of the first bill in Arabic (Nadia 2017). Hence, this is considered as a procedure which helps to restore the value of Arabic within the Algerian administration that itself would be able to break free from French dependency. There is also another news website called *Sasa Post* that has published an article related to language use in Algerian administrations and institutions with a headline which reads “*After the Decision of the Ministry of Post ... will the French Language Disappear from Algerian Official Documents?*”. This particular text refers to the influential role that two citizens living in *Aïn M'lila*<sup>108</sup> played in the Arabisation of the aforementioned Algerian power company when they complained about the losses and the damages they incurred and asked for compensations. Thus, after a long judicial struggle, those individuals succeeded in compelling *Sonelgaz* to print and issue invoices in Arabic. That is, this company’s managing director proclaimed that the issuance of gas and electricity bills would be in both MSA and French in order to reach a large number of customers who were not

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<sup>105</sup> Sonelgaz is an important Algerian power company.

<sup>106</sup> <https://almasdar-dz.com/?p=19935>

<sup>107</sup> The original title reads as follows: “تعريب الوثائق الرسمية في الجزائر إرادة سياسية أم حركة إستعراضية!”

<sup>108</sup> Aïn M'lila is an eastern town located in the Algerian city named Oum El Bouaghi.

able to understand and master French. In this case, it is worth noting that the language which was left by the coloniser has not disappeared entirely from those official papers; however, it has occurred side by side with MSA.

In short, all those laws issued by the Algerian government after independence and the articles that were displayed on the diverse newspapers and news websites which were mentioned above allude to the giant leap made by the authorities to give back Arabic its high status and prestige in its own home. In particular, they exhibited their desire to spread this language and to depend on it in all corners of the country. What is also important is that all those laws and articles have made reference to the exclusion of French from administrations and official contexts as well.

#### **5.4. The City Policy**

Linguistic landscape analyses shed light on plain language policies related to linguistic configurations and decisions about language use on diverse signs appearing in a certain region. In this context, Algeria's authorities have adopted a clear-cut Arabisation policy, *vide supra*, implying that the Arabic language must be given much importance. Indeed, they argue that this code must be publicly used in diverse fields such as administrations and education, for instance. Yet, Oran is an Algerian city that adheres to the same regulations and the language policy implemented in this country. Accordingly, Spolsky (2009:65) asserted that the laws and decrees that are reflecting language policies and those coming from people in power play a significant role in manipulating and moulding the "*public linguistic space*" deliberately. This means that the predominance and prevalence of a certain language in a visible space is due to its recognition by the policy makers. Interestingly, the Algerian Ministry of Commerce issued a decree imposing the use of MSA on shop/business owners' and restaurant proprietors' signs. On August 27<sup>th</sup>, 2019, the local authorities made a declaration announcing that these individuals had to primarily use MSA on their shop-fronts and signboards in addition to another optional language for those who want to do it (see appendix D). In fact, this news has appeared on the front pages of some influential Algerian daily newspapers like Al Seyassi<sup>109</sup> and El Bilad<sup>110</sup> that published two articles entitled "*In Case the Signs are not written in Arabic, Thousands of*

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<sup>109</sup> <http://www.alseyassi-dz.com/ara/sejut.php?ID=109238>

<sup>110</sup> <http://m.elbilad.net/article/detail?id=99391>

*Merchants will Face the Penalty of Closing their Shops*<sup>111</sup>” (Ayoub 2019) and “*The Ministry of Commerce Forces Shop Owners to Change their Banners into Arabic*<sup>112</sup>” (Boubaadja 2019), respectively. Yet, these two texts clarify that the ministry has directed notifications to all the merchants in the different Algerian cities without exception, including Oran. Indeed, they assert that MSA must be present on every single shop sign. This was mentioned as a new ministerial instruction directed by the authorities for the purpose of shaping the LL. Accordingly, the trade directorate of Oran city has issued a notice elucidating that they are required to change the writings occurring on their signboards to MSA as well as another possible optional code in case they are in need of its use. In this sense, by reading this legal text, one may comprehend that the local authorities imply that merchants in Oran city are ordered to use either MSA monolingual signboards and banners or bilingual ones emphasising MSA and another optional code as well. Indeed, the violators who do not respect these regulations within a maximum period of 7 days would face a severe sanction which is the closure of their stores and restaurants. In this specific context of Oran, these regulations have been issued in order for shop owners to abide by the usage of MSA on their signboards. Hence, it is worth mentioning that the local authorities have not intended to exclude the appearance of some foreign tongues such as Berber, French, English and Spanish from Oran’s linguistic landscape; however, they aimed to spotlight the visibility of MSA which is recognised by the Algerian officials and mentioned in the Algerian constitution as an official and national language. Thus, as far as this urban space is concerned, what every shop/business owner and restaurant proprietor is required to do is to focus on MSA as the first language when displaying any lettering on his signboard and then, optionally, add any other tongue he intends to refer to. In this respect, this city’s LL will be essentially based on the Arabic language which may mirror this nation’s Arabo-Islamic identity. Yet, the local authorities found that the visibility of this particular language would be the best way to transmit language ideologies. But they also allows the presence of other tongues alongside MSA, viz. French which is considered as the first foreign language that most of educated Algerians tend to use, English that is a global language and Spanish which is viewed as part of Oran’s history and identity. The local officials also paved the way

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<sup>111</sup> " في حالة عدم كتابة اللافتات باللغة العربية آلاف التجار يواجهون: " The original title reads as follows:

عقوبة غلق محلاتهم!"

<sup>112</sup> " وزارة التجارة تجبر أصحاب المحلات على تغيير اللافتات إلى اللغة العربية." The original text reads as follows:

for the appearance of other tongues such as Turkish, Italian and Chinese that were found on the façades of various shops and restaurants, for example. Therefore, this particular linguistic configuration elucidates that despite the fact that Oran is part of this globalised world, it essentially belongs to an Arab nation, i.e. Algeria. Yet, what is meant by setting these regulations which are related to language use in the public space is the construction of an Arabic-based linguistic landscape. But in reality, by standing at the point where LPP and LL meet, the visible signs may either be in accordance with or withstanding the language policy implemented by the local authorities. In the same vein, this regulation may probably lead to conflicts and tensions between the Berber-speaking community and people in power who focused only on the use of MSA notwithstanding that Berber has also a high status being an official and national language of Algeria, too. In fact, this speech community may see this act as non-recognition of their tongue. This may be clarified by Shohamy (2006: 110) who affirmed that *“the presence (or absence) of specific language items, displayed in specific languages, in a specific manner, sends direct and indirect messages with regard to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society”*.

### **5.5. Individual Practices**

The public space has become an arena where top-down and bottom-up signs appear side by side. In fact, they may either be compatible or incompatible in terms of the languages they display. Put simply, one may find texts in either similar or divergent codes on those diverse kinds of signs that are issued by different actors and sign designers. This part of the study refers to the way in which various languages appear on public and private signs in both Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. The former points to the language imposed by the local authorities which is MSA as mentioned above, whereas the latter refers to the various shop owners' personal linguistic choices and preferences in the aforementioned areas. In a similar vein, Lanza and Woldermariam (2009: 190) aver that *“the impact of policies can be examined in light of language practices since language users may enforce or revolt against official national or regional policy in their public displays”*. What is meant by these two authors is that one may be acquainted with the effect of a language policy which is implemented or a particular regulation that is set in a certain public sphere by enquiring the individual practices, i.e. the way languages are used by

different individuals who may either abide by or resist and oppose some decrees and policies. Spolsky (2004: 222) believes that “*the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in management*”. In this sense, the individual practices and the languages that may be visible on different signs are essentially crucial as they mirror the language policy put into effect. This latter may also influence the way in which diverse shop owners and restaurant proprietors take an active part in moulding the linguistic landscape of a certain region and transmitting some language ideologies. In addition, according to Dal Negro (2009: 206), LL is regarded as a useful tool through which the language policy applied in a given site may be manifested. Hence, the way some languages appear in a public space may provide insight into the laws and decrees regulating the linguistic scenery.

