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Attitudes towards Languages among Secondary School and University Learners in Sidi Bel-Abbes

Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Magister in Sociolinguistics

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Language attitudes have been considered in sociolinguistics as an important factor revealing people's reactions towards existing varieties in a given linguistic community. Language attitudes constitute a long-term phenomenon that tends to become more specific over generations. Language learning and language planning appear to have left their mark on the learners' attitudes. This study examines the learners' language attitudes through survey data. An ambivalence of judgments was confirmed as the mother tongue was stigmatized. Yet, the regional identity and loyalty were asserted by all informants. An important issue about prestige came about when it was related to school instruction. Language learning has proved to be influential. Thus, Standard Arabic as well as the foreign languages are judged favourably. The process of language standardization and language planning seem to have influenced the aspects that the informants would like to promote.

In an effort to uncover male female parameters, it was admitted that the differences were not noticeable. The influence of the university language learning was indeed noticed as it was found out that there were differences between groups. It was found out that the prominence of a foreign language can have a positive impact as French speakers were considered favourably. However, external forces such as political conflicts can create negative stereotypes for another language as it was the case with English speakers, who are also associated with positive criteria.

The case of Berber that was recognized by the government as a national language was examined. The external level, that is, the political doctrine did not influence the attitudes of Sidi Bel Abbes learners. It was found out that negative criteria were selected. The results revealed that informants select unfavourable opinions for a variety that they neither speak nor learn. The data suggested that the status of Berber speakers is reduced.

Language learning fostered positive opinions as the target language was selected in various activities. Thus, the differences between groups were remarkable. As far as language selection in speech situation was concerned, language shift in accordance with language learning increasingly affected the informants' competence. So Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic were used by secondary school pupils and university students of Standard Arabic. It was pointed out that the learning of French had its impact on foreign language learners in different activities.

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Some of the main points of interest of social psychology of language consist of investigating what people believe about the distribution of language varieties in their own speech community, what attitudes they have towards these varieties and how they have arrived at and implement those beliefs. The present dissertation is an analysis which investigates the different attitudes held towards languages by secondary school pupils and university students of French, English and Arabic in Sidi Bel-Abbes. Language planning in education as well as government decisions concerning languages are said to influence language attitudes. Language varieties are classified according to underlying cultural, educational and political bases. The successful spread of a given language at the official level or its use at the unofficial one are factors very much dependent on the positions that these varieties hold in a society. In fact, these positions are traced by a linguistic policy dictated, primarily, by political objectives. By the early 1980s, arabisation began to produce some measurable results. In the primary school, instruction is in standard Arabic while French is taught as a subject and arabisation has proceeded on grade by grade basis. Despite the demands of the Algerian government to arabise the educational system, French remains the main language of instruction for the scientific branches at the universities.

Specific features of the learner's native language and the language being learned can have an effect. A level of proficiency is a realistic goal that can lead to the fact that language exposition can orient the informants' subjective judgements. Hence, the relation between language learning –either a school subject or a university speciality- and language attitudes can be questionable. It is a well-known fact that education, which is an important factor in influencing language attitudes, is related to school and university that are considered to be institutions for attaining knowledge. The assumption that can be formulated here is that there are significant attitudinal differences between learners from various

ool pupils and university students of different the same language skills. The time spent on learning may have an impact on learners' value judgements or viewpoints.

Language assessments have, possibly, a role in determining the learners' choice of a language, known as code-switching, in a speech situation. Bilinguals, who can speak at least two languages, have the ability to use elements of both languages when conversing with another bilingual. Code-switching is the syntactically and phonologically appropriate use of multiple varieties. A major approach in sociolinguistics focuses on the social motivations for switching, a line of inquiry concentrating both on immediate discourse factors such as lexical need and the topic and setting of the discussion, and on more distant factors such as speaker or group identity, and relationship-building associated with solidarity. Code-switching may also be reflective of the frequency with which an individual uses particular expressions from one or the other language in his/her daily communications. Language selection can also be related to and indicative of group membership in particular types of bilingual speech communities. Thus, the regularities of the alternating use of two or more languages within one conversation may vary to a considerable degree between groups.

One can assume that language learning as well as attitudes are related to socially based language selection. An individual is confronted to a source of interest, and then involved at the socio-cognitive parameter. Thus, the speaker starts manifesting a behaviour that is closely related to the linguistic attitudinal evaluation. This characterises the preference or rejection of a given linguistic variety in a given speech situation and given activities, such as TV watching, radio listening and newspaper reading. The use of a desired variety among members of the same group of learners participates in the reinforcement of the relationship. This research asks questions about the degree of attitudinal aspects in relation to language selection that speakers of the same group share. Any factor may account for choosing one language over another, but the combination of several factors such as language proficiency, setting and language attitudes can explain language choice.

the chapters. The first chapter covers a number of
ly with the definition and the different theories of
language attitudes. The second one includes the scope of the investigation,
whereby the rationale and the suggested hypotheses as well as research questions
are stated. This part examines oriented ideological dimensions which are in
accordance with language attitudes that are considered to be true by the
respondents. It also presents the informants' criteria. One questionable fact here is
the relation that exists between these criteria and the informants' value
judgements that are manifested implicitly or explicitly revealing views and
postures. The next part sheds light on the importance of shared opinions within
members of the same speech group. It is alleged that the usage of given varieties
throughout the educational career like subjects learned in Arabic, French or
English can have an impact on the speakers' assessments. Here the main point is
to make reference to the contribution of standard and non-standard status of
languages to the influence of learners' attitudes.

Furthermore, the case of Berber is taken into account. Berber Social
movements emerged and political parties were created to represent and defend
the Kabyle demands. The Berber variety, that has always been the mother tongue
of an ethnic minority, was recognised as a national language in 2002. Yet, there
are five distinct Berber varieties. The assumption that can be expressed here is
that, informants can show rejection of a variety with which they are not
acquainted.

More questions can be asked about the effects that assessments can have
on judgements of speakers' honesty, likeability or unlikeability and other
characteristics which are found in the questionnaires. For instance, one can ask
questions as to what adjectives are related to the speakers of an unknown
language.

There is another aspect of social stratification of attitudes related to male
and female indices. It can be assumed that patterns of sex differentiating can be
manifested and girls may be more sensitive to language attitudes than boys. The
questionnaire aims are explained and exemplified, too. Questionnaires can be

means to elucidate data. Various questions urge
importance or a rejection more practically. This means
provides statistical information that can be related to an applied side.

In the second chapter, a brief report is presented about the language situation of Berber, Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French, English and other foreign languages in Algeria. The Algerian society is pluralist in its regions and its languages. The people of this country speak their various mother tongues, either Arabic or Berber. Before independence French was the only official language. In post-colonial period Arabisation strategy sought to restore the national dignity. The history of functioning linguistic media within a community provide clues which allow the comprehension of both the individual and the group's assessments. This raises more questions about the impact of the nature of various language usages at the social, the educational and the academic levels. The language situation is largely the outcome of socio-economic development policies such as language planning in education and government decisions. This part gives an overall examination as to what type of participation bilingualism, arabisation and multilingualism situations have in the establishment of subjective evaluations.

The third chapter includes an analysis of language attitudes of a number of informants. It discusses the influence that a speaker's proficiency has on his/her language attitudes. This part explores more deeply the respondents' personal interpretation of their language attitudes. The key insight is to search underlying beliefs, such as nationalism or high vs. low statuses. Gender indices are taken into account, whereby an analysis is presented about the factual bases that are behind male/female indices.

This part also provides an analysis of field work data about the informants' language selection in writing, reading, radio and TV. It is discussed that performing different activities and subjective reactions are closely related. Sociolinguistic criteria can also determine the choice of a particular variety in speech situations. For instance, situational factors such as topic setting and participants in relation to language attitudes are examined. Fieldwork data are



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tion about the emergence of language use in a

It is argued that language proficiency as well as attitudinal aspects can affect language selection. Hence, differences and similarities between the questioned groups are stated.

1. Preliminaries to Language Attitudes and Language Selection Study:

Theoretical Considerations

Introduction

The present research is carried out in Sidi Bel-Abbes, where the author is a native speaker. This work includes a number of issues. The main one deals with a comparative study of attitudes towards: Berber, Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic, French and English. Spanish is not included in this survey as it is neither a spoken language in the Algerian society nor a learned subject in schools by all informants. The next important issue deals with the linguistic variety that an informant chooses in different situations such as TV watching, radio listening, reading, writing and given speech situations.

1.1 Language Attitudes

Language attitude analysis is dealt with in terms of value judgements or people's reactions towards mother tongues and educational media taught in institutions (schools and university). In order words, favourable and/or unfavourable opinions on languages are analysed.

1.1.1 The Notion of Attitude

According to Oxford English dictionary, attitude is defined as a “way of thinking or behaving” (1993:65).

The word attitude derives from the Latin root ‘aptus’, meaning suited or fit. As far as the sociolinguistic sphere is concerned, N. Dittmar (1976:181) defines language attitudes as follows: “ Language attitudes ask questions on the assessment and evaluation of speakers of linguistic varieties. “

be considered as long term phenomena that pertain to a language variety. This raises an issue of how linguistic varieties are evaluated. Fasold (1984:158) explains the evaluation of a language variety as follows:

The evaluation of a variety is the fruit of experiences, products of a whole series of historical, social, economic, political and cultural implications that continuously interact with one another, turning the objective into subjective.

Social psychologists are interested in observing language study, not only as objective socially neutral instruments for conveying meaning, but as varieties linked up with the identities of social or ethnic groups that have consequences for the social evaluation of, and the attitudes towards languages.

1.1.2 The Evaluation of Language and Speakers

The way a person speaks is very much a clue to social information, and is in itself neutral, neither good nor bad. Language itself can be evaluated and associated with ‘toughness’ or ‘likeability’. For instance, Hudson (1998:209) argues that ‘‘if A is some characteristic of speech and B is some characteristic of personality such as education, speech will be used as a clue to personality’’. Language attitudes can be related to issues such as prestige, power or stigmatisation. They are studied in various ways from different points of view by disciplines such as sociology, psychology and linguistics. Studies on language attitudes are inherently related to group identity.

Trudgill (1995:91) argues that ‘‘positive attitudes are related to prestige varieties’’ because speakers generally prefer such linguistic media even though they may not use them. Speakers of prestige varieties are usually considered more ‘educated’ than speakers of non-standard varieties. Non-prestigious speech, on the contrary, may be related to other human qualities, such as sympathy and

by Giles and Coupland 1991) reveal that people the prestige varieties in order to increase their likeability. Fasold (1984:148) suggests that ‘attitudes toward a language are often the reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups’. People’s reactions to language varieties reveal clues about the perception of the speakers of these varieties.

The stigmatisation of a variety shows how negative images are assigned to it. For instance, members of a speech community can create negative stereotypes of another language to reduce the status of its speakers in society (Labov, 1972:133). So one can suggest the following statement:

- The same attitudes are related to a given language and to its speakers.

1.1.3 Language Attitude Theories

Social psychology of language has shown criteria involved in the speakers' judgements of languages. As pointed out in Fishman and Agheyisi (1976:81-82)¹, ‘Validation of attitude study is problematic because of the very nature of attitudes as properties of the psychological or mental process.’ In fact, one problem in evaluating the role of language attitudes is the difficulty in measuring the attitudes themselves. In other words, to what extent does the scale of evaluation reveal useful information for the investigation? The development of a questionnaire on attitudes is not a simple task. Thus, the following question can be asked: Do informants express their honest feelings/opinions or simple attitudes they think are more acceptable when they are asked direct questions in interviews? Labov (1966) discovered that people do not necessarily speak the way they say they do. Hence, one can consider that the study of language attitudes remains probabilistic. Most people are not consciously aware of the combination between linguistic criteria and judgements, so it is preferable to elicit people's responses indirectly. This is why different techniques are used as explained in section 3.1.

¹ In Dittmar (1976).

ies are based on both mentalist and behaviourist theories of how to understand the relation of attitudes with language learning. So it is necessary to examine the views of social-psychologists and see how their approaches tackle characteristics of attitudes pertaining to social phenomena.

1.1.3.1 The Mentalist Theory (Allport, 1954)

For holders of such a view, attitudes are as Allport² (1954:45) describes them “a mental neural state of readiness organised through experience exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual response to all objects and situations with which it is related”. Attitudes cannot be observed directly, but must be inferred from the subject's introspection. This viewpoint includes the questions that attitudes can be derived from given data that are quantifiable in a given way. For instance, many studies have demonstrated that the quality and prestige of language varieties depend on the knowledge of the social connotations which they process. That is, “the use of dialects would be expressions of social preference, which reflects an awareness of the status ingrained in the speakers' minds.” (Fasold, 1984).

1.1.3.2 The Behaviourist Theory (Bain, 1928)

According to the behaviourist theory, attitudes are determined by observing actual behaviour in social situations. For instance, Bain² (1928) asserts that “attitudes are regarded as a hypothetical construct that can be revealed by verbal responses to a given set of stimuli”. Attitudes, then, can be held to indicate other forms of behaviour that have a relation with preferences of a given language in everyday activities. For instance, an individual's favourable attitudes can be reflected in some activities or behaviour, such as a selected language in TV watching and radio listening as well as a selected variety in a given speech

² In Dittmar, (1976).

(1982:191) suggests that attitudes towards a range of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups. He claims that “people's reactions to language varieties reveal much of their perception of the speakers of these varieties”.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) stress the importance of the nature of intergroup relations in the discussion of language attitudes and uses. For instance, language attitudes vary as the nature of intergroup relations changes. When relations change, status relationships and therefore perceptions, attitudes and uses, change too. It is hypothesized that a person who identifies himself with the mother tongue and the group that speaks it would hold favourable attitudes to this language and to the group.

1.1.3.3 Lambert's Position

A pioneer in the exploration of learner attitudes in relation to language learning, the Canadian psychologist Wallace Lambert (1964:181) identified two types of orientation: integrative and instrumental.

An instrumental orientation to learning stresses the utilitarian value of L2 proficiency, of which getting a pay raise or a better job or a good grade in school are examples. In contrast, an orientation is said to be integrative if it reflects an openness toward another culture group, an openness that may include a desire to be accepted as a member of that group.

The point is that the purpose for which a given language is learned can have an impact on the learner's judgements about languages. Hence, the present research aims at discovering language learning –instrumental orientation- influence on learners' language attitudes whereby the individual's opinions are taken into account. Besides, another issue can seek not only what people think about languages but what they do as well. This can be sought in activities people

ers they read, the TV programmes they watch as speech situations for given topics.

According to Lambert (1964), attitudes have been considered in terms of the following components:

- 1- The *cognitive* component refers to one's beliefs about objects and situations.
- 2- The *affective* component refers to the amount of positive or negative feeling one has towards such a situation.
- 3- The *conative* component refers to one's behavioural intentions, or to one's actual behaviour towards the object.

The above criteria are concerned with the individual's behaviour, feeling, thought and manner of acting. A person classifies a language on the basis of these criteria which can be considered as an “evaluative scale”. The evaluation of languages lies in the conscience of individuals, forming part of their cognitive world; they are made up of a series of opinions shared by a social group. Thus, they are specific structured series of beliefs that are shared socially.

1.2 The Scope of the Investigation

Introduction

This work focuses on speakers' language judgement in connection with education, as it is probably one of the main vehicles by which learners' evaluations are spread in society. Schools can be considered to transmit and cultural values about language and might be more inclined than the general population to report attitudes. This study also investigates the correlation between linguistic proficiency and favourable or unfavourable attitudes towards given languages. On the one hand, we aim at discovering judgements of non-standard varieties known as dialects; on the other hand, we consider the level and purpose of the influence of language usage on language attitudes. Language usage is dealt with in terms of language learning. It is explained as follows:

French and English in secondary schooling.

University, e.g.: the French language.

In any of these broad areas more information about the informants' language usage will be given subsequently.

Eighty informants are questioned; the Secondary school pupils are aged between seventeen and nineteen, and the students are aged between twenty two and twenty five. The respondents are split in groups and the group comprises ten informants. The informants' criteria dealt with are presented in the following sub-sections:

1.2.1 Language Proficiency for Educational Purposes

Learning a language is gaining knowledge in an institutionalised environment such as school or university. A learner attains more linguistic competence of a given language. One can suggest that the time spent on learning can influence learners' attitudes. When exposed to a given linguistic medium (either the medium of instruction or a subject, or language learning at the university), the individual is supposed to develop various skills like reading, writing, speaking and listening. This language proficiency can be accompanied by feelings and opinions. The following groups are selected:

- a- Secondary school pupils: Third year pupils are selected because they are supposed to have attained more linguistic knowledge in Arabic, French and English than pupils in lower forms.
- b- University students: Those informants study a language as a subject matter at the university. Four year students are selected because they are supposed to have attained a given mastery of the learned language, and are considered to be psychologically involved in this task. The following groups are chosen:
 - Students of Arabic and its literature.
 - Students of French.
 - Students of English.

Standard Arabic is the medium of formal institution. Standard French is taught as a subject and a first foreign language. English is commonly taught as a second foreign language and a subject too³. One can state a set of differences when comparing the English syllabus with the French one:

The French input is more detailed than the English one. In other words, activities related to lexis, morphology, syntax such as parts of speech, affixation and tenses, as well as discourse are presented in French. Moreover, pupils in the second and third year are required to present “exposés” written in French. An English syllabus, however, is meant to put less emphasis on detailed activities related to morphology, syntax and discourse. This is a situation where the two foreign languages are taught for particular pedagogical purposes, whereas, the medium of education which is Arabic is commonly used in schools, on the Algerian TV channel and in administration of schools. In this way, one can hypothesize that this very situation can influence the pupils' attitudes; that is to say, the study of these languages would give us some indication of the extent to which these linguistic situations –that is the learning of French, English and Arabic- is sensitive to or affects the same group. Therefore, it is hypothesized that, there is a relationship between the level of language proficiency and language attitudes. For instance, the fact that secondary school pupils learn English and French as subjects and have Arabic as the medium of instruction may reveal differences of language attitudes in comparison with university students. Hence, the following questions can be asked:

Does a pupil learning a language as a subject share the same attitudes towards languages with a university student? If not, to what degree are they different?

³ More information about secondary school subjects is given in section 2.2.4

This group of informants is composed of university students registered for the ‘licence’ degree (equivalent of BA) in the chosen language.

In this type of studies, more time is spent in learning different modules in the same language: written and oral expression, linguistics, phonetics, literature and civilization. Theoretically, at this level, the learner of a given language is exposed to a larger range of lexical items and grammatical structures, as well as to a more complex phonological system. As a result, he gradually gets more and more familiar with the target language.

In view of what has just been mentioned, one can suggest that when a certain amount of linguistic data is transmitted and developed in the students' mind, his/her language attitudes can be influenced to a certain extent. Members of the same group can share these attitudes. This work investigates whether there is an influence of university language learning on students' language opinions. One can assume the following hypotheses:

- Learners become more sensitive to aesthetic aspects of a language when exposed to its poetry and literature.
- Attaining more proficiency in a given language means associating easiness with this linguistic tool.

1.2.4 Language Selection

This work also investigates language selection known as code switching among every group included in this research. This field deals with the choice of a particular linguistic variety according to situational factors. When speaking, the informants use “X” or “Y” variety according to the situations they find themselves in and the people they talk to. Fishman (1972) views language choice in terms of a well-known question “who speaks what language to whom and when?” Hymes (1971:91) sees “language use as the speaker's ability to choose

particular purpose as part of his communicative

1.2.4.1 Speech Repertoire

An individual is likely to have communicative competence in more than one speech variety. Speech varieties do not refer to standard linguistic forms only, but they also mean dialects. A speech variety can be an official language or a regional dialect. The neutral term speech variety is a useful one in sociolinguistic studies because it does not have ‘connotations’ that are associated with political or social classifications. The term ‘repertoire’ is considered in relation to the speech community in question (Fishman, 1972). A speech repertoire has been defined by Platt (1975:35) as follows:

A speech repertoire is the range of linguistic varieties which the speaker has at his disposal and which he may appropriately use as a member of his speech community.

Members of a community have access to a more or less consistent speech repertoire and the use of each linguistic variety is linked to social roles such as the ‘elite’ or ‘friendship’. A speaker whose speech varieties are A, B or C will attempt to keep them separate in every way, in order to compartmentalize his role, e.g.: a friend, a learner and the head of the family.

1.2.4.2 Participants

In some speech events, roles are fixed by the social status that the participants hold in society. Various researchers (Gal, 1979) found out that language choice can be determined by different characteristics. For instance, participants are seen to be an essential element in a speech situation. A given linguistic variety is used as long as the hearer or addressee can understand it.

to play a role in determining the choice of a variety. In other words, formality is referred to as the style used when talking carefully on some occasions. Informality is described in terms of the style used in ordinary conversations characterized by spontaneity and casualness. The topic is an important clue in language choice in a bilingual community. Besides, a speaker's proficiency in a given linguistic variety enables him to use it in a situation where the common rule is to use this particular variety and not another.

1.2.4.3 Setting

When tackling the concept of speech variety, the term setting is important as it signifies the class of situations within which a given speech variety is used. The environment or setting which is the place where speech takes place, such as the street or the house, is important (Gumperz, 1966). In fact, some settings can be referred to in terms of formality and informality. For instance, a classroom is a setting where a formal discussion can take place, though this can allow exceptions, such as speech events that cannot be predictable. That is to say a non-standard variety can be used in a formal setting. The speaker may or may not take into consideration the formality of the setting (Weinreich, 1953). Often the speaker's selection of a variety in a speech situation is of great importance.

