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Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research**



**UNIVERSITY OF ORAN 2  
Faculty of Foreign Languages  
Department of English**

**Standard English, Culture and Identity:  
Crosslinguistic Influence in the English Pronunciation  
of Algerian Students at the University of Oran**

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## **DECLARATION**

I, hereby, declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, the work presented is entirely my own.

Nahed Rajaa GHLAMALLAH

*I dedicate this dissertation to my parents whose patience, presence and great moral support encouraged me to carry on and never to give up. No words can thank you enough.*

*May Allah bless you!*

*In memory of Mohamed Benrabah*

## Abstract

This study investigates Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) on English pronunciation at university. It aims at finding the Crosslinguistic Influence caused by socio-cultural factors during the pronunciation of English. In order to analyse the interconnection between language and culture, the study is conducted on the English pronunciation of first-year Algerian students at the University of Oran 2. With such investigation, we aim at finding both how the 'cultural load' can be depicted in the oral production of the students sample and what phonetic/phonological features are recurrent within that process.

The overall objective of the study is to identify the English phonetic/phonological deviations that may produce the interviewed subjects. Our goal is, also, to correlate between those linguistic deviations and socio-cultural factors so they can provide an insight into the way transfer operates not only in the oral language but in the written one too. In addition, it is imperative to detect the main pronunciation difficulties faced by Algerian learners of English.

For that purpose, two experiments have been conducted. While the first analyses spontaneous elicited speech, the second examines a careful one through text reading. The informants are 140 first-year Algerian students of English at the University of Oran 2. All participants were educated in Algeria, and they have been learning English for at least eight years.

The subjects produced a free speech, a reading poem and replied to a questionnaire. Those different materials were collected in two separate experiments. At first, 100 informants were asked to answer questions orally and spontaneously. The second experiment comprised 40 informants who read a poem. The collected material of the second group served as a control test for the validation and the reliability of the study findings, namely the recurrent pronunciation deviations caused by CLI in English. All the informants completed the same questionnaire.

To identify the transfer from Arabic and/or French to English pronunciation, we have, first, orthographically and phonetically transcribed the 140 recordings, then compared the informants' phonetic realisation to that of RP. Second, we have collected most frequent deviations in the production of English consonants, vowels, syllable structure, stress and intonation. Third, we have selected those caused only by a transfer from Arabic/French. Fourth, we have divided the collected deviations into three main categories, those influenced by Arabic, French and by both simultaneously. Fifth, we have examined those deviations in terms of socio-cultural features to reveal the correlation between the CLI phenomenon and the English pronunciation regarding the informants' cultural load. Sixth, we have analysed those findings according to their educational implications in the light of Phonetics teaching/learning.

The study contributes to the analysis of CLI regarding socio-cultural criteria and to the teaching of English phonetics. It is based on two guiding principles, the exploration of common CLI features and the identification of the socio-cultural factors that underlie that transferable production.

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One traces the development of Crosslinguistic Influence in SLA studies and reviews some theories to elucidate the way languages interact in the learners' mind to produce such a phenomenon. Chapter Two tackles culture and identity in the light of English language acquisition within a multilingual context. Chapter Three describes the linguistic situation of Algeria and summarises major phonetic/phonemic features of Arabic (Standard and Colloquial), Berber, French and Standard British English. Chapter Four presents the methodology and results of the two experimental studies. Chapter Five discusses the results of the experiment and considers some of the educational implications within, in order to outline a syllabus design in Phonetics.

**Keywords:** Standard English, Crosslinguistic Influence, Phonetics, Phonology, Culture, Identity, Second Language Acquisition, Applied Linguistics

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

CAA = Colloquial Algerian Arabic  
CA = Classical Arabic  
CLI = Crosslinguistic Influence  
EA = Error Analysis  
IPA = International Phonetic Alphabet  
L1 = First Language  
L2 = Second Language  
L3 = Third Language  
LA = Language Acquisition  
MSA = Modern Standard Arabic  
MT = Mother Tongue  
NL = Native Language  
RP = Received Pronunciation  
SLA = Second Language Acquisition  
TOT = Tip-of-the-Tongue  
TL = Target Language  
UG = Universal Grammar

**SUPRASEGMENTALS AND DIACRITICS USED IN THIS WORK**

Symbols	Examples
<sup>1</sup> Primary stress	<i>transport</i> / <sup>1</sup> trænts.pɔ:t/
<sub>1</sub> Secondary stress	<i>transportation</i> / <sub>1</sub> trænts.pɔ:t <sup>1</sup> teɪʃ.ən/
~ Rhoticity	/e/
: Length	/ i:/
· Half-long	[i·]
◦ Devoiced	[b◦] [g◦]
<sup>h</sup> Aspiration	[t <sup>h</sup> ]
<sup>s</sup> Friction	[t <sup>s</sup> ]
<sub>1</sub> Syllabic	[n̩]
◌ <sub>̣</sub> Dental	[ṭ]
◌ <sub>̠</sub> Apical	[t̠]
◌̣̣ Centralised	[ë]
◌ <sub>̥</sub> Raised	[e̥]
◌ <sub>̣̣</sub> Lowered	[ẹ̣]
◌ <sub>̠̣</sub> Retracted	[e̠̣]
◌ <sub>̠̣̣</sub> Advanced	[e̠̣̣]
~ Nasalised	[ẽ]
- Velarised	[ɬ]
<sup>ç</sup> Pharyngealised	[t <sup>ç</sup> ]

**(MODERN) STANDARD ARABIC PHONEMES (IPA)**

Consonants			Vowels		
Phonemes	Letters	Transliteration	Phonemes	Letters	Transliteration
/b/	ب	b	/i/	ي	i
/t/	ت	t	/a/	أ	a
/d/	د	d	/u/	و	u
/k/	ك	k	/i:/	ي	ii
/q/	ق	q	/a:/	أ	aa
/ʔ/	ء	ʔ	/u:/	و	uu
/tʰ/	ط	T	/aw/	أو	aw
/dʰ/	ظ	Dh	/aj/	أَي	aj
/f/	ف	f			
/θ/	ث	th			
/ð/	ذ	dh			
/s/	س	s			
/ʃ/	ش	sh			
/ʒ/	ج	j			
/x/	خ	kh			
/ɣ/	غ	gh			
/h/	ح	H			
/ʕ/	ع	ʕ			
/h/	ه	h			
/ðʰ/	ظ	DH			
/sʰ/	ص	S			
/m/	م	m			
/n/	ن	n			
/r/	ر	r			
/l/	ل	l			
/w/	و	w			
/j/	ي	y			

### STANDARD FRENCH PHONEMES (IPA)

Consonants	Vowels
/p/ - poids	/i/ - il
/b/ - bois	/e/ - les
/t/ - toit	/ɛ/ - lait
/d/ - doigt	/a/ - patte
/k/ - quoi	/ɑ/ - pâte
/g/ - garde	/o/ - gros
/f/ - fois	/ɔ/ - note
/v/ - voix	/u/ - fou
/s/ - soie	/y/ - tu
/z/ - zoo	/ø/ - deux
/ʃ/ - choix	/œ/ - cœur
/ʒ/ - joie	/ə/ - recette
/m/ - moi	/ɛ̃/ - bien
/n/ - noix	/ɑ̃/ - vent
/ɲ/ - oignon	/ɔ̃/ - bon
/ŋ/ - parking	/œ̃/ - brun
/ʁ/ - roi	
/l/ - loi	
/j/ - yacht	
/w/ - oie	
/ɥ/ - puits	

STANDARD BRITISH ENGLISH PHONEMES (IPA)

Consonants	Vowels
/p/ - pay	/i:/ - been
/b/ - bay	/ɪ/ - bin
/t/ - toy	/e/ - pet
/d/ - boy	/æ/ - pat
/k/ - card	/ə/ - <u>a</u> gain
/g/ - guard	/ɜ:/ - work
/m/ - meat	/ʌ/ - <u>o</u> ven
/n/ - neat	/ɑ:/ - car
/ŋ/ - sing	/ɒ/ - knot
/f/ - fan	/ɔ:/ - ball
/v/ - van	/ʊ/ - would
/θ/ - three	/u:/ - new
/ð/ - this	/eɪ/ - play
/s/ - see	/aɪ/ - cry
/z/ - zoo	/ɔɪ/ - boy
/ʃ/ - share	/ɪə/ - deer
/ʒ/ - genre	/eə/ - affair
/h/ - hotel	/ʊə/ - allure
/tʃ/ - cheese	/aʊ/ - bow
/dʒ/ - judge	/əʊ/ - know
/r/ - rest	
/l/ - less	
/w/ - wake	
/j/ - yes	

# **General Introduction**

## General Introduction

Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) represents an extensive area of Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Numerous theories investigate its meaning, its occurrence, its effects on the process of SLA and the consequences of such a phenomenon for language learners. The term *Cross-linguistic Influence*<sup>1</sup> emerged in the 1980s to refer to a phenomenon occurring during the acquisition of L2. But since then, it has increasingly been under discussion, and it is among the actively investigated topics in SLA in current publications. It consists of transferring linguistic features and norms from one language to another during comprehension or production. Besides, any type of transfer from a previously acquired language has been subsumed under CLI. In other words, during SLA any language learner may be the receiver or the sender of transfer.

Regarding language and culture, both form the identity of its beholder and both are used to distinguish a nation from another. This is the reason expressions such as *the Japanese, the French or the Italian culture* also designate the name of peoples and their languages. Language and culture are acquired through a trial and error process to benefit the established structure of a particular society and to cope with forthcoming changes. Though linked, culture and language do not necessarily need to be dependent on each other. A child, for instance, can identify what belongs to them and distinguish who their mum is, before being able to say the word ‘*mummy*’; hence the distinction between mental, phonetic and lexical concepts. As to cultural knowledge, the amount of what is verbally transmitted varies according to people’s culture; since the acquisition, storage and assimilation of both language and culture involve different and complex processes.

Language production in all its forms remains the most valuable insight into people’s culture. Several linguists’ findings, among which a recent study was conducted by Oz (2015), reveal that L2 acquisition might be enhanced or hindered either by learners’ own culture or by the way they perceive that of L2. Nevertheless, the findings of those theories diverge in the role L2 features (linguistic or cultural) have in language acquisition, i.e. which features, taught, help or impede learning.

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<sup>1</sup> Cross-linguistic Influence: the spelling has undergone a slight change and the hyphen is now dropped in most of the contemporary literature.



In Oran, on account of some cultural teaching heritage, English language learners have often been taught, as pupils then later as students, to only use English-English dictionaries, to try to understand the rules in English, to practice English in class during peer work and to ‘think’ in English in order to avoid translation from Arabic (or French). However, it seems extremely difficult to ‘think’ in a language that a learner does not master yet. And this can be observed by any teacher during the activities and exercises conducted in class; students rarely ‘think’ only in English. Such findings are not a rare occurrence because they have often been commented on by several teachers at the English Department of Oran University. Nevertheless, the main concern is that some good students, who cannot apply what the teachers requested namely; speaking and ‘thinking’ only in English, may become demotivated when facing *transfer* issues. To illustrate, when those students cannot repeat in their own words what has just been explained in class despite their positive assertion they have well understood the lesson, they might believe that they are not good enough and/or that they would never speak English fluently.

Additionally, despite the several teaching methods developed to enhance second/foreign language acquisition, up-to-now none of them could be fully taken for granted or could hold the sole keys to successful learning. Instead, a combination of different approaches, methods and techniques is needed to endorse the structure for effective learning.

If this work relies, on the one hand, on the studies that reveal that Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) is a fact and, on the other hand, on the findings that culture may influence the acquisition of an L2; the following hypotheses can be formulated. It is possible to depict an important ‘cultural load’ onto the English pronunciation of Algerian learners at the University of Oran. In fact, in a bilingual/multilingual context such as Algeria, several vernaculars (namely Standard Arabic, Colloquial Algerian Arabic, Berber and French) interact with English on target language production and acquisition. For this, there is also a need to verify whether transferring all L1 rules or part of them proves beneficial and time-saving, as transfer is not only that of linguistic systems but also that of culture. Moreover, regardless of the amount of Crosslinguistic Influence on L2, it is a common belief that for better L2 acquisition, there must be high-frequency of exposure to the target language, namely Standard English (Alonso Alonso, et al. 2016). Therefore, we might also hypothesise that high exposure to L2 reduces CLI during the production of English.

Most linguists, such as Allard et al. (2011), agree that culture is of paramount importance for language acquisition, but the overall extent of the connection cannot

definitely be measured. Therefore, the research will attempt to answer, confirm or refute the following questions: what makes culture hinder or enhance L2 acquisition? How can culture, language and identity be interrelated? Can culture be the main cause for CLI? If students share the same culture, do they automatically make the same deviations in English pronunciation? Do they go through the same process of CLI during their acquisition of English? What are the major phonetic and phonological rules Algerian students cannot apply during a conversation/spontaneous speech? What are the recurring transfers from L1 to L2? Why do they occur? Can the detection of CLI identify the strategies that learners use to construct their English interlanguage? Can they be predicted, corrected, regulated or completely avoided? Can one speak of an Algerian English? Finally, can one design a specific syllabus that corresponds to the Algerian learner of English pronunciation?

In a multilingual (or Multi-Competent according to Cook's new definition of the concept 2016) context like Algeria, when producing English, students' speech embodies the interaction of several languages systems at the same time and that results in CLI, creating deviations in phonological/phonetic norms and impediments to the English language acquisition process. The objective of this work is to discover (a) the way those deviations are obtained, (b) how transfer works so that they (deviations) manifest their occurrence at the level of English pronunciation and (c) how they can be predicted not according to language comparison only but, mostly and largely, according to the 'cultural load' the Crosslinguistic Influence underlies.

Crosslinguistic Influence is not the only source of L2 mistakes and errors. However, transfer has been selected because it is a common process in Phonetics classes where students carry on with the same deviant production even after learning rules and applying them in classroom activities. Indeed, in spite of what looks like some positive feedback of assimilation and production of a given pronunciation instruction in class, students keep repeating the same deviated forms later and outside the classroom. Also, within the scope of this work objective is to understand what makes some students produce a correct phonetic rule in assessment contexts, use accurate phonetic transcription and correct their classmates' mistakes in class when they, themselves, are unable to apply those rules in their own speech.

As a student, and a teacher, of Phonetics, we aim to further our knowledge in this branch, to understand students' weaknesses in order to be able to help them overcome their difficulties and to improve our teaching for the benefit of Algerian students to

become more autonomous and goal-oriented. Furthermore, the ultimate objective of this work is to detect students' 'habits' in transfer so that they become an easy target to track and treat.

The object of the study is to look for the link between language and culture regarding Crosslinguistic Influence in the pronunciation of English learners at the University of Oran. This work does not purport to understand how language and culture are acquired during people's early stages of life, it, rather, endeavours to locate the points at which they meet when learning a foreign language, as well as the extent to which the interinfluence is constructive, delaying or completely hindering language acquisition. Besides, it is of equal relevance to comprehend the way culture manifests itself in a linguistic transfer of subsystems from one language to another.

This work purports to analyse major phonetic/phonological deviations made by first-year Algerian students of English at the University of Oran. It will particularly try to investigate deviations caused by the transfer of Arabic and French linguistic systems to the English one. The study will not only examine the transfer from one system to another but, also, the Crosslinguistic Influence among those systems at the level of oral production in English. The question is not to compare two languages or more for the sake of uncovering similarities and discrepancies in order to predict the difficulty or the easiness of the process; the question is whether the students do or do not make the same type of influences and how the latter can be useful in learning English pronunciation.

This work is not a recommendation or a condemnation of CLI. It just analyses what can or could be used to improve students' learning of English pronunciation as much objectively as possible. In fact, CLI could be studied either as an individual psycholinguistic phenomenon or as a societal one identifying the impacts of language contact on speech communities. This study investigates such a phenomenon from an individual perspective amid socio-cultural factors. For this purpose, two different experiments have been conducted with first-year students at Oran University at the end of the academic year (June 2013 & June 2015). The first consisted of 100 participants who watched a movie *Oliver Swift* and they were asked to reply to a questionnaire (to gather data relative to the study) and to speak about the books and the movies they liked. The second experiment also reports the pronunciation of 40 other informants filling in the same questionnaire and reading a selected text carefully for better output and a lower affect filter as it will be discussed in chapter four. The difference behind those experiments is not only to compare L1 influence on spontaneous and careful

pronunciation but also to make sure that the selected deviations are ‘proper’ to Algerian learners of English at the University of Oran. For that purpose, both experiments were realised within two years from one another with informants having the same context and level of education.

Often, terms such as transfer, interference and influence are usually used in free variation to mean one and the same, yet for the sake of clarification, we shall briefly distinguish between each concept in terms of the semantic employ in this work. Indeed, it is important to ‘clear’ the name of *transfer* before we start using it in the following chapters because it has often been related to behaviourism and habit formation and it has, therefore, been rejected because of that.

Also, words such as *interference*, *influence* or *transfer* may sound synonymous; however, each one carries some connotation that will be explained in the first chapter. In this dissertation, *Crosslinguistic Influence* and (Crosslinguistic) *transfer* will be used interchangeably in the same way Odlin (1989) Ringbom (2007); and Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010) did. Moreover, the use of the term *interference* has been limited to some contexts since it has completely been overruled by most linguists because of its vague and negative implications. Besides, in the title of this thesis, the choice of the expression *Crosslinguistic Influence* stems from its being the current designation of a sub-branch of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Studies. Moreover, although the concept *transfer* in the CLI studies has acquired through time the same meaning as CLI, it may still refer to all its former background of the seriously challenged behaviourist theories.

In addition, English, in Algeria, has the status of a *Foreign Language* and this study is conducted in the Department of English at the Faculty of Foreign Languages. Nevertheless, it is of equal importance to mention that the term *second language* (L2) in this work does not only refer to the second language an individual learns. Instead, it relates to all languages learnt after one’s mother tongue(s) (MT) whether it is the second or the fourth as argued by Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010) and Saville-Troike (2012). In Algeria, for instance, L2 number one is French and L2 number two is English. Still, it is imperative to mention that there are other linguists such as Cenoz, Hufeison & Jessner (2001) and De Angelis (2007) who avoid the use of *foreign language* by favouring that of *additional language* or *third language* (L3). For, the latter are terms to be employed in order to distinguish between the acquisition processes of each language. Concerning *first language* (L1), however, *L1* and *native language* (NT) will be used simultaneously since

they both refer to the first acquired dialect(s) or language(s), including the mother tongue (MT) according to the same linguists mentioned above.

Learning is an academic development which is multilayered and multifaceted. However, another distinction should be made between *learning* and *acquisition*. While the former is a conscious (explicit) process, acquisition is a subconscious (implicit) one. As claimed by Krashen (1982, p. 10) competence in L2 can be developed by the two processes; but it is the acquisition of a language that enables communication. In fact, what is learnt is not always acquired and assimilated; for instance, language acquirers can *learn* a phonological/phonetic rule for an examination and may forget it later on unless it is really *acquired*.

The work is divided into five chapters. The first chapter reviews the literature of key concepts such as language, transfer and Crosslinguistic Influence. It starts with the main tool of CLI and SLA; namely *language*. Understanding what language is and how it can be modified and shaped may provide some insight into language transfer. Next, it traces back the historical development of transfer to the emergence of Crosslinguistic Influence. Last but not least, it explores the way languages interact in order to produce CLI.

The second chapter tackles language, culture and identity and how they are interconnected. In this part, the concept of culture will be analysed in terms of Western and Arab(o)-Islamic points of view. Whether language determines culture or not has been under constant probing by linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, philosophers, etc. In this chapter, however, we will only focus on the existing link between language and culture. The difference between both elements can be investigated no longer as a dichotomy but as a continuum between two edges. The section will also endeavour to answer the following questions, what is culture? What is the relation between culture and language learning? How is such a relation depicted in L2 acquisition? What are the observable socio-cultural factors in the language of multilinguals? Is interculturalism an obstacle or an asset in L2 acquisition? At the end of this chapter, we shall propose a comprehensive definition of culture that we label as *the 'Cultural Load' Model (CLM)*. The latter is advanced as a representative sample of the Algerian students of English at the University of Oran; besides, it is presented in the form of a diagram that summarises the reviewed literature, and that illustrates an experiment we have made about culture.

The third chapter briefly surveys the linguistic situation of Algeria and how several languages such as Arabic, Berber and French mix and merge creating a multilingual context. It also addresses notions such as Classical Arabic, (Modern) Standard Arabic, Intermediate Arabic and Colloquial Algerian Arabic. Besides, it also compares major features of the phonetic and phonological aspects (*vowels, consonants, syllable structure, stress and intonation*) of Arabic (Standard and Colloquial), Berber, French and Standard British English.

The fourth chapter explains the methodology of the conducted experiment and presents the results of the interview and the questionnaire survey. It tries to disclose how English sounds are articulated and the way they function according to some informants. Focus will be on the deviations formed by the most repeated and similar realisations of sounds and suprasegmental features proper to first-year students of English at the University of Oran. The objective of this study is to consider Algerian Oranese English, to identify the ‘cultural load’ and determine at which level Crosslinguistic Influence takes place.

The fifth and last chapter discusses the previous chapter results and attempts at correlating the findings with some socio-cultural factors for educational purposes. In fact, it seeks: (a) to explore the source of CLI in the informants’ pronunciation and (b) to explain some of the underlying reasons that may trigger a particular phenomenon to ‘surface’ during speech production. Identifying CLI for the sake of identification seems incomplete without trying to analyse how such a process encompasses a series of strategies developed by learners in order to produce a particular result. The chapter will also attempt to understand the educational implications within such a context and to propose solutions along with a syllabus design that might be applied in Phonetics classes.

# **Chapter One**

## **Review of Related Literature**

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## Chapter I

### Review of Related Literature

#### 1.1. Introduction

Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) is a fascinating multifaceted and interdisciplinary phenomenon. Indeed, this complex psychological process was the object of scrutiny by areas of language studies such as Applied Linguistics, Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Anthropinguistics, Semantics, Pragmatics, Generative Linguistics, and so forth. For a long time, transfer (or what was later termed CLI) has been examined from lexical and syntactic perspectives to gradually extend to cognitive, psychological and cultural directions. Also, Translation Studies have started to explore such a phenomenon because it is a direct consequence of language contact.

Today, CLI Studies comprehend the forms of language contact including transfer whether it is *forward transfer* ( $L1 \rightarrow L2$ ) Lado (1957), *reverse transfer* ( $L1 \leftarrow L2$ ) Cook (2003), *multidirectional* when learners are multilinguals (Cenoz et al., 2001) or *bidirectional transfer* ( $L1 \leftrightarrow L2$ ) Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010). Besides, the Crosslinguistic Influence Studies have ushered in the spread of new areas of research such as the Native Language Identification (NLI) proposed by Jarvis & Paquot (2015).

This chapter attempts to briefly examine how Crosslinguistic Influence has undergone a marked revival of interest in contemporary Second Language Acquisition Studies. This section is divided into three axes: the first part *Defining Language*, as its name indicates, tries to investigate the very tool and object of our analysis; the second section, *Crosslinguistic Influence* explores the chronological development of the phenomenon from its being referred to as interferences to transfer to Crosslinguistic Influence; the last subdivision, however, *Acquisition of Multiple Languages* deals with the way learners of multiple languages (bilinguals/multilinguals) go through CLI during the acquisition of an additional language. Our objective is to determine the meaning of such notions in relation to the usage adopted in this dissertation.

#### 1.2. Defining Language

In this section, as our main concern is to understand Crosslinguistic Influence, we need first to identify what is language, the object of transfer and influence of one language over

another or of a system over another. It is also essential to this analysis to identify what features and which layers underlie language so they can be detected on the surface of language production.

All over the world, children start learning language from their close environment and from the people they are in contact with. The assimilation of language phonology, lexis and syntax is achieved both consciously and unconsciously, through time, at different stages ascending varied levels of complexity. As to its transmission, it is accomplished from one generation to another according to the socio-cultural formulae proper to each society or speech community depending either on a political agenda (e.g. language policy) at a wider level or on family traditions at a narrower one. Concerning language acquisition, there are usually external factors that trigger human inner abilities that result in learning through observation, emulation, error making and correction.

Such naturalness to produce language seems so axiomatic if we try to imagine ourselves unable to generate any form of spoken or written language for one day. However, using a language is not like the natural walking or breathing processes; it is rather a more complex set of features and factors that are still investigated by linguistics, scientists, psychologists, sociologists, historians, and so forth. With each field of research, we observe several and different theories on what language is, how it is transmitted, how it is acquired, and what are the social, the psychological or the cognitive factors that influence its change, evolution, adoption, rejection, revival or death. Moreover, not all human communication is language i.e. smiling or shaking one's head does not necessarily imply that it is language; for language is a much more complex system including a set of information and structures. In the light of this, it is imperative to identify what is in the nature of language that allows transfer to take place.

In this part, we do not intend to go through all those multidisciplinary theories of what language is. However, we need to, briefly, tackle a few notions according to the way they will be used in this work. Together with understanding what language is, answering the following questions might be needed for a better comprehension of the Crosslinguistic Influence phenomenon: what is the function of language? Is it the product of nature or nurture?

According to a website<sup>1</sup> on Language Statistics and Facts, there are 6912 living languages all over the world. Most of these languages spoken form have preceded the

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.vistawide.com/languages/language\\_statistics.htm](http://www.vistawide.com/languages/language_statistics.htm)

written one. In the first year at university, students discover Max Weinreich famous saying: “A language is a dialect with an army and a navy” (1945, p. 420-421). Whether a language is considered as a dialect or not or whether its linguistic structures are fixed or not, one has to bear in mind that language is not independent of social, political, ideological and cultural background. Consequently, and step by step one realises how complex it is to provide a simple definition.

### 1.2.1. Language as a Dialect

To the general public language and dialect may be different. On the one hand, language is a codified form which represents a speech community, a people or a country and it is intelligible to all its speakers; on the other hand, a dialect is a speech form perceived as either rural, less prestigious or having a lower status because it is neither codified nor is it ‘worthy’ of investigation since it may represent a minority. Such prejudice against dialect, however, is not scientific. Others may distinguish language and dialect in terms of *mutual intelligibility* and *linguistic continuum* as it is the case in Arabic. The latter, also called the language of the Koran, is perceived by its speakers as one single language which has a number of dialects extending from Morocco to the Arabian Gulf; and speakers of each variety understand the speech of their neighbours in a linguistic continuum.

Speakers, for example, of the Scandinavian languages (Norwegian, Swedish and Danish) can perfectly understand one another (Trudgill, 2000). However, these languages are officially identified as separate ones. Also, the Chinese language is said to comprise several dialects such as Mandarin, Cantonese, Shanghainese and Taiwanese; however, all those varieties that belong to the Sino-Tibetan family of languages and which have the same writing system are not mutually intelligible. Similarly, German is maintained to be one single language even if some varieties are totally unintelligible to speakers of other varieties (Trudgill, 2000). Accordingly, neither does mutual intelligibility nor the linguistic continuum between the Scandinavian languages make them as one single language; nor do the mutually unintelligible varieties of German make them as dialects of the same language.

In the history of the development of such a distinction, many linguists view language as a mere dialect which has evolved through time, for instance: Lyons, in 1968, declared that any speaker of a language is a dialect speaker. The term dialect does not only refer to the speech habits that are considered old-fashioned, rural or unsophisticated

but also to all languages such as English, French and so on. For him, those languages were mere dialects which accidentally have become standards by politically or socially influential classes through time.

For Trudgill likewise, all languages are dialects. Everybody speaks a dialect with a particular pronunciation called 'accent': "All of us speak with an accent, and all of us speak a dialect" (1990, p. 2). In other words, language is a dialect which includes grammar, morphology, vocabulary and pronunciation which is referred to as *accent*.

### 1.2.2. Language as a Social Phenomenon

For a long time, the study of a language has been devoid from the socio-cultural surroundings of its speakers. It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that such a descriptive method witnessed another emerging theory in the field of linguistics. Upsetting the existing order, de Saussure views language as a social fact (2013). Such a perspective has added to language social dimensions in order to study the development of the system and structures (language units/signs) synchronically rather than diachronically. Similar to the French sociologists Durkheim<sup>2</sup>, de Saussure views language as a social fact similar to social institutions or dress codes; because although they exist, they are, nevertheless, not observable. To solve this issue, he makes the distinction between *langue* the hidden system and *parole* the observable speaking behaviour. On the whole; linguists need to analyse *parole* to have an insight to *langue* even if the latter is impossible to observe.

Ranging from Malinowski, Wittgenstein to Bloch, several scholars have studied language as a social phenomenon and meaning in relation to social context. Bloch (1975) claims, for instance, that in the analysis of utterance-meaning more attention should be paid to social context; or else, words are detached from their real meaning.

Other linguists such as (Grillo, et al., 1987, p. 270) and (Žegarac, 2006, p. 320), however, claim that language is a social phenomenon but only to a certain extent. They explain that the way syntactic structures or the meaning of words and sentences are acquired and developed can be studied without being necessarily linked to social context.

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<sup>2</sup> Émile Durkheim (1858-1917): a French sociologist and he is considered as the founding father of modern sociology. For him, language is a social fact since it is stable and impersonal.

### 1.2.3. Language as Behaviour

The notion of language as behaviour emerged with American descriptivists and behaviourists. In this field, the main writers are Pavlov (1897)<sup>3</sup>, Thorndike (1898)<sup>4</sup>, Watson (1913)<sup>5</sup>, Skinner (1957)<sup>6</sup> and Bandura (1963)<sup>7</sup>. Language is the product of reinforced responses of verbal behaviour which scientifically constitutes the only observable phenomenon of study. In short, verbal behaviour is the insight to language; for it can be the only scientific way to learn or study a language. Behaviourists believe that all human behaviour can be observable as it can be explained in terms of Stimulus → Response → Reinforcement. Such a theory, however, has shown its limits since not all linguistic units can be learnt through rewarding ‘bad’ or ‘good’ language. Besides, language needs imagination and creativity, and its acquisition is also a complex psychological process.

### 1.2.4. Language as a Cognitive Organ

Modern linguistics has often concentrated on language as a mental organ. Many theories have tried to study what happens in the mind of a speaker to later trigger approaches on computational linguistics or conduct experiments on artificial intelligence to produce language.

Since the 1950s, Chomsky and his followers have believed that language is analogous to any other biological property a human has and it is, therefore, a mental organ. According to Chomsky (2000) and Anderson & Lightfoot (2002), the brain is a complex system of innate faculties which enable us to create and generate sentences we have not heard before from anyone in our environment. Among those faculties, we find universal grammar competence each speaker is innately endowed with to help them determine the evident structures to use. Considering language as a cognition that makes us human, Chomsky maintains that language is a way of speaking which is characterised by finite means that generate infinite use: “We thus take language to be, in effect, a “notion of structures” that guides the speaker in forming “free expressions”” (2000, p. 73). According to Anderson & Lightfoot, we have a structured and biologically determined faculty which enables the brain to adapt to language. They state that:

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<sup>3</sup> Pavlov, Ivan (1897) published the results of an experiment on dogs conditioning.

<sup>4</sup> Thorndike, Edward Lee (1898) the ‘*Law of Effect*’.

<sup>5</sup> Watson, John Broadus (1913) published an article ‘Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It’ to launch the Behavioural School of Psychology (classical conditioning).

<sup>6</sup> Skinner, B.F. (1957) *Verbal Behaviour*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

<sup>7</sup> Bandura, Albert (1963) *The Social Learning Theory and Personality Development*.

Our ability to speak and understand a natural language results from ... a richly structured and biologically determined capacity specific ... to our species and ...the language faculty is a part of human biology, tied up with the architecture of the human brain, and distinct in part from other cognitive faculties... The language faculty has properties typical of a bodily organ, a specialized structure which carries out a particular function. (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2002, p. 216, 9)

With this in mind, the development of any organism is due to genetics and environment factors. As an illustration, the physical appearance or the height of humans largely depends on their genetics even if some ‘glamorous’ make-up or proper nutrition might influence the final result. The relationship between both factors –innate and environmental– help produce the development of language which in return is characterised by its ability to generate grammar from a finite set of rules through empirical evidence.

Others such as Ray Jackendoff (2012) argue that the origin of language does not start from a bunch of cave dwellers who decided one day to create communication codes. Instead, he believes that, unlike primates, the human brain controls the interpretation of sounds, the movements of the vocal tract, the creation of messages and a series of other processes that enable us to speak and to communicate with one another. He, then, mentions a recently discovered ‘language gene’ called **FOXP2** (Forkhead Box Protein P2) a gene responsible for the development of language and speech in the brain and also controls the face and the mouth. This gene is found in chromosome 7 and is different from the one apes have. Any mutation in that gene causes speech disorder.

Viewing language as a mental organ needs more an interdisciplinary perspective than a linguistic one as it looks for biology, psychology and sciences to determine what happens in the mind. The question that remains disputable among linguists is whether the innate capacities or the contextual ones are the most influential regarding language acquisition and development. Only time and further research in this field will tell us what exactly happens in our brain concerning language.

### **1.2.5. Language as an Abstract Object**

Katz (1981) challenges Chomsky’s theory (see chap. I Section 1.2.4.) as he argues that language is an abstract object in the sense that first, it is not a ‘mental’ organ and it has an existence of its own separated from the mind; second, it does not hold any place in time and space, and it is completely detached. Katz distinguishes between the ‘knowledge of something’ and the ‘object of knowledge’ stating that the latter refers to an abstract

object called language which should be studied with a psychological (biological) approach. In other words, language is an abstract and an infinite reality of which reflections are only manifested in grammar. He defends his view of Platonism in language reinforcing the theory of universal grammar stating that all languages have common grammatical structures that exist either in the mind or in the physical world and that existence is abstract. Therefore, the idea of abstraction called language possesses characteristics intrinsic to all languages.

### **1.2.6. Language as a Linguistic System**

One of the foremost concerns that have been dealt with by linguists since language has been studied is the internal systems of language. This part includes a description of language and its linguistic systems such as phonetics, phonology, grammar, meaning, spoken and written forms. We shall endeavour to describe what language is from each of the mentioned perspectives as follows.

#### **1.2.6.1. Language as Phonetics**

MacMahon (2005) posits language primarily as a sound system, as he describes the way and the places sounds are produced. He summarises the whole process air travels for speech sounds production. In sum, air is generated by the lungs which squeeze it upwards; next, it passes through the larynx to take either nose or mouth direction and finally submits to some modification in the oral cavity for detailed release.

#### **1.2.6.2. Language as Phonology**

Unlike phonetics which analyses the ‘speech apparatus’, Phonology studies the function the meaning and the ‘behaviour’ of sounds of a particular language. Fudge (2005) suggests that language is a system of sounds which are interrelated and which fulfil different functions depending on adjacent sounds or contextual representations. Since phonology studies one language at a time, he examines the Standard English phonological rules and the phonetic production expected from its speakers.

#### **1.2.6.3. Language as ‘a’ Grammar**

Language is a system of signs and grammar studies its patterns. According to Allerton, ‘a grammar’, with the indefinite article means language since it “covers a language in all its aspects” (2005, p. 38). In other words, language is a grammar, an umbrella heading under which forms, patterns and rules are to be constructed for accurate use. All speech must



be expressed in grammatical units through particular modes, aspects and patterns. Grammatical sequences are different in nature, proper to each language, and each language detains some authority to categorise rules for correctness. Allerton suggests that learning language should be achieved through prescriptive methods rather than descriptive ones and the phenomenon of remodelling and transferring language structures from one language to another is a mistake. As to the question whether a closed system of formalised rules is compatible with the flexible nature of language, Allerton answers by offering a few verses by Mephistopheles from (Goethe's *Faust Part I*)<sup>8</sup>:

With words one can have a splendid fight,  
With words devise a system right,

#### 1.2.6.4. Language as Meaning

Language conveys meaning and, because of such a process, the study of meaning is an insight into language. Language is a system of signs, and each sign symbolises a particular sense. In his analysis of semantics, Cruse distinguishes between natural signs and conventional ones. The latter, he claims, are human-made and they require special skills for the right interpretation "A language is a system of conventional signs all aspects of whose structure exist ultimately to serve the sovereign function of conveying meaning." (2005, p. 76).

Despite the fact that language conveys meaning, there exist, however, other factors performing the same function – notably paralinguistic features such as voice or non-linguistic such as physical gestures. Also, the meaning of language is not only conveyed by lexical items but also by the contextual interpretations within which utterances are produced. Leech & Thomas (2005) demonstrated that language becomes meaning not only through its semantic sense but also through its pragmatic one because utterances perform actions on their own in terms of their context. This view holds an attractive plan as it is crucial for language learners to learn lexis, grammar and phonology together with their use and usage for proper production: "Learning a language is not only learning its grammar and lexis, but also the ability to act upon this knowledge so that to communicate." (Neddar, 2004, p. 79).

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<sup>8</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) a German poet, writer and statesman. He wrote his famous literary work *Faust: The First Part of the Tragedy* in 1808.



### 1.2.7. An Alternative Redefinition of Language

All of the above points allow us to propose an alternative schema of what language is. In this research, a natural language can be briefly summarised by the following figure which represents language both as a general abstract concept and as a concrete means of active production for a speaker. In the diagram, *language* is portrayed as having three parallel levels which develop more or less in a circular motion through different stages of time and speakers' needs. Those levels are first *language skills*, second *the linguistic inner system* and third *the factors that influence language*.

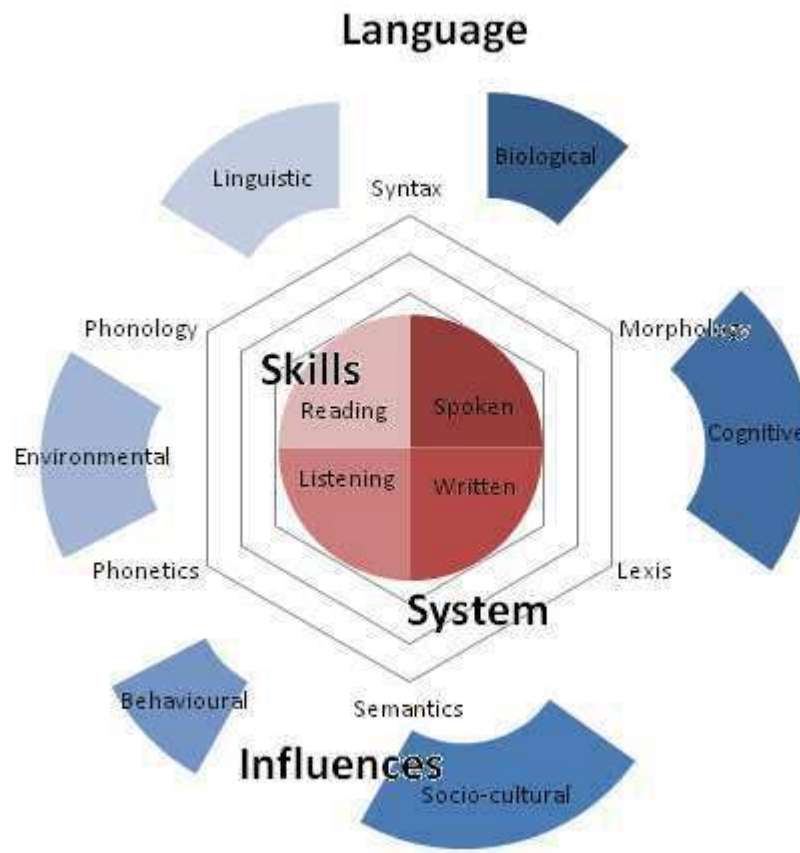


Figure 1.1: An Alternative Redefinition of Language

Firstly, *language skills* are divided into two major competences receptive and productive ones; the latter are meant as a means of communication and the former as a key to decipher the perceived signs. Those skills are the apparent aspects of language and the manifestation of a speaker's competence and performance in that language. The skills are complex and are acquired through the different stages of language acquisition (LA) we go through from childhood to adulthood. Unlike written and spoken forms which are productive skills, receptive ones namely reading and listening are supposed to be acquired

first, since they might be labelled as the easiest and the less complex in LA. However, in the 2015 IELTS training (International English Language Testing System)<sup>9</sup>, Sarah Philpot who has been teaching English for over 25 years and who is an IELTS test-examiner at the British Council, claimed that most Algerian applicants score less in the reading and the speaking tests. Such information may open further research on whether receptive or productive skills are acquired chronologically according to difficulty levels or according to specific situations in which necessity arises.

Secondly, the *linguistic system*, which is proper to each language develops, in a circular movement in which structures are more or less interrelated. Also, that system forms the theoretical foundation and basis for an effective performance of the previous four skills. In other words, the better the competence in these systems, the higher the performance in those four skills and the more qualitative is the production of language. A speaker may be more competent in one linguistic system than another depending on internal or external factors that shall be mentioned below.

The third and the last part of the table corresponds to the *characteristics that may influence language*. The influences may occur at a given time and with no specific order. They are interrelated and may affect the language inner systems and, subsequently, the above mentioned four skills. For the purpose of economy, influencing factors have been synthesised into six major ones; first, the biological including the physical, neurological and the psychological aspects of the human body to enable speech; second, the cognitive with all the features that concern motivation, intelligence, language assimilation, language perception, feelings and attitudes towards language. The third factor is the set of socio-cultural influences a language speaker might be confronted with, and which include traditions, social beliefs, religious background, social status, prestige, multilingual context, and the historical impact it leaves on a community or a speaker. The fourth, however, is strictly behavioural since it allows a small space to notions such as trial, error and rewarding either from school, from close family members or from particular social classes. The fifth aspect of the third level is environmental; it encompasses the contextual situation in which a language speaker directly finds themselves. This aspect includes family members, adopted political ideology, language policy and the economic circumstances. Finally, the last and sixth factor is the linguistic

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<sup>9</sup> IELTS (International English Language Testing System) is a language testing system for job or students applicants in the Anglo-Saxon countries and institutions. The test-takers have to be assessed in the four skills –writing, speaking, listening and reading.

one; it labels the linguistic evolution and changes a language may undergo. In fact, it comprehends language contact, neologism, additional, modified or abandoned systemic structures at the morpho-syntactic, the lexical-semantic and the phonological level. In the light of all those influences, however, it is important to mention that not all have equal impact on language. Indeed, the figure shows varied widths regarding each aspect; for we can see, for instance, the impact of the cognitive and the socio-cultural is greater than that of the behavioural one.

The above diagram is but a small attempt to understand language according to the way it will be explored in this work. Such depiction of language along with its characteristics may open discussion. That representation may be validated, modified or rejected if further investigation is carried out. It is not final, and this is only an initial attempt to materialise an illustrative mind map of the above-described theories.

On reflection it seems more accurate to claim that defining language is yet to be considered; however, we need to analyse how language behaves when it is acquired by students. Mainly, it is important to identify what happens and what processes are involved when learners acquire a new language.

### **1.3. Crosslinguistic Influence**

A major concern in the study of second language acquisition SLA has been Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI). The latter came to light in the eighties as a fresh term in the field of Applied Linguistics and SLA. However, the concept traces back its roots earlier in the twentieth century with different terminology such as language transfer, interference, language mixing, language contact and so on.

It is of equal importance to point out that, in this research, the use of *SLA* is the one found among contemporary linguistic concepts as a term which includes not only second language (L2) but third (L3) or foreign language (FLA) as well. As put by Odlin, the term ‘second’ language refers to the target language (TL) “regardless of how many languages the learner already knows.” (Odlin, 1989, p. 12).

This section aims at briefly summarising early notions of CLI, its development in the on-going research, its types and the reasons behind its occurrence. This part is arranged into six main axes: *Defining CLI*, *Categorising CLI & Transfer*, *Reasons of CLI and Transfer*, *Strategies of CLI*, *Constraints on CLI* and *Types of CLI*.

### 1.3.1. Defining Crosslinguistic Influence

Ringbom (2007) claims that Crosslinguistic Influence is instrumental to Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and that it has to be studied thoroughly. In order to understand CLI, we shall consider three definitions. The selected definitions are provided by the most cited authors in the literature, and what they reveal about such a phenomenon outlines what will be investigated through the entire chapter. Besides, the following definitions investigate three major angles of analysis since they draw our attention to what CLI is, where it can be detected and how languages interact in order to go through this process.

First, according to Jarvis & Pavlenko CLI is “the influence of a person’s knowledge of one language on that person’s knowledge or use of another language” (2010, p. 1). This means that CLI is a process through which learners may influence a language they know or use with another language they also have. Second, that influence of one language on another (or CLI/transfer) can be found at any L2 linguistic system of morphosyntactic, lexical-semantic, phonetic-phonological, discourse, pragmatics or spelling (Odlin, 1989). Third, those linguistic systems become interrelated and are influenced by other linguistic systems of any previously acquired language; hence the name *Crosslinguistic Influence*. Sharwood Smith defines CLI as:

The influence of the mother tongue on the learner’s performance in and/or development of a given target language; by extension, it also means the influence of any ‘other tongue’ known to the learner on that target language. It may also be used in studies of language loss... (Sharwood Smith, 2014, p. 198).

To avoid any confusion about what will be examined, we need to specify the following. On the one hand, *CLI Studies* is a generative name (a branch of SLA) embracing the analyses of what results from language contact; on the other hand, the concept of CLI refers to the influence of any language on another during language acquisition (LA). In other words, any language a learner knows can be either the receiver or the sender of knowledge in a bidirectional way. In this work, however, the scope of the study has been limited to the influence of any previously acquired language on L2 during the production of sounds. For this, we need to explore the historical development of transfer and CLI.

#### 1.3.1.1. From Transfer to Crosslinguistic Influence

Language transfer has fostered several stages of development in the analysis of CLI. Indeed, CLI is the result of a linguistic evolution of a concept that was first known as

interferences and transfer. This section tackles two parts fundamental to our work: *transfer* and *CLI*. The exploration of both concepts briefly examines the way transfer has progressively become Crosslinguistic Influence.

### (i) Transfer

The main point on our agenda concern is that the effects of language contact are language interferences which are observable through borrowing and transfer all of which shape the phenomenon termed Crosslinguistic Influence. In tackling this issue, one should consider the major historical points that led to language transfer as a field of linguistic analysis. For that purpose, it is imperative to examine the theories that emanated from chronologically evolving approaches such as the error and the contrastive analyses along with their limitations. This part is divided as follows: *History of Transfer, the Contrastive Analysis, Contrasting the Contrastive Analysis, Error Analysis (EA), Errors on Errors Analysis, Denominating Transfer, Types of Transfer and Moving towards New Horizons*.

#### a) History of Language Transfer

Debates on language transfer go back to the nineteenth century, and in 1901 Thorndike<sup>10</sup> introduced *the theory of identical elements*, a theory of language transfer. That theory shows that transfer takes place if the same elements of some learning contexts occur in another one as a reinforcing habit, then learners would generalise and transpose relationships and structures in similar situations. However, in the 1940s and the 1950s, linguists such as Charles Fries (1945) and Robert Lado (1957), when investigating language classification and language change, elicited other linguists to pursue language acquisition issues.

At first, linguists were more interested in the study of language contact and language mixing and how it hinders the teaching/learning process. Language contact occurs as soon as speakers from different speech communities communicate and their communicative needs compel them to use a second language for better intelligibility. In such a situation, language mixing may arise and, in which the linguistic codes of two or

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<sup>10</sup> Thorndike, E. L., & Woodworth, R. S. (1901). The Influence of Improvement in one Mental Function upon the Efficiency of other Functions. In *Psycho-logical Review*, 8, 247–261.

more languages blend; hence, resulting in language influence, borrowings<sup>11</sup> or code-switching<sup>12</sup>:

If mixing does occur, native language influence is one of the possible forms it can take. Another kind of mixing is in the form of borrowings from a second language into the native language (e.g., the use by English speakers of the loanword *croissant* from French to describe a certain kind of pastry), and still another kind is **code-switching**, in which there are a systematic interchange of words, phrases, and sentences of two or more languages. (Odlin, 1989, p. 7)

In other words, all the former phenomena – language influence, borrowings and code-switching – are viewed as the result of code mixing. However, the writer does not state whether those steps were or are still considered as a logical and a successive progression of events. Another question that needs to be asked is whether language mixing was an accepted phenomenon among speakers and linguists likewise.

Language is often considered as an important distinguishing identity factor, and it is not for an insignificant reason that most names of languages also designate those countries or ethnic groups (e.g., French, Italian, Japanese, etc.). Moreover, when foreign linguistic elements intrude in the native language, in the form of borrowings or language mixing, they might be accepted or entirely rejected either by a speech community or by those who represent it. Loanwords still trigger considerable debates among linguists and politicians either by rejection or by acceptance. To illustrate, in France, some language purists, for instance, strongly react against English loanwords. They try to implement a new terminology instead ‘to preserve French from the English threat’. In fact, *L’Académie Française* has replaced words such as ‘to chat’, ‘prime’ with ‘blablater’, ‘première partie de soirée’, and some TV journalists openly state that they must abide by those changes or else be fined by the CSA (Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel) ‘the Supreme Audiovisual Council (Board)’. As to English, it is a language which has likely borrowed more words than any other language in the world. Indeed, in one of his unpublished lectures on World Englishes in 2014, Pr. Mohamed Benrabah stated that English has borrowed words from nearly 145 languages. He argued that such elasticity has proved beneficial because the

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<sup>11</sup> Borrowing “A term used in comparative and historical linguistics to refer to a linguistic form taken over by one language or dialect from another; such borrowings are usually known as ‘loan words’ (e.g. *restaurant*, *bonhomie*, *chagrin*, which have come into English from French), and several types have been recognized.” (Crystal, 2015: 58)

<sup>12</sup> Code-switching “can be illustrated by the switch bilingual or bidialectal speakers may make (depending on who they are talking to, or where they are) between standard and regional forms of English, between Welsh and English in parts of Wales, or between occupational and domestic varieties.” (Crystal, 2015: 83)



English lexicon has evolved from the poorest to the richest, or as he explains it “the language has been raised from the gutter to the glitter”.

The studies on language contact and language mixing were carried out, and their effects were, sometimes, referred to as “contamination” (Thomason 1981). That rejection is easy to understand because it has its roots back to the Renaissance<sup>13</sup> when Latin and the related vernaculars started to merge; so those dialects did not constitute a threat to the languages of prestige, intellect and art.

In the nineteenth century, when the study of language meant language classification, there was a new development in the study of language contact and language mixing. The latter led to a thorough investigation of language classification and language change. The existence of various language grammars all over the world made the nineteenth-century linguists classify languages on the sole basis of syntax, which was considered to be more reliable because it was less affected by language contact, influence and change. In other words, the frequency of lexical borrowings influenced linguists to exclusively rely on syntax and not on lexis for language classification as it was perceived as being less prone to change and instability (Müller 1861/1965, p. 75).

Therefore, it was, then, believed that language classification according to the tree model could explain the process through which language change achieves internal development, extending the view to the fact that language change in the ‘parent’ language implies the same change in the ‘daughter’ language (Odlin, 1989). Although scholars had noticed language mixing in the different linguistic fields such as morphology, syntax, phonetics and phonology, they still considered it non-essential as long as the internal development could explain language change.

According to the mentioned above tree model, which was a significant component of the Comparative Method<sup>14</sup>, internal fragmentation results, thus, in linguistic diversification and division i.e. a new variety or dialect (Bloomfield 1933). However, this internal development could not be fully captured by the tree model approach, and it needs, therefore, another one –that is the wave model. The latter could be illustrated by analogy

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<sup>13</sup> Renaissance scholars argued about how speakers of other languages “corrupted” the language of Gaul by the Romans (Silvestri 1977 cited in Odlin 1989).

<sup>14</sup> The Comparative Method: is a technique to study language and which appeared in the nineteenth century. It consists of comparing cognates of two or more languages in order to reconstruct or find related languages and their common ancestors. As Kaufman explains it: “The central job of comparative-historical linguistics is the identification of groups of genetically related languages ... [and] the reconstruction of their ancestors.” (1990: 14–15)

with the ripples of water after throwing a stone in a pond. Change is diffused from a group of speakers to its nearest adjoining areas. Bloomfield suggests that:

Different linguistic changes may spread, like waves, over a speech-area, and each change may be carried out over a part of the area that does not coincide with the part covered by an earlier change. The result of successive waves will be a network of isoglosses. Adjacent districts will resemble each other most; in whatever direction one travels, differences will increase with distance, as one crosses more and more isogloss-lines. (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 317)

According to this quotation, such ‘areal’ changes cause variation in language and dialects. If any a new linguistic form has some appeal, it will/might be adopted and replicated extensively across the nearest idiolects. Aside from language transfer, this phenomenon i.e. the process of imitation is, later, to be termed “accommodation” (Howard Giles 1984) resulting, thus, in the appearance of a new speech habit.

### **b) Contrastive Analysis**

Although there was a considerable debate on language contact, only after linguists such as Palmer in 1917 (cited in Odlin, 1989) then Fries (1945) that language interferences started to be perceived as affecting and influencing second language acquisition (SLA). It is in the 1960s, however, that the impact of transfer on language teaching was highly incorporated into teaching methods.

Even though, Fries and Lado made different claims about the influence of interferences on language acquisition; they advanced two main challenging assumptions concerning SLA to the American scholars of that time. First, while behaviourism was at its peak, in the sense that linguistic competence was considered as a series of habits (Bloomfield, 1933), the assumption that the process of L1 acquisition is different from that of L2 challenged over twenty years of theory. In 1945, Fries stated that learning a second language is completely different from learning L1 and, that is not due to the fact that L2 is difficult but to the consequence of the set of (harmful or helpful) habits learners acquire with their L1. Later, in his *Linguistics across Cultures*, Lado (1957) supported Fries’ claim by demonstrating the existence of linguistic differences between the native language (NL) and the target language (TL); thus, emphasising the importance of analysing that contrast.

The second challenging assumption was that the difficulties of second language acquisition could be determined through contrastive analyses. Fries believed that only through comparing the native language with the target one, would difficulties in learning



be overcome: “The most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner.” (Fries, 1945, p. 9). After comparing languages, the features that are similar are easier to learn but, those that are different are more difficult. According to Lado, individuals transfer the meaning, structures and the culture of their mother tongue (MT) into the target language and culture at the level of perception or of production or both. He, then, proposes a solution to those difficulties stressing the necessity for a teacher to make a comparison between the two languages in order to facilitate the learning process:

We assume that the student who comes in contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult. The teacher who has made a comparison of the foreign language with the native language of the students will know better what the real learning problems are and can better provide for teaching them. (Lado, 1957, p. 2)

According to Lado, learners do not only transfer their native linguistic forms onto the system of the target language, but they also transfer the meaning associated to those forms and the cultural factors embedded within, as it is the practice for their L1. In other words, transfer, in SLA context, is one of form, meaning and culture all together. He, then, developed a model to contrast the linguistic system of a language with its corresponding one of another language; that is comparing two syntactic systems, phonological or lexical ones and so forth.

Contrastive Analysis was, also, a reaction to the audio-lingual method which demands a thorough description of L2 grammar and a system of training for language reinforcement. It proposed to compare the native language (NL) and the target language (TL) to identify similarities and differences that would help overcome learning difficulties. To recapitulate, an accurate contrastive analysis between the NL and the TL would entirely predict the linguistic difficulties when acquiring L2. Fisiak defines this branch as “a subdiscipline of Linguistics concerned with the comparison of two or more languages or subsystems of language in order to determine both differences and similarities between them.” (1981, p. 1)

Lado believes that learners, in an SLA context, tend to reproduce the same strategies developed when L1 was acquired. As to culture, Fisiak (1981) states that despite

Lado's emphasis on the importance of culture besides linguistic elements in SLA<sup>15</sup>, the majority of writings in Contrastive Analysis focused on discourse (grammar and pronunciation) during the 1950s and the 1960s.

In 1966, however, Kaplan focused on the influence of cultural differences on second language discourse stating that "The foreign-student paper is out of focus because the foreign student is employing a rhetoric and a sequence of thought which violate the expectations of the native reader." (1966, p. 4). Kaplan draws attention to the importance of studying what is in the mind rather than what comes out of the mouth such as grammar and pronunciation. He suggests that because of the different cultures, the interpretation of an object largely varies from one culture to another depending on how it is perceived in the said culture. He, then, proposes a contrastive method to study what is beyond the structural level of sentences and that is now called *Contrastive Rhetoric*.

Linguists such as Fries and Lado viewed the importance of developing targeted materials (e.g. coursebooks) in teaching on predicted elements of difficulty because they considered each speech community acquires a new language differently. So, learners belonging to different speech communities with different cultures do not acquire L2 in the same way. According to Fries (1949, p. 97), people learn differently because they are different; a Chinese learner of English and a Spanish one will learn the language differently and, that should be taken into consideration when designing syllabus, pedagogical materials and practices.

Through the development of the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, languages systems were compared, lists of similarities and differences were compiled, and areas of difficulties were presumably identified (e.g. relative clauses, the passive voice, and so on). Some linguists such as Lee (1968) even alleged that native language influence is the only factor responsible for errors in SLA. Yet, while the period from the 1950s to the 1970s was witnessing abundant production in Contrastive Analysis, another field was slowly emerging, empirical studies of transfer (Odlin, 1989, p. 16).

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<sup>15</sup> Lado believes that language learners do not only transfer their native language into the foreign one, but they also transfer their culture in both of the productive and the receptive levels. He states that "individuals tend to transfer the forms and the meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture—both productively when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and the culture as practiced by natives" (1957, p. 2).

### c) **Contrasting Contrastive Analysis**

In the 1970s, the assumptions made by Fries and Lado on the ability to predict the relation between L1 and L2 acquisition through contrastive analysis only were severely questioned. Succeeding linguists, such as Corder (1967), claimed that errors were not found where predicted but where they were not predicted. Besides, empirical research of transfer started demonstrating that prediction through Contrastive Analysis was not always accurate, i.e. not all French learners of English, for instance, will always produce /ð/ as [z] as it had been predicted. Indeed, the study revealed that not all learning difficulties are caused by interferences from L1; instead, some are developmental and firmly related to the language acquisition process (Dabène, 1996). Furthermore, while challenging the concept of prediction of errors, researchers were gradually impressed by the number of similarities between the acquisition of L1 and L2 (Odlin, 1989) as it will be discussed below (chap. I. section 2.1.1.1.4).

The Contrastive Analysis was soon challenged, and undermining its core foundation – dissimilarities between two languages do not necessarily entail learning difficulties – provoked so many questions among which are as follows. What happens when L1 and L2 are very different from one another? Is the acquisition more difficult when two languages are typologically distant or less complicated when they share common aspects? Are we able to predict an easy learning of TL when L2 is close to L1? If so, does it make it hard for learners of completely unrelated languages to be competent in the target language (TL)?

As it is mentioned above, linguistic differences between L1 and L2 do not automatically entail learning difficulties. Also, it would be naive to presuppose that the more different the languages are, the more difficulties L2 learners face; and the less different the languages are, the fewer their difficulties are. To support the criticism of the contrastive analysis, Odlin provides a vivid illustration by comparing between English speakers learning Spanish and Spanish speakers learning English stating that the differences between the two languages do not always predict the types of difficulty:

For example, two verbs in Spanish correspond to different senses of the English verb know – *conocer* and *saber*. While this lexical differences poses many problems for English speakers learning Spanish, Spanish speakers learning English seem to have little difficulty in associating two lexical senses with one form ... Thus the difference between Spanish and English is not in itself enough to allow for accurate predictions of difficulty... An even more serious challenge to the validity of contrastive analyses is the occurrence of errors that do not appear to be due to native language influence. For example, A contrastive analysis of

Spanish and English would not predict that Spanish speakers would not predict that Spanish speakers would omit forms of the verb *be*, since Spanish has similar grammatical structure. (Odlin, 1989, p. 17)

What Odlin suggests is that those Contrastive Analysis challenges consisted of demonstrating that although two languages were seemingly similar, that does not, inevitably, make their speakers learn each other's language more easily.

Contrastive Analysis was also challenged by Chomsky and his followers with concepts such as Universal Grammar (UG). However, it was not until the 1970s that the analysis was completely discarded in favour of Creative Construction Hypothesis (CCH). Dulay & Burt (1974) and Krashen (1982) questioned the influence of L1 transfer on SLA. Instead, they believed that learners create and construct mental representations of L2 and make the same errors when acquiring L2 as when acquiring L1. To illustrate, Dulay & Burt claim that those forms are "specific error types, [that] reflect what we refer to as *creative construction*" and that "all types of errors in English... children make are similar" (1974, p. 37). In the end, Contrastive Analysis had to shift its position to another alternative.

#### **d) Error Analysis (EA)**

Beside its inability to predict difficulties, the Contrastive Analysis failed to explain the errors that were not caused by mother tongue MT interferences. Central to the entire discipline is the increase in the study of learners' errors not as random mistakes but as a rooted behaviour. Among those errors studies, one theory has developed and which is known as the *Error Analysis* (Richards 1971). It is considered as a branch of Applied Linguistics, and it emerged in the 1960s. The main concern of Error Analysis was to reveal that errors were made not only because of learners' L1 but also because of some universal strategies.

Corder (1967) was the first to develop the idea that L2 learners do not start from their L1 but rather from a universal 'built-in-syllabus', a system that guides them through the acquisition of their L1 and their L2 in a transitional competence. He considered research in errors as an indicator of the learning process and as an insight into how learners built their own idiosyncratic linguistic system. In the SLA literature, credit is generally given to Corder for making Error Analysis (EA) part of Applied Linguistics by suggesting the need for errors collection, identification, description, explanation and evaluation. While he believed that there are no differences in learning L1 or L2, Corder

claimed, however, that languages belonging to the same language family or those which do not have a considerable amount of language distance may act as a facilitating agent to the developmental continuum in learning L2 “It is perfectly logical to propose that the nature of the L1, may make passage along the built-in syllabus faster when it bears similarity to L2, but simply has no effect when it is different” (Corder, 1981, p. 99).

From this, developed the notion of interlanguage, which is a natural language system or a mental grammar internalised by L2 learners; or the transitory linguistic system (between L1 and L2) a learner develops of L2. In other words, interlanguage is the learners’ version of language when still learning L2. It may either improve or simply fossilise if there is no linguistic progress. In categorising interlanguage, *transfer of training* was proposed by Selinker (1972) who observed different types of errors that were caused not by the transfer from L1 but by the impact of the way learners were taught. The role of teaching may not only have positive effects on learners, but it may also provoke learning errors.

When it comes to error analysis, learning a second language is related to the sum of similarities and differences between learners’ mother tongue (MT) and the target language (TL). In other words, the more linguistic features languages have in common, the fewer errors speakers make in L2; and the less significant their similitude is, the more predisposed learners are to making mistakes. In the light of this reasoning and regarding pronunciation, some speakers whose L1 phonology share similarities with English would make fewer mistakes and errors. In this case, learners need to learn first what is common to their own language then move on with what is different. However, this theory may result in a form of hindrance to the learning process since it poses a serious educational dilemma which consists of the following: first, not all learners having a mother tongue close to the target language would produce an absolute error-free L2. Second, not all those speakers, whose L1 varies considerably from L2, would make errors inevitably in all contexts all the time.