In this particular context, though Modern Standard Arabic was chosen to be the official and national language of Algeria and despite the fact that the local authorities decreed that it must be displayed on every single sign and banner, many shop owners leaned towards using other different languages instead of MSA. That is, in addition to the cases emphasising MSA, the linguistic landscapes of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district illustrate the visibility of a variety of languages such as AA, Berber, French, English, Spanish, Italian and Turkish.

As far as Oran city centre is concerned, 38 out of 40 top-down signs have included letterings in MSA. That is, this official language is highly visible on public signage. As expected, the intensive use of this tongue on governmental signs avers that the authorities have every intention of promoting and imposing the use of MSA in this public sphere. However, among 180 private signboards and banners, only 58 ones (rating 32.22%) have display this particular code. Yet, it was excluded from a high number of monolingual, bilingual and even multilingual signs, i.e. 122 shop/business owners did not include it on their shop-fronts. For the purpose of attracting diverse customers and passers-by, shop/business owners focused on other languages such as AA, Berber, French, English and Spanish, Italian and Turkish instead. The reason lying behind these choices is the fact that downtown Oran is a a crowded and commercial area where there are plenty of malls, shops, restaurants and institutions that may attract a large number of people with different origins and speaking different languages. Hence, owing to the fact that the local officials are aware of the nature of this urban area consisting of a diversity in terms of people’s linguistic and cultural



backgrounds, they permitted the visibility of a variety of languages, but only on condition that they would appear side by side with MSA on every single signboard. Concerning top-down signage, only 2 of them (rating 5%) are French monolingual ones which represent a very small number whereas the remaining 12 others with a rating of 30% exhibit letterings in Arabic. Yet, the French language has also occurred on bilingual and multilingual governmental signs focusing mainly on MSA being in the foreground. Interestingly enough, by looking at this type of sign, one may notice that the local authorities are trying to promote monolingual signs based on MSA and bilingual ones displaying both MSA and French. Taking into consideration bottom-up signboards, 122 shop owners with a rate of 67.77% utilised other tongues without making reference to MSA. It is worth mentioning that this considerable number of individuals has violated the law emphasising the use of other languages instead of Arabic. But the problem is that none of these stores and restaurants has been closed. Those shop/business owners are working normally despite infringing the regulations issued by the local officials. Thus, this may pave the way for other individuals to imitate them by displaying different codes like AA, Berber, French, English and Spanish, for instance, and excluding MSA from their façades. Unlike public signs in downtown Oran that show conformity with the declaration made by the authorities, private ones manifest merchants' resistance to and non-compliance with those governmental and municipal commandments. This also demonstrate competition between diverse foreign languages, namely French, English, Spanish, Italian, Turkish as well as other local tongues like AA and Berber. This is what is referred to by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 29) as "*competing for visibility*". Interestingly enough, after being interviewed, some shop owners asserted that they have been visited by some trade directorate's officers who disseminated the information related to the compulsory presence of MSA in the visual space of Oran; however, 67.77% of them, as mentioned above, neglected this decree without paying any penalty. Yet, while receiving the declaration from the trade directorate, the trade director asserted that the officials would never go back on their decision and that they set out to penalise everyone breaking the law. For them, it is a matter of time.

More importantly, despite the fact that Berber is recognised by the Algerian government being present in the Algerian constitution as an official and national language, it has not been given importance in Oran city centre's public space. It has

occurred only on two multilingual signs; one of them is an official signboard showing it side by side with MSA and French, and the other one is a non-official one exhibiting this tongue with both AA and French in parallel. This tongue has never been seen on a monolingual banner such as those emphasising MSA, for instance, whose status is similar or just like any other foreign tongue being utilised alone. The absence of this particular language from this visible space may underestimate its value as well as the Berber-speaking community who might feel unfamiliar to and even excluded from this place. Per contra, the presence of Berber may make this group of people full of self-confidence. Besides, this makes them feel integrated within this site and demonstrates that their language is taken into consideration across Algeria. In short, using the Berber language on signboards and banners elucidates the fact that this community is an integral part of Algeria. It may even unify Algerians and enable officials to avoid conflicts with citizens just like what happened during the Berber Spring. On the whole, by virtue of being a commercial area having the quality of attracting a diversity of people with different backgrounds in this era of globalisation, downtown Oran is characterised by multilingualism and eclecticism in terms of the languages its LL consists of. Hence, the phenomenon of multilingualism appears in this public sphere because of globalisation and the influential number of colonial, political, economic and cultural factors affecting this particular region.

As far as *Sidi El Houari* is concerned, all the 20 top-down signs photographed exhibit the use of MSA. Five of them were monolingual whereas the remaining ones were MSA-French bilingual signs. Hence, this instance reflects the Arabisation policy implemented by the authorities and indicates their intention to impose the use of MSA in this region's visible space. Then, in this working-class area, a number of 27 out of 60 private signs with a rate of 45% display MSA. Yet, 19 of them were MSA-French bilingual signs while only 8 others were MSA monolingual ones. The other 33 shop owners and restaurant proprietors emphasised the use of other tongues, namely French, English and Spanish. Despite the fact that, Algeria's official and national language occurs on every single public signage, it is less visible on non-official signboards. This indicates its competition with the foreign languages mentioned above. What should be noted is that, notwithstanding the appearance of some languages like English and Spanish, *Sidi El Houari's* public space is considered as an arena where French appears to be the most widespread language that is competing

with MSA. Importantly, this foreign tongue is commonly used there by a large number of people because of the French colonial legacy.

The way some given signs and banners appear in the public sphere of downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* is non-random. That is, neither top-down nor bottom-up signs are designed arbitrarily by the authorities and different shop/business owners, respectively. In addition to transmitting important pieces of information to customers and passers-by, they serve as instruments having symbolic functions. Various languages competing with each other are represented differently by diverse individuals. Each of the utilised codes has a specific weight in this region. Taking into account bottom-up signage, French is predominantly employed in *Sidi El Houari*'s public space as it represents more than twice the number of the signs transcribed in MSA. This exhibits the great importance this foreign language has in this area being considered as an effective tool to attract people's attentions even without having an official status in Algeria. After that, French and MSA have been followed by English, the global language that makes crucial contributions in tourism. It has been utilised by only few individuals due to the fact that this site is not a commercial or touristic one but a popular district which is not the destination of a lot of people including tourists. Besides, Spanish is symbolically employed on few banners since it is considered as part of this locus that witnessed the presence of the Spanish people and by virtue of the high status it has in the world being spoken by a large number of people. It is also crucial to note that, like in the city centre where Berber appeared on only one multilingual signboard, it is entirely absent from *Sidi El Houari*'s linguistic landscape. No text has appeared in this particular language on signs, be they public or private ones. This may have a negative impact on the Berber speech community living in or visiting this specific district. It manifests the non-recognition of not only this tongue but also the Berber identity by the Algerian government in general and the local authorities in particular. All in all, the LL of *Sidi El Houari* is characterised by multilingualism based on a variety of languages, namely MSA, French English and Spanish. In this area, French is predominantly used on signboards in comparison with MSA and the other codes. It has occurred on a number of 61 signs whereas MSA has been found on only 47 ones. Yet, without being officially recognised, French is thought by merchants and shop owners to be the most effective code to be utilised on their façades for the purpose of transmitting interesting pieces of information about

their stores and restaurants. Thus, it is considered as the most efficient instrument to attract diverse customers and passers-by being followed by MSA which has an official status. This latter is mainly emphasised in administration, education and politics. Yet, from a practical point of view, one may notice that the LL of *Sidi El Houari* does not comply with the decree issued by the local authorities imposing the appearance of MSA on every single sign in addition to another optional language. Hence, this specifically applies to bottom-up signage; however, top-down ones conform to those regulations. Furthermore, in comparison with Oran city centre which exhibits more languages and varieties, the LL of *Sidi El Houari* attests that some languages like CA, AA, Berber, Turkish and Italian have entirely been absent from this visual space.