This selection is based partially on the speaker's belief or attitudes, and the evaluations of his/her own role in society as well as the role of his/her addressee. Therefore, the present work aims at discovering the influence of the informants' language attitudes, as well as language proficiency on the preference of such or such language variety in a particular situation. For instance, one may ask this question: Do students of English use English when speaking with an English teacher outside the classroom circle? It is suggested that the more a person is proficient in a given language, the more words of this language are used in speech events or situations.

s can influence a speaker's activities. In other n:

- Do language attitudes influence a speaker's language selection in watching TV programmes, reading magazines and newspapers and to the listening radio?

1.2.5 Gender

Male and female indices are included in most sociolinguistic studies since the sex variable is an important social attribute in social interaction. This may be due to the fact that men and women are biologically different and are therefore attributed different social roles. Hence, one can suggest that sex roles affect speakers' attitudes towards languages. For instance, a remarkable pattern has emerged in languages that have a distinction between non-standard and standard forms (Labov, 1966). In fact, females use high prestige standard forms more often than males do. Thus, 'the sex prestige pattern' has been found in many studies such as that of Labov (1990) which discusses examples from English, Canadian, French, Spanish and other studies. This pattern is explained by Hudson (1998:193) as follows:

The sex prestige pattern: In any society where males and females have equal access to the standard forms, females use standard variants of any stable variable which is socially stratified for both sexes more often than males do.

Females are attracted by 'sophisticated' speech. Generally speaking, sociological studies have demonstrated that women are more status-conscious than men. For this reason, they are, presumably, more sensitive to the social significance of linguistic media (Trudgill, 1974). Gender and prestige can be related in studies of the speech patterns. In British English Peter Trudgill observed that more working class women adopted the standard dialect than men. Other areas in which this has been observed include New Zealand and Guangdong in China. Trudgill suggests

estige associated with speaking the working class at men speak a `less` prestigious dialect than that which they actually spoke. According to this interpretation then, Trudgill (1978:122) noticed that "women's use of prestige features simply conforms to the ordinary sociolinguistic order, while men deviate from what is expected." Whatever the cause, women across cultures seem more likely than men to modify their speech towards the prestige dialect. Though women use prestige dialects more frequently than do men, the same gender preference for prestige languages does not seem to exist. The present work asks the question as to whether the sex parameter indicates differences in language attitudes and language selection.

1.3 The Importance of Standardization

Historical and national factors play an important part in the attitudes held by members of a society with regard to different language varieties. The decisions of a government concerning languages can be described as instances of language planning. For instance a language might be is recognized by a government as an official language constitutionally, whereby language attitudes can be influenced. Linguistically speaking, both standard and non-standard languages are comprehensible, rule-governed and used according to social rules. In this context, Trudgill (1995:129) writes:

People have attitudes towards languages: In fact these attitudes are held on many bases: cultural, social, political, regional, racial and so on. We all have attitudes towards X or Y language. To criticize the structure "I seen" and "I done it" as poor structure has no linguistic foundation.

Individuals set up a dichotomy between linguistic media on the basis of written or spoken standard status and non-standard spoken one. That is, language status either standard or non-standard can influence people's attitudes.

In the Arabic-speaking countries the mother tongue is considered to be a non standard variety. In other words, it is acquired in a non-official environment. A child acquires his mother tongue as well as its social structure, which will become the sub-stratum of his innermost experience. A mother tongue is not only a mechanical task but also learned responses which become co-ordinated by social rules. Thus, speech is viewed as the major means through which the social structure is part of individual experience. This linguistic medium is known as a dialect, too. ``The speakers' rating of their mother tongues depends upon sociocultural and political factors'' (Weinreich, 1953:104). For instance, dialects are used for conversing with friends or colleagues and at home.

Ferguson (1959) discusses the situation where two varieties of the same language function in a speech community. This situation is known as diglossia. That is, a situation where a non-standard spoken variety known as dialect , considered to be 'low' and a standard one regarded as 'high' are used. Ferguson argues that the 'low variety' has fewer grammatical, morphological categories and a reduced system of inflection⁴. Stewarts (1968) sees that dialects are vital, that is used in wider communication which means that their speakers master them, and they are not considered as autonomous⁵ as well as educational.

1.3.2 Standard Varieties

Standard languages are the kind of varieties considered to be 'proper' languages or 'prestigious', official and correct. A dialect that is considered as a non-standard medium can gain a standard status thanks to a political decision. For instance, Berber⁶ in Algeria used to be regarded as a dialect and non-standard

⁴ This is the case with Arab dialects as opposite to Standard Arabic.

⁵ This idea is concerned with dependence related to borrowing that can be considered as value-judgments that people associate with linguistic varieties.

⁶ There are many Berber varieties. This is explained in section 2.2.

adopted as a national language; that is a variety of
entity. Yet, Berber has no standard form.

Standard languages pass through the following processes (Haugen 1966, Garvin 1959).

(1) Selection: The standard variety is selected as one to be used in political and/or educational fields. The choice is of great social and political importance. So the people who speak it share the prestige. However, this standard variety is in some cases the native language of no-one, a good example is that of Standard Arabic in the Arab states.

(2) Codification: Written dictionaries and grammar books are edited “to fix” the variety, so that everyone agrees on what is correct. Codification is established in order to enable learners to attain correct forms.

(3) Elaboration of function: The selected variety is used in all functions associated with government and writing, like parliament, law courts, bureaucratic, educational and scientific documents. This may require the addition of new linguistic items such as technical words in order to serve different domains like medicine, chemistry, etc.

(4) Acceptance: The selected variety is supposed to be accepted by the relevant population as the variety of the community. In fact, it is often regarded as the national language. The standard language is considered to serve as a strong unifying force for the state. It is also a symbol of its independence from other states and a marker of its difference from others. For instance, Algeria and all other Arab states recognize Standard Arabic as a national language shared with all other Arab states. In some cases, this variety is the mother tongue of no one. In fact, one language is used at home and another is used when presenting official speech or religious sermon. For instance, this is the case with Arab dialects as opposite to standard Arabic. Stewart (1968) considers standard languages as autonomous but artificial at the level of everyday use. The proposal of the criteria stated above concerned with standardization has been quite widely accepted by sociolinguists (Fasold 1984, Milroy 1985, Haugen 1994).

standard languages are high varieties and have a morphological complexity. For instance, these varieties are used for writing formal speech or as a medium of instruction. A national language is considered to be a symbol of language loyalty. It is regulated and given a socio-political, national and official value. Edwards (1982:201) states that ‘the use of a standard language would be expression of social preference, which reflect an awareness of the status and prestige’.

The political dominance can determine the favourability of a variety functioning in a speech community. This fact can open the way for a classification of attitudes towards the national language as well as foreign languages. Indeed, it is proposed that learners prefer attaining a foreign language in relation with the Algerian environment; since it is assumed that the linguistic criterion is not sufficient to enable a learner to be a member of the community in question. A learner wishes to learn a foreign language and the culture of its speaker, but does not necessarily identify himself/herself with the target community. For instance, an Algerian citizen who masters the French language is not necessarily considered as a member of the French community.

Learned foreign languages are varieties recognised as standard. The knowledge of foreign languages opens up a set of experiences that cannot be attained otherwise. A learner who gains knowledge during four years of university studies in English has a better chance of understanding an English newspaper or some criteria of the English culture such as traditions. A learner feels the need to develop a foreign language; his opinions on the target language can be influenced as well. One of the most comprehensive reviews of the relationship between language learning and attitude change is that in Morgan (1993). She argues:

Attitude change does not operate in isolation. In order for change to take place some basic re-structuring on a cognitive level with probable shifts in affectivity must occur.

ning in university alone does not seem to affect as the positions that a given foreign language has in the world, can play an important role in the influence of language judgements. English, for instance, which is a world language, that is a medium used over wide commercial and technological areas in the world, is not necessarily judged in the same way as French, which is not an international language but is used in everyday speech in Algeria.

1.3.3 Attitudes and Language Selection in the Speech Community

Each speech community has its own sociolinguistic values related to opinions or attitudes that its members have on the existing language varieties. These opinions are related to a set of “markers” or “indices” that can inform the observer about the historical background of a country, sex, group membership as well as the linguistic proficiency. Labov (1972:120-1) emphasizes on shared attitudes and knowledge in a speech community:

The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation, which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.

Members of a given group known as a community have something in common. They share the use of a language or a dialect and interact by means of speech, a given set of rules for using them as well as a range of attitudes towards the varieties. It is suggested that there are similarities between informants which may be referred to as ‘conformity’. Hudson (1998:12) states that “the amount of conformity can be predominating in some communities”. Furthermore, Le page and Tabouret Keller (1985:175) discuss “the notion ‘focussing’ which is found where there is a high degree of contact among speakers and agreement on

be a typical situation where there are highly
such as English or French in the Algerian society.

For instance, the shift towards French can be indeed confirmed, even though differences exist among speakers as no two speakers have the same language experience. Individuals draw a more or less unconscious mental map of the community in which they live. In fact, the map covers linguistic codes related to viewpoints. The task of the sociolinguist is to discover how given linguistic criteria of a language relate with social meaning.

1.4 Conclusion

The study of language attitudes in relation to language learning, as a subject, a medium of instruction or a university subject matter, gives some indication of the extent to which linguistic situations are sensitive to or affect opinions of members within the same group. It is also important to explore the impact that language attitudes have on language selection in different domains such as writing, reading and TV watching. Some languages are seen as practical, others as scientific but related to a colonial background. Language policy in education can be effective in fostering favourable attitudes towards languages. Thus, it is a matter of the historian to discover how different varieties have functioned through history in a community in order to understand people's attitudes. The next chapter provides more information about language functions in Algeria. The actual process of language attitudes is an issue we have still to learn much about.

The next chapter tackles different issues like the Arab conquest and independence from France. Various movements appeared to have left their mark on language policy that gained social prominence and acceptance through time. The historically oriented interpretation may be an effective way to explain social activity where the loss of attitudinal criteria is inevitable.

2.1 The Language Situation from 1830 to 1962 in Algeria

Introduction

It is a well-known fact that, starting from the seventh century, the Arabs invaded Algeria; consequently, Islam and Arabic culture as well as language were introduced. The introduction of Islam and Arabic had a profound impact on North Africa as the new religion and language affected social and economic relations as well as political discourse and organizations. Kings tried to create a national or at least a provincial patriotism but they failed, as a result, Algeria was isolated and torn by the French raids in 1830.

From 1830 to 1962, Algeria came to be considered as a province rather than a colony by the French settlers who imposed their language in every sphere in Algeria. The French controlled education, government, business, and most intellectual life. They were in firm possession of the territory⁷ by the year 1870 (Encyclopédie Géographique, 1993). As a result, the effects of this policy are still found at the social level today. To use some French expressions in everyday speech events is socially accepted.

A large number of Algerians have acquired Algerian Arabic as a mother tongue. Other ethnic minorities have had distinguishable forms of Berber as a mother tongue (Galand, 1979). After independence, the Algerian government chose Standard Arabic as an official and national language (journal officiel, 1963). In other words, a language used in legislative, executive and judicial domains all over the nation.

A great number of Algerians can be considered as bilinguals, though to various extent as to the use of French and standard Arabic. Many Berbers are trilingual, yet some of them speak only their mother tongue.

⁷ French colonists did not settle in some areas in the desert, because of the hot weather and the non-fertile sandy lands. They did not also inhabit some mountainous areas such as Djurdjura mountain chain. (M. L. Ouel Khelifa, 1991)

A great number of people are multilingual or bilingual and use two languages or more in their everyday life. The languages they use have different statuses as majority/minority varieties both in their community and internationally and some of the languages are used primarily in the private domain while others are used in public domains, such as work or school. The use of minority languages and interest in their maintenance and revival is also creating situations in which more than two languages co-exist and are necessary in everyday communication, the languages of the community and a language of wider communication (Edwards, 1994). Group bi/multilingualism is also promoted by multilingual education. Learning second and additional languages in school has traditionally been associated with the social elite and the hallmark of a well-educated person's background, the increasing recognition and use of world languages as well as minority languages is making bi/multilingualism a preferred educational aim for many individuals in many communities around the world. Community multilingualism can be the result of historical, political or economic movements such as colonialism or immigration. There can be a growing need for group multilingualism as a result of increasing communications among different parts of the world and the need to be competent in languages of wider communication.

At independence in 1962 many Algerian people were extensively French-speaking and French-educated. Today it is commonplace to say that the use of French is regularly confirmed in the Algerian society. Moreover, a great number of Algerians have relatives (7 million)⁸ in France as a result of increasing flows of emigrants; mainly during the 60s and 70s.

Now, Algeria is developing a language considered to be a symbol of its independence. Standard Arabic was adopted as the national and official language, that is, a medium functioning as a legally appropriate language for all

⁸ This was declared by Djamel Oueld Abbas, the minister of national solidarity, family and the Algerian emigrants abroad, in the 8pm news dated 15 November 2008 on the 1st TV channel.

representative purposes on a nationwide basis. The natural choice to mark the break with France and forge an identity suited to the country's status as an Arab state. Since the declaration of independence, more and more decisions have been taken to arabise many spheres in Algeria. Education, for example, is now totally arabised except for some scientific and technical branches in higher education. Legislation enforcing Arabic has been an ongoing process throughout Algeria's post-independence history. It is estimated that about thirty arabisation laws, decrees and injunctions have been passed since independence in July 1962. During the 1990s two laws were passed: no.91-05, on 27 December 1990, which advocated the arabisation of all administrative offices and schools by July 1992, and higher education establishments by 5 July 2000, and another voted on 17 December 1996 by the CNT (Conseil National de Transition), that called for a nationwide arabisation to take effect from 5 July 1998. (Journal officiel, 2001).

Obviously, one can hypothesize that Standard Arabic, as the official language in addition to the prestige it gets from its status as the language of the Koran, is gaining more favour among learners. However, Standard Arabic alone does not allow the country to function as a modern nation in the fields of science and technology. This is so, not because this language is not an adequate medium in those fields, as this is not acceptable scientifically. It is the case because a large number of educated Algerians who were educated in French have not reached a position of perfect mastery of Standard Arabic. In addition, most of the printed materials like books, especially in scientific fields e.g.: medicine and engineering are either in English or French. As a result, nowadays, despite the programmes to arabise school, French continues to be the dominant language in business e.g.: banks and some professional circles like the university. Our students and pupils learn the foreign languages in which most of the world's knowledge is available. For instance, a language that can give access to science and knowledge is, presumably, considered prestigious.

that they have nothing in common with Arabic population whose identities are partly assigned to local Berber varieties feel excluded from the new project of nation-building. The Kabyle cultural movement was more than a reaction against arabisation. Essentially, it challenged the language policy that the national government pursued since 1962. It sought a wider scope for the development of the Berber variety free of bureaucratic controls (Galand, 1979). In 2002, Berber was recognized as a national language. This variety is taught in schools in Kabylia, this can have an effect on recognizing the Berbers' social and cultural identity. One can ask the following question: Does the recognition of Berber as a national language enhance non-Berber speakers to consider this variety favourably? In other words, do informants wish to associate Berber with 'high' status now?

2.1.1.1 Diglossia

The various codes in a multilingual speech community usually fulfil complementary functions. They are used differentially according to the interlocutor, domain, topic, role and the choice of one rather than the other. Diglossia is at hand if different varieties or languages co-occur throughout a speech community, each with a distinct range of social functions as it is the case with Spoken Arabic and Standard Arabic in the Arabic-speaking countries. Ferguson first introduced the term diglossia in sociolinguistics in 1959 to refer to a relationship between varieties of the same language. One variant is reserved for informal uses within a speech community; the low variety is associated with less social prestige. It is the language of informal interactions such as family life. Gumpers (1971:74) defines the two varieties as follows:

The low variety is typically acquired at home as a mother tongue, the high variety, on the other hand, is learned later, normally at school, never at home. It is a language of institutions outside the home.

ated with social structure and cultural values and is an important determinant of how a language is regarded by members of the society. Cultural values, for instance, are important in the case of a less prestigious language in order to maintain it. It is considered to be assigned to positive values with which its speakers can identify themselves.

It is clear that Ferguson's original contribution was intended to reach beyond the descriptive and classificatory levels of analysis. The abstract notion of diglossia is related to diachronic, evolutionary study. In Ferguson's (1959:163) own words, "what I tried to do was to characterize this situation in the hopes that here we would have discovered one possible element in a general typology of socio-linguistic situations" This typology was to have led to a "set of principles or frame of reference," in terms of which patterns of language use and the evolution of verbal repertoires might be conceptualized.

Considerations of sociolinguistic situations that hold some significant resemblance to those discussed by Ferguson, and in particular to the Arabic case, suggest that these situations may form a coherent sociolinguistic situation, whereby the shared social and linguistic characteristics may be associated with socio-historical circumstances. In terms of their synchronic characteristics as well as what may be common instances in the histories of these situations, diglossic situations may be compared to and contrasted with other instances of standard-with-dialect cases or with patterns of societal bilingualism. There are examples of societal bilingualism related to some resemblance to diglossic situations, just as there are examples of diglossia that in certain aspects of their social evolution, look like societal bilingualism. Diglossia and societal bilingualism are two major types of sociolinguistic arrangements often regarded as surface variants of the same underlying phenomenon. However, they are fundamentally different in their social evolutionary origins. Furthermore, a classification of these two phenomena under a single rubric obscures rather than clarifies sociolinguistic theory.

Code-switching is a term that refers to using more than one language or variety in conversation. Bilinguals, who can speak at least two languages, have the ability to use elements of both languages when conversing with another bilingual. Gumpers sees that it represents language alternation (1971:192), he asserts that:

The significance of this phenomenon in illuminating bilingual cognition and behaviour cannot be underestimated, first and foremost because code switching is exclusive to bilinguals.

Code-switching can occur between sentences (intersentential) or within a single sentence (intrasentential). Intersentential switching requires an advanced level of bilingual proficiency as it often entails the production of full clauses in each language. However, the latter, can offer insights into the ways in which the two grammars of the bilingual interact at the sentence level.

Although some commentators have seen code-switching as reflecting a lack of language ability, most contemporary scholars consider code-switching to be a normal and natural product of interaction between the bilingual (or multilingual) speaker's languages. This activity can be distinguished from other language contact phenomena such as loan translation (calques); for instance, a set of words that have not been completely assimilated in the Algerian dialect, such as /tili/ 'TV', /tilifun/ 'telephone', /kikota/' and borrowing. Thus, an expression from one language may more readily come to mind than the equivalent expression in the other language. One can suggest that learners who are influenced by foreign language learning tend to switch more in different speech situations.

Another perspective primarily concerns syntactic constraints on switching. This is a line of inquiry that has postulated grammatical rules and specific

... a switch may occur. While code-switching had
... as a matter of peripheral importance within the
more narrow tradition of research on bilingualism, it has now moved into a more
general focus of interest for sociolinguists, psycholinguists and general linguists.
It can be related to and indicative of group membership in particular types of
bilingual speech communities, such that the regularities of the alternating use of
two or more languages within one conversation may vary to a considerable
degree between groups in a given speech community.

2.1.2 The Colonial Period (1830 to 1962)

Introduction

Colonization as well as language planning are factors that can produce
bilingualism; this can play an important role in determining attitudes towards
linguistic varieties. Thus, it is necessary and helpful to provide an overview of
the language situation in Algeria from 1830. This can shed light on the functions
of languages in relation to society.

2.1.2.1 Algerian Arabic

Algerian Arabic is the mother tongue of a large number of Algerians.
This medium constitutes an essential means to acquire the social rules which
determine the spheres of behaviour. Actually, it does not have an academic or
official status. In this context, Grandguillaume (1983:13) writes: ``The mother
tongue of every Maghreban is either an Arabic or a Berber dialect. These dialects
are essentially spoken⁹.'' Spoken Arabic remains quite different from Standard
Arabic in several ways. The differences lie at the morphological, lexical and
phonological levels.

⁹ My translation of the text: La langue maternelle de tout maghrébin est un dialecte arabe ou berbère. Ces dialectes sont essentiellement oraux.

level is concerned the following examples can be

Lexis	Algerian Arabic	Standard Arabic	Gloss
/ n t a a ʕ /	+	-	Of
/ b a l l a ʕ /	+	-	Shut
/ b a r k a /	+	-	Stop it

As for the morphological level, the following examples can be given. The dual which refers to verbs describing the action of two persons in standard Arabic, either in the imperative, past or present tenses, is not used in Algerian Arabic. For instance:

Standard Arabic	Algerian Arabic	English	Tenses
/ j a l ʕ a b a a n /	/ j a l ʕ b u /	They play	Present
/ i l ʕ a b a a /	/ ʔ a l ʕ b u /	Play	Imperative
/ l a ʕ i b a a /	/ l a ʕ b u /	They played	Past

As for the phonological level, the following examples can be stated:

Rural Spoken Arabic	Standard Arabic	Gloss
/ g a a l /	/ q a a l a /	He said
/ t u : m /	/ ʰ a w m /	Garlic
/ d a w /	/ d a w ʔ /	Light

¹⁰The examples stated in the tables were taken from "Cahier de Dialectologie et Linguistique Contrastive", Bouamrane (1989).

ent Algerian dialects. Speakers of all the Arabic dialects have a certain degree of mutual intelligibility, in spite of linguistic differences. The differences can be found at the lexical and the phonological levels, for instance.