Predictions of some types of errors could be made when the languages are quite different; however, speakers of a language which is somehow similar may make the same mistakes. What is more, native speakers also may make the same mistakes and errors when acquiring their own language. A typical example of this is the omission of the copula verb *to be* in sentences such as *that very simple* or *that a kitchen* an error made by speakers of Chinese, Spanish, Japanese and of other languages that do have in their language the equivalent of *to be* in its present tense forms. Such an error is

correspondingly found in the speech of children learning English, their own language (Odlin, 1989).

The logical assumption that is made has its foundation in the following: if second language learners, whose L1 has either similarities or differences with L2, along with learners acquiring their native tongue, make the same mistakes and errors, what factors, then, can affect the process. Linguists started to analyse the mistakes of language learners, and they realised that similar strategies were adopted to go through a structured development, i.e. learners from a different background may develop particular strategies during the language acquisition process whether the language is their first or their second. Language learners use similar techniques when learning a language despite its being their own, close to their own or completely different. Again, for linguists, these errors indicate learners' development process in acquiring any language and these errors were called "developmental errors". Dulay & Burt (1974) worked with bilingual children learning English as an L2. The children were divided into two groups one having Spanish as their L1 the other Chinese. Dulay & Burt found that during children's acquisition of English, they developed equal accuracy orders. In other words, the study of Dulay & Burt (1974) demonstrated that despite the differences between both groups the accuracy orders of all structures was similar which entails the negligible influence of L1 whether it shares similarities between L2 or not. They state that:

This similarity of errors, as well as the specific error types, reflect what we refer to as creative construction, more specifically, the process in which children gradually reconstruct rules for speech they hear, guided by universal innate mechanisms which cause them to formulate certain types of hypotheses about the language system being acquired, until the mismatch between what they are exposed to and what they produce is resolved. (Dulay & Burt, 1974, p. 37)

For many linguists, such as Dulay & Burt (1974), making the same mistakes repeatedly would hardly result in achieving a particular stage of development. Accordingly, two main assumptions were made. One, there is a development in acquisition stages when learners do no longer make the mistakes or the errors to which they were accustomed, second, if learners, however, continue to make the same mistakes repeatedly, the *development sequence* or the improvement stage remains far from their reach (Odlin, 1989).

The idea of developmental sequences has to be deeply fathomed if we want to investigate language transfer studies and its evolution. Many researchers (such as Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982) agree that learners acquire their first and second language through



a common set of developmental sequences i.e. learners evolve from one stage to another. According to them, transfer has only a small role in SLA; whereas the most important role is given to the developmental one. To put it differently, the similarities found in L1 and L2 are but a set of fixed techniques that help learners acquire their language first then a second one later through progressive stages (Odlin, 1989). However, research has shown that those developmental sequences of L1 and L2, although alike, are not exactly identical for children acquiring their first language and those acquiring a second one. Yet, in some grammatical aspects those sequences were found in both situations. More to the point, Dulay, Burt and Krashen believe that the only difference between both acquisitions can only be due to emotional factors such as motivation and anxiety or to external ones such as learning context and environment and still other factors that affect the achievement of the learning process.

Before going through the types of errors and how they should be treated, we need to point out that language transfer was strongly criticised. All of Corder, Krashen, Dulay & Burt and Selinker restricted their view of language transfer to interferences that hinder language acquisition, and they claimed that it should not be given much importance.

First, according to Dulay & Burt, language acquisition is organised by universal cognitive mechanisms and could not, therefore, be determined by language transfer: “That universal cognitive mechanisms are the basis for the child’s organization of a target language and that it is the L2 system rather than the L1 system that guides the acquisition process.” (1974, p. 52). Next, Corder (1992) affirms that transfer from L1 only inhibits and prevents L2 acquisition, he was so opposed to the notion of transfer that he stated “I would like to hope that both these terms [transfer and interferences] should be banned from use in our discussions unless carefully redefined” (1992, p. 19). Then, although Selinker (1972) views transfer as part of the five SLA processes, as we shall see later, he considers it the first cause of fossilisation (see chap. I section 1.3.5.3.). Also, Krashen (1983) explains that transfer is only a sign of lack of knowledge. In his article ‘Newmark’s “Ignorance Hypothesis”’, he concludes the following:

Transfer can be regarded as padding, or the result of falling back on old knowledge, the L1 rule, when new knowledge (the real  $t_{i+1}$ ) is lacking. Its cause may simply be having to talk before “ready,” before the necessary rule has been acquired. When this happens if the conditions are met, the performer may very well fall back on old knowledge. (Krashen, 1983, p. 148)

However, others such as Schachter (1992) were not as opposed as the former scholars; rather, she claimed that even though transfer is not a process, it is part of language acquisition and it can be either preventive or facilitating:

My current view is that transfer is not a process at all, and is in fact a misnamed phenomenon—an unnecessary carryover from the heyday of behaviorism. What is currently viewed as evidence for the process of transfer is more appropriately viewed as evidence of a constraint on the learner's hypothesis testing process. It is both a facilitating and a limiting condition on the hypothesis testing process, but it is not in and of itself a process. (Schachter, 1992, p. 32)

### 1) Errors Taxonomy

Not all the linguists studying errors necessarily believe that they result from the L1 transfer. Fisiak explains that “Not all errors are the result of interference. Psychological and pedagogical, as well as other extra linguistic factors contribute to the formation of errors” (1981, p. 7). The purpose behind Error Analysis (EA) was to account for all types of errors. However, in approaching their classification, we have analysed them according to their importance to the analysis in later chapters. For that objective, we need to briefly examine how EA categorised learners’ errors when acquiring L2.

Before classifying errors, first we need to draw attention to the distinction between *errors* and *mistakes*, while the latter are lapses or slips of the tongue; errors demonstrate a lack of competence and knowledge. According to Corder, mistakes “are due to memory lapses, physical states such as tiredness, and psychological conditions such as strong emotion ... Mistakes are of no significance to the process of language learning ... they are non-systematic errors” (1981, p. 10). He continues by claiming that, *errors*, however, is a term that should be reserved for systematic errors which reveal a breach of the system. In addition to that, mistakes are, also, commonly known as *performance errors* and they are caused by learners’ tiredness, haste or lack of concentration, and they can be easily solved with a little effort and practice. *Competence errors*, however, are much more serious as they indicate deviant learning:

We need to be able to distinguish between performance and competence errors in the analysis of second language data, so it may be necessary, to distinguish between those errors which indicate the learning sequence by which particular grammatical rules are built up, and those which represent the final state of the speaker’s competence. (Richards, 1971, p.12)

As to how linguists can classify errors, Odlin (1989) has proposed a method. Samples from a large number of L2 learners were to be collected either through longitudinal studies (over an extended period with intervals) or through cross-sequence



studies (at a particular point in time). Numerous aspects regarding errors have been revealed. First, learners do not automatically make the same errors when speaking or writing. Then, learners having the same L1 do not necessarily make the same errors when producing L2; each learner is different. Next, Odlin (1989) catalogues three *language factors* in addition to three *learner* others; those factors reflect how errors can be classified. As to the *language factors*, they consist of *medium* (writing or speaking), *genre* (production form: essay, letter, conversation and so forth) and *content* (topic). The *learner factors*, on the other hand, Odlin observes *learners' proficiency* (elementary, intermediate, advanced levels), *mother tongue* and *the language learning context* (natural or non-natural experience (see chap. I section 1.3.3.2. (ii) on Education and Context)).

The classification of errors has also been a debatable subject that was tackled differently. Corder (1981), for instance, viewed that the classification of errors should be limited to errors resulting from lack of knowledge (competence/systematic errors) and not to those mistakes arising from performance production (performance/unsystematic errors). He believes that the systematic errors provide some insight into learners' second language learning strategies and progress (pp.10-11).

In 1974, he identifies three types of errors; (1) presystematic errors made by learners when they do not know the rule as in *he goed*, (2) systematic errors are the wrong use of a rule as in *did he went?* and (3) postsystematic errors refer to those that learners make despite their knowledge of a rule as in lapses as in *he go* (cited in Ellis 1994, p. 56).

Apart from this, one should not forget that most of the linguists that have identified those errors have, mainly, focused on the linguistic systems at the level of production. Nancy Lee (1990, p.59-63), for instance, categorises errors according to linguistic deviations such as grammatical (morphosyntactic), discourse, phonological and lexical. As it seems difficult to analyse those errors at the level of comprehension and perception, errors taxonomy is mainly based on what is produced. Only language production and performance can provide some insight into what it internally assimilated.

Scholars, such as Richards (1971)<sup>16</sup>, Dulay & Burt (1974)<sup>17</sup>, Brown (1980)<sup>18</sup>, Touchie (1986)<sup>19</sup>, Miliani (2003)<sup>20</sup> classified errors into categories and sub-categories that we have tried to briefly summarise in this work as follows. Those are divided into two types, interlingual and intralingual ones. Interlingual errors, also called interferences or transfer errors, are the ones that are caused by the mother tongue (MT) influence. As to intralingual and development errors, they are basically caused by the linguistic difficulties of L2, and they are classified into five subtypes as it is summarised in the subsequent table. For illustration purposes, the examples listed below are taken from the recordings we have made of the informants for the experiment analysis.

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<sup>16</sup> Richards (1971) studies the English production of speakers having French and Czech as a Mother Tongue (MT) and to whom he has given a text to read in English. He mainly identifies a list of cases according to interferences, overgeneralisations and performance errors (pp. 5-8).

<sup>17</sup> Dulay and Burt (1974) claim that there are interlingual, intralingual and developmental errors. They mainly emphasise intralingual and developmental errors, which according to them, are due to difficulties of the second or the target language. However, most errors are similar because they are recurrent among speakers having different L1: "The types of errors in English that Spanish, Chinese, Japanese and Norwegian children make are similar" (p. 37).

<sup>18</sup> Brown (1980) states that errors may originate either from (1) interlingual transfer "a significant source of error for all learners" or (2) intralingual transfer "(within the target language itself) [it] is a major factor in second language learning" (p. 224).

<sup>19</sup> Touchie (1986) distinguishes between errors and mistakes or between global and local errors claiming that the latter "do not hinder communication and understanding" (p. 76). She suggests that errors are caused by simplification, overgeneralisation, hypercorrection, faulty teaching, fossilisation, avoidance, inadequate learning and false concepts hypothesised (pp. 77-79).

<sup>20</sup> Miliani (2003) states that "An imperfect language production" can either be "a type of anomalous language, ignorance of competence (error) [or] errors of performance (lapses and mistakes)." Errors are caused by "intralingual difficulties, interlingual difficulties (interference) overgeneralization of rule, carelessness, ignorance of rule restriction, etc." (p.74)

Types of Errors	Subtypes of Errors	Explanation	Example
<b>Interlingual / transfer</b>	Overextension of analogy	Learners misuse a structure in L2 because it has similar features with L1	<i>The man which sings is her brother</i>
	Transfer of structure	Learners produce L1 structure instead of L2	<i>The woman that I saw her is called Emma</i>
<b>Intralingual / developmental</b>	Simplification	Learners use simple structures rather than complex ones	<i>The overuse of the simple present tense</i>
	Overgeneralisation	Learners create a wrong structure based on another one	<i>She speaked</i> <i>She enjoyed to sing</i>
	Hypercorrection	To avoid errors, learners correct themselves where they should not	<i>They had several believes</i>
	Faulty teaching	Teachers induce learners' errors	<i>Ambiguous teaching materials</i>
	Fossilisation	Learners make the same errors that become difficult to get rid of with time	<i>She speak English</i>
	Avoidance	Learners avoid using some structures to take few risks	<i>Avoidance in using phrasal verbs</i>
	Inadequate learning	Learners' structures are incomplete	<i>Because of she was ill</i>
	False hypothesis	Learners make wrong hypotheses about L2	<i>He was died</i>

Table 1.1: Errors Taxonomy

## 2) Errors Treatment

We can see from the table above some of the major errors occurring in second language learning. Now that we have identified those errors, we need to determine the way to correct and treat them. Obviously, it is impossible for teachers to correct all their students' errors all the time; and above all, students need to acquire linguistic awareness and develop their own learning strategies. Besides, constant correction may demotivate students, lower their self-esteem, increase shy students' anxiety and enhance dependent learning. Continuous correction may seriously discourage students from participating in class, and it may also disrupt the learning process by adding further difficulties that learners are not in need of.

Notions such as correction, assessment, evaluation and so on have been among the highly conflicting discussions in SLA the last decades have witnessed. The debates have been abundantly prolific because errors treatment is a key element in the process of language acquisition and learning development. However, for this work, we purposely selected the general guidelines for errors treatment proposed by Touchie (1986).

Since teachers cannot supervise all existing errors, he suggests that their correction should take into consideration the five following recommendations. First, teachers should largely concentrate their correction on errors that hinder understanding and intelligibility. Second, correction should focus more on the recurring and repeated errors than on the less frequent ones. Third, learners tend to emulate one another even in errors; therefore, primary focus should be given to the errors affecting a large number of students. Fourth, teachers should correct stigmatising errors. Learners come from different backgrounds and socio-cultural groups and might be very sensitive to what could be said in class. Fifth and last, emphasis should be placed upon the pedagogical content of the ongoing lesson rather than on that of former ones. In other words, teachers should highly correct first what is relevant to the lesson in comparison with the contents of other lessons; or else, there would be an excess of information, and that may lead students astray.

### e) Errors on Error Analysis (EA)

Studying SLA by focusing on errors rather than by acknowledging positive output did not make this analysis (EA) cover a broad overview. Error Analysis is not free from other limitations. A serious weakness of the theory was the inability to categorise and account for all errors. Despite the evidence of efficiency in identifying some errors, an innovative view has emerged and has started to analyse SLA from a new perspective. The notion of

language transfer (of Fries 1950s/60s/70s) was progressively rejected not only with the evolution of empirical studies, but its validity was then challenged since it was viewed as a behaviourist/structuralist concept which was no longer convincing and which was deserted for transformational grammar and language universals (Chomsky 1957).

A new generation of linguists who rejected the behaviourist psycholinguistic theory on habit formation regarded that as too much theoretical and dubious and, instead, it explored cognitive psychology. That generation started to look for biological dispositions when learning languages as part of innate capacities.

Scepticism about transfer arises from several grounds among which are the notions of language universals on the one hand and the fact that language transfer/error analysis is often linked to habit formation on the other. Besides, language transfer can operate together with other factors in language acquisition. Indeed, there is a correlation between interferences and psychological factors that run developmental consequences.

In the light of this analysis, it is difficult to ignore transfer of pronunciation in L2. Grammar has been and is still viewed as ‘the body and soul’ of language. Unlike grammar, most phonetics and phonological analyses are descriptive, and controversy over pronunciation transfer from L1 to L2 is lacking. Even if, some empirical studies confirmed some findings the Contrastive Analysis made, they were “simply ignored” (Odlin, 1989, p. 23) for the sake of morphology and syntax.

#### **f) Denominating Transfer**

In this work, the term transfer does not refer to interferences only or habits formation. It is rather used as a generic term enclosing all types of influences. Also, it is imperative to provide the right meaning of such highly controversial concepts. *Transfer* has often been discarded because it has long been entwined with behaviourism as a response to a reinforced behaviour. Language learning was considered as “the formation and performance of habits” (Brooks, 1960, p. 49). Behaviourists viewed learning as being influenced by the previously learnt knowledge that would negatively interfere in the acquisition process of any other new language.

However, the meaning of the concept has evolved. Language influence and behaviourism are not alike, and distinction should be made. Earlier habits in behaviourism may disappear through time but, in the case of language transfer, it is not necessary. Besides, this term has not always been linked to behaviourism or habits formation. In

1881, Whitney used this term to refer to Crosslinguistic Influences long before it had been related to any habit reinforcement (cited in Odlin, 1989).

Nowadays, similar to so many words in linguistics, *transfer* is subject to a wide range of different definitions and opinions. The term *transfer* generally refers to using some knowledge of one language and using it in another one. In his dictionary *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, David Crystal defines transfer stating: “In foreign-language learning, the influence of a person’s first language on the language being acquired. Transfer effects form part of a person’s interlanguage.” (2015, p. 491).

While Weinreich (1953) used the word *interference* to refer not only to all kinds of transfer but also to code-switching, Krashen (1983, p. 148) viewed *transfer* as padding, a strategy used by learners when they do not know L2 rule yet; and that process of falling back to one’s mother tongue (MT) is not helpful in SLA. We can clearly see that the meaning of each concept has also evolved. Krashen Explained that transfer means going back to L1 rules when L2 rules are not acquired yet. However, this was disputed with the following arguments. First, it is oblivious to L1 and to the similarities it may have with L2. Second, the influences which affect L2 may not originate only from L1, but they can interact with other factors. In other words, L1 is not always the only source from which influences emerge because it cannot explain all errors caused by transfer. Third, transfer is not to be considered only as a production strategy; for; it can turn into an advantage when listening or reading a text. Comprehension could be made easier with transfer regarding all linguistic subsystems if L1 and L2 had common cognates. Fourth and last, this theory does not take into account languages in contact. In Ireland or Scotland, English is deeply settled and well-spoken despite the speakers’ use of L1 influences,

In the case of Ireland, for example, learners of English seem to have fallen back frequently on knowledge of Irish, but such falling back was never entirely eradicated nor did it halt the wide-scale adoption of English. ... The bilinguals of Ireland had indeed acquired English. (Odlin, 1989, p. 27)

In 1983, however, Krashen provided another definition of transfer as a term which encloses different types of behaviours, processes, and constraints in CLI. It refers to the use of prior linguistic knowledge usually but not exclusively that of the NL with universal properties to form the interlanguage. That is, the development of the interlanguage (IL) does not necessarily hinge upon L1 transfer.

With an intention to understand transfer better, we also need to enquire not only about the starting point of transfer but the receiving one too. In fact, our concern is to

comprehend what exactly happens when transfer is made, or rather why and where transfer goes in the L2 rules. In exploring this issue, we have found two contradicting theories. The first has been introduced by Roger Anderson (1983) who proposes *the Principle of Transfer to Somewhere*. This principle consists of explaining that transfer occurs from L1 to L2 where “*if and only if*” similarities are thought to occur. In other words, L2 structures, which are similar to those of L1, are the place where transfer comes to. The second theory, however, is suggested by Kellerman (1995) *the Principle of Transfer to Nowhere*. This hypothesis describes transfer as a phenomenon that occurs even where there are differences between the two languages i.e. transfer can take place anywhere even if there are no interlingual similarities.

According to both theories, we may conclude that they are complementary to some extent in explaining transfer. Learners may transfer what they (mis)perceive as already known to facilitate acquisition, or they may solve their difficulties of the unknown in L2 with the use of what they know. Both cases can be illustrated with the following examples: Algerian learners may transpose the French meaning to the English words *capacity* and *ability* which are classified among the false friends. Another example students often produce, is the recurrent question *at what time* instead of *what time*. Students transfer Arabic and French structures to add the preposition *at* where it is not needed.

Another definition of transfer provided by Hadumod Bussmann in the *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* about transfer is as follows:

In linguistics, the transfer of linguistic features of the mother tongue onto the foreign language; a distinction is made between positive transfer (based on similarities between the two languages) and negative transfer (= **interference**). (Bussmann, 2006, p. 1212-1213)

According to the last quotation, there are two types of transfer; positive and negative one. The former is called positive because the similarities found in both languages help in the process of SLA and make the learning easier. The negative transfer, however, is termed as ‘interferences’ that disturb the learning process because the transferred structures are different and it only enhances errors.

At the heart of our understanding of Crosslinguistic Influence, we need to make a clear distinction between *transfer* and *interferences* because both words have often been used interchangeably as if they were just synonyms used to avoid repetition. As an example, when students’ pronunciation of the target language is affected by their mother



tongue, it is generally referred to as L1 interferences whether the two languages share similar linguistic subsystems or not. For the majority of our sample Algerian informants, three languages interact. The fact that French and English have more in common at the phonetic level than Arabic and English do, may make Algerian learners acquire the pronunciation of cognates easily. The word *transfer* can be divided into two types negative and positive, but the word *interferences* has usually connoted the negative transfer which hinders SLA. In this work, we do not act as judges or claim the knowledge to decide on what is positive or negative transfer to learners, since we believe that both types of transfer might be helpful for the developmental sequences. Furthermore, our purpose is to see the impact transfer (in its wider meaning) has on the acquisition process of English and what could be done to improve it. With this objective in mind, we shall aim at using what would be considered as most helpful.

### g) Types of Transfer

Transfer has been divided into several types. In the light of reviewing the development in transfer studies, this part briefly summarises the main five suppositions of the reviewed literature.

Firstly, the most accepted types of transfer are termed positive and negative (Odlin, 1989). On the one hand, *positive transfer* is the one that occurs when both languages share similar phonetic, phonological, lexical or grammatical features that easily help the TL learners in the comprehension and the identification of L2. Algerian learners may more easily identify and produce English /θ, ð, h/, for example, than their French counterparts simply because these three sounds exist in Arabic and not in French. On the other hand, *negative transfer* (also called interferences) is the one generally responsible for errors because of the differences in L1 and L2. Learners do not find similarities between the languages, so they transfer structures as best as they could.

In addition to that, Odlin divides negative transfer into four subtypes, *underproduction*, *overproduction*, *production errors* and *misinterpretation* (1989, p. 36). Each form represents an error caused by negative transfer; first, *underproduction* occurs when learners hardly produce or completely avoid the TL structures they do not know. Second, *overproduction* is when learners wish to cover underproduction, but they overproduce the same structures e.g. if learners do not master the use of pronouns, they will overuse the same nouns. Third, *production errors* mainly occur when learners try to relate L1 and L2 similarities and differences. Production errors appear under the forms of



substitutions, calques or alterations of structures: (a) substitutions are the use of L1 structures; (b) calques are the use of a close imitation of L1 features, patterns, expressions, etc.; and (c) alterations of structures occur when learners try to hypercorrect some features as in aspirating the English fortis stops /p, t, k/ [p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>] in all contexts. Fourth, *misinterpretation* takes place when there is a misperception of sounds or meaning and the inference completely distorts the message.

Secondly, Corder considers transfer as basically a communication strategy he calls *borrowing*:

“Borrowing” is a performance phenomenon, not a learning process, a feature, therefore, of language use and not of language structure. It is a communicative strategy... the process refers to the use of items from a second language, typically the mother tongue, particularly syntactic and lexical, to make good the deficiencies of the interlanguage. (Corder, 1992, p.26)

In fact, he discards the idea that transfer directly occurs from L1 to interlanguage (IL). Nevertheless, that argument can be refuted because there exist so many similar errors among L2 speakers when they construct their interlanguage.

Thirdly, Faerch & Kasper (1986) divide transfer into three types at the level of production: *strategic transfer*, *subsidiary transfer* and *automatic transfer*. Those types are analysed as follows: (1) *strategic transfer* occurs when learners are aware of a problem, and they concentrate on planning its solution; (2) *subsidiary transfer* arises when learners are not aware of a problem or of the transfer they are making; (3) *automatic transfer* takes place when a particular transfer becomes a habit, and learners get accustomed to it in a mechanical way; and it is, therefore, integrated as part of their transfer routine.

Fourthly, according to Ellis (1994), there must be a distinction between “Transfer in L2 communication and transfer in L2 learning... [and] input that works for comprehension may not always work for acquisition” (p. 336). Transfer is a characteristic of learners’ both communication and learning i.e. by learning Ellis means the way learners construct their interlanguage. He explains that transfer in communication involves the strategies processed at the level of comprehension (input) and that of production (output). The latter has been given more attention than the former, but both processes are different since decoding differs from encoding (Ringbom, 1992). Transfer in learning, however, refers to what learners do when they develop hypotheses about TL rules. The process involved in this kind of transfer is cognitive rather than behavioural because when

learners think about L2 as they build their IL, they scan data, observe rules, test and generalise hypotheses, deduce or confirm evidence and so forth. Accordingly, all this points that both transfers are interrelated and that they constitute a significant feature in SLA.

Fifthly and finally, as we have already seen, any linguistic system can be affected by transfer. L2 learners may transfer to what they know or to what they guess they know from their L1 meaning, grammar, phonology and so on. However, learners may also transfer their own usage of language and the implications that underlie a few contexts. Pragmatic transfer is another type in which learners transfer the linguistic forms that are elicited in particular speech acts in their NL. After several experiments, linguists such as Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010) claim that transfer is not identical when it comes to formality, prestige, politeness or insult. The same learners tend to transfer more in the case of careful face-work and much less where precaution is not necessarily needed.

Apart from this, the distinction between all those types should not limit our focus to the analysis of each type alone. When producing L2, learners may partially or entirely cumulate all those types at once. One way to minimise that outcome is not only to strengthen the development of L2 acquisition but also to perceive transfer differently.

#### **h) Moving towards New Horizons and Language Universals**

Contrastive Analysis was questioned mainly by Error Analysis advocates. The chief concern was to look for the differences between L1 and L2 to predict difficulties. The aim behind Error Analysis was to account for all types of errors either caused by transfer, overgeneralisation, communication strategies, simplification, training-procedures and so on. However, between the Contrastive Analysis and the Error Analysis (EA), there had been in 1957 Chomsky's revolutionary concepts on universal abilities that paved the way to Corder's EA hypothesis. As we have not dwelt on Chomsky and his followers' assumptions which might be of help in the progressions of our work, we shall have a glimpse at Universal acquisition processes that led to the emergence of Crosslinguistic Influence Studies.

Contrastive and Error analyses (EA) were highly criticised because of different reasons; among which, first, the predictive ability which was put to limit since the difference or the similarity between two languages do not necessarily entail the same errors. Second, it has been demonstrated that errors made during the acquisition of L1 were likely to be common or to be manifested in SLA even though the learners belonged

to a different background. Hence, a new view of analysing language acquisition has emerged. The view consists of detecting the inner capacities (cognitive, psychological or physiological) to determine the way a language is acquired and to detect the process through which a language learner goes.

The empirical studies from the 1960s to the 1970s demonstrated a similarity of errors not only in both L1 and L2 but also in the speech of learners from different language backgrounds. Indeed, there are common errors which are made by learners belonging to different languages such as Spanish, Chinese, French, etc.

Understanding Crosslinguistic Influence requires a stop at language universals. In fact, the existence of similar structures in all languages calls for the notion of generalisation that often underlies universal structures. In exploring language universals, we need to stop at two main approaches developed first by Noam Chomsky and second by Joseph Greenberg. While the first approach examines language through the detection of a Universal Grammar (UG), the second analyses it through Crosslinguistic variations and comparisons. The Chomskyan proposal is that UG is an innate biological programme that guides learners through their language acquisition (either L1 or L2). Nevertheless, “Greenbergian approach involves ... crosslinguistic regularities...” (Odlin, 1989, p. 44). He has identified word order and sentence patterns in languages and has found that most languages have SVO structure with a tendency for the subject to precede the verb. Those findings have been useful to second language acquisition even though not all structures can be found in all the languages of the world.

Whether the analyses are contrastive, typological or error ones; there is an underlying foundation of universal categories. Most analyses have found a number of equivalent structural, semantic and discourse systems among languages; and those findings have facilitated the development of Crosslinguistic Influence studies. On the one hand, some linguists such as Lakoff (1987, p. 1) believe that the study of natural language syntax and semantics provides some insight into learners’ thought, communication, culture and literature. On the other hand, however, others such as Odlin urges caution with the simplification and the generalisation of universals because it is but a sample of what reality represents, and he recommends that “a reasonably good example of behavior allows for reasonable inferences about *all* such behaviour” (Odlin, 1989, p. 47).

Other new approaches started to emerge regarding learners speaking more than two languages and the way they proceed and process L2. Ringbom (1987), for instance, studied the speech of Finnish and Swedish learners who learnt English as their TL. The

speakers lived under similar social and cultural conditions in Finland. He found that the shorter is the distance between languages (L1 and L2) the easier is the learning of TL. Summing up his results, Ringbom claims that: (1) language distance affects Crosslinguistic Influence, (2) early stages of SLA is different than later ones where influence becomes less and less important, (3) the lower the language proficiency is in TL the greater the MT transfer is and (4) the more learners need to communicate the stronger their use of MT influence becomes.

## (ii) Crosslinguistic Influence

*Crosslinguistic Influence* is a term that started to be used in the eighties. However, it has long been referred to as language mixing, interference, native or mother tongue influence and transfer. Time was necessary for the acceptance of CLI as an important factor in the process of learning a second language. In the beginning, neither behaviourists nor innatists believed such a phenomenon would influence SLA. In his influential book *Language Transfer: Crosslinguistic Influence in Language Learning*, Odlin (1989, p. 27) identifies transfer as resulting from the similarities and the differences between the target language (TL) and any other previously acquired language(s) even if it/they was/were imperfectly learnt. He also mentions that the way and amount of transfer depend, however, on several background factors such as age, social class, motivation or literacy that make each learner unique.

### a) Historical Development of CLI and Modern Theory

The increase of language contact studies has, consequently, led to the importance of proposing new concepts, hence, Crosslinguistic Influences. The effects of the latter fluctuate from one social context of language contact to another. Throughout this evolution of concepts, there has also been a development in terminology since Weinreich (1953), for instance, used the term *interference* to embody any type of transfer.

As we have seen, transfer has gone through three different phases: first, from the 1940s to the 1960s when it derived its foundation from behaviourism and affirmed to be able to predict difficulties by comparing languages, hence, the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis. Second, after being disfavoured by mentalists, transfer saw its role declined to trivial in SLA between the 1960s and 1970s with the studies of Dually & Burt and Krashen. Third, from the 1980s to present time, transfer has witnessed a revival of its

importance in SLA by introducing multidisciplinary analyses to the phenomenon and the emergence of Crosslinguistic Influence with Sharwood Smith & Kellerman (1986).

Among the interests in CLI during the 1980s and within a spread of new terminology, there was that of Thomason & Kaufman (1988) who examined the effects of language contact in terms of two types of interferences that they called *borrowing transfer/interference* and *substratum transfer/interference*.

Borrowing transfer applies to the influence of a newly acquired language on a previous one, generally the second language L2 on the mother tongue (MT). Whereas, Substratum transfer involves the influence the mother tongue has – or any other previously acquired language – on the target language. Certainly, it would have been easier if we had only one or the other in a mutually exclusive situation; however, both types of transfer can be observed overlapping from one context to another within a diverse range of proportions. This can be observed in Algeria where both types of transfer are found; chiefly, there are numerous French and English borrowings in Colloquial Algerian Arabic beside the occurrence of substratum transfer from the MT to L2 – French or English. Apart from this, Thomason & Kaufman (1988) suggest that Crosslinguistic Influence does not compel interferences to be classified as either one *or* the other, but rather as one *and* the other, and they mention the case of Ethiopia where the occurrence of both kinds is possible.

For a better distinction between those two types of transfer in this work, we shall call *borrowing transfer* **borrowing** and *substratum transfer* **transfer**. Both are two effects of Crosslinguistic Influence and language contact, yet they are dissimilar. According to Thomason & Kaufman (1988), those differences pertain to social and linguistic factors.

First, borrowing is initially adopted through a lexical use of vocabulary related either to technical or daily terms. This is explained by, Thomason & Kaufman (1988) and Odlin (1989):

We will use the term “Borrowing” [interference] to refer only to incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers’ native language, not to interference in general. (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988, p. 21)

While Thomason & Kaufman emphasise that *borrowing* is some kind of interference, Odlin, in the following citation, explains how the process takes place:

Borrowing transfer normally begins at the lexical level, since the attribution of the language absorbing the foreign vocabulary normally begins with the onset of

strong cultural influences from speakers of another language. The group exerting the influence is often, though not always, a speech community with larger numbers, greater prestige, and more political power. In such cases, words associated with the government, the legal system, the schools, the technology, and the commercial products of the dominant majority are among the first to make their way into the minority language, but massive lexical borrowing may also supplant much of the vocabulary of everyday living. (Odlin, 1989, p. 13)

As outlined above, borrowing concerns mainly lexical items and their integration from L2 to L1/MT. It starts with the insertion, from a foreign language to the mother tongue or the native language L1, of vocabulary such as *weekend*, *PC*, *tweeting*, *AIDS* or *gloss* because of several reasons among which the following can be observed. On the one hand, the L2 may be the vehicle of prestige, political and economic power or the language used by large numbers of people. On the other hand, L2 can provide gap fillers to the lacking vocabulary of L1 in sciences and technology. Additionally, loanwords cannot only be due to a lexical shortage of technical terms but also to a desire to follow the trend in the substitution of some of the everyday speech words.

Assuming that borrowing is mostly related to lexis; then, we shall need to enquire about syntax, phonetics and phonology and their relationship with this type of interference. The answer is provided by Odlin who argues that a substantial quantity of lexical-semantic borrowing may lead to a syntactic one too, but pronunciation, L2 phonetics and phonology are rarely borrowed and that:

When borrowing transfer comes to have such a major effect on lexical semantics, there is often a great deal of crosslinguistic syntactic influence as well... However, the phonetics and phonology of the native language are less likely to be affected by borrowing transfer. (Odlin, 1989, p. 13)

However, this is partly true as to the Algerian linguistic situation. Concerning syntactic structures, there is not a large amount of borrowing from English or French grammars to Colloquial Algerian Arabic. Among the few cases, we think of are first, the absence of use of the Arabic dual pronouns and verb forms; instead only singular and plural are used in the same way as French and English do. Next, the Arabic sentences (الجملة الفعلية) generally start with a verb then a noun [1<sup>st</sup> فعل + 2<sup>nd</sup> فاعل]; and although the nominal sentence (الجملة الاسمية – subject + predicate [1<sup>st</sup> مبتدأ + 2<sup>nd</sup> خبر]) exists in Arabic without a verb, speakers tend to integrate verbs in their sentences with the [subject + predicate] structure French and English have. Given that our main topic in this work is about phonetics and phonology we shall leave syntactic interferences for later exploration.



As to phonetics and phonology, Odlin seems to believe that borrowing is rare almost non-existent. Yet, there exist a few examples proving this argument partly scant. Take for example the phoneme inventory of Arabic, French and English; we find that they are different. The sounds that exist in French, for instance, are not identical to either Arabic or English. There are sounds in French that do not occur in Arabic and vice versa. In other words, borrowing lexical items from English or French implies a borrowing to some extent of those languages sounds and prosodic features. This can be seen in the sounds such as /y, e, p, v/ in the following loanwords ‘*musique*’ *music*, ‘*mécanicien*’ *mechanic* ‘*PC*’ *personal computer*, ‘*Activia*’ (*yoghurt*).

One should point out that not all L2 phonology and phonetics would be borrowed into L1; or else there would be no substratum transfer from the mother tongue MT in SLA, and all this work would have been useless. The challenge is to find in the following chapters the extent of such interferences or the lack of them along with the underlying reasons behind.

Precision needs to be made that borrowing at the level of phonetics and phonology L1 is conditional; unless a usage of those linguistic features is somehow included within the production of the borrowed lexis. In Algeria, Colloquial Algerian Arabic dialects contain a significant quantity of French words; however, the latter either undergo the phonology of Arabic or keep the original pronunciation because of a lack of a few sounds in Arabic such as those mentioned above. Consonants seem easier to reproduce than vowels such as /œ, y/; since the latter seem to be affected by Arabic vowels.

Second, substratum transfer or *transfer* goes through a different process from which pronunciation and syntax are mostly affected. It is the most studied type of Crosslinguistic Influence in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies; especially the effects of a learner’s native language on the target one (Odlin, 1989).

Unlike borrowing in which most interferences cover the lexical level, transfer embodies phonetics, phonology and syntax predominantly. In his analysis of interferences, Thomason (1981) argues that the effects of substratum transfer are more likely to be obvious in pronunciation and to some extent in syntax than in the lexicon. Analogous to the relationship between borrowing and lexis, the transfer of the MT pronunciation features are more evident in the production of L2 sounds and prosody. He believes that pronunciation is more difficult in the SLA process than in any other language system; hence, the frequency of occurrence of transfer.

Gradually, transfer has come to mean substratum transfer; interference (used as a general term along with some negative connotation) means any type of transfer and Crosslinguistic Influence to mean both types of transfer when using L2 and L1.

Finally, transfer has acquired a new meaning that is of a two-ways practice – L2 influencing L1, L1 influencing L2 or inter-influence between L1 and L2 and that has led to the introduction of a new term *crosslinguistic influence* as it is summarised in the following graph.

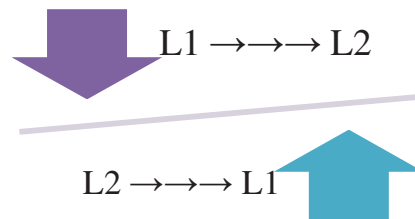


Figure 1.2: Crosslinguistic Influence

### 1.3.2. Categorising Crosslinguistic Influence and Transfer

As a phenomenon of language contact, the semantic property of that concept has witnessed three major phases. The first, transfer was mainly considered as *interferences* as Weinreich (1953) designated it or *negative transfer* as it was later termed; it was considered as a hindrance to SLA. Second, the term *transfer* gradually substituted *interferences* as linguists started to perceive that transfer in all its types can facilitate SLA; and Odlin (1989) summarised most of those theories in his book to provide a new definition of the concept and a distinction between positive and negative transfer. Third, other scholars were no longer satisfied with the term *transfer* since it represented only the incorporation of L1 features into L2; Sharwood Smith & Kellerman (1986) suggested the term *Crosslinguistic Influence* as being more appropriate to describe such a phenomenon. The term also encompasses other consequences of language contact such as interlingual influence (transfer L1 → L2, L2 → L1), language loss, avoidance and so on.

Crosslinguistic Influence covers a wide range of interlingual and interlinguistic operations. To comply with the objective of this dissertation, we selected one main CLI research category that tries to identify what phonetic and phonological influence consists of.

#### 1.3.2.1. Phonetic and Phonological Influence

The presence of the phonetic and phonological transfer of L1 is a well-known phenomenon. Accent is the vehicle of individuals' identity and before realising what



somebody is saying we already have some indications as to their region, education or social status. According to Dekkak (2000), accent is part of the transmitted linguistic and sociolinguistic message since it embodies the speaker's socio-cultural identity as well as their linguistic competence and performance.

When learning an additional language, part of that identity is transferred to the perception and production of the target language (TL). Jarvis & Pavlenko define phonological transfer as "the ways in which a person's knowledge of the sound system of one language can affect that person perception and production of speech sounds in another language" (2010, p. 62).

Segments and features, learners already know, are easily intercepted and recognised; those, that are not, are usually ignored, not perceived at all or approximated according to what learners previously know. Progressively, learners construct their L2 sound system which may either improve or completely fossilise. Tarone (1976) explains that phonetic and phonological transfer (such as syllable structure) is responsible for the phonological interlanguage (p. 87). Therefore, guiding learners through phonetic and phonological CLI might be of great help in order to achieve the acquisition of L2 sound system. Indeed, according to Dabène (1996, p. 134), to some extent, the comparison between the phonetic and phonological levels of two languages can identify some differences and help in conducting exercises.

Sounds transfer might be helpful in case of similarities or source of pronunciation errors and misunderstanding in case of unacknowledgment. When faced with difficulty, learners may either adapt the L2 sound system to that of L1 (Sebastián-Gallés, 2005) or assimilate L1 and L2 sounds features in their phonetic-phonological interlanguage (Pallier et al., 2001). For example, the English velar nasal /ŋ/ does not exist in Arabic. Algerian students experience real difficulty in perceiving its distinction from other sounds, and they are quite unable to produce it correctly since they realise the word *singing* /sɪŋɪŋ/ either as [sɪŋɪŋg] or as [sɪnɪn]. The former examples demonstrate that phonetic and phonological transfer operates as a sieve of L1 phonotactic and prosodic features filtering and selecting some segments over others. Unless there is enough exposure or guided natural immersion, correcting that perception or production remains problematic.

### 1.3.3. Reasons for Transfer and Crosslinguistic Influence

Some linguists view CLI as a communication ‘strategy’ and, that it is not a random process Kellerman (1979). Others such as Newmark & Reibel (1968) and Krashen (1983) consider that it is simply a phenomenon resulting from when learners make up for their lack of knowledge (Krashen, 1983, p. 148) in order to fill in the gaps of “training” as best as they can (Newmark & Reibel, 1968, p. 159). The latter argument has become what is now termed as the *Ignorance Hypothesis* i.e. the phenomenon is viewed as the consequence of ignorance not of interference. Similarly, Krashen referred to CLI as ‘padding’ that protects learners when they fall back to previous knowledge since their target one is lacking. However, there seem to be reasons for CLI and its type and frequency of occurrence.

Crosslinguistic Influence cannot completely modify the path learners undertake to acquire L2; however, it can seriously alter the speed or the delay in L2 progression (Zobl, 1982). Therefore, it is important to determine the source from which people can learn the TL. It is also vital, for the purpose of our analysis to examine what may cause Crosslinguistic Influence and to try to identify whether internal factors or external ones play, partly if not entirely, the main role in the way our students acquire their second language. Also, there are factors which are completely learners-based that we consider, to some extent, an interacting factor with what is internal and external. Those factors might be prohibitive or conducive to CLI. Besides, we would like to consider whether a combination between the three (internal, external and learner factors) is possible for a better understanding of the situation. In the end, we shall espouse what we believe as what best corresponds to the Algerian context.

#### 1.3.3.1. Internal Factors

Studies on transfer in the 1970s and 1980s demonstrated that the forces that shape CLI are internal ones rather than external ones. The internal factors are those that include the inner linguistic system of language and the obtained results after interacting with learners’ capacity for a cognitive and psychological development. Among the internal factors, we shall see *Developmental factors, Input and Frequency, Linguistic Awareness, Psychotypology* and *Language Factors*.

### (i) Developmental Factors

There have been numerous discussions concerning (a) the way learners perform CLI and transfer, (b) the time learners start transferring structures, (c) the conditions in which learners dispense with some of their CLI habits and (d) the amount of transfer, learners make as their L2 interlanguage develops through time. In general, learners, in all their stages of acquisition, progress from elementary to advanced levels.

While some linguists such as Wenk (1986) view that transfer is more frequent in the early stages; others, however, as Ellis (1997) state that not all transfer errors are eliminated in later stages and, that some others may even rise to the surface because most of the errors made in L2 are also the same in L1. Among the debates on transfer, one relates to those who believe that there must be some level of proficiency in L1 or L2 to be able to transfer formulas, structures and speech act strategies (Ellis, 1997, p.53).

Corder (1981, p. 38-39), for instance, considers SLA as *plausible interpretations* and *plausible reconstructions*, in which NL structures are progressively replaced by the TL ones. Nevertheless, Ellis (1997) suggests that there seems to be a whole process in developing transfer strategies and that “interlanguage development does not constitute a reconstructing continuum” (p. 54). Learners need to reach certain proficiency before any transfer could be made. In fact, he suggests that in the case of speech acts such as request or apology, learners do not start using transfer until they develop some L2 proficiency. Ultimately, one cannot deny that transfer and developmental factors are interrelated. Along with the development of L1, L2 and IL, transfer may linger or accelerate and may even become selective (Zobl, 1980).

### (ii) Input and Frequency

Learners’ input varies from one learner to another depending also on the amount of the transfer made. We may suggest that if learners’ input is determined by frequent CLI or a strong transferability of structures, learners may internalise those strategies as a component of their learning. According to their Frequency Hypothesis (Input Frequency), Hatch & Wagner-Gough (1976) suggest that the order of SLA can also be regulated by the frequency of occurrence of some L2 structures in a learners’ input because the amount of accuracy reflects acquisition. In other words, the more frequent is some input, the more accurate learners become and the better the acquisition of L2 is achieved.

Some of the experiments that support this theory are as follows. Lightbown (1983), for instance, has found that 6<sup>th</sup> grade ESL learners overuse *verb+ing* structure

because they have been exposed to it in 5<sup>th</sup> grade (cited in Ellis, 2012, p. 154-5). Also, Ellis (2012) supports this argument by explaining how learners are sensitive to the frequency of a particular input they are often exposed to and that: “language learning is essentially ‘frequency learning’ ...It follows that the input that learners are exposed to in the classroom will influence the course of language learning.” (p. 115).

Another recent experiment that has been conducted by Alonso Alonso, et al. (2016) has analysed the use of spatial prepositions (on, in, at) by native English speakers, Spanish speakers and Danish speakers; all having an advanced level of English. All three groups had to use those prepositions in English, and the findings are the Danish use almost the prepositions as the English do. The reason is that the Danish are more exposed to English than the Spanish. The exposure, however, has nothing to do with age since Danish speakers start learning English at nine, but the Spanish learn it much earlier. It is simply a matter of frequent exposure to input.

However, this hypothesis can be challenged because of the divergent results obtained in several other experiments. Not all that is learnt in class is necessarily acquired. Sometimes, students do well in examinations but fail to reproduce the same structure in a different context. To illustrate this, we can refer to the frequent use of articles (*a, an, the*) in students’ sentences; yet, their use remains often inaccurate on the whole. As to transfer, we cannot concretely delimit what kind of transfer is present in learners’ input; we can only materialise what happens in the mind when output is being activated through oral or written production.

### (iii) Linguistic Awareness

While *language awareness* refers to the knowledge and conscious perception about language and the way it works and how it is used; *linguistic awareness* relates to the reflection learners have on the linguistic codes and systems such as phonology, grammar, semantics and so forth. To ‘know’ or rather to ‘know about’ the linguistic systems of a language can have a close relationship with CLI. Linguistic awareness might be conscious or not. However, conscious knowledge of linguistic structures plays a major role in effective SLA and according to Odlin (1989), linguistic awareness facilitates Crosslinguistic Influence.

In his Linguistic Interdependence Hypothesis, Cummins (1981) claims that languages are interconnected psychologically, and the knowledge of one language paves the way to the knowledge of another. He illustrates such an argument with an analogy

between two languages and a dual iceberg; what is on the surface is the visible part of each language features but what is hidden underlies common cognitive proficiency, or what he terms CUP (Common Underlying Proficiency), existing in both languages. For him, the knowledge of a language is instrumental to the knowledge of another one because learners only need to transfer the concepts and not relearn them each time from the beginning. That is, Cummins claims what linguistic awareness learners have of their L1 is a key factor to positive transfer for L2 because it helps them develop similar abilities in the L2. However, those learners need to have already acquired adequate prior knowledge in L1 for the transfer to be possible and efficient.

For the sake of comparison, we have deliberately sought some recent research undertaken by linguists who are non-native speakers of English and who have carried out several experiments on the effect of linguistic awareness upon CLI. All of those experiments were published by the journal *Topics in Language Disorder*<sup>21</sup> to uncover how CLI may help in the language learning process. Linguists such as Ramírez, et al., (2013); Apel (2014); Ke & Xiao (2015); Danzak & Arfé (2016) and others have worked with children having English as their TL and among their objectives was the identification of clinical implications about language disorder. They have found that linguistic awareness such as phonological, morphological or lexical facilitates transfer and that occurrence boosts learners' abilities at the level of comprehension and production in L2. Given all that, we can presume that linguistic awareness in L1 develops transfer and equal awareness in L2 and both help in the process of language acquisition.

#### (iv) Psychotypology

For the vast majority of SLA linguists, the concept of *psychotypology* cannot be ignored if we deal with the factors affecting CLI. The notion was introduced by Kellerman (1978) and expanded by De Angelis and Selinker (in Cenoz et al. Eds. 2001) later as a central key in the acquisition of SLA.

According to De Angelis and Selinker (2001), the typological proximity between L1 and L2 is sufficient to account for where learners select their transferred structures. Normally, the more related the languages are, the more similarities to be found, and the higher the transfer is. However, in multilingual contexts, learners have their own perception of which language is the nearest to the TL. The difference between typology and psychotypology is that the latter reflects the learners' personal perception of what is

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<sup>21</sup> Topics in Language Disorder <http://journals.lww.com/topicsinlanguagedisorders/pages/default.aspx>

close to the TL. For example, among Arabic, French and English, the last two languages are more related to each other from typological criteria; but, an Algerian learner may perceive Arabic closer to English. Thus, that learner's sense of language proximity or language distance is purely psychotypological rather than typological because it is their own perception, and that factor may constitute a constraint on SLA as it limits a set of linguistic potentials.

Moreover, those linguists claim that those limits caused by psychotypology affect learners' proficiency so that they engender feelings of uncertainty when producing the TL. The sources of CLI are diverse, and so are the choices of learners who may favour one language over another for transfer.

#### (v) Language Factors

Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) can be affected by several factors that are proper either to L1 or L2. Equally, the native language (NT) and the target language (TL) can both cause serious difficulties in SLA whether at the level of perception or production. The linguistic factors dealt with in the following sections are *Language Distance*, *Markedness*, *Psycholinguistic Factors*, *Sociolinguistic Factors*, *Linguistic Systems*, *Multiple Languages* as an L2 and *Attitudes towards Language*.

##### a) Language Distance (Typology)

The basis for transfer might be founded by several factors, among which linguistic typology remains crucial to L2 acquisition. As it has already been mentioned above, the differences or the similarities between L1 and L2 structures may largely depend on whether those languages belong to the same tree family or not. This factor was among the topics that were highly investigated and not much disputed. Several authors contributed to explaining the impact of related languages on CLI either by calling it *language distance* or *typology*. Among the authors that have noticeably developed such a concept, we have selected Cenoz, Ellis, Ringbom, Schachter, Williams and Hammarberg as follows.

Ellis claims that "Language distance can affect L2 learning both positively and negatively." (1994, p. 338). For Ellis, language distance can be the source of positive transfer in case of similarities and negative transfer in the event of divergences. Indeed, languages which share a close concordance in their linguistic subsystems are likely to have common aspects that can easily be assimilated by the learner.

Many linguists, such as Ringbom (1987), for example, concluded that lexical items found in both L1 and L2 make the learning easier. In Algeria, the word *information* in English, for instance, can easily be learnt by a speaker of French because the word already exists in the aforementioned language; however, the fact that the same word *information* is countable in French and uncountable in English makes the learners of English produce *informations* instead.

Also, Schachter (1992) has studied the English production of relative clauses and passive constructions by speakers of Farsi, Spanish, Arabic, Japanese and Chinese learners. She has found that those who already have the structure in their language make almost no errors in producing English. Undoubtedly, the speaker of Arabic would easily acquire what is common with what they already know, but they would encounter formidable challenges for what they ignore. However, she also explains that sometimes a structure can exist, but learners still make errors such as the following case: “Arabic speakers add an appropriate (*tensed*) form of *be* but not the past participle form to the main verb [e.g.] Oil *was discover* in the 19th century.” (Schachter, 1992, p. 41)

In multilingual contexts, a learner would select as the source of CLI according to typology (related linguistic systems) or according to psychotypology (what learners perceive as related linguistic systems). Cenoz (2001), for instance, explains that non-native speakers of Indo-European languages will tend to transfer from an Indo-European language they know rather than from their own L1. This can be observed in Algeria; learners often transfer from French vocabulary, sounds and structures to English instead of using Arabic. A word such as *colonel* is often realised as in the French pronunciation [kolonel] rather than the English one /kɜ:nəl/.

Besides, language distance does not only affect CLI only, but it can also have an impact on the whole process of SLA as learners become more conscious in their acquisition. Williams & Hammarberg (1998) state that learners attribute languages different roles; each language is assigned a function according to proficiency, typology and recent use. When learners start to acquire a new language they activate the language that is either the most related one to the TL, the most recent one or the one in which they are better performers. Such activation might suggest that such a conscious process develops the language awareness and helps learners become goal oriented.

Another point regarding language distance is the language classification per hours posted by the FSI (Foreign Service Institute) of the US Department of State. That



categorisation was updated on the website<sup>22</sup> of the Language Learning Centre in 2015. Languages are classified according to the time needed for a native English/American speaker to learn a new language. The ranking difficulties range from 575-600 hours for French to 2200 hours for Arabic. It remains clear that from this classification, to a native English speaker, French is easier than Arabic.

However, language distance and typological relations do no longer seem sufficient enough for actual research. A new terminology has emerged regarding structural similarities or as it has become known as the *Linguistic Proximity Model*. The purpose of this model is not to relate languages according to their typology but to correlate them according to their structures. That model is said to empower CLI for more effective SLA (Westergaard et al., 2016). Much more investigation can be pursued between language distance or typology and CLI; however, all of this points to the conclusion that in spite of the TL difficulties, similarities between L1 and L2 remains very helpful in SLA.

#### **b) Language Universal: Markedness**

Markedness was initially introduced by the Prague School<sup>23</sup> when Trubetzkoy<sup>24</sup> and Jakobson<sup>25</sup> attributed binary features to phonemes so that they can be in opposition. A sound can be marked or unmarked; as an illustration, /m/ is [+ nasal] it is marked by the presence of the feature nasal, but /b/ is [- nasal] it is unmarked; so the only difference between those bilabial stops is the occurrence of the mark 'nasal'. According to Chomsky & Halle in *The Sound Pattern of English* (1968), a sound which is unmarked is more natural and more frequent; therefore, it is likely to be found in several world languages. A sound which is marked, however, is less natural and less common in the universal tendencies.

In addition to the phonological meaning of markedness, there has been a semantic extension to this concept to include lexis and syntax as well. Words that are unmarked are more frequent, more general and more dominant/natural; marked words, however, are

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<sup>22</sup> The website: [www.effectivelanguagelearning.com](http://www.effectivelanguagelearning.com)

<sup>23</sup> The Linguistic Circle of Prague School: "The circle was founded in 1926 by Vilém Mathesius, Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetzkoy. Its main emphasis lay on the analysis of language as a system of functionally related units, an emphasis which showed Saussurean influence. In particular, it led to the distinction between the phonetic and the phonological analysis of sounds, the analysis of the phoneme into distinctive features, and such associated notions as binarity, marking and morphophonemics." (Crystal, 2015: 380)

<sup>24</sup> Nikolai Trubetzkoy (1890–1938): A Russian linguist and a member of the Prague School and the founder of morphophonology in his book *Principles of Phonology* in 1946.

<sup>25</sup> Roman Jakobson (1896–1983): An American Linguist and a founder of the Prague School of Structural linguistics, he is known for the Distinctive Feature Theory.



less frequent, specific and less natural. Marked words, for instance, have a feature added as it is the case in the following examples. If we take words such as *happy/unhappy*, *work/worked*, *old/young*; we can see that the first element, on this list, is unmarked because they occur more often than the second element. *Unhappy* is marked by negation, *worked* is marked by the past tense and *young* is marked by its restricted use – we use *old* not *young* in questions as in *how old are you?*. Marked words are those to which a feature is added to provide a specific meaning proper to a language. Therefore, unmarked or ‘more frequent’ words can be found in several languages, and that fact makes them part of language universals and evident for acquisition.

In approaching the issue of Crosslinguistic Influence, markedness of linguistic units or their unmarkedness can play a major role in SLA. Unmarked units, which are part of language universal, can be easily learnt than marked ones. Ellis (1994) views that the degree of markedness of linguistic features may affect language transfer. Marked units which are special structures, less natural and less frequent can be hard to acquire. In fact, there are two main approaches defining markedness regarding CLI.

Firstly, according to Chomsky’s universal grammar theory UG, there are two types of grammatical rules, *core* and *peripheral*. Core rules are unmarked but peripheral ones are marked. While core rules can be governed by general universal principles of structures and are innate; peripheral rules cannot be applied to universal principles, they are unique, basic and proper to a specific language. In other words, core rules can be found in language universals; peripheral rules are not, they are specific to a language. Central to the discipline, this theory has been highly challenged. The results of empirical experiments have been exceedingly divergent as to the relationship between markedness and CLI. The obtained results were not enough to support such a claim. Ellis, for instance, doubts that markedness, as described by Universal Grammar theory, plays a significant role in SLA.

Secondly, another approach, defining markedness, has closely been related to language acquisition to explain influences. This approach stems from the language typology analysis proposed by Greenberg. He claims that “complexity in thought tends to be reflected in complexity of expression, with complexity of expression being stated in terms of markedness” (1966, p. 123). In other words, complex structures tend to be marked since they refer to an added feature to the original ones, the unmarked; and that complexity makes them difficult to learn as opposed to easy less complex structures.

The theory of markedness, a phenomenon that may explain and affect the degree of language transferability holds some solid foundation to a certain extent. However, it is quite vague and difficult to put into practice as what factors might determine the features that should be marked or not. Besides, who can classify structures as marked or unmarked? For Ellis, this concept of markedness may gain more ground if native speakers are the ones left to categorise their own structures so that they may be compared with other languages. Unfortunately, up-to-now, not all linguistic structures of all languages are classified and what may be marked in one language can be unmarked in another.

### **c) Psycholinguistic Factors**

Bussmann defines transfer as being a “Term from psychology for the intensifying or retardive influence of earlier behavioral patterns in learning new behavioral patterns.” (2006, p. 1212-1213). Contrastive Analysis scholars viewed transfer as a psycholinguistic behaviour and a process resulting from psychological effects (Long & Sato, 1984). Besides, Ellis considers that any study on transfer should deal with psycholinguistic factors; otherwise, it would be considered as incomplete.

Among the first who dealt with transfer as a psychological phenomenon, Kellerman assumes that native speakers are intuitive regarding their lexis and structures whether they are marked or not (see chap. I section 1.3.3.1.b)). Thanks to their ‘intuition’ about language, native speakers can perceive the distinction between marked and unmarked or between complex and general so that they can identify and predict what can easily be transferred to the target language. This view was seriously challenged by Ellis who claims that “we do not know to what extent learners’ judgements about what can be done accurately reflect what they actually do when using the L2.” (1994, p. 327).

### **d) Sociolinguistic Factors**

As long as learners develop their acquisition, their interlanguage (IL) will be in constant progress, and will vary because of one context or another. Their IL development, however, largely depends on context and the style that should be adopted within. The performance of L2 learners constitutes, as Tarone (1982) claims, a continuum from a ‘vernacular’ style to a ‘careful’ one should the situation arise. She suggests that L2 learners adopt a ‘careful’ style in their speech when target language TL norms are needed and a ‘vernacular’ one when they are not.

To illustrate Tarone's claim, we can observe the behaviour of some Algerian students producing English. In a conversation, for example, they switch from a 'vernacular' style to a more 'careful' one if the context demands Standard English norms. The way they speak to their teacher about their grades varies from the way they speak to their classmates about football. If the context does not require Standard English norms, their style becomes less careful in English. According to Tarone, learners adapt their production to context and communication tasks; and the more careful learners are, the more likely they resort to CLI. Therefore, when Algerian students feel the need to use Standard English norms, their performance becomes more careful and more complex, and that demands the use of all their knowledge including L1. However, not all students are alike in their perception of what should be produced in a particular context or not. It is undeniable that there are stylistic norms that are deemed to occur within particular contexts; yet, not all students show willingness in demonstrating their linguistic potential in class.

#### e) Linguistic Systems

The interconnection between CLI and linguistic systems is complex and substantial. It is in the linguistic systems, such as morphology, syntax, phonology and lexis, where most transfer occurs either in the perception or the production of structures. The questions that may arise are as follows: what is the exact relationship between CLI and the systems? Does the nature of L2 linguistic systems influence transfer? Which influences which? Which linguistic system is the most concerned about transfer?

According to Ellis (1994), linguistic systems constitute one of the salient factors that affect CLI. It can easily be presumed that CLI is more present in phonology and lexis than it is in grammar since there is a formal context where much emphasis on grammar is laid and supervised. Nevertheless, we would like to test this assumption in the Algerian context. From the recordings we made of Algerian students, we have found that transfer occurs in all linguistic systems and mostly in grammar. If we take one sentence for example and count the number of its units (one, the sounds and prosodic features, two, the words and three, the grammatical structures within), we shall find the occurrence of transfer more widespread in sounds and lexis than in grammar. One should not forget that in a sentence there are more sounds than grammatical rules, but in terms of percentage transfer in grammar scores the highest 53% in grammar, 48% in pronunciation and 25%

in lexis. It is undeniable that these results are not final; for, we have taken ten sentences randomly as a sample of what might become a future research.

In addition to that, Ringbom (1987) explains that not all errors in the linguistic systems derive from CLI. Numerous students have trouble writing or spelling words correctly not because of transfer but because of the English pronunciation which they find difficult. He also explains that some errors in lexis result from partial translation. In the case of transfer, nevertheless, he affirms that between two different language speakers (Finnish speakers vs. Swedish speakers); those, whose L1 (Swedish) is more related to L2 (English) in its linguistic systems, acquire the L2 faster. In other words, CLI affects the linguistic systems since the obtained result has a direct impact on SLA.

#### **f) Multiple Languages as L2**

Other factors related to the conditions speakers find themselves in, also, have determining effects. Among those factors, the acquisition of more than a language as an L2 may also direct the path of CLI. Cenoz (2001) says that L3 third language acquisition is complex because of the larger diversity and number of involved factors than it is in the acquisition of L2. To put it differently, she suggests that the acquisition of an L2 includes L1 factors, but the acquisition of L3 presents more diversity since it comprises both L2 and L1 aspects (Cenoz in Cenoz et al. (Eds.), 2001, p. 10). Similar to second language acquisition, L3 acquisition may take place either in formal or natural context. Indeed, the acquisition can be either at an educational institution or in complete immersion within a community speaking the target language according to several studies (Cenoz, 2001, pp. 8-20; Hammarberg, 2001, pp. 21-41; Dewaele, 2001, pp. 69-89 in Cenoz et al. (Eds.), 2001). We shall try to understand more about the way all these multiple languages interact regarding CLI in section 3.2.

#### **g) Attitudes towards Language**

Acquiring a second language is not devoid from the substantial set of reflections the language mirrors. Learners may construct their representations of a language from politics, religion, technology, literature, social media and so on. Those representations of language might either be positive or negative, and they can, therefore, result in language attitudes that shape CLI. Linguists such as Ellis (1994) claim that negative or positive attitudes towards a language, its status, its speakers and its country or towards the culture

it represents are significant in SLA. Sometimes, teachers' attitudes in class towards the language they teach are also influential.

Deborah Cameron, in her article about English as a commodity language in the market value of languages, states that acquiring or maintaining a language depends on what languages stand for. Language has some economic value in the market of languages because of its symbols of identity or some "prestigious vehicles of 'high culture'" and learners may favour forms of linguistic capital (Cameron, 2012, p. 354). This statement allows us to consider that learners may favour a language over another because of what it represents. Language attitudes are a consequence of cognitive development during the perception or the production of the TL, and that might elicit language attitudes or beliefs of what some languages reflect.

Furthermore, for bilinguals or multilinguals, the status of a language and the attitudes they may have towards it can influence the source of transfer. Learners attribute functions to the languages they know, and each language is designated a few characteristics according to some or other factors and contexts. Status and attitudes are not restricted to the target language (TL) because learners may perceive a language to be more befitting than another for what they want to express.