## 5.6. Recommendations

This specific part provides recommendations and suggestions in terms of some linguistic inequalities and some interconnected policy gaps related to language use in the public space of Oran. In fact, they will be referred to for the purpose of having a coherent and cohesive LL that reflects the Algerian cultural identity and that makes it easier for diverse customers and passers-by to comprehend the letterings appearing on the different shop-fronts and banners that are found in Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district. Though they do not come from people in power or decision makers, these suggestions may help a lot to avoid conflicts between different Algerian speech communities and the government.

- The local authorities should fine the merchants who are breaking the law by not mentioning MSA at first place within a limited period of time, i.e. the application of stringent laws is required. It is to make people stick to their Arabo-Islamic identity and to make tourists aware of the Algerian culture.
- The local authorities should not restrict shop owners to the use of only one optional language in addition to MSA. Giving them freedom to choose whatever languages they want, even more than one, may give passers-by more opportunities to understand the messages appearing on signs.
- MSA should appear on some public traffic signs that were photographed in Oran city centre displaying letterings only in French.

- Officials should impose the use of Berber since it is recognized as the official and national language of Algeria in parallel with MSA for the purpose of avoiding conflicts and tensions with the Berber-speaking community who may feel excluded.
- The appearance of signboards and banners should be given much importance by imposing attractive and interesting colours that match with the texts explaining the types of products that are sold if possible. It is because colours play an important role in transmitting messages.
- Images and logos should be used on shop-fronts and signboards. People, for example, get used to the pharmacy logo which consists of a crescent and a snake wrapping around a glass. Then, most of people do not need to read the word “Pharmacie” or "صيدلية" meaning pharmacy but it is enough for them to see this logo appearing in a dominating green colour with the snake’s drawing appearing in red. Public toilets may also be considered as another instance illustrating the aforementioned idea. By standing in front of them and looking at the drawing of a man and a woman wearing a dress, any individual can easily be aware of the special men’s and women’s entrance even if they are illiterate.
- Shop/restaurant owners should utilise digital signs. In this era of globalisation, these types of signboards may easily draw people’s attentions.
- Sign makers and designers should use coherent texts that are written in an easy and clear language, and avoid complicated terms so as to make it easier for anyone to understand the various messages they provide.
- The usage of AA should not be tolerated instead of MSA since it is considered as a spoken language.
- The use of English should be emphasised and promoted due to the fact that it is the most widespread language in the world being associated with modernisation and technology.
- The authorities should promote the use of other foreign languages in old and popular districts like *Sidi El Houari* since times have changed and, like the city centre, this specific area represents strongly Oran, i.e. it is considered as an integral part of this Algerian city.

### 5.7. Further Development and Future Directions

LL study is considered as a sociolinguistics subfield that is in the process of enhancement. It is characterised by interdisciplinarity. In fact, it intertwines with different other areas of expertise such as education, identity, politics and economics, for instance. A public space is considered as an arena where people in power may manipulate and have an impact on people's linguistic beliefs and behaviours by imposing some policies and introducing some decrees. It is also a place where people can show their linguistic preferences by accepting or resisting some ideologies through the use of some languages on their signs. Describing the linguistic situation of a commercial area such as downtown Oran and a popular district like *Sidi El Houari* enables the local authorities to be aware of the languages that citizens in general and customers in particular prefer. Yet, this demonstrates the way different people have experienced and negotiated the policy implemented by the state and the regulations issued by the local officials. It is because the languages appearing on the different signs are utilised for the purpose of attracting passers-by. In this respect, the way in which this study revealed the multilingual nature of Oran may make the authorities call the policy implemented and the decrees introduced into question. Hence, the description of those public spheres may pave the way for the development of a new language policy that fulfils the needs of the largest number of citizens possible in those two sites. This also helps people understand the texts surrounding them and makes of Oran a metropolis that attracts diverse people and tourists with different backgrounds. This may also lead to the commercial prosperity and economic development of this city.

With the spread of English as an international language in this globalised world that Algeria belongs to, an extensive LL investigation can be conducted to measure its use in the public space of Oran and to look for ways that promote its appearance so as to make this city more modern and up-to-date. Moreover, this type of research can help the local authorities to be acquainted with the main reasons behind the absence of Berber from the particular scenery of this region. This may allow them to consider this tongue in order to show recognition to the Berber-speaking community and to help the creation of a strong, unified and coherent nation.

In this particular city, the spread of some foreign languages such as French, English and Spanish, for instance, may be viewed as a beneficial factor helping in increasing peoples' level in terms of learning foreign languages. However, sociolinguists and scholars had better conduct studies concerning the spelling mistakes occurring on private signboards, hoardings and banners. This permits the authorities to be aware of those errors and then to address the concerned shop/business owners in order to correct them. This may be considered as a fruitful contribution in the development of the Algerian educational sector in general and Oran's one in particular.

### **5.8. Conclusion**

Linguistic landscape analysis investigates the languages that are found in a certain public sphere. It correlates strongly with Language Policy and Planning Studies. Yet, the present chapter is considered as a momentous part providing insight into the linguistic visual representations in downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* district with regard to LP. To be more precise, this part of the study discussed the national language policy implemented in Algeria as well as the local policy related to Oran's public space. Yet, it brought to light the governmental decree that took effect on August 27<sup>th</sup>, 2019 ordering all the merchants and business/restaurant owners in this city to use MSA on their signboards and façades in addition to another optional language in case they intend to do it. But the problem was that the individuals violating this regulation were not penalised or punished at all. That is, this law's effects have not been felt in the field as it was not taken into consideration by a number of people showing signs of neglect while using other different tongues instead of MSA. Hence, this part sheds light on the individual practices, i.e. the languages used on the various private signs and banners constituting the linguistic landscape of both Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district, namely MSA, AA, French, English, Spanish, Italian and Turkish. This reflects the multilingual, multiracial and multicultural nature of Oran in general and those two sites in particular. This is due to colonial reasons, globalisation and modernisation too. Indeed, in this study, individual practices reveal a certain incompatibility between the languages appearing on private shop-fronts and the national language policy of Arabisation or even the local one. In other words, this study mirrors the major mismatch between the policy carried out in the city of Oran in terms of language visibility in the public space and individual

practices in view of the fact that the policy that was initiated leans towards introducing more monolingual and bilingual signs based on the use of MSA. Besides, this chapter provides some recommendations that may help to have a coherent and cohesive LL reflecting the Algerian cultural identity and making it easier for diverse customers and passers-by to comprehend the various texts appearing on different signs and shop-fronts. In sum, it should be noted that this interesting part attempts to orientate one towards possible future research and directions related to LPP and LL studies so as to contribute to the development of these interrelated fields within this globalised world where people originating from divergent backgrounds can meet easily.