1- The lexical level:

Bel-Abbes dialect	Tlemcen dialect	Algiers dialect	Classical Arabic	Gloss
/ w a a h /	/ j i h /	/ ʔ e h /	/ n a ʕ a m /	Yes
/ f u t /	/ f u t /	/ d ʒ u z /	/ m u r /	Go on
/sabbala /	/saʔʔaya /	/sabbala /	/hanafija /	tap
/ χ a j /	/ χ a : j /	/ χ u j a /	/ ʔ a χ i : /	My brother

2- The phonological level: One of the most noticeable features is concerned with the pronunciation of /q /, which can be articulated in four different ways: [ʔ], [q], [g], [k], [tʃ].

Bel- Abbes dialect	Tlemcen dialect	Algiers dialect	Djjel dialect	Standard Arabic	Gloss
/ g a a l /	/ ʔaa l /	/ qa a l /	/ k aa l /	/ q aa l a /	He said
/ g a : l b /	/ ʔ a l b /	/ q a l b /	/ k a l b /	/ q a l b /	Heart

The field of research in the Algerian dialects is far from being dealt with in a few pages since it is not the main aim of the research paper. The information stated above is a very general description of Algerian dialect organization in Algeria.

Borrowing is a phenomenon that results from languages coming into contact. Haugen (1966:26) defines borrowing as follows:

The heart of our definition of borrowing is the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another.

This notion considers the main influence that a language can exert on another. An item is borrowed from one variety to become part of another one. People can recognize borrowings or loan words, and for which they can sometimes name the source language.

Due to its contact with French and Spanish during the colonization period (1830-1962), Algerian dialects contain many borrowings from French and Spanish. Waves of Spanish people settled in Algeria before and during the colonial period; as a result, fewer Spanish borrowings, in comparison to French, are found in everyday language use mainly in North West Algeria. These borrowings were assimilated to the phonemic system of Algerian Arabic.

A common cause of borrowing is the need to find names for new objects, concepts, and places; as this task is easier than inventing new ones. So the existence of many borrowed words from French as well as Spanish to Bel Abbes dialect reflects the fact that the contact with these languages was related to jobs, institutions and dwellings.

The influx of French borrowings into this dialect during the colonial era was not matched by any comparable flow of loan words from Bel Abbes Arabic into French. The prestige factor is no doubt largely responsible since the French people constituted an upper class or more accurately, the governing class. The Algerian Speakers who, by convenience or necessity preferred social advancement were naturally led to learn French. The use of French borrowings in the Algerian dialect has become common practice.

French loan words in the Algerian Arabic is rising particularly, TV watching, as well as technological

progress help very much in the expansion of this phenomenon. For instance:

/pirimi /→ expired

/nformati /→ I formate

/nzoomi /→ I zoom

Spanish borrowings ¹¹	Words in English
/marju/	Cupboard
/kuzina/	Kitchen
/liχija/	Javel

French borrowings	Words in English
/plakar/	Cupboard
/tabla/	Table
/vista/	Jacket

Various attitudes are held by members of the society with regard to the use of borrowings in dialects and this depends on the regional area. In other words, a given set of loan words, for instance, reflects a group with which the speaker identifies himself.

2.1.2.2 Berber

Before the Arabs came to Algeria, Berber had been the main spoken language. It was an indigenous language that is a language of the people considered to be the original inhabitants of the area. Grandguillaume (1983:14) states that “the Berber dialects came from the spoken languages in the Maghreb before the Arab conquest in the 8th century.” When the Arab conquest¹² started in the 7th century, Arab new settlers established Arabic, the language of revelation, as their language and an official one. In other words, it was used in legislative,

¹¹ These words are presented as they are adapted in the Algerian Arabic phonemic system.

¹² The Arab conquest is known as 'futūhaāt'. It is largely recognized by historians as a wave of renaissance.

As a result, Berber remained a vernacular tongue without having any academic status. (L.Galand, 1979). Some Berber alphabetical transcriptions have survived and were discovered in Touareg (A Berber variety of Touareg community in the Sahara). These archaic transcriptions are called "Tifinagh". However, some ancient Berber poetry and prose were transcribed in Latin and Greek script. Later, the Arab conquest had its impact on that field, as ancient Berber texts were also transcribed in Arabic script. (G. Grandguillaume, 1983)

Berber for example, contains Arab loan words, such as /ʕ a s s a / 'supervision', / f a j d a / 'interest' or 'profit' and all numbers adapted in the Berber phonemic system. For example:

/ s e v ʕ a /, seven (7)

/ t l a θ a /; three (3)

Similarly, there are French borrowings such as: / ʔ a b i d u n /, 'bucket' and / a ʒ e n d a r m / 'policeman' and 'gendarme' in French.

As far as the Algerian Berber speakers are concerned, the proportion of Berber inhabitants is 30%¹³. This population occupies different parts of Algeria. The greatest number is centralized in Kabylia situated North East of Algiers. The Chaoui community occupies the Aurès, a region situated in the East of Algeria and the Mozabites variety is spoken by the Mzab people located in the North of the Algerian desert (Ghardaïa). The Touareg variety is spoken by the Touaregs in the deep South. During the French colonization, Berber was not taught. Consequently, it has remained a local vernacular. Therefore, in the context of our investigation the following hypothesis can be stated; Berber could be stigmatised since it is unknown by the selected informants. In addition, it is related to 'low status' and considered as a non-educational medium (Ferguson, 1959).

¹³ La Fédération Internationale des Droits de l'Homme: "la marginalisation de Tamazight", 2001

Nowadays, Standard Arabic is also known as modern literary Arabic and formal Arabic used for scholastic purposes. It was used as the written medium at the official and intellectual levels prior to the French colonization. After the French settlement, many Algerians learned Arabic and the Koran in local schools (known as “*écoles coraniques*”, *Medersa*) (D. Guennen, 1987). Later, the scholar *Ibn Badis*, by 1930s, led an intellectual movement, which brought educational reforms such as the teaching of Arabic in schools established in the mosque, called “*Medersa*”. These schools were established to teach the Arabic language and Islamic principles. From 1934 to 1935, “*Ach-Chihab*” newspaper announced the establishment of 70 schools. One or two classes of learners were taught in different regions of the country. Three thousand learners were registered in the “*Oulama Association*” (Scholars' Association) which was created in 1931. In 1950, this association published a list of learners taught by one hundred seventy four teachers. In 1954, the same association announced that forty thousand pupils were taught in its schools. (Attar El-Islam Ibn Badis, 1985).

Yet, during the fifties and in the French educational system Arabic was taught as a school subject and a foreign language¹⁴ in schools known as “*College*” that succeed primary schooling. (Journal Officiel, articles 20 and 22 of the year 1958).

2.1.2.4 French

The French settlers used their language in all instructions, they intended to make the conquest secure and to promote political solidarity. So, the French language was introduced through teaching, which could bring French history, for instance, by means of literature. In this perspective A.K Saâd-Llah

¹⁴ That is a medium considered not to belong to the learner's own land.

ch was established as the only official language in

From the beginning of colonisation, 1830 for Algeria, 1881 for Tunisia and 1912 for Morocco, French became the only official language in the Maghreb¹⁵. (1986:34)

Due to the contact of Algerian people with French settlers, some French expressions were used among Algerians who used to work on lands or shops owned by the settlers. For instance, these expressions contain greetings such as ‘ça va’, short remarks such as ‘c'est beaucoup’ and ‘c'est bon’. Moreover, only a small number of Algerians received education. Therefore, illiteracy was widespread 98% among women and 94% illiterate men in 1954. (Oueld Khelifa, 1991).

2.1.2.5 Spanish

Waves of Spanish immigrants settled in Algeria during the French colonization. The number of Spanish immigrants was greater in Oran. This group of people settled as land owners and shop keepers. (A.K Saâd-Llah, 1986). Consequently, some Algerian workers acquired some Spanish expressions¹⁶.

2.1.2.6 English

In the fifties and by the declaration of the Algerian revolution (1954), secondary school pupils were to study English in the first year of “College” schooling; known as ‘sixth’. (Journal Officiel, 1959).

This implies that the educational system was equipped with new foreign language competence.

¹⁵The original text of my translation is : Dès les débuts de la colonisation, soit 1830 pour l'Algérie, 1881 pour la Tunisie et 1912 pour le Maroc, le français est devenu la seule langue officielle au Maghreb.

¹⁶ These Spanish words are considered as loan-words, some of them are mentioned on page 34

2.2.1 Berber

The Berber people have always lived in some parts of Algeria. Nevertheless, there are still some areas considered to be typically Berber ones as Grandguillaume (1983:19) states:

Berber dialects originated from spoken languages in the Maghreb before the Arab conquest in the 7th century. The latter brought the arabisation of the main towns to large areas. But important areas have remained Berber up to this day¹⁷.

The rural exodus of Berber people towards the towns, during the French colonization and after independence mainly, had a remarkable impact. Berber started to be used in other regions which were not classified as Berber one (Grandguillaume,1983). Although Algiers is considered as an Arab area and not a typical Berber one, Berber people use their variety frequently in this town. The contact of the two ethnic groups influenced non-Berber speakers who use some expressions to establish social relationships with the other ethnic group speakers. However, Berber does not have an academic status in the Arab Maghreb countries. It has remained a group language, in other words, a language functioning as the normal medium of communication among the members of a single cultural or ethnic group.

Actually, Berber speakers, and mainly the intellectual mass, are claiming for the teaching of this variety all over the country. These demands can be due to in-group solidarity or language loyalty so young Kabyle students expressed their opposition to arabisation. In the early 1980s, their movement and demands formed the basis of the “Berber question” or the Kabyle “cultural movement”.

¹⁷The original text of my translation is: Les dialectes Berbères sont issus des langues parlées au Maghreb avant la conquête arabe au vii^e. Celle-ci a entraîné l’arabisation des villes principales. Mais des zones importantes sont demeurées berbérophones jusqu’à ce jour.

related to the continuous Arabisation flow that undergo. One can mention the following statement

announced by FIDH (the International Federation of Human Rights) on Tuesday, November 20th, 2001:

The policy of arabisation that was led without nuances and discrimination also raises the problem of the statuses of the other languages used in Algeria. More than spoken Arabic, the demand for the language of the Berber culture raises in its own way and on another level the question of national integration posed by the existence of populations, a language and an ancestral culture¹⁸.

Nowadays, this language is springing up; for instance, on March 12th 2002 president Bouteflika announced in an official speech broadcast on television, that Berber was recognized as a national language. The Berber varieties have been used to present TV news since 1992. In 1995, President Zeroual, wanting to appease the 'Kabyle' political parties, set up a body attached to the presidency that had the task of introducing Berber teaching in schools. Since 2003 middle school pupils have attended non-compulsory Berber courses in Sidi Bel-Abbes, while its teaching is compulsory.

2.2.2 Algerian Arabic

After 1962, Algerian Arabic has remained a vernacular language. It is used for everyday conversation, in theatre plays, popular poems, songs and newspaper jokes. When the arabisation process started, standard Arabic was used in the mass media by the year 1971 (El-Moudjahid, Arabic, n°387 of 1.10.67). It is used in some live conversations with listeners (on radio) or viewers (on television) and in some TV or radio programmes. Algerian Arabic is regarded as

¹⁸The original text of my translation is: La politique d'arabisation menée sans nuance ni discernement soulève aussi le problème du statut des autres langues pratiquées en Algérie. Plus encore que l'arabe parlé, la revendication de la langue et de la culture berbères soulève à sa façon et sur un autre registre la question de l'intégration nationale posée par l'existence de populations, d'une langue et d'une culture ancestrale.

formal criterion for ascertaining group membership. it in some speech situations, where this variety should normally be expected, would seem odd. It is hypothesized that Algerian speakers consider their mother tongue as a non-educational linguistic tool.

2.2.3 Standard Arabic

The Koran, the holy divine book, was revealed in what is usually called Classical Arabic, consequently this language gained high prestige. It is clearly expressed in Koran verses that it was sent down:

In the perspicuous Arabic tongue.
(Soura: Achou'araa', verse 195)

And in another verse God says:

We have sent it down as an Arabic Koran, in order that ye may learn wisdom.
(Soura: Yusuf, verse 2)

The Koran was the most instrumental factor leading to the preservation of the classical language. This is why it is regarded primarily as a religious language, and a medium used in connection with the rituals of Islam. The whole Arab civilisation evolved and was transmitted in this language, which is regarded as the language of Islam, and literature. In the field of history, historians consider all states conquered by Arabs as one nation. For instance, M. Djender (1991, 66) writes:

the language of the Islamic community, the identity of
it like a mirror. The Arab-Moslem civilisation evolved
with this language, too¹⁹.

In the pre-Islamic period, one of the traditions was that of the ‘*mu'allaqāt*’ (literally “the hung”). In the city of Mecca, poets and writers would hang their writings on a certain wall in the city so that others could read about the virtues of their respective tribes. Their travels from city to city and tribe to tribe were the means by which news, legends, and exploits would become known. The tradition continued as the Qur'an was first memorized and transmitted by word of mouth and then recorded for the following generations.

Great centres of religious learning were also centres of knowledge and scientific development. Such formal centres began during the Abbasid period (750-1258 AD) when thousands of mosque schools were established. In the tenth century Baghdad had some 300 schools. Alexandria in the fourteenth century had 12,000 students. It was in the tenth century that the formal concept of the ‘*Madrassah*’ (school) was developed in Baghdad. The ‘*Madrassah*’ had a curriculum and full-time and part-time teachers. From these ‘*Maktabat*’ (libraries) were developed and foreign books acquired. The two, most famous ones are ‘*Bait al-Hikmah*’ in Baghdad (820) and ‘*Dar al-Ilm*’ in Cairo (ca. 998). Universities such as ‘*Al-Azhar*’ (969 AD) were also established long before those in Europe. Islamic history and culture can be traced through the written records: Pre-Islamic, early Islamic, Umayyad, the first and second Abbasid, the Hispano-Arabic, the Persian and the modern periods.

Regular tasks were realised in order to modernise the Arabic culture through the introduction of new social and technical words called “*Mustalahaât*” that is to say ‘terms’. Modernisation consists in enriching the language, where necessary, with a new terminology in the domains that are most lacking such as

¹⁹ The original text of my translation is : La langue arabe est la langue de la communauté islamique c'est en elle que luit, comme en un miroir cette identité de musulman. C'est aussi, avec cette langue que toute la civilisation Arabo-musulmane a évolué.

allow them to face the current communication and linguistic items -in different fields, such as linguistics or politics etc.- that entered the dictionary are not directly related to the Arabic culture. As a result, a series of loan-words are found, that is, foreign words which have not completely undergone assimilation to Arabic. For instance, on the one hand, the word democracy in Arabic /d i m u q r a t i j a/ is used to entail the same meaning found in English or French. On the other hand, another term that is used in the Arabo-Islamic culture is closely related to this word, it is / f u r a /. Unlike the English or French words, the Arabic term embodies a religious connotation underlying historical factors. In other words, the Moslem community uses it with reference to social, political and religious facts. Nevertheless, the word /d i m u q r a t i a/ is laic and used at the political level only.

Besides, another range of vocabulary items can be found. For example, the word “villa” which was assimilated and written /f ill a/ in Arabic means a house with a front or a back garden and built in a particular European architecture. Yet in Arabic, and previous to the European colonization of the Arab countries, other terms were used such as /d a r/ ‘house’, / χ a j m a/ ‘tent’, /q a s r/ ‘castle’ and so forth. Thus, the new words are borrowed from French or English, mainly. For instance, when using the terms /r u m a n s i j a/ and /k l a s i k i j a/ in Arabic, the French or English words are added to give more clarification and accuracy. Attempts of this sort mean that the meanings of these terms are determined by another language. Therefore, Standard Arabic is faced with a certain semantic dependence.

2.2.4 The Language Organisation in Education

Introduction

From the early sixties to the early eighties, the Algerian educational system was composed of a primary school, a middle school and a secondary school education. It was replaced by a new type of comprehensive school known

the latter is mentioned in Article number 66 of the

This instruction is free, it is compulsory during fundamental education and under the conditions mentioned by the law²¹.

This new schooling was in favour of more learning of Arabic noticeably. Nowadays, primary school pupils have only five hours a week of French. Before the implementation of this type of school, primary school pupils had ten hours. So, pupils' proficiency in French is limited to some activities related to written and oral abilities. One can suggest that these learners prefer Arabic to French.

In 1980, primary school and middle school began to be fused into 'Ecole Fondamentale'. This schooling covered 9 years: six years in the primary school and three in the traditional "Collège d'Enseignement Moyen" "C.E.M" and secondary schooling covered 3 years.

2.2.4.1 Standard Arabic in Education

2.2.4.1.1 Primary School

Pupils spent six years in primary school. In the sixties, the Algerian pupil learned French from the first year. Later, in the seventies (1971-1972) and up to the present time, the pupil has been taught mainly in Standard Arabic. At present, French is taught in the third year of primary schooling. One can suggest that the French language proficiency of the people who did primary schooling in the sixties and seventies is better than the proficiency of the ones who did it in the eighties. This is due to the fact that the previous generation had more

²⁰ Since 2003 new educational reforms were introduced, consequently the "Ecole Fondamentale" was replaced by new primary schooling that comprises five years instead of six and four years in middle school instead of three.

²¹ The original text of my translation is: Cette instruction est gratuite, elle est obligatoire pendant l'éducation fondamentale dans les conditions citées par la loi.

t school (more subjects were learned in French).
learn French only during fewer lesson hours.

2.2.4.1.2 Middle School

It consisted of four years starting after completion of primary school. Since 1982, Arabic has been used as the medium of education; that is, the arabisation process gained more importance at this level. French and English are taught as subjects named in official documents as first and second foreign languages respectively.

2.2.4.1.3 Secondary School

The pupils spend the three final years in secondary school. At the end of this training, they sit for the general exam called the “Baccalauréat” which enables them to study in the university.

There are four types of sections in the secondary schools:

- 1- Scientific stream (série scientifique).
- 2- Literary stream (série littéraire).
- 3- Exact sciences stream (série sciences exactes).
- 4- Technical streams (série technique).

The literary section has been completely arabised since 1974. The Algerian government set up a process for the “restoration of the Arabo-Islamic culture of the Algerians”. Since the academic year 1986-1987, mathematics, physics and chemistry are all taught in Standard Arabic to all sections in all grades. Literature, history, geography, theology, philosophy have been taught in Arabic since 1982-1983. Thus one can propose the following hypothesis:

Secondary school pupils as well as Arabic language university students are more involved with SA and consider it easier than foreign languages. Besides, it is suggested that language learning has a certain influence on attitudes

are stigmatised since then have no access to the

2.2.4.1.4 Higher Education

All graduate studies of human sciences are done in Arabic. This includes history, which has been taught in this language since 1968. However, at the level of post graduate studies and in research, the French language is sometimes used, because documents, books and journals are more available in French and English mainly.

2.2.4.1.5 Standard French in Education

The knowledge of Standard French, that is used for literary or scholarly purpose, gained larger ground among citizens after independence, because of the spread of education. Furthermore, a large number of Algerian pupils attained a given amount of English knowledge (O. Hayane, 1989). One can hypothesize that the need of foreign languages such as French and English in order to have access to knowledge, especially in the university, can foster favourable attitudes towards these languages.

2.2.4.1.6 Primary School

On the eve of independence, French was taught from the 1st year. Standard Arabic was taught in the 3rd year of a pupil's schooling. Nonetheless, for many years French was replaced by Arabic in educational institutions. This has resulted in discontinuities in language mastery and use, so, one can expect the emergence of different attitudes towards the languages in use among generations living in a community (Morgan, 1993). For example, in Algeria the changes that

ow. As early as the academic years: 1966-67 to 1972-73, the experiment was carried out as follows:

Arabised Section	Bilingual Section
Standard French: taught as a second language.	Standard French: medium of instruction for arithmetics, natural sciences, geography and history.

As early as the academic year 1973/74, Standard French was taught as follows:

Arabised Section	Bilingual Section
Standard French introduced as a second language or foreign language.	Standard French taught as a second language and as a medium of instruction for arithmetics and natural sciences.

2.2.4.1.7 Middle School

In middle school, the same language organisation was followed. That is, before the fundamental schooling was introduced, pupils learned arithmetics and natural sciences in Standard French. As early as the school year: 1982-1983, all scientific subjects in all grades were taught in Standard Arabic. Thus, French was taught only as a subject.

2.2.4.1.8 Secondary School

Standard French was used to learn arithmetics and natural sciences for the scientific and mathematical sections. The literary section included the

natural sciences in Arabic by the year 1974. When the reform came into operation, all subjects in all grades were arabised. So, French was taught both as a subject and as a foreign language. Literary and foreign language sections attend more courses in English and French. Therefore, it is suggested that French is viewed as 'difficult' by secondary school pupils which would not be the case with students of French.

2.2.4.1.9 Higher Education

It is for practical reasons that French is officially preserved at university level. This is due to the fact that all university teachers of scientific branches do graduate and post graduate studies, such as a 'doctorate', in French. For the urban elite, French constitutes the medium of modernization and technology. It facilitates their access to Western commerce, to economic development as well as culture. Their command of the language guarantees their continued social prominence.