### **1.3.3.2. External Factors**

While transfer is psychological and it is only observable through learners' performance of L2, its occurrence can also depend on socio-cultural and on contextual dimensions. Understanding the external reasons that may cause or influence CLI is of paramount importance to this study. The main point is to determine whether those external factors exert equal if not more effects than internal ones and to identify what might be of help to develop teaching materials of English phonetics and phonology. As this dissertation will deal with identity, culture, society and so on in two other chapters (II & V), this part only briefly summarises two major factors of the reviewed literature on CLI: *Socio-cultural Dimensions* and *Educational contexts*.

#### **(i) Socio-cultural Dimensions**

Although the errors caused by CLI can be detected in learners' linguistic production, those errors envelop a considerable amount of socio-cultural foundation that accompanies learners through all their stages of acquisition. According to Kellerman, learners who have an increased sense of awareness of their own culture are more likely to find refuge

in transfer than those who lack it. Learners influence language transfer and culture can affect those learners, by syllogistic reasoning we may say that culture influences language transfer. Several scholars, such as Hofstede (2001), Bloch (2005) or Allard et al. (2011), have tried to explain culture as an integral part that cannot be detached from people.

According to Hofstede (2001), from an early age, children develop a mental programming of culture supported by their environment from either family or school. He considers culture as “the collective programming of the minds”, and it functions as software or as a mental programme that guides people through their lives.

Other scholars such as Bloch (2005) have also explained how culture becomes part of individuals and society. Human culture is not perpetuated by predetermined policy towards a planned direction in which an established order is maintained. Members of the same society have the faculty for learning from one another and adapting their communication consequently. This enables them to modify, assemble and reconstruct what had already been transmitted to them. “It is human contacts and thus ultimately history which, in great part, make people what they are, rather than their ‘nature’.” (Bloch, 2005, p.7)

Whether culture is a mental or an acquired product, it is undeniable that there is a relationship between culture and people. That interconnection is present in their stages of life; and whether it is intentional or not it is also present in CLI during SLA. This argument can easily be supported by the existence of several Englishes such as Indian English, Nigerian English and so forth. Several Englishes have partly emerged as a consequence of L1 cultural influence on the production of L2. Indeed, one may assume that the target language that is English does not reflect those speakers’ socio-cultural factors that are found in their own L1. That cultural need might be, therefore, translated into a cultural transfer and materialised with an L1 culture surfacing L2 linguistic systems at the level of perception and production.

Culture has long been integrated into the academic curricula either as literary production or civilisation movements. However, it is also important when teaching L2 linguistic systems to allow some room for socio-cultural consideration either by helping learners assimilate L2 culture or by regulating that of L1 during production.

In their analysis of CLI and culture, Allard et al. (2011) have observed three different groups of learners who belong to three different countries. The first group was French speakers learning English, the second English learning French and the third Japanese learning English. Allard et al. have found that the less L1 and L2 are culturally

related the higher the cultural interference is at all levels of L2 linguistic production (2011, p. 585).

In addition to those arguments, one could also consider that transfer varies from one learner to another depending not only on the socio-cultural factors they face but also on the context in which they evolve. Indeed, we need to observe the impact non-natural contexts such as *formal instruction* has on transfer.

### (ii) Education and Context

A language can be acquired either through complete or partial immersion in a particular speaking environment or, as it is the case of English in Algeria, through formal instruction. As we are interested in the latter, which is a non-natural process and is subject to numerous constraints, we can but only try to consider to which extent formal settings affect transfer and subsequently the process of SLA.

Non-natural settings tend to be more effective than natural ones for language acquisition i.e. in a classroom, language is studied from its different angles according to methods and thoroughly experimented techniques that have been the object of study of hundreds of teachers and linguists. To some degree natural immersion is important and it fulfils a few functions that non-natural contexts do not; however, a formal scenery and education are much more needed in language acquisition.

In this work, we hypothesise that providing the learner with both opportunities will likely make them less prone to transfer because of the constant stimulation. However, if we have to choose between either setting, we shall favour the formal one owing to the sum of theoretical and empirical background beneath. A typical example to support this argument is the case of some of the Algerian immigrants in France; it is a well-known fact that Algerian speakers of French living in Algeria and who have been educated at school show a higher competence in the language than those who live in France and did not go to school. This argument does not display any prejudice against either party, it simply stems from years of personal observation and what is considered as common knowledge, and it can be, therefore, validated or refuted. Needless to say, there are exceptions of self-educated speakers and autodidacts. Nonetheless, formal setting is still considered as a better context for SLA and as a better opportunity provider, and that may explain why some people carefully chose the institutions they go to or even spend so much money to be educated abroad at renowned colleges.



An additional supporting argument as to the importance of formal setting and context is as follows. Odlin argues for an explanatory assumption comparing non-educated Irish in the UK and educated foreign students in American universities. He states that the widespread of English in Ireland in the nineteenth century has resulted in more transfer in their English than in that of non-native speakers studying at American universities (Odlin, 1989). He also distinguishes between the literate and the non-literate claiming that those who suffer from illiteracy and live in a naturalistic context show less transfer. Moreover, other linguists such as Dulay, Burt, & Krashen (1982) clearly assert that transfer affected by non-natural settings or formal instruction will be less significant than that affected by natural acquisition.

However, there exists a slight criticism to this assumption. Formal instruction is more effective in the short term since it puts the students under some constraints of time and scheduled assessment, and they need to learn efficiently and rapidly for their grades. However, in the long run, not all that has been learnt would be acquired or used properly. Students would likely forget a major part of what they have been taught as if nothing happened (Semb & Ellis 1994). This can be illustrated with our participants' production of some English sounds where L1 is clearly discernible. In Arabic, the common syllable structure is CV (consonant + vowel) or CVC (consonant + vowel + consonant) at a lesser degree. This L1 syllabic structure can be observed in the pronunciation of final *-s* in plural English nouns where consonant clusters are found. In a word such as *clothes* where *-s* should be realised as /z/ some informants tend to insert a vowel just before the final consonant and produce it either as [ðez] or as [ðɪz]. The realisation of the three allomorphs of the plural suffix *-s* viz., [s], [z], [ɪz] is taught at high school; yet, some students still make these kinds of pronunciation at university (see Chapter V).

### 1.3.3.3. Learner-based Factors

Although factors related to learners can be viewed as internal ones, we have, nevertheless, put them into a separate section. Learner-based factors are the ones related to the learner as an individual as a consequence of the synergy between the internal factors and the external ones. Learners are different and that difference largely contributes to the quantitative and qualitative form of transfer that everyone processes in every learning situation. This section tries to answer questions such as how do learners acquire language? How do they perceive it? What characterises individual styles in learning? Among the



learner-based factors that we suggest are *Age, Level of Proficiency, Educational Background, Socio-psychological Aspects* and *Learners' Personality*.

**(i) Age**

Age factor may also be of considerable influence on CLI and SLA development. Ellis (1994) states that transfer needs first some level of competence in L1. Such a statement may imply that learners of a certain age such as children might resort less to transfer since their L1 is not as developed as those of adult learners. However, some researchers such as Lakshmanan (1994) believe that children are also endowed with Universal Grammar UG that helps them acquire both L1 and L2 similarly and that transfer is only a constraint on UG. Others such as Odlin (1989) view that adults are much more flexible than children when it comes to SLA i.e. the older, the better.

Another postulate has been advanced by Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukoma (1976) in their studies of bilingual immigrant children who have Finnish as their MT and are schooled in Swedish institutions. They have found that those children were 'underachieved' in both Finnish and Swedish. Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukoma's conclusion was that children need to acquire two languages either as their MT (at a very early stage) or completely in much later stages.

The fact of the matter is that age can determine the competence of children in SLA and consequently the role of transfer attributed to that acquisition. Nonetheless, the remaining question we come to is whether exposure to L2 at an early age reduces CLI or not. Child Second Language Acquisition (CSLA) is generally supposed to be either way: simultaneously or sequentially (McLaughlin et al., 1995). Simultaneous acquisition takes place when children (from the age of 6 months to under 3 years) are exposed to two languages simultaneously. Sequential acquisition, however, is when children first acquire their L1, then learn some other language at any time later. While the first type of acquisition consists of Crosslinguistic Influence between both languages, the second type mainly involves transfer of L1 to L2. Therefore, in either case, we find CLI.

Moreover, Rocca (2007) explains that a child language acquisition which comprises L1 and L2 processes is bidirectional i.e. both languages are source and target at the same time, and Crosslinguistic Influence or transfer occurs in both. She also claims that acquiring two languages at an early age makes them native speakers of the target language TL.

Also, Cenoz (2001) asserts that older children tend to use more transfer because CLI requires a developed cognitive and metalinguistic<sup>26</sup> ability which is progressively achieved through time. Her experiments have demonstrated that CLI is more present at an older age. This means that she considers the cognitive and the metalinguistic development as a specific requirement for CLI; and that development cannot be reached at a younger age yet “because older children can have a more accurate perception of linguistic distance that could influence the source language they use when transferring terms from one of the languages they know.” (Cenoz in Cenoz et al. (eds.), 2001, p. 10).

To put it differently, younger age is more important to the development of SLA than it is to CLI strategies since the latter are better developed in later stages in which a complex development of cognitive and metalinguistic processes are needed. In fact, young age performs better in SLA but old age structures better CLI.

### (ii) Level of Proficiency

There have been a few debates about the nature and the amount of transfer in relation to learners’ level of language proficiency. According to Kellerman (1985), CLI is closely related to L2 proficiency regardless of the similarities or differences between L1 and L2 i.e. transfer alters in proportion to proficiency and not to the sum of differences between L1 and L2. Ellis (1994), nevertheless, suggests that some errors in the TL can also be found in the acquisition of L1 and that it is not necessary for advanced learners to eliminate some of the transferability already used in previously experienced levels i.e. a high level of proficiency in L2 does not necessarily reduce transfer.

Many other scholars such as Ringbom, however, firmly believe that CLI decreases as the level of proficiency in L2 increases. As Ringbom (1987) puts it, for instance, learners’ level of proficiency is one of the major reasons for the ‘transfer load’. The learning stage at which learners find themselves can be a decisive factor in controlling the amount of CLI. A learner at an elementary level of the target language is more likely to turn to transfer than an advanced learner who has been more exposed to L2 structures and use. Also, we may infer that the role of L1 in the early stages of L2 acquisition is more important than in the subsequent ones.

Besides, it is important to raise another issue of continuity and interaction when learners’ proficiency improves. According to some linguists (Ringbom 1987) the higher

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<sup>26</sup> Metalinguistics: a branch of linguistics that deals with the relation between language and other cultural factors in a society (Merriam-Webster Dictionary).

the level of acquisition is in the second language the lower the amount of transfer is from the first language(s) L1; similarly, an advanced level of proficiency in L3 would imply an exceptional come back to L1 and L2 (Cenoz, 2001). However, this juxtaposition of two different processes, namely resulting in the acquisition of L2, cannot be regarded as analogous to the acquisition of L3 whether the latter is more complex or not. The level of proficiency is acquired through continuity and interaction of L1 and L2 linguistic systems.

One should assume here that L1 is the starting point for L2 acquisition because of transfer and then L2 structures gradually replace those of L1 as long as language competence in the TL is developed. The role of L1 is also to shape the development of learners' interlanguage (IL) which becomes selective of what should be transferred through higher proficiency.

### (iii) Educational background

Educational background is different from the level of proficiency since the former is related to their education history whereas learners' level of learning refers to their proficiency in language. Of course, we can claim that a high level of proficiency is attained after a long education background. However, learners' education along with interlocutors, the setting and the topic of conversation might also be a determining factor in Crosslinguistic Influence (Cenoz, 2001).

Grosjean (1998) argues that there is a difference in the TL acquisition between a monolingual and a bilingual learner. Indeed, the process of CLI when acquiring L2 may vary if the speaker knows only one language and if they have not yet developed learning strategies to acquire a new language. Besides, Dewaele (2001) suggests that the level of education and formality affects the total number of terms transferred in the TL production. Transfer, in this case, is directly derived from the mother tongue (MT). Learners, whose TL is typologically distant from their NT, might have additional hindrance in the progression of the SLA.

Ibrahim (1978) states that Arabic speakers in Egypt would substitute /b/ for /p/ as in *playing*; later, when they acquire the /p/ sound, some would even tend to hypercorrect and use /p/ instead of /b/ where it is not necessary as in *habit*. In Algeria, however, a student of English would never produce *blaying* [bleɪŋ] or *hapit* [hæpɪt] unless they were never exposed to French at all. Both English and French have an L2 status in Egypt and Algeria, and both are introduced in primary education, English in Egypt and French in

Algeria are also considered among the working tools owing to historical reasons. Yet, the difference between the speakers of both countries is that Algerian speakers are in contact with French or with French loan words such as *plateau* ‘tray’, *plastique* ‘plastic’ from an early age before acquiring English. Therefore, when they start learning English, they can already identify some of the similarities existing between French and English. As to adults, any Algerian would never confuse /p/ with /b/ by asking a hardware store seller for a *boumba* ‘a bomb’ instead of a *poumpa* ‘a water pump’.

#### (iv) Socio-psychological Aspects

This section is included within the learner-based factors rather than in the internal or the external ones because the socio-psychological aspects act deeper within learners’ behaviour which may result from both internal and environmental effects. In their study of transfer in the light of communication strategies, Faerch & Kasper (1987), for example, argue that there are socio-psychological factors that may shape learners’ interlanguage (IL). They consider transfer as a psycholinguistic strategy to activate prior knowledge and develop learners’ IL. Learners may resolve to purposely produce an incorrect IL in particular L2 situations in a strategic way. Those situations may be due to group solidarity, foreigner role and marking ones’ origin.

First, A learner’ sense of group solidarity or their strong feeling about their ethnic or social group may be observed in their L2 speech, if they deliberately seek demarcation from their co-speakers and they would retain more L1 features in their IL. This can be noticed in some of the male Algerian pronunciation in which the French /ʁ/ is realised as the Arabic [r]. Such pronunciation does not stigmatise a particular social group; for the Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika, himself, realises that French phoneme as such despite his being bilingual.

Second, Faerch & Kasper suppose that learners sometimes need a ‘foreigner role’ to protect themselves from being assessed in TL by their co-speakers. This role is a ‘confidential’ communicative strategy that serves a face-saving purpose to create a positive environment for learning. In phonetics classes, for example, some Algerian students tend to pronounce words that are either new or difficult with Arabic or French pronunciation by design then laugh at their production to mask their inability to achieve a proper pronunciation in the TL.

Third, transfer may also originate from learners’ feelings to mark their origin. Faerch & Kasper believe that when commodities of one culture are transported into

another, transfer may occur to mark ones' origin. Languages may be regarded as commodities i.e. English, for example, has its own value in the market of languages and it competes with other languages because of some economic, social or cultural reasons (Cameron, 2012). In other words, some learners may use L1 transfer to react against TL culture or against what they think it is.

#### (v) Learners' Personality

Scholars have often studied Crosslinguistic Influence as a phenomenon affecting learners collectively rather than individually. The studies were somehow biased in order to uncover uniformity in learners' results, to formulate hypothetical generalisations or simply to make the impossible possible because no linguist can observe all learners all the time throughout all their stages of acquisition. Besides, SLA proved a long time ago that learners did not learn in the same way and that diversity is a right.

Then, although our present objective is to draw generalisations from the most frequent deviations made by students, any study will not be complete if we do not give some importance to individual differences. Analysing all those distinctions, which are numerous, seems considerable and beyond the capacity of this work but it would be challenging, should we try to for further research. Therefore, we shall only concentrate on the personality factor in the present dissertation.

According to Odlin, CLI varies from one learner to another even if some aspects of transfer are manifested in the production of the majority. He states that learners' personality differences such as empathy or anxiety may have a serious impact on the amount of transfer. Learners that are prone to anxiety tend to avoid complex TL structures and would rather feel more comfortable using their own NL structures. However, learners who feel empathy towards a language may try to approximate TL structures.

We may also briefly mention other factors that are not always stable but rather influencing learners' personality such as *affects* (Krashen, 1982), motivation (Gardner, & Lambert 1972), a low sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977), a willingness to communicate (WTC) (MacIntyre et. al, 1998). All those factors, among so many others, may make the acquisition process unstable and may, therefore, generate different amounts of transfer from one learner to another within contextual variation. Individual differences represent one of the major topics we would like to explore for future research.

As we have seen, there are so many factors influencing CLI. Whether internal, external or learner based; all seem to converge towards identifying what might be of help

or not to the acquisition of L2. However, all things considered, one may claim that what shapes transfer seems as much complex and multifaceted as what enhances L2 acquisition. Those factors seem to represent the tiny pieces of a perplexing jigsaw puzzle that steadily fall into a broad framework until the introduction of more other factors.

### **1.3.4. Strategies of Crosslinguistic Influence**

Some errors that might be considered as interferences (or negative transfer) might be useful to learners since they incite them to develop language awareness and conscious learning in SLA. Bogaards (1988) distinguishes conscious and unconscious learning process; while the first is automated and instinctive, the second is controlled and intentional. However, he claims that the learning process is a sequence of operations from the subconscious to the consciousness. Those successive actions include strategies of CLI, although they may not be compulsory in the acquisition process. Among the strategies of CLI, we have only selected *interlanguage* and *generative transfer*.

#### **1.3.4.1. Interlanguage**

Among the major effective strategies that are developed during SLA and are closely related to CLI is the construction of interlanguage (IL). Selinker introduces such a hypothesis by claiming that IL is a system of “*latent psychological structures*”, in the brain, that can be activated in SLA, it is “a separate linguistic system based on observable output which results from a learner’s attempted production of a TL norm” (1972, p. 214). Interlanguage is not a vehicle for language but it is rather a personal language with a proper linguistic system through SLA. In other words, it is a kind of a changing idiolect of an L2 learner at a specific time; and that change occurs depending on the learner’s improvement. It is the learner’s version of L2 that can develop or fossilise.

Learners’ interlanguage is supposed to be constructed from several stages which are central to SLA. Indeed, Selinker suggests five processes that underlie IL behaviour in order to predict how it can be shaped. Those processes exist in the psychological structures and are language transfer, transfer-of-training, strategies of second-language learning, strategies of second-language communication and overgeneralisation of TL linguistic material. What is of relevance to this discussion is that language transfer is a subdivision strategy of IL and that it progressively flows through language acquisition.

Many other linguists, such as the following, investigated IL and developed its functioning as a key strategy within CLI. Py (1984), for instance, explains the way

interlanguage is constructed through three major aspects; that is (a) the systematicity of rules, when learners construct their own linguistic systems of L2; (b) linguistic variability, when interlanguage varies according to contextual, psychological and social factors; and (c) language autonomy, when interlanguage becomes autonomous in comparison to other languages because it has its own norms. Understanding the way IL can be shaped through CLI is among the suggestions we shall propose when identifying education implications in the last chapter of this work.

#### 1.3.4.2. Universal Stages of Transfer: a Generative Strategy

Transfer has witnessed a complete change of perspective from linguists. In fact, after having been a behaviourist concept for a long time; since the 1990s CLI has been investigated by generativists to identify Universal Grammar (UG). Indeed, the relationship between CLI and UG has become so popular that some of the selected articles below rank as the most cited ones among SLA journals, according to Sage Journals website<sup>27</sup> (that of Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996 ranks No.1 in August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016).

Another strategy that should be mentioned is the way Universal Grammar is used from point zero (0) of language acquisition to develop to point hundred (100) of SLA. While the starting point refers to the initial state of transfer; the ending point applies to the final and complete state of SLA. In fact, it represents the relation between the beginning of any transfer and its development as a universal strategy to acquire any additional language (Schwartz, 1995).

The following three hypotheses try to explain the process through which CLI extends from its initial stage to reach its final one, namely the acquisition of L2: the first hypothesis, *minimal trees transfer* starts with the transfer of a minimal/small amount such as lexis, then it develops to include the transfer of functional structures to finally reach complete SLA (Vainikka & Young-Scholten, 1996). Second, *full transfer/full access* is when the final stage of L1 acquisition is achieved, full transfer of Universal Grammar will access and start L2 acquisition stage i.e. the ending point of A (L1) is the starting one of B (L2) through full transfer of UG (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996). Third, *valueless features hypothesis* explains that some functional features are less valuable than others; so they are not transferred until later in the acquisition. In the initial stage of the interlanguage, there is a transfer of the grammar and the lexis that are considered the

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<sup>27</sup> Sage Journals website <http://slr.sagepub.com/reports/most-cited>



strongest (the most used/useful); then, further development gradually depends on the value of each feature in the language (Eubank, 1996).

Certainly, there are other strategies that are as equally important as the two mentioned above in the understanding of CLI; however, since they have been strongly challenged, we shall go briefly through some of them in the last chapter about educational implications.

### **1.3.5. Constraints on Crosslinguistic Influence**

As we have seen, transfer may be caused by several factors but it may also be limited by other factors. CLI can be performed consciously or subconsciously; either way, however, demonstrates learners' intuitive abilities to identify what should be transferred or not in the case of difficulties. Throughout the whole process of transfer, it seems impossible to transfer everything every time.

Indeed, Kellerman (1983, p. 113) argues that not everything that appears transferable in L1 can be transferred to L2. He, then, introduces a concept that he calls *transferability* to identify which feature could be transferred and which could not. In brief, some structures are transferable but others are not according to several factors that are called *constraints*.

Those constraints are restrictions that impede or inhibit CLI. Most of the above-provided factors (see chap. I section 1.3.3.) that influence CLI may also act as constraints to a certain extent. The aim of this part is to deal with an essential component regarding CLI and that is constraints, and we shall briefly try to summarise those limitations not according to linguistic schools but rather according to some of the agreed upon factors that are *Prediction, Stages of Language Acquisition and Fossilisation*.

#### **1.3.5.1. Prediction**

Among the constraints on CLI, prediction is a major concern in SLA. It would solve tremendous issues in language acquisition if we can predict all students' transfer. Certainly, there are types of transfer which are common or even typical to native speakers of a particular language. However, not all errors can be predicted and above all not all predictions take place.

Generally speaking, prediction is a topic mainly observed in the literature on the Contrastive Analysis which claims that transfer is a behaviour which can be predicted through the comparison of L1 and L2 linguistic systems. Analogous to weather



predictions, we can, by former experience predict that July is one the hottest months in Algeria. Influences of French as in the realisation of the English *of* /əv/ as [of] are almost always predictable in the pronunciation of the recorded informants; there were only two exceptions among the 140 students who realised it as [ɒv]. However, not all deviations can be predicted and not all predictions result in actual deviations.

The problem with prediction is that it is a two-sided issue; first, theoretically, what can be learnt in advance can always be helpful and time-saving in the case of such situations, second, however, applying only what can be predicted in class cannot be practicable since predictions could neither cover all the deviations made nor adjust to any situation that arises. Although we speak of universal knowledge, it is hardly possible to speak of ‘universal deviations’.

According to Odlin “the ultimate test, a good contrastive analysis should make, [is] to explain *why transfer* will or will not occur in any given instance”; otherwise, it is impossible to develop concrete sophisticated predictions (1989, p. 35). However, we cannot totally depreciate the value of comparing languages since it can provide us with a little insight into how learners proceed in their transfer and what might eventually occur at later stages.

#### **1.3.5.2. Children vs. Adult (or Stages in) Language Acquisition**

Another constraint on transfer is the fact that MT transfer into L2 is not identical in all the stages of the acquisition process. Wode (1978) claims that if transfer occurs, there has to be a minimum of similarities between both L1 and L2 structures. His findings account for the absence of some errors in German children’s speech and their presence in the English of their counterpart adults. He argues that German children do not make some errors in English until they start to learn new structures in German at later stages. Wode’s findings may have two implications; first, the more advanced speakers are in their MT, the more they are predisposed to transfer; second, the older people become, the harder the process of SLA turns out to be.

#### **1.3.5.3. Fossilisation**

Another constraint on transfer is fossilisation which is described in David Crystal’s *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* as the stabilisation of a linguistic form which is a part of an L2 learner’s interlanguage (IL). It occurs when learning no longer takes place and the form becomes a fossilised error during language use (2015, p. 197).

Dulay, Burt, & Krashen (1982) propose that if an L1 rule does not contribute to the learning progression, its use becomes fossilised or “end of the line” for the process of SLA. However, this fossilisation does not halt the process of language acquisition because MT tongue rules are correlated together and speakers may transfer more than one rule at a time. Krashen explains that by claiming “This indicates that several streams of development are taking place at the same time” (1982, p. 54). The fact of the matter is that although the fossilisation of a linguistic form can constrain CLI, it does not, however, obstruct the process of SLA.

#### **1.3.5.4. Constraining Constraints on Crosslinguistic Influence**

According to Thomson & Kaufman (1988), most linguists past or present (Behaviourists, Generativists, Structuralists and so on) have proposed linguistic constraints on CLI but have failed. Since there has been a strong controversy on what might represent constraints on transfer, they claim that “any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language” (1988, p. 14). They believe that it is those constraints on CLI that represent no value and a significant constraint for the development of predictive theories. They collected and summarised the most widely spread constraints in the literature to place serious limitations to the theories implications regarding *typological, universal and naturalness constraints*.

##### **(i) Typological Constraints**

To the fact that not all categories (such as grammatical) can be transferred or borrowed into the receiving system, Thomson & Kaufman claim that languages only depend on their range of ability within language flexibility and language variation. Whether languages are typological related or not, CLI can occur and be successful. In addition to that, they affirm that social factors and language needs may conquer any resistance to transfer.

##### **(ii) Universal Constraints**

Thomson & Kaufman explain that the concept of *universal constraint* is not universal. The fact that there are common constraints to transfer, identified in most learners, presumes that those constraints are not proper to the language but are, rather, universals. In other words, what are considered as universal constraints are in fact universal processes. To reject the universal constraints hypothesis, the attention is directed towards the emergence of some language varieties such as Indian English which is distinct from

the source language; that is British English. That variety includes several structures originating from L1 and ranging from sounds, vocabulary to grammar. The emergence of such varieties (e.g. Englishes) limits the notion of universal constraints.

### (iii) Naturalness/Markedness Constraints

Markedness, as previously explained, is a segment, a sound or a structure which is not common to all languages; therefore, it is unnatural and difficult to learn in L2. Thomson & Kaufman state that “we believe that markedness is a genuine linguistic phenomenon” (1988, p. 26). However, they claim that it has been ill-defined and that change is natural since what may seem first as marked/unnatural may become unmarked/natural through time and language development. CLI does not necessarily complicate grammar, nor does it increase markedness since all languages have both mark and unmarked properties. They identify language as a network of systems stating “Language is not just one system, but a system of systems. All its systems interact...” (1988, p. 23). They demonstrate, therefore, that if one system can be altered, other systems will be in their turn influenced for the sake of simplification; and what is unnatural may become natural and does no longer constitute a constraint. Furthermore, they consider such evolution as natural and universal.

### 1.3.6. Types of Crosslinguistic Influence

In addition to the types of transfer motioned in (chap. I section 2.1.1.1.7.), other types can be taken into consideration to classify CLI. Since it is an interdisciplinary field, Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010, pp. 19–26) propose a scheme that can catalogue any type of CLI according to the following dimensions, that is, (1) area of language knowledge/use, (2) directionality, (3) cognitive level, (4) type of knowledge, (5) intentionality, (6) mode, (7) channel, (8) form, (9) manifestation and (10) outcome.

First, *area of language knowledge/use* includes all areas of linguistic transfer that have been traditionally dealt with in most of the literature such as the transfer of syntax, semantics, phonology, discourse, rhetoric, orthography, pragmatic sociolinguistic and so forth.

Second, *directionality* refers to the direction in which structures and features are transferred. As we have already mentioned transfer can be *forward transfer* (L1→L2) (L2→L3) (L3→L4) and so on; or *reverse/backward transfer* (L1←L2) (L2←L3) (L3←L4) and so forth. *Bidirectional transfer* (L1↔L2) comprehends not only both

former types of transfer but all possible multidirectional combinations i.e. L1 may include more than one language and so does L2 and the direction of transfer can be from anywhere to anywhere simultaneously.

Third, *cognitive level* refers to the mental activities operating during transfer. CLI is a complex process in which cognitive levels involve either a mental transference of linguistic systems or the mental formation of equivalent links between L1 and L2. In the past, there was a distinction between thinking, thinking of speaking and speaking, and that transfer occurs only in the last two stages. Jarvis & Pavlenko, however, believe that CLI can take place at all the cognitive levels which involve three phases that they term *conceptual representation, semantic representation and linguistic representation*.

Fourth, *type of knowledge* involves the implicit and the explicit knowledge of what learners know about their languages. Learners are different and they do not mentally process what they store in the same manner. Some learners have a far more developed explicit knowledge of their languages and of the employed processes in their acquisition of L2 than others do.

Fifth, *intentionality* relates to intentional and unintentional transfer. CLI is a communicative strategy and the result of the mental juxtaposition of what characterises two languages or more and each phase can be either intentional or not depending on the learners.

Sixth, *mode* simply refers to the four language skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking. In CLI Studies, there has been a clear distinction between *modes* (production vs. reception) and between *channels* (audio vs. visual). Transfer is said to involve all modes – comprehension, interpretation and production.

Seventh, *channel* indicates the audio (oral vs. aural) and the visual (written vs. manual). It is important to distinguish between what is spoken and what written along with signs and nonverbal communication.

Eighth, *form* reveals the way communication is conveyed – verbal vs. nonverbal performance. Jarvis & Pavlenko claim that most literature on transfer has been devoted to verbal output; but they suggest that more attention should be paid to learners as they transfer their L1 gestures or as they become influenced by L2 “bimodal communication (verbal vs. nonverbal)” (2010, p. 25).

Ninth, *manifestation* concerns the nature of CLI strategies which are either overt or covert. On the one hand, overt types of CLI occur when learners perform interlingual identification of matching features and structures between the languages they know. On

the other hand, covert types of CLI take place when learners do not find equivalent patterns and forms, so they tend to rely on what they know, or they simply avoid or omit their difficulties.

Tenth, *outcome* credits transfer with being either positive or negative to L2 acquisition. It implies that the consequence of CLI might influence intelligibility or appropriateness and may cause success or complete violation of L2 linguistic systems.

#### **1.4. Acquisition of Multiple Languages**

As we have already mentioned, the term L1 refers not only to the Mother Tongue MT but, also, to all the native languages belonging to the speech community or to what learners believe as pertaining to their multi-cultural identity. Similarly, we attribute the term L2 the meaning usually used in SLA and which applies to all languages acquired after L1 (Reiner-Bünemann, 2012). Sometimes, learners might even have more than L1 and more than one L2 at the same time, as it is the case in Algeria. Although expressions such as Foreign Language Acquisition FLA or L3 are also used in the literature; in this work, we have preferred to comply with the wide-ranging terminology in SLA in order to be as objective as possible and to avoid underlying ideologies. This part deals with the interaction between different languages in relation to CLI and some of the theories that have tried to explain that interlingual relation in three distinct parts, *Interacting Systems*, *CLI: the Way it Works and Multilinguals* and *Multiple Languages in SLA*.

##### **1.4.1. Interacting Systems**

When we speak about L1 and L2, about the role L1 plays in L2 acquisition and about the way languages in L1 or those in L2 connect, we may think of the interaction between the language systems and how learners manage to construct and shape their (IL) interlanguage through the development of language acquisition. In brief, we would like to know what happens when all language systems become interrelated to obtain CLI. There are several hypotheses that the following scholars have put forward on the correlative relationship between those systems and to explain the way that ‘network’ functions.

Corder (1992) considers transfer as a communicative strategy which consists of a simple borrowing of structures since nothing is being transferred from L1 to the IL of L2. Corder claims that “...because his interlanguage lacks the means to do it. We do not say that a person is transferring anything when he speaks his mother tongue in other contexts”

(p, 27). However, Ellis (1997) views such an argument as lacking since it does not account for the sum of errors and similarities caused by transfer and pertaining to L2 interlanguage shared among a large population. He states that “Other errors, however, reflect learners’ attempt to make use of their L1 knowledge. These are known as **transfer errors**” (p. 19). Schachter (1992), on the other hand, believes that L1 plays a significant role in the acquisition of L2 because of the frequency of occurrence of learning transfer and the need learners have to understand and to develop their knowledge in L2. Further, she suggests that transfer is the consequence of cognitive (and not behaviourist) operating strategy within a general framework of hypothesis testing and construction. In other words, transfer is a cognitive strategy that comprehends testing hypotheses about L2 rules by using L1 or some other language structures to validate them i.e. a learner tests whether a L2 rule formulation is similar to that of a previously acquired rule from another language. She describes the outline of her Hypothesis Theory as follows:

It involves (1) the notion of hypothesis formulating and testing behavior on the part of the learner, (2) the concept of a universe of hypotheses, (3) various domains within the universe, and (4) the notion of inferencing and sampling behavior on the part of the learner. (Schachter, 1992, p. 35)

In fact, she proposes the expression ‘universe of hypotheses’ to refer to what should be considered as the starting point of any thinking on L2 – testing hypotheses about L2 rules and that end either by being confirmed or not. That ‘universe’ may expand and evolve throughout all the process of SLA. Step by step, those universe hypotheses fragment into domains such as the domain of forming phrases or that of simple sentences. Those domains may vary in size depending on the frequency of learning transfer and the language distance existing between NL and TL (Schachter, 1992, pp. 35-8).

#### **1.4.2. Crosslinguistic Influence: the Way it Works**

Ellis (1994) explains first language transfer by proposing a framework that comprises both communication and learning transfer (see chap. I section 1.3.1.1. g)). His framework is summarised as follows: first, L1 system is used by both comprehension and production mechanisms under some constraints. Second, the interlanguage (IL) is used not only in the production but also in the comprehension and the reception of messages. Third, when constructing hypotheses about L2 rules, L1 is used to develop the IL taking into consideration the constraints on transfer.

In multilingual contexts, learners may acquire more than one language as their L1 and, likewise, as their L2. In *Cross-linguistic Influence in Third Language Acquisition*,

an influential book on CLI, several contributors such as (Cenoz, 2001, pp. 8-20; Hammarberg 2001, pp.21-41; Ecke, 2001, pp. 90-114 in Cenoz et al. (Eds.) 2001) have analysed such a phenomenon and have used concepts such as *L2* and *L3* for distinction purposes claiming a few assumptions that we summarise as follows. First, CLI characteristics found in the acquisition of *L2* are similar to those in *L3*. Second, not only *L1* but *L2* also plays an important role in the acquisition of *L3*. Third, CLI is affected by the *Recency Effect*; learners of *L3* tend to transfer more from the recently acquired language (*L2*) than from *L1* because it is the last one highly activated. According to those writers, the ‘recency factor’ refers to a hypothesis suggesting the use of the recently activated and acquired language as a source of transfer to the TL. Besides, Odlin claims that transfer is not limited to native language influence, but it also encloses other previous languages because: “When individuals know two languages, knowledge of both may affect their acquisition of a third” (Odlin, 1989, p. 27). To sum up the way all these languages interact, CLI to *L3* occurs from all previously acquired languages, but the largest amount of transfer comes from *L2*.

If we turn to where CLI is found, we shall need to ask whether the transfer is found only in the target language (TL) or in the previous ones as well. Shanon (1991) suggests first that, in such contexts, the Crosslinguistic Influence is mainly detected in the ‘weakest’ language or the latest acquired one; next, that CLI is affected by how much the TL is related to the previously acquired languages since learners tend to transfer to the TL structures from the nearest language. That means that CLI characteristics hinge on either language recency or language distance. To illustrate this, we can refer to the Algerian context in which Arabic speakers would transfer to English, from French rather than from Arabic, sounds such as [o] in words like *gaol* /dʒeɪl/ to approximate the pronunciation of a TL spelling closely related to French. However, the same learners would transfer from Arabic a sound like /h/ in *hotel* because in French the letter *h* is silent and in Arabic it is a phoneme. Whatever language is selected from, these examples mainly show that learners use transfer from different languages as a strategy to overcome *L2* difficulties.

The way the linguistic systems interact and the way multilinguals use the languages they know are very complex. Hammarberg claims that during the CLI by a multilingual learner, systems interact in the following way: first, learners intentionally select the language of transfer; second, learners may keep the languages apart, mix them



or let them influence one another; third, learners cannot have similar competence in all the languages they know (2001, p. 22).

Within this context, the learners' repertoire of these languages interacts during language comprehension and production. Sometimes, transfer is reversed so that students use L2 structures in L1 production. Some linguists have mentioned L2 influencing L1 as it is the case in Vivian Cook's book (2003) *Effects of the Second Language on the First*. This is also developed in an empirical study conducted by Sypiańska (2016) who claims that L1 system is not always the sender; it can also be the receiver. This idea can clearly be found in the speech of our informants when they pronounce, for example, Algerian names with an English pronunciation.

Moreover, transfer may no longer be restricted to L1 affecting L2 but rather all languages influencing one another at the same with a 'multilingual' interlanguage rather than an interlanguage for each language; and, that is more problematic since such performance may reflect a lack of proficiency in all languages. This hypothesis, however, broadens horizons for our possible future research.

We can finally try to put forward a very personal representation of CLI as being a network of several language systems connecting to form a thread of cognitive operations that gradually extend from: L1 → (or any previously acquired language) → testing hypotheses → confirming hypotheses → constructing interlanguage → developing comprehension and production → reinforcing interlanguage → L2 acquisition. As this representation is still at the level of hypothesis, it may, therefore, be verified or disputed in future research.

### **1.4.3. Multilinguals and Multiple Languages in SLA**

Since Algeria represents a multiple languages context (multicompetence), there is a wide range of reasons that make us investigate the linguistic behaviour of multilinguals with reference to SLA. Bilingualism / multilingualism can either be achieved through formal settings, natural contexts or as a consequence of historical events (see Chapter II). The difference in the acquisition of those languages may have a substantial impact on learners' language perception and production.

Several linguists such as Grosjean (1982) and Hammarberg (2001) claim that bilingualism/multilingualism is not an exceptional phenomenon and it is as frequent as monolingualism. Besides, if we investigate the number of the world bilinguals and multilinguals, we might even find a higher number in comparison with monolinguals



because it is rare to find countries planning monolingual language policies at this time of globalisation.

Ansaldo et al. (2008) claim that bilinguals constitute over 50% of the world population. However, we need to mention that providing the exact number of bilinguals and multilinguals in the whole world is not possible yet. There are statistics websites<sup>28</sup> that assess the percentage of multilingual people in the world as: 40% of the world population are monolingual; 43% are bilingual; 13% are trilingual; 3% multilingual; 1% are polyglot. Nevertheless, since there are other references having different results; and the definition of what a bilingual or multilingual is has not been clearly provided yet; all those figures still remain at the level of estimation.

We need to mention, however, that the exception goes to Europe in terms of actual statistics. In 2012, the European Commission, Directorate-General for Education and Culture published a survey called *Special Eurobarometer 386* to assess Europeans and their languages. The report explains how the survey was conducted throughout all European countries and that just 54% of Europeans are “able to hold a conversation in at least one additional language” and 44% are able to “understand at least one foreign language”; the survey also mentions the highest proportion of bilinguals who live in Austria 78% and Finland 75% and the lowest being in Hungary 13% and Portugal 13% (2012, p. 5-6). Though world population is difficult to assess, we will just maintain that learning more than one language is a normal ability and the fact that humans are endowed with such an aptitude is quite axiomatic.

Concerning the acquisition of multiple languages, the reasons why we have avoided using concepts such as Mother Tongue is because they are still under discussion and there is the possibility to learn more than one language at a time regardless of its being part of a speech community or not. Owing to historical reasons, Algerian speakers can be divided into three main groups; (1) those who master Arabic better than French; (2) others have equal proficiency in both languages; (3) whereas some bilinguals master French better than Arabic. Although the last group can be more proficient in French, they will not consider Colloquial Arabic or Berber as their L2. It simply means that some learners may master one L2 or more without necessarily being a native.

Multicompetence or the knowledge of more than one language system is possible (Cook, 2002). However, we may ask whether they can demonstrate similar proficiency

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<sup>28</sup> Statistics website on multilingual people: [ilanguages.org/bilingual.php](http://ilanguages.org/bilingual.php)

as that of native speakers and how such proficiency is achieved in relation to other languages or to put it differently what is the behaviour of multilinguals when acquiring a new language regarding transfer. First, according to Vivian Cook, multicompetent learners (either bilinguals or monolinguals) are completely different from the others in their perception of L2 and their own L1. He claims that multicompetent learners can neither think as similarly as their L1 monolinguals do about their language; nor can they achieve proficiency in L2 as its native speakers do. Nevertheless, the notion of ‘the native speaker’ has been under constant attack. Indeed, the concept, stating that a native language belongs to a ‘native speaker’ the only person who can master it, was seriously disputed. For example, Paikeday (1985) states that the native speaker is dead because learners may acquire native-like proficiency, and Davies (2003) describes the notion ‘native speaker’ as being a myth that exists only in the minds of the natives of the language.

Next, as we have already observed, many scholars (Odlin, 1989) consider the acquisition of L1 and L2 alike and so are their learning strategies. However, we may also enquire about SLA in a multilingual context. Levelt (1989) has framed a model that explains the process through which a monolingual produces language in three successive stages: *a conceptualiser, a formulator and an articulator*. On the basis of Levelt’s model, De Bot (1992) likens the process through which a bilingual acquires L2 to that of a monolingual one acquiring L2. For him, during that process, a bilingual may activate any language they already know to be the source of transfer; and the degree of activation varies from one language to another depending on several factors. Learners start first by conceptualising which language should be selected for transfer. A language can be active or dormant, and learners choose the frequently used one, namely the active one. However, learners may also seek a few structures from the dormant one if the active language does not provide enough information for transfer or switch between them. Second, the stage of formulation is parallel to the previous one. When the language is selected, learners need to choose lemmas and deep structures. The last stage, articulation, consists of producing the selected segments within surface structures and sounds formation.

As we have seen, regarding the source of transfer by a multilingual; when a bilingual or a multilingual acquires an additional language, linguistic influence comes from the “active language with the highest level of activation” (Dewaele, 1998, p. 488) and it functions as a supplier or as Williams & Hammarberg (1998) name it as a ‘default supplier role’. All things considered, most CLI linguists mentioned above seem to have

reached an agreement until now; yet, the truths that are valid today might be invalidated in the future.

### 1.5. Conclusion

The chapter has examined the terminology used in this work, the historical background of the development of transfer and Crosslinguistic Influence and the types and the factors that may enhance transfer. The identification of those concepts has been organised into three major axes. First, this chapter has sought to define language, the main tool with which transfer is achieved. It has also tried to summarise in a diagram the author's understanding of the reviewed theories and approaches to *language*. Second, the section has tackled the emergence of CLI along with its evolution and has traced back its roots from notions such as *transfer* and *interferences*, which were previously related to either Behaviourists' theories or Contrastive/Error Analyses perspectives. The term *Crosslinguistic Influence* emerged in the eighties as a result of extensive development in SLA and Language Universals studies. Third, after the chapter examination of *language* and *Crosslinguistic Influence*, the logical sequence that has to follow is the way languages interact to produce CLI. In a multilingual context, where learners acquire more than a language or more than two languages at the same time, it is necessary to understand that phenomenon and to delimit which language has ascendance over the other at the comprehension/production stage. It is also pertinent to examine some theories on which language(s) mostly affect(s) the CLI process during L2 acquisition.

As this chapter is dedicated to the relationship between *language*, *SLA* and *CLI*, other notions will be dealt with in the forthcoming parts. Indeed, there are several other issues that we intend to briefly tackle such as learning strategies, cognitive representations of transfer or gender factors. In Chapter Two, we shall closely examine the impact of identity and culture regarding language acquisition and CLI.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Culture, Language and Identity**

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## Chapter II

### Culture, Language and Identity

#### 2.1. Introduction

When people acquire a new language, they are constrained to perceive its systems through what they have already internalised. Their choice of lexis, structures, pronunciation, semantic or pragmatic properties is achieved through what is available and active in their competence. A learner whose L2 lexicon is about 1000 words, for example, would supposedly produce differently in comparison with another learner who knows, let's say, 30000 words.

This can be illustrated as in the following famous record in Arabic literature. Ali Ibn al-Jahm (804-863 AD) was a renowned Arabian [Bedouin] poet. One day he went to Baghdad to see the Caliph al-Mutawakkil<sup>1</sup> to praise him with a poem in which he compared him to a dog, a goat, a bucket, etc. Even though some of the audience were shocked, the Caliph was gladly surprised and he welcomed the poet to stay in the castle. When asked why, the Caliph simply answered: 'he compared me to the best that exists in his world'. Indeed, after a six-months stay in the castle; Ali Ibn al-Jahm changed his discourse and started likening the Caliph to the sun, the stars and the sword, etc.

The above anecdote is analogous to the process we go through when we find ourselves in a new situation and the way we try to interact with it. Our interpretation of a given context is subject to personal representation, attitude and understanding. The knowledge, we acquire, represents combined segments that we link to the prerequisite we already have in order to maintain our personal development. Language acquisition in general and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in particular do not discard such a process. Consciously or unconsciously, when acquiring an additional language, learners tend to bridge the unknown using personal data, experience or understanding on an ad hoc basis.

People are different, and the communities to which they belong are even far more distinct. For example, can we say that Japanese parents show less affection to their

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<sup>1</sup> Ja'far Ibn Muhammad al-Mu'tasim bi'Allah جعفر بن محمد المعتصم بالله (also known as Al-Mutawakkil): Abasid Caliph (822-861 AD).

children when they bow instead of hugging them? Clearly, it is substantial for a successful learning to integrate the right aspects of that difference for better learning assimilation; or else, it would turn either to continued exclusion or utter stereotyping if too many differences are constantly pointed out.

Language, culture and identity represent an interrelated web that can be discovered through language. In this work, our objective is not only to demonstrate that socio-cultural factors largely affect CLI but also to try to identify them; however, we need to specify that the adopted method is not based on ‘cultural determinism’ or ‘language determinism’ as proposed in Sapir and Whorf’s Hypothesis. Although there is a renewed interest in ‘language relativity’ and mainly in Whorf’s later publications in the latest literature according to Jarvis & Paquot (2015), psycholinguistic and cognitive abilities are not rejected in this work standpoint.

This chapter discusses culture and its relationship with language and identity. More precisely, it studies culture and its interrelations with identity, language, L2 acquisition, multilinguals and with social factors depicted in language. This part attempts to answer some of the following questions: what is identity? What is culture? Is culture the product or the cause of language? How are language, culture and identity interrelated? Which determines which? What are the representations language, culture and identity have in the Arab(o)Muslim philosophy? How is such a relation depicted in L2 acquisition? What are the observable socio-cultural factors in the language of multilinguals? Is interculturalism an obstacle or an asset in L2 acquisition? And last but not least what is the ‘Cultural Load Model’ characterising some of the Algerian students?

In the following five sections, we shall tackle (1) *Language and Identity*, (2) *Identifying Culture: Anthropological, Sociological and Philosophical Reflections*, (3) *Definitions of Culture: A Sociolinguistic Perspective*, (4) *Culture and Learning* and (5) *the ‘Cultural Load’ Model*.

## **2.2. Language and Identity**

It is language, whether heard or read, that allows us to access other people’s cultures, language and identity. It is a means not only to discover the other but also to interact with them. Dekkak (1985) states that “Language is the mirror of given beliefs, attitudes, and cultural norms of a given society at a given time” (p. 3). Indeed, sometimes, misunderstanding what is transmitted can be seriously problematic. Learners are not simple vessels of language; they also structure, interpret, organise and filter the

knowledge they absorb according to their culture and of whom they are. It is undeniable that these aspects are related and interrelated; thus the importance of exploring culture and identity in a linguistic analysis since language is difficult to detach from all the underlying social and cultural properties that identify its speakers. The remaining question is yet to examine how much culture is there in language and communication (Timpe, 2013).

### 2.2.1. Identity

The study of *identity* and *self*<sup>2</sup> has been very popular in SLA. However, understanding the relationship between identity and language learning does not only explore the L2 people may learn additionally but, also, helps millions of immigrant children across the globe become more proficient and less stigmatised in their novel acquired environment. Although people have the ability to adaptation, diversity needs to be taken into consideration during L2 acquisition. Baker (2006) explains that people have such ability of adaptation to any context because there are effective linguistic and cultural diversity. According to Nettle & Romaine (2000), analogous to the biodiversity, cultural diversity is vital; since damaging one element of the ecosystem may cause unpredicted consequence of the system as a whole. Therefore, linguistic and cultural diversity are not only considered as normal, but they are essential to all.

According to Baker, it is through language that people can express identity. He defines it as a set of characteristics shared among community members and it can be expressed through language, dress, religious beliefs or through common social attributes:

Identity concerns the shared characteristics of members of a group, community or region. Identity provides the security and status of a shared existence. Sometimes identity is via dress, religious beliefs, rituals, but language is almost always present in identity formation and identity display. Language is an index, symbol and marker of identity. (Baker, 2006, p. 51)

Others such as Norton (1997) describe identity as being dynamic, complex, multifaceted and contradictory. He claims that language and identity construct each other; and to understand it, we need to recognise the way people perceive their relationship within their society. He defines identity as “how people understand their relationship to

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<sup>2</sup> By *self*-, we refer to *self-efficacy* (Bandura, 1977); *self-concept* (Marsh, 1986); *self-worth* a notion that has replaced *self-esteem* because of much criticism according to Florentina Taylor (2013, p. 10); and so on.



the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future” (Norton, 1997, p. 410).

Regarding such diversity and identity and the way the latter is linked to L2 language acquisition, models have been proposed to theorise identity into a framework that explains the way it is formed from an *educational psychology* perspective. Taylor (2013) claims that identity is a twofold composite made of four elements. The first element is the *private self* (actual/internal) it is the way a person sees him/herself. Second, the *public selves* (actual/external) it refers to the way a person presents themselves to a group/society. Third, *ideal self* (possible/internal) consists of what a person wishes to become. Fourth, *imposed selves* (possible/external) designates other people’s expectations of what a person does. According to this quadripolar model of identity, a learner has diverse identities that interfere with the process of language acquisition, and instructors need to cope with this multitude of possible and unforeseen variations. To some extent, it may also explain that a learner cannot always be constant in their learning.

In her analysis, Taylor demonstrates that during L2 acquisition, most learners display *public selves* and *imposed selves* and could not reveal to teachers their *private self* and *ideal self* because of one of the following two possibilities (1) they are internally unaware of who they really are or what their own ideal is; or (2) they feel weak or unappreciated by their environment. Therefore, learners feel the need to present an identity which is not theirs and achieve what is expected from them for a short term. However, she proposes that the display of *public* and *imposed selves* may serve as a strategy for teachers to encourage learners to reveal and develop their *private* and *ideal self* for a better competence and feelings of self-achievement. This explains that those multifaceted *self* components contribute to the learning achievement.

Besides, SLA has often concentrated on student-centred approaches to allow them to develop their suggestions and wishes in class, encourage personal contribution into the learning process and to let them speak as themselves (Ushioda, 2011). Alternatively, they simply need to be given the right to speak (Bourdieu, 1977). Moreover, in their experiment of students’ and teachers’ identity perception, Taylor et al. (2013) compare between the acquisition of mathematics and English and how they can be affected by learners’ identity. They have found that a strong identity helps in the learning of difficult English structures and mathematics.

Identity according to the previous points is related to people's beliefs about themselves, and those representations are either private or public (Taylor, 2013). On the one hand, identity largely depends on personal control and choice (Deci & Ryan, 1985). On the other hand, it might also be influenced by social and cultural contexts. Schlenker (1986) claims that people's self-representations are tested and influenced through their social actions and interactions. People test what is expected from them before displaying a self, an image or an identity which might be sometimes contradictory.

### 2.2.2. Language as Culture

Language, a system of signs, has developed for thousands of years from mere representations and paintings to the present complex system along with all its variations. To each speech community, there is a way of verbal expression and language use that evolve according to its particular needs. During everyday speech, in which a speaker is more creative and active, the listener is unlikely to predict what is going to be said. Indeed, even if sharing the same culture, speakers cannot foresee what or how utterances would be produced. However, both participants can make the same interpretation and have similar understanding of a conversation because of the culture they share.

Culture can be detected in communication and, language is considered as the main incentive that develops culture. Analysing communication and people's linguistic behaviour, exchange and interaction is viewed as the primary source of knowledge. Franz Boas, the pioneer in the American anthropological studies, believes that language is the key to discovering peoples' culture and that studying anyone's culture without studying their language is unachievable. Besides, language and culture have been correlated in so many ways. Fishman (1985), for instance, claims that language is *part, an index* and a *symbol* of culture; whereas, Kramsch (1998) states that language *expresses, embodies* and *symbolises* culture.

As mentioned above, many linguists expect the selection of cultural effect from social interaction. Culture seems to be a transdisciplinary focus; since it can be dealt with sociologically, psychologically or anthropologically speaking. Linguistically speaking, we need to know the exact way, time and reason culture can be inferred from speech.

Language, as de Saussure claims, is one 'sign' among the several existing signs of society. In the western countries, through time ranging from the invention of printing in 1440 by Gutenberg to the 1800s' industrial revolution and colonial expansion, to modern's era of technology, sciences and social media, language has become a powerful

factor in the symbolic of social, political, religious or economic representations. Language has acquired the status of promoting public relations, education, business transactions, technological sectors, propaganda and several other emerging fields. There has also been an increase of power of what language can do in the social and the cultural production. And, with language awareness, cultural awareness follows and vice versa.

While some linguists consider that language is related to culture; others, however, claim that it (language) is culture. Nieto (2010), for instance, maintains that language, dialect or variety is culture. Language is power and because of that people struggle over whose language takes the precedence. To illustrate, Boukris & Ouahmiche describe the impact of language on the evolution of several countries stating that “language is a potentially powerful political instrument, which is alone capable of deciding politicians’ and political parties’ fate.” (2017, p. 21). Indeed, it may create social cohesion or found political upheavals for minorities in some countries. In Texas (USA), for instance, Judge Samuel Kiser chastised a mother and granted custody to the father because the mother spoke to her daughter in Spanish at home and he accused Marta Laureano, the mother, of “abusing her 5-year-old child and relegating her to becoming a housemaid” (cited in Cummins, 2000, p. 13). In sum, language is a cultural practice (Duranti, 1997).

Moreover, when a society is multicultural owing to social or ethnic differences, one language or variety becomes hard to identify all those speakers. Kress claims that multi-culturalism “makes it impossible to maintain the myth of unified, homogenous, national languages” (1993, p. 2). This can be found in the USA where some ethnic groups such as the African American tend to demarcate their distinction with specific food, clothing, music or with a distinct language variety such as the Black English Vernacular (BEV) in which some grammatical forms are complete deviations of the variety norm of English such as the double negative in ‘I ain’t nothing’.

### **2.2.3. Linguistic Diversity**

The CEFR or CEFRL (Common European Framework for Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment) or in French CERC (Cadre Européen commun de référence pour les langues) is an established European Council that designs standards for teaching, learning and evaluating. It has also framed an international scale by which European educational institutions must abide to assess the level of language proficiency. One of the major policies of the Council is to encourage people to learn more foreign languages. For this purpose, the approach to use is to promote the socio-cultural context

of the L1 groups then guide them through that of the L2 groups. Indeed, bilingualism or multilingualism seems an important issue whereby we need to understand what it means and what types it has.

### 2.2.3.1. Bilingualism vs. Multilingualism

Questions such as *what is bilingualism or multilingualism* have been numerous asked. In fact, the main issue is not only in the number of languages but also to the extent of proficiency needed to enjoy such a status. Does bilingualism/multilingualism imply an equal high proficiency in the additional language(s) or 'perfect bilingualism' (Bloomfield, 1933) or just a little amount of communication? In fact, Macnamara (1967) explains that to be a bilingual refers to anyone who possesses a minimal competence in one of the four language skills.

Between the two extreme views, there is a compromising one. Should it be adopted? In fact, Titone (1974) claims that a bilingual, instead of paraphrasing their L1, demonstrates some use in L2 structures. It seems difficult to define what is bilingual/multilingual since there still are debates on what is language and what is proficiency. This part tries to answer how many languages are needed to be called bilinguals/multilinguals and then what is the required proficiency to be labelled as such.

An Algerian student of English at the University of Oran and who is of a Berber origin might have Berber, Colloquial Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic as L1 and French, English and Spanish or German as L2. According to some of the literature on bilingualism/multilingualism, such a linguistic situation might be considered either as a case of multilingualism (L1 + L2 + L3...) or a case of bilingualism since there are L1 + L2 regardless of the types of varieties within.

Usually, the prefix *be-* in bilingualism means two and *multi-* in multilingualism means more than two as in David Crystal's (2015) definition, a bilingual speaks two languages and a multilingual two or more languages which sometimes are internal to language. He also implies that there is a need to be competent in the linguistic systems with a possible dissimilarity at the proficiency level. However, in several other approaches, bilingualism seems to equate multilingualism. Grosjean, for instance, defines bilinguals as the users of two (or more) languages or dialects in their daily conversation (1996, p. 20). In fact, a clear distinction between both concepts remains complex as in some of the following definitions that were proposed by linguists.

First, in the *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, Bussmann (2006) defines bilingualism as the speakers' competence in **two or more** languages; and this ability may vary mainly according to the mastery of both languages, the context of acquisition and to the level of competence of each language. Most importantly, Bussmann explains that in terms of proficiency bilinguals might be divided according to two types of levels of competence; they can either be 'dominant' of one language or 'genuine' bilinguals i.e. perfectly and 'equally' competent in both languages.

Next, in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, Li Wei defines bilingualism:

As the product of extensive language contact [either by] education, modern technology, economy, religion and culture, political or military acts, [or] natural disasters. The word 'bilingual' primarily describes someone with the possession of two languages. It can, however, also be taken to include the many people in the world who have varying degrees of proficiency in and interchangeably use three, four or even more languages. Individual multilingualism in [some] countries [Africa and Asia] is a fact of life. (Wei, 2006, p. 1)

According to the former definition, Wei starts identifying bilingualism as the use of two languages; then he equates it with multilingualism in the end. As to the mastery of language, he suggests that bilingualism should not be measured by the way speakers are fluent or proficient in both languages because some people may understand a conversation without being able to respond and others may have the informal version of the language instead of the formal one.

Next, Myers-Scotton (2006) claims that the term *bilingual* refers to someone who speaks two or more languages and that it does not necessarily imply a full proficiency of the languages. However, it does not suggest that saying a few expressions or greetings such as 'hello' or 'please' is enough to make someone bilingual. Therefore, one might ask what the necessary requirements are to label an individual as a bilingual. To that, she explains that a bilingual is not two monolinguals in one, but it is being able to speak or to understand two or more languages without having necessarily the same mastery of language because learners are rarely exposed to identical conditions during the acquisition of those languages.

Then, Baker (2006) explains that there must be a distinction between *individual bilingualism/multilingualism* and *societal bilingualism/multilingualism*. While individual bilinguals/multilinguals reflect each learner's abilities individually, societal bilinguals/multilinguals refer to those social groups such as the Basques in Spain from

sociological, political, educational and geographical classification perspectives. He claims that the most important issue is to identify the *distinction labels* for both individual and social groups. As to individual bilinguals/multilinguals, he labels the following distinctions: language skills, language competence, language performance, language ability (degree of knowledge), language use (function of language) and language achievement (attainment). To societal bilinguals/multilinguals, he analyses them in terms of diglossia, language shift, language maintenance, language death, language revitalisation and language spread. Moreover, as Grosjean (1996), Baker believes that bilingualism/multilingualism also means biculturalism/multiculturalism and both open the world door views and aspirations.

Discussing bilingualism/multilingualism compels us to briefly point out the different bilingualism types which are also applied to multilingualism. According to Lambert (1974), there are two types of bilingualism *additive bilingualism* and *subtractive bilingualism*. Also known as ‘coordinate bilingualism’ Weinreich (1953), *additive bilingualism* occurs when learners learn an additional language without any threat to their L1 and each language is separate from the other. In *subtractive bilingualism* (also known as ‘compound bilingualism’ learners learn another language at the expense of losing some of their L1 features and skills since part of one language is integrated within the other.

Other types of bilinguals distinguished in *the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* by Matthews (1997 cited in de Angelis, 2007) are the following: (a) *dominant bilinguals* those who master one language more than another; (b) *equal/balanced bilinguals* those who proficiently command both languages; (c) *sequential bilinguals* those who acquire one language after another and (d) *simultaneous bilinguals* those who acquire an additional language beside the native one.

Somehow, this categorisation of bilingualism seems to provide a few answers regarding what is bilingualism/multilingualism since competence and proficiency need to be identified then assessed. Hamers & Blanc (2004) propose a different angle of investigation in their analysis of bilingualism and bilinguality. To understand this concept, they explain that there must be a methodological distinction between bilingualism which occurs at the societal level and bilinguality, at the individual one. Both need to be attributed specific dimensions in order to be measured. For example, one dimension or characteristic of bilinguality is competence in both languages i.e. a learner can have either a dominant bilinguality or a balanced one. Therefore, they suggest that



this situation can be measured by a comparative analysis of competence in both languages. After assessing their bilinguality, they can identify which type of bilinguals they are. In sum, what they suggest is that bilinguals are different and their difference has to be classified according to a particular assessment. However, they also believe that language does not exist alone and that it is performed through a linguistic behaviour that needs to be validated as competent enough or not through assessment.

An alternative to such a situation is the use of Cook's (2016) notion of *Multi-competence* as the latter seems to be gradually supplanting Multilingualism in SLA. Originally, the term derives from a Chomskyan approach. According to Cook (2007), language has five meanings: (1) it is a human system; (2) it is an abstract notion; (3) it is a set of sentences; (4) it belongs to a community and (5) it is the individuals' knowledge that exists in the mind. For Cook, *Multi-competence* refers to the fifth meaning of language. However, the term has acquired slight changes as to what it means. In fact, it was proposed for the first time by Cook (1991); at that point, it only referred to syntax and the use of two grammars. In 1994, Cook expanded its meaning to the acquisition of more than one language for L2 speakers; however, it did not include L1. As more and more linguists started to use it, Cook (2007) developed the concept again to include both individuals' and communities' L2 languages. In 2012, Cook redefined Multi-competence to enclose the mind of the speaker with all their L1 or L2 systems. In the last book of Cook & Wei (Eds.) (2016) *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Multi-Competence*, a number of linguists, psycholinguists and sociolinguists develop the meaning of this concept to imply the use of L1 and L2 within the community by individuals. Cook claims that it is the whole system of the mind/community that *knows* and *uses* more than one language; therefore, the linguistic situation of Algeria can also be referred to as that of Multi-competence.