# **GENERAL CONCLUSION**

## General Conclusion

The present thesis is a sociolinguistic research work focusing on a popular Algerian city named Oran which is known for its cultural, commercial, touristic and industrial significance in the northern part of Africa. In fact, it attempted to investigate language use in the public sphere of two sites located in this metropolis, namely *Sidi El Houari* district which is considered as a working-class area and downtown Oran which is a commercial region where all types of products are sold. In this sense, this study gives insight into the diverse languages and varieties constituting these two linguistic landscapes in an era of globalisation. Thus, so as to enquire whether the languages appearing on the signs located in those two sites are similar or different and to explore whether the signboards and banners designed by the authorities and those issued by shop/business owners are consistent or inconsistent, a mixed method based on both qualitative and quantitative approaches has been adopted. Yet, these approaches are focused on for the purpose of acquiring trustworthy figures and pieces of information related to language visibility and people's attitudes towards language use in those visible spaces. Then, a thorough analysis and interpretation of those collected data facilitated reaching answers to the research questions mentioned earlier. Accordingly, a number of signs showing a variety of languages have been photographed using a digital camera. Indeed, this has been done for the purpose of being acquainted with the diverse codes that are present and the ones that are absent from the two linguistic landscapes under investigation. What should be noted here is that initial observation was emphasised during photography in order to acquire additional data helping the analysis of those pictures and making this study more valuable. The other tool being spotlighted was the interview. A total number of 120 individuals were interviewed including shop owners and customers so as to be aware of the languages they can use and their attitudes towards the tongues occurring on the different signs, be they top-down or bottom-up ones. In this regard, 60 interviewees have been encountered in downtown Oran while 60 other individuals have been met in *Sidi El Houari*. For

similar reasons, semi-structured questionnaires were administered to 30 shop-owners in the first place and 30 others in the second one.

Concerning comparison between those two sites' LLs, the findings of this investigation revealed that Oran city centre is a commercial area displaying a rich variety of languages, viz. MSA, CA, AA, Berber, French, English, Italian, Spanish and Turkish owing to the fact that plenty of Algerians coming from different other cities as well as other people with different competencies and origins including tourists, businessmen and overseas students can be encountered there. Yet, there are people of different ages, genders, origins, cultures and intellectual levels. Each of them is able to understand some particular languages instead of others. *Sidi El Houari*, on the other hand, is an old and working-class area that does not mirror all those languages since it is not deemed as the destination of a large number of people with diverse origins. Typically, this district's LL is limited to MSA which is given an exceptional prestige due to the official status it has as well as its close connection with the Holy Qur'an, French which is considered as the first foreign language that is spread due to colonial reason, most of educated Algerians tend also to use it for prestige, English which is the global and the most widespread tongue around the world, and Spanish which is part of this site's history as it witnessed the existence of the Spanish coloniser in the past. In this respect, the results that have been reached during this research supports the hypothesis that was earlier developed, suggesting that the public spaces of downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* are characterised by multilingualism; however, they differ in terms of the number of the visible languages. That is, the first LL comprises more languages in comparison with the second one. For instance, CA, AA, Berber, Italian and Turkish have been seen neither on public nor on private signs in *Sidi El Houari*. All in all, Oran's public sphere exhibits the coexistence of a large number of languages and varieties. Hence, this reflects the linguistic and cultural diversity of this city's public space in addition to the varying population constituting it including permanent inhabitants and even visitors or tourists. In the city centre, those languages appeared for some reasons and have some specific roles. In this regard, AA is the mother tongue that may be comprehended by the majority of Algerians. It is utilised in everyday informal conversations. Besides, Berber is recognised as a second official and national tongue though it is nearly absent from Oran's public space since this region is not a Berber-speaking community. Yet, this particular LL does not mirror the high status

that Berber has been given by the Algerian officials at the national level. Other languages like Turkish and Italian occurred there even without having any official status since the world has shrunk due to globalisation, commercial relationships and advancement in terms of the means of communication and telecommunication. Hence, the presence of those foreign languages in general and English, the international tongue, in particular reveals the great impact that globalisation has when it comes to the spread of some codes in a particular LL.

This work also brings to light the language policy implemented in Algeria. That is, it discusses the Arabisation policy applied by the authorities stating that MSA must be publicly used in diverse fields such as education, politics and administrations, for instance. It also exposes the decree that appeared on August 27<sup>th</sup>, 2019 in which local officials ordered every single merchant and business/restaurant proprietor in Oran to use MSA on their façades and signs in addition to another optional language. What is noteworthy to mention is that, in reality, this regulation is not taken into consideration by a considerable number of individuals who gave priority to other tongues such as French, English, Spanish and so on while neglecting the use of MSA on their signboards. But surprisingly, those violators are not penalised; they are even working normally despite infringing the law. In fact, it is crystal clear that, through the issuance of this particular law, the authorities tried to show this city's cultural identity asserting that it belongs to the Arab world, i.e. there is an attempt to refer to the Arabo-Islamic identity of Algeria in general and Oran in particular and to unify this nation under one language which is MSA in this era of globalisation and technological advances which is characterised by the predominance of English being an international language. More importantly, the findings that were reached in this study elucidate that there is discordance between the languages used on top-down signs and those appearing on bottom-up items. In other words, the LLs of the two sites under investigation unveiled an inconsistency between the language policy or the regulations that are fostering the use of MSA and the individual practices lying in the different languages that shop/business owners preferred using so as to represent their stores and to attract divergent clients. Hence, this also supports the hypothesis that refers to the fact that the LLs of Oran city centre and *Sidi El Houari* do not reflect neither the Arabisation policy implemented by the state nor the decree issued by the local authorities owing to the fact that MSA has been absent from a considerable number of signs especially in the

first area. As said before, the present thesis elucidates that Berber is almost non-existent in the visible space of Oran albeit it is officially recognised in Algeria. In this sense, this code has not been found on any sign in *Sidi El Houari* while it has appeared on only two separate multilingual signboards out of 220 ones in the city centre. This confirms that Oran is an Arabic speech community and not a Berber-speaking one. All in all, the LL of Oran city does not mirror the status that this language has and the prestige it enjoys in Algeria.

Additionally, various people encountered during this study demonstrate positive attitudes towards language diversity. To put it another way, diverse individuals react positively and showed preference for the visibility of a variety of languages, including MSA, Berber, French, English, and Spanish in those two sites' public spheres. There were even those who wanted to see texts in AA on signboards and banners. According to them, it is a mother tongue that may be effortlessly understood by the majority of Algerians. Furthermore, what has been clarified is that while designing their own signboards, shop owners have taken into consideration many criteria related to customers such as age, gender, origins and sometimes intellectual levels. In many cases, a foreign language like English is emphasised being the global code that may be understood by many educated people, especially the youth and tourists. Chinese is also employed on few restaurants' signboards that were not found in the sites under investigation so as to attract Chinese people. AA is another instance illustrating the use of a tongue for the purpose of transmitting various messages to a large number of Algerians including uneducated customers. This thesis also displays the usefulness of colours within a given LL. For example, pink is used on women clothing stores' façades to attract ladies and young women.

In a similar vein, what is interesting about this work is that it focused on a large number of signs, i.e. 220 items in downtown Oran and 80 other ones in *Sidi El Houari*. This may be considered as an adequate number that enables one to generalise about LL practices especially by emphasising three main boulevards like *Larbi Ben M'hidi*, *Mohamed Khemisti* and *Emir Abdelkader* which are viewed as the core of the city centre. It is also important to note that the signs were photographed in October 2019 which means after the decree about the compulsory Arabisation of signboards was put into effect and after the due date for its application. One of the weaknesses of this work is that the period when the interviews were conducted was not a tourist season. Hence,

all the passers-by encountered were Algerians without exception and then this work does not reveal any tourist's attitude towards language use within the aforementioned visible spaces.