2.2.4.2 Standard English in Education

2.2.4.3.1 Primary School

English was never taught in primary school until 1992. From that year and in a small number of schools, parents had to choose either the teaching of French or English for their children. This was conducted in one class in some Algerian schools. Nevertheless, this reform did not prove to be fruitful. This was due to the fact that pupils lack French proficiency which is needed for higher education, mainly. It soon became obvious to students who obtained an education in Arabic that their prospects for gainful employment were bleak without facility in French, a fact that contributed to general public scepticism about the programme.

English is an international language. It is needed to have access to technology, development and progress. For instance, most of ‘Magistère’ and ‘Doctorate’ researchers need English documents where useful and recent information is provided. This is why the Algerian government adopted it as a 2nd foreign language. Nevertheless, English is never used out of the classroom circle as it is not the language brought by the colonizers. English was taught in middle school in the second year (8th grade) as a school subject and a foreign language. Since 2003-2004 school year, this language has been taught in the first year.

2.2.4.3.3 Secondary School

At this level the number of English courses is higher for the literary sections than it is for the scientific ones in the first year. In the second year all sections, have the same number of English classes (3 hours a week). The literature and foreign language sections attend a higher number of classes in English (5 hours a week).

2.2.4.3.4 Higher Education

English for specific purpose courses: E.S.P²² is a specialised programme in English taught to learners in response to specific occupational graduate and post-graduate courses. It is taught for all university students enrolled in scientific branches, such as: Economic sciences, Architecture and Biology. Some branches of human sciences include the teaching of E.S.P, such as: Islamic sciences and Arabic literature.

²² This programme is used primarily in connection with the contexts in which the learner is required to use this language such as chemistry or biology.

Other foreign languages are taught in schools and universities. Three hours a week of either German or Spanish are taught for foreign languages sections in some secondary schools.

As for the university level, German, Spanish and Russian are taught. Italian is taught in Algiers University.

2.2.5 The Language Situation in the Mass Media

2.2.5.1 Cinema

Most foreign films, except Arab films, are dubbed in French. Dubbing is done in French because the foreign films, mostly American, are purchased from France. Other foreign films, mostly Brazilian and Mexican, are purchased from Egypt or Lebanon, which take in charge the dubbing in Arabic.

2.2.5.2 Theatre

All the plays that are performed in Algerian theatres are presented either in Algerian Arabic or Standard Arabic.

2.2.5.3 Radio and Television

After Independence, French was still used on radio and TV. Later, from 1972 arabisation has started to be carried out in both media. Standard Arabic is getting more and more implemented by the government in radio and television transmissions. These reforms were adopted in order to improve people's knowledge of Standard Arabic. Besides, more and more programmes are broadcast in this language in order to help people get more familiar with this

speech situations, which mean the use of both Arabic occur especially in interviews or debates.

There are three television channels:

- 1- The National Algerian TV Channel: This channel broadcasts programmes in Standard Arabic such as daily news, documentaries, children's programmes (cartoons), official speeches, as well as other programmes in Algerian Arabic.

The programmes broadcast in Algerian Arabic are:

Algerian plays and films, Algerian songs, live interviews. The programmes broadcast in mixed Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic are:

Advertisements and some debates.

The programmes broadcast in French are:

French films, dubbed foreign films.

- 2- The third channel: It uses the same media as the first one.
- 3- The international channel broadcast by satellite presents programmes and news in French as well as some programmes in Arabic.

There are three national radio channels and other regional ones, such as /l b a h j a/ in Oran and /l b a h 3 a/ in Algiers.

- 1) The National Algerian Radio: Standard Arabic is the medium of broadcasting. In songs, plays and live conversations the vernacular language is used.
- 2) The Second Channel: It presents all programmes in Berber.
- 3) The Third Channel: Alger "chaîne trois": In this channel all programmes are presented in French. Hence, Algerian Arabic is introduced in non-official speech. Spanish and English news as well as some programmes in each language are broadcast in the evening.
- 4) The Regional Radio Channels: Standard Arabic is used to present speeches and news. Algerian Arabic is commonly used by journalists.

Newspapers are edited in both Standard Arabic and Standard French. More and more newspapers edited in Arabic appeared in the nineties. French magazines include mainly fashion and scientific topics as well as politics. Magazines edited in Standard Arabic include articles about politics and social matters. It should be noted that magazines written in English are rarely found in bookshops.

2.3 Conclusion

Unlike Algerian Arabic, which is used at home, for everyday informal purposes and reinforces social relations; Standard Arabic is considered to have an intellectual and political frame of reference. It is commonly used as an educational medium. Indeed, Standard Arabic is a medium used to edit books, to do studies and research. It is the language of the 'élite'. On the one hand, Arabic dialect speakers feel that their varieties belong to the source which is Arabic dialect. On the other hand, Berber dialect speakers consider that Berber is stigmatised and ignored. Algeria gives attention to learning foreign languages, since the educational level of its students and the strength of the nation depend on such skill. Arabisation was proceeding on a grade-by-grade basis. The Ministry of Justice came closest to the goal by arabising internal functions and all court proceedings during the 1970s. Other ministries, however, were slower to follow the same policy and French remained in general use. The recognition of French as an important medium and an open window to technology is regarded as a reality. French is widely used amongst the educated people in Algeria and speech acts and even speech events in French are often heard in non-official discussions. Furthermore, that linguistic value goes in parallel with another important world language which is English. This language is devoid of the colonial and historical background that French has. It is assumed that language attitudes as well as language selection are not arbitrary, but oriented by a number



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and spread of given languages. That is, the use of a
given domains can be associated with social criteria
or scientific values.

The next chapter presents field-work data; it considers the attitudinal aspects towards the different languages functioning in our society. Linguistic varieties are allocated different roles and are judged accordingly. There is also an analysis of informants' language selection in various situations. This part reveals clues that orient the informants' language choices within their community.

3.1 Use of Questionnaires

Introduction

Clearly we need to have speakers representing all criteria related to the hypotheses described above. Ten male and female informants were selected from every group. It is important that all data should be collected under the same circumstances, so far as this is possible. The data concerned with language attitudes study were elicited from the informants by means of written anonymous questionnaires. This helps them to express themselves freely. The questionnaires are the main basis of the field work as far as language attitudes are concerned (Gardner and Lambert 1972). They are important tools the investigator has at his disposal, as they enable him to gather the maximum of information in a short time. This way of collecting data is also uniform for all informants.

The first part includes personal information (age, sex, department/ school)

It is worth mentioning that each questionnaire is written in Standard Arabic as it is the medium of instruction. The researcher made sure that all informants live in Sidi Bel-Abbes and have spent at least ten years in this town.

3.1.1 Language Attitudes Test

Attitude measurements are imperfect representations of individuals as speakers may consciously or unconsciously give socially desirable answers or, for instance, the purpose of the research may affect them. To eliminate this, direct and indirect questionnaires were used. They consist of three parts¹ and are as follows:

- 1- Direct questionnaire: Multiple-choice questions.
- 2- Indirect questionnaires: a- Closed-ended questions.
b- The adjective test.

¹ These tests were adapted from Labov's studies (1972), Stewart's classification (1968) and Gumperz (1966).

...ted from Lambert and Gardner's research¹ (1972).

...estions

In this type of test, the informant is given multiple-choice questions
e.g.: What is your opinion on the Arabic language?

The statements and their aims are as follows:

Aims of Statements	Statements
1- To discover people's opinions on the perception of some linguistic sides of the language.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Its grammar is easy - Its grammar is difficult - Its pronunciation is easy - Its pronunciation is difficult - Its vocabulary is easy - Its vocabulary is difficult
2- To discover people's reactions towards the speakers of the language as attitudes towards a language can be the reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is your opinion on X people?
Favourable: - Presence of high status	
Traits - Likeable status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Civilised
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Friendly
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sociable
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religiousness
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religious
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intelligence
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intelligent
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nationalism
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Patriotic
Unfavourable: - Hostility Traits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Harsh
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Absence of high status
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not-civilised
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Negative intelligence
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Malicious
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -negative self-confidence - Pretentious

²In Lambert (1964).

	a - University students of a scientific branch need a foreign language to do their higher studies.
Wish to learn subjects in Algerian Arabic and see if informants can probably relate this variety to a standard status.	- The Algerian learner would master Standard Arabic if subjects were taught in Algerian dialects in the primary school.
Wish and comfort to learn French / English.	1- Learning English is useful for secondary school pupils. 2- Learning French is useful for Algerian learners.
Wish to attain fluency in Standard Arabic /French / English and Berber.	- I would like to be able to speak Standard Arabic /French / English and Berber.
Acceptance of being a member of other communities or communicate with other communities thanks to Standard Arabic or French or English.	1- Standard Arabic allows me to meet and communicate with more people from the Arab world. 2- Studying English enables me to think like the English people. 3- Studying French enables me to think like the French people.

Indirect statements

3.1.1.3 The Adjective Test

This test consists of a list of adjectives (adapted from Stewart's sources 1968). The adjectives and expressions were chosen according to some important value judgements that people have on languages. Throughout history, linguistic media are described according to the roles they were famous for (More information is given about this point section 1.5). The

jective or a phrase for a given language. The test

at adjectives and two nouns, five phrases and one

sentence.

Example:

Phrases and Adjectives	Algerian Arabic	Standard Arabic	Standard French	Standard English
Can express any idea				
Rich in vocabulary				
Beautiful				
Practical				
Lively				

The test was based on the following criteria:

Item aims	The given items
Linguistic criteria	1- Rich in vocabulary 2- Can express any idea 3- Poor vocabulary
Aesthetic aspects	1- poetic 2- beautiful 3- Lively
Prestige criterion	1- Prestigious
Religiousness	1- Religious
Leadership or superiority	1- Language
Inferiority	1- Dialect
Easiness in use	1- Practical
Dependence	1- Contains borrowings from other languages.
Ability to deal with science and technology.	1- Scientific

Adjective test

The subjects are asked to give information about language preference in the media, reading books and newspapers as well as writing. The aim is to investigate the influence that language proficiency has on language preference.

- a) Language preference in the media such as:
 - TV watching.
 - Listening to radio programmes.
- b) Reading books, magazines and newspapers.
- c) Language preference in writing:
 - 1- Writing personal diaries.
 - 2- Writing family letter.
 - 3- Writing shopping list.
 - 4- Writing official letters.
- d) Language selection in speech situations:

Here the researcher is a participant in the speech situation. There are specific topics (these are mentioned below) discussed with one informant at a time within the group of the same sex in order to urge the speaker to express himself/herself freely. The discussions took place in a classroom and were recorded with the agreement of all informants.

The choice of topics was based on the following criteria:

- Formality and unfamiliarity.
- Familiarity and informality.

As far as language use is concerned Fishman (1975:15) claims that:

Proper usage indicates that only of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular kinds of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics.

Therefore, given languages can coincide with given topics, this is known as language selection. Furthermore, one can assume the following points:

Formality can refer to: Themes usually tackled in schools or universities).

- Familiarity and informality can refer to: Themes dealt with in either learned or non-standard vernacular languages acquired in non-institutionalised environments¹.

The proposed topics are as follows:

- 1- Medicine ——— refers to an institutionalised formal frame and it is learned in French in Algeria.
- 2- Preferred learned subjects ——— refers to a formal institutionalised frame where learning takes place.
- 3- Film ————— Can be discussed in French, Standard Arabic or dialect
- 4- Social problem (divorce) they are not learned themes at school by the informants.

The aim of these discussions is to discover the influence of topics in the choice of a linguistic variety in speech situations as well as whether language selection is influenced by a formal setting of the classroom. Informal discussions took place about learned and non-learned themes within a friendly atmosphere that we have created by getting familiar with the informants from the beginning. For instance, Algerian Arabic² is used right from the beginning.

The results based on the above criteria are probabilistic to a given degree, as other circumstances such as the mood, the unfamiliarity with the author and the variety with which the researcher starts the discussion can interfere.

Examples:

- Questions n°1 and 2 are asked in Algerian Arabic in order not to influence the informants' speech, as the topics (medicine, learned modules) are studied in standard languages.

¹ This issue has already been dealt with in section 1.5.2

² Standard Arabic was used to write questionnaires, however Algerian Arabic was used to ask questions in speech situations.

...ing information in medicine?

...ject that you like most? Can you talk to me about

it?

- Questions n°3 and 4 are asked in Standard Arabic in order not to orient the informant language selection as films or divorce can be dealt with in dialect since they are not learned topics.
- 3- Do you watch films? What kind? Why?
- 4- Divorce is getting more spread in our country? Do you think so? Why?

3.2 Language Attitudes: Analysis and Discussion of the Results

Introduction

In this chapter, attitudes towards languages, that is informants' opinions on languages are analysed. Theoretically, language attitudes are favourable or unfavourable value judgements that people associate with language varieties. The data are examined on the basis of written questionnaires, which are important tools the investigator has at his disposal, as they enable him to gather maximum information. This way of collecting data is also uniform for all informants as they all have the same type of questionnaires.

Age-grading is not discussed since age differences are not remarkable here and all informants can be included in "adulthood stage" as described by Hockett¹ (1950). All informants speak Algerian Arabic, their mother tongue, and have had Standard Arabic as a medium of instruction in school. The collected data are discussed according to the aims mentioned previously. (cf. section 3.1). It is worth stating that whenever all informants select a criterion, it is mentioned in the text but not in the graphs. Each of the tables and bar charts represents the number of informants who select the given traits and criteria.

¹ In Bloomfield, 1984.

Apparently, all informants –both males and females- are convinced that the spoken dialect is related to dependence as well as ‘low status’, they believe that it contains many borrowings from other languages namely, French and Spanish. They seem to agree that their mother tongue symbolises social distinction rather than prestigious status. They believe that it has poor vocabulary and not considered to be practical, scientific, religious or prestigious. This could explain why AA is not accepted as an educational linguistic tool that can be used to attain knowledge. These judgements corroborate Ferguson’s view (1959) as well as Stewart’s classification. In their views, it is assumed that a dialect is considered ‘inferior’ and stigmatised and indeed, very few informants select religious trait for AA. Yet, female students of SA relate aesthetic aspects (beautiful and poetic) to AA; they seem more sensitive to this field of study and express their deep feeling of group solidarity stated by Edwards (1982) (cf. bar charts 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 & table3.1). The main reason for this choice is probably because those learners tackled popular AA literature during their curriculum. This opinion approves partly the hypothesis which supports that a learner attaches aesthetic aspects to a language when he/she is acquainted with part of its literature.

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Religious	1	2	0	1	2	3	1	2
Aesthetic aspects	2	3	0	0	2	7	0	0
Unfavourable Criteria	8	9	10	10	3	3	10	10

Table 3.1 Informants’ Attitudes towards AA

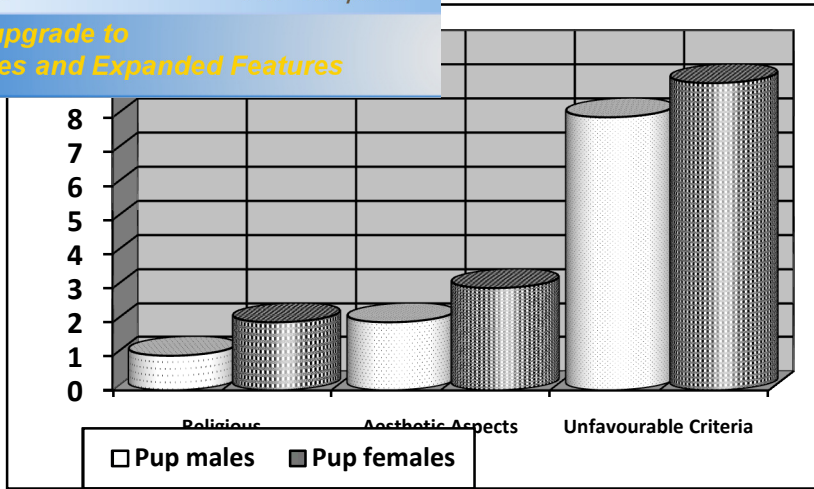


Figure 3.1 Secondary School Pupils' Attitudes towards AA by Gender

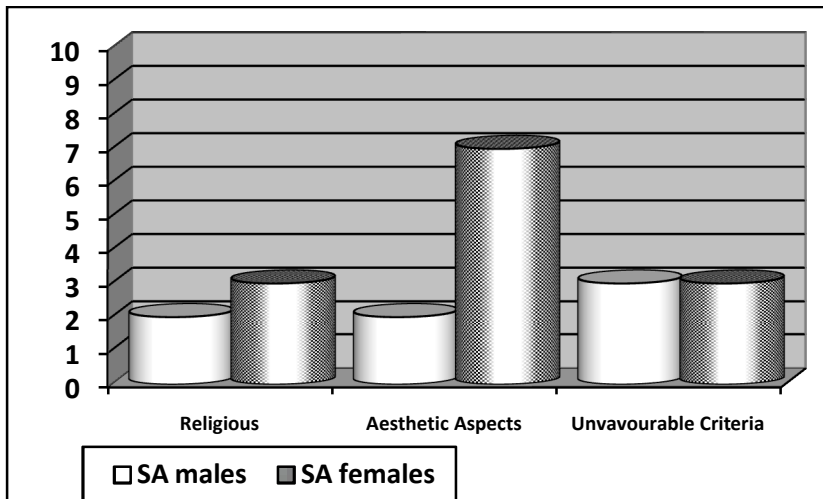


Figure 3.2 University Arabic Students' Attitudes towards AA by Gender

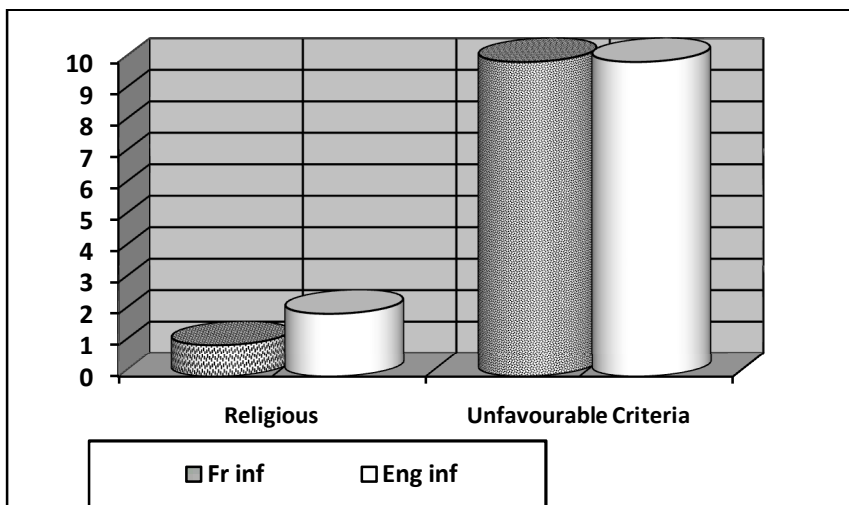


Figure 3.3 Foreign Language Students' Attitudes towards AA

with likeability status which is 'sociable', as well as 'religious' and patriotism. (cf. table 2).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Sociable	10	9	9	10	10	9	10	10
Religious speakers	9	8	9	10	9	9	10	10
Patriotic	9	8	9	10	9	9	10	10

Table 3.2 Attitudes towards Algerian Arabic Speakers

These traits were selected because the informants feel more loyalty towards their mother tongue and it is associated with solidarity, comradeship and intimacy. (cf. figures 3.4 and 3.5).