Regarding all those concepts, it is evident they are evolving: from bilingualism to multilingualism to translanguage to Multi-competence. However, as to the distinction between bilingualism and multilingualism in this work, we shall be using the term *multilingualism* to describe the Algerian linguistic situation following the mentioned explanation of De Angelis (2007). Besides, the preference of *multilingualism* over *bilingualism* is primarily guided by its use in the language planning studies, in sociolinguistics, in psycholinguistics and anthropological linguistics. It also stems from a

wish for simplification since calling people who use and know more than two languages *bilinguals* might be confusing.

### 2.2.3.2. Activating Learners' Languages

In the case of bilinguals/multilinguals, it is essential to the learning process of L2 to keep all learners' former languages active. In his study of Hispanic children, Dolson (1985) demonstrates that Latino pupils who use more Spanish at home develop higher linguistic skills in English and a better academic achievement than their counterparts. In addition to that, Adams et al. (1994) in their examination of Puerto Rican and Mexican ninth-grade pupils in the USA have found that English may act as a barrier for bilinguals who avoid using Spanish at home. In other words, the bilinguals who use Spanish at home attain a better academic achievement and those who avoid Spanish and use English instead; they achieve low proficiency in English.

However, those cases do not claim that learners need to speak Spanish to master English or that Spanish speakers may become highly proficient than other speakers of different languages. It simply means that activating the language(s) learners have previously acquired help into (a) learning an additional language, (b) developing metalinguistic awareness and (c) achieving a higher academic performance in L2. Alternatively, it also means that for bilinguals and multilinguals, using only or "simply English is no guarantee that academic success will follow" (Nieto, 2010, p. 147).

Besides, the activation of formerly acquired languages can also be influential if regarded from another perspective. Learners think in language which is shaped by socio-cultural factors. Any cultural discontinuity during language acquisition may cause failure. Even though we cannot still determine the real impact culture has on language, research has proved that maligning learners' identity and culture does not enhance learning and does not encourage them to develop self-worth, motivation and positive attitudes towards what is taught. Several American psychologists such as Hurley, Boykin & Allen (2005) who worked with African American children have found that learners become more successful in learning mathematics if familiar culture is integrated. In this case, prior languages are no longer simple tools to access another language; they are part of learners' identity and culture. They construct culture and are constructed by it.

Learners usually conceptualise the world with what they already know unless they are creating a fictional representation. Just a few years ago, rare were those who had used the word *wifi* because it was not integrated in their knowledge of the world. The fact of



the matter is that this goes to some extent; however, it does not clearly explain why all bilingual or multilingual children do not easily learn foreign languages. If that were the case, all Algerian students at the University of Oran would be better performer of English because they are still using their prior knowledge. Second Language Acquisition is a complex process to which intricacies are yet to discover, and it would be limiting if concentration is only falling on previous knowledge.

### **2.3. Identifying Culture: Anthropological, Sociological and Philosophical Reflections**

In our daily life, most people want to label categories and provide definitions to our surroundings, even though those definitions are used, forgotten, lost or sometimes reused. According to Thornton (1988), for a successful scientific study, there must first be a comprehensive definition of the studied concept. And, to identify what culture means, one has to go first through definitions in order to understand it and use it accurately. Providing that identification is imperative since it serves to observe the way culture is related to language acquisition.

This part endeavours to understand culture from sociological, philosophical and anthropological perspectives; and since it an interdisciplinary analysis, it will be difficult to separate between the three angles at the beginning. However, since our aim is to be as objective as possible, we have followed a thesis-antithesis model according to some of the major thematic principles found in the reviewed literature concerning both culture and language. This section will try to examine culture into the following parts: *Methods and Etymology of Culture*, *Towards an Exploration of Culture*, *Culture: From Which perspective?*, *the Complexity of the Concept: A Chronological Categorisation*, and *Culture: Arab(o)Muslim Perspective*.

#### **2.3.1. Methods and Etymology of Culture**

Before trying to understand culture, there should be a stop at the meaning of the word and the main perspectives from which it is studied. The major linguistic currents derive from Greek philosophy from which two conflicting perspectives are going to proliferate into a multitude of theories adopting one or the other or combining the two within some limitations. On the one hand, Socrates<sup>3</sup> and Plato<sup>4</sup> claim that language is predetermined in our body (or by the gods). Language reflects culture and can influence it whereas

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<sup>3</sup> Socrates (470-399 BC): a Greek philosopher, he is believed to be the pioneer of the Western philosophy.

<sup>4</sup> Plato (427-347 BC): a Greek philosopher and the mostly read. He was mainly influenced by Socrates and he is the teacher of Aristotle.

culture is unlikely to influence language. Approaches claiming that language is an innate focus on culture and consider it the best starting point to study language. According to Chomsky, language is the result of grammar which is produced by human (endowment/gene). The ability of human beings to produce grammar is what makes them have language; and culture is, therefore, unrelated to such a device and even if language is framed by culture and communication according to nativists, how can we identify the influence of culture on grammar? Some have suggested that the use of 'I' and the royal 'we' might be an example.

However, Aristotelian's<sup>5</sup> adherents recognise culture as the means that people adopt to establish and secure language and its use within society, i.e. language is in the service of people's needs. Language is used to answer social requisites and cultural change. Though both approaches answer some questions, they cannot unequivocally unfold all that happens during language acquisition and language evolution processes. Likewise, they do not fully disclose the ongoing proceedings during which culture is assimilated and implemented first at the level of the individual, then at the societal one. For the most part, they cannot account for the responsibility for everything that occurs in one or the other.

The word culture in English has its origin back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century through French *cult* 'worship' from Latin *cultura* 'tilling' (and *cultus* 'cultivate'). Chronologically speaking, the term *culture* has gone through several stages in the acquisition of additional meaning. Indeed, it has first gone through 'tillage of the soil' as in the culture of plants and animals, second through 'training and improving a person's body, ideas, minds, tastes and so on', third through 'a way of life or level of civilisation' hence the frequency of use in the twentieth century of notions such as the Western culture<sup>6</sup> or the Eastern one, etc. Through time, culture has acquired a number of meanings from various sources making it, thus, both complex and multidisciplinary. Sometimes, expressions such as 'they do not have any culture' can be heard to express somebody's judgement on those who do not act and react as expected. According to McArthur (1992), however, culture has two meanings which cannot be separated; the first being sociological i.e. a kind of society people belong

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<sup>5</sup> Aristotle (384-322 BC): a Greek philosopher who paved the way to several disciplines such as logic, metaphysics, mathematics, physics, biology, botany, ethics, politics, agriculture, medicine, dance and theatre. He was a student of Plato. From: *Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* <http://www.iep.utm.edu>

<sup>6</sup> C.P. Snow (1905-1980) a scientist and novelist defined 'Western/English culture' in his book *Two Culture and Scientific Revolution* in 1959. He classifies the Western culture as two cultures, the literary and the scientific; but neither one knowing or talking to the other.

to and the second social i.e. something possessed through social training: “The first sense is sociological: people *belong* to a culture. The second sense is social: people *have* or *lack* culture” (p. 274). Analogous to being educated or literate, cultivated can be viewed as a social acquisition.

### 2.3.2. Towards an Exploration of Culture

A strong awareness of a speaker’s own culture and language is significant to the acquisition of another language and culture. Analysing the patterns of each through similarity and difference helps the process of language acquisition. Human interaction may induce the way ‘nature’ influences and is influenced by human social system and culture.

Cultural knowledge in which a considerable amount of shared skills, beliefs, values, information, attitudes, conceptions, patterns of behaviour and other mental and perception components of culture that people socially learn and adopt during inculturation (cultural transmission) has to be distinguished from one culture to another. It is to be avoided to discern the culture of a new language from one’s own culture. The act of socialisation in which culture is passed from one generation to another might also be found in language learning when a teacher transmits their own cultural perception of a particular language.

According to Thornton, culture is best thought of as a resource and similar to other resources it is not the property of any particular group; it is rather the apparent organisation of every individual’s unique differences (1988, p. 27). The reinforcement of culture within society is rather the assertion of identity and group membership. This is a process rather than a state of being; culture does (rather than is):

not simply [provide] a knowledge of differences, but rather an understanding of how and why differences in language, thought, use of materials and behaviours have come about. There are certainly cultural differences, just as there are differences in climate or personality or the various batches of the same colour paint – but these differences have meanings, functions and histories. (Thornton, 1988, p. 25)

In our attempt at understanding culture, the latter has been referred to by authors as ‘*culture*’, ‘*a culture*’, ‘*the culture*’ and ‘*cultures*’ which in itself demonstrates freedom of use among its users. Writers use it in accordance with their personal perception of the concept in different contexts without being restrained by the so many definitions the word is the label of. Besides, there are so many questions that need to be answered: What is

culture? How does it work? How can it be traced back to time and space? How does it function? How is it shared? To what extent is it accepted? What is exactly the role of language in communication? Is language a model or a vehicle of the cultural process?

As we have already seen before, culture is a process rather than a state of being; that process of culture may call for resistance, accommodation or rejection. Since culture seems to be a pattern of behaviour acquired and expected from people, it may generate various reactions. It all depends on the way speakers perceive themselves in terms of subordination or domination in relation to culture and to the society in which they evolve.

We may speak of one common culture shared by one people or of a culturally heterogeneous society in which ‘multiethnicity’ and/or multilinguals might be found. In either case, the prevailing culture is maintained through a conscious and organised establishment by a distinct class whose power stems from social or political standing or both. In other words, the said culture i.e. the prevailing one, is comparable to a powerful or a ‘hegemonic’ force. According to Williams, in a society where specific people maintain a specific culture making it compete for social hegemony, there might be some dominance, subordination or even manipulation of some classes. As Williams puts it:

Hegemony is in the strongest sense a ‘culture’, but a culture which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes ... The concept thus opens up the question of how members of different social groups – variously positioned – accept, manipulate, use or contest hegemonic (that is dominant) ideas. (Cited in Cowan, 1990, p. 12)

Likewise, Sankoff suggests that culture is dominant because it personifies the political settings it represents and it is therefore maintained by influential privileged classes. He argues that the dominant culture is not only a phenomenon, but it plays a major role in the social organisation too (1989, p. 157).

Clearly, the purpose of preserving and maintaining culture seems to be as much as essential for national unity as language is. For, language is a means to maintain unity under a practised authority. The formalisation of language supplies the construction of culture resulting, thus, in an apparent fixed unity of norms for people to adopt. However, it is necessary to understand “why anthropologists have been taken in by a fixed concept of culture” (Street, 1993, p. 29).

In fact, it seems that culture is said to have constant or fixed norms that have been implemented by dominant classes. It is transmitted, perpetuated and maintained through the contribution of the external ‘world’. It is what is learnt then adopted through contact

or communication between people that reflects culture. Culture is acquired and transmitted through diffusion and individuals connect what is learnt from one another and construct what they know. There is no predetermined partition among social groups or tribes. Besides, their culture can neither be confined into one set nor can it be predicted as a recurrent phenomenon. In other words, what makes culture possible is only people's borrowing from one another through different generations; and because culture is diffused and transmitted owing to external factors only, no internal factors are included to make it predictable. This is maintained by Bloch in the following text:

Since people borrow cultural traits one from another, they can individually combine bits and pieces from different individuals. It follows that there are no naturally distinct social or cultural groups, tribes, peoples, etc. And since combinations arise from anywhere, anybody and in any order, there are no general predictable laws of history. (Bloch, 2005, p. 7)

According to Bloch, all that is transmitted and learnt is caused by external factors, discrediting all that is inherent to human nature. In other words, history and culture cannot be the consequences of internal human capacities. And completely removing the ability of inner human nature to communicate in history seems rather extreme.

A major criticism of the former statement is provided by David Parkin (1984). He criticises Bloch (1975) for the fact that there are fixed codes and models of formalised language and the relationship between language, politics and culture. Instead, he argues that whatever culture might establish as appropriate, speakers may differ along with their expectations, resulting therefore in different degrees of formality or creativity. If we speak of rhetorical fixity, we can speak, therefore, of predictability even though flexibility is allowed to some extent. He also claims that cultural aspects of language cannot be only limited to the speaker's linguistic behaviour, in a sort of top-down process of domination but rather a struggle over discourse.

The fact that they appear to be so different results from several political strategies. According to Femia, the 'internal control' exercised by hegemony – in contrast with the external control of the state's repressive apparatus – is a social-moral language which is both common and dominant (cited in Cowan, 1990, p. 12). Each one of Bloch and Parkin supports the idea that culture is an exerted control. However, if it is internal to society and individuals, it might be predicted; if external, the prediction will be hardly attainable.

### 2.3.3. Culture: From Which Perspective?

Bloch suggests that most cultural knowledge cannot be organised as the logical sentential form characteristic of language; however, anthropology has still a role in studying culture since it “enables the cognitive scientist to understand cultural knowledge without the dangerous intermediary of language” (1991, p. 183). According to Bloch, culture should not be studied from the linguistic point of view. Only an anthropological approach might provide an insight to access culture.

Anthropology studies language, culture and social phenomena as aspects of human expression. However, we are in front of a dilemma since anthropology has different branches. There is a distinction between cultural anthropologists and social anthropologists. While both study culture, the former study how culture functions in a particular environment, social anthropologists analyse the behaviour and the social organisation of interaction between people (Street, 1993, p. 38). Nevertheless, understanding culture tangential to language could not represent a thorough analysis. For, on the one hand, cultural anthropologists need it to know culture in a specific social context; social anthropologists, on the other hand, need it to identify social actions, behaviour and relations.

Bloch (1991) argues that in both anthropologies, culture is unfortunately not detached from language as it represents the medium of its transmission. Culture is knowledge which is easily stored in a way that makes it accessible, and language plays an essential role in that cultural knowledge and transmission. He believes that we can study culture without necessarily analysing language, the insight to human social organisation, environment and structure. To support his claim, he argues that concepts, in general, can exist independently of language. A child, for instance, can conceive what a ‘house’ is before being able to say the word; which implies that there is a distinction between lexical and mental concepts. Besides, not all cultural knowledge is transmitted through language even if the most of it is as such. The amount of the cultural transmission verbally also depends on people’s culture. The acquisition, storage and transmission of language and culture involve different complex processes.

In fact, one of the main reasons that made agreement on what is culture impossible is whether to relate it or not to language. People need to be aware of the way they encode and decode their perception of culture and language represents definitely one of the most important of human codes. For some anthropologists, however, it was not the case.

In addition to that, culture had to be identified as one single concept apparent and distinct in social scientific discourse. From Assad (1970) to Cowan (1990) this linguistic behaviour (language) has been questioning and disputing the reification, the fixity and the essentialising of culture. Language as a model for culture (or written grammar for culture) has been rejected by anthropologists. To say that language is a model of culture or that language acts as the vehicle or medium of culture has also been argued against. If such is the case, then, from an anthropological opinion, culture and language do not necessarily depend on each other to be transmitted or acquired.

While some scholars still argue about the extent of the relationship between language and culture on the one hand; others, on the other hand, value language not only as the means to detect culture or as the vehicle for its transmission and acquisition, but they also believe that culture is part of language inner system. In other words, those authors view culture as communicative behaviour i.e. culture is (part of) language. Ben-Rafael, for instance, defines culture as follows:

Culture is the set of subjective meaning held by individuals about themselves and their world. Language is thus a key to culture, as it reflects individual meanings in communication and codifies these meanings for self-reflection. The rules for reconstructing the meanings are implicit in language itself... Culture, in this perspective, is behaviour, a communicative behaviour, and not just a set of values, norms, beliefs, or ideas. (Ben-Rafael, 1994, p. 14)

Ben-Rafael explains that the speech act is the unit of culture that must be studied in order to assess the efficiency of communication. Similar to language, culture is realised by the power that controls codes beliefs, technologies, and social structures. In fact, both language and culture hold and generate power. Furthermore, others such as Foucault consider that language and culture are sources of power for those who are advantaged, for their institutions and for all they represent. It is in fact, language that exercises power over society and it is ideology, a hidden reality, an alternative source of state of power; claiming that it is “language that orders signs and systems of significations” (Foucault, 1970, p. 320 cited in Ben-Rafael, 1994, p. 15).

### **2.3.3.1. Language vs. Culture: Power and Ideology**

We have seen so far that language is closely related to power and status partly because of some or other ideological standpoints. The questions that arise at this point are as follows: how is language related to power and ideology? How is power displayed in a given



linguistic context? And, above all, which one of the two is the most powerful that could determine or influence the other?

Sapir's claim is that language is the product of culture; indeed, society along with its culture produces language. He states that "language is primarily a cultural or social product and must be understood as such" (Sapir, 1949, p. 166). To what extent the former statement could be valid? Besides, we would like to understand to what extent non-native speakers are culturally and ideologically induced. Theories on 'which determines which' have been thoroughly diverse. Among those who discuss language, power and determinism and the ideology behind such a relationship are Sapir and Whorf, Bloch, Parkin and Asad.

### (i) Sapir and Whorf – Language Determines Thought

So far, it is widely known that language is the vehicle of our ideas and thought with a use of linguistic structures. However, there was a claim stating that language shapes and determines those ideas and thought and the variety of languages do so in the mind of their speakers. Such a claim is widely known as the Sapir and Whorf Hypothesis.

This hypothesis is divided into two main parts the stronger and the weaker versions. On the one hand, the former called *linguistic determinism* which implies language as completely dominating thought (Sapir's); on the other hand, the weaker one or also identified as *linguistic relativity* views language as partially shaping thought (Whorf's). However, *linguistic determinism* has not escaped heavy criticism, and it has completely been discredited.<sup>7</sup>

The central claim of this hypothesis is that humans' language moulds their perception of reality. It analyses the representations of the world through the linguistic systems since the latter influences or determines our vision of the world and shapes our thought. In other words, people discern the world largely through language. Languages are dissimilar because they represent different people and societies. According to Sapir, our different cultures are the outcome of our different languages. For instance, Bororó of northern Brazil believe they are red parakeets in the same way some Algerian women believe they are gazelles, especially during weddings processions.

It is not erratic that we differ from one another. On the contrary, we vary because we do not express ourselves in the same way and we do not use the same linguistic

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<sup>7</sup> Lakoff & Johnson (1980) revived the Sapir-Whorf's Hypothesis through the concept of commensurability.

systems or sub-systems. The hypothesis states that the structure of a language conditions the way in which a speaker thinks and behaves. Therefore, the different linguistic structures affect the speakers and the way they view the world. According to this hypothesis, the way people, for example, view time and punctuality mainly depends on the verb tenses existing in their grammar. Arabic, for instance, has only three forms of finite verbs<sup>8</sup>, namely *madhi* 'past', *modharee* 'present and future', and *amr* 'imperative'. Consequently, Arabs can hardly perceive the distinction between the present and the future time since there is only one grammatical form to express them both. However, grammarians of Arabic such as Boukhalkhal (1987) claim that even if Arabic does not explicitly have such a distinction, grammatical particles are used with the verb to indicate the future. Besides, Bororó's use of 'parakeet' is no doubt metaphorical as much as Algerians' use of 'gazelle'.

According to Sapir, language determines ideas since it influences the group through different environmental needs. Language materialises concepts; it is the bridge between the concrete and the abstract. Besides, he insists on the fact that the 'content' of language is closely related to culture. Language and culture move together, and the history of one cannot be detached from the other. For Whorf, who studied Hopi<sup>9</sup>, each linguistic system is a kind of a particular 'programme' that directs the mental activity and the way we discern life and reality. In a sense, language directs and conditions not only ourselves but also our culture. Nevertheless, this hypothesis has come under attack by some linguists such as Rosch (1974). She has found that Dani language, a tribe in Papua New Guinea (North Australia), does not enclose more than two nouns to name all different colours. She claims that even if those speakers' language cannot label each colour with a different noun, the speakers can perfectly distinguish between all the colours she made them see.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis can be valid if we could not communicate with different people speaking different languages or translate one language to another. In sum, language can be used as a vehicle for our culture but not as a machine that generates it. Besides, Americans from Texas and Britons from London do not have necessarily the same vision of the world even if they speak the same language. Each one has their own culture. Although there are similarities between these two speech communities, the

<sup>8</sup> Among the three forms, only *madhi* 'past' is considered, sometimes, as a grammatical tense; they are generally referred to as *si:ya* 'forms of the verb'. See "matn al-alfijja" li-BniMa:lik (El-Hachimi, 1976).

<sup>9</sup> Hopi: an Indian language spoken mainly in North East Arizona by around 2,000 speakers (in 2001).

language develops according to the needs of people. In a British comedy show, for example, a North American may not laugh at everything said. Language may influence culture to some extent, but it can hardly determine it. If language determines thought, there could be no possible variation since it is already predetermined.

### (ii) Bloch – Culture Determines Individuals

According to Bloch (1975), within each culture, there is a particular type of speech regarded as appropriate to a particular type of event. The relation between forms of speech acts and social control reveal two salient phenomena politeness/socialisation and traditional authority council/structures.

In 1975, he analysed different cultures and tried to provide evidence of the way social control can be exercised through oratory and political language. He argues that some speakers in a particular culture adopt a formalised discourse and ‘stifle cultural debate’ that constrain their co-speakers to observe their argumentation with no opposition. He believes that such formalisation in speech exercises power and he tries to determine why and to what extent such formalisation is a kind of power in a given culture (Bloch, 1975, p. 15).

Since it can become a form of power, he analyses formalisation of language in identifying how it exercises power, first; and what or how people can express that power through form, second. He next makes the distinction between ‘everyday’ speech acts and ‘formalised’ speech in which there is no choice because of the restrictions speakers are constrained to. There are restrictions because formalisation imposes some limits in the choice of certain prosody, vocabulary and syntactic forms. In the following table, he contrasts between formal speech acts and everyday speech according to prosody, syntax and vocabulary:

Everyday speech acts	Formalised speech acts
Choice of loudness	Fixed loudness patterns
Choice of intonation	Extremely limited choice of intonation
All syntactic forms available	Some syntactic form excluded
Complete vocabulary	Partial vocabulary
Flexibility of sequencing of speech acts	Fixity of sequencing of speech acts
Few illustrations from a fixed body of accepted parallels	Illustrations only from certain limited sources, e.g. scriptures proverbs
No stylistic rules consciously held to operate	Stylistic rules consciously applied at all levels.

Table 2.1: Bloch’s Classification of Formal/Everyday Speech Acts (Bloch, 1975, p. 13)

According to this table, the restrictions are a selection of fixed features that limit the speakers. This can explain to some extent the way our informants prefer informal lexis

and pronunciation to formal one; it may simply allow them to access larger choice from their lexicon.

In 2005, however, Bloch carried on his observations, and although he supports a different kind of determinism, he is against evolutionist anthropology; we are unlike animals, to whom evolutionary laws apply and are therefore determined by some features of what they inherited biologically. Humans are determined by other individuals who themselves are determined by culture (Bloch, 2005, p.7).

### (iii) Parkin – Cultural Lexicon Shapes Thought

Parkin restores some features retained by Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis concerning the relationship between thought and language. He argues that the two are in a dialectal relationship: “culturally specific lexicons shape perceptions.” (1978, p. 26). However, in order to avert from the determinism and relativism of Whorf’s hypothesis, Parkin designs a model of culture based on the interrelationships between three relatively autonomous parts which are verbal concepts, unverballed ideas and conventional activity. Unlike de Saussure, who regards the relationship between signifier and signified as being arbitrary, Parkin suggests that the signifier might influence the signified; in other words, he claims that the verbal representation of ideas has its influence on how the speakers conceive those ideas (1978). In other words, a change in a conventional activity can induce a change in the lexicon/taxonomy which in itself results in shaping the perception of those changes i.e. that tripartite model consists of the existing interrelationships between them; they are related because a change in one part influences a change in another. Most new lexical units, for instance, are adaptations in use or/and in meaning of old ones; consequently, according to Parkin, the lexicon, speakers already have, shapes at first the concepts which conventionally shape activity next.

He disagrees with de Saussure’s arbitrary relationship between sign and signifier; rather, the signifier influences the way speakers conceive the signified. Besides, his theory is also different from Whorf’s determinism since he emphasised more on the lexicon rather than on grammar (1978, p. 27). Instead, Parkin provides a diachronic description of language use. His tripartite model describes and explains changes in language use through time across all cultures; *terms, concepts and activities* may each be fixed or variable, they can be either *fixed* or *flexible*. Accordingly, that model helps in the comparison of whole cultures.

**(iv) Asad – Political Conditions/Ideology Determine Language  
Use and Culture**

According to Parkin (1984, p. 28), language and society cannot be separated; for each provides an insight into the other. Culture is holistic; it is closely interconnected and can only be explained and referred to as a whole; and, the way members of a community speakers communicate and comply with it is unconsciously accomplished. Bloch, on the other hand, defines culture as the long conversation that is carried between and within generations.

As reported by Asad (1979), culture is a coherent ideological construction that is maintained through its ability in providing authority and legitimacy to its members. In other words, culture is an ideology which is perpetuated as long as it ensures social benefits. As to language he views the nature of language as *discourse* which includes linguistic acts that are *constructed* and used within a general social context. He mainly emphasises on the usage of language and how it *constructs* reality rather than simply communicating it. Asad's main concern is identifying in which way a given set – discourse– may become correct or meaningless. He, then, argues that discourse is constructed as a result of political conditions which make some rhetorical and verbal forms existent and authoritative. As to how change can be adopted, he assumes that change includes either undermining a form of discourse, producing it or maintaining it out of concrete conditions. However, such a view is judged by some linguists as too narrow and determinist (Grillo et al., 1987, p. 294).

As we have seen, all these theories have analysed, from their own perspectives, the relationships between language, culture, power and ideology and how all these are interrelated. We also notice that the main issue among the discussion is determinism and the way it functions. As soon as Sapir and Whorf's hypothesis came to light, several writers have discussed it either by totally or partly agreeing with or by completely rejecting it. All the writers dealt with in this section, and who followed within a few years of the hypothesis, have maintained the notion of a certain influence of the verbal forms of concepts and ideas; the only difference between them is the extent of such an influence.

**2.3.4. The Complexity of the Concept: a Chronological Categorisation of Culture**

“Raymond Williams informs us that Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language” (Jenks, 2001, p. 1). Culture is a complex concept that encloses a wide range of topics, systems and practices that are often contradictory but it

also frames a significant portion of people's speech, personal development, evolution and behaviour in society. Society changes through time since every generation neglects, uses and produces new ideas and objects, depending on their immediate needs. What is this concept called culture? Where does it derive from? How is it endowed with such ascendancy over society construction? Why is it simple yet extremely complex to define?

There were numerous and unprecedented changes known to the human kind such as technology, transport, wars, and political upheavals to which the social organisation was particularly sensitive. Consequently, there was a new system of ranking and the emergence of new social classes. It is the time of social identity awareness and ethnic demarcation by which most communities and their vernacular were advocated of pertaining to egalitarian consideration. Together with the increase in population density and the decrease in their vicinity through communication and growing cities; society has developed a different perception of culture in rural or urban regions.

However, with modern aspects such as globalisation, industrialisation and mass media, individuals might be lost in the different directions at their disposal, whether to pursue their ascendants, to develop their own or to conform to the world's current standards i.e. to follow the common trend adopted by most people all over the world. It is no longer the cultural relationship between man and nature but rather the one between man and machine; this would also entail that there was not only a change in culture but also a change in the way people perceive its authority.

Another term, which is equally matched when analysing language and culture, is *civilisation*. The latter has often been equated with developed societies of a longstanding history. Jenks (2001) links *culture* to *civilisation*; the latter deriving from the Latin *civis* describes a group sharing some qualities that distinguish them from the "mass or more lowly state as that of the 'barbarian'" whereas "'culture', is resonant with other ideas of emergence and change, perhaps even transformation." (p. 8). According to Jenks, civilisation is a status for which people feel some established membership and belonging to their community and culture is the means to attain that status. In this sense, the evaluation of the qualitative refinement of culture lies in its ability to prove the extent of individual achievements in science, art, literacy and so on. The difference between civilised people is not only how wide their knowledge is but also how strong their ability is in assimilating what is considered as 'right'.

Culture is a word of which complexity remains sustained because of the varied and abundant definitions and analyses reported on it. Anthropologists, sociologists and sociolinguists have investigated the question from their own prospect and have found as many conclusions as there have been questions initially. Like a collective noun, it encloses most what characterises humans' qualities or achievements.

Culture was initially perceived as the concept that distinguishes humankind knowledge and acquired experience from other species. Man was able to construct "symbolic representations" of what immediately surrounds them. According to Jenks (2001), we do not overlook nature any longer, but we cope with it through accumulated experience and generations. Past studies, investigating culture, aimed at classifying and categorising people's culture. The latter plays a unifying role since people sharing the same culture could be distinguished from others through their approved and similar behaviour, speech and thought; thus the emergence of theories that advocate language and genes determinism.

Finding a one set definition of culture remains as elusive as modern society is. If we link each society/speech community to a definite culture; then, can we say whether there is only one culture belonging to one society, cultures corresponding to one society or one culture belonging to different societies? In the Arab countries, can we say that each country has its own culture or do we share to some extent common knowledge, behaviour and customs that constitute culture? If so, is culture, then, a concept that embraces several properties and can be analysed in terms of markedness and unmarkedness, as in *woman*: [+female, + adult, + human + Arab]?

#### **2.3.4.1. The Concept of Culture in Philosophy**

Often in our daily conversations, when we discuss culture, we allude to artistic events, exhibitions or technological achievements all of which have been mentioned by the media or by somebody we already talked to. We even take into consideration cooking and clothing when we travel abroad for the sake of discovery. Our tendency to analyse culture can even lead us to inquire about people's history and merge it with their behaviour to avoid being rude or offensive. For we know that challenging or denying other people's culture might be considered as disrespectful and impertinent. Dealing with the other, who is precisely not sharing our conception of life or who belongs to a different community, consciously or unconsciously compels us to reconsider our interactive and discursive behaviour in favour of accommodation, compromise or sometimes a complete alteration



in our response apprehensive about causing shock or insult. Such a phenomenon will be briefly explained according to the following philosophers' standpoints in a chronological order stopping in a few words at some of the most revolutionising theories.

First, Aristotle explains that human beings are rational creature and their virtue depends on their natural potential and on whether they can fully exploit it for growth and personal achievement. Second, although Locke<sup>10</sup>, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, did not tackle culture, he claimed humans are predisposed to assimilate. With the supposition that our brain is an empty bucket, a tabula rasa; we are, then, able to fill it with knowledge and accumulated experience with time. Culture can be multifaceted and shared, easily transmitted and acquired.

Third, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico<sup>11</sup>, a precursor in his study of culture in relation to Man and his creation (culture). Man is able to be quantitatively creative, and the sum of what was created is termed culture. He has the innate faculty to transform what is 'natural' to something 'cultural'. Besides, he explains that since culture is created by Man it can also be modified, accepted or abandoned. Such a new perspective of culture and the way it can change paved the way to various theories analysing human evolution, social achievement and cultural constitution. Indeed, several theories started to emerge on the possibility of evolution. Man is endowed with several aptitudes that make his relationship with what surrounds him unusual; such predilections embody his ability to adapt himself to any environment, to acclimatise to harsh conditions of life, to amass information over a long period and to reproduce by transmission specific processes from one generation to another. All of this depicts Man's inherent faculty for proper control and social guidance.

Fourth, during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in which idealism was the current movement, Coleridge<sup>12</sup> viewed cultivation as an ideal, goodness of the past and a social condition of the mind. He compared between civilisation and cultivation saying that the former is corrupted tendencies that can be destructive; whereas cultivation comprehends the human qualities that should be protected and preserved. Only through culture and cultivation that

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<sup>10</sup> John Locke (1632—1704): a British philosopher, the found of the school of thought also known as Empiricism. In 1690, he wrote his influential work the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. From *Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* <http://www.iep.utm.edu>

<sup>11</sup> Giambattista Vico (1668-1744): an Italian philosopher, the inventor of the philosophy of history. From *Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* <http://www.iep.utm.edu>

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) a British philosopher and a poet, he is regarded as the first poet critique according to modern traditions. In 1839, he wrote *On the Constitution of the Church and State According to the Idea of Each*.

human can counteract civilisation. Culture is viewed as a double-sided concept; it is a process, which has real consequences, and a condition of people's intellect among their society. Culture must be perpetuated, transmitted and safeguarded by the formation of a group of the modern intelligentsia or literary class that acts as a force of culture preservation.

Fifth, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> an era of imperialism and industrial revolution, major consequences of war and poverty (as described by Charles Dickens in *Great Expectations* or *A Passage to India* by E. M. Forster) widened the gap between what was social from what was cultural. Arnold<sup>13</sup> viewed culture as the human perfection. For him, culture is “the best which has been thought and said in the world” (Cited in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*). Such idealism of culture is clearly inspired from Plato. Only good people should be emulated because they are allowed by society to establish, reinforce or curb certain practices and patterns. In other words, wrong, which should be discriminated from good, must be disregarded. Besides, according to Arnold, modern social relationships and the outcome of industrialisation seriously threatened culture (the representation of what was good in human life). Thus, to resist their influence and preserve cultural heritage, he called for a *collective action* to restore virtue and defy anarchy. By *collective action*, he recommends a special curriculum at the education level to establish a new national system of education and to teach humanities.

#### 2.3.4.2. The Concept of Culture in Sociology

Social structure is a continuum of varied and various groups that have been the central theme explored by sociologists. Culture and social structures have been thoroughly investigated through time by several scholars (such as Durkheim). Among the main questions that were investigated, are culture and social structures a relationship or a dichotomy? How is social structure based in relation to culture? And what is it constituted from?

Émile Durkheim (1858-1917), a French sociologist, claims that acting in society entails a tacit consent to social structures and rules. Social structures which maintain the relationship between elements of society are known and acknowledged by all. Although external to the individual, social structures are not subject to impulsive change. They are not only stable, but they also have a great impact on people's behaviour. A person cannot

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<sup>13</sup> Mathew Arnold (1822-88): famous with his *Culture and Anarchy* a collection of essays that he published in 1869.

easily disregard those social structures in their actions. For him, it is not possible to say that culture means the social structures or that they are two distinct sides of society in which each one completes the other to create and maintain homogeneity. However, he approaches culture from symbolic and not semiotic standpoints.

First, Durkheim worked on how the social bond was developed and is still maintained. He considers the sociological symbols of mind and knowledge as 'culture' and the organisation of human relationships as the social structures. He is then concerned with the way they are related and how this relation is demonstrated or manifested. Simple or complex societies are governed by the degree of the affective involvement they have for their family. They are supposed to be more intimate with their closer family than with their relatives and neighbours. The degree of affective relationships determines some basis for social structures and a hierarchy of precedence in society. Such distinctions in relationships establish the primary social structures.

Next, in all societies, whether they are primitive or modern, there exists a religion or a system of beliefs and worship (such as totems) that validates specific social class, status and exchange. Any religious doctrine is generally constituted of two main sections –the sacred and the profane. This division between right and wrong establishes and maintains social structures which are at the basis of cultural relationships between members of family and society. This classification into different categories is going to determine which kind of relationship is to be recognised and what social ascendancy each relationship has on others.

Then, Durkheim also suggests that societies are different from one another; since each society has its own system of organising social classification. Nevertheless, what is common to all societies is their ability in implementing a system that designates the foundations of social structures. Thus, society exercises special power over individuals, i.e. the latter are constrained to submit to the prevailing social recommendations; otherwise, they would be discredited or even rejected.

In order to investigate the relationship between culture and social structures, Durkheim focuses on the function of symbols rather than the function of signs; since culture comprehends all the meaningful symbols shared by society. He perceives culture as comprising symbolic representations.

However, Talcott Parsons (1902-1979), an American sociologist, in his *Social System* he reviews Durkheim's claims. Parsons states that culture does not only hold a

distinct part in the social structure, but it also plays a role in the complete classification of groups. The system, which is society, is constituted of a social structure along with three subsystems. Among the latter, which are all interrelated, we find culture. Two elements influence the way that system gets fixed or varied; on the one hand, economy promotes change to meet people's current needs; and, on the other hand, family refrains that change for more social maintenance and stability. Culture, however, acts as a conductor that enforces equilibrium between change and stability. While culture is symbolic representations for Durkheim; for Parsons, it is based on a singularity and fixity of meaning for the individual.

#### **2.3.4.3. The Concept of Culture in Anthropology**

Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952) claim that a concept does not automatically designate a theory and culture is a concept; otherwise, we might ask if we should classify all the views on culture as theories or as hypotheses. Several anthropologists have worked on this particular subject *culture* and there have been as many views and investigations as the people who were interested in culture. However, not many succeeded in coordinating their findings to make them match. We cannot consider all conflicting view, but we can, however, review some of the major hypotheses.

Darwin's theory of Man's evolution has considerably affected the methodology of human and social sciences study whether it is theoretical, experimental or empirical. Evolution becomes, then, a logical answer to all changes detectable in human language, behaviour and culture (conditions of life). Subsequently, all human's expressions are subject to change and variation over time as a gradual and natural process in which primitive societies evolve or vanish as a consequence of the natural selection; and Anthropology is just that branch that tries to understand the world.

Adhering to evolutionary theory, anthropologists were significantly impartial to their analytic approach to culture. The first anthropologists were evolutionists since they wanted to understand the origin of culture in primitive societies and tribal lifestyle. The first scholars in this branch were termed 'evolutionists' who started to investigate and explore the culture of the 'Savages', the 'Barbarians of Antiquity' and the social relationships in those 'primitive' societies as they were referred to formerly.

Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-81) the American anthropologist, classified societies into a scale ranging from the utterly savage to the incontestably civilised. The classification depended above all on society's means of survival and the way it could cope

with direct environmental conditions. He studied people's innate faculty in dealing with their immediate context and whether they can develop or resort to some procedures to face their life; the more resourceful, the more modern or 'civilised' they would be. For him, *civilisation* is reflected through people's modernity and ability to solve problems.

He classified human beings as belonging to one of three categories –savages, barbarians, or civilised. These situations are natural processes through which a society can evolve or regress. Each status is attainable according to the progress made by a particular people. Civilisation means the ability to work one's way up through experience and collection of knowledge. This view seems to be a little radical since it advocates for capitalism and modernism; besides, it justifies racial supremacy to some extent and upholds stereotypical views on human ability to change. In spite of his studies of civilisation and 'primitive' cultures, he finally did not provide a definition of culture.

Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917), an evolutionist (early anthropologist), believes that culture encompasses all that man has acquired through time and experience; i.e. it accounts for the amount of knowledge and understanding of life by means of successive experience. However, his viewpoint remains debatable since it does not allow for any distinction between culture and social structures. Tylor was curious about the systems of human beliefs. He suggests that all people have religious beliefs and practises and are, thus, responsive to which ethics codes should be observed. The distinction between 'savages' and the 'less savages' holds a rightful place in those societies; even if some of them could perceive it as being subjective.

Among the early evolutionists, Morgan and Tylor have adopted a few conceptions of man's origin as a social being and of the nature of the relationships existing between culture and social structures. For them, culture and civilisation are continuous concepts. Besides, they revealed how we, human beings all over the world, are comparable in our need to assess our environment and gain experience.

With time and with the emergence of new trends in anthropology and intriguing linguistic theories, the influence of the early evolutionists' thought abated until the 1950's. Cultural studies reappeared then with Clause Lévi-Strauss, an anthropology structuralist, who studied culture structurally stating that both 'savage' and 'civilised' minds have the same structures.

In the 1950's, the existing ideology pro-colonialism started to decline in favour of a more humanitarian opinion among the public. Colonialism proved to be economically

fruitful, and it stimulated capitalism into flourishing machinery; furthermore, the same era witnessed a social awakening that was manifested in the expansion of liberal and socialist convictions and movements. The ‘other’, the one who is different and who does not necessarily share the same religious beliefs, cultural behaviour or ethnic origin, is no longer prejudiced and claimed as inferior but rather they are recognised as having their proper identity and respected as such. Movements away from traditional thinking and towards more human, civil and woman’s rights extended to question and censure colonialism and its abusive practices. Thus, was progressively established a revolutionary ideology supporting the rights of peoples to self-determination.

Owing to socialists’ works such as Karl Marx (1818-1883) and others, social sciences, language teaching, for instance, introduced the acceptance of different backgrounds to complete the process of language acquisition. Besides, those theories awakened among the western or ‘modern’ societies a sense of value for people’s inequities and equity between the races. In other words, all those intellectual and philosophical changes about Man/human development affected to a great extent the perception of cultural and social diversity. Indeed, the difference in culture was no longer a matter of right and wrong or of high and low but of complementarity since each frames a balanced whole where all form a bigger picture. Culture has become, therefore, the object of inductive generalisation instead of the formerly deductive reductionism. Nowadays, we still notice a preference for diversity in social and cultural pluralism. However, that aspect of culture that covers a wide range of characteristics to explain difference among people has hindered the delimitation in defining the aforementioned concept. For, culture was seen as a way of life rather than a group of beliefs and customs that constantly progress according to the innate abilities granted to each race.

One of the major turning points that have paved the way to a modern study of culture, language and social structures was the emergence of modern anthropology. Boas<sup>14</sup> in the USA and Malinowski<sup>15</sup> and Radcliffe- Brown<sup>16</sup> in England viewed culture as a general term that refers to people’s way of life. Unlike Tylor, they completely reject

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<sup>14</sup> Franz Boas (1858-1942): a German-born American anthropologist; he is considered as the pioneer in American anthropology and relativism. He was the teacher of Edward Sapir and Alfred. L. Kroeber.

<sup>15</sup> Bronisław Kasper Malinowski (1884-1942): a British anthropologist. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica, he is one of the founding fathers of social anthropology. He has studied the peoples of Oceania (the Pacific Islands).

<sup>16</sup> Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955): a British social anthropologist who has studied Andaman Island in India. He is also known for his theory of functionalism.

the way evolutionism studies communication, culture and the social life of the 'indigenous' peoples.

The different definitions of culture that have already been purveyed by anthropologists, philosophers and sociologists and so on frame us a mosaic of data that reflects man as an individual structure and as a social mechanism when interacting within the group. The exhaustive collection of definitions and theories constructs an overall picture of what constitutes culture. Explaining the concept of culture by having a look at the different definitions is a compulsory step towards comprehension but synthesising the sum of definitions on cultures to have one is but reducing the efforts devoted to such a subject. Thus, we have to discard some views and favour others depending on what would best corroborate the progression of our work. The fundamental currents have led into the study of culture from two main anthropological patterns: social anthropology and cultural anthropology.

#### (i) **The Pattern Theory of Culture**

The division between definitions exists, but there are two fundamental currents upon which most theories of that time follow the course. On the one hand, Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952) view culture as a set of social behaviours transmitted by symbols and which distinguishes a group from the others (see chap. II section 2.4.8. for the full definition). To them, culture consists of norms and ideologies selected through common behaviour within social traditions. All of Kroeber, Kluckhohn, Boas, Radcliffe-Brown and Rivers have studied culture as a social structure from a *social anthropology* perspective (Jenks, 2001).

On the other hand, Sapir, Benedict, White, Bateson and Malinowski believe that culture should be analysed independently from the social structure and individuals from a *cultural anthropology* standpoint. They perceive that culture is:

how patterns of art, religion, philosophy, as well as of technology and science, waxed and waned, acquired their characteristic content and kept rolling majestically along, quite independently of particular individuals'. (Harris, 1968, p. 328)

Culture should not be linked with society. Nevertheless, it does not categorically exclude culture from all what is social; rather, the difference between culture and social structure is that the latter is more deeply rooted and is less subject to alteration than the former.



### a) The Social Structure as a Theory of Culture

According to Radcliffe-Brown, whose theory is derived from Durkheim, argues that there cannot be a science of culture alone; besides, any cultural studies must be within the scope of social studies. Culture characterises social structures, and it has to be studied as a science of the social organisation.

Culture is a system which creates a social structure through a set of relations between individuals. Even if people change through time, the social structure is maintained as long as the social process remains. According to Radcliffe-Brown, social structure is a network of social relations within social groups, classes and social status. Each social system is homogeneous, fixed and self-sustaining unit. Culture is part of those social structures and it has a function to complete the whole social relation. As reported by Radcliffe-Brown, the framework of social structure and culture is relevant to any society in time and space.

### b) Culture: a Cultural Anthropological Concept

Malinowski, albeit functionalist along with Radcliff-Brown, maintains the examination of culture and social structure independently from one another. He concentrates his work on individual's needs rather than social ones. He claims that there are 'seven basic human needs' such as comfort, nutrition, safety, reproduction and so on. Besides, he believes that a functionalist has to analyse emotions mental faculties and biological properties that constitute humans together with culture.

Malinowski views culture as 'the social heritage' which should be studied from different facets by a wide range of disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, psychology and history. Even though culture and social structure should be dealt with independently, they nonetheless share a common element that of time. The latter is important in the analysis of culture because it triggers historical studies of culture and social structures.

According to Malinowski, functionalism has no relation to change; it rather deals with the functioning of 'organism' along with its 'internal mechanism' through time (also called *Structuralists* 'Synchronicity'). Functionalist anthropology specialised in investigating non-literate societies of which past was unable to be investigated, thus the need for other disciplines such as archaeology. Evans-Pritchard, for instance, studied the reasoning and understanding of the primitive mind. He explains their perception of the environment depends exclusively on the mystical conviction their society endows.

Later, Firth pursued the same idea while studying it through several periods of time but he also introduced a few concepts such as accumulation, inheritance and transmission. He defines society and culture by explicitly asserting how distinct yet how complementary they can coexist. On the one hand, society embodies individuals and their social organisation and relationship; on the other hand, culture refers to those individuals' customs and practices that were accumulated, inherited and transmitted from generation to generation.

### 2.3.5. Culture and Identity: Arab(o)-Muslim Perspective

Since our context is Algeria, where the majority of the population is said to be Muslim, we believe it to be of relevance to understand the impact creed and religion have on people. As the Western Culture looks different from the Eastern one, we shall also attempt to understand some principles of the Arab(o)-Muslim grounds regarding culture, language and identity. In our analysis of culture and language, we would have considered it incomplete if such a point had not been raised.

In respect of the Arab(o)-Muslim conception of culture, language in general and Arabic in particular cannot be dissociated from culture. Actually, the latter is a combination of two criteria —language being the form and Islam being the content. The words, *Koran* (also written *Qur'an*) which stems from the root [qaraʔa] 'to read' or 'to recite' and *Mushaf* مصحف [mus.haf] which means 'book' or 'collection of papers/pages' (صفحات/صحف), are used to refer to the same text; however, the latter is called *Mushaf* when it is written and *Quran* when it is recited in the original vernacular. Analogous to music and music book in which written music notes only become music when they are played; several religious scholars claim that *Quran* is only *Quran* when it is read/recited in the Arabic language and that nobody can concretely touch it with their hands.

Regardless of their ethnicity, language or nationality, any Muslim in the world, performing the daily prayers, has to use some Classical Arabic five times a day. In fact, they are even encouraged to read, to recite and to learn the scriptures by heart since it is considered as the one formula that has preserved *Quran* from alteration for fifteen centuries. Traditions of oral language have emerged to conserve the original text, and that becomes very important in the language-culture relationship.

In this light, language and religion seem to be completely intertwined since it is through language that the *Quran* can be understood and whatever interpretation is derived from the thorough procedure is to be adopted by Muslims through the explanation of

Arabic words. In other words, the evolution of people's culture and behaviour need to be monitored by the interpretation and the comprehension of the scriptural language. Moreover, through time, Arabic has become the vehicle of substantial literature on religious, literary and scientific reflection. However, in the present social, political and economic upheavals, all together with a steadfast increase of globalisation there is a growing belief that safeguarding Arabic indicates (a) saving identity and culture and (b) providing some stability in a society that views itself under permanent threat.

### 2.3.5.1. Language

In the Quran, the word *language* or '*tongue*' لسان [lisa:n] is mentioned 14 times and the reference *Arabic 'tongue'* لسان عربي occurs three times<sup>17</sup> and 9 times in plural forms ألسنتهم/ألسنتكم; every time the word takes place without the definite article ال 'the'. In his Encyclopaedia *Lissan Al-Arab*, Ibn Mandhour explains that لسان [lisa:n] is a way of speech, a style, a discourse or a language. As to the term Arabic, the word used in the Quran is an adjective *Arabic 'Tongue'* not *Arab 'Tongue'*; this may imply a 'supra-tribal unity' rather than a small local one, especially as stated by Versteegh (1997, p. 37) the Quran denounces some Arabs who fought the Prophet Muhammad.

According to conservative Arab clerics — namely Adnan Baharith<sup>18</sup>, "language is a citizenship and a vessel for a nation's heritage"; in other words, language is the means to express cultural conventions because it mirrors societal beliefs and it preserves people's identity. Any learner of a language either native or foreign has to comprehend the environment in which culture is fostered. Therefore, any learner of a foreign language is also a learner of a new culture; language and its variation need to be used to communicate with people and communication will be disrupted by misunderstanding if culture and language are dissociated during the learning process. Moreover, Baharith argues that fluency in language cannot be achieved unless the learner entirely empathises with the foreign culture and assimilates its traits. Also, empathy cannot be complete unless "the speaker adapts their 'behaviour' to that of the non-native" — such as body language and facial expression that vary from one culture to another. He also claims that language does not have to be ashamed of all its socio-cultural features because it carries the history and civilisation of its people, this is the main reason why nations split into

<sup>17</sup> The expression '*Arabic Quran*' قُرْآنًا عَرَبِيًّا occurs six times.

<sup>18</sup> Adnan Baharith's article 'مركزية اللغة العربية في الهوية الإسلامية' 'On the Importance of the Arabic Language in the Islamic Identity' <http://almoslim.net/node/111747>

regional or political factions as soon as they feel they do not share a sense of belonging. In short, one's identity is preserved by the secured relationship between language and culture.

With this in mind, we understand that an ideal process of language acquisition needs to include culture acquisition too; however, the issue that is left is the extent of the cultural knowledge required for the mastery or the fluency of a foreign language. Comparatively, if I wanted to learn Japanese should I have to learn meditation and martial arts? Or, should a person learn Islam when learning Arabic? To some extent, introducing culture in the learning process is beneficial, but the amount of knowledge and the impact of such a procedure remain debatable. Empathising unreservedly with a foreign culture every time we learn a new language seems unlikely feasible and mostly unrealistic in daily life. For a complete acclimatisation then assimilation of a new culture, time, energy and commitment are indispensable and in our modern societies where time is so precious that we tend to favour courses that teach foreign languages in a few days or lessons; we are unlikely able to dedicate much time to studying people's history, customs or achievements.

Besides, Baharith believes that the death of a language indicates the death of a culture; when Latin died, it is, in fact, the loss of the Roman culture the world has witnessed. On the other hand, the protection of a language means the survival of a culture; Jews, for instance, have succeeded in preserving their cultural heritage despite their dispersion across the world because they have used and conserved Hebrew throughout centuries of hardships and exile.

The concept of the strong relationship between Arabic and Islam, albeit a non-officially supported correlation, has roots that can be traced back to the early centuries of Islam. However, it was until 1949; the World Muslim Congress reunited 57 countries who signed a law that designates Arabic as the language of Islam in pursuit of promoting religious unity and solidarity among the Muslim community.

### 2.3.5.2. Culture

Even though Esperanto provided a pragmatic solution to linguistic partiality to a few languages, it did not obtain the status Ludwig L. Zamenhof wished when he created it. It has no culture. In Arabic, culture is ثقافة [θaqa:fa] which derives from the root ثقف [θaqifa]. The word has its origin back to (ثقاف) [θiqa:f] 'a tool like a knife grinder' that was used to

sharpen spears for battles. Progressively, the meaning has extended to imply actions such as: (a) to straighten what was bent/contorted; (b) to educate, refine and instruct.

Moreover, to understand the meaning of culture in the Arab-Muslim civilisation, we also had to see whether this word/root occurs in the Quran or in the Hadith; and if so, then we would have to examine the sense and the interpretation accepted by common consensus. We have found that the root, along with its derivatives, occurs six times in the Quran<sup>19</sup> and three times in the Hadith.

According to the prevailing scriptural interpretation of the root (a verb form), the latter can be defined as follows: (a) become proficient or skilled, (b) apprehend under righteous conditions, perceive wisely, observe proficiently and understand fully and (c) improve and train the mind or character by instruction.

Among the Arab(o)-Muslim scholars who have defined *culture*, we have only selected Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) and Malek Bennabi (1905-1973) mainly because of the following reasons. Ibn Khaldun, the father of modern sociology, was born in Tunis and he analysed the behaviour of several North African countries he travelled to; besides, his influential book *Muquaddimah (The Introduction)* was written in Algeria where he lived to further his education during several years. We have also selected Malek Bennabi, an Algerian philosopher and writer because he is considered among the prominent thinkers regarding that field in Algeria. Therefore, our choice has been triggered by the fact that both authors perfectly know the Algerian linguistic situation and the cultural context.

Ibn Khaldun, considered as the first who defined culture, distinguishes between two types of cultures, the Bedouin (rural) and the urban. He claims that the urban culture is more refined and more cultivated because of the comfortable life, affluence and wealth people have access to. He describes culture as the ethics and principles that people adopt in social contexts such as architecture, manufacture, arts, and all the areas requiring a 'know-how' in their daily life; meanwhile, those ethics patterns are obtained through acquisition, instruction, education and deep reflection.

Malek Bennabi (1959), a sociologist, claims that culture does not only imply ideas but it also refers to a lifestyle in a particular social community; and most specifically, it concerns their social behaviour. Culture is a reflection of a social reality along with its

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<sup>19</sup> We have used the software *Ayat* on which we had to type the word and read the results with the explanation of some renowned scholars such as al-Qurtobi, Ibn-Kathir, Attabari, etc.

abstract and concrete properties. It is a set of social values and ethical characteristics that shape individuals since their birth; consciously or unconsciously they become part of people's behaviour through their life that befits what constitutes their environment.

Several other Arab scholars have defined what culture is, what it does and what it represents. Instead of listing a huge number of definitions of the concept *culture*, we shall simply merge key theories and summarise them in the following statement —culture is the understanding, the proficiency and the experience in intellectual and artistic accomplishment and all faculties of life in order to make the latter organised, complementing and cohesively connected. In essence, culture, from the Arab(o)-Muslim standpoint, is the positive/beneficial achievement humans make to improve society and life; it is a salient part of their identity, and it needs to be protected.

However, although such a conception distinguishes constructive production, it nonetheless, implies a reverence of culture that makes its people vulnerable to those who decide on what befits society. Indeed, so many conflicts were caused by individuals claiming the right to distinguish between what is positive and what is negative and between what must be preserved and what must be discarded. Like language, culture has also become the subject and object of ideology.

### 2.3.5.3. Identity

Individuals grow in a society which has its symbols; and from an early age, they absorb their environment's perception of life and the way it should be settled. That way becomes theirs and part of their identity. Since learning language and culture at the same time is important in the language acquisition process, such deference to culture is quite problematic since it might considerably influence the attitude of learners to a particular language and therefore its progress. It may also cause a serious identity issue since it calls for homogeneity rather than allow some room for individual space. However, whenever each group distinguishes itself from the others, they assert their particular identity by conveying distinctive formulations and structures as symbolic expressions which might be culturally recognisable features. However, we also have to consider the role that is played by social, cultural, historical and religious ties.

Ali Gomaa<sup>20</sup>, a renowned Egyptian scholar of Al-Azhar Mosque in Egypt, defines identity explaining that in Arabic the term الهوية 'identity' is pronounced [huwijja] and not

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<sup>20</sup> Ali Gomaa (1952- ) is an Egyptian Islamic scholar; he was the Grand Mufti of Egypt from 2003 and 2013.

[**h**awijja] because it has its origin from هو 'he' [huwa] and not هوى 'to love' [hawa:]. Thus, he insists that the word identity in Arabic reflects the very origin of what the person already is and without that, they are just *أشخاص على الأرض* 'individuals on earth' since identity reflects who the person is along with their beliefs, customs, tradition, language and culture.

The societal identity can be described in terms of symbols, models, references through history, legacy and the established settings that enclose different socio-cultural groupings. According to some of the Arab(o)-Muslim scholars, identity implies that people possess an inherent collective awareness of their social and cultural self, values, religion, customs, traditions, history, language and literary production that distinguish them from other groups. They also believe that it can be modified and that it has to be preserved and protected as a valuable asset.

#### **2.4. Definitions of Culture: A Sociolinguistic Perspective**

In everyday speech, people may use expressions such as '*this is part of our culture*', '*I love arts and culture*', or '*this is not our culture*', etc. According to the former statements, people seem to easily identify and recognise what belongs to their culture or not and they can even show strong feelings towards it. However, when it comes to putting the concept into words, it becomes problematic and more complex; and it is not because of a lack of definitions. Indeed, there is a serious issue as to what culture is, mainly because of three major reasons we have faced when reviewing some of the literature.

First, there are hundreds of definitions of culture to the best of our knowledge. Second, as stated in *the Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (1994): "Despite a century of efforts to define culture adequately, there was in the early 1990s no agreement among anthropologists regarding its nature" (cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2004, p. 3 and also in Katan, 2014, p. 25). Third, in Kroeber & Kluckhohn's *Culture: a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (1952), they have analysed the existing definitions of the time into the four different parts of their book. In just their second chapter ('Definitions' pp 41-82), they listed 161 definitions and compiled them into 15 lists under 7 major categories such as descriptive definitions, historical definitions, psychological definitions, etc. justifying such exhaustive work by saying "any classification is better than no classification" (1952, p. 41).

In front of such a dilemma, this work, inspired by Kroeber & Kluckhohn's method, will try to group only a few of the actual recurrent definitions ranging from the



very simple to the very complex. Although culture is still complex to define, the classification was achieved according to the definitions perspectives, *Culture as a Transmitted Heritage*, *Culture as a System of Organised Knowledge*, *Language as an Instrument*, *Culture as a Mental Activity*, *Culture as Discourse*, *Culture as Social Styles* and *Culture as a Verb and Culture as a Network of Elements*.

#### **2.4.1. Culture as a Transmitted Heritage**

Like language, culture is transmitted from one generation to another as a precious heritage to be preserved. People inherit and acquire it within and according to the social context they evolve in. Kramsch (1998, p.10) defines culture as belonging to the speech community that shares common social space, history and representations. All that is common is acquired within space and time values. Moreover, Oswalt states that culture is not innate but it is acquired as a shared behaviour, and people acquire it through abilities such as “observation, imitation and trial and error” (1986, p. 25). A learner born in one culture can easily adopt another culture through language socialisation, and any child can acquire their parents’ culture as long as much exposure exists.

#### **2.4.2. Culture as a System of Organised Knowledge**

Since culture seems to be shared and common within each society, community members need to know what patterns are expected from them and what should be inferred from and predicted in certain contexts. Goodenough explains that each society members need to know what to use when and where in an organised system. He claims that “Culture consists of whatever it one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members... It does not consist of things, people, behaviour, or emotions. It is rather an organisation of these things” (1964, p. 36). It is an organised system that community members acquire within their close environment to relate humans to their ecological setting. Keesing (1974) considers culture as a “pattern of patterns” or as “ideational systems” a system of strategies, knowledge of the environment and organisation of experience. And understanding how this ideational works provides insight into the human mind and how thought varies (1974, p. 94).

Geertz (1973) develops a semiotic approach to culture. He believes that humans spin webs of significance around themselves in an organised manner stating “I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning” (p. 5). He views culture as

organised symbols that should be understood within their context. In other words, culture is the organised signs humans create to use in particular contexts. Understanding culture can only be achieved through what it means to its people because that knowledge distinguishes them from the others. Besides, in his analysis of what those webs mean to society, he claims that such understanding serves two purposes the first “to provide orientation for an organism” (p. 14); and second “to access to the conceptual world [of people] to converse with them” (p. 24). All of the points mentioned above can be identified in his definition of culture:

It denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life (Geertz, 1973, p. 89)

### **2.4.3. Language as an Instrument to Understand Culture**

There are several scholars (Byram, 1991 and Timpe 2013) who have used metaphors likening language to the indispensable tool that can identify and detect culture. This part reviews some of the different instruments language has been compared to.

First, language is *a key* that unlocks the door to culture which turns out to be the only centre of analysis as claimed by Byram (1991). However, this definition seems incomplete since it leaves the reader standing at the door without exactly knowing once they enter what is behind. To answer this probe, Timpe’s explains as mentioned below that it is only through language we can understand culture.

Second, language is *a device* that opens the room of the unknown (culture) to structure individual and collective reality. In Timpe’s definition of culture, she emphasises that “only through language that a person is able to access the (foreign) culture and enter the realm of the new cultural territory” (2013, p. 13). In fact, she perceives that it is language that should be studied since culture along with all what it represents can only be externalised through the medium of human communication and one cannot operate without the other.

### **2.4.4. Culture as a Mental Activity**

Chomsky (1984) believes that each human is endowed with innate abilities and biological systems (cognitive and physical) that develop in the same way as the rest of other human organs do under specific environment. Language is a cognitive organisation that develops in the brain along with social interactions and personality because of the genetic

predisposition. It is also a major aspect of social use since cultural interrelations might be ‘somewhere’ in the brain.

According to Geert Hofstede, culture refers to “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others” (2001, p 9.). In other words, members of a group differentiate themselves from the others according to what they commonly share with their group. His use of ‘members of the group’ or ‘category of people’ refers to the several categories through which distinction can be marked, that is nation, region, religion, ethnic group, occupation and gender. People belonging to the same group or the same category identify what is common through a mental programme or software of the mind. Besides, he claims that culture is in constant evolution and that it is organised into several layers ranging from the fixed to the flexible: values, beliefs, rituals, attitudes, behaviour and symbols.

#### **2.4.5. Culture as Discourse**

Since culture is complex and multifaceted and it can be found in a range of places (almost in all stages of life), another way to understand it is to look at what was said about other disciplines and try to identify if it can truly be detected or not. James P. Gee (1990) does not define culture. Instead, he just provides a definition of discourse. He distinguishes between ‘Discourse’ with big ‘D’ and ‘discourse’ with small ‘d’. While the latter represents language, Discourse is an identity kit. According to Gee, Discourse represents more than language along with a variety of human properties. However, he implies that Discourse includes all the components of what constitute individual and societal identity and culture likewise. He defines Discourse as:

ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions and clothes... a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network’, or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful ‘role’. (Gee, 1990, p. 142-143)

In his definition of Discourse, the term culture can easily substitute Discourse when rereading the former text. Culture can also replace Discourse in the way he explains that it (Discourse) has five properties, (a) it is based on ideologies and a set of values; (b) it is resistant to internal criticism; (c) it has a defined position and place; (d) it can stand and marginalise other standpoints; (e) it is closely issued by social and political power. Again, the replacement of Discourse with culture can fit perfectly.