After that, it should be stressed that these days, Oran has become a city which is not only visited by people from different corners of Algeria but also by a large number of tourists, scholars, overseas students and businessmen coming from all around the world. Yet, it has increasingly developed into a globalised metropolis whose LL reflects its multilingual and multicultural nature. This makes it easier for different visitors to understand the various messages and pieces of information appearing on signs and banners. Moreover, this may help attract various types of people and make them feel comfortable within this particular public space. That is, a variety of languages constitute this LL so as to satisfy the need of people with different competencies and those from diverse backgrounds. Hence, this city's public sphere is considered as an arena where languages like MSA and French that the authorities have given priority and the ones that divergent shop owners tend to use such as English, Spanish, AA, Turkish and Italian, for example, compete with one another. In fact, this linguistic rivalry has hitherto been considered as a continuing issue.

In conclusion, it is important to state that this study attempts to contribute to the update and modernisation of the LL of Oran city in this globalised world which is changing at a fast pace. It may help the authorities to assess the policies they are implementing concerning language use and to be acquainted with people's attitudes towards various languages and varieties and their importance. Some questions to be asked by the end of this research work are:

- Can the local authorities sustain their decision about the imposition of the use of MSA on every single private sign especially with the resistance of a large number of shop owners in this era of globalisation which is characterized by the predominance of an international language like English?
- Is the government going to rethink the case of Berber and oblige shop owners to include it side by side with MSA on their signboards and banners due to its official status in Algeria?

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# APPENDICES

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Shop/Business Owners' Questionnaire (Original Version)

سيدي / سيدتي:

أنا طالب دكتوراه بجامعة وهران 2. أقوم بكتابة بحث علمي عن المشهد اللغوي في وسط مدينة وهران ومنطقة سيدي الهواري. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التعرف على اللغات التي تظهر على اللافتة الخاصة بك و على آرائك حول استخدام اللغة بصفة عامة و اللغة العربية بصفة خاصة في الأماكن العامة. نضمن أن إجاباتك قد تبقى مجهولة وأنه سيتم الاحتفاظ بها واستخدامها لأغراض هذا البحث العلمي فقط. نرجو منكم التفضل بالإجابة على الأسئلة التالية ووضع علامة (√) في المربع المناسب.

- الجنس: ذكر  أنثى

- العمر:

- المستوى الدراسي:

1- في أي ناحية تسكن (ين)؟

- وهران - غرب الجزائر<sup>1</sup> - وسط الجزائر<sup>2</sup> - شرق الجزائر<sup>3</sup> - جنوب الجزائر<sup>4</sup>

2- ما هي اللّغة/اللّغات التي تجيد التكلم بها؟

- اللّغة العربيّة الفصحى - اللّهجة الجزائريّة - اللّغة الأمازيغيّة - اللّغة الفرنسيّة - اللّغة الإنجليزيّة

- اللّغة الإسبانيّة - اللّغة الألمانيّة - اللّغة الصّينيّة - لغة أخرى

3- ما هي اللّغة/اللّغات التي تستطيع فهمها؟

- اللّغة العربيّة الفصحى - اللّهجة الجزائريّة - اللّغة الأمازيغيّة - اللّغة الفرنسيّة - اللّغة الإنجليزيّة

- اللّغة الإسبانيّة - اللّغة الألمانيّة - اللّغة الصّينيّة - لغة أخرى

4- ما هي اللّغة/اللّغات التي تستعملها مع أفراد عائلتك؟

.....

5- ما هي اللّغة/اللّغات المستخدمة على واجهة محلّك؟

المدن الجزائرية الكبرى التي تقع في المنطقة الغربية: عين تموشنت ، معسكر، مستغانم، غليزان، سعيدة و سيدي بلعباس. <sup>1</sup>  
أمثلة عن المدن الوسطى الكبرى في الجزائر: اجزائر العاصمة، البليدة، بومرداس، المدية، تيبازة و تيزي وزو. <sup>2</sup>  
بعض المدن الجزائرية الكبرى الواقعة في الجهة الشرقية للبلاد: عنابة، باتنة، قسنطينة، جيجل، سطيف، سوق أهراس و تبسة. <sup>3</sup>  
بعض المدن الجزائرية الجنوبية الكبرى: أدرار، بشار، غرداية، إليزي، ورقلة، تمنراست و تيندوف. <sup>4</sup>

..... -  
6- ما معنى هذه الكلمات المكتوبة؟

..... -  
7- ما هو نوع الزبائن الذي تستهدفه باستعمالك لهذه اللغة/ اللغات بالذات ؟ (أكثر من إجابة مطلوبة)

- الرجال - النساء - الشباب - المسنون - أشخاص آخرون

8- هل وجدت هذه اللغة/ اللغات فعالة لجلب ذلك النوع من الزبائن؟

- نعم - لا

9- إذا كانت إجابتك نعم، بأي طريقة قد تؤثر هذه اللغة على هذه الزبائن وتجلبهم؟

..... -  
10- هل هناك توافق اللغة المكتوبة على واجهة محلّك و بين اللغات المتواجدة على الألفات و المؤسسات الحكومية؟

- نعم - لا

11- إذا كانت إجابتك نعم، فيما ترى هذا التوافق/ الاختلاف؟

..... -  
12- ما هي اللغة التي تفضّل رؤيتها في الفضاء العام؟

..... -  
13- لماذا؟

..... -  
شكرا جزيلاً على المساهمة



## Appendix A: Shop/Business Owners' Questionnaire (Translated Version)

Dear Sir/ Madame,

I am a doctoral student at the University of Oran 2. I am conducting a scientific research on the linguistic landscape of downtown Oran and *Sidi El Houari* district. This study aims to investigate the languages appearing on your sign and your opinions about language use in the public space. We guarantee that your answer will be anonymous. It will be preserved and utilised only for scientific research purposes. You are kindly required to answer the following questions and tick (✓) in the suitable box.

Gender: Male  Female

Age: .....

Level of education: .....

1- In which area do you live?

- a- Oran  b- The west of Algeria<sup>5</sup>  c- The centre of Algeria<sup>6</sup>   
d- The east of Algeria<sup>7</sup>  e- The south of Algeria<sup>8</sup>

2- Which language(s) do you speak enough?

- a- Modern Standard Arabic  b- Colloquial Arabic  c- Berber   
d- French  e- English  f- Spanish  g- German  h- Chinese   
i- Other languages

3- Which language(s) can you comprehend?

- a- Modern Standard Arabic  b- Colloquial Arabic  c- Berber   
d- French  e- English  f- Spanish  g- German  h- Chinese   
i- Other languages

4- Which language(s) do you use with you relatives?

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<sup>5</sup> Algeria's big Western cities: Aïn Temouchent, Mascara, Mostaganem, Relizane, Saïda and Sidi Bel Abbès.

<sup>6</sup> Examples of Algerian big Central cities: Algiers, Blida, Boumerdes, Médéa, Tipaza and Tizi Ouzou.

<sup>7</sup> Algeria's Eastern big cities: Annaba, Batna, Constantine, Jijel, Sétif, Souk Ahras and Tébessa.

<sup>8</sup> Algeria's Southern big cities: Adrar, Béchar, Ghardaïa, Illizi, Ouargla, Tamanrasset and Tindouf.

- .....

5- What language(s) are used on your shop-sign(s)?

- .....

6- What is meant by these written words?

- .....

7- Who do you target using this/ these language(s)? (More than one answer)

a- Men  b- Women  c- The youth  d- The elderly  e- Others

8- Have you found this/ these language(s) effective to attract these customers?

a- Yes  b- No

9- If yes, in which way does it affect and attract these customers?

- .....

10- Is there any compatibility between the language(s) written on the façade of your shop and the ones found on governmental institutions' signs?

a- Yes  b- No

11- If yes, in which way do you find them compatible/incompatible?