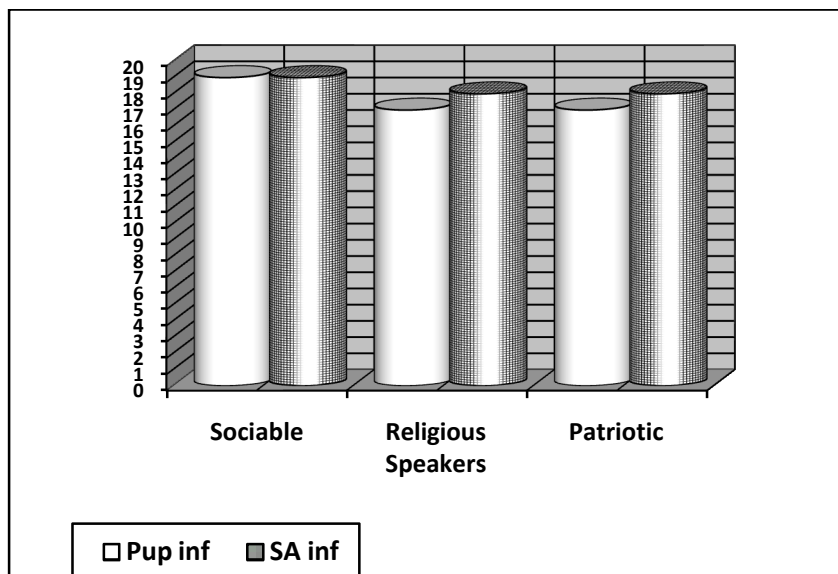


Figure 3.4 Secondary School Pupils and Students of SA Attitudes towards Speakers of AA

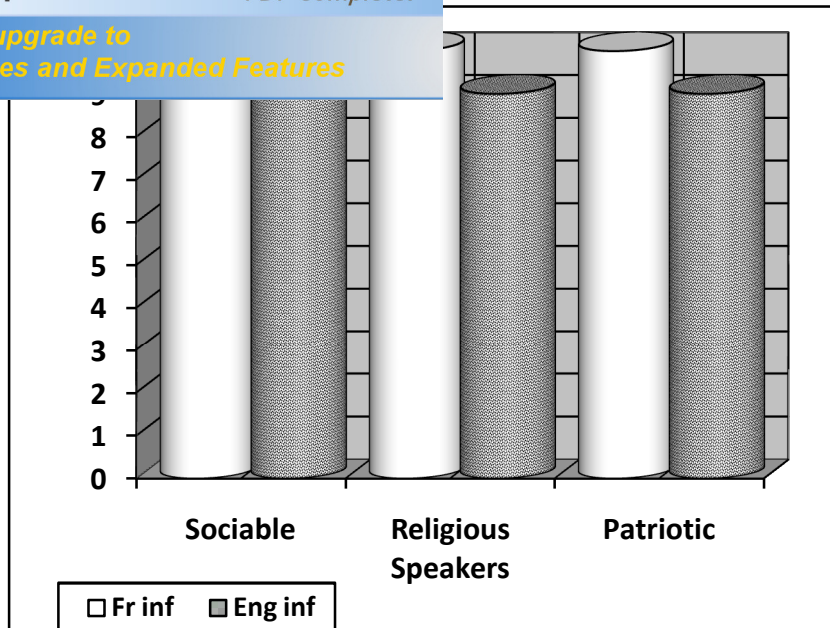


Figure 3.5 Foreign Language Students' Attitudes towards Speakers of AA

Thus, one sees that although this variety is stigmatised, its speakers are judged favourably. This evaluation does not go in parallel with the suggested hypothesis based on Fasold's view (1984) stating that most often the same attitudinal criteria are selected for a variety as for its speakers.

3.2.2 Standard Arabic

Our informants seem to hold more favourable opinions towards SA as they select 'better' values. In spite of the fact that more than half of the informants judge its grammar difficult, they show loyalty towards SA as they agree on the fact of having it as the only official language. Moreover, they hope to speak it very well because they regard it as rich in vocabulary and associated with religiousness, expressiveness as well as 'high status'. This language seems to correspond to high culture, strong aspirations towards upward social mobility. The judgment confirms the suggested statement based on the idea that SA is considered positively because of its compulsory use in our schools. They also

(beautiful, poetic and lively) (cf. table 3.3 and

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Beautiful	10	7	10	8	9	10	9	7
Can express any feeling	10	9	9	6	9	10	10	6
Difficult grammar and vocabulary	6	6	7	6	6	5	6	6

Table 3.3 Informants' Attitudes towards Linguistic Features of SA

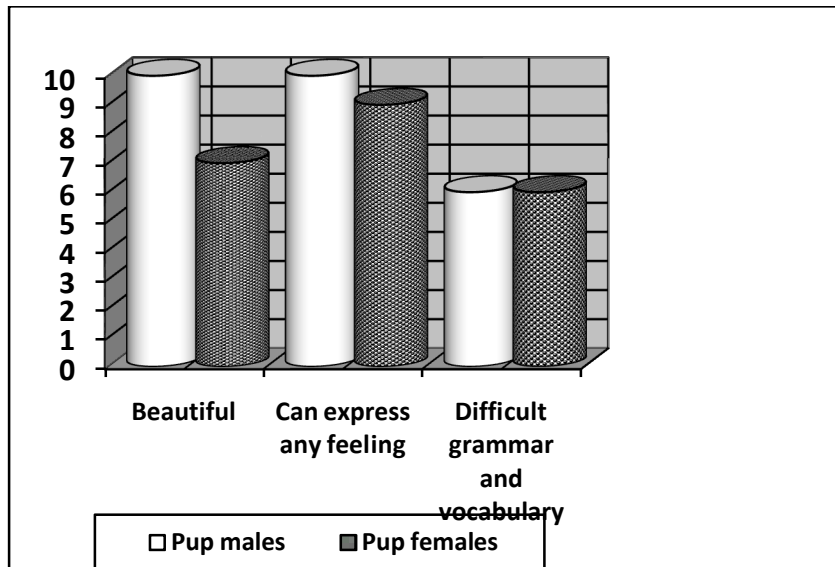


Figure 3.6 Secondary School Pupils' Attitudes towards Linguistic Features of SA

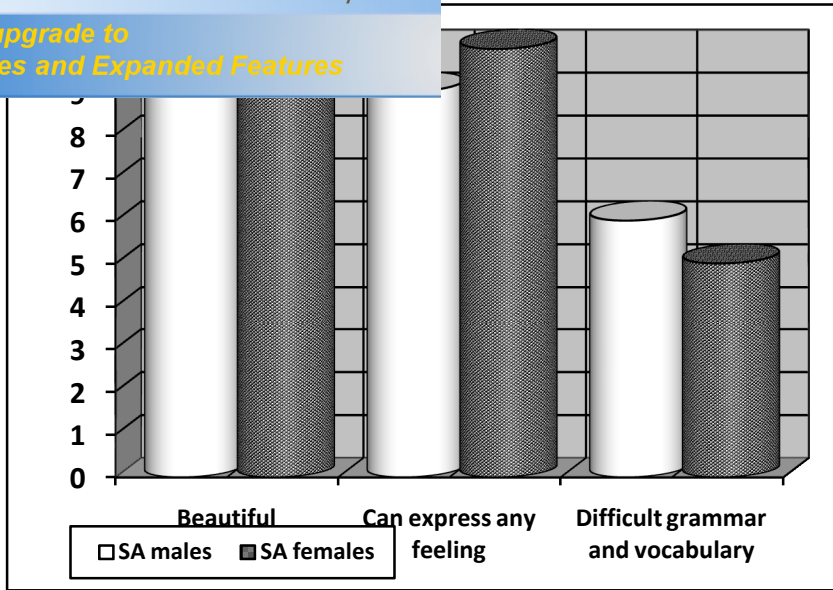


Figure 3.7 Attitudes of Students of SA towards Linguistic Features of SA

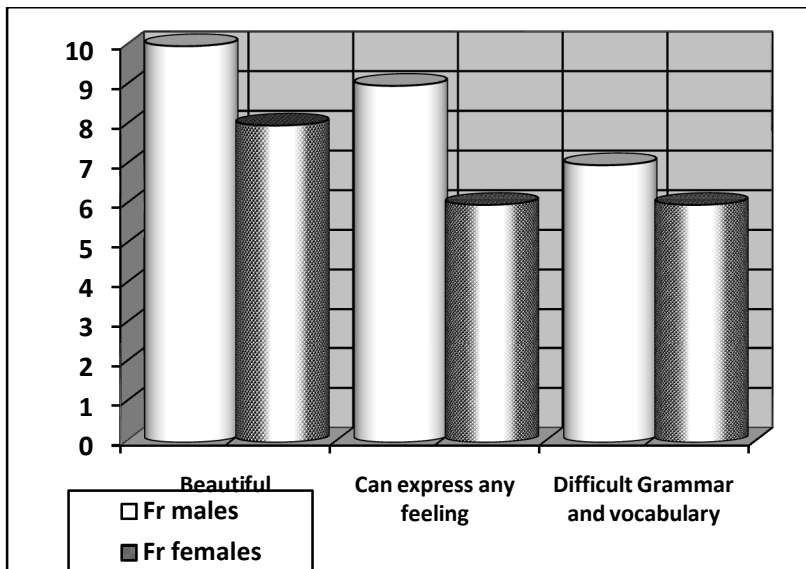


Figure 3.8 Attitudes of Students of French towards Linguistic Features of SA

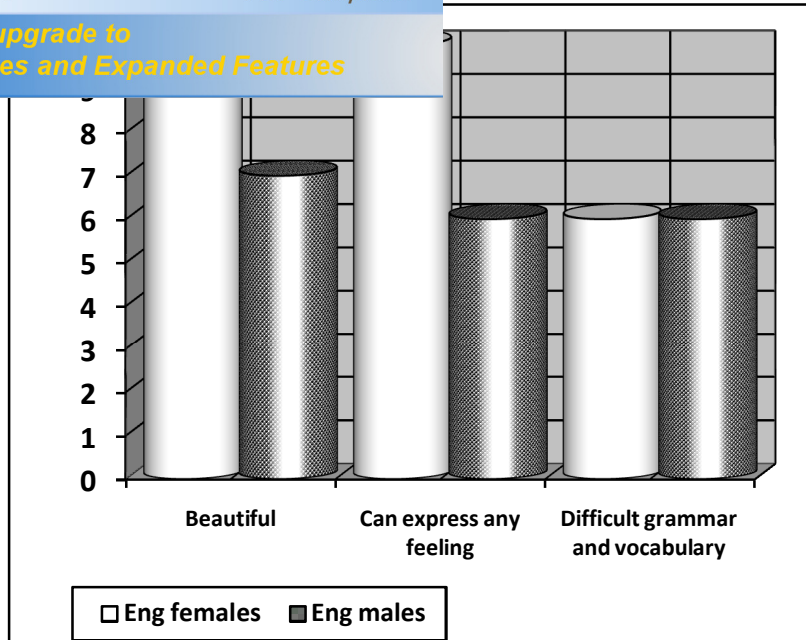


Figure 3.9 Attitudes of Students of English towards Linguistic Features of SA

Hence, the informants believe that it is prestigious and enables them to have better interaction with people from the Arab world. In fact, these speakers seem to identify themselves with the cultural values of the Arab world, so they relate positive values to SA. (cf. table 3.4 and figures 3.10 and 3.11).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Enables better interaction with people	7	7	6	7	9	9	7	10
Prestigious	6	6	6	5	7	10	6	6
Wish to speak it very well	10	9	9	6	9	10	10	6

Table 3.4 Attitudes towards the Use of Standard Arabic

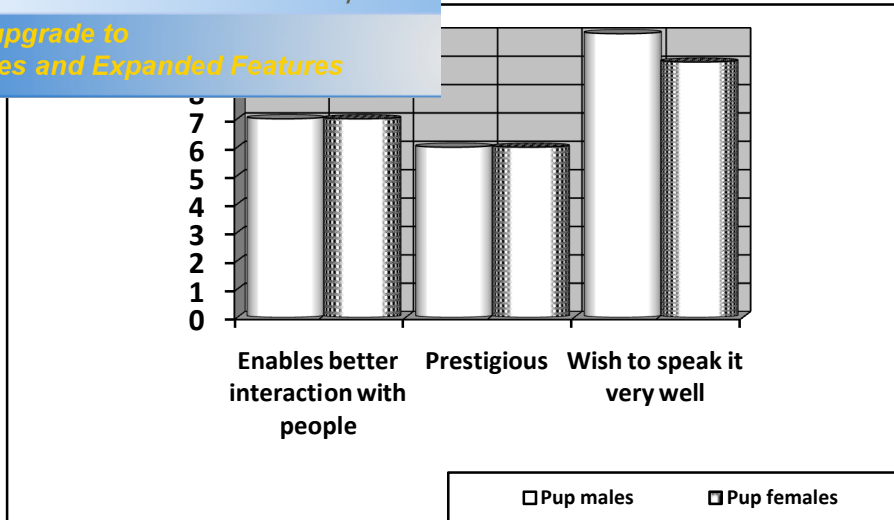


Figure 3.10 Pupils' Feelings about SA

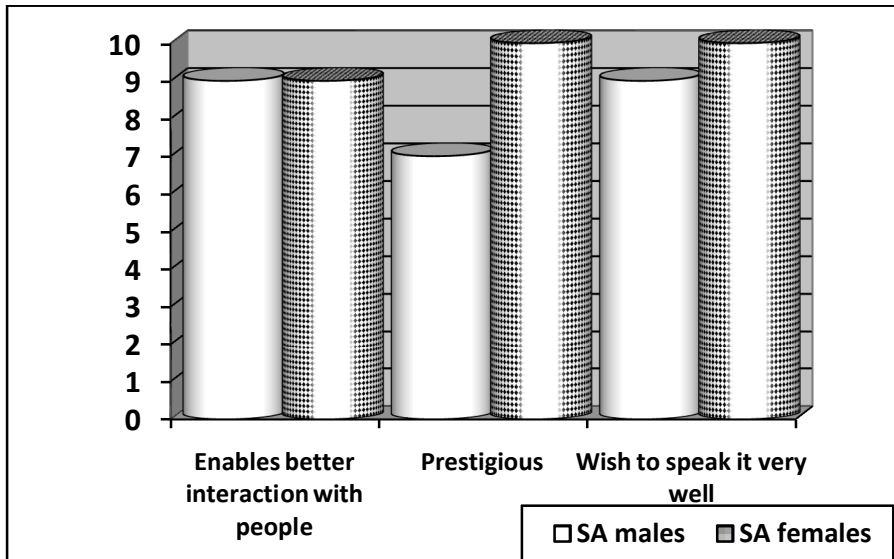


Figure 3.11 SA Students' Feelings about SA

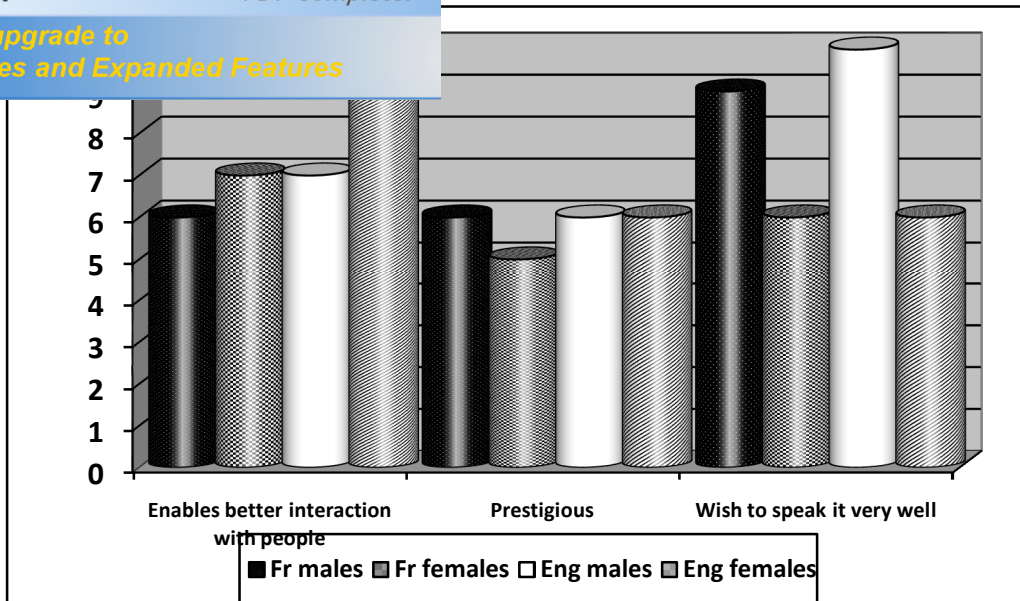


Figure 3.12 Foreign Language Students' Feelings about SA

However, 'scientificity' as well as 'practical' trait are unrelated to it by foreign language students mainly. Apparently, these informants see that SA is not reserved for technological advancement as it is attained in foreign languages. This is may be the case because SA is noticeably evaluated on the basis of its long literary and religious heritage. Nonetheless, the students of SA as well as male pupils are more involved with this tool as they associate it with 'scientific' trait. As it is hypothesised, these respondents appear to be influenced by SA learning since they perceive it more favourably. (cf. table 3.5 and figures 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Males	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Practical	4	3	5	2	3	4	5	2
Scientific	9	6	6	5	7	8	3	2
Lively	7	7	6	7	9	9	7	10

Table 3.5 Informants' Attitudes towards Functional Features of SA

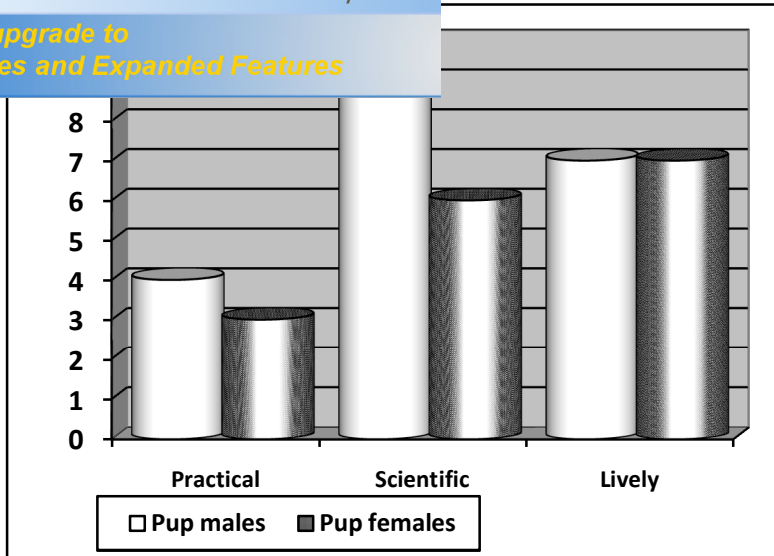


Figure 3.13 Secondary School Pupils' Attitudes towards Functional Features of SA

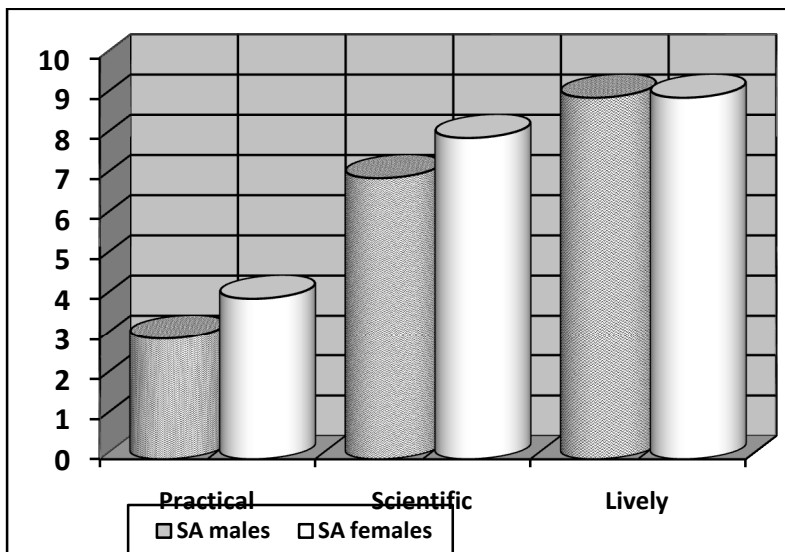


Figure 3.14 University SA Students' Attitudes towards Functional Features of SA

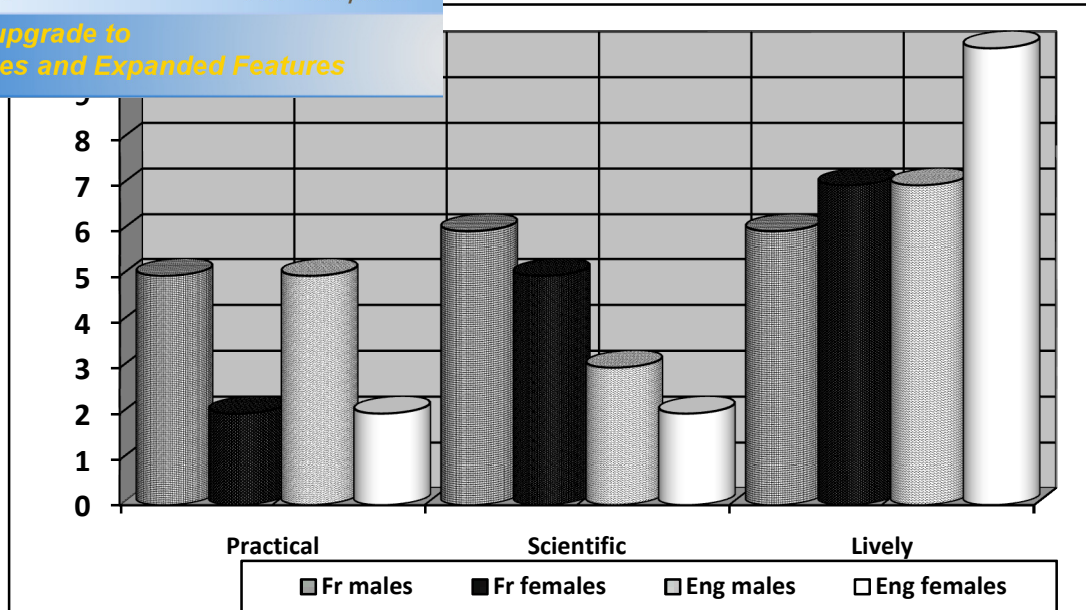


Figure 3.15 Foreign Language Students ‘Attitudes towards Functional Features of SA

3.2.3 Berber

It’s a well known fact that the respondents are not acquainted with this variety, so Berber is evaluated as inaccessible at the linguistic level. They are not eager to speak it and using it at the official as well as the educational levels. This variety is not considered prestigious, religious, practical or scientific. They also associate it with low status, dependence. Convincingly enough, these judgements confirm the formulated hypotheses claiming that a spoken variety is unrelated to knowledge and the official domain. Ferguson (1959) and Stewart (1968) argue that a vernacular language is related to inferiority and non-standard criteria.