### 2.4.6. Culture as Social Styles

Style is the way to do something. Every individual or community has their peculiar style of designing, producing, or speaking and even the way of understanding the world they live in may vary. As stated by Coupland (2007):

Style refers to a way of doing something... is an assemblage of design choices... It belongs somewhere, even if the style is lifted out of its home territory and sued somewhere else. It has a social meaning... Cultural resonances of time, place and people attach to styles of social and institutional practice, perhaps even to styles of thinking... The world is full of social styles. (Coupland, 2007, p. 1)

Part of our social aptitude and learning is to be competent in distinguishing and understanding those styles, their differences, their meanings, and to some degree the expectation of their occurrence. We must be able to discriminate what their difference conveys socially. However, we might not be able to recognise the characteristics of our own style if we do not compare it with others. Our culture also resides in the competence in style recognition and to be able to read their meanings through the contrastive features with which they are characterised. However, difference recognition is not the only way to understand style since the latter also deals with aesthetics, crafting, expertise and design. It refers not only to the noun but also to the verb in which an action is performed because it acts as a marker of the boundary between individuals or communities and that distinction makes culture.

Coupland (2007) also views dialects as styles since they are associated with particular regions and distinct speech or accent. Social styles are everywhere. Besides, even if we acquire their structure, it is not enough. We have to comprehend the way people use them. They act like shared resources for people to understand social or personal meanings.

### 2.4.7. Culture as a Verb (not a Noun)

In addition to understanding the meaning of culture, we also need to examine how it behaves, acts and what it does and whether it has or not some impact on language acquisition for both native and foreign speakers. The angle of investigating culture has to change in order to explore what culture does instead of what it is (Thornton, 1988, p. 26). Some linguists, such as Street, view culture as ‘a verb’ rather than as a noun. For him, culture is not static; it is an active process in which meaning is constructed: “Culture [is] the active construction of meaning rather than the somewhat static and reified or nominalising senses” (1993, p. 23). In other words, one perspective to study culture is

through the analysis of what culture does through society rather than through what it represents to that particular society.

Like anthropologists, those linguists tend to analyse culture in terms of its actions on society and on individuals. On the one hand, Street (1993) claims that culture is a verb, a process of collective meaning-making in the sense that it exercises a political and social dominance. On the other hand, Thornton (1988) demonstrates that culture is constructed (a) to serve language to maintain unity; (b) to build boundaries between classes, sexes, nations or ethnic groups; (c) to model habits, traditions and other forms of expressions and (d) to reinforce feelings of identity and belonging.

Such a perception of culture stems from the idea that getting a fixed concept of culture is quite difficult since culture does not belong to people. It is a resource of a flexible origin because even the formalisation of language must also leave the place to some creativity in discourse, and providing a limited definition of culture with no other alternative seems unlikely to humans' complex changing nature.

#### **2.4.8. Culture as a Network of Complementary Elements**

There exist numerous definitions of culture that explain how culture is a multitude of areas correlating each at a different degree to form a cohesive set. First, one of the most repeated definitions of culture is the one provided by the British anthropologist Edward B. Tylor (1920) the founder of cultural anthropology. Culture is the sum of several attributes that are part of individuals' achievement within the society they evolve. He identifies culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (cited in Timpe, 2013, p.14).

Central to the entire section, one should not forget the exhaustive work of Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952), mentioned earlier, and in which they compiled into lists numerous definitions of culture. In their review of the literature on culture, they have also provided one definition summarising their own understanding of the concept according to a behaviourist approach, in vogue at that time:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional(i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action. (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 181)

In their definition, they explain that culture is a system of symbols acquired through conditioning. That system is the product of reinforced actions, and it comprehends arts, achievements of human groups, and most importantly traditions and values. Besides, they also claim that such a cultural pattern is explicitly or implicitly transmitted by symbols common to the group. Kroeber & Kluckhohn continue their explanation of culture by stating that it can also be modified either by forms of cultural interrelations or by individual's personal variability.

In a sense, such a definition seems to enclose most of the formerly mentioned theories, and we would have wished to end that section with it in the same way as it has begun. However, the fact that it restricts the broad scope of culture to conditioned patterns of traditions could not allow us to do so. Therefore, to end this part of the section, an additional representation of the concept is needed.

Another definition that views culture as a complex set of elements is provided by Nieto. She explains that culture is composed of three complementary parts, the product (what), the process (how) and the agents (who):

Culture as the ever-changing values, traditions, social and political relationships, and worldview created, shared, and transformed by a group of people bound together by a combination of factors that can include a common history, geographic location, language, social class, and religion. (Nieto, 2010, p. 136)

In the above definition, culture is made of (a) value, traditions and socio-political relationships; (b) the way it is created and transmitted and (c) who or what factors are responsible for variation and change.

Nieto (2010) also suggests that culture is a set of attributes that function simultaneously as follows. First, *culture is dynamic*. It refers to the fact that culture is active and in constant change, it is not fixed or stagnant. Cultures are hybrids; people adopt or reject what is appropriate or not according to social, political and other environmental conditions. Second, *culture is multifaceted*. This means that it is multiple and heterogeneous since it embraces different identities. Members of the same culture do not need to have the same skin colour, language, level of education, social status, etc. Each has the right to create their proper identity. Third, *culture is embedded in context*. It is the way culture can be shaped by its environment and the people who create such contexts; people belonging to the same original culture and living in different place or countries may each develop a new culture of their own. Fourth, *culture is influenced by social, economic and political factors*. Dominant social groups determine whose culture

becomes the norm not because they are better but simply because they have social capital (status), economic capital (money) and political capital (power). The security of the former capitals endows them with cultural capital that makes them designate taste, prestige, language, education so on and so forth. Fifth, *culture is created and socially constructed*. Culture is not a finished product; it is in constant evolution that results from a change in attitude, traditions, decisions, etc. It evolves because society constantly constructs what has value or not. Sixth, *culture is learned*. Culture is not an inherited gene. Ethnic or religious culture, for example, is unconsciously acquired through close interaction and environment. Though it is difficult, people may also acquire an additional culture and may become bicultural in the same way as they may become bilingual. Seventh, *culture is dialectical*. All the previous attributes of culture result in its being often contradictory and conflicting. Culture is a complex system and shaped by different people along with the factors they characterise them; and tensions among cultural members may build up and cause conflicts between generations, sexes and races.

## 2.5. Culture and Learning

The relation between culture and language acquisition has been under discussion for a long time, each trying to elucidate that relation in how they are interconnected, how they can influence each other, which influences which and whether it is possible to acquire one without the other. There have also been assumptions as to the universality in acquiring languages or to the hindrance that might be caused by socio-cultural conditions. A certain culture may come to equal the ethnic group or the community members it represents. Sometimes, a language can also be learnt because of the attractive cultural aspects it symbolises such as the personal achievement for some actors, singers or media beholders in their ascending the social ladder.

Debates on the amount of culture to be taught have also been important. In her article 'The Culture Test', Valette (1986) explains the possible methods with which culture can be taught. She summarises previous work into three approaches. First, teaching through *culture capsules*, a method that consists of providing learners with a minimal amount of culture such as songs or movies. Second, *culture clusters* represent an amalgam of several cultural capsules in one; this can be achieved through scholarship, linguistic exposure and so on. Third, *culture assimilations* refer the face-to-face interactions with native speakers of the target language. The learner, then, assimilates on their own the other person's culture.



In approaching this issue, there is a need to point out that for an effective learning/teaching of language, it is necessary to detach culture from any negative or positive sentiments to avoid any kind of misunderstanding (Nieto, 2010). Indeed, on the one hand, putting “culture on a pedestal” may lead to confusion as to what the uncritical reality is. On the other hand, negative feelings towards a particular culture do not encourage or create a positive environment for learning because that negativity may transform into the rejection not only of the culture but of language too. Besides, teachers, as well as learners, need to perceive L2 culture as it is, an actual fact with all its complexity and multifaceted sides and keep in mind that what may seem attractive to some people may be repulsive to others.

### 2.5.1. Learning Languages

Learning additional languages is common and that can be found throughout the whole world. Bilinguals are those who use two languages; whereas, multilinguals those who use more than two languages (Saville-Troike, 2012, p. 8). The acquisition of a second language is not only about the language systems, but it also involves the learner, their cognitive representations, their sociolinguistic abilities, their social identity and their interactional environment. According to Beacco (2007), it is crucial to comprehend a bilingual education in which students encounter two systems namely Arabic and French. The situation as well as the language context has to be understood and not only focus their level of proficiency in either language.

Generally, the acquisition of L1 language(s) takes place before the age of three together with all its linguistic systems in a natural context from their family or caretakers. When children at that age acquire different languages at the same time, the process is termed *simultaneous multilingualism*, which is dissimilar from *sequential multilingualism* since the latter refers to L2 learnt at any stage later in (non-)natural context. Learning one’s L1 has been explained either as a reinforced behaviour, an innate capacity, social development, cognitive development, a psychological construction or as a social experience. Analogous to L2, it has also been divided into three stages initial (basic competence), intermediate (child language/interlanguage) and final stage (L1/L2 language acquisition).

Second Language Acquisition theories<sup>21</sup> have mostly tried to answer four main questions on acquisition (what is acquisition/acquired, how it is achieved, why learners are different and which factor influences all the former parts). While acquiring language, learners also have to master not only the linguistic competence but the communicative and the pragmatic competence as well. Indeed, they need to know what to say, how to say it, to whom, when and where according to the expected inherent suitability. However, it is necessary to talk about the dissimilarity of communicative competence between L2 and L3. Saville-Troike states that unlike second language (SL) learners, Foreign Language (FL) learners basically develop the communicative competence according to their own native culture because they “often have little opportunity to interact with members of the language community who speak the FL natively unless they study abroad” (2012, p. 101).

### 2.5.2. Multilinguals and Language Acquisition

Along with the study of culture and learning, it seems impossible not to stop at how multilinguals acquire language in order to have an overall perspective of the process. Besides, psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic research have proved that Crosslinguistic Influence really takes place during L2 acquisition. With the development of Second Language Acquisition studies, multilinguals were no longer perceived as any monolingual or bilingual acquiring a language. Multilinguals are learners of their own (De Angelis, 2007). She explains that human beings are multilinguals by default and it is only out of individual or social choice to be monolingual or bilingual since some people as Harold Williams of New Zealand has acquired up to 58 languages (2007, p. 2).

Linguists analysing multilingualism in SLA have often investigated four major axes, *Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI)*, *multilingual production*, *multilingual lexicon* and *the impact of multilinguals on the cognitive development and L2 acquisition*. Since the first, Crosslinguistic Influence, has been dealt with in Chapter I as the transfer from one language to another, we shall briefly deal with the other three left.

#### 2.5.2.1. Multilingual Production

Multilingual production implies the way information is retrieved to produce speech. Among the theories that explain monolingual speech production, we shall briefly tackle Dell’s (1986) and Levelt’s (1989) models. According to Dell, speech production takes

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<sup>21</sup> Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories: are mainly those that have been advanced by scholars such as Chomsky (1957), Corder (1967), Selinker (1972), Krashen (1982), Long a Sato (1982) and so on.

place according to a particular pattern (the encoding of information is caused by the activation of nodes at four linguistic levels). Analogous to dominos, the spread of activation from one node to the other starts with the representation of a concept which activates the semantic property which activates the syntactic structure which activates the morphological unit which activates the phonological segment, all together performed simultaneously. On the other hand, Levelt describes speech production as a pattern made of three stages (a) the conceptualiser, when the message is generated; (b) the formulator, when there is a morphosyntactic, then a phonological encoding/activation and (c) the articulator, when the sounds are finally produced.

As to multilinguals' production, Green (1986) suggests that the starting point is activation from all the languages i.e. when people start to produce language not only L2 is activated but all languages are simultaneously so, then activation of the rest proceeds like the two previous models. Grosjean (1998), however, claims that during speech production bilinguals become monolinguals when one language is activated the other is deactivated in a continuum state.

Generally, the two above mentioned models (Dell's and Levelt's) are usually duplicated to study multilingual speech production although multilinguals are subjected to transfer, errors and more other stages in the selection process than their monolingual counterparts. Exploring multilingual speech production through transfer processing is a assumption that might be tested in our future investigation.

#### **2.5.2.2. Multilingual Lexicon**

Language consists of a multilayered set underlying not only psychological and sociolinguistic structures but also cognitive variables that are correlated by logical sets (Dekkak, et al., 2011, p. 21). The lexicon or the list of words of the several languages a learner acquires differs from one individual to another, not only in the way it is assimilated but also in the manner it is stored and retrieved. Indeed, during information processing, multilinguals go through several processes. The way of storing, assimilating and simultaneously organising different linguistic systems is a complex process that needs not only to be investigated from the linguistic or the social perspective but also from the cognitive one. For example, retrieving information, retention of L2 structures or accessing language systems from memory needs cognitive operations during both production and perception directions, and the retrieval can either occur by "receiving L2 word forms ... or retrieving the meanings of L2 words" (Nakata & Webb, 2016, p. 126).

Those mental operations are essential in retrieving L1 and L2 available information, in retrieving L1 during L2 or in retrieving L2 during L1 (Sahakyan et al., 2014, p. 160). This part deals with: (1) *Multilingual Memory*, (2) *Multilingual Proficiency and Organisation*, and (3) *Multilingualism and the Cognitive Development in L2 Acquisition*.

### (i) Multilingual Memory

There have been several types of research on the way memory stores the lexis of a language in the neural networks. In the following summary of some of the reviewed literature, linguists focused first on the memory of the monolingual and then moved to the bilingual to finally examine that of the multilingual with the emergence of SLA and CLI studies. The analysis has gone through six main phases.

First, it starts with De Saussure's distinction between *signifier* and *signified* which will later be termed *lexical form* and *representation concept* and the way they are associated during acquisition. Second, Weinreich (1953) states that bilinguals link words to meaning into three possibilities that may coexist in one learner: *coordinate* relation (words and meaning of each language are separate); *compound* (they merge); and *subordinate* bilingualism (those of one language dominate the other). The third phase concerns two alternatives: first, the two languages of a bilingual are stored and shared in the same memory, it is known as the Interdependence Hypothesis<sup>22</sup>; or second, the two languages are stored into two separate memories also known as the Independence Hypothesis<sup>23</sup>. Fourth, linguists are now convinced that there are two separate memories, each for one language. Paradis (1978) explains that there are two separate/independent memories under one larger commanding memory; he terms this model *Three-Store Hypothesis*. Fifth, Potter et al. (1984) propose two hypotheses on how lexical forms and concepts are associated during L2 production: (a) the *word association hypothesis* explains that producing L2 lexis needs a direct association/retrieval from L1 concepts; and (b) *the concept mediation hypothesis* refers to a distinction between the system of concepts and that of lexical forms, and in order to produce L2, translation from L1 is the underlying mediator that accesses both systems. Sixth, Kroll & Stewart (1994) emphasise

<sup>22</sup> Interdependence Hypothesis proposed by Glanzer & Duarte (1971). Glanzer, M., & Duarte, A. (1971) Repetition between and within Languages in Free Recall. In *Journal of Verbal Learning & Verbal Behavior*, 10, 625-630. Retrieved from [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0022-5371\(71\)80069-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0022-5371(71)80069-5)

<sup>23</sup> Independence Hypothesis proposed by Macnamara & Kushnir (1971). Macnamara J, Kushnir SL (1971). Linguistic Independence of Bilinguals: The Input Switch. In *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 10, 480-487. Retrieved from [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0022-5371\(71\)80018-X](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0022-5371(71)80018-X)

that L2 production of lexical forms requires first: links from L1 concepts, then with language proficiency in L2 it shifts into the formation of L2 concepts; however, the connection between L1 and L2 does not disappear. The process is called *the hierarchical model*, and it implies translation from L1 to L2 and vice versa.

### (ii) Multilingual Proficiency and Organisation

There have been a few experiments on the way multilinguals acquire L2 proficiency and organise L2 and L1 systems and on how CLI organises L2 proficiency. Among those studies, de Groot & Hoeks (1995) explain that a trilingual having the following pattern: L1 (with high proficiency level), L2 (medium proficiency level) and L3 (weak proficiency level) is not going to transfer from only one single language. During the production of L3, trilinguals transfer lexical forms and concrete words from L1, but they transfer concepts and abstract words from L2.

In addition to the direction of CLI in the production of the target language (TL), it is important to understand what happens when learners cannot find ‘their words’ when producing L2. Sometimes, learners start sentences or utterances that they do not finish. In recording our informants, for example, most students experience such a phenomenon at least once when they speak. They feel that there is a word which is at the tip of their tongue and that they know it, but they cannot retrieve it. This phenomenon is termed by Ecke (2001) as *TOT* (tip-of-the-tongue) or *word failure*. His experiments demonstrate that: (a) Crosslinguistic Influence occurs at all levels; (b) TOT occurs mainly in L3 (in the weakest L2 language in case of multilingualism); (c) when TOT occurs in L3, the participants search first intralingual words (within the target language itself), when words are not found they then search interlingual words primarily from L2 then from L1 if the TOT still persists.

#### 2.5.2.3. Multilingualism and the Cognitive Development in L2 Acquisition

Another major point that should be dealt with is whether or not multilingualism affects learners’ cognitive development i.e. whether it is an asset or not to intelligence, to problem-solving, to memorisation skills, etc. Multilinguals have already prior knowledge of both languages and the experience with which they had acquired those languages. On account of the abundant errors found in L2 production, most linguists of the first half of the twentieth century considered that CLI was a sign of a lack of intelligence. However, those studies were mainly concentrated in the USA where the aftermath of WWI and

WWII brought thousands of immigrant children and racial tensions (Edwards, 2004). Edwards explains that some linguists such as Goodenough (1926) described the phenomenon and those who still used their L1 as a result of mental retardation, a prejudiced opinion that was commonly shared in scientific publications at that time.

It was not until ‘the Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence’ an article by Peal & Lambert (1962) that brought a positive change towards new methodological practices to study the phenomenon. Starting from this point, bilingualism was perceived as a key factor in developing cognitive skills. In addition to its being a linguistic and cultural enrichment, multilingualism is said to have some positive effects on the cognitive skills such as maintaining an active and young brain (Bialystock, 2006) and facilitating the acquisition of an additional language (Cummins, 1976).

However, since there are different types of multilingualism, do they all develop cognitive abilities? To this, Cummins et al. (2001) claim that it is the additive bilingualism that is most helpful because if children develop subtractive bilingualism, they will acquire L2 features at the expense of losing L1. He states such a situation may cause the following consequence: “many bilingual children in subtractive in bilingual learning situations may not develop non-native like competence in either of their two languages” (2001, p. 39).

### **2.5.3. Socio-cultural Factors and Second Language Acquisition**

Since our main concern is the socio-cultural aspects that may account for L2 acquisition and the way the latter is enhanced or delayed, we shall focus more on social and cultural factors than on linguistic ones. Relative to the process of SLA, the following are suggested: *Language Status, Identity, Social Institutions, Social Classification, Learning Conditions* and *the Culture of Learning*.

#### **2.5.3.1. Language Status**

When young, I often heard “French is the language of the mind; English the language of business; Spanish the language of the heart; German the language of knowledge and Arabic the language of the conscience”. Several years later I decided that English was the language of arts and started to learn it. Such an anecdote is only used to illustrate the way some individuals may attribute changing labels to language(s).

As mentioned in the first chapter, each language has its status (social, political, cultural and so on). Languages whether L1 or L2 are designated some functions according to different factors either at the individual level or the societal one; besides, the status can

be perceived not only at the national value but at the international one too. Some languages or accents such Standard British English or Received Pronunciation (R.P.) represent the upper-class variety that many people associate with power, wealth, and a long tradition of literature, knowledge and political history as claimed by Mc Arthur “English of England (warts and worries and all) is ‘first among equals’.” (2002, p. 45).

Languages have an essential symbolic for unity, identity, ethnic group, education, literature, religion, political affiliation, etc. Colonialism, for example, brought French L2 in Algeria; some Algerians may view it as the language of the coloniser others as the language of modernity and Sciences (Benrabah, 2013). Language status is central to the learners since it can either encourage their learning or inhibit it.

### **2.5.3.2. Identity**

Languages may reinforce the sense of belonging to a nation, a country or a language group. They may be the cause of social cohesion. It may function as a boundary that needs to be crossed if learners want to acquire an additional language. Learners also need to learn what makes that language special to its speakers; language also implies reducing the cultural and the social distance (Schumann, 1987).

### **2.5.3.3. Social Institutions**

Social institutions are organisms preserved through traditions, politics, religion, economy and so on. Generally, those institutions are governed by the language policies or by influential social authorities. Understanding the social institution of each culture may provide some answers as to the implementation of a language or the rejection of another. There might be even riots for or against a particular language as in the following two historical examples. The first, after the formation of Pakistan, in 1952 the Language Movement, formed by political activists, raised an uproar demanding the recognition of Bengali as a national language having a similar status as Urdu. The second, the Soweto riots in 1976. The fact that Afrikaans (a language of a minority) was imposed as the language of secondary education instead of English or other native African languages has caused one amongst the severest riots in South Africa against the apartheid policy. While in the first example Bengali was rioted for; in the second case, Afrikaans was rioted against.



#### 2.5.3.4. Social Classifications

Actual life shapes not only phonetic and phonological features but all linguistic properties. According to Labov (1971), a speech community becomes an organisation of ways of speaking. Indeed, a language community consents to adopt a particular speech according to its needs and its culture; some linguistic structures are adopted, others might be forgotten. Like any living being, language varies, develops, it is lost or it dies.

The socially dominant group may classify speech, select variations, or adopt new terminology. Learners from different social classes do not learn in the same way since they do not/cannot access equal learning or learning materials. Studies to determine what a *social class* is may vary in methods and approaches. Labov (1966), for instance, uses a ten-point scale—zero for the lowest, nine for the highest. This scale is based on three characteristics: occupation, education, and income. Trudgill (1974), on the other hand, proposes six variants: occupation, income, education, housing, locality, and father's occupation. This supplies a continuous scale from zero (for the lowest class) to thirty (for the highest one). Another classification is proposed by Saville-Troike (2012) who divides social categories into six dimensions: age, sex, ethnicity, education level and economic status. All the above-mentioned factors may influence language acquisition.

#### 2.5.3.5. Learning Conditions

Learners acquire language differently not only because of their social classifications but also on account of the way they were instructed within their family, community and institutions and within formal/non-natural or non-formal/natural learning contexts. They progressively and (un)consciously construct cognitive skills within diverse social development. The instructors may deliver information *deductively* or *inductively*. While the deductive approach is teacher-centred and rule-driven, inductive approach is more student-centred and rule-discovery targeted as in Thornbury's *How to Teach Grammar* (1999). Furthermore, learners may develop different cognitive styles when processing information. Witkin et al. (1962), for instance, distinguish between two distinct

educational styles *field-dependent* (FD) and *field-independent* (FI). The latter (FI) refers to the ability of learners to separate between the rule and its environment, to rely less on the teacher/teaching materials and to be more competitive; these styles are usually found in urban children. The field-dependent (FI), however, is a more holistic/cooperative cognitive style generally found in rural areas. Such educational experiences can affect L2 acquisition either in assimilating or processing information.

#### **2.5.3.6. The Culture of Learning a Language**

The way learners learn a language might also be significant in the way additional languages are acquired. Sometimes, learners confuse between what is learnt and how it is learnt. In Algeria, for instance, some small verses of the Quran are taught in the kindergarten without any explanation. Children learn them by heart either because they are too young to understand the full meaning or simply because some teachers are not trained enough to perform such explanations. From an early age, some children may grow to believe that learning without understanding is possible and develop a particular culture of learning which might be either positive or negative. On the one hand, it is positive because it does not stop the learning process when learners do not understand, they may just feel that not understanding everything is common. However, it can be negative because learners may learn ‘without really learning’. During L2 acquisition where there is a need to understand the functioning of the linguistic systems, if such a belief is rooted in the unconscious, learners may simply believe *there is no explanation* instead of *there is an explanation but we have not found it yet*. Moreover, instead of being more active in the language learning process, they may simply stay and wait for the reception of information.

The formerly mentioned points allow us to say that these are only some of the social forces that may influence language acquisition; the objectives learners formulate for acquiring a particular language and the attitudes they develop towards language representations or constructions are still to be investigated. While some of those factors may remain under learners’ control, others might be unconsciously beyond.

#### **2.5.4. Socio-cultural Properties of Interlanguage**

Studies investigating interlanguage (IL) and the way it develops have been prolific and emanating from different perspectives. One way to understand IL is to examine how socio-cultural aspects contribute to its construction making it unique to each learner.

Among those who have examined the manner IL can be affected by social conditions, Ellis (1997) summarises those theories in his book *Second Language Acquisition*, and he classifies them into three angles, *Interlanguage as a Stylistic Continuum*, *the Acculturation Model of L2 Acquisition* and *Social Identity and Investment in L2 Learning*.

#### **2.5.4.1. Interlanguage as a Stylistic Variation**

Ellis (1997) evokes two main theories that have contributed into analysing how learners develop variation in style according to the context and to the people they are talking to. The first theory advanced by Elaine Tarone (1983) views IL as *a stylistic continuum*. It suggests that learners develop a capability in differentiating between learning styles during L2 language use and explains the reason behind that difference. This ability is an abstract linguistic system that governs learners' language behaviour depending on variable factors, and it allows learners to choose one style over another in a continuum like selection. Those styles range from the careful to the vernacular. While *the careful style* is used by learners when they feel the necessity to carefully choose their linguistic output, the vernacular style is used, however, when learners are less selective about their linguistic production as in spontaneous speech.

The second theory proposed by Howard Giles (1984) is the *social accommodation theory*. Speakers accommodate their speech according to the group they are interacting with. That accommodation is materialised in the speakers' output either through converging their speech to have a social cohesiveness or through diverging it to emphasise their distinctiveness. Similarly, L2 acquisition is also affected by this process of accommodation. In fact, learners may construct their IL according to social factors and attitudes they have towards the languages or its speakers, and that might directly influence them into converging or diverging from the target language (TL). Such accommodation traces the route learners choose to follow and affects their L2 comprehension and production.

#### **2.5.4.2. The Acculturation Model of L2 Acquisition**

Another understanding of the way social factors may shape the interlanguage is John Schumann's acculturation model (1978). This theory explains how learners may influence their own language acquisition into success or failure by acculturation. The

latter takes place when learners adopt positive attitudes towards the TL culture. It can occur either by demonstrating a willingness to adapt to TL culture or by feeling some equality or closeness to the TL group. The closeness or the distance, learners display towards the TL culture, is not linguistic but rather a social one. In fact, according to this principle of acculturation, learners may either socially distance themselves and use a high amount of negative transfer that results in the fossilisation or ‘pidginisation’ of their L2 linguistic forms or they may acculturate and adopt the TL culture for a better and effective learning.

#### **2.5.4.3. Social Identity and Investment in L2 Learning**

According to Bonny N. Peirce (1995), there exist relations of power, among people, that inherently configure social structures within each society. Every speaker has a social identity that empowers them or not in their speech community. The social identity can be multiple and contradictory since it can vary according to different social contexts and to whom the co-speaker is. Some speakers have a social identity that empowers them over others; while the first speakers are termed ‘subjects of’ discourse, the second are referred to as ‘subjects to’ discourse. In relation to L2 acquisition, learning becomes more successful when learners believe they can impose and assert their social identity with a ‘cultural capital’ of the TL culture. Peirce believes that asserting social identity can enhance motivation and be more effective in SLA; she states “motivation is not a fixed personality trait but must be understood with reference to social relations of power that create the possibilities for language learners to speak” (1995, p. 26). In that case, learners will choose to make more effort to obtain that value, and they are ready for ‘struggle’ and ‘investment’ to construct that social identity.

#### **2.5.5. Interculturalism in Second Language Acquisition**

Several linguists, such as the following, agree that there is a need to incorporate some culture within the curricula because proficiency in several languages also requires proficiency in several cultures. Language contact also comprises culture contact. Oral or popular culture is transmitted by language, and teachers, as well as learners, need to identify what is hidden beyond the lexical level for a full semantic and pragmatic understanding of L2. For the following writers, successful learning of languages (bilingualism/ multilingualism) implies effective competence in the corresponding cultures (interculturalism).

Hager (2011), for example, maintains that language and culture are intertwined, and both should be acquired simultaneously from the early stages of L2 acquisition as part of the cognitive process. He justifies his argument by claiming that grammatical structures include social distinctions or organisations developed by the speech community (2011, p. 37). Learners need to become not only bilingual but also bicultural for a successful learning because ‘interculturalism’ increases aptitudes such as motivation, memory and positive feelings and attitudes.

Matos (2012) also emphasises this idea in her study of literary texts. She demonstrates that the unfamiliarity of a language is increased by twofold if the culture is also unfamiliar; and that it is impossible for a reader to grasp the text subtleties or the underlying potential of what is meant if they fail to understand the entire cultural setting. She considers that the construction of literary textual understanding can be better achieved through intercultural teaching/learning. The latter becomes not only effective in understanding texts and language but it also enhances readers’ intellectual abilities such as cultural awareness, a deep reflection of the otherness and an understating of different cultures.

Nowadays, teaching culture is included within the majority of Second Language Acquisition projects as reported by Kinginger (2013). In fact, the latter believes that teaching a foreign language without prior knowledge of its culture may constitute a barrier to the learning process and to the teaching performance. The solution, therefore, would be to integrate culture into the curricula and include culture within educational materials and activities.

Eva Reid (2014) a teacher of English in Slovak institutions affirms that through her experiments effective language communication cannot be achieved without a major intercultural competence. She explains that not everything can be translated and understood. Some idiomatic expressions, gestures and body movements convey cultural meaning and connotations (either positive or negative) that may differ from one language/culture to another (2014, p. 25). Therefore, to avoid any misunderstanding or lack of appropriateness, intercultural competence should be enhanced with teaching materials among the curricula.

In his article *Teaching Foreign Languages Through Culture*, Omeri (2016) examines how teachers and learners perceive the relationship between language and culture through the use of a questionnaire. He has found that 85% of the students believe

that language and culture are related and cannot function without the other, and 90% think they cannot study L2 without its culture. As to teachers, 60% consider culture as a real barrier to language in class and 70% provide the students with cultural examples during lessons simultaneously. Finally, all teachers and students consent that body language differs from one culture to another. However, this recent study has been conducted in Albania, and it would be very interesting to carry out similar research in the future to see how Algerian teachers and students perceive English culture in their teaching/learning of English.

As to L1 culture, we have seen that maintaining the native culture and not maligning it may positively affect language learning. Besides, teachers have a great impact as mediators on how to treat L1 and L2 cultures.

## **2.6. The ‘Cultural Load’ Model: Understanding Algerian Students of English**

Questions on whether language influences culture or vice versa have been significantly discussed. Most linguists accede to the cultural influence of L1 on L2 acquisition; yet, they diverge in what exactly provokes it and in the character of the segments that constitute the transfer. The remaining question is to discern the undertaken pattern and the nature of such a relationship. Whether or not all but some of those characteristics can be predictable seems very ambitious but quite challenging and complex to answer in reality. Instead, we shall focus our attention to what was commonly identified in the informants representing, so far, some of the Algerian students of English at Oran University.

This part discusses a postulate that we shall try to suggest for a better understanding of Algerian learners of English. It represents a model of socio-cultural dimensions that may influence learners’ comprehension and production when acquiring English. It has its grounds on two major supports, the reviewed literature on the field and a questionnaire that has been distributed to informants.

First, this model attempts to summarise some of the literature we have gone through; and, test if it can be applicable to the Algerian context. Publications on language, culture, identity, Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) have been extremely abundant and almost infinite. This model is just at its initial phase since we still have to further our reading and improve our understanding of the topic; because, there are so many theories that we would have still wanted to tackle. Besides, what may be valid today might be refuted tomorrow.

Second, a questionnaire has been distributed to students about culture and language acquisition. The objective of such an experiment is to identify what are the most important socio-cultural factors that may influence their linguistic competence and performance either at the level of comprehension or production. In fact, we aim at putting into practice the theories that have been dealt with. This section will be divided into two parts, *the Study* and *the 'Cultural Load' Model*.

### **2.6.1. The Study**

In order to put into practice some of the reviewed literature, we have conducted a short experiment at the University of Oran. The study was divided into two phases; the first, students were simply required to elicit what socio-cultural factors they consider are the most important to them as individuals. The most recurrent factors were grouped, reported down in order to form a list of ten words of the questionnaire. Second, 60 first year students of English classified the following words from one to ten according to what they personally believed as being the more to less important, namely: family relationships, social relationships, creed, morals, attitudes, socio-political beliefs, symbols, economic incentives, personal beliefs and habits.

For the analysis, we have counted how many times each factor was ranked in the same position, e.g. 49 participants out of 60 put *creed* as No 1 but only one subject put *habit* as No 10. Consequently, we have classified the factors according to the order they were in. The results are as follows: (1) Creed, (2) family relationships, (3) morals, (4) socio-political beliefs, (5) attitudes, (6) social relationships, (7) symbols, (8) economic incentives, (9) habits and (10) personal beliefs.

The last three were difficult to analyse since they ranked almost in all positions; economic incentives, for instance, ranked 6 times No 2, 10 times No 5; 2 times No 10. Since there was no common perception about those three, we have concluded then, (1) that they might belong more to individuals' choice than to their culture perception; (2) a small number in each position does not hold a scientific argument that wants to be representative of a larger population; (3) that they should be left aside for future and thorough investigation.

### **2.6.2. The 'Cultural Load' Model**

For a society to be homogeneous, it needs to embrace its individuals' needs and their identity so that it could preserve the way it functions. It is a complex system which is



organised and functional; it may constitute distinct characteristics that serve its course. At present, to claim that socio-cultural factors influence language acquisition seems an established statement. However, the remaining question is how we can materialise that statement into being concrete and discernible. One of the objectives of this model is to try to visualise what those socio-cultural factors are for Algerian learners of English as our initial step for a better understanding of L2 acquisition in the Algerian context.

For this work, we shall define culture as follows: it is a set of specific organised mosaic that distinguishes one group from another. Although it is difficult to delineate, culture is transmitted from one generation to another; and since it is psychologically and socially diffused, it can be dialectical i.e. individuals may have simultaneously several cultures which are not necessarily all part of the same group. Culture is constructed from both the social context and from the mental representations individuals have of their social context. The organisation of culture functions according to different layers or levels that range from the most fixed to the easily changeable; for, it needs to keep at the same time a sense of common stability shared by groups and the possibility for novelty for further development and enrichment. It can be observed through arts, traditions, architecture, dress code, food, gestures, manufacture, law, behaviour, practices, habits, langue production, social interactions, ways of communication and so on as it is demonstrated in the following diagram.

The following diagram represents a personal interpretation of the literature and the results of the experiment mentioned above. In fact, it tries to portray the socio-cultural dimensions proper to every individual and not to the group they belong to. We have called it *the 'Cultural Load' Model* because several linguists (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952) use the expression *cultural load* when defining culture; as to the word *Model*, it stems from its being designed in the form of a diagram. It is divided into four main superimposed parts *the Cultural Layers, the Triangular Foundation, Aspects of Diffusion and Visible vs. Invisible Attributes*.

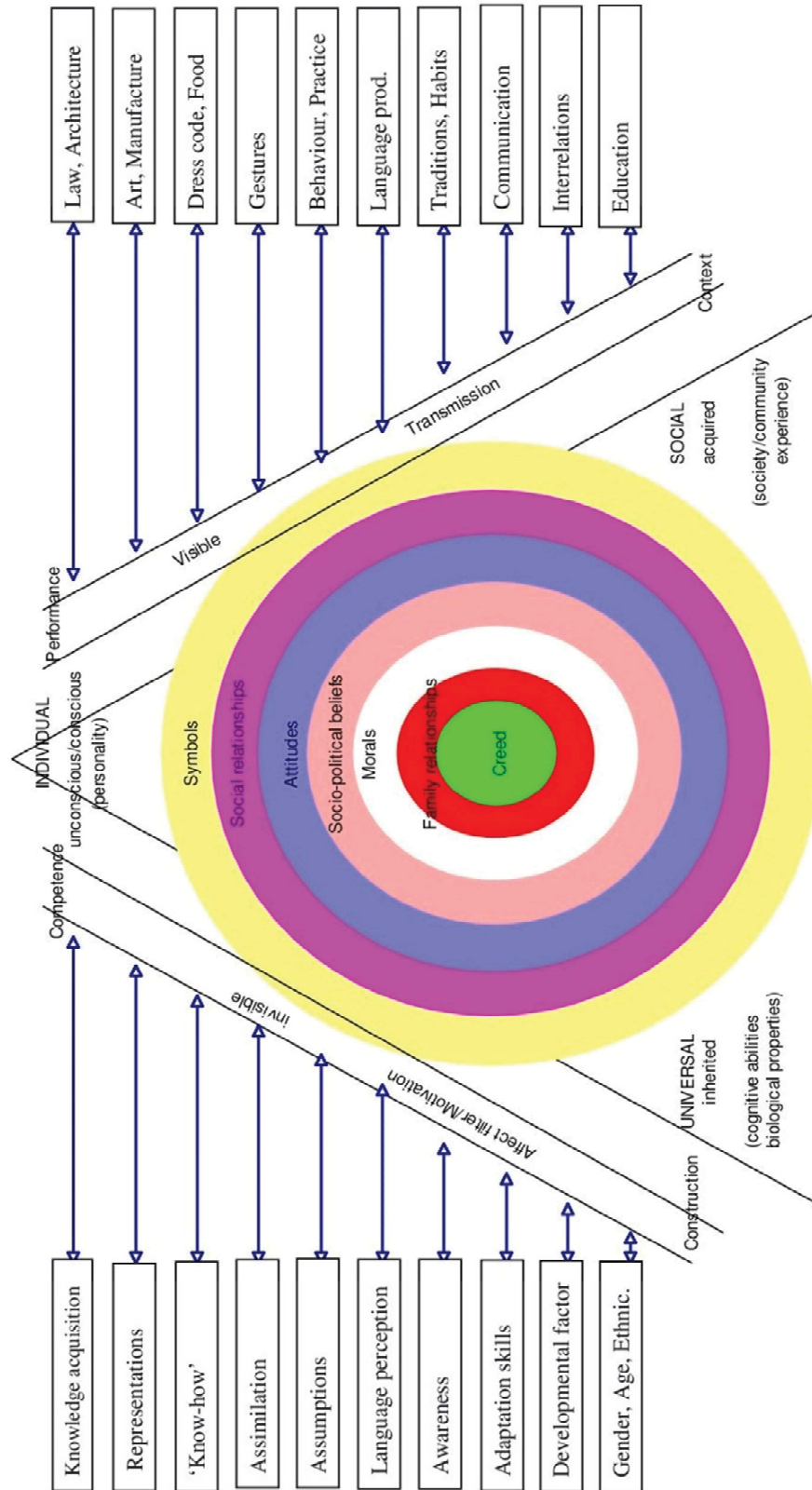


Figure 2.1: The 'Cultural Load' Model

### 2.6.2.1. The Cultural Layers

To understand any individual or speech community, one needs first to examine what triggers them most. As stated by Hofstede (1980), culture is “the collective programming of the mind”, and it has several layers ranging from the most constant to the level that is likely to vary. Socio-cultural dimensions have several foundations that represent the main basis on which an individual founds their perception or production. Hofstede has proposed four layers that he assumes are the way a nation or a community organises its culture; they range from values, rituals, and heroes to symbols. Since we have conducted a questionnaire, the results we have found made us adapt that theory to the Algerian context. Indeed, to capture some of the several levels in which culture might be detected, we have classified the layers according to the order the subjects have provided and in line with Hofstede’s model of cultural layers.

It seems that creed or religion is at the heart of the subjects’ convictions that are the most stable; symbols, however, such as actors or national figures might easily change. Gradually other layers succeed from the closed to the most open to variation. Those layers are creed, family relationships, morals, socio-political beliefs, attitudes, social relationships and symbols.

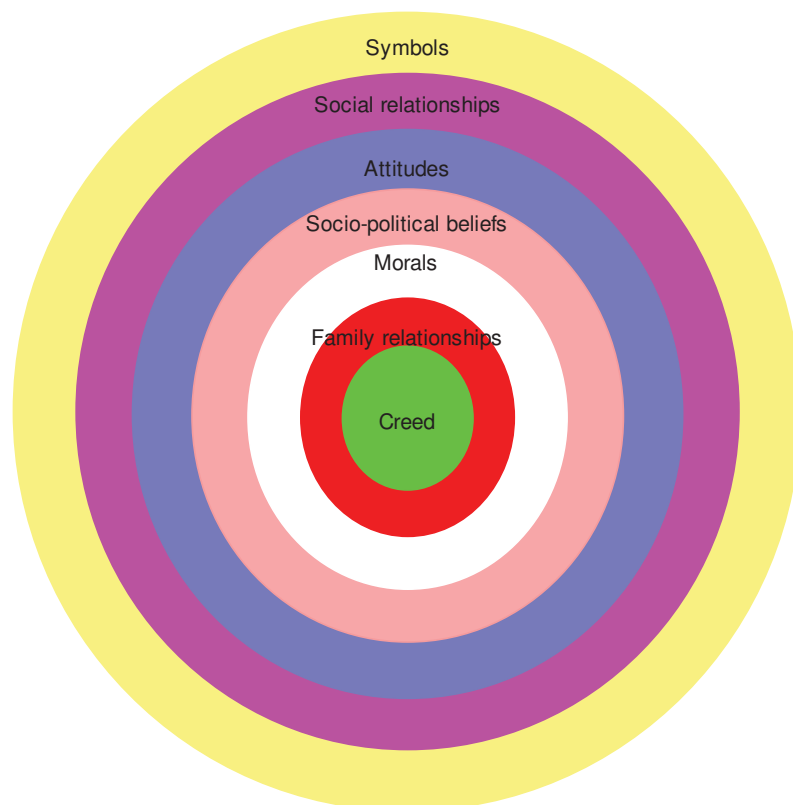


Figure 2.2: The Cultural Layers

### 2.6.2.2. The Triangular Foundation

Culture, language and identity have often been a topic of fierce controversy; inherited or acquired that is the question. While some linguists such as Piaget view that cognitive development is caused by the human organism; others such as Vygotsky assume that it results from social interactions.

The following triangle has its grounds on two solid supports which are what is universally inherited (such as cognitive abilities and biological attributes) and what constitutes the social experience an individual goes through when in contact with their society or community. Both foundations converge to construct a particular and distinct personality of an individual whether the process is conscious or not. In addition to that, the diagram shows that they are interconnected all together; however, they can be poles apart. An individual might recognise that a particular pattern belongs to their group culture without necessarily adhering to it. To illustrate this, couscous is a dish that any Algerian would identify as part of their culture; however, it does not imply that all Algerians have to eat couscous every Friday. Individuals' culture may be different from that of the group's.

As we have seen the relation is bottom-up; however, it can also be top-down. In fact, individuals' culture may affect their interaction with society and their physical reactions too. First, a person who does not shake hands with the opposite gender might provoke a social reaction that can be considered as an offence or an insult by other individuals. Second, an Algerian who has eaten a *bourek* (an Algerian dish) will probably scream, shout and become even sick if they discover that the dish was prepared with worms or cockroaches. The physical reaction would probably not be the same if somebody was culturally ready to eat that kind of food.

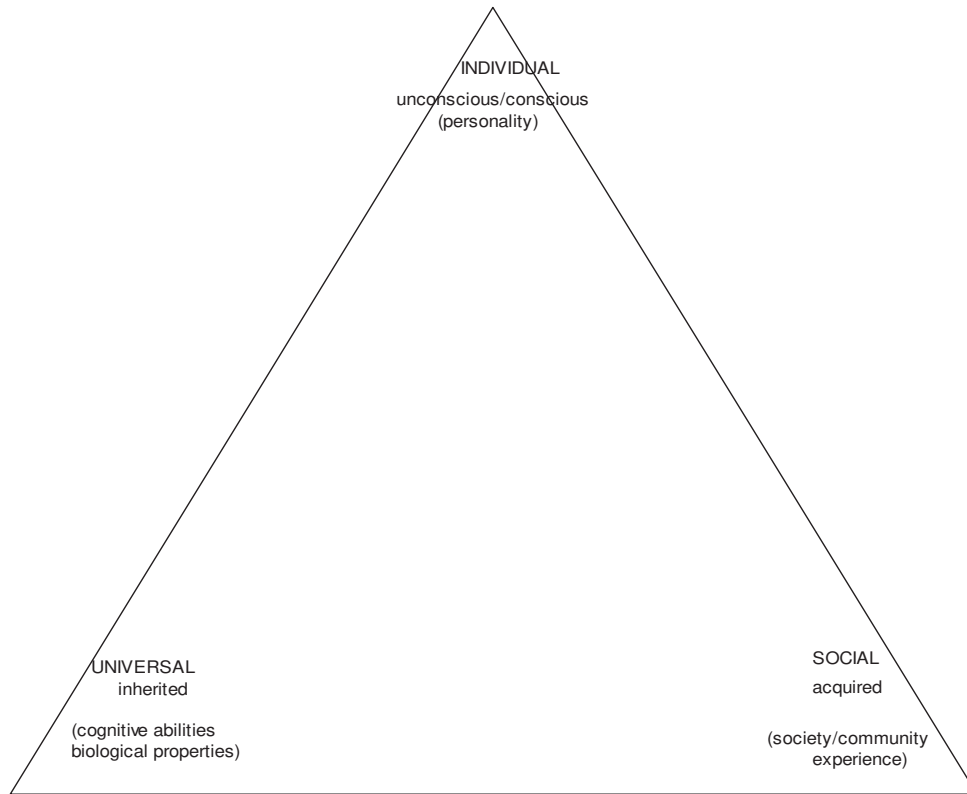


Figure 2.3: The Triangular Foundation

### 2.6.2.3. Aspects of Diffusion

There have been strong debates on how culture is diffused or distributed. As we have seen in the former definitions of culture (see chap. II sections 2.3. & 2.4.); there were those who claim that it is socially transmitted and acquired from the context; others, however, claim it is constructed through our cognitive abilities according to the representations we make of the social context. Therefore, we have put both views in juxtaposition so that they superpose the former triangle (see chap. II section 2.6.2.2.).

The following diagram represents two channels of cultural diffusion and assimilation. On the right, social experiences are acquired through transmission that might lead to or be affected by visible performances such as arts. What is observed can be examined, transmitted and improved. On the left side of the figure, however, the construction needs cognitive abilities to assess, understand and develop competence. It can also be monitored by affects and motivation. It represents all that cannot be visible such as perception and comprehension. Both sides may contribute to shaping the individuals' shared cultural layers (see chap. II section 2.6.2.1.) that result in making individuals distinct from one another.

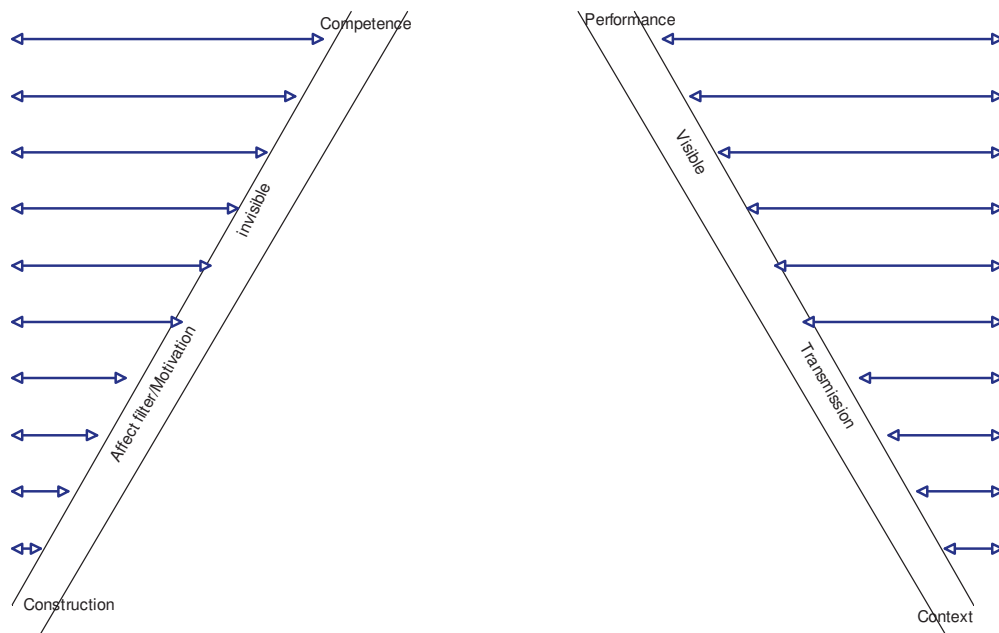


Figure 2.4: Aspects of Diffusion

#### 2.6.2.4. Visible vs. Invisible Attributes

The last part of our ‘Cultural Load’ Model represents some attributes of what is visible and what is invisible. On the one hand, the right column represents a bottom-up transmission i.e. from the basics to the somehow most refined of cultural production and achievements. On the other hand, individuals are born with cognitive abilities, and their gender and ethnicity are at the beginning of their development. Progressively, people construct abilities and form representations that help towards knowledge and a way of knowledge.

The selection of all those attributes is, in fact, a collection of the most recurrent ones in the reviewed literature in this chapter. As to the classification order, they are in separate boxes as examples of visible achievements, social transmission, intellectual competence and invisible constructed abilities. Both sides are complementary to the development of the individual. For example, a child can be born in one country; then, because of some factors, it is adopted by other parents in a different country having a different culture. That child can easily acquire the new culture on account of the adaptation abilities. Moreover, both sides might influence or be influenced by the cultural layers (chap. II section 5.2.1) and the aspects of diffusion (chap. II section 5.2.3) to converge into the construction of the culture of the individual (chap. II section 5.2.2).

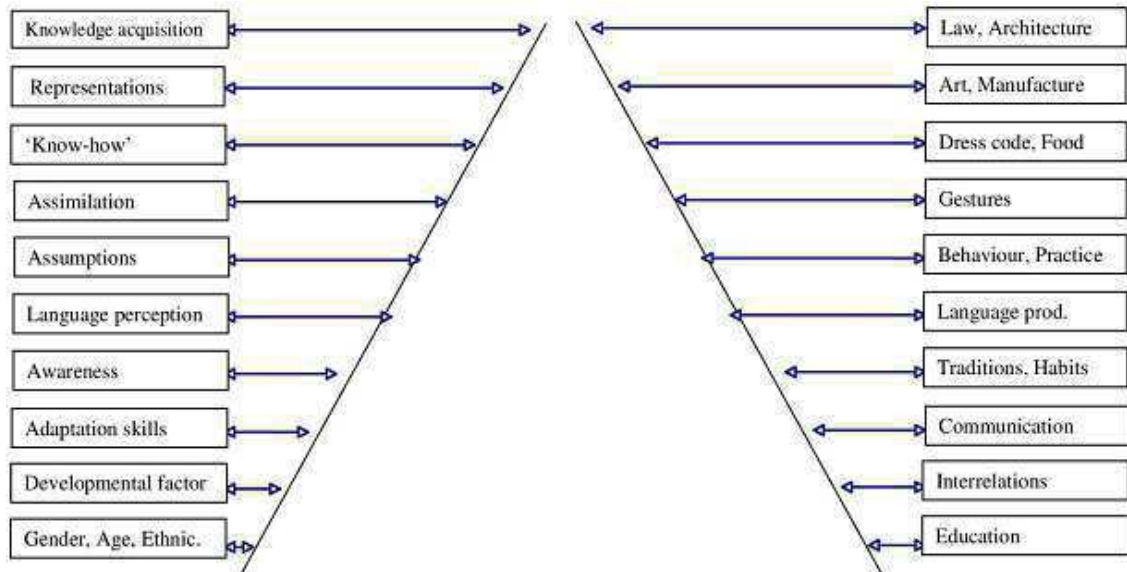


Figure 2.5: Visible vs. Invisible Attributes

It is imperative to point out that the 'Cultural Load' Model is still in the initial phase; and that it mainly summarises some of the definitions of culture and what the participants have answered. We also need to take account of the fact that they might have answered differently if the teacher was absent during the experiment or they might not even have reacted in the way they think they would in a different context. Besides, it does not pretend to be the Model of culture but just a model representing individual's culture. The analysis of Algerian culture does not want in any way to be stereotyping or judgemental; it is only a hypothesis that might be refuted or validated in a future investigation. Individuals' culture consists of years of achievements, and it is too much complex to be restricted in one single diagram. Many more other features are missing; and the final drawing does not match our expectations since we were limited to manually insert each element alone on *Paint* and on *Excel*, explaining thus some irregularities in the final form.

## 2.7. Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to answer questions about language, culture, identity and their complex interrelation that frames the web of information of a learner. We have also tried to tackle that relationship from different perspectives such as linguistic, psycholinguistic, cognitive, sociolinguistic, anthropological, sociological, and philosophical. Besides, we have also tried to view how such a relationship might be rooted from an Arab(o)-Muslim perspective. All those previous aspects have led us to identify



that: (a) it is difficult to detach language from culture and identity; (b) it is culture and identity (or the culture/identity learners think they have) that influence language; (c) language learners may develop several identities or cultures simultaneously depending on contexts; (d) the culture of an individual may differ from the group they belong to; (e) delineating culture remains complex; (f) it is difficult to categorise learners under fixed labels; (g) language, culture, identity and the learner are in constant development; (h) learning process cannot be detached from cognitive factors; (i) there is a causal relationship between culture and language and (j) socio-cultural factors influence language learning.

On the whole many other things can be said in favour or against what have just been dealt with. However, our actual conclusions, which might no longer be valid in the future, allow us to be equipped to tackle the linguistic situation of Algeria and some of the main phonetic and phonological characteristics of the languages that Algerian students of English endeavour to acquire. The objective is to concretely detect those socio-cultural properties.

## **Chapter Three**

### **The Linguistic Situation of Algeria and the Phonetics/Phonology of Arabic, Berber, French and English**

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## Chapter III

### The Linguistic Situation of Algeria and the Phonetics/Phonology of Arabic, Berber, French and English

#### 3.1. Introduction

As explained in Chapter II, there is an interrelationship among language, culture and identity which affects not only individual but also societal change. In order to understand Crosslinguistic Influence in the pronunciation of Algerian students of English, this work needs to deal with the linguistic situation of Algeria. In fact, the linguistic panorama is so rich that it represents a valuable source for the sociolinguist. Algeria has a socio-cultural and a historical background that may largely explain such diversity. The environment includes several languages/varieties that coexist resulting in different forms of language contact such as diglossia, code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing and so on.

In everyday speech in Oran, for instance, the use of Arabic and French or Arabic with French is quite common, and it does no longer surprise anyone. On account of the impact of over one century of colonisation, French still holds a firm hand on most administrative institutions except three: the religious, the police and the military body which use mostly Standard Arabic or a kind of an Intermediate (*selected*) Algerian Arabic, an educated form that is between Standard Arabic and Colloquial Algerian Arabic. This Intermediate form is gradually taking the status of a prestigious variety used in most politicians' speech and encouraged on Algerian TV shows. Moreover, to that list is added Berber(s); in fact, each Berber tribe has its own variety of Berber, which in itself results in adding more elements into the colourful Algerian mosaic. In addition to such a linguistic situation, English is becoming more and more attractive to the new Algerian generation.

In order to better understand the Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) of the Algerian students of English, this chapter explores three main concerns. First, it tries to briefly understand the linguistic situation of Algeria through socio-cultural, historical and linguistic background. Second, it briefly tackles the way the Algerian education has contributed to such a background and the teaching of Standard English in Algeria. Third and mostly, it describes the phonetics/phonology of Arabic, Berber, French and Standard

British English for comparative purposes and transfer detection that will be used in the fourth chapter. This chapter is divided into six main sections (1) *Algeria: a Historical Background*, (2) *Arabic*, (3) *Berber*, (4) *French*, (5) *Algeria: Language and Education* and (6) *English*.

It is also important to mention that beside phonetic transcription, most words are transliterated. Arabic consonants, which do not exist in English, are transliterated as follows: T = /t<sup>ʕ</sup>ط/, Dh = /d<sup>ʕ</sup>ض/, kh = /x خ/, S = /s<sup>ʕ</sup>ص/, DH = /ð<sup>ʕ</sup>ظ/, ʒ = /ʒ ع/, H = /ħ ح/, gh = /ɣ غ/, q = /q ق/ and ‘ = /ʔ ء/.

### 3.2. Algeria (Jazayer/Dzayer): a Historical Background

Algeria (or the People’s Democratic Republic of Algeria) the tenth largest country in the world (2,381,741 sq km) borders the Mediterranean Sea on the north, Tunisia and Libya on the east; Niger, Mali and Mauritania by the south and Morocco on the west. Oran, where the experiment is conducted is the second largest city in the country; and a port on the Mediterranean Sea in west Algeria. As reported by the ONS (National Office of Statistics), the population of Algeria has reached 40.4 million in January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016. Besides, the age structure is: (a) 0-14 years 28.75%; (b) 15-24 years 16.64%; (c) 25-54 years 42.82%; (d) 55-64 years 6.42%; and (e) 65 years and over 5.35%; with a male population that exceeds the female by 4.6%. Other statistics that might be of some interest are the literacy rate estimated in 2015 at 80.2% (male: 87.2%, female: 73.1%) and the proportion of unemployment was less than 10%.

In the majority of the Maghreb countries, speech varies from one region to another largely depending on the local inhabitants whereby areas have witnessed several successive civilisations; forming thus a mosaic, a multicultural background that was already in place. The *Maghreb* refers to the western part of the Arab(o)Islamic territory in comparison with the Eastern part ‘the Mashrek’. On February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1989; Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Mauritania formed the UMA (Arab Maghreb Union) and officially designated the area as the *Greater Arab Maghreb* a resolution held in Algeria.

As to language, several ones coexist Arabic, Berber, and French. In the Maghreb, people acquire as their Mother Tongue (MT) Colloquial Arabic or Berber and sometimes both of them simultaneously. In addition to that, they may experience an early exposure to Standard Arabic via TV, cartoons, verses from the Quran. They may also be introduced to French via loan-words (in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Mauritania) or when their

parents simply speak French to them or in front of them. In Algeria, Colloquial Algerian Arabic (CAA) and Berber refer to the languages of the people, and Standard Arabic (SA) and French are those of their institutions or the additional languages of educated people mainly in the intellectual circles.

This phenomenon results from the evolution of the Algerian society through centuries. In fact, the region has witnessed the succession of several civilisations. In *the Historical Dictionary of Algeria*, Naylor (2015) describes the history which has resulted in the present Algeria. He explains the implementation of several peoples among which are: the Phoenicians (1200 BC – 202 BC), the Romans (240 BC – 430 AD), the Vandals (429 AD – 533 AD), the Belisarius (533 AD – 534 AD); the Byzantines (533 – 647 AD). In the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the Arabs arrived to spread Islam under the leadership of Oqba bin Nafi' (622 AD – 683 AD). The settlement of Arabs witnessed two major periods. According to Versteegh (1997), the Islamic history has reported 150,000 militiamen from Syria and Egypt, and who came under the Umayyad and the first Abbasid rule; they came with their wives and children. The second period witnessed other numbers of Banu Hilal tribes from Hijaz between the tenth and eleventh centuries. Subsequently, Arab-Amazigh dynasties succeeded; namely, the Rustamids, the Aghlabids, the Fatimids, the Zirids (founded Algiers, the capital), the Idrisids, the Almoravids, etc.) (Naylor, 2015). In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Almohads unified the Maghreb and Andalusia (in Spain). The 16<sup>th</sup> century Algeria witnessed an invasion by the Spanish in the west and another by the Ottoman Empire in the eastern territories. Victorious, the Ottoman Empire defeated the Spanish and governed Algeria between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, also known as the Algiers Regency (1516 – 1830). With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, in 1830 the French invaded Algeria, and in 1847 France succeeded to colonise the entire region that became known as a *Département de France*. After 132 years of grievous colonisation, Algeria enjoyed its independence in 1962.

As to language; although the French language has been strongly implemented, the years following the post-colonial era witnessed a strong language policy of Arabicisation to regain the Islamic heritage of the former civilisations. It also sought at developing oil, gas and natural resources that generated new wealth to the country; an action that allowed the establishment of free education to both sexes. In primary, middle and secondary education, most subjects are in Standard Arabic; whereas, in the tertiary, most scientific

ones are taught in French. Besides, English is introduced from Middle to Secondary School, and it is taught as an additional language in the majority of university courses and that allows students access scientific documentations for their studies.

All of these points entail that Algeria has been the crossroad to several civilisations and influence because of its strategic position between the West and the East and between Europe and Africa since it represents the latter's door.

### 3.3. Arabic

Like any living being, languages evolve as they have to adapt to their users' needs and to the context or climate conditions in which they operate. Arabic is ranked<sup>1</sup> as the fifth most spoken language in the world in terms of native speakers (after Chinese, Hindi, English and Spanish) by 206 million; and the sixth regarding the number of its users in the world (300 million). In addition to that, among the 1.6 billion Muslims in the world are those who know some Arabic (mainly used for prayer, a strategy that has preserved Quran in its original form). As to the Internet languages mostly used; statistics<sup>2</sup> (June 2016) show that it ranks the fourth after English, Chinese and Spanish in the whole web. All these statistics may imply that it can be as varied as the number of its speakers and that variation is necessary for any living language. In this section, there is a need to deal with the evolution of Arabic to understand not only the transfer made by the informants from Arabic but also to try to understand how language functions since it can be divided, subdivided and sub-subdivided. Learners may transfer not only from their variety but also from other Arabic varieties used in another region or country.

Beside transfer, at any time Arabic speakers can integrate into their variety some features from another one e.g. on a Lebanese radio show, some Lebanese journalists said "*intique khu*" [ɛnti:k xu] as a trendy way to mean 'I'm super fine brother'. This expression is considered as Colloquial Algerian Arabic (CAA), specifically from Algiers and it is combination of a French loan-word 'intact' and a clipping of the Arabic *Akhu* 'brother of'; this expression was also used in Tunisia and Egypt. Also, in Algeria there is a new compound noun which designates a new type of jewellery called *حريم السلطان* [hari:m essolt<sup>h</sup>a:n]. In reality, the noun is simply the title of a Syrian TV series where women wore that kind of ornaments.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.statista.com/statistics/266808/the-most-spoken-languages-worldwide/>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm>



Modern Standard Arabic derives from Classical Arabic, and it is the official language of Algeria used in administration, education, politics, economy and several other sectors. The variation between Standard Arabic and the Colloquial Arabic of Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon or Kuwait can be easily identified by the use of an altered accent, lexis, discourse and to some extent syntax. Some linguists such as Versteegh (1997) explain that such a variation is due to the original variety of Arabic they belong to. In fact, they argue that beside Classical Arabic, there were also other varieties whose people migrated to different places. Therefore, each modern variety is the evolution allowed by the original one. To illustrate this, Versteegh claims that many tribes speaking the Hijazi (West Arabian) dialect migrated to Syria and North Africa; and this may explain why in some places of Algeria like Oran or in the Syrian Desert speakers use the sound /g/ in *qalb* قلب 'heart' instead of /q/ or use *yabghi/a* 'he wants', *rayiH* 'he is leaving' instead of other possible words. Besides, if we look at the following phrase "haada kaan waahid rigal wu maratu galatlu ruh gibli... 'There was once a man and his wife wanted him to go and bring her...'(Schreiber, 1970 cited in Versteegh,1997, p. 152) we may almost think that it is Colloquial Algerian Arabic (CAA), but in fact it is Meccan Arabic. Moreover, those linguists claim that even the use of the borrowed words largely depends on the original variety. For example, the French word *énervé* 'angry' is realised as *Mnaarvi* in (CAA) and as *Mnaarvez* in Colloquial Tunisian Arabic'; or between 'I phoned him' *tilifunitlah/tilifunitlu* (in CAA), *telfentlu* (in Colloquial Tunisian Arabic), *talfantelu* (in Colloquial Lebanese Arabic).