- .....

12- What language(s) would you like to see in the public space?

- .....

13- Why?

- .....

***Thank you very much for your contribution!***

## Appendix B: Interviews

### Interview 1: Customers' Interview (Original Version)

أنا طالب دكتوراه بجامعة وهران 2. أقوم بكتابة بحث علمي حول المشهد اللغوي في وسط مدينة وهران وحي سيدي الهواري. قد نضمن لكم أن تبقى هذه المقابلة مجهولة وأنه سيتم الاحتفاظ بإجاباتكم واستخدامها لأغراض علمية فقط. نرجو منكم التفضل بالإجابة على الأسئلة التالية:

نخلة حسين

- الجنس: ذكر  أنثى

- العمر:

- المستوى الدراسي:

1- في أي ناحية تسكن (بين)؟

- وهران - غرب الجزائر<sup>9</sup> - وسط الجزائر<sup>10</sup> - شرق الجزائر<sup>11</sup> - جنوب الجزائر<sup>12</sup>

2- ما هي اللّغة/اللّغات التي تجيد التكلم بها؟

- اللّغة العربيّة الفصحى - اللّهجة الجزائريّة - اللّغة الأمازيغيّة - اللّغة الفرنسيّة - اللّغة الإنجليزيّة  
- اللّغة الإسبانيّة - اللّغة الألمانيّة - اللّغة الصّينيّة - لغة أخرى

3- هل تواجه (بين) أي صعوبة لفهم بعض اللّغات المتواجدة على مختلف اللّافات و اللوحات؟

- نعم - لا

4- إذا كانت إجابتك نعم، فيما تكمن تلك الصّعوبات؟

.....

5- ما هي اللّغة/ اللّغات التي تفضّل (بين) رؤيتها في المشهد اللّغوي لهذه منطقة؟

- اللّغة العربيّة الفصحى - اللّهجة الجزائريّة - اللّغة الأمازيغيّة - اللّغة الفرنسيّة - اللّغة الإنجليزيّة  
- اللّغة الإسبانيّة - اللّغة الألمانيّة - لغة أخرى

6- لماذا تفضّل هذه اللّغة/اللّغات؟

<sup>9</sup> المدن الجزائرية الكبرى التي تقع في المنطقة الغربية: عين تموشنت، معسكر، مستغانم، غليزان، سعيدة و سيدي بلعباس.  
<sup>10</sup> أمثلة عن المدن الوسطى الكبرى في الجزائر: الجزائر العاصمة، البلدة، بومرداس، المدية، تيبازة و تيزي وزو.  
<sup>11</sup> بعض المدن الجزائرية الكبرى الواقعة في الجهة الشرقية للبلاد: عنابة، باتنة، قسنطينة، جيجل، سطيف، سوق أهراس و تبسة.  
<sup>12</sup> بعض المدن الجزائرية الجنوبية الكبرى: أدرار، بشار، غرداية، إليزي، ورقلة، تمنراست و تيندوف.

..... -

7- هل تظنّ أنّ هذه المنطقة تغيّرت فيما يخصّ اللّغات الموجودة في المشهد اللّغوي أم هي مثل الماضي

تماماً؟

- نعم - لا - بعض الشيء

شكراً على المساعدة

## Interview 1: Customers' Interview (Translated Version)

I am a doctoral student at the University of Oran 2. I am conducting a scientific research on the linguistic landscape of Oran city centre as well as *Sidi El Houari* district. We guarantee that this interview will be anonymous and that your answers will be preserved. You are kindly required to answer the following questions.

**Nakla Houcine**

**Gender:** Male  Female

**Age:** .....

**Level of education:** .....

Please answer the following questions for a scientific research:

1- In which area do you live?

- .....

**a-** Oran    **b-** The west of Algeria<sup>13</sup>    **c-** The centre of Algeria<sup>14</sup>    **d-** The east of Algeria<sup>15</sup>    **e-** The south of Algeria<sup>16</sup>

2- What language(s) do you speak enough? (more than one answer can be chosen)

**a-** Modern Standard Arabic    **b-** Colloquial Arabic    **c-** Berber    **d-** French  
**e-** English    **f-** Spanish    **g-** German    **h-** Chinese    **i-** Other languages

3- Do you face any difficulty understanding some languages appearing on shop-signs and banners?

**a-** Yes    **b-** No

---

<sup>13</sup> Algeria's big Western cities: Aïn Temouchent, Mascara, Mostaganem, Relizane, Saïda and Sidi Bel Abbès.

<sup>14</sup> Examples of Algerian big Central cities: Algiers, Blida, Boumerdes, Médéa, Tipaza and Tizi Ouzou.

<sup>15</sup> Algeria's Eastern big cities: Annaba, Batna, Constantine, Jijel, Sétif, Souk Ahras and Tébessa.

<sup>16</sup> Algeria's Southern big cities: Adrar, Béchar, Ghardaïa, Illizi, Ouargla, Tamanrasset and Tindouf.

4- If yes, what difficulties have you ever faced?

- .....

5- Which language(s) do you want to see in this region's LL?

**a-** Modern Standard Arabic    **b-** Colloquial Arabic    **c-** Berber    **d-** French

**e-** English    **f-** Spanish    **g-** German    **h-** Other languages

6- Why do you prefer such a language/ languages?

- .....

7- Do you think this area has changed in terms of the existing languages in the LL or they remain just like they were in the past?

**a-** Yes    **b-** No    **c-** A little

*Thank you so much for your help*

## Interview 2: Shop/Business Owners' Interview (Original Version)

أنا طالب دكتوراه بجامعة وهران، 2 أقوم بكتابة بحث علمي حول المشهد اللغوي في وسط مدينة وهران وحي سيدي الهواري. قد نضمن لكم أن تبقى هذه المقابلة مجهولة وأنه سيتم الاحتفاظ بإجاباتكم واستخدامها لأغراض علمية فقط. نرجو منكم التفضل بالإجابة على الأسئلة التالية:

نخلة حسين

- الجنس: ذكر  أنثى

- العمر:

- المستوى الدراسي:

نرجو منكم الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة لدراسة علمية:

1- هل هذا محلّك/ مطعمك؟

- نعم - لا

2- ما هي اللّغة/ اللّغات المستعملة على واجهة محلّك؟

.....

3- هل تجيد استخدام هذه اللّغة/ اللّغات المستعملة؟

- نعم - لا

4- لماذا اخترتها على حساب اللغات الأخرى؟

.....

5- ما هو نوع الرّبائن الذي يأتي إلى هنا؟

- الرّجال - النّساء - الشّباب - المسنّون - أشخاص آخرون

6- ما هو رأيك فيما يخص إجبارية استعمال اللغة العربية على واجهات المحلات و اللّافتات؟

.....

7- هل تقبل إشراك اللغة العربية في واجهتك/ لافتتك؟ (للذين لم يستعملوا هذه اللّغة)

- نعم - لا

8- لماذا أو لماذا لا؟

..... -

9- ما هي اللّغة التي تفضّل/ين رؤيتها في الفضاء العام؟

- اللّغة العربيّة الفصحى - اللّهجة الجزائريّة - اللّغة الأمازيغيّة - اللّغة الفرنسيّة - اللّغة الإنجليزيّة

- اللّغة الإسبانيّة - اللّغة الألمانيّة - اللّغة الصّينيّة - لغة أخرى

10- لماذا؟

..... -

شكرا على المساعدة



## Interview 2: Shop/Business Owners' Interview (Translated Version)

I am a doctoral student at the University of Oran 2. I am conducting a scientific research on the linguistic landscape of Oran city centre as well as *Sidi El Houari* district. We guarantee that this interview is anonymous and that your answers will be preserved. You are kindly required to answer the following questions.