Berber speakers are associated with unfavourable traits mainly, as it is the case with the variety. The hostile trait which is ‘harsh’ and negative self-confidence which is ‘pretentious’ are selected. Although Berber is used to present daily news and is recognised as a national language, it is far from being recognised as a standard medium and Berbers’ claims are still unaccepted by the informants. Indeed, the lack of interaction with the native speakers of the language in real-life situations can explain the selection of unfavourable

This evaluation corroborates the statement which language and its speakers are judged alike. (cf. table 3.6 and figures 3.16 and 3.17).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Harsh speakers	10	10	5	6	8	10	7	6
Pretentious speakers	10	7	6	5	6	9	7	5

Table 3.6 Attitudes towards Berber Speakers

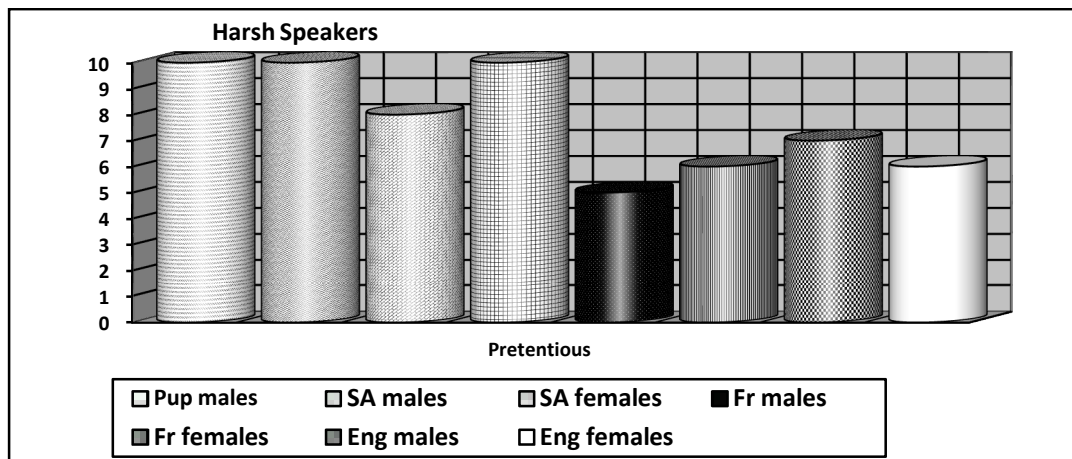


Figure 3.16 Informants' Attitudes towards Berber Speakers

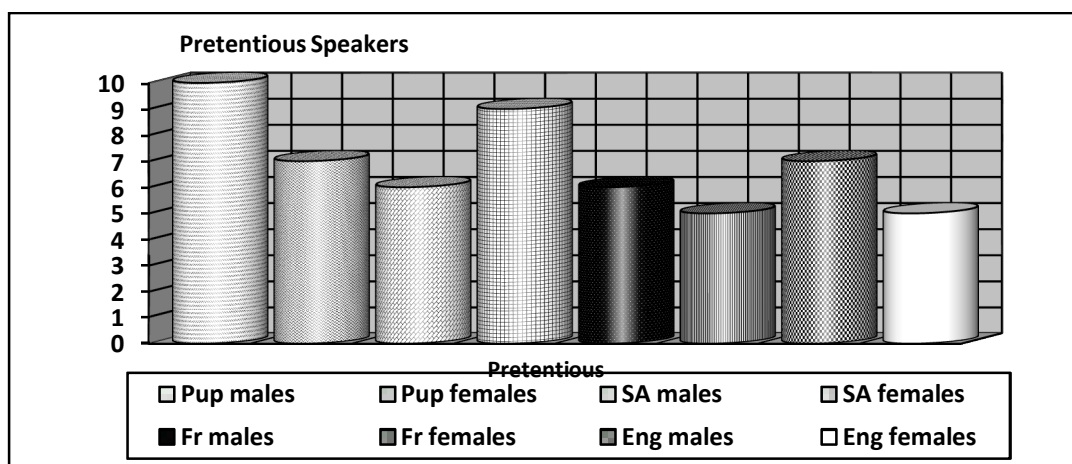


Figure 3.17 Informants' Attitudes towards Berber Speakers

French grammar and vocabulary are judged difficult but this language is considered easy at the oral level. In spite of the fact that the students of French attain more knowledge in this language, they share the same opinions as the other informants. In fact, these learners' judgements do not go in parallel with the hypothesis that university students of French link positive linguistic criteria with the target language. (cf. table 3.7 and figures 3.18 and 3.19).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Difficult grammar and vocabulary	9	8	8	9	8	7	8	8
Positive linguistic criteria	5	6	6	10	3	6	7	8

Table 3.7 Informants' Attitudes towards linguistic Criteria of French

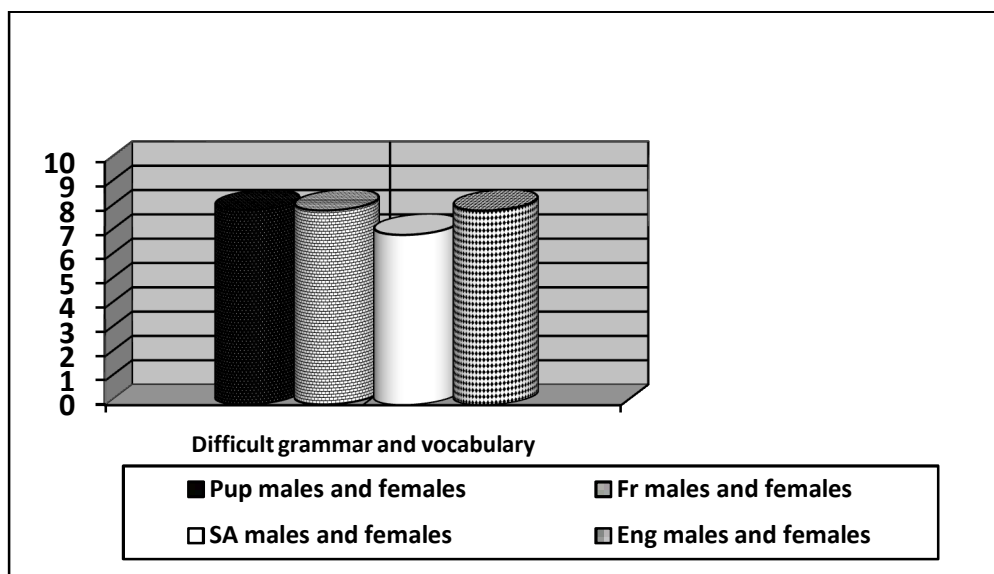


Figure 3.18 Informants' Attitudes towards Linguistic Criteria of French

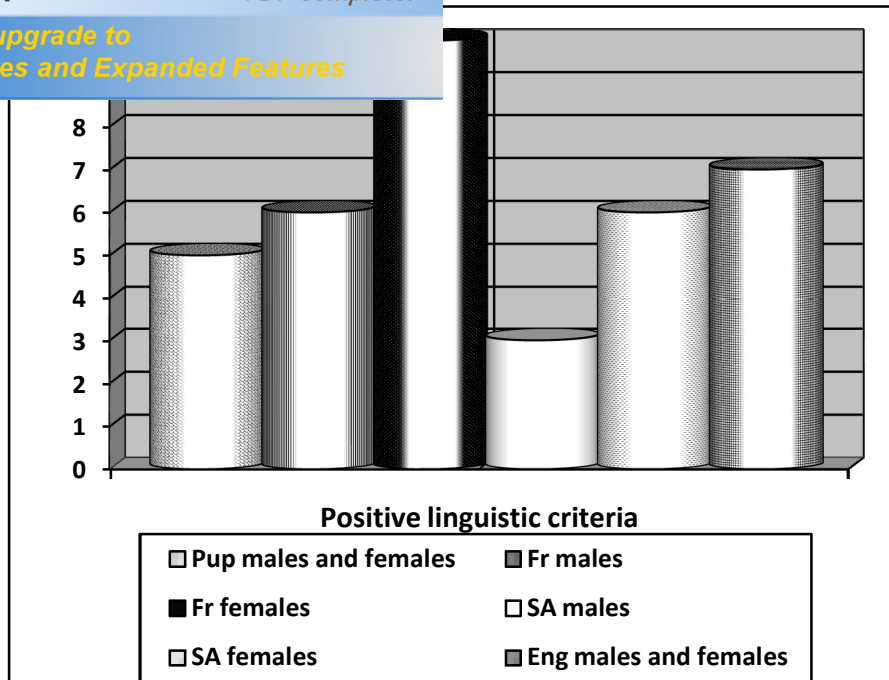


Figure 3.19 Informants' Attitudes towards Linguistic Criteria of French

As it is hypothesized the informants acknowledge the importance of French at the educational and professional levels. They are also ambitious to master French. Indeed, this linguistic tool is viewed as prestigious, practical and scientific. It is also assigned positive linguistic criteria (rich vocabulary, expressing any idea), aesthetic aspects as well as 'high status'.

There is a tendency to learn the language of rich or powerful countries. The informants agree on the fact that French should be taught according to the Algerian social milieu. Moreover, they do not feel that they belong to the French community as they do not recognize that speaking French enables them to think and behave like the French people. Thus, the respondents are aware that the linguistic criterion alone is not enough to enable a person to belong to the given community. This evaluation confirms the suggested hypothesis which maintains the idea that members of a community do not share the language alone but other aspects as well; such as the territory, habits, rituals (traditions, customs and beliefs) and origin. (cf. table 3.8 and figure 3.20).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Wish to learn French according to the Algerian culture	6	7	6	10	7	6	6	9

Table 3.8 Informants' Feelings towards French

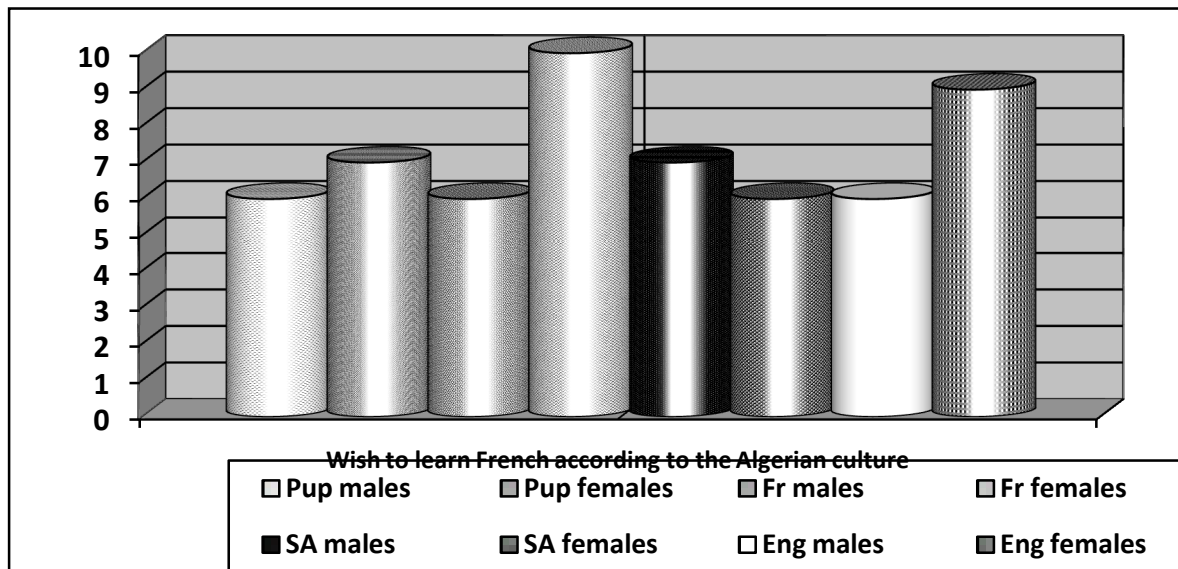


Figure 3.20 Informants' Feelings towards French

Once more the proposed hypothesis is approved here as both the language and its speakers are judged favourably. The respondents evaluate the French community with reference to a likeable status which is 'sociable' and modernity criterion which is 'civilised'. (cf. table 3.9 and figure 3.21).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Civilised speakers	8	9	8	9	8	9	9	8

Table 3.9 Attitudes towards Speakers of French

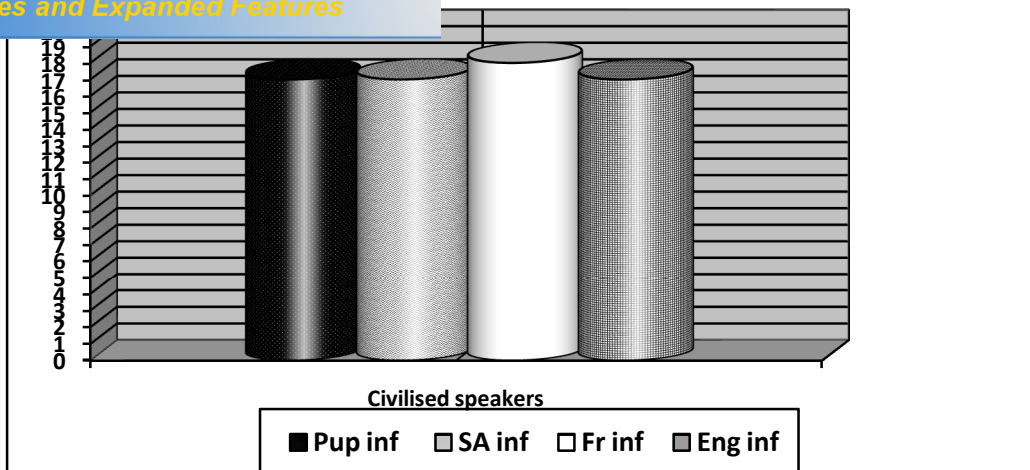


Figure 3.21 Informants' Attitudes towards Speakers of French

3.2.5 English

Surprisingly enough, the learners of English share the same ambivalence in attitudes with that of the other informants. They find it tough, but they correlate ease to its pronunciation and vocabulary. This evaluation does not go in parallel with the suggested idea based on the statement that university students of English are acquainted with this language to a certain extent and they find it easy at all levels. (cf. table 3.10 and figure 3. 22 and 3.23).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Difficult grammar and vocabulary	9	7	8	9	8	8	7	8
Aesthetic aspects	4	5	9	6	6	3	7	10

Table 3.10 Informants' Attitudes towards the Linguistic Features of English

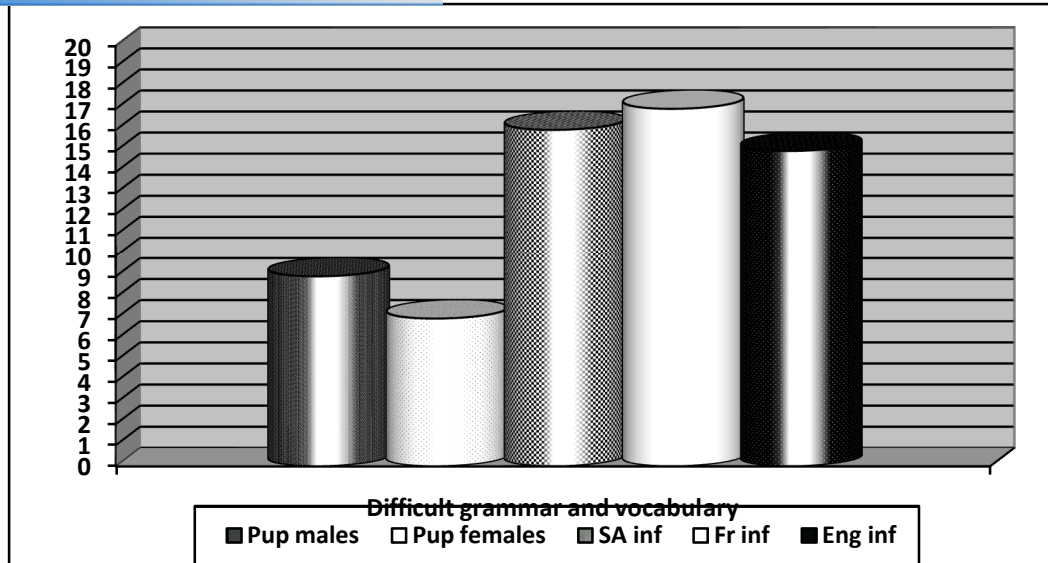


Figure 3.22 Informants' Attitudes towards Linguistic Criteria of English

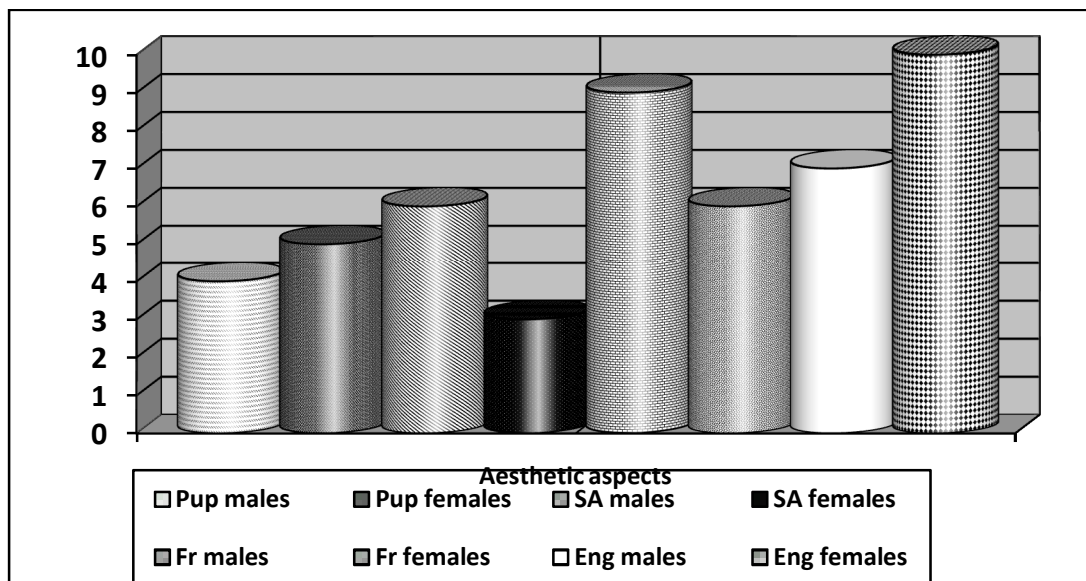


Figure 3.23 Informants' Attitudes towards Linguistic Features of English

The informants are eager to speak English and recognise that this medium is prestigious, practical, scientific and associated with 'high status'. Furthermore, as it is hypothesized, all informants are in favour of the teaching of English in secondary schools since they believe that it offers advantages to find jobs and maintain the fact that this linguistic means is needed to learn university scientific branches.(cf. table 3.11 and figure 3.24).

	Groups included in the research							
			Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Wish to speak English	8	8	9	9	10	9	10	10

Table 3.11 Informants' Feeling towards English

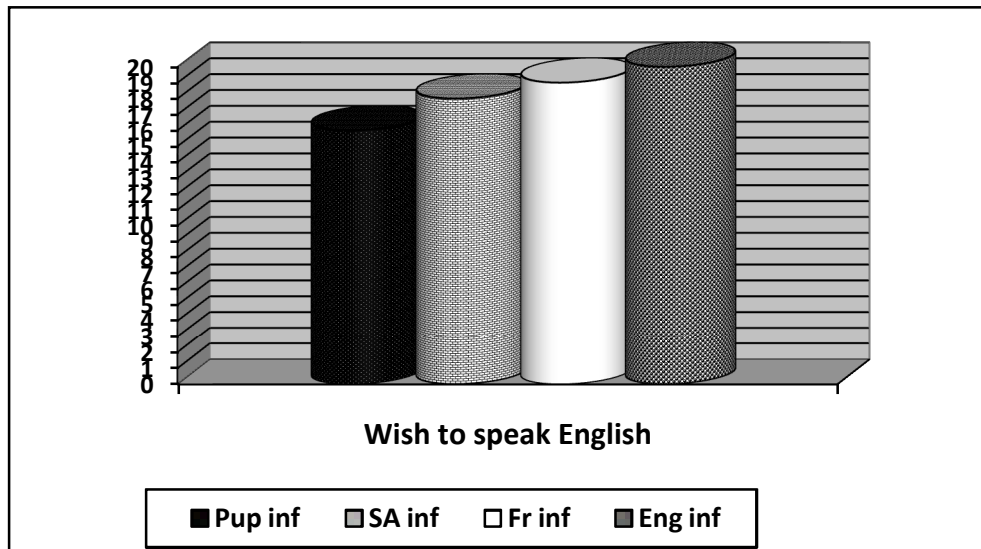


Figure 3.24 Informants' Feelings towards English

The informants agree on the fact that using a given foreign language does not allow them to be members of the society in question. This reaction corroborates the proposed hypothesis. Remarkably, only students of the foreign languages believe that English and French should be taught according to their original context and culture. Nonetheless, the other informants assert that the learning of foreign languages ought to be carried out within the Algerian frame of reference. One observes that learners of foreign languages believe that the instruction of a foreign language in parallel with its social as well as cultural features can be expected to be more effective. This claim patly infirms the proposed idea stating that informants may express their preference for the learning of a foreign language in connection with the Algerian milieu. (cf. table 3.12 and figure 3.25).