In other words, each variety uses borrowing according to the original Arabic variety it belongs to. Such an analysis of the internal structures might serve several purposes: (a) it may give us some insight to the way it is used for transfer; (b) it may provide us with the linguistic features that are less flexible to variation; (c) it may found the grounds to the codification and the standardisation of any new Arabic variety; and (d) it helps us understand the way a variety functions and evolves from Standard to Colloquial. The remaining question is to understand terms such as Classical Arabic, Standard Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Intermediate Arabic and Colloquial Arabic. As it is quite difficult to understand each term alone, the exploration through a linguistic continuum will be achieved chronologically and typologically.

### 3.3.1. Historical Background of Arabic

Arabic is a member of the Semitic languages, a family of the Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) languages. The term Semitic has been given to the descendants of Shem (Son of Noah according to the Bible) and their languages. The Semitic languages are characterised by common linguistic features such as: (1) the triliteral form of their root which mostly consists of three consonants and when vowels are added, the word becomes inflected e.g. (to write: *kataba*, *katiba*, *kutiba*, *kutubun*, *kaatibu*, etc.); (2) they include guttural and palatal common sounds (such as /q/, /ʔ/, /ʕ/, /ħ/) sounds; (3) they possess two tenses which rather refer to a completed action rather than to time; (4) they are marked with three basic vowels in both their short and long forms. Most of the Semitic languages are extinct; however, some of them are still the native languages of over 500 million speakers (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

The etymology of *Arab* designates nomad, traverse, merchant, etc. The word Arabic was referred to as *Arbi* in Assyrian inscriptions; *Aribi* in Babylonian; *Ereb* in the Aramaic (Hebrew) Bible; as *Erembi* in Homer's<sup>3</sup> work; *Arabikos* or *Saracen* (the easterner) in Greek and *Arabicus* in Latin (Versteegh, 1997). The language is said to be among the oldest Semitic languages (Hetzron, 1976; Versteegh, 1997)

### 3.3.2. Classical Arabic (CA)

Classical Arabic (CA) was traditionally claimed to be deriving from the South Semitic Arabian; however, according to the following writers, other discoveries have demonstrated that it derives from the West (or Central) Semitic languages as in the following diagram (Hetzron, 1976; Versteegh, 1997; Holes, 2004; Shah, 2008; Watson, 2011).

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<sup>3</sup> Homer (9th and 8th century BC) or (12th – 8th century BC): a Greek epic poet, presumed author of *the Iliad and the Odyssey*. He was born in Iona (present Turkey).

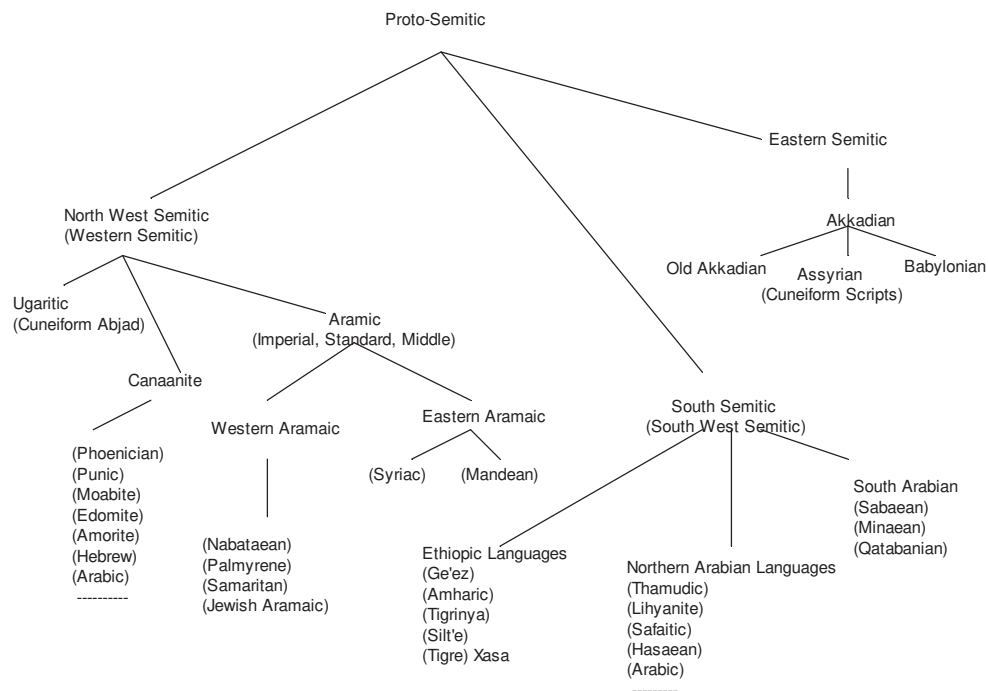


Figure 3.1: Semitic Languages

In Arabia, by the 7<sup>th</sup> century, there was already a long-established tradition of reciting poetry in public. Particularly, 38 days before the pilgrimage, once a year, most affluent people, merchants, poets, tribe chiefs and so on spent that period in three different markets (starting from Souk Okadh to Souk Majana to Souk dhi El-Majaz) then they ended their journey in Mecca to the Kaaba on Dhi El-Hija 9<sup>th</sup> (lunar month) for the Hajj. Poets from the entire peninsula went there to demonstrate their mastery of language, eloquence, rhetoric, meter, style, rhymes and figures of speech. That cultural tradition was so important that it still has some impact on the language of contemporary Arabic production, and tournaments of poetry still exist in most Arab countries e.g. Mauritania is also called the country of the 100,000 poets. In brief, poetry was highly appraised and gave the winners high social status, wealth and political ascendance.

Besides, the language of the poetry used at that time was so highly regarded that seven poems, considered as the best linguistic gems that should be emulated, were written then hanged on the *Kaaba* (or *Kabah*) in Mecca and which are known as the *Mu3alaqat essab3* 'the seven Suspended Odes'. As reported by Ibn Khaldun, within this trade centre of literary production and linguistic feat, there were also different languages and dialects in contact, namely the mostly understood and 'prestigious' dialect of Quraysh, a western Hijazi tribe in Mecca. To summarise, the linguistic situation included (a) several Arabic

dialects, (b) Hijazi (or Qurayshi) dialect, (c) the language of elevated diction (also known as that of the *Jahili* poetry (الشعر الجاهلي)), and (d) other different languages such as Hebrew since three important Jews tribes lived in the peninsula.

In 610 AD, Quran was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad in his ‘tongue’ (Qurayshi) as stated in the Quran (Sura 19: 97) but it has at the same time rhyming prose. However, Quranic Arabic was deliberately different from the *Jahili* poets’ form since verses from the Quran state it “is not a word of a poet”. In fact, even the supporters of Quranic Arabic being a poetic koiné claim that it was not poetry. Charles Ferguson (1971), the renowned sociolinguist and who has written several books on Standard Arabic, states that “Koran completely lacks the isochronic metrical regularity that made up the fabric of Arabic verse rendition” (p. 5). Besides, Holes states that:

On the stylistic level, the sources and patterns of imagery of the Koran are far removed from those found in the [Jahili] poetry. ... It is small wonder that foreign learners of Arabic generally find the Koran easier to understand than [that] poetry. (Holes, 2004, p. 16).

As the Quranic form contains rhyming prose; several Islamic scholars from the 7<sup>th</sup> century to present time consider it an all-encompassing linguistic structure from which syntactic codes and norms should be withdrawn. Throughout the expansion of the Arab(o)Islamic Empire to non-Arabs territories, considerable changes to the Arabic orthography were made such as adding dots to the existing alphabet, vocalic diacritics *Tashkiil* to simplify the pronunciation of consonants and so on. The following two centuries had witnessed an abundant proliferation of Arabic grammarians, such as Al-Khalil ibn Ahmad Al-Farahidi (718-786) or Sibawayh (760-796 AD) with whom Arabic was completely codified; they extracted the syntactic rules from the Quran first and from the the Prophet’s dialect next as the latter had been elevated by its being referred to in the Quran. It became, then, the language to study and to learn (Versteegh, 1997). Besides, those extremely rich Qurayshi merchants had enough power to reinforce their dialect and “assist the linguistic ascendancy” (Shah, 2008, p. 263).

Those grammarians specialised in theology, translation, philology, syntax, semantics, phonetics, literary stylistics and language transmission (عننة الراوي). Their objective was first purely religious; they wanted to understand the meaning of the scriptures and to extract and fix the morphosyntactic codes. Furthermore, since Quran was mostly transmitted by recitation, articulatory phonetics and natural phonology

(sounds codification) emerged to preserve the pronunciation of the scriptures in their original production from the ‘distorted’ versions of non-native Arabic Muslims. To illustrate, seven main Quira’at<sup>4</sup> ‘ways of recitation’ have been largely adopted and are still used at present. In Algeria, for instance, a type of recitation known as *Warsh* (729-813 AD) *reported by Nafi* (690-786 AD) originates from the name of those two readers from Medina. All those phonetic/phonological rules are still obligatorily applied in contemporary Quranic recitation.

In sum, that standard form of Arabic (based on Quranic Arabic along with the Hijazi dialect) has become the language of the sacred scriptures, the vehicle of a prestigious inherited literature, the object of extensive production, the means to access translated Latin, Greek, Sanskrit and Chinese documents; in brief, it has become the language of the Arab(o)Islamic Civilisation. It was the L1 and the L2 to non-native Arabic speakers during the Umayyad and Abbasid rule for almost two centuries (7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>) (Versteegh, 1997). Similar to the languages of other civilisations; that standard form of Arabic has also been termed classical ‘*Classical Arabic*’.

### 3.3.3. Standard Arabic

Most Arabic linguists and grammarians refer to that standardised language as *Standard Arabic* (*Al-fusha*) in comparison with (*Al-Ammiya*) (or *Ad-Darija* in North Africa) *Colloquial Arabic* because the word *Classical/Literary* was not proposed by Arab grammarians. Instead, the concepts of *Classical Arabic* (*CA*) and *Modern Standard Arabic* (*MSA*) represent western terminology to distinguish between what is descriptive (*CA*) and what is prescriptive (*MSA*) (Versteegh, 1997). Unlike other classical languages such as Greek or Latin, Arabic is a different case; for, according to Holes (2004):

Modern Standard Arabic is a simpler version but unchanged in essentials... There is no chronological point at which Classical Arabic turned into Modern Standard Arabic... Modern Standard Arabic is merely a handy label used in western scholarship to denote the written language from about the middle of nineteenth century when concerted efforts began to modernise it lexically and phraseologically ... (Holes, 2004, p. 5)

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4 Quira’at are (1) Warsh or Qâlûn by Nafi’ from Medina; (2) al-Bazzî or Qunbul by Ibn Kathîr from Mecca ; (3) Hisham or Ibn Dhakwân by Ibn Amir from Damascus; (4) al-Sûsî or ad-Dûrî by Abu Amr from Basra; (5) Hafz or Sh’uba by Asim from Kûfa; (6) Khalaf or Khallad by Hamza from Kûfa; (7) ad-Dûrî or Abul-Harîth by al-Kisâ’I from Kûfa.

Those linguists claim that Standard Arabic is one language with two registers (CA & MSA). It is considered as a living language since those who start mastering MSA might become so proficient in the language that they can reach that 'exploit' in literary Arabic such as religious scholars or poets as they are exposed to it from their early childhood through Quran, Hadith and poems.

Holes explains that what is termed as *Classical Arabic* is simply used by the western scholars to label the language of the scriptures which is an immutable linguistic phenomenon. However, the Modern Standard Arabic (based on CA) is the language that can change and acquire new features or loan-words during language contact. In other words, the generic term is Standard Arabic; but for distinction purposes *Classical* and *Modern* are used to describe medieval and modern variants (Watson, 2011, p. 8). Some Arab linguists refer to both terms as the traditional standard (CA فصحي التراث) and the generation standard (MSA فصحي العصر) as two registers of the same language; however, such terminology has little consensus.

Another prominent sociolinguist and who promotes the distinction between *Classical* and *Modern* in Standard Arabic is Fischer (1997). In his article 'Classical Arabic', he explains that it is necessary to distinguish between CA and MSA since the latter is a modernised version and it is this version of the standard that is official in the Arab countries, taught as an L2 and used in different contexts in people's life. He claims:

As a language of poetry and scholarly literature, CA continues to the present day. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, new elites that emerged under the influence of Western civilization power revitalized CA and thus formed a linguistic medium, usually called Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) appropriate for all subjects of modern life. MSA differs from CA only in vocabulary and stylistic features. The morphology of and the basic syntactic structures have remained untouched, but there are some innovations on the periphery (Fischer, 1997, p. 188-9).

One should note here that Arabic was certainly reformed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; however, the language seems in constant evolution since the revelation of Islam. Versteegh (1997) explains that with the expansion of Islam from its early stages to non-native Arabic speakers, the standard form of CA started to integrate loan-words from different languages since they did not exist among the Quranic lexis or in Qurayshi such as Greek phlégma 'phlegm' بلغم /balyam/; or Persian *fustuq* 'pistachio' فسدق /fusduq/; *rabi* 'spring' ربيع /rabijs/; badingan 'eggplant' بدنجان /badinja:n/, etc. Such ability in borrowing

from the early stages of codification may explain to some extent the reason why both Standard and Colloquial Arabic still borrow foreign words.

Although Arabic was not imposed in new Muslim territories such as Persia, India, China, Indonesia and so on; there was a need for borrowing to enrich the standard. Versteegh carries on by explaining that to maintain power they needed new terminology in law, economy, botany, medicine, astrology, sciences and so on. The first Arab-language Academy was founded in 830 AD *Bayt al-Hikma* 'lit. House of Wisdom'. Therefore, they studied most languages and translated their works to have a new corresponding word from a triliteral root for each concept. The root was taken either from Quran, from poetry language or the Hijazi dialect. For example, the Greek work *keratoeidès* was transformed into *qaraniyya* قرنية 'cornea' from an already existing root قرن [qarana]. Al-Khalil ibn Ahmad Al-Farahidi (718-786) completed the first dictionary in Arabic with, (a) a reformed new script, (b) the inclusion of all of the Arabic roots (nearly 16,000 each within its meaning, (c) the inflections of those roots according to the context of occurrence either from the Quran or from poetry verses), and (d) phonetic structures to the pronunciation of sounds. His student Sibawayh and subsequent grammarians continued his work to integrate additional codifications.

Besides, as the Arab(o)-Islamic Empire has expanded to vast territories and in addition to several other existing Arabic dialects; Colloquial Arabic was present in almost all Arab regions aside from Hijaz where their Mother Tongue was considered standard. This situation has often been labelled not as bilingualism but as a diglossia in which each variety has a function.

On the one hand, some linguists such as Ferguson (1971) claim that diglossia (the use of a high and low variety for different functions) characterises the Arabic language from the first century of Islam. On the other hand, others, such as Diem (1976), state that diglossia is part of Arabic from its Pre-Islamic variety to its modern version. However, Versteegh (1997) argues that there is no case of diglossia between the Standard and the Colloquial variety because of the following reasons: (a) there is an Intermediate Arabic that combines the Standard and the Colloquial and it can be used everywhere, (b) Marçais (1930) and Fergusson (1959) compared the Arabic situation to Greek and to German in Haiti. Versteegh claims that the difference between them is not the same since Colloquial Arabic is the Mother Tongue of all speakers and Standard is the target which might be



reached or not; (c), he claims that the hypothesis of Ferguson has been weakened by later publications as they have demonstrated that the opposition is not necessarily a binary one since a functional distribution of language can be applicable to all languages having several registers, and (d) not everyone necessarily knows the 'high' variety as in Algeria where some people could only know Colloquial Arabic or Berber.

To that point, we need to go back to those who codified Standard Arabic as they were confronted with that situation a very long time ago. According to Sibawayh (760-796 AD) whose objectives were primarily religious, he explains that phenomenon by claiming that Islam came to all people and that Arabic should be made able to adapt to all, but there has to be a shared and codified native model understood by all and which can evolve conditionally. For this purpose, he spent his short life providing that standardisation.

In his influential book *Al-Kitab* of five huge volumes; Sibawayh, a Persian and the student of Al-Khalil ibn Ahmad Al-Farahidi, classified: (1) all Standard Arabic syntactic rules (النحو), (2) morphological and inflectional rules (الصرف), (3) syllable structures and linguistic constraints, (4) (الصوتيات) phonetic articulatory description and natural phonology – e.g. after /h/, a pharyngeal should undergo a voiceless assimilation (Sibawayh's example cited in Willems & Cuypere Eds., 2008, p. 123), and (5) language use and usage (القياس والعلة و التقدير), methods to analyse and understand both scriptures (علم التفسير و الأصول) and literary texts (علم البلاغة). He recorded native people's speech (prose and poetry) walking through several villages and cities recording and analysing both what was said and how it was understood. After his death, one of his students collected his work and published the book. The fact that he was Persian and a Sunni made his book adopted by both Sunni and Shiite scholars.

#### **3.3.4. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)**

Although the concept *Modern Standard Arabic* (MSA) is not official in Arabic, it is, nevertheless, the official language of the Arab countries and the Arab League, the language taught in school, the language of printing and among the six languages of the United Nations. It is also the language of Arab TVs and radio news, newspapers, most shops and street signs. Moreover, it is the language taught as L2 for non-Arabic learners. However, in some of the reviewed literature, the term *Modern* is often put between

parentheses (Modern) Standard Arabic as it refers to the standard or it is simply dropped in the descriptive analysis of Arabic syntax, phonology, morphology and lexis.

MSA, as we have seen, is the modernised version of Standard Arabic that occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It has been called *Modern* to distinguish the evolution of the standard that has allowed the changes in linguistic structures to take place. That modernisation is called in Arabic En-Nahda النهضة 'renaissance' (referring to *a political and a cultural reinvention*) which started from Egypt and propagated to other Arab countries between the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries when there was an observable revolution in most fields of life. In addition to that, the creation of the Cairo National Publishing greatly helped in making those scholars' voice heard by people; namely the first Egyptian Gazette (al-Waqa'i3 al-Misriyya الوقائع المصرية) printed in 1828 and which started to become very popular.

After the end of the French colonialism, the decline of the Ottoman Empire and with a controlling closed religious sector, Ruler Muhammad Ali Basha (1769-1849), an Albanian, wanted a European-style country for Egypt. He sent several Egyptian scholars to the western countries to study so they can understand what might bring back power to Egypt. When returning to the country, several reforms were made in parliament, education for women, medicine, law institutions, modern readings of the Quran, military organisation, arts, music, etc. Among the scholars that founded En-Nahda, are Rifa'a el-Tahtaway (1801-1873) in education and politics, Jamal Al-din Al-Afghani (1839-1897) in religion, Ahmad Shawqui (1868-1932) in poetry, Taha Hussein (1889-1973) in prose writing, Gibran Khalil Gibran (1883-1931) a Lebanese in literature and philosophy, etc. The last three writers have played a crucial role in Modern Standard Arabic. Their literary production was eloquent and they showed an excellent mastery of Arabic; however, they completely innovated literary production because (a) the style of narration was simple since they did not use the traditional literary codes, (b) the selection of words was easy to understand by most of the population as there was a high rate of illiteracy and (c) they succeeded to restore some prestige to Arabic that people thought was a long time ago forgotten. Many others have followed in their path in economy, politics, philosophy,

religion, history, linguistics, education, cinema, music, etc. in Egypt, in the Levant countries and North Africa<sup>5</sup>.

Within this context, several secular national syndicates, political organisations and linguistic associations emerged to reduce the dominance of some scholars of Al-Azhar Mosque over people. In 1934, the Academy of the Arabic Language (مجمع اللغة العربية) was founded in Cairo by influential names such as Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad (1889-1964) who wrote over 100 novels in Arabic and Muhammad Metwali Alsha3rawi (Cheick Alsha3rawi) (1911-1998) a religious scholar from Al-Azhar but he modernised the interpretation of the Quran and he reviewed some of the Islamic laws that were applied at that time, he was later appointed a Minister, Egyptian Mufti and Head of Al-Azhar. All those names and several others created the Academy of Language to reduce illiteracy, to make Arabic an easy language accessible to all even to foreigners, to integrate the new scientific terminology coming from the West, to design educational syllabi and manuals and to unify the Arab world through language, a dream that never came true. The academy was founded as a replica of the Académie Française (Versteegh, 1997).

Besides, the formation of the Academy of the Arabic Language in Damascus (Syria) in 1919 has played a major role in MSA since the council has founded the first National Library similar to the British Library in the collection of manuscripts in Arabic. Other countries have followed Iraq (Baghdad) in 1947, Jordan (Amman) in 1976, Morocco (Rabat) in 1962, Tunisia (Tunis) in 1983, and Algeria (Algiers) in 1986.

Concretely speaking, the objectives of those academies are summarised by Versteegh as follows:

To guard the integrity of the Arabic language and preserve it from dialectal and foreign influence and to adapt the Arabic language to the needs of modern times. The creation of new Arabic terminology... reform both Arabic script and grammar... the introduction of new terms ... publication of dictionaries. (Versteegh, 1997, p. 178)

Although there were several controversies and debates between language purists and revolutionists, they, nevertheless succeeded in adopting several changes such as, a specific easy-to-read script since there were the Maghribi, the Kufi... which are difficult to decipher if unaccustomed to, and they added punctuation marks (commas) which has

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<sup>5</sup> In Algeria, the Islamic philosopher Abd Al-Hamid Ibn Badis (1889-1940) is considered as one crucial figure of that renaissance movement in religious reform. He founded the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama in 1931.

made the readings so much easier to understand. Besides, the Academy of Baghdad reprinted most traditional publications in religion, grammar and literature with the new punctuation and script. To illustrate, we have tried to read the work of Sibawayh in its original form downloaded from the Alexandria Library website; the task was almost impossible.

Furthermore, they have created a new vocabulary according to the following methods (Versteegh, 1997, p. 179):

Methods	Example	Arabic form
Borrowing foreign words	Laser	al-liizar
Integration of the word morphologically and phonologically	Pasteurised Television Bank	mubastar tilfaz bank/ bunuk (pl.)
Analogical extension of an existing root	adding suffixes: -iyya to abstract noun Combustibility	ihтираقيyya
Translation of the foreign word	Communism	ishtirakiyya
Semantic extension of an existing word	Locomotive	qaatira
Compound from existing word	Satellite	qamar istina3i
Translation of idiomatic expressions	Play a role	la3iba dawran
Translation of stylistic expressions	Prime Minister	wazzir al-awwal (normally it is rai'is al-wuzaraa')
Calques of some prepositions	Meet <u>with</u>	iltaqa ma3a (normally it is <i>iltaqabi</i> )

Table 3.1: Arabic Neologism

In grammar, some structures were dropped, but they are still correct if used, e. g. relative feminine pronoun (اللائي), or some dual verbs 'to write' yaktubanna (يكتبن); there were also a change in parts of speech e.g. the verb tamma (تم) 'to accomplish' has acquired the same function as the verb to be in the passive voice e.g. tamma tawqi3 al-ittifaaqiyya 'the agreement was signed'. Although there have been a few syntactic changes, the most important change was mostly in vocabulary (Versteegh, 1997).

In fact, the principle was to simplify syntax and language. The disagreements between purists and revolutionists completely lessened in the 1950s as there was a new discovery of a grammar book written in Cordova (in former Andalusia) in 1196 AD. It is called *kitaab ar-radd* 'alaa an-nuhat that proposes methods simplifying the syntax of Arabic. In the book, the following suggestions were made: introducing a verb in the nominal sentence, introducing a complement, leaving vowels of declension at the end of words as *yadhabu* 'he goes' can be pronounced *yadhab* and so on.

### 3.3.5. Intermediate Arabic / Middle Arabic

Intermediate Arabic is also known among Arab linguists especially in Egypt as al-gha al-mutawassita (اللغة المتوسطة) 'intermediate language or as lughat al-mutaqqafin (لغة المثقفين) the 'language of the intellectuals'. It is called intermediate since it is between Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic. It a 'neutral' variety, a 'lingua franca' mostly used by educated speakers (Benrabah, 2013). It mainly consists of including some colloquial linguistic features into the standard such as dropping declensional endings, using dialect expressions and pronunciation, shortening standard phraseology and so on. It may bridge the gap between Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic in conversation; but it remains problematic since, at the level of writing, Arabic needs strict syntactic rules.

However, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Tunisia encouraged such a version to improve Arabic proficiency among its users (Versteegh, 1997). Indeed even in Algeria, those countries' productions were imported. As children, we could enjoy a varied selection of those shows. On TV, for instance, translated movies, series and cartoons were highly appreciated. Also, there were children's programmes, like *Iftah ya Simsim* an Arabic adaptation of the American Sesame Street that concretely demonstrated a language policy. In such programmes, the language was made simple, and the syntactic structures were easier as in the use of the preposition *ka* (ك) instead of *mithla* (مثل) and the introduction of colloquial expressions; however, the pronunciation was purely standard since it had to satisfy everyone. In addition to that, most fairy counts for children from all over the world were translated into Arabic. There were also games as the card game *3a'ilatu an-najjaar* (عائلة النجار) 'the carpenter's family' or Arabic comics such as *Mughamaraatu JuHa* (مغامرات جحا), which were funny and easy to read despite their being originally an old literary production.

Unlike Egypt or Syria, Algeria, after the independence 1962, was more concerned with overruling French with Arabic than with reinventing the language. In fact devaluating Classical Arabic with ‘corrupted’ dialects, regarded as less prestigious, was not even thought of. Versteegh (1997) claims that:

Discussions in North Africa on arabicisation (*ta’rib*) concentrate on the introduction of Arabic in domains where formerly French had been the dominant language, whereas in other parts of the Arab world *ta’rib* usually means the introduction of Arabic equivalents of foreign words, particularly in scientific language. (Versteegh, 1997, p. 186)

An experiment was made in a face-to-face discussion in which participants (ten first year students of English) were asked to talk about what they did the preceding day in an ‘improved’ Colloquial Arabic. All subjects were born and continued to live in Oran. Records of major features were written down simply to provide a few vivid examples to this section. Future and thorough investigation might disclose more information in relation to this topic.

In Oran, common examples of such Intermediate Arabic are shown in the following table:

Linguistic system	Context	Example
Pronunciation	[g] a realisation of /q/ in Oran is realised as [q]	yquwl ‘he says’ [jqu:l] يقول
Pronunciation	[ai] a diphthong considered as rural changes into a monophthong	eSSif ‘summer’ [s <sup>ʕ</sup> i: f] الصيف
Pronunciation	Final /h/ becomes silent + /a/ become [u]	khabartu ‘I told him’ [xabartu] خبرتو qutlu ‘I told him’ [qu(l)tlu] قتلو
Lexis	The use of some other regional varieties or the use of Standard Arabic	lazmak ‘you must’ [la:zmək] لازمك labud 3lik ‘you have to’ [la:bud ʕli:k] لابد عليك
Morphosyntax	Combination between a standard word and a colloquial morphosyntactic structure	Ma netsawarch ‘I cannot imagine/guess’ ‘It does not cross my mind’ /ma nətʕarʃ/ ما نتصورش

Table 3.2: Intermediate Arabic

The former table represents only a few examples of such Arabic. Nevertheless, it demonstrates two aspects; first, that such a variety exists in the mind of the participants since they have only been told to speak Colloquial Arabic in an improved way. No further instructions were given. Second, 'improved' Colloquial Arabic may represent approximating the standard mainly in lexis and pronunciation since most of the syntax remains similar to the already known colloquial structures.

### 3.3.6. Colloquial Algerian Arabic (CCA) (or Dziriya/Jazairiya)

According to Bussmann (2006), *colloquial* speech means an informal speech produced in a familiar context either at home or at work. It can also denote social or regional spoken language. It is the Mother Tongue of all native-Arabic speakers. Colloquial Arabic according to Arabic linguists such as Badawi (1973) is divided into two types *ammiyat al-mutanawwirin* (colloquial of the literate) it is the informal language of educated people and the *ammiyat al umiyyin*, 'colloquial of the illiterate' it refers to the language of the illiterate. Others such as Holes (2004) divide between urban colloquial and rural colloquial, and that each has developed particular traditions in speech. Moreover, the language of the cities is generally more related to power and prestige, whereas the rural variety can be characterised by cultural and linguistic conservation.

In Algeria, each region has its particular dialect. In fact, from west to east and from north to south we can find a linguistic continuum, in which each area shares linguistic properties with the neighbouring one. For instance, Oran speech is somehow similar to that of Mostaganem which is close to that of Ghelizane and which in its turn resembles that of Tiaret. Yet, we cannot affirm that the speech of Oran is identical to that of Tiaret. Instead, all of those Arabic dialects along with several others share enough similarities to be labelled as the western/Oranese vernacular (l'Oranais) in comparison with that of the central cities of Algeria (called l'Algérois) or with the eastern one (le Constantinois). Besides, speaking the Oranais does not mean unintelligibility or an incomprehensibility<sup>6</sup> of the Algérois or the Constantinois. The fact that there are differences within the Colloquial Algerian Arabic can be explained by the following factors.

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<sup>6</sup> Intelligibility vs. comprehensibility: the difference is mainly as follows. Intelligibility refers to the focusing on words and their pronunciation and prosody. In comprehensibility, the focus is on meaning, grammatical and cultural aspects.



Firstly, the migration of Arabs to North Africa was into two phases the first in the seventh century; the second occurred between the tenth and the eleventh centuries by the Banu Hilal (a confederation of two main Arab tribes Hijaz and Najd). Before the Hilali arrival; there were already other dialects of Arabic and Andalusia in Tlemcen, Nedrouma, Constantine and in other arabicised urban cities (also called pre-Hilali or sedentary dialects). Pre-Hilali dialects were also found in the east of Algeria, dialects still characterised by the conservation of only three vowels. There are western pre-Hilali dialects, but they are said to be most found in Morocco.

The Hilali dialects are considered as the Bedouin dialects of North Africa. Versteegh (1997) divides them into four categories, (1) the Sulaym dialects in Libya and Southern Tunisia; (2) the Eastern Hilal dialect in central Tunisia and eastern Algeria; (3) Central Hilal dialects in the centre of Algeria (Algiers) and the south (borders of the Sahara); (4) Ma'qil dialects in the Oranais region and Oujda in Morocco; Banu Hassan, a group from the Ma'qil confederation, migrated south-west and settled in both Morocco and Mauritania and the speech is called Hassaniyya. The Hilali dialects can be identified by similar characteristics such as the realisation of /q/ as [g].

Secondly, all those Arabic dialects that were not only in contact with one another but also with other languages such as Berber, Turkish, Spanish, Italian and French have logically resulted in linguistic strata influences. In his article 'Emprunts Lexicaux dans des Dialectes Arabes Algériens', Guella (2011, p. 82-5) provides a few examples of non-Arabic words that are used in Colloquial Algerian Arabic, for instance, (a) from Berber: *fekrun* 'tortoise', *zermumiya* 'a lizard', *shlaghem* 'moustache', *3atrous* 'a goat'; (b) from Turkish *TabSi* 'a plate', *tqashir* 'socks', *bashmaq* 'a sandal', *zerda* 'feast'; (c) from Italian/Spanish *belgha* 'leather slippers', *qmajja* 'a shirt', *grillu* 'a cockroach', *tshankla* 'slippers, flip flops', *Soldi* 'a coin'; from French *silun* 'prison cell', *zufri* 'laborer', *baguiTa* 'loaf of bread', *tipana* 'thin loaf of bread', *tiki* 'ticket'.

Thirdly, the linguistic distinction between urban (*Hadri* حضري 'civilised') and rural (*3rubi* عربي 'Bedouin') dialects still is observable at present in CCA. As there were two major phases of Arab settlement, the distinction between both dialects were emphasised by its speakers as they did not feel the same towards one another. In fact, the first Arabs, who came from urbanised Syria and Egypt, settled in North Africa then in Andalusia and succeeded to develop urban cities, felt differently from the newly settled Bedouins of

Banu Hilal. On the other hand, according to Ibn Khadlun, the Bedouin tribes believed that the first Arab settlers had lost their 'pure' Arabic and that it became 'corrupted' because of language contact with Berber and Spanish. Catherine Miller (2007) explains that Arab rulers from the peninsula appointed Bedouin grammarians to be in charge of protecting Arabic from foreign influence. In sum, the implications of the dichotomy between urban and rural dialects were far more economic and political than linguistic.

Fourthly, in addition to the dialect origin, borrowings and the rural and urban dichotomy that may explain the variation in CAA, we may also refer to gender. The latter plays an important role in the Algerian society. Indeed, in Algeria, a study of English textbooks illustrations has revealed important sexist stereotypes; Abdelhay & Benhaddouche have found that "textbook-writers did not fail to portray women in traditional roles. While, it reflects men doing a variety of adventurous, interesting, and skillful job, women are confined to a set of very restricted social activities." (2015, p. 440).

Furthermore, there seems to be a difference in speech and the way it is produced between males and females. Peter Trudgill (2000) has identified this phenomenon. English middle-working class women, for instance, when they want to sound more educated, they use [ɪŋ] in words such as *sing* rather than [ɪn] which normally characterises the middle-working class speakers. As to Arabic, in Jordan for example, Suleiman (1985, p. 45) has found that females switch between rural and urban varieties depending on the context, whereas men use more Standard Arabic to demonstrate their knowledge. Another experiment that was conducted for similar objectives was to study the use of Tunisian Arabic and Standard Arabic. In fact, Walters (1991) who studied different realisations of sounds that are considered as Standard Arabic have found that the latter was mostly used by young men, followed by young women, followed by old men then by old women. Such a study demonstrates that age and gender may affect the selection of the register. In Oran, however, we have observed a tendency of non-educated males to use more velarised and back vowels. This, indeed, may constitute an interesting future investigation to a better understanding of CAA.

In Oran, some examples<sup>7</sup> of Colloquial Arabic are depicted in the following table:

Linguistic system	Standard Arabic	Colloquial Arabic of Oran
Pronunciation	thuwm / <u>θ</u> auwm/ garlic dhab / <u>ð</u> ahab/ 'gold'	[t] [d]
Pronunciation	Tariq /t <sup>ʕ</sup> ariiq/ road	[t <sup>ʕ</sup> riiq]
Pronunciation	'akala / <u>ʔ</u> akala/ 'he ate'	[kla]
Lexical borrowing (substrata)	Hidhaa 'shoe' babounj 'camomile' faraasha /fara:ʃa/ 'butterfly' Madrasa Qur'ania 'Koranic school' tannoura 'skirt' Haqiba 'suitcase'	[səbbat <sup>s</sup> ] Spanish origin [ba:bunʒ] Persian origin [fərt <sup>s</sup> at <sup>s</sup> u] Berber origin [za:wijia] Turkish origin [əʒi:ppa] [laʒyp] French orig. [vali:za] [fali:za]
Lexical borrowing (adstrata) (both words are used)	Iklil al-jabal 'rosemary'	[kli:l] Arabic origin [ʔazzi:r] Berber origin
Lexical blending	Kaifa araka 'how are your' (lit. how do I see you)	[kira:k]
Lexical semantic change	shaadi means 'astonishing singer'	Monkey (it is problematic since most Arab countries use this word as a boys name)
Morphology	'aladhi, 'allati, 'alladhani, 'allawaati, ... most relative pronounces	Elli
Morphology	Mikhadat /mixada:t/ 'pillows' (plural Suffix)	[mkxaijəd]
Morphology	No suffix for negative verbs: La tamchi /la: tamʃi/ 'do not go/function'	Adding the suffix /ʃ/ /matəmʃijʃ/; /matətməʃa:ʃ/
Syntax	Dual pronouns and dual verbs	Plural form only
Syntax	Verbs ending in feminine plural /ʔakalna/ 'simple past of eat'	[klaw] – masculine form replaces dual and feminine plural
Consonant order	shems /ʃams/ 'sun'	[samʃ] (not all)

<sup>7</sup> The listed examples of Colloquial Arabic in Table 3.3 have been selected randomly from daily speech.

Word order	Verb + Subject	Subject + verb
Phonemic change	Three short and long vowels	addition: /e, y, ə, ɜ, æ, p, v, g/ as in da:r /d <u>a</u> :r/ 'he turned' and 'he did' daer /d <u>ɜ</u> :r/
Simplification	Declensional (case) endings are dropped /ziʔ <u>t</u> / 'I arrived' /za:ra/ 'he visited'	[zi:t] [za:r]
Deletion of units	Ka 'ay shai'in maa /ka ʔaiji ʃaiʔin ma:/ 'whether'	/kafma:/
Deletion of sounds	Qara'a /qaraʔa/ 'he read'	[qra]

Table 3.3: Colloquial Arabic

### 3.3.7. On Phonetics and Phonology of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

Unlike English, the pronunciation of Arabic letters is quite easy to pronounce since there are 28 consonantal letters and 28 consonantal sounds. Vowels, however, are six but they largely depend on syntactic and inflectional rules in addition to two diphthongs (a total of 36 phonemes). In this section, we shall briefly deal with the major characteristics of phonetics and phonology of Standard Arabic (Algeria). Since we are also interested in the Crosslinguistic Influence on English pronunciation, we shall also refer to Colloquial Arabic of Oran in case of important difference between both varieties. Besides, although there are different ways to transcribe Arabic, the symbols used in this section are in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet), because it seems more pertinent to use the same type of alphabet for the four languages description. The following description was taken from Al-Khouli (1986), Benrabah (1987), Kopczyński & Meliani (1993), Fischer (1997), Holes (2004), Thelwall & Sa'adeddin (2007), Watson (2011), Al-Solami (2013). However, most examples of Oranese pronunciation have been extracted from daily conversation.

#### 3.3.7.1. Arabic Consonants

As there are a few differences in the literature on consonant classification, we have tried to classify sounds in the following table according to what mainly corresponds to Modern Standard Arabic used on Algerian TV news.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	b		t d				k	q		ʔ
<i>emphatic</i>			t <sup>ʕ</sup> d <sup>ʕ</sup>							
Fricative		f	θ ð	s z	ʃ [ʒ]		x ɣ		ħ ʕ	h
<i>emphatic</i>			ð <sup>ʕ</sup>	s <sup>ʕ</sup>						
Affricate					dʒ					
Trill/Tap				r						
Nasal	m		n							
Glide						j	w			
Lateral			l		[ɬ]					

Table 3.4: Arabic Consonants

First, what characterises Arabic consonants is the presence of four emphatic sounds /t<sup>ʕ</sup>, d<sup>ʕ</sup>, ð<sup>ʕ</sup>, s<sup>ʕ</sup>/ which should be distinguished from Arabic gutturals<sup>8</sup> {uvular /x, ɣ/, pharyngeal /ħ, ʕ/ and glottal /ʔ, h/}. They are articulated in two stages, with a coronal realisation then with a retraction of the tongue root; they are either velarised or pharyngealised depending on where they are realised. While English sounds might be opposed in terms of *voiced* or *voiceless*; to Arabic sounds, feature *emphatic* is added. Next, there are 28 consonants: /t, k, q, ʔ, t<sup>ʕ</sup>, f, θ, s, ʃ, x, ħ, h, s<sup>ʕ</sup>/ are voiceless and /b, d, d<sup>ʕ</sup>, ð, z, ɣ, ʕ, ð<sup>ʕ</sup>, dʒ, r, m, n, j, w, l/ are voiced. The three parameters can be represented in the following diagram that tries to demonstrate how sounds are velarised or pharyngealised from front position to the back (from left to right):

<sup>8</sup> Guttural sounds are those produced with the back of tongue. In recent phonetic books, velars are not guttural. As to /ʔ, h/, there are a few linguists who classify them among gutturals; others, however classify them as epiglottal. However, Arabic is said to have eight gutturals in comparison with three in English.

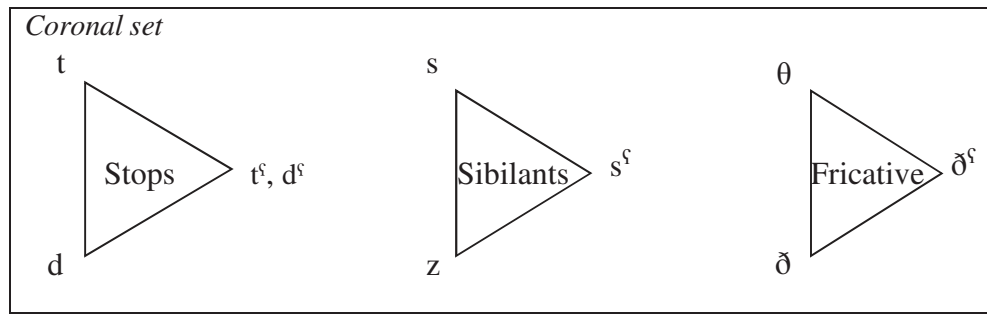


Figure 3.2: Arabic Coronal Set

Bilabial stops in Arabic are /b/ a voiced plosive, and /m/ a voiced nasal. Both sounds occur in word-initial and word-final positions as in *baa3a* ‘he sold’ or *naam* ‘he slept’. In Algerian Arabic, /b/ can lose its feature voice and become devoiced as in *bTi:t* بطيت ‘you are late’ [b̥] and /m/ before /f/ may be realised as labiodental nasal [m̥] as in *mafhoum* ‘understood’. In Colloquial Algerian Arabic /p/ might be found for the realisation of loan-words.

Labiodental /f/ is the only sound which has this property; it is voiceless fricative consonant and can occur in all positions as *falla* ‘he flew’ or *yaTuff* ‘he walks around’. However, Algerian speakers recognise and realise /v/ because of French and English loan-words such as *villa*. We need to mention that [f] can be an allophone of /v/ as in [fali:za] ‘suitcase’ in CAA.

Dentals constitute the largest category in terms of the number of sounds in Arabic /t, d/, /tˤ, dˤ/, /θ, ð/, /ðˤ/, /n/, /l/. The dental plosives /t, d/ are articulated against the top of the upper incisors, and their emphatics counterpart /tˤ, dˤ/ are pharyngealised. /dˤ/ in Oran speech can often be devoiced [d̥ˤ] when word-initial or realised as [d] as *dhiaf* ‘guests’. In loan-words, however, /t/ can be realised as [tˤ] as in *taxi* ‘cab’. In addition to that, in Oran most speakers confuse between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/ as there is a tendency to produce /ðˤ/ as [d̥ˤ] as in *Dhalma* ‘darkness’ an urban feature because rural dialects elsewhere keep the right realisation. The inter-dental /θ, ð/ are almost non-existent in Oranese pronunciation since they are generally replaced with the dental plosives /t, d/. As to the voiced sonorants (the nasal /n/ and the lateral /l/), they have represented the most challenging consonants to classify. Indeed, since there are different dialects of Arabic, each study refers to the country of investigation. For that, we have mainly concentrated our analysis on two factors; first, analysing Algerian TV news sounds and second, selecting studies on Palestinian/Syrian Arabic since they are known among Arab linguists as having the ‘most correct’ pronunciation of Standard Arabic among all Arabs. The lateral /l/, however can

have three allophones; it can be clear [l] word initially, devoiced [l̥] after /t, k/ *kli:t* 'I ate' or velarised [ɫ] in intervocalic position as in *Allah*, or in *baalTo* 'a coat' before a consonant, /l/ is dark.

Alveolars sibilant sounds /s, z, s<sup>ʕ</sup>/ are articulated in the same place, but there are two features with which they can be distinguished [+/- voice] and [+/- emphatic]. Examples of these sounds are as follows, *sukkar* 'sugar', *zubda* 'butter', *Sadma* 'shock'. In Oran, /s/ in loan-words before a vowel can be realised as [s<sup>ʕ</sup>] *SebbaT* 'shoe' and *Sandala* 'sandal' but [s] in *sberdina* 'running shoes' before a consonant. /r/ is produced in word and syllable margins as in *tara3ra3a* 'to grow'; *farq* 'difference' and *khobar* 'news', but sometimes a few speakers in Oran make the difference when it is initial and when it occurs between a stop and /a(:)/ as in *qra* 'he read' (it becomes velarised) and *raabah* 'winner' (it is not). When it is velarised, it may influence its adjacent sounds either by velarising a preceding sound or by making the /a(:)/ retracted to the back of the oral cavity as in *Tram* [t<sup>ʕ</sup>rɑ:m].

Post-alveolar sibilant /ʃ/ occurs syllable-final or initial as in *shariT* 'ribbon' or *al-3aish* 'the living', *muSana3* 'manufactured'. As to /dʒ/, it can also be replaced with /ʒ/ since both are used as part of standard pronunciation as in *zujaaja* 'a small bottle' or *zujaaj* 'glass'. In Oran, however, /ʒ/ is preferred as it represents an urban pronunciation, unlike /dʒ/ considered a rural feature.

The palatal glide /j/ mostly takes place syllable-initially as in the boys name *Yahya*; however, it can also be found as in *Hay ala as-Sallat* 'come to prayer'. From a phonological point of view, it is considered as a consonant since it occurs in the margins.

The velars /k/ and /x,y/ can occur word-finally or initially as in *kalimaat* 'words', *khubzun* 'bread', 'akh 'a brother', *lughiya* 'was cancelled'. However, /x/ may sometimes be palatalised and realised as [ç] as in *khalli* 'leave it' or 'let' since just after releasing the sound, the tip of the tongue starts its initial stage movement which results in surrounding the air in the hard palate region. The second semi-vowel and approximant /w/ glides from bilabial position to a velar one, *wiqayia* 'safety'.

The uvular stop /q/ is voiceless, and it can occur at both syllable-initial and final positions as in *faaq* 'he woke up' or in *iqtabasa* 'he withdrew'. In Oran, it might be realised as a voiced velar [g] in most realisations as in *qalli* 'he told me', however, there are some places where [q] is pronounced like *braq* [q] 'lightening'; *qarn* 'a century' since



*garn* means a ‘loaf of bread’ or *yqiss* ‘to throw’ since *ygiiss* means ‘to fit’ as in fitting rooms. In other words, [g] can be an allophone but also a phoneme.

Pharyngeal sounds /ħ, ʕ/ can be realised in both initial and final positions as in *milH* ‘salt’, *baa3* ‘he sold’ and *Hulay* ‘jewellery’, *3aam* ‘a year’, *yaqtaHimu* ‘to enter forcefully’.

Glottal /ʔ/, a consonantal phoneme, occurs in all positions of the syllable but it generally takes place at the beginning of a word before a vowel as in ‘akala ‘he ate’, su’aal ‘a question’, ra’s ‘a head’, *mabda* ‘a principle’, *lu’lu* ‘pearls’. In Oranese Arabic, this sound may become silent before consonants. Instead the preceding vowel is lengthened or glided as in *ra’s* ‘a head’ [ra:s] or *dhi’b* ‘wolf’ [di:b], *maa’ida* ‘a table’ [majda]. Sometimes when it is final, the sound is completely dropped as in *khaDhrraa* ‘green’ [xad<sup>h</sup>ra]. It can also be realised as a glide such as ‘aina ‘where?’ [wi:n], ‘udhun ‘ear’ [wden]. The voiced glottal fricative /h/ can occur syllable-final and syllable-initial as in *hajara* ‘to abandon’ or *munabbih* ‘alarm’.

### 3.3.7.2. Arabic Vowels

Similar to all the Semitic languages, Standard Arabic vocalic system is very easy since it contains only three main vowels in their short /a, i, u/ and long forms /a:, i:, u:/. In addition, there are two diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/ as in *bayt* ‘house’ [bajt] or *qawm* ‘people’ [qawm]. The six long and short vowels are illustrated in the following vowel scale according to what most represents MSA in Algeria.

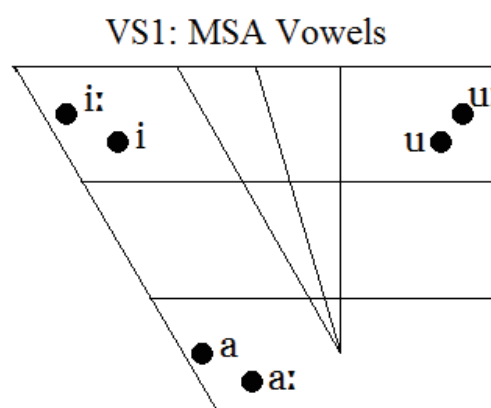


Figure 3.3: MSA Vowels

What mostly characterises Arabic vowels is that they do not occur initially since they are always preceded by a consonant or the glottal stop /ʔ/; however, they may occur

at the end or in the middle of a syllable. Besides, when they are adjacent to an emphatic sound, they are either retracted or centralised. Those six vowels can be realised differently depending on their context of realisation.

Allophonic realisations of /i(:)/ can be: (1) retracted and centralised near the front mid-close position [ë(:)] when adjacent to emphatics, and the lips are lightly spread such as *qaSiir* ‘short’ or *Tiilata* ‘during’; (2) realised as [i(:)] in non-emphatic environment where it is retracted between the front close and the front mid-close positions, the lips are slightly spread as in *ikliil* ‘rosemary’; (3) /i/ can sometimes be realised as [ɪ] in unstressed position where it is refracted from the front position between close and mid-close area as in *muhaajir* ‘a migrant’. These three realisations are represented on the following scale:

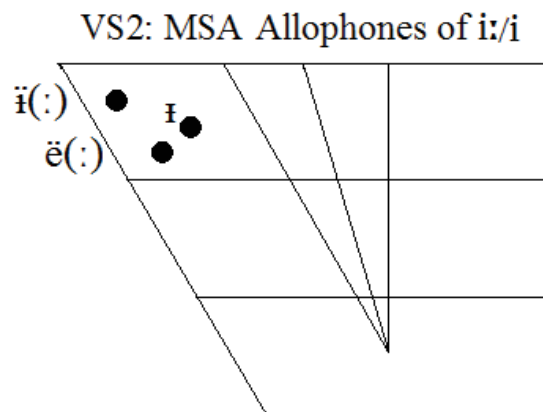


Figure 3.4: MSA Allophones of /i:/, i/

Allophonic realisations of /a(:)/ are as follows. Both short and long /a(:)/ can have three different variants, first, as [ä(:)] when they are contiguous to emphatics as in *Saara* ‘to become’ [ä:] or *Sadma* ‘a shock’ [ä], the vowel is centralised and it produced at the back open position near cardinal vowel No.5. Second, the vowels can be realised as [ǣ(:)] near fricatives and pharyngeals retracted just slightly above and the front open position as in *3aasha* ‘he lived’ [ǣ:] and *3alima* ‘he knew’ [ǣ]. The third variant of these vowels is [æ(:)] in most places and where they are realised as cardinal vowel No. 3 in the open-mid position as in ‘*afaaqa* ‘he woke up’ [ʔæfæ:qü]. In addition to that short /a/ can be realised as [ɐ] in open syllables except when it contiguous to emphatics. It is central, occurring between the open-mid and the open position as in *dahaba* ‘to go’, the lips are neutral.

VS3: MSA Allophones of a:/a

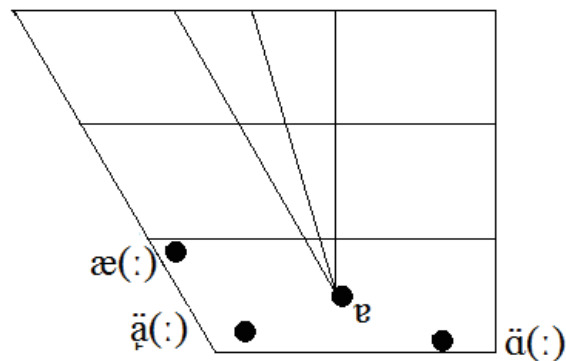


Figure 3.5: MSA Allophones of /a:, a/

Allophonic variants of /u(:)/ might be realised as [ö:] when it is adjacent to velar, fricative, uvular and sometimes emphatic consonants as in *quSa* ‘narrated’. It is centralised and just behind cardinal vowel No. 7. Then, they can be realised everywhere else as in [ü(:)] *fuul* ‘broad beans’. The articulation of this back variant is produced with rounded lips behind and below close position. Another realisation that may characterise the short vowel /u/ is [ö] as in *yaTullu* ‘he is watching’ where it is produced near emphatics only. The tongue is advanced and the back of the tongue is just below and behind cardinal vowel No. 7 as it is demonstrated in the following diagram. The lips are loosely rounded.

VS4 MSA Allophones of u:/u

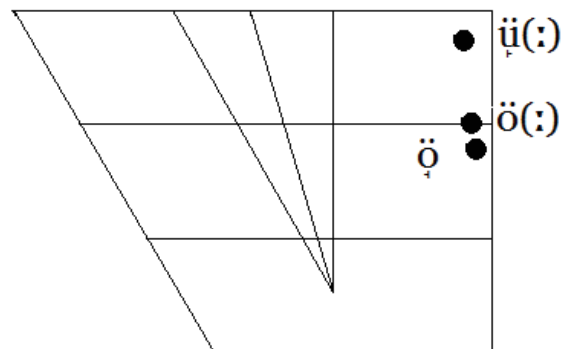


Figure 3.6: MSA Allophones of /u:, u/

The majority of these realisations are also found in Colloquial Algerian Arabic (CAA). However, there exists an additional phoneme /ə/ that can be realised as [ä],[ɜ], [ə] and as [ə] (Benrabah, 1987, p. 53). The former allophones can be found as [ä] in *feTart*

'I ate lunch'; as [ʒ] in *ghsal* 'he washed'; as [ə] in *Hall* 'he opened'; as [ə]; in *berkoukes* 'Algerian dish'.

### 3.3.7.3. Arabic Syllable Structure

A syllable is characterised by a structure formed by a consonant (C) occurring in the margins and an aperture by a vowel (V) occurring in all of the onset, peak and the coda. (Modern) Standard Arabic (MSA) has two syllables only; while the first is open CV, the second is closed CVC. In Arabic, V represents a short vowel, a long one or a diphthong; C, however, refers to one consonant, two consonants cluster or gemination.

Nevertheless, if we exclude dropping the case declensions at the end of words, a great majority of syllables in Arabic have a CV pattern. This phenomenon is called syllable shortening as the structure CVCV becomes CVC. Standard Arabic onset does not generally include consonant clusters except in gemination as in *ttal* 'massif/plateau' where there is CC structure. However, there are frequent possibilities such as CVCC as *farq* 'difference' where the coda contains a two consonants cluster.

The CC structure can be also found in word-medial where the cluster needs a vowel before and after as in *burhaan* 'proof' *ma3den* 'mineral'. The cluster can also be found after close vowels as in *uktub* 'write', *iqra* 'to read' which they can become *ktub/ktuba* 'write/books' or *qra/qraya* 'read/studies' in Colloquial Algerian Arabic (CAA) but *ktub-wa-qra*. Another context which CC might be found in SA is when a lunar consonant occurs after the definite article *al* as in *almo3allim* 'the teacher'. In CAA, onset CC is often possible because the vowel has been elided as in *qmar* 'moon', *fjar* 'sunrise', *kliit* 'I ate', *fTuur* 'lunch', or *sraqni* 'he stole me' etc. Onset CCC is not possible in CAA. The maximum is a CC consonant cluster syllable initial except a very rare realisation of the word *3nd* 'at' an exceptional CCC from Standard Arabic *3inda* or *qultlu* 'I told him'.

Next, the syllable shortening of CVCV into CVC is largely realised in inflectional contexts such as in *quumuu* '(pl.) stand up!' that may become *qum* '(sing.) stand up!'; *ta3allama* 'he learnt' as *ta3allam*; *saariqun* 'a thief' as *saariq*. Sometimes function verbs such as *kana* 'was' or *DHalla* 'to stay' may be mostly shortened before the negative particle *lam* in the jussive case resulting in *lam yakun*, *lam yaDHalla*. Other particles used in the jussive case may also be shortened as *laysa/lastu* 'to be not' which may become *laysat*. Other examples might be in *bint* 'girl' or *mustashaar* 'a counsellor'.

Concerning consonant cluster in the coda, germination may occur as in *jarra* ‘to push’ which becomes *jar* or *alaHHa* ‘he insisted’ becomes *alaHH*. In the coda CCC is possible in CAA, but the cluster is constrained to end with /tʃ/ as in *ma bentsh* ‘you did not appear’, *ma roHtsh* ‘I did not go’, *ma lʒabtsh* ‘I/you did not play’. To summarise, the minimal vowel in both standard and colloquial varieties is CV; the maximal, however, can theoretically be CCVCC in Standard Arabic and CCVCCC in Colloquial Algerian Arabic.

### 3.3.7.4. Arabic Stress

A vowel is usually the segment, which carries prominence in either close or open syllable. As English, Arabic is considered as a stressed-timed language; however, literature on Arabic stress is abundant but somehow contradictory. For that, we shall select what might be perceived as the closest to Modern Standard Arabic pronounced in Algeria. Generally speaking, Arabic is said to have a word-stress pattern, and the last syllable is rarely stressed; however, the difference and the difficulty may sometimes involve the place of stress for the numerous dialects. Stress may fall on a syllable or another depending on the dialect.

(Modern) Standard Arabic has three types of stress: *light*, *heavy* and *super-heavy* stress. Such classification hinges upon the type of the syllables in which stress occurs. In other words, the intensity of stress depends on the type of a syllable. In the following table, we have tried to summarise our understanding of MSA stress:

Syllable types <sup>9</sup>		Light	Heavy	Super-heavy
Open	CV	'wa ‘and’		
Closed	CVC	<i>fa. 'him.tu</i> I understood		
Open	CVV		<i>'haa.ja.ra</i> ‘migrated’ <i>'kaa.tib</i> ‘writer’	
Closed	CVVC		<i>'baab</i> ‘door’	
	CVVG		<i>'shaad.dun</i> ‘holding’	
Doubly closed	CVCC			<i>'bint</i> ‘a girl’
	CVGG			<i>'faarr</i> ‘running away’

Table 3.5: Arabic Stress

<sup>9</sup> C: consonant, V: vowel, G: gemination, GG: two consonants next to each other in the syllable margins.

The above table demonstrates two major general recommendations in Arabic stress production. First, the top-down classification of syllables shows the intensity of stress which increases from CV to CVGG ranging from light to super-heavy stress. Second, the bottom-up order reveals which syllable has more priority to be stressed than the other; that is, a word such as *ka. 'riim* 'generous' which has two syllables CV and CVVC, the latter is more likely to be stressed as it is considered the strongest between the two. Vowels can be either short or long. Most syllables that contain long vowels are stressed if they occur next to a short vowel syllable. This rule can be explained by the fact that there are three long vowels (also known as *al-madd fi Huruf al3illa* 'length' in Arabic). In addition to that, in case of more than one identical syllable in the same word, the first one is generally stressed as in *'ka.ta.ba* 'he wrote'; and, the accent is not on the last one because it may sound as a French realisation as it is often heard in Algeria.

In unstressed syllables, vowels are generally shortened if long or reduced to unstressed ones as in *'qa.ra. 'a* 'to read' in which the last vowel is realised as [ə] or they are completely deleted as in *'fak.kar(a)* 'he thought' since the first syllable is CVG and the following ones have a CV pattern. However, this word *'fak.ka.r* is often stressed on *ka* in Colloquial Algerian Arabic (CAA) in the same way as *yu.fa. 'kkir* 'he thinks' and in which *ka* in the first is CV whereas *kkir* in the second is CCVC. In fact, for some CAA speakers; the syllable structure of this word has changed as they do not stop between *'fak* and *kar* but pronounce it, instead, *fa. 'kkar* (a realisation that constrains the speaker to lengthen the second vowel). Such an issue on syllable division remains unsolved yet, and which might to some extent explain the reason why each dialect varies in placing stress.

To some extent, stress explains how some sounds are omitted or reduced. In CAA for instance, the stress in *r 'mit* 'I threw' is on *mit*; it can hypothetically be explained that it has gone through different stages from Standard Arabic *ra. 'maj.tu* → the omission of both CV vowels /a/ and /u/ *r 'majt* (as in Syrian Arabic) → the lengthening of the diphthong into a long monophthong *r 'miit* (as in Tunisian Arabic) → reducing the vowel length [*r 'mi:t*] (as in Algerian Arabic). However, such a hypothesis remains debatable until it will be investigated in a future study. With the exception of a few changes, the structure of CAA syllables and stress remains similar to Standard Arabic.

### 3.3.7.5. Arabic Intonation

The prosodic features of a language largely constitute of intonation, stress and rhythm. While tone designates the rising and falling of pitch (see chap. III section 3.7.1.5) in speech, rhythm refers to the regular stressed syllables in conversation. Generally, tone, stress and rhythm depend on one another which make each language specific to hear. A sentence such as the following may be conveyed differently depending on the tone put for emphasis (sentence stress):

↗  
-John bought a blue car.  
↗  
-John bought a blue car.  
↗  
-John bought a blue car.  
↗  
-John bought a blue car.

Similar to English, Arabic uses falling and rising tones; however, pitch does not fall as low as English does which explains somehow why most Arabic students of English have some difficulty in reproducing English intonation patterns. It might give the impression that the person has not finished speaking yet. Besides, Arabic speakers tend to use a rising tone for vowels which are primarily stressed in English. In Arabic, tone is largely used to differentiate parts of speech and meaning. In Arabic, there is mainly sentence stress. In the following table, we have illustrated with a few examples in order to compare the differences and the similarities with the English intonation patterns (see chap. III section 3.7.1.5.):

	Falling ↘	Rising ↗	Fall-rise ↘↗
Wh-questions	↗ ↘ Ila ayna anta dhaahib? 'where are you going?'		
Command	↗ ↘ idehab ilaa al3amal 'I went to work'		
Yes/no questions		↗ -hal anta dhaahib? 'Are you leaving?'	
Tag Questions		↗ 'anti ukhtuha, 'alaysa kadhaalik? You're her sister, are	



		you?	
Statements	↗ ↘ laqad saafartu ila wahran 'I travelled to Oran'		
Polite request in questions			hal turiidu kuuban mina ↘ ↗ al-qahwa? 'Would like a cup of coffee?'