Nakla Houcine

1- Is this your shop/ restaurant?

a- Yes                      b- No

2- What language(s) are used on your shop-sign(s)?

- .....

3- Do you master this/these language(s)?

a- Yes                      b- No

4- Why did you choose this/these language(s) instead of others?

- .....

5- What kind of customers comes here? (More than one answer)

a- Men    b- Women    c- The youth    d- The elderly    e- Others

6- What do you think of the compulsory use of Modern Standard Arabic on all signs and banners?

- .....

7- Do you accept to include MSA on your sign? (For the shop-owners who have not used this specific language)

a- Yes                      b- No

8- Why or why not?

- .....

**9-** What languages do you prefer to see in the public space?

**a-** MSA   **b-** Colloquial Arabic   **c-** Berber   **d-** French   **e-** English   **f-** Spanish

**g-** German   **h-** Chinese   **i-** Other languages

**10-** Why?

- .....

*Thank you so much for your help*

## Appendix C: Pictures and Photos

### A- Top-down signs:

#### 1- Monolingual signs (MSA):



Pic 4.1: Restroom Banner (Downtown).



Pic 4.2: Traffic sign (Downtown).



Pic 4.3: Bus station sign (Downtown).



Pic 4.4: Post office signboard (Downtown).



**Pic 4.5:** City hall signboard (Downtown). **Pic 4.6:** Cultural centre sign (Downtown).



**Pic 4.7:** Municipal library's signboard (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.8:** Algerian Muslim Scouts' sign (Sidi El Houari).

## 2- Monolingual signs (French):



**Pic 4.9:** Traffic sign manipulated by citizens (Downtown).



**Pic 4.10:** Traffic sign (Downtown).

### 3- Bilingual signs (MSA/ French)



**Pic 4.11:** Algerian national bank's signboard (Downtown).



**Pic 4.12:** Algerian bank's signboard (Downtown).



**Pic 4.13:** National Insurance Company's sign (Downtown).



**Pic 4.14:** Algeria post office's sign (Downtown).



**Pic 4.15:** Police guardroom (Downtown).



**Pic 4.16:** Street name signs (Downtown).



**Pic 4.17:** Stop sign (Downtown). **Pic 4.18:** Directional multiple sign (Downtown).



**Pic 4.19:** Direction and indication signs (Sidi El Houari).





**Pic 4.20:** Bank sign (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.21:** Post office sign (Sidi El Houari).

#### 4- Multilingual signs



**Pic 4.22:** Algeria Telecommunications Corporation sign (Downtown).

## B- Private enterprise

### 1- Monolingual signs (MSA)



**Figure 4.23:** Women's clothing store sign (Downtown).



**Figure 4.24:** Traditional cakes shop sign (Downtown).



**Pic 4.25:** Cinema's façade (Downtown).



**Pic 4.26:** Women's clothes shop signboard (Downtown).



**Pic 4.27:** Antique household furniture store's signboard (Downtown).



**Pic 4.28:** Sign for fitness centre (Sidi El Houari).



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**Pic 4.29:** Restaurant's sign (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.30:** Orchard of Vegetables, Fruits and Drinks' sign (Sidi El Houari).

## 2- Monolingual Signs (French)



**Pic 4.31:** Cosmetic and beauty store sign (Downtown).



**Pic 4.32:** Wedding dress shop sign (Downtown).



**Pic4.33:** Fruits' shop sign (Downtown).



**Pic 4.34:** Signboard for wallpapers store (Downtown).



**Pic 4.35:** Sign for hardware store (Downtown).



**Pic 4.36:** Men's clothes shop-front (Downtown).



**Pic 4.37:** Young girls' clothing store sign (Downtown).



**Pic 4.38:** Façade of clothes shop for young men (Downtown).



**Pic 4.39:** Façade of shop selling girls' sneakers and sports shoes (Downtown).





**Pic 4.40:** Sign for women's luxury shoes and bags shop (Downtown).



**Pic 4.41:** Optician's signboard (Downtown).



**Pic 4.42:** Restaurant's sign (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.43:** Hairdresser's façade (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.44:** Hairdresser's sign (Sidi El Houari).



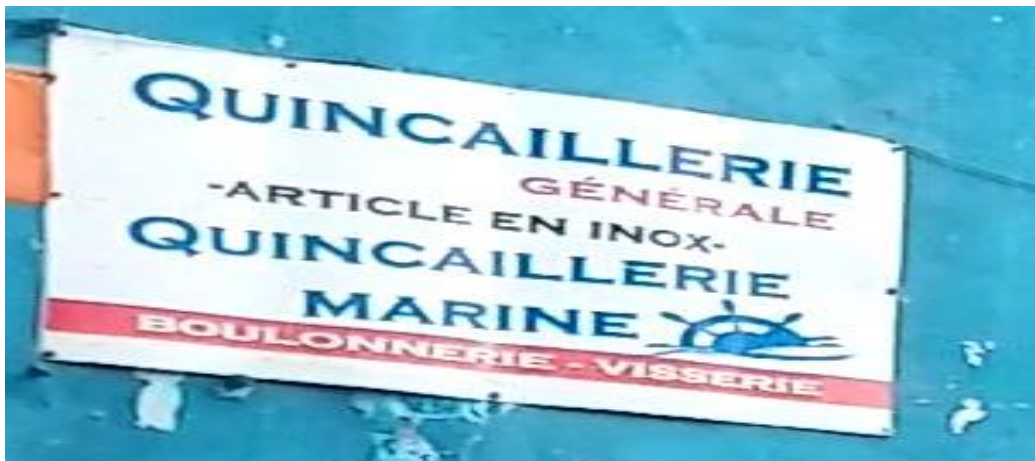
**Pic 4.45:** Shop's façade where resin is sold (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.46:** Sign for car repair shop (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.47:** Cafeteria's shop roof (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.48:** Hardware store's sign (Sidi El Houari).

### 3- Monolingual signs (English)



**Pic 4.49:** Sign for young women's clothing store (Downtown).



**Pic 4.50:** Sign for young men's clothing store (Downtown).



**Pic 4.51:** Fast food restaurant's sign (Downtown).



**Pic 4.52:** Café's signboard (Downtown).



**Pic 4.53:** Signboard for women's clothes shop (Downtown).



**Pic 4.54:** Signboard for young girl's clothing store (Downtown).



**Pic 4.55:** Banner for restaurant (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.56:** Fast food restaurant's signboard (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.57:** Cafeteria's awning (Sidi El Houari).

**Monolingual signs (Spanish)**



**Pic 4.58:** Front of shoes' store for young girls (Downtown).



**Pic 4.59:** Façade of store selling bags for ladies (Downtown).



**Pic 4.60:** Sign for young men's clothes store (Downtown).



**Pic 4.61:** Men's shoe shop sign (Sidi El Houari).



**Monolingual sign (Italian)**



**Pic 4.62:** Sign for shop trading in linens and suitcases (Downtown).

**Monolingual sign (AA)**



**Pic 4.63:** Sign for boutique selling women's clothes and lingerie (Downtown).

## Bilingual signs (MSA/ French)



Pic 4.64: Restaurant's sign (Downtown).



Pic 4.65: Café's sign (Downtown).



Pic 4.66: Signboard for shop selling women's clothes and shoes (Downtown).



Pic 4.67: Restaurant's sign (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.68:** Restaurant's sign (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.69:** Fisherman's shop sign (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.70:** Tailor's sign (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.71:** Newspaper headquarters' signboard (Sidi El Houari).