	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Learning English according to the Algerian culture	6	6	7	6	6	7	5	4

Table 3.12 Informants' Attitudes towards the Learning of English

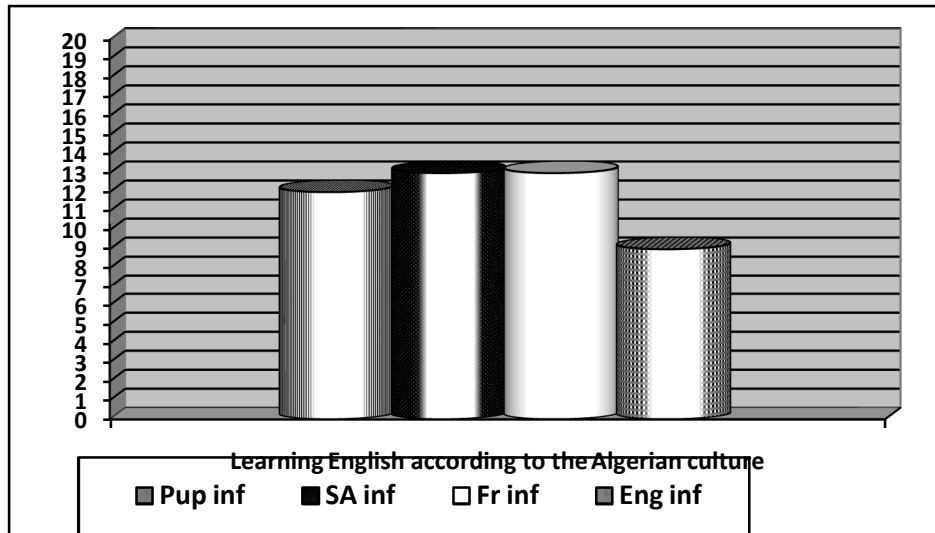


Figure 3.25 Informants' Feelings towards the Learning of English

On the one hand, students of SA, male students of English as well as male learners of French assign an unfavourable trait related to negative self-confidence 'pretentious'. (cf. table 3.13 and figure 3.26).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Pretentious	6	6	7	8	6	7	7	8

Table 3.13 Attitudes towards English Speakers

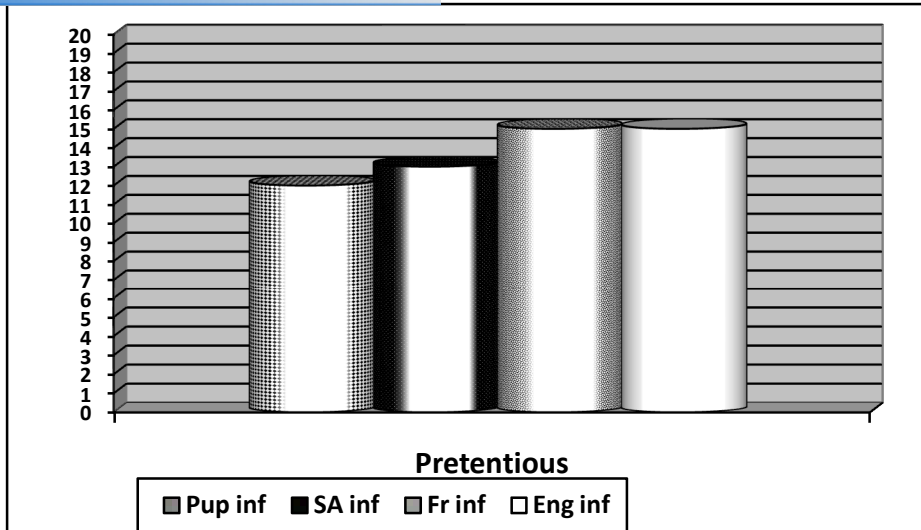


Figure 3.26 Informants' Attitudes towards English Speakers

On the other hand, the speakers of English are associated with modernity trait 'civilised' as it is the case with the language since the latter is associated with science and technology. (cf. table 3.13 and figure 3.27).

Traits	Groups included in the research							
	Pupils		Students of French		Students of Arabic		Students of English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
civilised	8	7	7	8	7	7	9	8

Table 3.14 Attitudes towards English Speakers

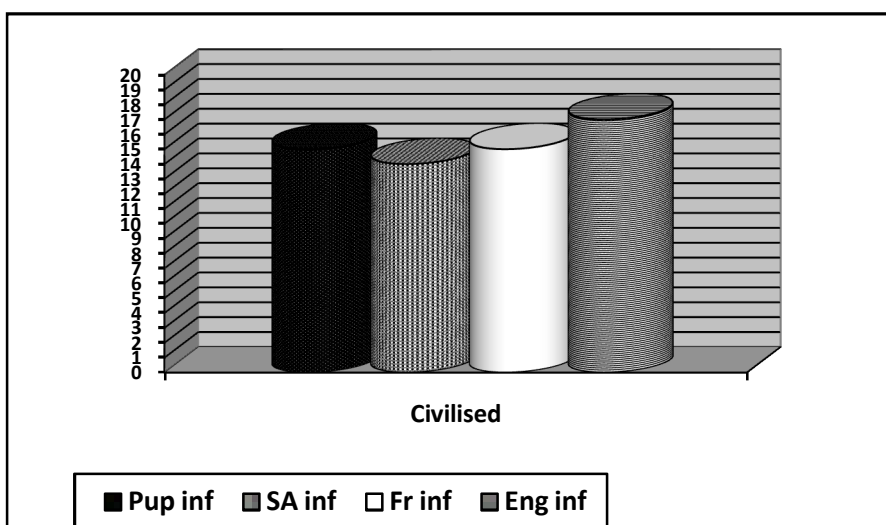


Figure 3.27 Informants' Attitudes towards English Speakers

do not seem to influence the selection of given traits for the speakers of this community. As it is hypothesized, female learners of foreign languages stress the prestige criterion rather than the political connotation that may be attached to this variety. Even if English is related to knowledge, the informants still find that it is connected with colonisation and conflicts. Furthermore, some informants do not always evaluate the speakers like their language as it is hypothesized. The suggested statement is founded on the idea that judgements of language varieties reflect the attitudes towards speakers of these varieties. Indeed, the historical background of nations seems to influence the opinion of male informants mainly.

3.2.6 Conclusion

Notwithstanding differences of assessments, informants still share attitudinal criteria. In fact, the respondents identify themselves with their mother tongue but are not willing to accept AA to be taught at schools. When comparing AA to SA the second is considered more difficult than the first because the mother tongue is acquired in a natural environment. Remarkably, SA is associated with literary and religious roles it has had throughout centuries. Berber and AA are stigmatised and assigned 'low status'. These dialects are not considered to give access to knowledge. Admittedly, the widespread use of French has its impact on the informants' opinions as far as the speakers are concerned. In fact, speakers of French are associated with likeability, whereas Berber as well as speakers of English are assigned unfavourable traits. Moreover, all informants recognize the importance of foreign languages at the level of education, profession and science. Prestige is not linked to the foreign languages only, but to the national language as well. It is noticed that speakers are not always judged like the language. Some favourable traits are related to the language rather than to its speakers. In effect, informants perceive the language according to the roles it has had so far and speakers are associated with traits they

Male vs. female variations in attitudes range from of speakers. Furthermore, neither boys nor girls identify themselves with foreign communities; therefore Algerian values still seem to be important for the informants.

3.3 An Investigation on Language Selection:

Analysis and Discussion of the Results

Introduction

The data on language selection are examined in relation to language proficiency. Learners can be characterized by how their language practices function. In fact, learners perform activities in given languages and not others. Language proficiency as well as preference for such or such linguistic code could sometimes play an important role in the choice of a given linguistic variety. The data were collected through the use of parents and language selection in TV watching¹, radio listening, reading and writing. The data on language selection in speech situations were recorded and carried out in the form of dialogues dealt with in a familiar way and in groups. The author intervened through the use of feedback from time to time to encourage the informants to express themselves as much as possible. Male/female data are included in every heading and it should be noted that personality criteria play a role in speech. In fact, the informants who have an outgoing personality are more talkative than those who are shy. In addition, AA programmes were not proposed as this dialect is used in films and songs mainly; and the informants mentioned these kinds of programmes under the heading of Arabic.

3.3.1 Language Use with Parents

French is never used in everyday communication by some informants and rarely spoken in speech situations by others. Noticeably, this language is

¹ Since the early nineties the aerial dish offers more opportunities to see foreign TV channels.

of the students of English with their fathers and by mothers. Obviously, in some cases when parents are French-educated, this variety is more used with one parent than another.

3.3.2 Language Selection in TV Watching

1) Programmes in Arabic

The informants claim that they always prefer watching programmes broadcast in Arabic which include news, cultural, religious, political, scientific programmes as well as games, films, song-clips and sports. One notices that students of foreign languages are sometimes interested in these products.

2) Programmes in French

The informants sometimes watch French productions and the following items are chosen: news, cultural (serials, films, song-clips), political and scientific programmes. As it was expected, all foreign language students are interested in these productions.

3) Programmes in English

Informants are far from being familiar with the programmes broadcast in English. In fact, they watch only song-clips broadcast in this language. However, English language students declare that they are keen on dealing with English programmes and the chosen programmes are as follows: news, cultural (song-clips) and scientific documentaries.

3.3.3 Language Selection in Radio Listening

A) Standard Arabic

The informants selected news, cultural scientific as well as religious programmes. The average number of learners who are interested in this activity

form it. However, students of Arabic performed it they selected the following item: always.

B) French

Noticeably, the minority of secondary school pupils and students of Arabic listen to French programmes. Students of foreign languages however seem to be more interested in this activity as the majority sometimes perform it. The programmes are: news, cultural, political, scientific ones.

C) English

The minority of informants recognise that they listen to songs in English.

3.3.4 Language Selection in Reading

A) Standard Arabic

As it was expected, secondary school pupils as well as university students of Arabic read works in standard Arabic. Surprisingly enough, students of French are interested in reading works written in SA like books about religion and cultural topics as well as newspapers.

As far as students of English are concerned, half of them always read magazines or newspapers (political, religious, cultural and sport articles) in SA.

B) French

The minority of secondary school pupils as well as students of Arabic sometimes read magazines or newspapers written in French. Foreign language learners fulfil this task, more frequently. The following items are selected: family letters, friends' letters, official, shopping lists.

C) English

Only the students of English declare that they read works written in English, particularly those related to their modu

riting

The students of French in addition to secondary school pupils as well as the students of Arabic write in this language (diary, shopping list, family letters, friends' letters and official letters). The majority of the students of French fulfil this activity and they choose the same items.

B) French and English

French is rarely used among secondary school pupils and students of Arabic. It is mainly utilized by students of foreign language. The selected items are: family letters, friends' letters, official letters, shopping list. Obviously, only the students of English say that they use this language to write friends' letters or official letters.

3.3.6 Language Selection in Speech Situation

3.3.6.1 Secondary School Pupils

a) Use of Algerian Arabic vs. Mixture of AA/SA

The female pupils are eager to express themselves, even though the minority is shy and some speak less than others; but when they are involved in the topics they talk more freely. Male informants do not use the same codes as girls. The results are as follows:

Topics	The Linguistic Varieties			
	Male informants		Female informants	
	AA	AA mixed with SA	AA	AA mixed with SA
Medicine	4	6	2	8
The preferred subjects	2	8	3	7
Divorce	4	6	8	2
Films	8	2	9	1

Table 3.15 The Language Selection of Pupils

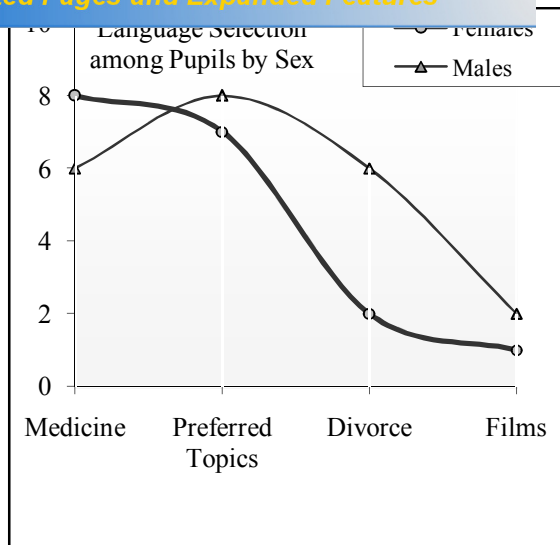


Figure 3.28.a Use of AA in Situations by Gender

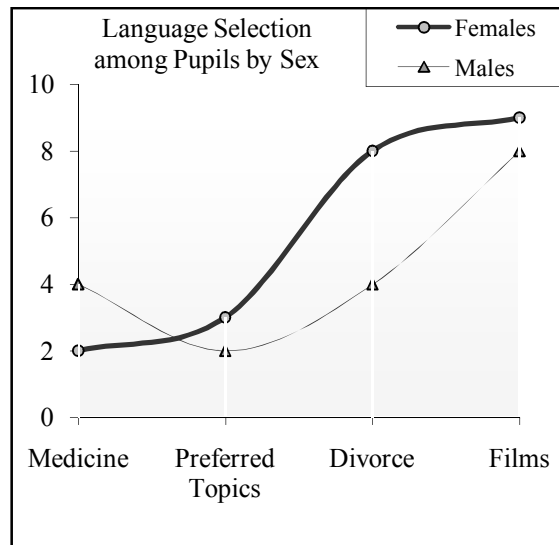


Figure 3.28. b. Use of SA/AA in Situations by Gender

There is a shift between the use of AA vs. AA/SA in relation to informality and formality respectively, which confirm the hypothesis based on the fact that Secondary School Pupils are influenced by SA learning. In spite of the fact that fewer males expressed themselves in AA in comparison with girls, the non-learned topic (films) was dealt with in AA by the majority, probably because they are more involved in this topic and relate familiarity to this subject(cf. figure3.28.a).

It should be noted that the author is introduced as a 'Magister' student and the setting is the classroom, so this could influence the informants to a given extent, thus SA is used for instance. Noticeably, the topics that are learned in institutions (medicine and preferred subject) are dealt with in SA mixed with AA but not in AA only. Pupils and girls, mainly, seem to prefer the performance of diglossic speech situations for topics connected with formality. As they, unconsciously, shift to more 'serious' topics their speech vary accordingly and the ratings are higher. (cf. figure 3.28.b) On the one hand, more than half of the boys choose to talk about divorce in SA mixed with AA. These learners seem to be conscious about the seriousness of the problem and associate it with formality; therefore they show less familiarity in comparison with 'films' topic. On the other hand, girls speak about these two topics in AA mainly, so they relate them

able statement can be asked here: Why do girls boys when talking about the topics related to informality?

Moreover, they do not use French at all except for few words, frequently used in everyday speech. For instance, ‘malgré’ (even though), ‘déjà’ (already), ‘notaire’ (notary), ‘normal’ (normal), ‘sujet’ (subject). The / ʁ / is realised /r/ by both male and female groups, probably because they lack proficiency in French and tend to identify themselves with Arabic. The use of these items does not mean that they have not their equivalents in Arabic, but because the informants would prefer to use these terms in the foreign language to distinguish their in-group register.

3.3.6.2 University Students of Arabic

a) Use of Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic

All female students are ambitious to give their opinion on the given topics and do not pay attention to the choice of the varieties. The selected varieties are as follows:

Topics	The Linguistic Varieties					
	Male Students			Female Students		
	AA	SA mixed with AA	SA	AA	SA mixed with SA	SA
Medicine	2	3	5	1	7	2
The preferred subject	1	3	7	2	6	2
Divorce	3	2	5	5	5	0
Films	2	6	2	8	2	0

Table 3.16 The Language Selection of Students of Arabic

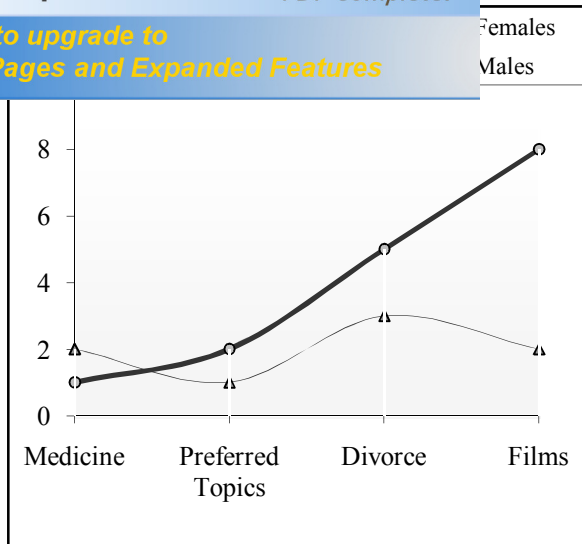


Fig. 3.29.a. Use of AA among students of Arabic by Gender

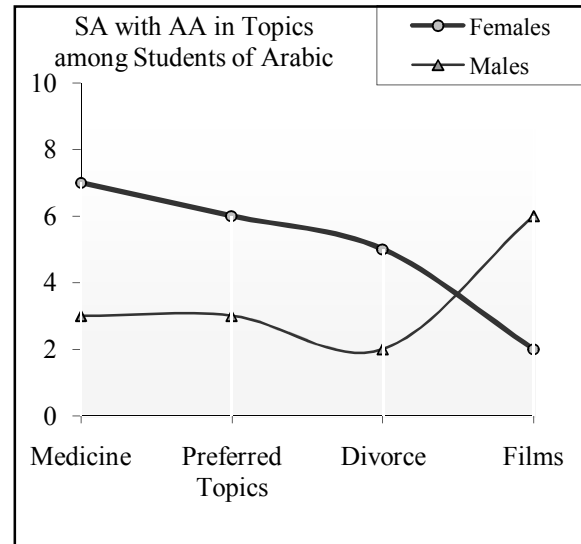


Fig. 3.29.b. Use of SA/AA among students of Arabic by Gender

When comparing male to female students of SA, more girls show more interest in AA use when talking about informal topics (divorce and films). These students seem to be involved gradually and this asserts group-gender solidarity and familiarity, even though the classroom setting was a formal one.

Unlike boys, girls preferred speaking about films in AA, as they are more involved they speak more naturally and reflect emotional expressivity. Even though, this topic is related to the social domain and therefore to the informal frame for both male and female groups, only girls prefer the selection of the dialect and showed familiarity with the researcher (cf. figure 3.29.a). However, more boys are less familiar as their voices are low, so the majority uses SA/AA when talking about this informal topic and prefer to relate their speech to more correctedness and conversational control. (cf. figure 3.29.b). Let us examine some SA markers like 'يتخلى' (to quit or give up), 'النتيجة' (the result), 'أتم' 'أكمل' (finish or achieve), 'دائماً' 'always'. Furthermore, some expressions like 'فما بالك' (what about), 'الإفلام المرعبة' (horror films), 'أحياناً' (better than), 'اختصار الطريق' 'to take a shortcut'. Certainly, many more examples can easily be listed here like the use of AA verbs e.g.: /kajan/ in SA sentences, we can consider 'كباين لأمور تثير الانتباه' (there are matters that attract attention). On the one hand, it can be safe to say that all Arabic dialects have informal equivalents of SA vocabulary in

tions of words that correspond to SA vocabulary. Themes and expressions related to formal topics and precision that do not have their equivalents in AA. Examples of this are: 'موثق' (notary), 'مفصلة' (detailed) 'امتحان' (exam) 'قانون الأسرة' (family code). There are also some structural features separating SA from various AA forms such as the –uu- nominative plural marker that is noticed among SA students mainly. For instance, 'تأديدو الحارص على' / ʃadi:duu lhirs ʕala/. Nevertheless, the use of the analytic genitive particle 'of' /ntaaʕ / as well as conjunctions /baa ʃ / (in order to) immediately informs the listener that the speaker is on the low level.

As it was hypothesised, these informants seem to be influenced by the use of SA and are attracted by the diglossic situation. Thus, the ratings of SA/AA and SA are higher when the informants feel more formality of the learned topic and associate their speech with 'seriousness'.

Moreover, the formal setting (classroom) appears to influence the respondents as SA alone was used, for instance half of male students select this variety for the social problem (divorce) and choose to use it when talking about the preferred module. They think of SA use as a way of reducing familiarity and a strategy for consolidating prestige-consciousness. (cf. figure 3.29.c.).