Table 3.6: Arabic Intonation

### 3.4. Berber (Amazigh/Tamazight)

As stated by Ibn Khaldoun (1332-1406), the Berbers or the Imazighen (free men) inhabited the region between the Atlantic Ocean and southern Egypt (Siwa Oasis) and they lived in small tribes scattered along Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. They also extended to North Mali and Niger (considered as the oldest Berber tribes in North Africa). He has made an inclusive inventory of all those tribes, and his findings are still used in contemporary studies in sociology, anthropology and history. He also explains that they were organised into small population with a significant geographical distance from one another.

In this work, we shall use the word Berber/Amazigh instead of Tamazight because the latter is often connoted to Central Moroccan Berber in the literature according to (Kossmann, 2013) and it is a term that Algerian Berbers, themselves, have recently discovered from Morocco (Benrabah, 2007). Besides, the terms Berber and Amazigh are the main entries of reference publications, such as the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in which abundant definitions and explanations are found. As this part tries to understand the Algerian linguistic situation, we shall mainly refer to the variety that is mostly regarded as Algerian Berber, the second official language of the country. It is also the variety taught at school as stated by Belkhenchir, "The teaching of Berber 'Tamazight' was introduced in 1993-94 in 'Primary School'...It will be reintroduced in the fifth year of 'primary school' and in the second year of 'secondary school, in 2006-2007, as part of the new reform" (2006, p. 14).

Berber languages (Amazigh languages) are part of the family of the Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) languages, and they are spoken by 14 million people all over the regions mentioned above; but the largest concentration remains in Morocco and Niger (in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2014). Proto-Berber is said to have migrated from its 'Middle

Eastern Urheimat'<sup>10</sup> to North Africa between 6,000-5,000 BC. Kossmann (2013) claims that “Berber and Arabic have been separated for at least 6,500 years” (p. 14). The following language family tree<sup>11</sup> illustrates the relationship between some of the Afro-Asiatic languages:

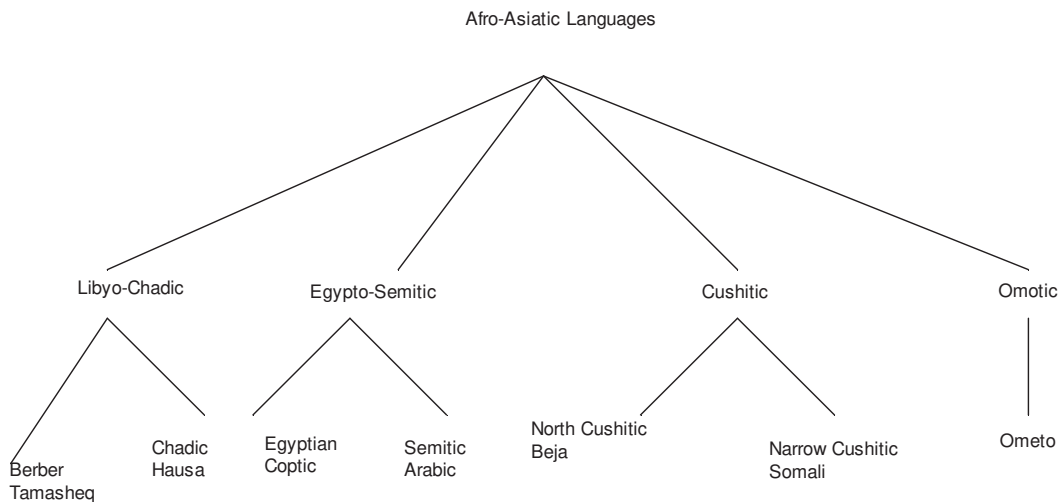


Figure 3.7: Afro-Asiatic Languages

Many Berber languages are extinct such as Old Libyan (Numidian) and Old Mauritanian, but several others still have native speakers such as Tamazight, Tarifit and Tashalhit. The Berber languages might also be found in the Canary Islands and the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, an old alphabet known as *Tifinagh* has been preserved among the Tuareg tribe and it goes back to Old Libyan inscriptions and a Phoenician “quasi-alphabet”.

As to the language, it has been difficult to select between singular and plural forms of Berber for linguistic analysis. On the one hand, there is a strong ideology mostly originating from André Basset’s (1952) *La Langue Berbère* claiming that all varieties belong to the same language for unitary identity. On the other hand, there are Berber grammarians who have serious difficulties identifying language borders, a fact that stands in the way of Basset’s theory according to Salem Chaker (1995, p. 7-19). In addition to that, Lewis (2009) in *Ethnologue* states that there are 25 Berber languages together with four different Touareg languages and five other different languages in the northern Sahara

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<sup>10</sup> Urheimat: a German term that designates the ‘homeland’ of proto-languages (in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

<sup>11</sup> Family Tree from Encyclopaedia Britannica.

of Algeria. Therefore, in this work, emphasis will be basically put first, on describing the linguistic situation as it is; and second, on concentrating on common features for the phonetic and phonological description.

Multilingualism seems to be a long time tradition in Algeria. In fact, with the successive civilisations and language contact, the Berber vernaculars have witnessed enrichment in form and content since according to Chachou (2013) the successive Berber Kings and rulers officially used Phoenician, Greek or Latin in their documents.

According to Mahfoud Kaddache (1972), the influence of the Phoenicians on Berber has been tremendously significant in language, culture and religion. The Phoenician language was so spread among the Berber tribes that it was acquired simultaneously with Berber as a second Mother Tongue. Gaïd (1985) claims that the language mixing, between the two languages, was so important that it led to the emergence of a 'sabir' a kind of a Lingua Franca (cited in Khelef & Kebièche, 2011).

With the defeat of Carthage in 146 BC, the Romans gradually supplanted the Phoenicians. During three centuries of occupation of the region (used to be called the *breadbasket of Rome*), Latin became prevailing among Berbers in administration, politics, education and religion (Julien, 1994).

The 7<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the conquest of Arabs and the spread of Islam among the Berber tribes of Algeria into two phases. Adopting Islam, Berbers merged with Arabs and learnt Arabic, except in some places (such as Kabylia, Aures and the Atlas) where they preserved their vernaculars. To illustrate the strength of that merging and union, in 711 they formed an Umayyad army under the leadership of Tariq ibn Ziyad (670-720) to conquer Europe and establish Andalusia (711-1492).

#### **3.4.1. Berber Vernaculars**

As several Berber tribes were nomads, several new tribes were born from a mixture of different tribes and could share, therefore, the same lexis and language. For example, the Zenatas, the ancestors of the Chaouia, had their origin from Khenchla in the east of Algeria; then they moved to different places, and they now form a large population in the west of the country and the north of Morocco. Another large tribe was the Zwawas, the ancestors of the Kabyles and allies of the Fatimids formed different other tribes along the Atlas.

In Algeria, the Berber Vernaculars belong to different tribes such as the *Taqbaylit* in Kabylia, the *Chaoui* in the Aures, the *Muzabite* in Beni Zab (Mzab), the *Tamazight* in the Atlas and the *Targui/Tamasheq* in the sub-Sahara where some of them still live like nomads (Kossmann, 2013). In fact, Queffélec et al. (2002) have divided Algerian Berber varieties into three main regions, (a) Kabyle in the central-east region of the country and which includes areas from the Massif of Djurdjura, Kabylia to Setif; (b) Chaoui in the south-east area from the Aures to the Saharan Atlas; and (c) Targui and Mozabite in the south of Algeria in the region of the Hoggar and the Mzab.

Morphologically speaking, each variety has some similarities and differences from another; however, they can be classified according to the following table:

Group 1	Tashelhit and Middle Atlas Berber
Group 2	Zenati Languages (Beni Ouarayan, Ayt Seghrouchen, Rif, Chawia, Sud-Oranais, Mzab, Ouargli)
Group 3	Kabyle
Group 4	Touareg
Group 5	Zenaga

Table 3.7: Varieties of Algerian Berber

### 3.4.2. The Phonetics and Phonology of Berber

Although this work will focus on Arabic and French transfer on English, it will be considered missing if it does not explore Berber influences on the speech of some informants. Indeed, improving L2 acquisition of English in Algeria cannot be achieved without a holistic understanding of the culture and the linguistic situation of its people in a scientific and objective way. Improvement in education can only be accomplished through an in-depth knowledge of learners.

However, as there are different varieties of Berber in Algeria, it is important to point out two major factors. First, this section will try as best as it could to do justice to most of Algerian Berber varieties by focusing on what is common rather than on the differences in order not to neglect one variety over another. Second, since the purpose of this work is to identify the Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) on English speech, exploring what is perceived as common properties (rather than what is different) might help in understanding some of the linguistic deviations in English production.

It is also important to state; by common features we mean those that have been available to the author. Berber linguists have spent decades analysing those features and they are still arguing about the characteristics designing a single system representing one language. Besides, as stated by Kossmann & Stroomer (1997), the variations in Berber phonologies are so large that it is difficult to provide an overview without referring each time to a particular variety. Therefore, it seems quite impossible for the author to pretend to achieve such summary work in this section in such a limited study. Indeed, identifying all common findings in Berber varieties seems extremely ambitious especially, as Berber linguists, themselves, have been trying to attain that same purpose for decades. Besides, as such diversity is beyond the scope of this work, future investigation, however, might help in the analysis of those features for CLI purposes.

As to what is common, according to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Amazigh languages are not tone ones; however, they do not have the same phonemic inventory as the several varieties have borrowed differently. According to (Chaker, 2003, p. 215), they have inherited several sounds from Arabic such as some emphatics /ħ, ʕ/ since those sounds are largely found in Arabic loan-words. What is also commonly agreed upon is that the common criteria that describe the Berber linguistic systems are tense/lax, voicing, spirantisation and nasality. However, Touareg is considered as far more different than the other varieties; and often when it comes to Touareg, Berber varieties are referred to as Berber 'languages' (Kossmann & Stoomer, 1997).

#### **3.4.2.1. Berber Consonants**

Not all, but some Berber varieties might have up to 38 consonants among which some are voiceless and others are voiced. Most Berber vernaculars have consonants that include bilabial, dental, palatal, velar, uvular, pharyngeal and glottal realisations. According to Kossmann (2013), several consonants have been borrowed from Arabic or European languages such as /s, t, q, ħ, ʕ/ from Arabic and /p/ from Spanish or French because there have been a very important number of borrowings. As to the manner of articulation, the consonants largely occur in minimal pairs as plosives, fricatives, and approximants. Besides, there are two aspects of consonantal opposition that should be mentioned.

On the one hand, pharyngealisation may exist in some varieties in dental Berber consonants. Proto-Berber pharyngealised sounds are only two /s, z/; the others that are found at present have been borrowed from Arabic; therefore, their frequency of

occurrence in the linguistic system is more stable than that of the borrowed ones. On the other hand, Berber consonants might also be opposed in terms of lax and tense criteria. While the latter are realised longer and with more tension than the lax ones especially to distinguish morphological occurrences such as singular or plural forms or tenses formation as in *mədl-əy* ‘I buried’ and *mətl-əy* ‘I always bury’.

Another aspect that might characterise some varieties such as Kabyle is spirantisation. The latter refers to realisations in which a plosive becomes a fricative as it is the case for the following sounds where /b/ becomes [β] or /d/ becomes [ð]. To illustrate such a phonological process, some varieties might realise /g/ as [ʒ] and others differently as in the word ‘man’ *argaz argaz, arğaz, aržaz, aryaz*.

Besides, a few dentals may be affricated [t<sup>s</sup>, tt<sup>s</sup>] as in *awi* which may become *ttawi*. As to *y* and *w*, they might be pronounced in some varieties as *i* and *u*. In other varieties, however, /w/ might be pronounced [w] or [u] when it is short or /gg<sup>w</sup>/, /kk/ or /bb<sup>w</sup>/ when it is long.

In relation to Touareg, Kossmann & Stoomer (1997) claim that it has less consonants as their Berber counterparts because it is considered as the least variety that had contact with Arabic and this fact can be observable through the absence of some phonemic consonants such as /s, t, q, ħ, ʕ/ except in rare allophonic realisations of /d/ where assimilated [s, t] can be found.

#### 3.4.2.2. Berber Vowels

Most Berber varieties have three vowels *a, i* and *u*. However, each vowel has several allophones according to the context in which it is produced /a/ can be realised as [ɑ] or [æ], /i/ as [i] or [e] and /u/ as [u] or [o]. There are no diphthongs and no vowel clusters.

Berber words generally contain a schwa [ə] or one or more syllabic consonants. It seems that the schwa occurs before a high-intensity consonant of the word. Usually, [ə] does not occur in open syllables according to the majority of the reviewed literature.

The Touareg phonological system, however, comprises six vowels /i, e, ə, a, o, u/ and the schwa occurs in open syllables, unlike other varieties. Most vowels can be either short or long except /ə, a/ are short.

### 3.5. French

French in Algeria holds an L2 status; however, it is present in most Algerian institutions, in the mass media and everyday life. It is taught at school from primary education to secondary one. In some large urban cities such as Oran or Bejaia, it coexists with Colloquial Algerian Arabic or Berber.

However, not all Algerians attribute the same functions to French since each person uses it according to their needs which might be influenced by education, history or cultural aspects. In fact, in her *Mythe ou Réalité: la Francophonies en Algérie*<sup>12</sup>, Safia Rahal distinguishes three types of French speakers in Algeria. First, *real francophones* are those who use French in their daily life; second, *occasional francophones* those who use it in alternation with Arabic in some formal or informal situations; and third, *passive francophones* are those who understand it but do not use it. To such a division, two other following facets might be added and which emphasise the language conflict in the country.

On the one hand, French has been mainly maintained among the intellectual spheres. To illustrate, several Algerian novelists (such as Kateb Yacine, Assia Djebbar or Mohammed Dib among many others) have selected French to write their publications. Besides, the language is also present in shops, street signs and trade centres. Actually, several districts and streets in Oran are still referred to by their French names, and some of those that have been arabicised might sound difficult to identify even by some taxi drivers. In the speech of Oranese speakers, we might find the linguistic situation between Arabic and French ranging from borrowing, code-switching, bilingualism/multilingualism to diglossia (or even triglossia).

On the other hand, in some Algerian rural cities or small villages where French is not that much present, the use of French might be not keenly regarded; it might even produce negative reactions especially among women according to several personal situations. Moreover, there is an emerging tendency on the social media (particularly Facebook and Instagram) among young people expressing their wish to replace French with English.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Arabs and Berbers along with a minority of Jews lived in Algeria. However, the interest of France in Algeria dated a long time before 1830. In fact,

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<sup>12</sup> [http://www.initiatives.refer.org/Initiatives-2001/\\_notes/sess610.htm](http://www.initiatives.refer.org/Initiatives-2001/_notes/sess610.htm)



the French had already a trading post (known as *le Bastion de France*) in the port of El-Kala in the east of Algeria. It was granted by the Ottoman Empire in 1560 to export wheat and to fish coral as both were considered amongst the finest in the Mediterranean region (Degen, 1993).

Nonetheless, it was until 1830, the beginning of the French colonisation, that the language progressively started to expand. 132 years of invasion have left a profound impact on the Algerian society not only historically or socially, but culturally and linguistically too. In fact, the French colonialism conquered not only the land but it also wanted to politicise language since in 1832, 40% to 50% of the population was literate, but in 1962 only 300,000 were literate in Arabic (Benrabah, 2013). It is undeniable that any colonial policy strengthens its own language as an essential factor for colonial life (Dekkak, 1986).

The implementation of French was progressive and conscious to supplant Arabic. Rovigo (1843) explains that the French language expansion is the best means to dominate Algeria beside killing one third of the population. In the following quotation in French, he explicitly explains that the French policy consists of the propagation and instruction of French, instead of Arabic for political superemacy:

Je regarde la propagation de l'instruction et de notre langue comme le moyen le plus efficace de faire faire des progrès à notre domination dans ce pays... le vrai prodige à opérer serait de remplacer peu à peu l'arabe par le français (...) qui ne peut manquer de s'étendre parmi les indigènes, surtout si la génération nouvelle vient en foule s'instruire dans nos écoles. (cited in Taleb Ibrahimi, 1991, p. 30)<sup>13</sup>

Taleb Ibrahimi argues that the colonial policy discriminating and eradicating Arabic was applied in the destruction of mosques, zaouias and most institutions where Arabic was taught. Besides, the policy went as far as to banish Arabic from schools for over one century during which Arabic had to wait until 1938 to come back and have an L2 status (Taleb Ibrahimi, 1991, p. 30-1). She continues by saying that the policy was also implemented in a series of changes such as changing peoples' patronyms and the names of villages and cities in French or a French pronunciation purposely. Furthermore,

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<sup>13</sup> I look at the propagation of education and of our language as the most effective way to make progress in our domination in this country ... the pure genius to operate would be to gradually replace Arabic with French (...) it cannot fail to spread among the natives, especially if the new generation comes in massive numbers to access education in our schools. (My translation)

by 1960 24% of the Algerian population was relocated from their villages into 'regroupment camps' in the northern regions of the country (Benrabah, 2013).

These events might explain to some extent why several scholars, chiefly religious ones, reject French until now and demand its replacement with English. However, all those drastic measures in imposing French did not succeed in dominating and preventing Algerians from fighting for their country's independence. After 1962, French was still used in both education and administration sectors until 1978 when Arabicisation was officially implemented, and French was given an L2 status. Yet, this change in policy did not prevent people from using French, a language they were already accustomed to.

In 2000, however, French regained some grounds in Algeria under a presidential recommendation introduced by the CNRSE (Commission Nationale de la Réforme du Système Educatif) 'the National Commission for the Reform of the Educational System'. Ferhani (2006) reports in her article 'Algérie, l'Enseignement du Français à la Lumière de la Réforme' that the CNRSE decreed the teaching of foreign languages of large diffusion. The commission justified that action by claiming that learning languages from an early age or concretely from primary to secondary school could only benefit children in their access to technology, sciences and other peoples' culture (p.12). Ferhani explains that such an action has given French a "particular attention" since the reform has resulted in serious quantitative and qualitative changes in the whole yearly programme of syllabi design passing, thus, from 1172 hours to 1456.

Furthermore, Algeria which normally does not belong to the Francophone countries has participated in the Forum of the Francophony in Beirut in 2002. Besides, the French High School in Algiers (lycée français) has reopened its door again to Algerian students in 2002 after being closed for almost a decade.

### **3.5.1. French: Phonetics and Phonology**

The French phonological system contains 18 consonants, 3 semi-vowels and 16 vowels. Although English remains one of the most described accents, there is wide-ranging literature on French linguistic systems. The major features of French phonetics and phonology in this work have been obtained from Landercy & Renard (1982), Carton (1997), Léon & Léon (1997), and Malmberg (2002).

### 3.5.1.1. French Consonants

French has 21 consonants as it is depicted in the following table:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Plosive	p b		t d				k g	
Fricative		f v	r	s z	ʃ ʒ			ʁ
Nasal	m		n			ɲ	ŋ	
Glide	(ɥ)					j ɥ	w	
Lateral			l					

Table 3.8: French Consonants

French has 6 voiceless consonants /p, t, k, f, s, ʃ/ and 15 voiced /b, d, g, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, v, z, ʒ, ʁ, j, l, w, ɥ/. It is also characterized by 4 nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ as in /ɲ/ *oignon* ‘onion’, /ŋ/ *camping* and 3 glides /j, w, ɥ/ as in /w/ *oiseau* ‘bird’, /j/ *yeux* ‘eyes’. Concerning /ɥ/ as in *puit* ‘well’ /pɥi/ it is a voiced labio-palatal approximant. As both /ɥ/ and /j/ are palatal glides, and they share, therefore, some vocalic properties, the distinction between them can be achieved through the shape of lips; while /j/ the lips are loosely spread to spread, the lips in /ɥ/ are round.

Plosives are the sounds produced with complete obstruction to the airflow /p, b, t, d, k, g/. Unlike English, the voiceless stops are not aspirated, but they are fully released word-finally. The voiced plosives are fully voiced word initially and finally; sometimes, even a vowel can be heard as in *robe* [b<sup>ə</sup>]. As to /k, g/ they are very flexible in French since they are influenced by the following vowel; in other words, if they precede a back vowel they are pronounced backwards but if before a front vowel, then forward. The glottal stop [ʔ] might sometimes occur between vowels as *Annie est partie à Amiens* ‘annie went to Amiens’, but this feature is not a compulsory realisation as it largely depends on the speaker.

As to fricatives, they are produced with a momentary obstruction to the airflow /f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, ʁ/. The voiced fricatives are fully voiced in both onset and coda, sometimes [ə] is released when they are word-final as in *pause* [po:z<sup>ə</sup>]. Although /ʃ, ʒ/ might have the same place and manner of articulation as they do in English, they are, however, realised with more rounded lips. The French /ʁ/, mainly in Paris, is pronounced with friction of air and a tongue raised between the velum and the uvular position. /ʁ/ is a

uvular fricative, but it can also have variants such as [ʁ] before back vowels *bords* ‘borders’, or similar to [ɣ] in *grammaire* ‘grammar’; it can also be produced as ‘r-grasseyé/roulé’ [ʀ] as in Edith Piaf’s pronunciation of her song “*Non, rien de rien je ne regrette rien*” ‘no regrets’, or as an apical thrill [r] in *leur* ‘their’.

/l/ in French can be realised as dental or alveolar; however, it is never dark. In fact, French phoneticians recommend that the clearer, the better. In addition to that, /l, r/ can be devoiced [l̥, r̥] but they are not syllabic in word-final consonant cluster as in *peuple* ‘nation’, *table*, *perdre* ‘lose’, *aveugle* ‘blind’, *offre* ‘offer’. /m/ when word-final can be voiceless [m̥] as in *nationalisme* ‘nationalism’, *asthme* ‘asthma’.

### 3.5.1.2. French Vowels

The French vowels are 16 /i, e, ε, a, α, o, ɔ, u, y, ø, œ, ə, ɛ̃, ã, õ, œ̃/ but some French phoneticians claim that there are 14 as /α, œ̃/ are disappearing. Vowels differ from their Arabic and English counterparts by the occurrence of nasal and front rounded ones. According to Monod, the front rounded vowels are not as front as the spread ones: “/y/ is a front vowel though not as far up front as /i/... /ø/ is a front vowel too, though not as far up front as /e/ nor as acute as /i/; it is also pronounced with rounded lips” (1971, p. 90). There are 12 oral vowels /i, e, ε, a, α, o, ɔ, u, y, ø, œ, ə/ and 4 nasal /ɛ̃, ã, õ, œ̃/ as it is demonstrated in the following diagram:

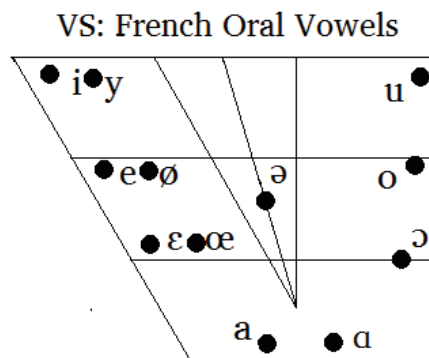


Figure 3.8: French Oral Vowels

Vowels in French are pure vowels that cannot be diphthongised and they are produced with more muscular tension than their English counterparts. They can be either rounded or not. They are divided into three main groups: first, front unrounded /i, e, ε, a /; second, front rounded /y, ø, œ/; and three, back rounded vowels /α, ɔ, o, u/. Then, /ə/ or also called the *Mute e* might be realised in the centre but most of the times it close to /ø,

œ/. Another important feature is that French vowels can be voiceless when they are word-final as in *oui* [wi<sup>h</sup>] ‘yes’, *je l’ai vu* [ʒə le vy<sup>h</sup>] ‘I saw it’, *c’est tout* [sɛ tu<sup>h</sup>] ‘that’s all’. They can also be divided into five major parts.

First, close vowels /i, y, u/ are as follows. /i/ can be written as *i, î, ê, or y* as in *vite* ‘hurry’. /y/ is a close front vowel produced with fully round lips, and it is written either as *u* or as *û* as in *tu* ‘you’; often foreign speakers who do not have this sound in their language tend to pronounce it as [i]. /u/ is a back close vowel near cardinal vowel No.8, the lips are firmly rounder than in the English /u:, ʊ/. It can be written with *ou* or *ôu* as *ouvre* ‘open’.

Second, the mid-vowels are /e, ε, ø, œ, ɔ, o/. /e/ as in *les* ‘pl. the’ or /ε/ as in *beige* are quite difficult to distinguish. However, there are a few aspects that identify where each should be pronounced. /ε/ is pronounced in closed syllables as in *fête* ‘holiday’ or in *pleine* ‘full’. In all other contexts /e/ is pronounced as in *quai* ‘quay’, *pied* ‘leg’, *finirai* ‘will finish’, *met* ‘put’, *prêt* ‘ready’, etc. In open stressed syllables both can be produced as in *lait* ‘milk’. /ø, œ/ can be perceived as the rounded versions of /e, ε/. /ø/ occurs in syllables closed by /z/ as in *creuse* ‘hollow’, in open stressed syllables as in *deux* ‘two’, in unstressed syllables as in *seulement* ‘only’. /œ/ is now disappearing except in words such as *jeûne* ‘fasting’, or English words such as *club*. /ɔ/ is back open-mid vowel and /o/ is back mid-close, and both are produced with rounded lips. Either vowel can occur in close syllables but /o/ is always long. /o/ is spelt as *ô, au, eau* as in *rôle* ‘role’ or in *-ose* *rose*, in *-ome, -one, -osse* as in *autonome* ‘autonomous’, *cyclone, brosse* ‘brush’. Elsewhere, the pronunciation is /ɔ/ as in *note, vote*.

Third, /a/ is an open front unrounded vowel; whereas /ɑ/ is open back rounded vowel. In the reviewed literature, many authors claim that the French speakers no longer distinguish between both sounds except speakers of non-Parisian accent. /ɑ/ is pronounced in stressed syllables as in *bas* ‘low’, *rare, âge* ‘age’, *bois* ‘wood’. /a/ is produced in unstressed syllables such as *la* ‘fem. the’, *classique* ‘classical’.

Fourth, the nasal vowels /ɛ̃, ɑ̃, ɔ̃, œ̃/ are produced in the oral cavity, but the velum is lowered to allow air go through the nose at the same time. Phonemically, they are considered as their oral counterparts; but phonetically, their places of occurrence changes according to adjacent sounds. They are found in words such as *bien* /ɛ̃/ ‘good’, *lundi* /œ̃/ ‘Monday’, *grand* /ɑ̃/ ‘big’, *mon* /ɔ̃/ ‘my’.

Fifth, what is known as *Mute e* is the /ə/ a rounded central vowel between the close-mid and the open-mid position and which can also be realised as /ø, œ/ by several French speakers. Although it has the same symbol as the English schwa, it does not have its quality. However, like English, it also cannot be stressed, as in the article *le*. It is often spelt with *e* but it can occur with different letters as in *faisons* ‘do (we)’, *fenêtre* ‘window’. Nevertheless, many writers claim that it is difficult to designate a particular spelling to this sound.

### 3.5.1.3. French Syllable Structure

Syllables can be either open or closed. While in the latter, a consonant (C) is found in the margins (CVC), in the open syllable a vowel (V) can be at the beginning or at the end of a syllable (CV or VC). The minimum syllable type is one vowel as *à* ‘to’; but the maximum can be formed of CCCVCCC. The French syllable can have only a vowel as the peak. The onset may consist of a C *bon* ‘good’, CC *cri* ‘a scream’, CCC *splendide* ‘splendid’. The coda also can be a C *radicale* ‘radical’, CC *litre*, *texte* /kst/ ‘text’.

### 3.5.1.4. French Stress

Stress rules depend on each language. In English and Arabic, the prominence of a syllable is given importance. Unlike English and Arabic which are stress-timed languages, French is a syllable-timed language. In other words, stress is realised almost with the same amount of time in each syllable. However, stress can be divided into three types: *normal stress*, *contrastive stress* and *emphatic stress*. First, the *emphatic stress* is when a syllable is more prominent than the others to express feelings, anger, disgust, request, etc. In French, it is often called ‘accent affectif’ or ‘accent d’insistance’ as *a.’hurissant* ‘incredible’. Second, *contrastive stress* is similar to the emphatic one, but it is used for emphasis as in *Vous avez dit “réception” ou “déception”?* ‘Did you say reception or deception?’. Third, *normal stress* in French always takes place on the last syllable as in *je pars de main* ‘I’m leaving tomorrow’; it means that the same word is not always stressed as it depends on whether it is final or not.

### 3.5.1.5. French Intonation

Intonation is like the tempo of speech; and without it, conversation may sound monotonous. Several French writers claim that intonation is several superposed systems into one including both grammatical structures, speaker’ intentions and feelings (Malécot,

1977, p. 20). However, this work will only deal with grammatical intonation to compare between both Arabic (see chap. III section 3.3.7.5) and English intonation (see chap. III section 3.7.1.5). French has mainly tones to differentiate between sentence types. This is illustrated in the following table:

	Falling ↘	Rising ↗	Fall-rise ↘↗
Wh-questions	↘ Que veux-tu? 'what do you want?'		
Command	↘ Partez d'ici 'Leave from here'		
Yes/no questions		↗ est-ce que tu m'entends? 'do you hear me?'	
Tag Questions	↗ ↘ Tu arrives n'est-ce-pas ? You are arriving, aren't you?		
Statements	↘ Ma sœur arrive demain 'My sister arrives tomorrow'		
Polite Request in Questions	↗ Pouvez-vous m'aider, ↘ s'il vous plaît? 'Could you help me, please?'		

Table 3.9: French Intonation

### 3.6. Algeria: Language Education

Before dealing with English language education in Algeria, there is a need to mention that most writers of the mentioned literature on the Algerian linguistic situation agree that the latter has been affected by significant ideological viewpoints. Therefore, this section is obliged to take a small detour to explore those ideologies that may, to some extent, explain language education in Algeria.

Nowadays, the linguistic situation in Algeria is not an uncommon one. Several, other multilingual societies and countries exist everywhere whether in Europe, Asia, America or Africa. India, for instance, has 23 official languages beside several non-official others. Different languages with different cultures, various countries have understood that they do not need to be linguistically or culturally homogenous. Indeed,



Benrabah (2013, p. 2) explains that language contact, the use of more than one language in a speech community, does not necessarily result in a conflicting situation. However, in Algeria three languages (Arabic, Berber and French) seem to be in constant competition. Dourari (2003) argues that the multilingual situation instead of being stable results in each language trying to supplant the other.

### 3.6.1. Between Ideology and Language

To a foreigner, an Algerian speaker might give the impression of a person in possession of several linguistic tools; for they can choose from a range of languages and varieties of those languages. However, in Algeria, the linguistic situation is much more complex than it appears. Taleb Ibrahim (1995) explains that the multilingual situation in Algeria is, in fact, a linguistic continuum or “quasi-continuum” that can be distinguished through the functions attributed to each language or variety as it is the case with Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Educated (Intermediate) Arabic and Colloquial Arabic (demarcated by geography). Others, however, explain that it is only a case of variation whether it is diachronic (historical), diatopic (geographical), diastratic (social) or diaphasic (stylistic) as the terms were reported by Claudine Bavoux (1997, p. 284).

Actually, it seems that language policy in Algeria has two main facets; while it aims at preserving Arabic in all sectors, it also maintains French in an omnipresent position; a situation that might be perceived as either contradictory or complementary. In fact, that situation is the consequence of several factors.

On the one hand, aside from symbolising Algerian Arabs identity, Arabic is the language of the Quran, the holy book of Muslims. It is also the language of centuries of Algerian dynasties that expanded to the west and to the east – including the conquest of Andalusia<sup>14</sup> (711 AD) and the foundation of the Fatimids Dynasty (909 AD) that conquered large cities in the Middle East and founded the Zaytuna Mosque in Tunis or the Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo as reported by Juan Campo’s *Encyclopaedia of Islam*

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<sup>14</sup> It is important to mention that the present Algerian geographical frontiers were demarcated until later since there had been some dynasties that shared their borders either with Morocco or Tunisia. According to Avner Falk’s *Franks and Saracens* (2010) “The Muslim Emir Musa bin Nusair (640-716) governed the province of *Ifriqiya* (now Tunisia and eastern Algeria) for the sixth Umayyad caliph, Al-Walid ibn al-Malik (668-715), who ruled from Damascus. ... In 711 Musa sent the ‘Berber’ Muslim conqueror Tariq ibn Ziyad to the place now called Gibraltar... Envious of his subordinate Tariq, Musa bin Nusair decided to land his army in *Al-Andalus* to lead the Muslim army instead of Tariq, and he was apparently successful...” (p. 47).

(2009) and by Joseph Meri's *Medieval Islamic Civilisation: An Encyclopedia* (2005). It is the vehicle of prolific literary, religious, cultural and scientific publications throughout all North Africa and the Middle East. Besides, it is, at present, the language of the region in which Algeria wants to keep an economic and a geo-political strategic presence and to reinforce political partnership among the countries of the Maghreb and the Arab League.

On the other hand, French is an already present language in Algeria where it is largely understood and still used on account of the French colonialism that lasted 132 years. Algerians know French, an additional opportunity that allows them to access any production and publication in the named language. Besides, it is one language of the Occident which symbolises to several people modernity, technology and sciences according to Taleb Ibrahimi (1995). That modernity symbol has been tested. Asselah Rahal & Blanchet (2007) mention that the Ministry of Education in Algeria carried out a survey in 1996 to see which L2, parents prefer for their children. 73.37% of the questioned people have favoured French. However, that poll opinion is two decades old.

Instead of joining forces, several groups emerged favouring one language or the other. Such a pre-independence antagonism had a great impact on education planning, and it is still maintaining a conflicting linguistic situation. In fact, the apparent language conflict is in reality a power conflict over social, economic and political dominance since a dominant language may also imply a dominant group. In sum, a struggle for power has become a struggle between languages.

According to Taleb Ibrahimi (1995), Algeria is bicultural: while the first group refers to Arabophones (Arabs and Berbers *Mustaariba*) who want to conserve Arabic because of religious and identity implications; the second designates Francophones (Arabs and Berbers) who believe that French is the means to modernity. To this, we might add Berberophones (Berbers) to whom Berber should be given more importance than either Arabic or French.

In her *Les Algériens et leur(s) langue(s)*, Taleb Ibrahimi states that the Francophones believe that French is a living language that brings progress and evolution to the country, something that Arabic has failed to do (1995, p. 95). However, the Arabophones (mainly Oulémas (ulemas) scholars formed in *zaouias* (Quranic schools) either in Algeria or the Middle East) consider that their society has been deprived of its real identity by the Occident and they feel nostalgic about a glorious past; something

which makes them want to uphold traditions. She also explains that Arabophones are generally monolinguals; whereas Francophones can be divided into two, either those who can be bicultural and bilingual or those who favour only French (namely Francophiles).

Such a duality is explained by Benrabah (2005, 2007, 2013) as being the consequence of the aggressive French colonialism that has left deep scars in the Algerian society and which was reflected in the politicisation of language and the way Arabicisation was achieved through the educational system.

It is, indeed, important to examine those ideologies that are at the core of the way Algerian students are taught. Learning a language or another seems to be underlying several aspects that are, however, beyond the scope of this work. The linguistic situation in Algeria may influence learners into their perception and representation of language during acquisition. Nevertheless, as we are, at present, more concerned about the linguistic and cultural background of Algerian students, we shall leave the way it has been politicised for future studies.

### **3.6.2. English Teaching in Algeria**

According to the statistics provided by the Ministry of Education, the academic year 2016-2017 is going to admit over 8 million pupils in primary, middle and secondary schools, a number which represents 20% of the Algerian population. Those pupils need to study twelve years throughout the three cycles of education to enter university. English is taught as a *Foreign Language* for seven years out of those twelve (3h-4h/week<sup>15</sup>). In addition to that, English teaching has been somehow more successful than French teaching. Indeed, in 2013 on a TV conference the Minister of the National Education has claimed that teachers of English are performing a better job than those of French according to pupils' grades in both subjects. Besides, several private schools have emerged to teach English all over the country, and they have attracted a large turnout.

British and American institutions likewise are also present and working in partnership, sometimes, with the Ministry of Education. For example, in 2009 Mepi (Middle East Partnership Initiative) and a Partnership Schools Programme of the U.S.

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<sup>15</sup> According to Belkhenchir, "English is taught in secondary schools during the three years of education in all streams. In the literary stream, English is compulsory and is taught for 4 hours a week (two sessions). The 'coefficient' of English in this stream is three (3). In the scientific stream, English is compulsory and it is the only foreign language taught for three hours a week (two sessions). The 'coefficient' in this stream is two (2)." (2006, p. 17)

Department of State, have collaborated with ministry institutions to produce an (AEF) Algerian English Framework (see Appendix A) similar to the European Framework for evaluating and assessing SLA competencies in English. This framework has been introduced according to several secondary school teachers of English.

For several young people, English may represent the language of songs, movies, modernity and sciences. They like English as it may express their ambitions for success, job opportunities and openness to new horizons. Besides, as there is a change of attitude and aptitude towards languages, there is an emerging tendency in the Algerian family to watch Arabic channels instead of French ones as they are considered 'more familial'. Indeed, most of the asked informants prefer to watch Arabic channels and series such MBC, CBC and so on so that they can be discussed in the following morning on the social media as most teenagers do in the world. Most of those channels broadcast shows and movies in English with subtitles in Arabic so the viewers can follow in case they do not understand.

Besides, at the beginning of every academic year at the university since we have been teaching, we always ask new students whether they have chosen English as an academic subject or not. Most of those students answer positively with some sparkle in their eyes. In fact, 85% of the recorded informants have ticked *yes* to that same question on the questionnaire (see Chapter IV). However, that enthusiasm progressively diminishes as they are faced with grammatical structures and linguistic rules throughout the successive years. Moreover, some of those who have been fighting to sit in the front seats of the classroom even start abandoning classes and attending less and less. Many keep studying but many more do not.

We might ask what happened to that enthusiasm; is it the teachers' fault? Are the teaching materials outdated or not appropriate to their needs? Do university institutions cater for satisfactory modern conditions for the success of learners? Does the syllabi content correspond to students' expectations? Do students become disillusioned that English is not simply songs and movies but layers of linguistic structures? Do they simply procrastinate and do not want to study? Have studies become a hobby and not a primary life goal? In addition to the former questions, several others might be asked as to the reasons behind such an international phenomenon that has become so widely spread in most countries.

Becoming proficient in Standard English, a language abundantly and regularly enriched with neologisms, remains a considerable task. Learners need to develop their skill in speaking, writing, listening and reading beside the socio-cultural implications underlying those structures.

Furthermore, English in Algeria has a *Foreign Language* status. However, the language policy makers do not state which variety should be taught at the Algerian educational institutions. In fact, there is a choice to make either from the teacher, the learner or the institution they belong to between American and British English as they are both the most widely spread Englishes. However, others may choose Australian, Canadian or any other English, a mixture that is truly complex to assess especially in Phonetics classes where a particular pronunciation should be evaluated *correct* or *false*. Each teacher may feel it compulsory to select according to their own criteria what English best befits themselves and their students.

Today's Algerian students of English may become teachers, clerks, participants in international meetings, tourists, or immigrants and they may need to communicate in English, or in the English they have chosen. However, the act of oral communication will fail if speech is unintelligible or incomprehensible in whatever variety they realise their production. It is crucial to use intelligible speech with a minimum of linguistic proficiency in a period when everything is assessed, analysed and studied. While some linguists claim any intelligible communication in English would be adequate; others, however, think that studying British English is the standard to follow. On the one hand, according to Heaton (1988), we can communicate and be intelligible even if our English phonology and syntax are faulty. On the other hand, Hughes et al. state that British English used to be the model to teach to foreign English learners as it still is the most described of the British accents (2005, p. 3) or the most understood among all others (Jones, 1976: 4).

Students might get confused if teachers have different pronunciations. In Algeria, for instance, British English is taught at public and private schools. We were, once, told by Louznaji, an inspector of west Algerian schools, that the variety taught in Algeria is the British standard. Even if there is no official decree stipulating the adherence to British English, it is implicitly suggested in English textbooks and via the use of British English that it is, indeed, the norm to which teachers and learners have to refer to.

In a previous study, we have distributed a questionnaire<sup>16</sup> to 268 undergraduates and graduates students asking them which English accent they like to learn. The majority of the students 64.93% prefer English RP to other varieties. American English is second by 31.34%. Among all students, 1.86% like both varieties, 0.75% favour South African English, and 1.12% have no preference at all. The results demonstrate that British English is most favoured. As to the reasons behind their choice, 60% believe that it is a clear and an easy accent to learn and to understand. Other reasons were given which are completely different from those of American English. Many think that RP is the only Standard English, i.e. the other Englishes are not standard varieties at all. Others believe that British is the ‘real’, ‘pure’, or the ‘original’ English; a fact which makes it more valuable and reliable than any other accent. For those participants, English RP is somehow perceived as the model for instruction. The following diagram demonstrates their preferences between British Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American English (GA) and the reasons why they have made that choice.

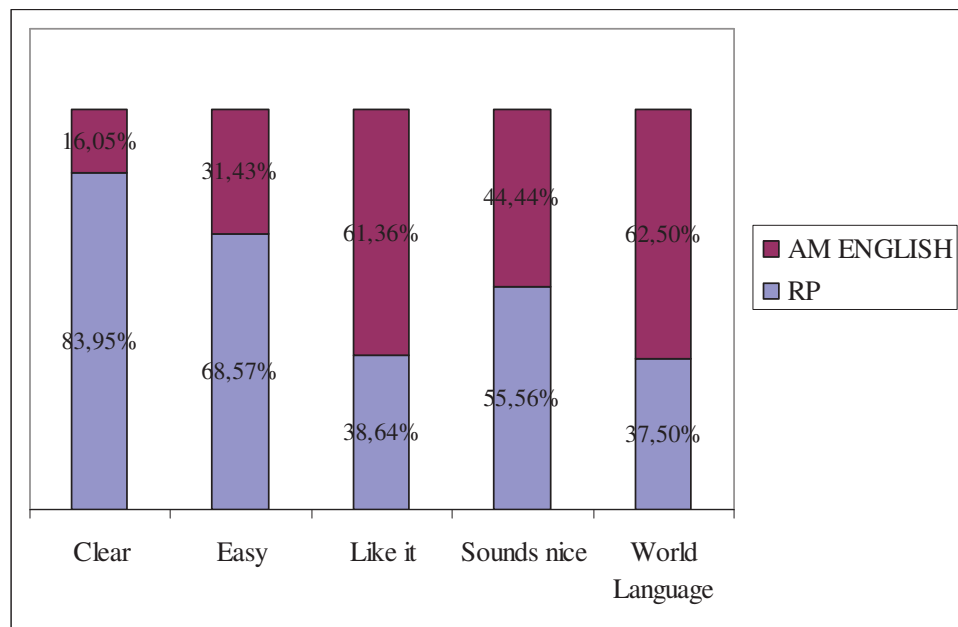


Figure 3.9: RP vs. GA Preferences

<sup>16</sup> (See Appendix D)

As we have just explained, British English seems to be largely the choice of those informants and of several other students by over 60%. Therefore, it is important to deal with British Standard English along with some of its phonetic and phonological features.

### 3.7. English

The English or the variety of Englishes, we know today, is the consequence of several historical, political, religious, social and cultural factors. The United Kingdom Islands were the object of several invasions through time and that have contributed to its actual form. The Celts are said to be the original natives of the UK, however other peoples such as the Angles, the Jutes, the Saxons and the Vikings invaded and lived in those territories, each contributing to the country's historical and linguistic development.

In 1066, the Norman French conquered the Island in the battle of Hastings and succeeded to rule for several centuries, a period that some historians qualify as extremely harsh and offensive. Together with English (or what is known as Old English, the language of the natives and as depicted in the epic poem *Beowulf*) French was the language of the court and Latin the language of the Church along with the literate elites. Linguistically speaking several vernaculars and languages were already in contact and English has acquired an amount of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation that was related to those languages.

Another major historical point at which a stop needs to be made is the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a period of Renaissance after the decline of Andalusia. That period mainly consisted of a renewed interest in classical civilisations such as the Roman and the Greek ones. Nevertheless, that interest was also characterised by a literary and scientific production that compelled the Renaissance scholars to borrow from Latin and Greek more vocabulary to supply for what was lacking in their language(s).

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, most literary, scientific and philosophical production was written in English. However, that period is going to witness three major events that have changed the whole political and the linguistic history of the UK. First, King Henry VIII (1491-1547) wanted to divorce his wife, an act forbidden by the Roman Church. He decided, then, to embrace the Protestant doctrine and leave the Catholic one by establishing the Church of England (an equivalent of the Roman Catholic Church). To increase the distance between both churches, the Bible was translated into English *The Great Bible* in 1538. Second, under the regulation of Henry VIII, most English scholars



started to codify the written and the spoken vernacular form following the Latin and the French examples so that English can be used in all contexts (Görlach, 2004). Third, William Caxton (1422-1491), the first English printer, started printing documents and literary work in the vernacular of the capital such as *La Morte d'Arthur* and *Canterbury Tales*.

The English language was, therefore, on the threshold of a new era. Gradually, the standard has become to symbolise the type of English variety printed on books and spoken by the most highly educated. In fact, it is to be found in “the centre of power, of government, monarchy and cultural prestige located in the South... London acts as the point of reference” (Wales, 2000, p. 4). The elite’s dialect has become the Standard to adopt and emulate.

To illustrate such a development in English, not only the written form but the spoken one, we can see from the following diagrams how English vowels evolved through time from Old English (900-1100) to Middle English (1100-1450) to Early Modern English (1450-1600):

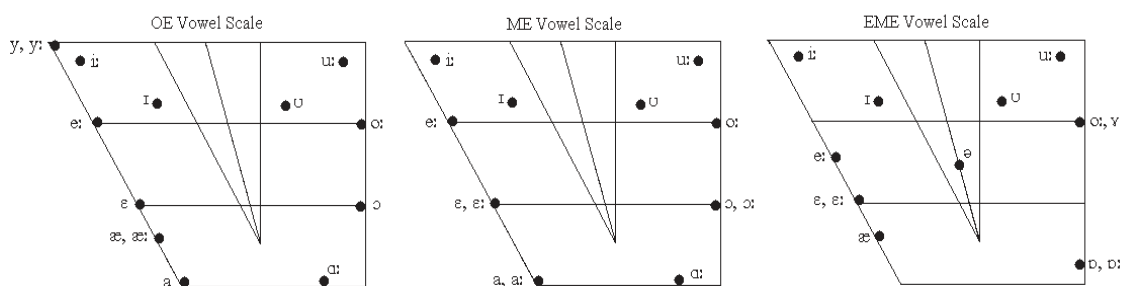


Figure 3.10: Evolution of English Vowels

The evolution did not stop for English. Indeed, scientific and literary production was also accentuated by the emergence of extensive reading customs. Most educated English families between 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> developed a tradition of reading after supper. In 1887, for example, the adventures of Sherlock Holmes started to appear in *The Strand Magazine*. When Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930) decided to kill the hero, a public uproar was provoked refusing the end of the series until he acquiesced resuming the fiction.

On the international level, English through colonialism spread to all other continents. Progressively, from international language status, English has become a world language i.e. the most international of all international languages (Mc Arthur, 2002).

However, English is characterised by another aspect which has been introduced by several linguists such as Kachru (1986) and which is the emergence of several varieties of English that are termed *World Englishes*, making each variety on equal stand with the other as each represents a people with a different culture having adopted English according to their own needs. Kachru divides those English into three ‘circles’: (1) *Inner Circle Englishes* those that include older Englishes such as British, American, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and South African Englishes. They are usually equated with native-speakers Englishes. (2) *Outer Circle Englishes* are those where English has been introduced by a colonial system as in India, Ghana, Nigeria, Malaysia, Philippines, and Zambia. (3) The *Englishes of Expanding Circle* which includes English taught at school in countries having no colonial link with Britain, among these countries China, Japan, Russia, Brazil and so on. In these countries, the norms are directly taken from Inner Circle Englishes.

Nowadays, the name of a language such as English does not necessarily designate a national identity. If somebody speaks English, they can belong to some other speech community than to England as it is stated by (Quirk *et al.*, 1964) “English is not the prerogative or ‘possession’ of the English. It is the property of the Yorkshireman no more than the Californian.” (p. 16). To illustrate this, we previously (2007) summarised the phonemic inventory of the Inner Circle Englishes to discern that they are, indeed, different to some extent from one another.

English Phonemes	Northern Hemisphere							Southern Hemisphere		
	RP	SSE	StWsh Eng.	StNIr. Eng.	StSIr. Eng.	StAm. E	StCanE	StAus. Eng.	StNZ Eng.	StSAf. Eng.
/ɪ/	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ][ə]	[ə]	[ɪ][ə]
/i:/	[ji]	/i/ [i:]	[i:]	/i/ [i:]	[i:]	[i:]	[i:]	[ɛɪ][ <sup>o</sup> i]	[ɛɪ]	[i:]
/e/	[e]	[ɛ]	[e]	[ɛ]	[e]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[e]	[e]	[e]
/æ/	[æ]	/a/ [a]	[a]	/a/ [a]	[a]	[æ]	[æ]	[ɛ][æ <sup>o</sup> ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
/ʌ/	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ɔ]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə][a]	[ə]	[ə][a]
/ə/	[ə]	[ʌ]	[ə]	[ʌ]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ʌ][a]	[ə]
/ə/	—	—	—	—	—	[ə]	—	—	—	—
/ɜ:/	[ɜ:]	—	[ø:]	—	—	—	—	[ɜ:]	[ø:]	[ø:]
/ɝ:/	—	—	—	—	—	[ɝ:]	—	—	—	—
/ɑ:/	[ɑ:]	—	[ɑ:]	—	[ɑ:]	[ɑ]	[ɑ]	[ɑ:]	[ɑ:]	[ɑ:]
/ɒ/	[ɒ]	—	[ɔ]	—	[ɑ]	—	[ɒ]	[ɔ][æ <sup>o</sup> ]	[ɒ]	[ɔ]
/ɔ:/	[ɔ:]	/ɔ/ [ɔ]	[ɔ:]	/ɔ/ [ɔ]	[ɑ:]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[o:] [œ]	[ɔ:]	[o:]
/ʊ/	[ʊ]	—	[ʊ]	—	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[y]	[u][ʊ]
/u:/	[ɹu]	/u/ [ʊ]	[u:]	/u/ [ʊ]	[ʊ:]	[u:]	[ʊ:]	[ʊ][u:]	[əʊ]	[u:]
/eɪ/	[eɪ]	[ji]	[e:]	[ji]	[e:]	[eɪ]	[eɪ]	[aɪ][ee]	[aɪ]	[æe][æɪ]
/ɛɪ/	—	—	[ɛɪ]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
/aɪ/	[aɪ]	[ʌɪ]	[əɪ]	[ʌɪ]	[ɛɪ]	[aɪ]	[aɪ][ʌɪ]	[ɔɪ][ɔə][ae]	[aɪ]	[a <sup>o</sup> ]
/ɔɪ/	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[oɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[oe]
/əʊ/	[əʊ]	—	[o:]	—	[o:]	—	—	[ɔʊ][əɔ][əʊ]	[əʊ][ə]	[ɛʊ][æʊ][ʌ <sup>o</sup> ]
/aʊ/	[aʊ]	[ʌʊ]	—	[ʌʊ]	—	[aʊ]	[aʊ][ʌʊ]	[æʊ][æ <sup>o</sup> ][eʊ]	[æʊ]	[äʊ][a:] [æ <sup>o</sup> ]
/aʊ/	—	—	[əʊ]	—	[əʊ]	—	—	—	—	—
/ɔʊ/	—	—	[ɔʊ]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
/oʊ/	—	[o]	—	[o]	—	[oʊ]	[oʊ]	—	—	—
/ɪə/	[ɪə]	—	—	—	—	—	—	[ɪ:] [ɪ <sup>o</sup> ]	[ɛə]	[e:]
/eə/	[eə]	—	[ɛ:]	—	—	—	—	[ɛ:] [e <sup>o</sup> ]	[ɛə]	[ɛə] [e:]
/ʊə/	[ʊə]	—	—	—	—	—	—	[ʊə] [o:]	[ʊə] [o:]	[ʊə]
Total	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>

Table 3.10: Standard Englishes Vowels Phonemic/Phonetic Inventory

The standard Englishes mentioned in the previous table belong to (from left to right) English English (RP), Scottish English, Welsh English, Northern Ireland English, Southern Ireland English, American English, Canadian English, Australian English, New Zealand English and South African English. As there is no big difference in the consonantal system, we have only devoted our attention to vocalic phonemes, and it is clear that the number and the realisation varies.

### 3.7.1. British English: Major Phonetic and Phonological Features

The Distinction of British English Standard between letters and sounds is complex to assimilate by non-native speakers who are more used to Arabic, French or sometimes Spanish. Indeed, the latter languages letters are easy to pronounce as soon as they are read; in English, however, the sounds corresponding to letters are much more complicated.

This part tries to understand how English sounds are pronounced and how they may function in connected speech. For this purpose, light is shed on some major features considered among English linguists as being the standard. The selected literature is Catford (1988), Gimson (1989), Laver (1994), Small (2005), Roach (2009), McMahon (2010), and Ladefoged & Johnson (2011).

#### 3.7.1.1. Standard British English Consonants

RP (Received pronunciation) English has 24 consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, ŋ, r, f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h, tʃ, dʒ, l, j, w/ as it is depicted in the table:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d			k g	
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
Affricate					tʃ dʒ			
Nasal	m			n			ŋ	
Central Approximant	(w)			r		j	w	
Lateral Approximant				l				

Table 3.11: RP Consonants

There are nine voiceless consonants /p, t, k, f, θ, s, ʃ, h, tʃ/ and fifteen voiced /b, d, g, m, n, ŋ, r, v, ð, z, ʒ, dʒ, l, j, w/ among which only three are nasal /m, n, ŋ/. Major realisations of the consonants are as follows:

There are six oral stops. The voiceless plosives, /p, t, k/, are obstruents that can occur anywhere in the syllable margins such *pack, top, cat*. When they occur in initially accented syllable, they are aspirated [p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>] as in *paper*. /b, d, g/, however, they can be devoiced when they are either at the beginning of a word or at the end (preceded or followed by silence) as *big* [b̥ɪg̥]. The lenis stops occur in both syllable margins. The six plosives can be released or not in their last stage depending on the adjacent sounds such as *good girl* where /d/ is not released [d̥]. Sometimes plosives can be nasally or laterally released if they are next to a homorganic sound as in *cotton* or *bottle*. Besides, /t/ can be produced as a glottal stop [ʔ] as in *not*. Another feature that may affect English plosives /t, d/ occurs when these sounds precede a dental sound as in *width* [d̪].

Fricatives do not vary as much as plosives do. However, they can be realised either as voiced or devoiced (lose voice) in word-final position in the same way as plosives do as in *passive* [v̥]. Furthermore, vowels that precede voiced fricatives are longer when they occur before a voiceless fricative such as *cease* and *seize*. Phonologically speaking, fricatives can occur either syllable initially or finally except (1) /h/ which may be found syllable-initially and before a vowel, or (2) /z/ that occurs word-finally except in French loan-words such as *genre*.

Affricates are two consonants that have two qualities, a plosive followed by a fricative /tʃ, dʒ/. Each is considered as one single sound as in *church*. They occur at the margins of the syllable and /dʒ/ can be devoiced word-finally as in *judge* [dʒ̥].

Nasals vary less than the previous sounds but they can be syllabic when they are preceded by a homorganic sound as in *cotton* [ŋ]. Besides, /n/ can be affected by dental sounds such as *tenth* [n̪]. All nasals occur at the beginning or at the end of a syllable except the velar nasal /ŋ/ which is found only at the end as in *singing*.

Finally, approximants /w, j, l, r/ are voiced sonorants, and they also can be affected by their adjacent sounds. They are generally voiceless when they are preceded by a voiceless stop as in *tune* [j̥]. Besides /l/ can be syllabic in the same way as nasals do such as *little* [l̪]. In addition, /l/ may have two variants; the first is clear [l] which can be found at the beginning of a word or before a vowel as in *late*. The second, however, is dark [ɫ] since it is velarised when final or before a consonant as in *lull* and *belt*. Most approximants occur in the syllable margins except /w, j/ which only occur initially; and all of them form consonant clusters in the onset and the coda.

### 3.7.1.2. Standard British English Vowels

There are twenty RP (Received Pronunciation) English vowels which are divided into monophthongs and diphthongs.

#### (i) Monophthongs (Pure Vowels)

All English vocalic phonemes are oral. RP English has twelve monophthongs seven short /ɪ, e, æ, ʌ, ə, ʊ/ and five long /i:, ɜ:, ɑ:, u:, ɔ:/ as they are represented in the following diagram:

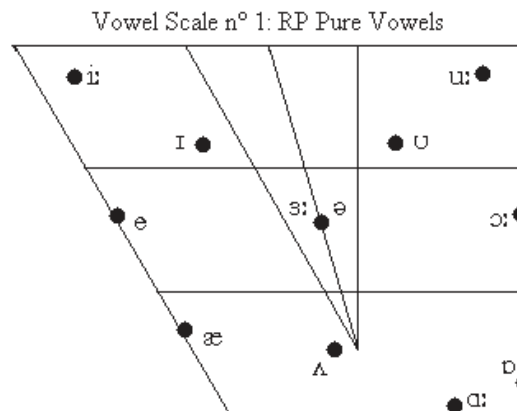


Figure 3.11: RP Monophthongs

This diagram shows four main criteria which are: (1) length as mentioned above; (2) front vowels /i:, ɪ, e, æ/, central /ʌ, ə, ɜ:/ and back vowels /ɑ:, ɒ, ɔ, u: ɔ:/; (3) the height of the tongue whether it is raised to the close position /i:, u:/, mid-close /ɪ, ʊ/, between the mid-close and the open-mid /e, ə, ɜ:/, below the open-mid position /æ/, between the open-mid and the open /ʌ, ɒ/ and the open position /ɑ:/; (4) the shape of the lip from spread /i:/ to loosely spread /ɪ, e, ə, ɜ:/ to loosely neutral /æ, ʌ/ to neutral /ɑ:, ɒ/ to loosely round /ɔ:/ to round /ʊ, u:/.

#### (ii) Diphthongs

RP has eight diphthongs. Five are closing. It refers to a glide from one quality to a closing position /ɪ, ʊ/ as in the following diagram:

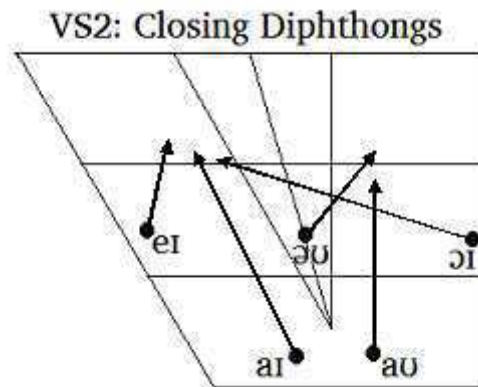


Figure 3.12: RP Closing Diphthongs

First, /eɪ/ as in *pay* is realised with a spread of the lips. The quality varies between mid-open and mid-close position. Second, /aɪ/ as in *pie* the lips are spread for the first element. Third, /ɔɪ/ as in *poise* the lips are rounded for the first element. Fourth, /əʊ/ as in *Po* the lips are rounded for the second element. In modern RP, speakers may use a fronter quality that suggests a small distance between the vowels of *post* /pəʊst/ and *paste* /peɪst/. The fifth element is /aʊ/ as in *Pow* where the lips are rounded for the second element. Some upper-class speakers and some members of the royal family use a fronted quality [i] for the second element; so that listeners may, sometimes, confuse it with /aɪ/.

In addition to the closing diphthongs, three others are centring /ɪə, ʊə, eə/. In other words, three vowels glide from their initial quality to a centring one /ə/ as it is demonstrated in the following diagram:

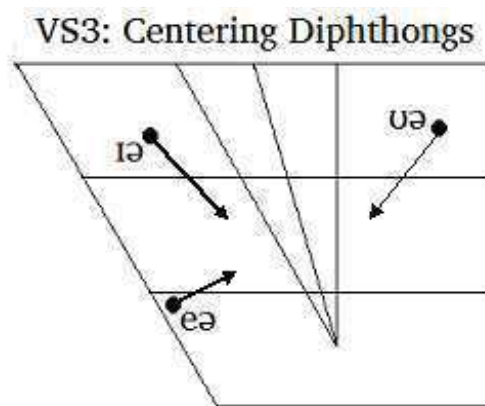


Figure 3.13: RP Centring Diphthongs

Concerning centring diphthongs, /ɪə/ as in *peer* is realised with no lip-rounding. Upper-class speakers may use for the second element a more open quality than [ə], even



if it is often considered as affected. However, there is a mounting tendency to monophthongise /ɪə/ by dropping [ɪə] to [ɪ:] as in *beer* [bɪ:] mainly in compounds *beer garden*. This process is known as **smoothing**. As to /ʊə/ as in *poor* there is some initial lip-rounding. Many speakers have [ɔ:] instead of [ʊə]. For the last centring diphthong /eə/ as in *pair*, there is no lip-rounding. In modern RP, speakers tend to monophthongise /eə/ to [e:] as in *air* or *heir*. This monophthongisation of RP /eə/ to [e:] means that only length distinguishes between these pairs of words *bed* [bed] and *bared* [be:d], *fez* [fez] and *fairs* [fe:z], or *Ken* [ken] and *cairn* [ke:n]. However, /eə/ is often placed under this heading: **resistance to innovation** since such monophthongisation is still stigmatised. The smoothing process (remove the second element) affects all centring diphthongs /ɪə, ʊə, eə/, a tendency which is more favoured by younger RP speakers than by older ones.

### (iii) Triphthongs

Triphthongs are closing diphthongs followed by a schwa. The schwa can be either a constituent of the word as in *hire* /haɪə/ or an integrated suffix as in *higher* /haɪə/. Still, both of them are said to contain one triphthong even if it poses a problem for morphology to determine whether it is one syllable or two (made of one diphthong and one monophthong).

Some younger speakers tend to remove the third element through smoothing; the process may go further by also omitting the second element and pronouncing only the first one with length. This seems to be less valid when the schwa is a suffix, through smoothing *fire* becomes [fa:] but *flier* is realised [flaɪə]. Monophthongisation for /eə/ is more common in compounds e.g. *fire brigade* [fa:bɪnɪdʒ], *Tower Bridge* [ta:bɪdʒ], or *layer cake* [le:keɪk]. More examples of smoothing are given in the following table (Gimson, 1989):

Words	'Full' form	Smoothed forms
<i>tyre</i>	/taɪə/	[taɪə]      [ta:]
<i>tower</i>	/taʊə/	[taɪə]      [ta:]
<i>layer</i>	/leɪə/	[leɪə]      [le:]
<i>slower</i>	/sləʊə/	[sle:]

The distinction between *tyre*[tʌə] and *tower*[təʊ] is so small that they are considered as homophones. The two vowels /aɪə/ and /aʊə/ have been neutralised<sup>17</sup> into one sound [ɑ:]. As in *ourselves* /aʊə'selvz/ [ɑ:'selvz], the process undergoes two rules:

A) triphthong—→ diphthong/syllable initial and final

B) diphthong—→ monophthong

*Layer* [leɪə] and *lair* [leə] become homophones [le:] by rules A and B too. Concerning the schwa (when a suffix) there is still a kind of resistance to the monophthongisation of the triphthong. Thus, *layer cake* is [e:] and *bricklayer* is more likely to be realised [ɜ:]. *Slower* /sləʊə/ and *slur*/slɜ:/ can be homophones [slɜ:].