## Hybrid signs



**Pic 4.72:** Sign for shop trading in decorative wallpapers (Downtown).



**Pic 4.73:** Façade of young women's clothing store (Downtown).



**Pic 4.74:** Sign for young men's clothes shop (Downtown).



**Pic 4.75:** Perfumery's signboard (Downtown).



**Pic 4.76:** Bridal clothing store's façade (Downtown).



**Pic 4.77:** Sign for shop selling women's shoes, garments and bags (Downtown).



**Pic 4.78:** Sign for boutique selling and renting traditional wedding dress (Downtown).



**Pic 4.79:** Sign for shop selling traditional clothes and veils for women (Downtown).



**Pic 4.80:** Sign for men's shoe store (Downtown).



**Pic 4.81:** Signboard for public shower (Downtown).



**Pic 4.82:** Sign for shop trading in traditional clothes typical of Oran (Downtown).



**Pic 4.83:** Signboard for shop selling clothes for women and children (Downtown).



**Pic 4.84:** Sign for women's shoe shop (Downtown).



Pic 4.85: Sign for women's clothing store (Downtown).



Pic 4.86: Restaurant's sign (Downtown).



Pic 4.87: Sign for boutique selling fashionable garments for young men (Downtown).





**Pic 4.88:** Fish shop's façade (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.89:** Sign for shop selling cigarettes and cosmetics (Sidi El Houari).



**Pic 4.90:** Façade of restaurant specialising in Syrian cuisine (Downtown).

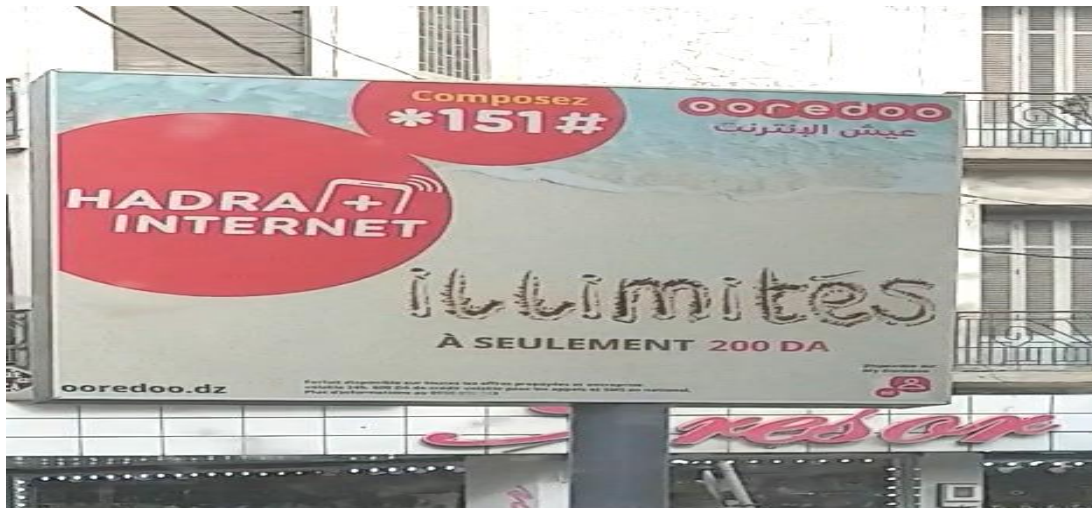


**Pic 4.91:** Sign for shop selling aesthetic equipments and products (Downtown).

## Multilingual signs



Pic 4.92: Restaurant's façade (Downtown).



Pic 4.93: Telephone service provider advertising hoarding (Downtown).



**Pic 4.94:** Restaurant's signboard (Downtown).



**Pic 4.95:** Sign for women's clothing shop (Downtown).



**Pic 4.96:** Signboard for public insurance agency (Downtown).

## Appendix D: Official Documents



*Language Planning and Policy in the Algerian Public Sphere:  
Analysis of Commercial Signage, Case of Two  
Oran Districts*

**Summary:**

The present research addresses the linguistic landscape of the city of Oran in this era of globalisation. Its purpose is to scrutinise the languages utilised on the various signs occurring in the city centre and *Sidi El Houari* district and the reasons behind their appearance. It attempts to find similarities and differences between them. It also tries to investigate the codes used on bottom-up signboards vis-à-vis top-down items, i.e. it discerns whether bottom-up practices really reflect the language policy implemented by the local authorities who were fostering the use of MSA. Furthermore, this study aims at enquiring about shop owners' and clients' attitudes towards language use in these public spheres. The collected data unveil some discrepancies in terms of language visibility. They also reveal a certain inconsistency between private and public signs. Besides, various individuals have demonstrated positive attitudes towards language diversity.

**Keywords:** Oran City Centre - *Sidi El Houari* district - Linguistic Landscape Analysis - Language Policy - Globalisation.

*Planification et Politique Linguistiques dans la Sphère Publique Algérienne:  
Analyse des panneaux commerciaux, Cas de Deux Sites à Oran*

**Résumé:**

La présente recherche porte sur la scène linguistique de la ville d'Oran en cette ère de mondialisation. Son but est d'examiner les langues utilisées sur les différentes enseignes présentes dans le centre-ville et le quartier de *Sidi El Houari* et les raisons de leur apparition. Elle tente de trouver des similitudes et des différences entre eux. Elle tente également d'examiner les langues utilisés sur les enseignes privées (du bas vers le haut) par rapport à celles utilisées sur les panneaux étatiques (du haut vers le bas), c'est-à-dire qu'elle montre si les pratiques langagières des individus reflètent vraiment la politique linguistique mise en œuvre par les autorités locales qui favorisent l'utilisation de l'Arabe Modern Standard. En plus, cette étude vise à informer sur les attitudes des commerçants et celles des clients à l'égard de l'utilisation langagière dans ces sphères publiques. Les données recueillies révèlent des écarts en termes de visibilité linguistique. Elles révèlent également une certaine incohérence entre les panneaux privés et publics. En outre, diverses personnes ont manifesté des attitudes positives à l'égard de la diversité linguistique.

**Mots clés:** Centre-ville d'Oran - Quartier de *Sidi El Houari* - Analyse du Paysage Linguistique - Politique Linguistique - Mondialisation.

*التخطيط اللغوي والسياسة اللغوية في الفضاء العام الجزائري:  
دراسة اللافتات التجارية، حالة موقعين بمدينة وهران*

**المخلص:**

يعالج البحث الحالي المشهد اللغوي لمدينة وهران في عصر العولمة. والغرض من ذلك هو فحص اللغات المستخدمة على مختلف اللافتات المتواجدة في وسط المدينة ومنطقة سيدي الهواري والتعرف على أسباب ظهورها. قد يسعى أيضا إلى إيجاد أوجه التشابه والاختلاف بينها. كما يحاول التحقيق في الألسنة المستخدمة على اللوحات الخاصة وتلك المتواجدة على اللافتات العمومية، أي أنها تبين ما إذا كانت الممارسات اللغوية من الأسفل إلى الأعلى تعكس بالفعل السياسة اللغوية المنفذة من طرف السلطات المحلية والتي تشجع على استخدام العربية الفصحى. وعلاوة على ذلك، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الاستعلام عن مواقف أصحاب المحلات والزبائن من استخدام اللغة في هذه الفضاءات العامة. تكشف المعلومات التي تم جمعها عن بعض الاختلافات من حيث التواجد اللغوي كما تكشف أيضا عن بعض التباين بين اللافتات الخاصة والعامة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، قد تبينت عدة مواقف إيجابية تجاه تنوع اللغات من قبل أفراد مختلفون.

الكلمات المفتاحية: وسط مدينة وهران - منطقة سيدي الهواري - تحليل المشهد اللغوي - السياسة اللغوية - العولمة .