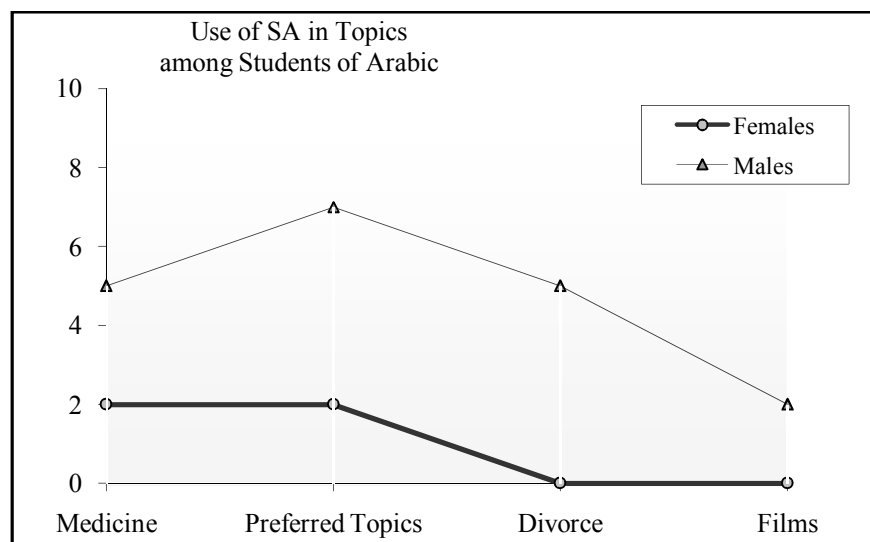


Fig. 3.29.c. Use of SA among Students of Arabic by Gender

are observed here; the findings show that girls' the ordinary sociolinguistic order, while boys deviate from what is expected. In fact, they feel more formality and they are shy in the speech situations since the high variety (SA) alone is utilised as their ratings are higher in comparison with those of girls, even when talking about the informal topics. Males appear to assert dominance and attempt to give priority to independence. This suggests that the standard-high variety is reserved for a linguistic behaviour that correlates with upper hand hierarchy. Clearly, girls' ratings are lower when SA alone is used; their conversation seems to be related to less prestigious features and friendship. For instance, they associate the social frame and familiarity with the informal topics mainly, as if they tend to avoid isolation and preserve group solidarity.

3.3.6.3 Students of French

a) Use of French mixed with Algerian Arabic vs. Algerian Arabic mixed with Standard Arabic

All speakers selectively draw on the language varieties in their linguistic repertoire, as dictated by their intentions and by the needs of the speech participants and the conversational setting. Unlike girls, most of the boys are shy and speak in low voices during about the first ten minutes. Then, as they become more talkative their voices get higher. The selected varieties are as follows:

Topics	The Linguistic Varieties				
	Male Students		Female Students		
	French mixed with AA	AA mixed with SA	French mixed with AA	AA mixed with SA	AA
Medicine	6	4	9	1	0
The preferred module	8	2	10	0	0
Divorce	5	5	7	0	3
Films	7	3	10	0	0

Table 3.17 The Language Selection of Students of French

...e but with AA to discuss learned topics. However, ... phenomenon, nearly the majority use both varieties. Besides, films are dealt with in French and AA, even if this subject is never learned in any educational level (by these learners of course) (cf. figure 3.30.a). It should be noted that both female and male groups use French adapted verbs in the four topics, which are not commonly used e.g.: /t ? a s y m i/ 'assumes', /j ? a b ã n d ɔ n i/ 'gives up', /j a t r i t u/ 'they tackle'; noticeably, the vowel onset [ʔ] is kept in these verbs that start with a vowel, as if the respondents preferred showing some phonetic criteria of the learned language even if borrowing occurs. In fact, these findings reveal the relation between language proficiency and code selection, whereby intersentential code switching is noticed. Here, the combination does not violate the grammar of either language and these new unassimilated loan words occur spontaneously because of these learners' proficiency. Moreover, boys, mainly, use [r] like in 'grammaire' instead of [ʁ], so it is pronounced: /g r a m e r/. They probably prefer this utterance to distinguish their male status.

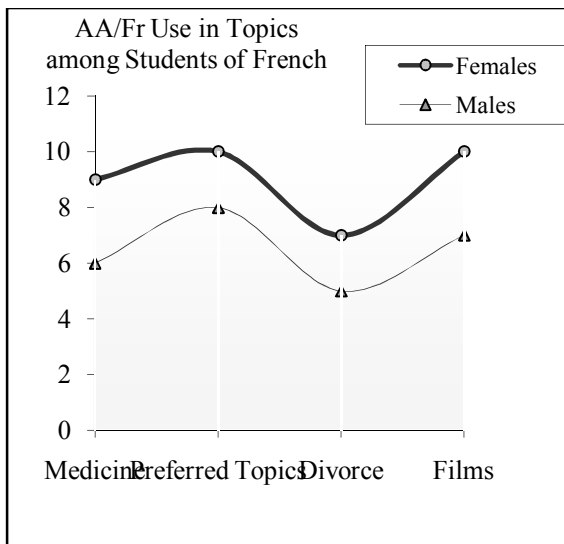


Fig. 3.30.a. Use AA/Fr among students of French by Gender

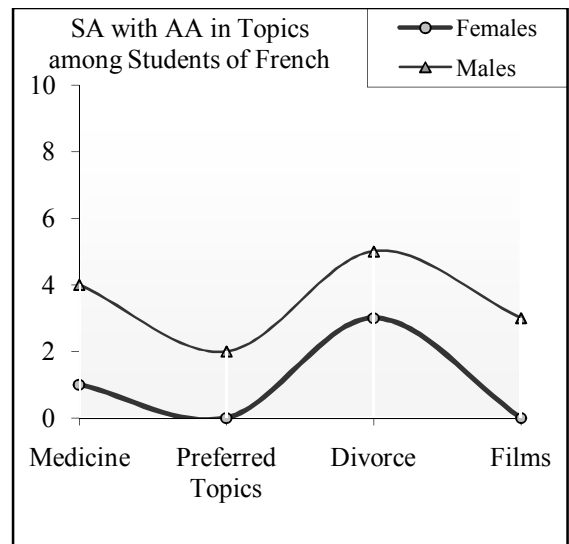


Fig. 3.30.b. Use SA/AA among students of French by Gender

Convincingly enough, more girls are talkative in French mixed with Algerian Arabic for both the social topics and he learned ones. This may reflect the fact that this code mixing is connected with upward mobility and prestige

...re boys are talkative when using AA/SA and show ... dealing with the formal and informal topics in diglossic situations (cf. figure 3.30.b). Even though, the number for each topic does not exceed the average, some boys assert their group membership but they are still attracted by switching to the use of SA words and expressions. Their diglossic behaviour seems to be associated with social consciousness and sensitivity.

3.3.6.4 Students of English

a) Use of Algerian Arabic vs. French/ Algerian Arabic

Even though male students' selection is different from that of females to a given extent, all students are eager to express their opinions, except for three boys who are shy. It should be noted that, since the author is introduced as an English 'magister' student, informants have the choice between the four varieties. So, two male informants use English for all topics, they seem to evince competence and prestige consciousness. The selected varieties are as follows:

Topics	The Linguistic Varieties			
	Male Students		Female Students	
	AA	French mixed with AA	AA	French mixed with AA
Medicine	3	5	0	10
The preferred module	0	8	0	10
Divorce	6	2	7	3
Films	2	6	8	2

Table 3.18 The Language Selection of Students of English

It is remarkable that girls' preferences are not very much different from those of boys. In fact, no female informant selected AA for the learned topics. However,

of informal topics in the dialect as females, mainly, and emotional expressivity, especially about films. As it was hypothesised, most of the females shifted clearly to the dialect when talking about topics related to informality. More male students select the dialect when dealing with divorce and are more talkative in this subject in comparison with the other topics. They seem to combine the social problem with familiarity and social sensitivity. (cf. figure 3.31.a.).

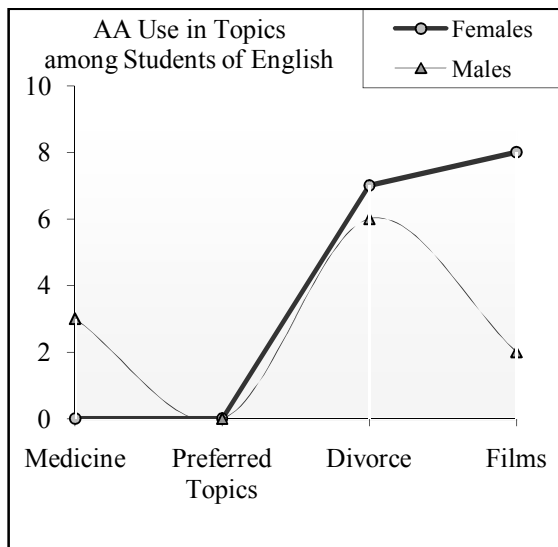


Fig. 3.31.a. Use of AA among Students of English by Gender

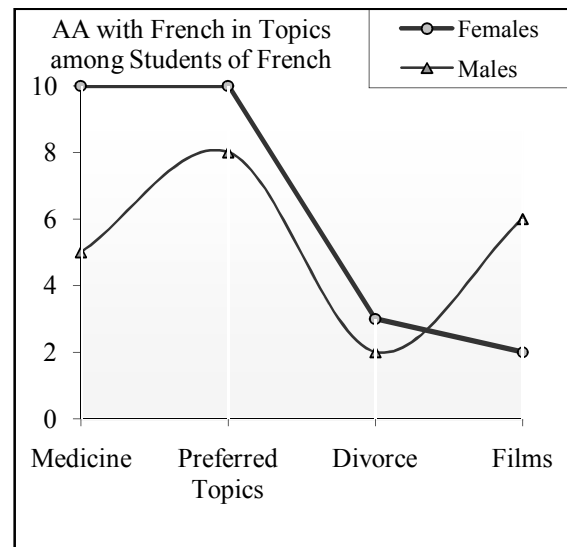


Fig. 3.31.b. Use of AA/Fr among Students of English by Gender

Learned topics were dealt with in French/AA by all female informants and the minority discussed the informal topics in these two varieties. More boys are involved when speaking about the learned topics mainly the preferred module. Fewer boys selected these varieties when discussing the informal topic which is divorce (cf. figure 3.31.b.). Therefore, it is remarkable that learned topics are discussed in a bilingual choice by all informants whereas the learned ones are tackled in a monolingual code by most of them. In fact, switching from AA to French is noticeable for both males and females. However, the selection of either formal or informal topics is different in both groups. This partly asserts the proposed hypothesis stating that foreign language students are more attracted by switching to the learned varieties.

It is clear that language learning had the same impact on males and females' language selection. Indeed, SA students and secondary school learners seem to be interested in SA and AA for TV watching, reading, listening and writing. French is used in some activities related to mass media and letter writing. Foreign languages are, noticeably, used less frequently. French is present in everyday speech even if it is not considered as a mother tongue. Notwithstanding the use of SA in various tasks, learners of foreign languages also show preference for French in several activities. Admittedly, either religious programmes or written works are regularly dealt with in SA. As it was expected, students of English perform more activities in the English language. Nevertheless, this linguistic tool is far from being the dominant language in reading, TV watching as well as radio listening. Male/female differences, however, are not noticeable, except in a few cases, as it was hypothesized.

Language selection is not arbitrary in speech situations, as language learning influences every group that uses given linguistic varieties according to given situational factors. SA is an important factor in influencing the students of this language and secondary school pupils. Yet, it seldom happens that informants utilise the learned variety alone. However, learners of the foreign languages shift from AA to French more often than the remaining groups. Moreover, code switching (AA/ French) is noticeable among students of French mainly. AA alone as well as diglossic practice are reserved for informal and social topics by most of the informants.

This work has attempted to shed some light on language attitudes and language selection in relation with language learning. The main concern was that one can provide relative results only, because not all informants have the same opinions. The results show that in spite of some differences, the target language influences informants' opinions on languages and language performances. In effect, conformity or the same learning experience oriented the members' opinions within the same group to a given extent. It is discovered that most of the time, when informants are not well-acquainted with a given language, they relate negative linguistic aspects or inability to express ideas about this language. The knowledge of languages functioning in the same society not only allows communication across national borders but also contributes and especially to mutual understanding and an attitude of tolerance towards other cultures. Learners can encounter native speakers of different linguistic codes as individuals with some features similar to their own as well as with culture features that represent different views of the world and different ways of expressing similar needs and desires.

It is also found out that informants hold favourable attitudes towards the learned language. Thus, secondary school pupils and students of SA almost share the same attitudinal behaviour as far as language selection is concerned. Nonetheless, when describing languages and selecting value judgements, one notices that in some cases the language learning impact is not remarkable as members of different groups share the same opinions. Moreover, the speakers of a given variety are not associated with the same value-judgements as the language they utilise. The great majority views that using a language is not the only criterion that enables a speaker to belong to a foreign community. In fact, it is discovered that informants take into consideration the status or roles such as standard vs. non-standard or language vs. dialect notions that have been assigned to the languages during past times. Indeed, AA is associated with informal and familiar settings. It is judged as the least practical, the less prestigious and the

to religion, literature as well as richness and group already been acquainted with Arabic literature.

Berber is considered as a non-standard linguistic tool and unaccepted as an official one. Moreover, this language and its speakers are related to unfavourable criteria. Both French and English are perceived as languages of modernity and technological advancement. The English language, mainly, is recognised as a medium of technology, which means that members of a society judge a linguistic tool according to given events or tasks they are confronted with. In other words, the widespread use of English in different fields, such as the internet, and its function as a world language influences learners' evaluations.

Male vs. female indices are noticeable in a few cases only, as this could be due to the fact that both groups are exposed to the same language learning process. In many cases girls share the same opinions as those of boys. In addition, the prestige criterion is not related to foreign languages only, but to the national language as well. Furthermore, these aspects are associated with foreign languages and are sometimes selected by both male and female groups. These facts could lead us to more discussion about the evaluation of these linguistic varieties by people who are exposed to other university studies such as scientific branches or Berber speakers, for instance.

When dealing with language preferences, it is noticed that most of the time, activities carried out in the target language are preferred. Moreover, the activities performed in French seem to be favoured by foreign language students. The data obtained concerning male and female preferences for such or such language suggest that differences between them are related to the frequency of language use which could be judged as differences. One could claim that language attitudes go in parallel with language selection, to a certain extent in writing, reading, TV watching and radio listening. This is due to the fact that boys and girls of the same group select the same linguistic media for the same activities, most of the time. Secondary school pupils as well as students of SA are more interested in fulfilling various SA activities than the other informants.

with religion –as far as TV watching and radio and not in other languages.

In speech situations mixed AA, French and SA are selected for learned topics by the majority; and non-learned ones are mainly discussed in the mother tongue. Foreign language instruction at the university can be expected to be effective. In particular, regular exposition to a target language provides more opportunities to develop proficiency through practical application. Moreover, foreign language students internalise and use new loan words from the French language in speech situations. Besides, it is noticed that the formal classroom setting influences the minority as given standard varieties are utilised. One questionable issue could be raised here is: Do people who are exposed to another type of university-studies have other language preferences? In addition, one could ask a question about whether an informal setting such as the home would stimulate the informants to select the learned linguistic varieties or AA only.

1. What level are you in:

2. Sex:

Directions: Check the box relevant to your answer :

1- Does your father speak French with you?

- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

2- Does your mother speak French with you?

- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

Language Attitudes:

Test n°1:

a) Direct questions:

1- What is your opinion on the English language?

- Its grammar is easy
- Its grammar is difficult
- Its pronunciation is easy
- Its pronunciation is difficult
- Its vocabulary is easy
- Its vocabulary is difficult

Other.....

the English people?

- They are harsh
- They are malicious
- They are intelligent
- They are civilised
- They are not civilised
- They are friendly
- They are sociable
- They are religious
- They are patriotic
- They are pretentious

Other.....

3- What is your opinion on the French language?

- Its grammar is easy
- Its grammar is difficult
- Its pronunciation is easy
- Its pronunciation is difficult
- Its vocabulary is easy
- Its vocabulary is difficult

Other.....

4- What's your opinion on the French people?

- They are harsh
- They are malicious
- They are intelligent
- They are civilised
- They are not civilised
- They are friendly
- They are sociable
- They are religious
- They are patriotic
- They are pretentious

Other.....

the Arabic language?

- Its grammar is easy
- Its grammar is difficult
- Its pronunciation is easy
- Its pronunciation is difficult
- Its vocabulary is easy
- Its vocabulary is difficult

Other.....

6- What's your opinion on the Algerian Arabic?

- Its grammar is easy
- Its grammar is difficult
- Its pronunciation is easy
- Its pronunciation is difficult
- Its vocabulary is easy
- Its vocabulary is difficult

Other.....

7- What's your opinion on the Algerian people?

- They are harsh
- They are malicious
- They are intelligent
- They are civilised
- They are not civilised
- They are friendly
- They are sociable
- They are religious
- They are patriotic
- They are pretentious

Other.....

8- What is your opinion on the Berber people?

- They are harsh

- They are malicious
- They are intelligent
- They are civilised
- They are not civilised
- They are friendly
- They are sociable
- They are religious
- They are patriotic
- They are pretentious

Other.....

b) Indirect statements:

Directions: For each of the following questions decide whether you strongly agree-agree, have no opinion-disagree, or strongly disagree and check the appropriate box. Read each item carefully.

1- One cannot teach a foreign language without teaching the culture.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

2- Foreign languages offer advantages in looking for a job.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

3- A student would be able to speak a foreign language if it were taught in relation with the Algerian environment.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

4- French is useful for the Algerian learners.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

scientific branch need a foreign language to do

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

6- The Algerian learner would master Standard Arabic if the Algerian dialect were taught previously.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

7- Standard Arabic must be the only national language.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

8- Learning English is useful for secondary school pupils.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

9- Berber should be considered as an official language.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

10-I would like to be able to speak English.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

11-I would like to be able to speak French.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

12-I would like to be able to speak Standard Arabic.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

13-I would like to be able to speak Berber.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

me to meet and communicate with more people.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

15-Studying English enables me think and behave as the English people do.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

16-Studying French enables me to think and behave as the French people do.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

17-The Algerian pupil should learn Berber.

Strongly agree Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5

Adjective Test:

Direction: Tick an adjective or a phrase or a sentence chosen for a language or a dialect in the columns.

	Standard Arabic	Algerian Arabic	French	English
Rich in Vocabulary				
Beautiful				
Practical				
Lively				
Scientific				
Poetic				
Has poor vocabulary				
Prestigious				
Religious				
Can express any feeling				
Is a dialect				
Is a language				
Contains borrowings from other languages				

Test n°3:

Language Selection Test:

a) Language Preference in Media:

(For more information see pages to ,)

Television Programmes		
Arabic	French	English
Often <input type="checkbox"/>	Often <input type="checkbox"/>	Often <input type="checkbox"/>
Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/>	Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/>	Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/>
Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>	Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>	Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>
Never <input type="checkbox"/>	Never <input type="checkbox"/>	Never <input type="checkbox"/>
What?	What?	What?
News <input type="checkbox"/>	News <input type="checkbox"/>	News <input type="checkbox"/>
Cultural <input type="checkbox"/>	Cultural <input type="checkbox"/>	Cultural <input type="checkbox"/>
Religious <input type="checkbox"/>	Religious <input type="checkbox"/>	Religious <input type="checkbox"/>
Political <input type="checkbox"/>	Political <input type="checkbox"/>	Political <input type="checkbox"/>
Scientific <input type="checkbox"/>	Scientific <input type="checkbox"/>	Scientific <input type="checkbox"/>
Other:.....	Other:.....	Other:.....

Table n°1

Radio Programmes		
Arabic	French	English
Often <input type="checkbox"/>	Often <input type="checkbox"/>	Often <input type="checkbox"/>
Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/>	Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/>	Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/>
Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>	Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>	Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>
Never <input type="checkbox"/>	Never <input type="checkbox"/>	Never <input type="checkbox"/>
What?	What?	What?
News <input type="checkbox"/>	News <input type="checkbox"/>	News <input type="checkbox"/>
Cultural <input type="checkbox"/>	Cultural <input type="checkbox"/>	Cultural <input type="checkbox"/>
Religious <input type="checkbox"/>	Religious <input type="checkbox"/>	Religious <input type="checkbox"/>
Political <input type="checkbox"/>	Political <input type="checkbox"/>	Political <input type="checkbox"/>
Scientific <input type="checkbox"/>	Scientific <input type="checkbox"/>	Scientific <input type="checkbox"/>
Other:	Other:	Other:

Table n°2

b) Language Preference for Reading:
(For more information see pages to ,)

Reading		
Do you read in English?	Do you read in French?	Do you read in Standard Arabic?
Often <input type="checkbox"/>	Often <input type="checkbox"/>	Often <input type="checkbox"/>
Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/>	Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/>	Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/>
Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>	Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>	Rarely <input type="checkbox"/>
Never <input type="checkbox"/>	Never <input type="checkbox"/>	Never <input type="checkbox"/>
What?	What?	What?
.....
Magazines <input type="checkbox"/>	Magazines <input type="checkbox"/>	Magazines <input type="checkbox"/>
What kind?	What kind?	What kind?
.....
Books <input type="checkbox"/>	Books <input type="checkbox"/>	Books <input type="checkbox"/>
What kind?	What kind?	What kind?
.....
Other, what?	Other, what?	Other, what?
.....
.....

Table n°3

c) Language Selection for Writing:

(For more information see pages to ,)

Writing		
Do you write in English?	Do you write in French?	Do you write in Standard Arabic?
Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
No <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
What?	What?	What?
- Personal diaries <input type="checkbox"/>	- Personal diaries <input type="checkbox"/>	- Personal diaries <input type="checkbox"/>
- Shopping list <input type="checkbox"/>	- Shopping list <input type="checkbox"/>	- Shopping list <input type="checkbox"/>
- Family letters <input type="checkbox"/>	- Family letters <input type="checkbox"/>	- Family letters <input type="checkbox"/>
- Friend letters <input type="checkbox"/>	- Friend letter <input type="checkbox"/>	- Friend letters <input type="checkbox"/>
- Official letters <input type="checkbox"/>	- Official letters <input type="checkbox"/>	- Official letters <input type="checkbox"/>
Other? <input type="checkbox"/>	Other? <input type="checkbox"/>	Other? <input type="checkbox"/>
.....

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