Besides, vowels might be affected by the following factors: first, neutralisation in which /i:, ɪ/ and /u:, ʊ/ become neutralised /i, u/ in unstressed syllables as in *he* or *you*. Second, length refers to long vowels occurring before voiceless consonants are reduced/shortened such as *seat* [si:t]. Third, some vowels are nasalised when they occur before a nasal such as *moon* [mū:n].

### 3.7.1.3. Standard British English Syllable Structure

Most English syllables contain vowels and consonants except words such as *I* or *a* in which there is only one vowel or when consonants function as syllabic as in *cotton* [k<sup>h</sup>ɒt.ŋ]. There are several theories that have tried to define what a syllable is, however, English syllable are mainly divided into four types: V, CV, VC, CVC. On the one hand, the vowel can be a monophthong, a diphthong or a triphthong as in *our*. On the other hand, the onset can be C *lie*, CC *play* or CCC *spring* syllable initially. But when syllable-final, the coda can be C *stop*, CC *stops*, CCC *asks* or CCCC *texts* /teksts/. This syllabic structure implies that the minimum syllable is V and the maximum is CCCVCCCC. It is also important to mention that not all consonants can form consonant cluster, in fact in an onset cluster, only /s/ can start the cluster, followed by voiceless plosives and followed by approximants as in *spray*.

### 3.7.1.4. Standard British English Stress

Stress is defined by Ladefoged & Johnson (2011) as a suprasegmental feature that contribute to the rhythm of the whole utterance. It is the prominence of an entire syllable

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<sup>17</sup> Neutralisation: when two distinct sounds become reduced into only one sound and no distinction can be made.

which is realised with a greater amount of energy and air put on the syllable either by longer duration, greater loudness or higher pitch. In his classes, Pr. Mohamed Dekkak used to refer to stress as the identity by which a word is made different from another.

In English, stress is not always predictable as there are rules which may not always be applied everywhere. However, there are syllables which are stressed, and others are not. For example, a syllable in which there is a schwa is never stressed. Besides, there are a few stress rules that need to be understood when learning the English pronunciation of multi-syllable words.

Among those rules are (1) in a two syllables word, if it is a noun or an adjective, the first syllable will be then stressed as in *'re.cord* or *'per.fect*; if it is, however, a verb the second syllable will be stressed as in *re.'cord* or *per.'fect*. (2) Stress can also be found in the penultimate (second from end) syllable of words ending in -ic, -sion, -tion, -ious as in *pho.'ne.tic*, *a.'llu.sion*, *ed.u.'ca.tion*, *'con.scious*. (3) Stress is on the antepenultimate (third from end) syllable in words ending with -cy, -ty, -phy, -gy, -al, -ise, -ate as in *de.'moc.ra.cy*, *a.'bil.i.ty*, *pho.'tog.ra.phy*, *ge.'ol.o.gy*, *i.'den.ti.cal*, *'or.gan.ise*, *'con.cen.trate*. (4) In RP compound nouns generally have a stress on the first syllable of the first word as in *'White House*, *'airport*, *'mother-in-law*. (5) In compound adjectives, however, the first syllable of the second word is generally stressed as in *old 'fashioned*, *well 'mannered*. (6) Phrasal verbs have the stress on the second word as in *head-'on*, *up 'grade*, *fed 'up*; however, as there are contradictions as to where stress should be put between *the Daniel Jones English Pronouncing Dictionary* and the *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*, we need to indicate that such a rule is not always valid.

### 3.7.1.5. Standard British English Intonation and Tone

Generally speaking, intonation may carry an amount of information about the speaker; but it mainly refers to the voice quality (pitch and duration) when producing sounds. Pitch is termed as *high* or *low* depending on the rate of the vocal cords vibration. Males, for instance, have a lower pitched voice than females do ranging from 65 - 260 Hz<sup>18</sup> for males to 100-525 Hz for females. However, the pitch that influences meaning is called *tone*; since often the meaning of speech largely depends on the tone with which it is uttered. Tones in English do not affect the meaning of words such as they do in Chinese but they

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<sup>18</sup> Hertz: a unit to measure the number of cycles.

can determine the meaning of phrases and sentences. When speaking, there is no punctuation, it is, therefore, important to place the right tones in sentences like the following one ‘while eating my dog my cat and I watched television’.

In speech sounds production, intonation patterns refer to the classification of those tones which can be high, neutral or low. In fact, intonation may help express emotions, attitudes, grammar, discourse or information for turn-taking. Foreigners may hear a high and a low pitch which also contributes to the melody of speech. Without understanding the language, we may distinguish between a British and an Italian. In RP English, utterances mainly have three different intonation patterns as it is illustrated with a few examples in the following table:

	Falling ↘	Rising ↗	Fall-rise ↘↗
Wh-questions	-Where is the nearest ↘ post office? - What time does the ↘ movie finish?		
Command	↘ Write your name there.		
Yes/no questions		↗ -Are you happy? ↗ -Is that the new teacher?	
(Real) Tag Questions		You’re her sister, ↗ are you?	
Statements	-I don’t like any football ↘ team at the moment.  -It rained every day in ↘ the first week.		
Polite request in questions			Would like another ↘↗ coffee?

Table 3.12: RP Intonation

### 3.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to explore Arabic, Berber, French and English through a historical, a typological and a phonetic/phonological approach. As those languages are

both the subject and object of investigation, it is important to identify how they may develop. In addition to that, a comparison between how those languages phonetics/phonology function will serve as a central purpose which is the detection of Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) in the forthcoming chapters. To this comparison, the chapter has also tried to understand the linguistic situation of Algeria; a situation that has been numerously qualified as multilingual. However, multilingualism in Algeria might also take account of another language in the near future. Indeed, Chinese is expanding and it is more frequently used because of the Algerian-Chinese economic partnership (Benrabah, 2014).

## **Chapter Four**

### **The Methodology and the Results of a Case Study**

## Chapter IV Contents

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## Chapter IV

### The Methodology and the Results of a Case Study

#### 4.1. Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is a case of multilingualism in Algeria between the different languages namely, Arabic, Berber, French and English (the latter being an L2 language taught for seven years at school to any Algerian pupil). The fact that there is language contact between these languages inevitably results in Crosslinguistic Influence on English language acquisition according to the reviewed literature in Chapter I. Besides, the transfer might be modulated by socio-cultural factors. However, such a statement needs to be confirmed with tangible proofs. It is, thus, pertinent at present to conduct a study that may validate or refute such claims.

In addition to that, in 2002 in his SLA/FLA studies classes; Pr. Mohamed Miliani explained that, in SL or FL teaching, no educational context is similar i.e. the same environment with the same learners cannot create the same learning/teaching conditions every time. Indeed, it is significant to identify those variables that may affect CLI on L2 acquisition of English; therefore, a study has to be conducted to uncover the underlying layers.

This chapter deals with the linguistic analysis of the selected data which consists of both oral and written records. The objective of such an experiment is to understand Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) on the English pronunciation produced by Algerian learners. Indeed, the main goal of the analysis is to identify the phonetic and the phonological deviations that may characterise the interviewed Algerian subjects. Nevertheless, we have to point out that this study does not represent the phonetic and phonological studies of English in all Algeria. However, it simply tries to explore what might trigger some phenomena ranging from the production of sounds to the way they are organised at the level of the speech production of first-year students of English at the University of Oran 2.

The study is based on two guiding principles, the exploration of common CLI features and the identification of the socio-cultural factors that underlie that transferable production. Furthermore, the ultimate goal is to correlate between those socio-cultural

factors and the linguistic deviations so they can provide an insight into the way transfer operate not only in the oral language but the written one too. The cognitive process that enables language representation, assimilation and production may function similarly when producing English whether in its verbal or written form.

Predicting errors for the sake of prediction seems a challenged approach, already weakened by the shortcomings of the Contrastive Analysis and the Error Analysis (EA) discussed in Chapter I. The incidence of some informants' deviations does not seem the result of an erratic conundrum. It is, therefore, more pertinent at this point to understand the way those errors operate and keep occurring in order to highlight what may prompt them to the surface.

Besides, as there have been two research projects within two years from each other, the results will only examine both findings in case of dissimilarities between the samples. Otherwise, the common pronunciation deviations in both studies will only serve to emphasise the occurrence of a particular transfer in either context. Therefore, the common CLI features will be discussed collectively in terms of rates and percentage.

For a better understanding of the data; this section also needs to supply brief information about the participants, the procedure and the instruments applied for the obtained results. This chapter is divided into three major sections *the Experiment Method*, *the Questionnaire Results* and *the Recordings Results*. The discussion of the results will be dealt with in the last and fifth chapter.

## **4.2. The Experiment Method**

The present study endeavours to understand not only the deviations in the pronunciation of Algerian learners of English but also the socio-cultural factors upon which those difficulties may hinge. The experiment has tried to collect as much data as possible for a valid and reliable statistical and descriptive analysis. This section examines the methodology *Overview, Subjects, Instruments and Procedure*.

### **4.2.1. Overview**

The experiment tries to analyse the Crosslinguistic Influence on the realisation of English consonants, vowels, syllable structure, stress and intonation. Such attempt is to investigate not only each of the four mentioned pronunciation characteristics but also to discover which one is likely to undergo more transfer. The selection of those four

elements is not at random. In fact in Algeria, the teaching of English phonetics principally targets those four aspects during the first year of English studies at the University of Oran.

Besides, we wanted to identify where Crosslinguistic Influence occurs most often so as (1) to improve our teaching of those phonetic units, (2) to detect the main difficulties that could be faced by students and (3) to reorganise the teaching time dedicated to each former aspect in order to balance between what can be easily learnt and what may require more attention. Therefore, two major tasks were designed to elicit language production and language awareness in the form of a questionnaire and oral recordings. Furthermore, for confirmation purposes, we had also to design another test with a similar questionnaire but in which the subjects had mainly to read a written text.

#### 4.2.2. Subjects

The subjects are 140 Algerian undergraduates and first-year students of English at the University of Oran 2. The first survey counts 100, the second 40. All participants (100% of the experiment) have studied at public schools in Algeria, and they have been learning English for at least 8 years (7 years between Middle and Secondary School in addition to 1 year at the University). According to the questionnaire results, 73% have studied it for 8 years and 11% for 9 years.

As to their age, the mean is over 20 years old at the beginning of the experiment; the youngest are three subjects who were 18 years old, the oldest a female of 42. Those informants consist of 64% females and 36% males – numerically ( $f = 90$ ) and ( $m = 50$ ). We wished we could have had equal gender rates; however, male informants seemed less available for the interview.

The study tries to link culture to language; for that purpose, the questionnaire (see Appendix B) had to include questions about where they lived and where they were born. To these questions, 92% were born in Oran or in western Algeria (24% were born in Mostaganem, Relizane or Sidi-Bel-Abbes). The 8% left were born in the centre of Algeria. In relation to where they were living, 92.08% answered *Oran* and 7.92% *western Algeria*; no other cities were given. These findings help the study be more pertinent in its discussion of Oranese learners.

The fact that all the subjects were schooled in Algeria implies that they successively learnt Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), French and English, a crucial criterion in the Crosslinguistic Influence analysis. Concerning English, 85% have chosen this language as a university subject. Moreover, 97.5% of the informants ticked *yes* to

whether or not they liked English. This percentage also helps us reduce additional variables such as language attitude towards English and which could have seriously interfered within the results analysis.

As to their proficiency level in English, it ranges from pre-intermediate, intermediate to upper-intermediate, but they mostly have an intermediate level according to the carried out interview. Their Phonetics background outlines a period of one academic year at university; however, for three preceding years and ever since they had started learning English in secondary education, they were introduced to some notions of phonetics.

Concerning their Phonetics marks, the mean of the two semesters of the first year is 09.19/20, very near the average (10/20) to pass; to put it differently, most of the subjects have learnt enough information in phonetics to be tested. In addition to that and to be as objective as possible, the subjects were interviewed at the end of the first academic year and after all the other examinations. We had to make sure that all the phonetic syllabus content was completely covered and that they were under no pressure from the interviewer who also happened to be their teacher.

For measurement reliability purposes, two research projects were conducted. Nonetheless, it is important to indicate that all the previous points describing the informants are shared by the two groups of the two tests. In this work, we shall refer to the first subjects of the experiment as **Group 1** and the second as **Group 2**, in case of differences. If, however, no distinction needs to be drawn, only terms such as *informants*, *participants* or *subjects* will be mentioned.

### 4.2.3. Instruments

By instruments, this work refers to the materials used to collect data which can either be in the form of a questionnaire, a tape-recording or any other stimulus to gather qualitative and quantitative corpus from the sample of students. The first experiment and questionnaire survey largely derives from Odlin & Jarvis (2004) on Crosslinguistic Influence on English from both Finnish and Swedish. The material stimulus was to watch first half of *Oliver Twist* movie displayed with a video projector in class. Then, **Group 1** had to fill in a printed questionnaire and answer the interviewer's questions about the way the movie might be expected to end. **Group 1** interview was recorded by Audacity software that enables the reduction of outside noise interferences.

As there are cultural considerations to be taken into account, there was a need for a quantitative and qualitative data. Therefore, 24 questions (Appendix B) were presented either in checklists, carrier phrases, yes/no questions or in open ones. Moreover, the questionnaire consists of short words and simple phrasing that could be understood by any interviewee having an intermediate level of English. **Group 1** completed a background questionnaire that contained questions about their difficulties in both language and phonetics. In order to answer those questions individually and studiously, time ranging between 15mn and 50mn was allotted for that purpose before the interview.

So as to confirm some of the findings concerning pronunciation deviations in the first project, a second study was conducted and which has followed the first one by two years. Both surveys needed to be carried out similarly only to have the pronunciation factor changed; however, the difference and similarity of the second study are as follows. First, **Group 2** also had to listen to a native Standard British English in the form of a recorded reading of the poem *If* by Rudyard Kipling; second, they had to reply to the questionnaire, and they loudly had to read the poem third (*If*-see Appendix C). As the questionnaire was identical to the first study, **Group 2** had only to listen to the poem and read it loudly. In fact, both projects are divided as follows, (1) native British English stimulus, (2) responding to the same questionnaire, (3) recording the informants' English speech production.

In relation to the selection of the poem, it was caused by two main reasons; first, **Group 2** was familiar with the poem as it was studied in their literature classes and it had generally been appreciated among students. Second, beside its being easy to understand, the text includes the major phonetic elements targeted for the analysis, namely: stress, intonation, vowels and consonants. In addition to that, the text contains the most important phonetic features this work has wanted to confirm.

#### 4.2.4. Procedure

For the phonetic analysis, we have selected 100 informants from the first experiment and 40 from the second ( $n = 140$ ). However, the entire experiment consists of a larger number of participants. As we have attempted to analyse a population of subjects that might be representative of Crosslinguistic Influence realised by Algerian students of English at Oran University, we have tried to gather maximum data in the form of two projects. While the first study comprised 119 informants, the second 567 participants. The first proportion represents one-fifth of the first-year students in 2013, the second two-thirds in 2015. The

oral and written corpus was examined into two phases, *the collection* and *the analysis* as follows.

#### 4.2.4.1. Corpus Collection

Concerning *Group 1* (first experiment), we had real difficulty in gathering data. After the exams, the informants were afraid of being recorded by their teacher thinking it was another form of assessment in spite of lengthy explanations stating the contrary. At first, only 13 subjects spontaneously attended the interview. In the end, we had to promise an additional point to the mark of the second test in order to have 119 informants from 280 students. The promise was fulfilled. Furthermore, two colleagues kindly intervened in the matter and equally promised help to those students. Despite all explanations and help from other teachers, only 58 subjects were present during the second movie projection. We had to invite students one by one from the university corridors to watch the movie projection and wait until three weeks later to finally reach the 119 participants.

As it has already been mentioned, the experiment consists of three different phases. First, only the first part of the movie *Oliver Twist* was displayed in Standard British English in the classroom. The purpose was to identify the informants' listening skill and the intelligibility of native English speech during the interview. Besides, the film was easy to understand, and it is among the movies and plays recommended by the British Council for intermediate language level teaching. Second, after the end of the movie projection, a questionnaire was handed and which includes general and language learning questions such as age, gender, place of birth, language attitude, motivation, learning difficulties, English and so on. As the questionnaire was anonymous, a number was attributed to each informant's paper and their corresponding audiotape.

The third stage of the procedure consisted of recording participants trying only to give their impressions of the movie and to guess what could happen to *Oliver Twist* in the second part of the film, as nobody seemed familiar with Charles Dickens' novel. After completing the questionnaire, the instructions were given to all participants who were given enough time to be ready for the interview.

In fact, the skeleton of the whole procedure was inspired by Odlin & Jarvis (2004), two CLI linguists, who projected a silent Charlie Chaplin movie to 140 subjects to elicit oral and written feedback through a questionnaire and interviews. They claim that the difficulties in creating answers in such an exercise will demonstrate where Crosslinguistic Influence occurs and what techniques are used. In fact, as the participants were not

familiar with such an activity, they would directly have to use transfer, an insight into the way CLI operates between three languages (English, Finnish and Swedish).

We have endeavoured, therefore, to reproduce the same conditions for the experiment. However, we were genuinely surprised that the participants felt distressed and anxious in formulating answers and that most of the first informants' answers were similar to "I like the movie, it is very interesting" then be silent. Immediately, we talked to them to understand where the problem was i.e. was it a problem at the level of imagining and creating the end of the story or was it simply a language difficulty in expressing themselves? They simply stated they could not fully express themselves in English for such a purpose and that they would gladly answer in Arabic as they wanted "to help me for my doctorate". As they were the first subjects who spontaneously attended the research project but they, unfortunately, could not answer, they could dissuade other participants from attending. To obtain English speech, we have changed the instructions three times.

To **Group 1**, we asked what their favourite book was in English and if they could summarise the story. Most of those who answered this question had studied a novel in their Literature classes. However, the majority did not read a book in English; in fact, they did not read any book in any language at all. To illustrate, the number of those who have read a book in English, French or Arabic is 43 out of 100, and most were discussing books dealt with in their Literature classes (see Appendix E). We had to change the instructions again so they can enthusiastically talk about something they liked. In the end, the instructions handed to the informants were as follows:

- What is your favourite book, movie or series (in English, French or Arabic)?
- What is it about?
- Why do you like it?

Informants had time to prepare their answers, and they started the interview as soon as they felt ready. During the interview, time was not limited and the duration of the audiotapes ranges between 1.15mn and 4.23mn; however, the mean time is over 2mn which implies almost four hours of recorded data. Most subjects followed the instructions and achieved the story summary along with an explanation of why they liked it. Although they experienced some difficulties in expressing themselves, **Group 1** was very enthusiastic in their sharing what they liked with the interviewer.



For measurement reliability and confirmation of the results of the first study, another experiment took place two years after the preceding one. Unlike the first survey, the second was unproblematic at all.

The second study consisted of listening (audio) to three different poems pronounced by a native British English speaker. All texts were taken from materials provided by the British Council teaching website<sup>1</sup>. The first poem was a fairy tale of the *Little Red Riding Hood*<sup>2</sup>, the second poem *If*<sup>3</sup>, and the third *The Same Earth*<sup>4</sup> with some difficult words and expressions. The three texts belong to three different levels of language (from pre-intermediate to intermediate to upper-intermediate). The objective was to compare the informants' realisation of sounds and prosody of the same letters and phonetic rules. However, we soon realised that the first poem was not taken seriously during reading and that the third was quite difficult. Therefore, we have only kept the intermediate level text, the poem *If*, which was very popular among the subjects.

Similar conditions to the first experiment were created; **Group 2** (second experiment) had to listen to the poem first and to read the stanzas next. The participants also replied to the same questionnaire as that of the first study. Nevertheless, there were two major hypotheses behind such a test. First, learners may use less transfer when reading a text they were already acquainted with. Second, the level of transfer (high or low) may vary according to external factors such as environment and interviewer. In fact, Labov's concept of the *observer's paradox* that may influence informants' feedback incited us to consider whether it is possible or not to reduce 'negative transfer'<sup>5</sup> during L2 production should the observer be different. Therefore, to avoid bias, measurements were conducted by another interviewer and a colleague from a private school was designated to record the interviews. Her age was near the informants', and she did not teach at the University of Oran, a fact that had made **Group 2** display apparent willingness and ease for collaboration. Besides, reading a text and not creating speech made us obtain enough data from 567 participants.

In addition to that number, the experimentation was so successful among the subjects that some of them expressed the wish to be given the same assignment as a project to improve their marks of the second semester. Many conducted the project using

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/teaching-adults>

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix F.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix G.

<sup>5</sup> Negative transfer is a type of Crosslinguistic Influence that causes deviations (see Chapter I).

texts of their own choice and sent it by mail even after the end of the academic year during the summer holiday. Over 750 recordings of varied texts from different classes, years and faculties were collected; however, we have not included those audiotapes in this study as we shall leave them, therefore, for future investigation.

As to **Group 2** participants, 40 interviewees were selected from the 567 according to their marks, or to the marks, they mentioned they had on their questionnaire. The number was limited to control the large data. Indeed, to validate or refute the two hypotheses of the second experiment, the forty subjects corresponding to the best marks on the list were chosen for the present analysis. In addition to the 100 informants of **Group 1**, the total is ( $n = 140$ ).

#### 4.2.4.2. Corpus Analysis

The 140 selected audiotapes were transcribed according to the *Daniel Jones Pronouncing Dictionary* and the *Longman Pronouncing Dictionary* using the IPA to study and compare common deviations and realisations of sounds and utterances. In order to assess sounds realisation, we have mainly adopted a perceptive approach to identify segments. However, to be as accurate as possible, for vowels we have often used *Praat* (acoustic phonetic software). In truth, the precise quality of the realisations of some vowels was sometimes complex to identify; therefore, anxious for the accuracy of the phonetic description, we have analysed the spectrogram (spectra line) of those vocalic formants (F) in *Praat*. For example, the F1 and F2 of a front vowel are distant from each other than the F1 and F2 of a back vowel. That technique has largely contributed to cross-check some of the data and to detect the place and manner of production of several sounds in the vocal tract.

The first step of the analysis was to compare the recorded data of **Group 1** between the informants' pronunciation and the native English transcription of the corresponding items. Next, some of the most recurrent features were selected to be also compared to their counterpart realisations in **Group 2** speech. Then, to focus on what may really represent Crosslinguistic Influence on English by Algerian learners of English, common characteristics were extracted from both experiments. Finally, the filtered findings were compared to Arabic and French realisations.

Moreover, as this work is also interested in the socio-cultural factors that could be depicted into the informants' pronunciation of English, the questionnaire was thoroughly investigated. Indeed, to analyse the linguistic findings and link them to either Arabic or

French does not seem enough. Therefore, trying to understand those informants through the provided answers of the questionnaire might assist the discussion of the results in order to explore the reasons behind CLI.

### 4.3. The Questionnaire Results

In order to understand some of the informants' CLI aspects, an analysis of the questionnaire should be achieved as it may reveal some of the socio-cultural factors. As we have already mentioned and on account of some difficulties faced during the first experiment, the informants consist of 64% females and 36% males – or ( $f = 90$ ) and ( $m = 50$ ). In addition to gender, the age mean of the subjects is 20 years old. As we have mentioned in Chapter III, the age structure of 15-24 years represents 16.64% of the entire Algerian population. Males' population of this age structure is estimated at 3,368,415 and females' around 3,213,185; such a gap between the two sexes corresponds to 4.60% of males outnumbering females. However, at the English Department of the University of Oran, a sample of one first-year group of 69 students consists of only 17 males which represents 11,73% of the class. Therefore, the rates of the informants in this work might truly represent the population of the university learners of English at Oran University. Accordingly, we shall try to report the results according to all informants and sometimes according to each gender when it is relevant or the difference is significant. This section tackles the following findings: *Informants' Language Level, the Extent of Multilingualism, Motivation to Learn English and to Revise Lessons at Home, English, Difficulties in English, Difficulties in Phonetics, Difficulties: Whose Responsibility? and Overcoming Difficulties.*

#### 4.3.1. Informants' Language Level

Before claiming that socio-cultural factors influence CLI, it is crucial to determine the language proficiency of the participants. According to the mentioned literature in Chapter I (see 1.3.3.3(ii)), language level may shape the amount of transfer. Indeed, L2 interlanguage (IL) continually develops when it is not fossilised. The amount of the linguistic features acquired and which constitute IL differ from one learner to another. In other words, an L2 learner at an elementary level will probably use more transfer than an upper-advanced learner; however, the question that should presently be asked is how much transfer is used in a particular level. Obviously, the answer to such a question seems very complex, but common features might be found that may be assigned to a given level.

Besides, categorising criteria specific to each level might also help in the syllabus design of Phonetics. Consequently, it is important to identify the language level of the informants to attribute the corresponding amount of transfer.

In Oran, most university teachers claim that first-year students have an intermediate level with some variation between advanced and pre-intermediate. To identify their level we have asked participants to write down their marks in the baccalaureate exam in English, along with their grades in the language skills taught during their first-year of English studies. In addition to that, the Phonetics marks were also requested. However, it is essential to mention that listening and reading are not taught as language subjects at the University. The following table provides the mean of the informants' grades of the two semesters:

	English Baccalaureate (Sec. school)	Grammar (Univ.)	Phonetics (Univ.)	Written (Univ.)	Oral (Univ.)
Marks (1 year)	14.1/20	10.3/20	9.2/20	10.4/20	11.5/20

According to the previous table, informants have their marks dropped from good to average at the university. In Grammar, the lowest mark is 4/20 the highest is 18.50/20; in Phonetics between 2/20 and 15/20; in Written from 2/20 to 15/20 and in Oral Expression the marks range from 10/20 to 14.5/20. As to the difference between males and females, the following table illustrates the percentage of the academic achievement ( $\geq 10/20$ ) of each gender per subject:

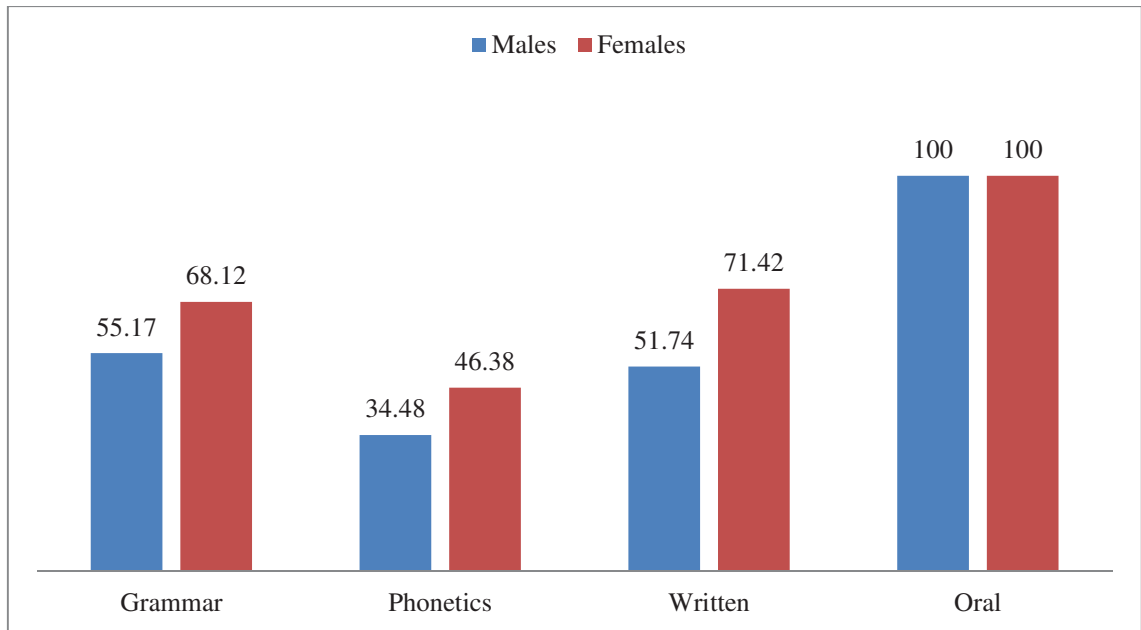


Figure 4.1: Gender Differences in Academic Achievement

Those results refer only to those who have obtained  $\geq 10/20$  in the mentioned academic subjects. In other words, the above red and blue bars relate to those, among all the informants, who have obtained equal or superior to 10/20, a grade required for each academic year qualification. According to the previous figure, females seem to perform better in Grammar, Phonetics and Written Expression. To illustrate, 68.12% of all the female informants have successfully passed their first-year Grammar course. However, 100% of all informants succeed in Oral Expression; this may imply that learners prefer more interaction and participation in classes. Phonetics grades appear as the lowest of all four subjects; this may probably entail that informants' knowledge in language skills is not necessarily related to their acquisition of phonetic features. Also, a deviated pronunciation does not infer a bad level in English. In addition to that, such findings oblige us to ask whether females transfer less than their male counterparts or whether their CLI techniques are different. Another question that could arise is: can we link academic achievement to transfer?

#### 4.3.2. The Extent of Multilingualism

In the previous chapter, we have briefly summarised the linguistic situation of Algeria. Such a situation depicts the general community and the country. However, at the individual level, it is imperative to confirm such a context and to uncover the way the informants perceive the representation of those languages. In the questionnaire, we have

asked the subjects to mention the language(s) in which they could express themselves **better**. We have purposely selected *better* rather than *best* to elicit more responses from the subjects. The question was an open one, and they could, therefore, chose from one to more languages. Their answers are depicted in the following table:

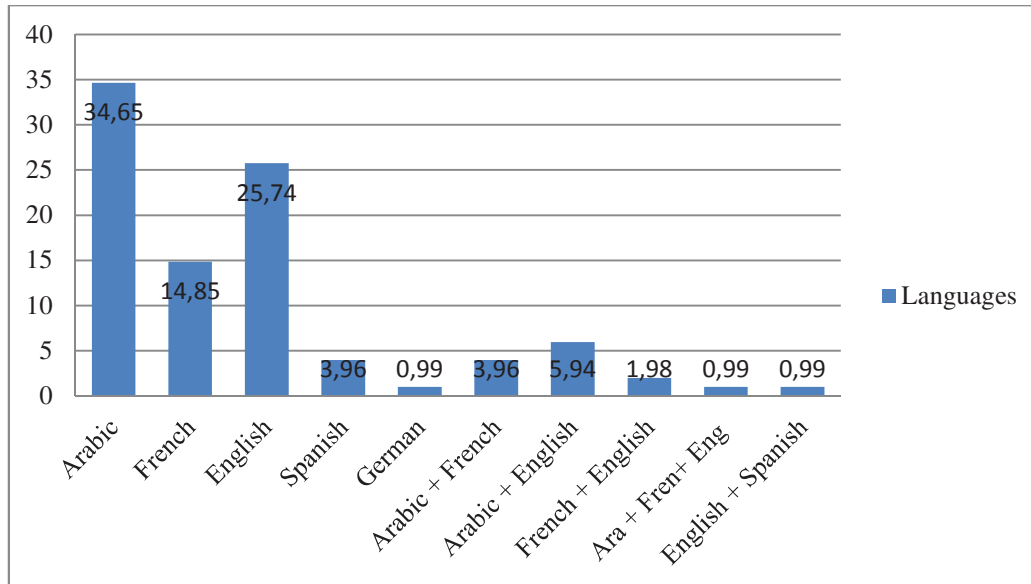


Figure 4.2: Informants' Languages

It seems quite obvious that Algerian informants believe they are multilinguals. Besides, it is clear that according to those findings that Arabic ranks first, followed by English and only then by French. In fact, we have supposed that French could rank second to Arabic. Furthermore, in that figure in which a few informants mentioned more than one language simultaneously, they started with the language they had learnt first, e.g. those who feel they could master Arabic and French, they would put Arabic first. This may allow us to ask: could it be the same with transfer? Do they transfer from Arabic first then French second when they produce the English language since many believe their level of English is better than that of French? Indeed, we may hypothesise that Crosslinguistic Influence may start with Arabic for Algerian learners of English.

In addition to that, a significant point needs to be mentioned. If we combine all those who have selected Arabic, French or English; we shall find that they feel they can express themselves better first in Arabic by 47%, second in English by 30% and third in French by 23%. According to the reviewed literature, French is almost as present as Arabic; these findings, however, may imply that English is slowly taking the place of

French since 77% of the informants did not chose French as a language they can use to express themselves. We might ask then: what are the socio-cultural aspects underlying such a decline in the use of French? The following chart clearly demonstrates the languages the participants believe they can use ‘better’:

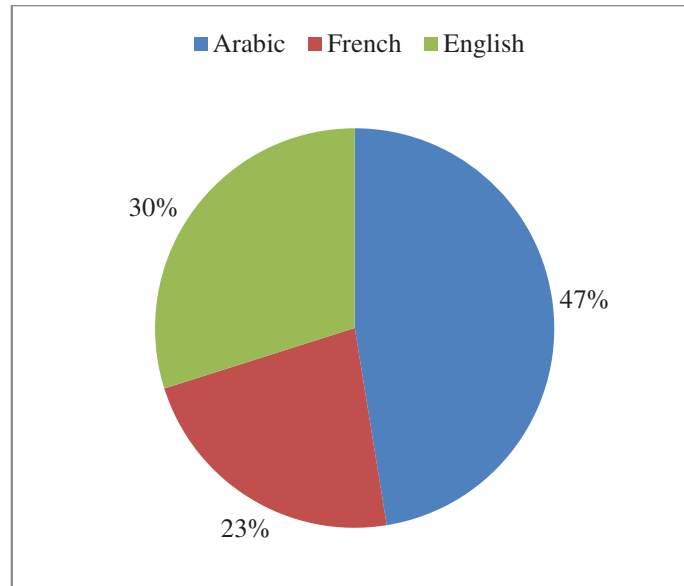


Chart 4.1: Informants' Languages Spread

Such findings are extremely significant as they demonstrate the way those learners perceive their abilities in one language or another. According to the former chart, many suppose they could express themselves better in English than in either Arabic or French. However, the instructions *Group 1* ( $n = 100$ ) was given and the difficulties they faced to participate in the activity (see chap. IV, section 4.2.4.1) reveal that what they think they know and what they really do might differ.

Furthermore, in the questionnaire, our use of “language(s)” and “is/are” implies that the informants may cite more than one language depending on their own representations of their linguistic mastery of each language. Yet, the former chart demonstrates an unequal distribution in the learning of languages. 92.08% of the informants live in Oran and several among them have probably studied in the same schools. Nonetheless, 12 years of Arabic, 10 years of French and 8 years of English were not enough to make them believe they are multilinguals because only 0.99% of the participants mentioned they could express themselves in the three languages equally.



Regarding gender, it would be very interesting to ask which gender prefers which language. Indeed, the preceding section (2.1.) has demonstrated that females academically perform better than their male counterparts in the English language skills taught at university. The following figure illustrates in detail the percentage of males and females who selected Arabic, French and English in the former chart; Spanish is added but not German as the latter represents only a small rate:

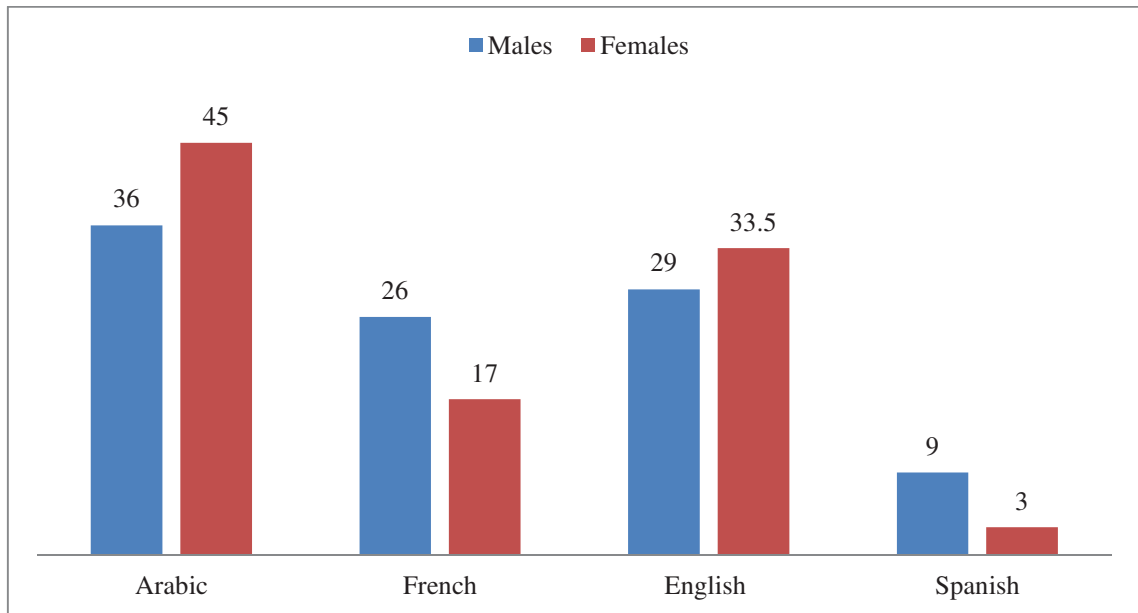


Figure 4.3: Gender Differences in Language Selection

The former figure represents the languages in which the informants believe they can express themselves better. There are three main results that can be withdrawn from this diagram. First, almost half of the females asked have selected Arabic as being their first ‘tool’ language. Second, males seem to prefer French and Spanish more than females do. Third, regarding English, there is a small rate difference between both genders. Besides, the fact that females academically achieved a higher performance than males did may answer a previous question by claiming that the representation one has of their language level may differ from their real one.

Moreover, there are several underlying implications that might be hypothesised to be either validated or rejected. First, females and males do not have the same perception of their language proficiency. Next, female and male culture may not be alike regarding languages. Then, French is more maintained by males. It is undeniable that all these hypotheses may open the door to future investigation into the matter.

### 4.3.3. Motivation to Learn English and to Revise Lessons at Home

Another salient feature that could affect English learning and that may underlie some socio-cultural factors is motivation. Indeed, we could not evade discussing informants' motivation as it may not only hinder language acquisition but also increase the amount of transfer by being careless about what is delivered. Therefore, the questionnaire has asked two questions that might be considered as the two sides of a coin: (1) do you feel motivated studying English? (2) Do you honestly study at home? The questions were in a yes/no layout; however, there was additional space on that part of the page to add whatever information the subjects wanted to share.

Pertaining to the first question regarding motivation, the following chart illustrates the informants' answer by *yes*, *no* and *I do not know*:

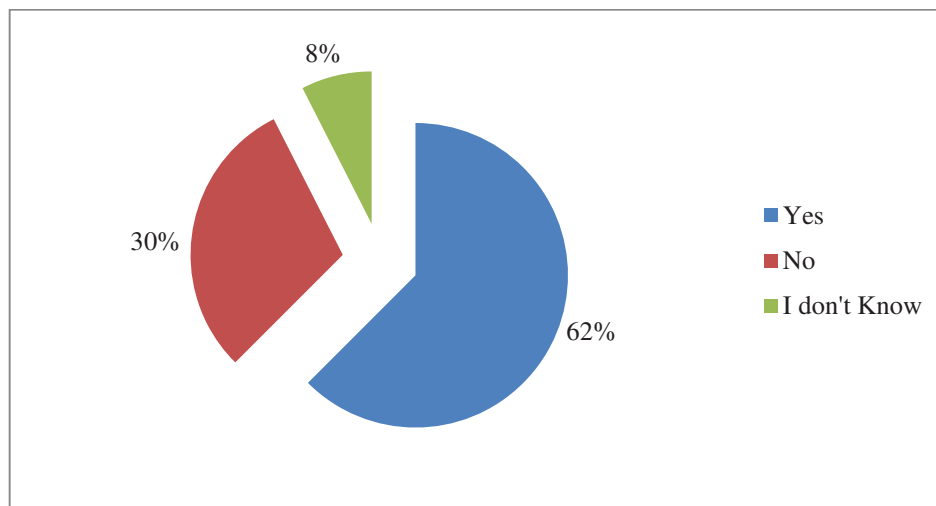


Chart 4.2: Motivation to Study English

As it can be observed from the previous chart, 62% of the informants feel motivated to study English; this value can be compared to the 85% that have also claimed they have chosen to study English at the University. However, after a few months of classes in the first year, the rate of those who remained motivated does not stay the same. Although the two questions are different, we may infer they chose English because of some motivation (instrumental, integrative, etc.)<sup>6</sup>; such a decrease by 27% after only one year of studies affects 38% (one-third) of the informants. Such a rate may have serious consequences as to English language acquisition because subjects may revise their

<sup>6</sup> Gardner & MacIntyre (1991) and Dornyei (1994) explain that learners may learn a language because of one of the following types of motivation: (1) instrumental (e.g. to get a job); (2) integrative (e.g. to integrate a particular culture); (3) extrinsic (e.g. to be rewarded) and (4) intrinsic (e.g. to learn a language for the sake of learning).

lessons without really acquiring knowledge. Even though exposure to English consciously or unconsciously helps learning, the rate of progress for each learner may vary owing to that single factor. Besides, when a student is not motivated, strategies to improve such a state might be successful; but learner's demotivation after motivation is usually hard to reverse.

In addition to that, informants had to mention whether or not they revised their lessons at home. Some have said yes, others no and a few claimed that they sometimes do their homework only before examinations. The following figure depicts those results:

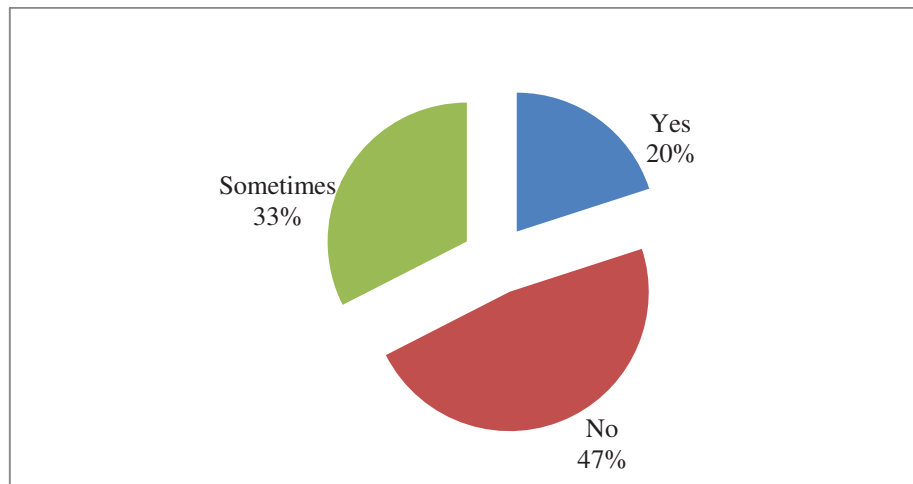


Chart 4.3: Homework Performance

Only 20% of the informants positively answered as to whether or not they study at home in general. It is significant to remember that the question did not include “*on a daily basis*” expression; it simply asked whether or not they studied at home. 33% revise for their examinations, and almost half the informants do not work at home at all beside university lectures. If that score is applicable to most first-year students, we shall need to ask the reason behind such behaviour and the remedy that may trigger their motivation for studies and self-improvement. The impact of such an attitude towards learning may shape not only the progress of their education but their professional future too.

Moreover, those two findings (lack of motivation and studies inconsistency) might explain to some extent their Phonetics grades since they have already acquired some language level at school and they could, therefore, answer the language skills subjects from prerequisite courses. However, such an assumption might not be valid. Their English mean at the baccalaureate exam is 14.1/20, and when they start university, the expected level is higher than what they already have. Perhaps, such a lack of transition

between secondary school level and the tertiary one is the cause of such a desertion. Another hypothesis that might be proposed is that the secondary school does not prepare future university students enough. Or simply, the university does not meet learners' expectations. All these hypotheses might be investigated in future work.

However, such a phenomenon might also be the result of socio-cultural factors. Does Algerian cultural diversity contribute to promote individual's achievement and enhance success in studies? Although the answer to the former question is purely sociological, it may nevertheless impinge on the process of studies and English language acquisition. Besides, some learners might be 'victims' of *the group solidarity* notion by following a common cultural trend because not everyone can impose and assert themselves within the community.

Moreover, one should not forget that within Algerian culture, too much pressure is on the individual for concrete achievement and material success; and often such expectations fall heavier on males' shoulders than on females'. On the one hand, males may need to work first and provide for their family and study next. On the other hand, Algerian females may need to study hard as it opens new horizons towards social accomplishment which may not be reached should they stay at home. However, individuals are different, and each one accounts for their personal decisions. Rejecting the blame on culture does not fully explain the real situation of each learner. While some may choose to study despite appalling life hardships; others may simply procrastinate and wait with no precise life goals.

It is important to point out that this work is not prejudiced against or partial to a particular type of gender, social class, or culture. It simply tries to understand what may enhance or impede language learning and what the actual situation is. It also attempts to detect some of the socio-cultural aspects that may improve or obstruct a particular learning situation.

On the topic of efforts in studies, we have found a significant difference between males and females. Indeed, reinterpreting charts 4.2 and 4.3 in terms of gender, as follows, might provide some insight into the informants' socio-cultural layers. While both sexes seem somehow motivated to study; female informants show a higher willingness to study at home than their male counterparts. These results are illustrated and summarised in the following histogram which distinguishes the percentage of each answer between male and female informants:

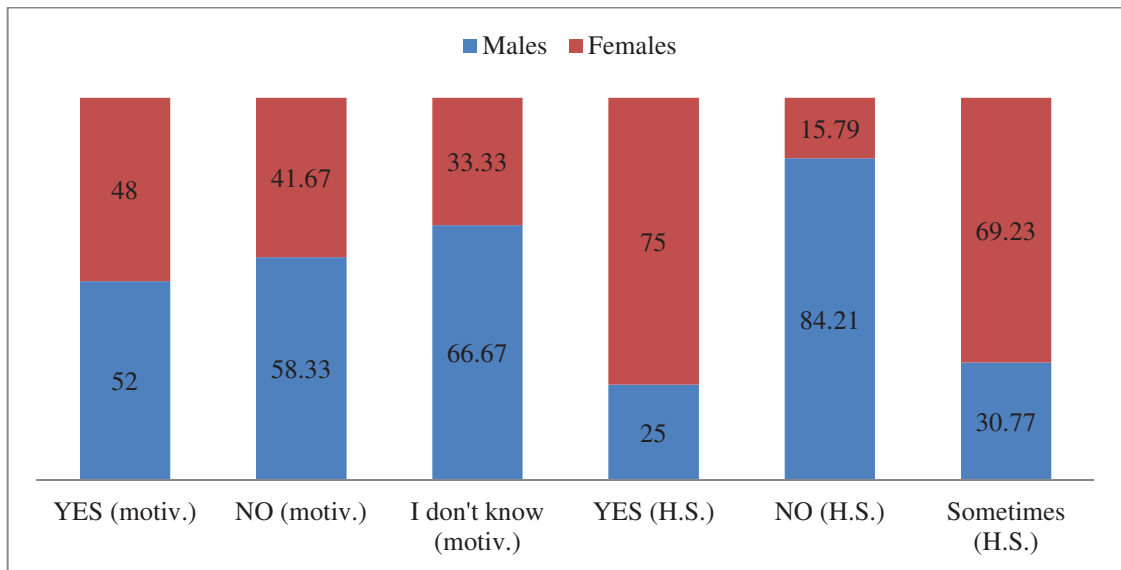


Figure 4.4: Gender Differences in Motivation and Homework Study

The preceding figure surprisingly shows what might appear as being contradictory. On the one hand, more males (52%) are motivated to study than females (48%) of which 100% = 62% in Chart 4.2; however, 84.21% of male subjects state they do not study at home. On the other hand, although 41.67% of female participants (almost half of the female experiment population) claim they are not motivated to study English; they do their homework at a rate of 75%, and they revise before examination by 69.23%.

In fact, these results completely refute our hypothesis that studying at home reflects learner's motivation to learn; for, both can be detached from each other. A learner may study not because they feel motivated but simply because they deem it necessary. These results may show that a motivated learner does not automatically imply a learner who regularly studies. Such a hypothesis may also provide substantial discussion to our future research.

#### 4.3.4. Attitude to English

English, the language the participants learn is also an extremely important topic to explore. As we are trying to analyse through linguistic factors some of the socio-cultural ones, it is substantial to identify the informants' 'relation' or attitude towards that language. As we have already mentioned, 85% have preferred to major in English at the University of Oran. Besides, 97.5% claim they like English; it is almost a unanimous answer; however, that high percentage was provided by 55% of males and by 45% of

females. Again, the results demonstrate that there might be a distinction between liking a language and succeeding in it and that the correlation between both is not automatically a cause-effect relationship.

In addition to that over half of the informants favour British English to American English. However, we have tried to investigate whether one English is more popular than another for both sexes. The results are that 68.18% of male informants prefer American English whereas 40.91% females ticked that variety on the questionnaire. In other words, American English is more popular among the male population of this experiment; and females would rather study British English.

In addition to that, we have assumed that the type of the English may vary from those who are motivated or not. In fact, such a claim is important as to the conception of Phonetics syllabi. In other words, if one variety is mostly favoured or popular among those who are motivated and likely to study; then, it will be necessary to respond to that need to enhance learning. Indeed, one way to trigger learners' motivation and wish to study is to pay attention to what they require. The following table correlates between those who are motivated or study at home and the English they like best; however, we have only included British and American English varieties in the diagram:

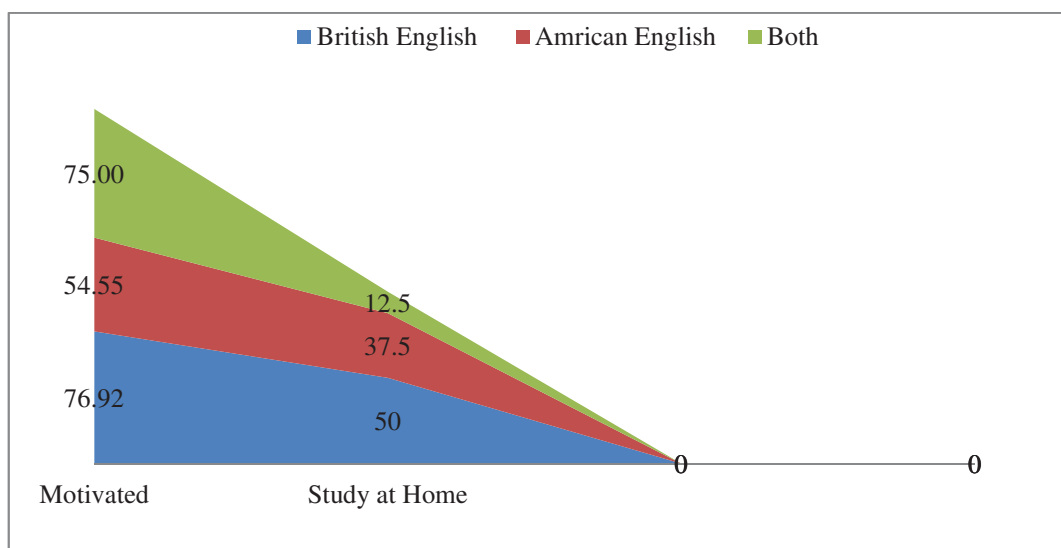


Figure 4.5: British vs. American English

The above diagram represents three layers or choices of varieties: the first layer in blue refers to British English, the second in red signifies American English, the last one in green stands for both Englishes. As to the percentage, the informants who have

opted for British English are as follows: 76% are *motivated*, 15.38% are *not motivated* and 7.70% have written *I don't know*. On the previous diagram, we have indicated only the proportion of those who are motivated and study at home according to their preference for each variety. As it is illustrated in the preceding figure, there is a bottom-up development. Indeed, 76% of motivated informants and 50% who study at home prefer British English the foundation layer in the above figure.

Moreover, the results demonstrate that most informants who study at home have selected one English or another because only a small proportion (12.5 %) has favoured both varieties. This might easily be explained by the fact that most informants, in addition to their homework, do not need additional difficulty when revising lessons. Consequently, syllabus content should be either in one variety of English or another but not in both in order to take into account what the informants may claim behind those findings.

#### 4.3.5. Difficulties in English

Most of the informants (97.5%) like English. However, learning English might not be as easy as it appears. In fact, it is important for any learner to demonstrate knowledge about English and about the way it works and is used (language awareness). It is also of equal importance to identify the difficulties learners experience in order to surmount them. As a Crosslinguistic Influence analysis requires a prior assessment of language difficulties, it seems pertinent to investigate what the informants believe as being complex.

Subsequently, the informants were asked to describe their difficulties and to impart on whether learning English is easy or not. While 45% claim that English is easy to learn, 55% of the subjects think that it is difficult. Furthermore, informants were also requested with an open question of the questionnaire to list what they assume their difficulties were in language learning.

To the above question, the participants' results can be divided into three categories according to the way we have grouped those difficulties. First, there are those (38.5%) who elicited the *language skills* as being the source of their difficulties; second, there are those (34.5%) who pointed out the *learning strategies and situations* they have found lacking in their own language learning process; and third there are those (27%) who did not answer the question or claimed they did not have any difficulty at all. As to the first category (that of the 38.5%), the following diagram translates their difficulties in the language skills:



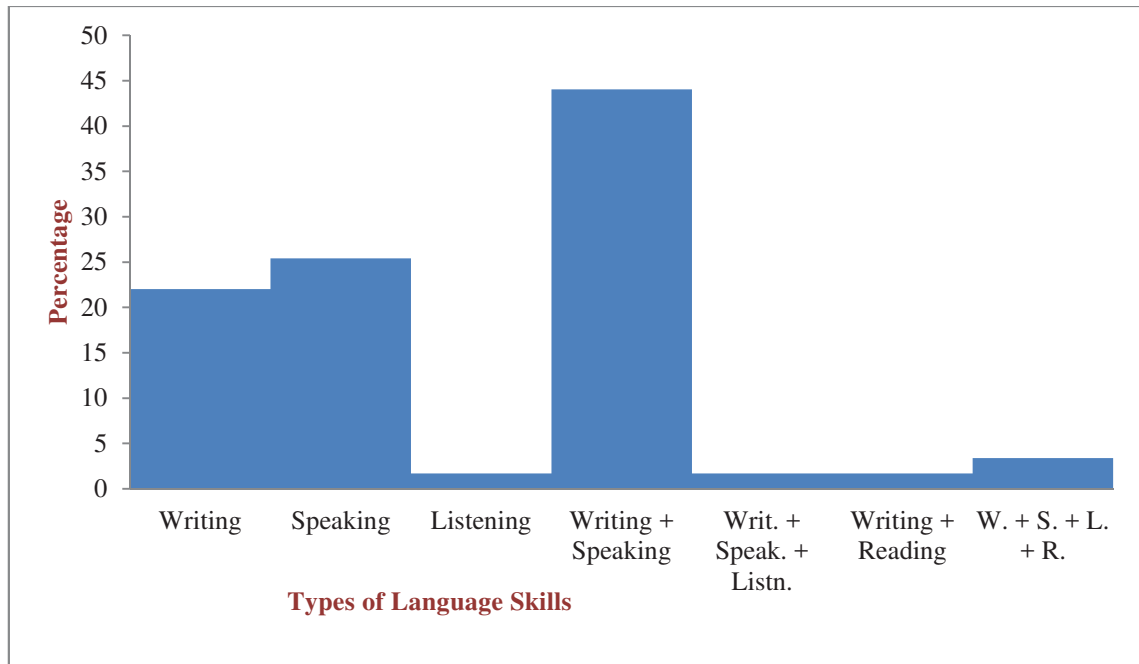


Figure 4.6: Informants' Difficulties in Language Skills

According to the results in the figure mentioned above, the informants state they have more difficulties in writing and speaking than in listening and reading. For those informants, the production skills rather than reception ones represent serious difficulties for their learning of English. Another observation that can be made about those results is that those participants assume they have reached enough proficiency in both listening and reading as they figure in the table but with a very low rate. This fact is illustrated in the following pie chart:

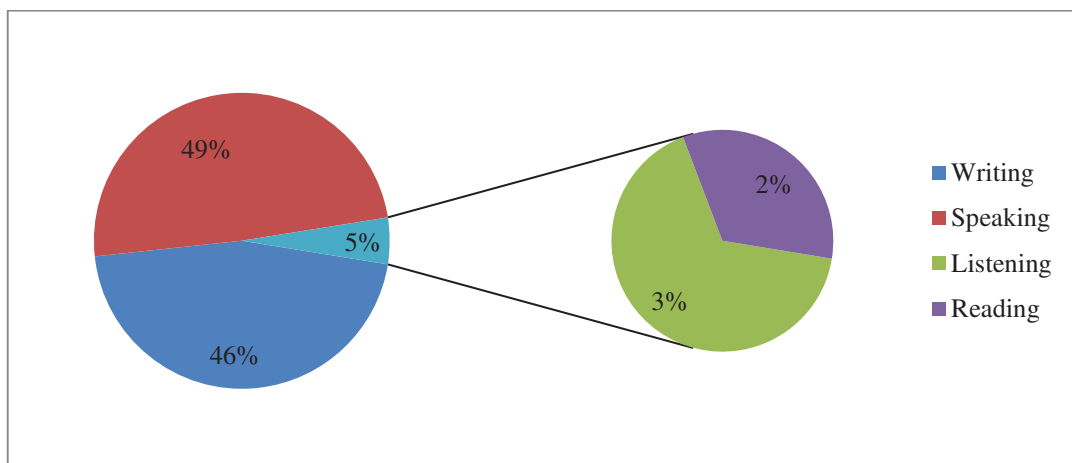


Chart 4.4: Difficulties in Language Skills

The left side of the previous chart clearly illustrates the proportion of the language skills considered problematic. Informants believe they face difficulties: first in speaking

by 49%; second, in writing by 46%; and third, only 5% consider they have difficulties in either reading or listening as the percentage is mentioned on the right side of the chart. In addition to that, the participants (of the 38.5%) who believe they have serious difficulties in writing and speaking have the following mean:

	Grammar	Phonetics	Written	Oral
Grades (1 year)	09.65/20	09.16/20	09.35/20	10.97/20

Although the informants' mean of their marks is near the average (10/20), the subjects still consider they have serious difficulty. Perhaps, the more they learn, the less they are aware of their abilities. However, it is also interesting to see the marks of the 27% participants who have claimed they have no difficulty at all or left an empty space next to the question. The following table presents their grades as follows:

	Grammar	Phonetics	Written	Oral
Grades (1 year)	11.07/20	09.32/20	10.49/20	11.60/20

It is evident from the above table that the 27% informants who did not mention any difficulty performed better than the previous group of 38.5%. It may imply they are aware of their abilities and they may sincerely believe they do not have any issue since their results prove their statement. Indeed, those who have not obtained the average believe they have difficulties; but those who have done so think they do not. As we have previously mentioned, it is imperative to identify whether learners can develop awareness of their own limitation during language learning. Nevertheless, those results may imply that the awareness of difficulties is strictly related to grading; i.e. when 10/20 is obtained, they believe they have no difficulties. However, the marks mean just above the average does not necessarily symbolise no difficulty at all; and marks just below do not indicate serious difficulty in all. Besides, we can put forward another hypothesis that might either be rejected or refuted: those subjects may have developed, instead of language awareness, '*10/20 awareness*'. That fact might seriously impede learner's progression in language acquisition as they relate their knowledge concern to grading only.

In addition to the first category of informants (38.5%) who have described their difficulties in terms of language skills, another group (of the 34.5%) has expressed their

concern about learning strategies and situations. That group has conveyed the following difficulties as illustrated in the subsequent diagram:

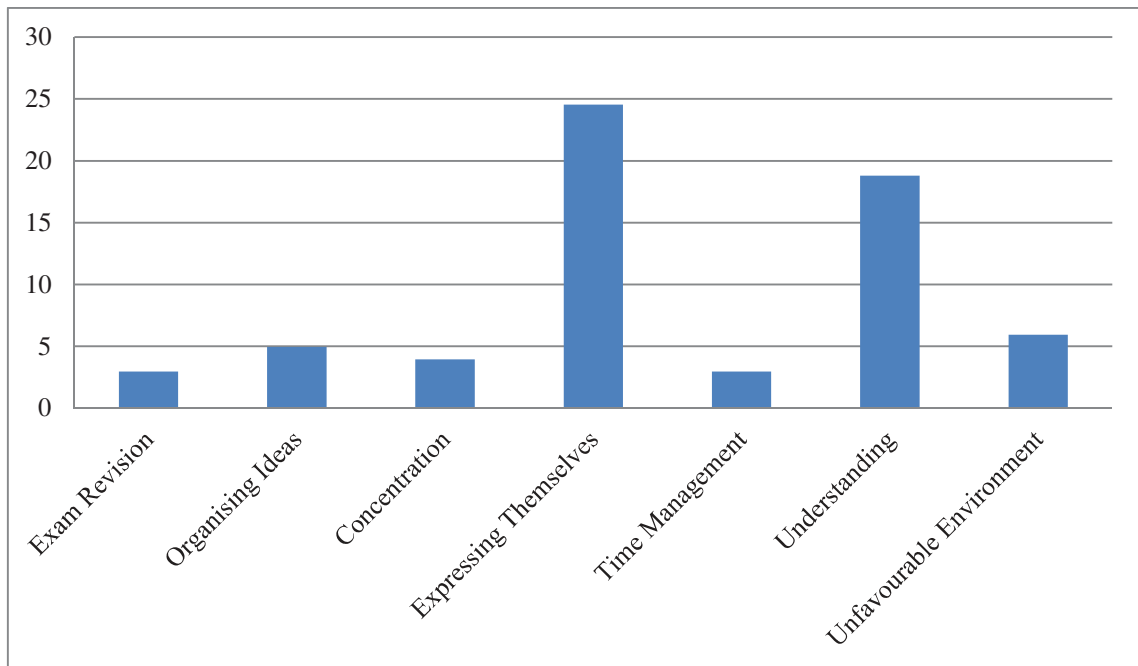


Figure 4.7: Learning Difficulties

According to the above table, informants point out seven main difficulties that they surely would like to overcome. Difficulties can be classified in a decreasing order from (1) expressing themselves; (2) understanding; (3) unfavourable environment; (4) organising ideas; (5) exam revision and concentration equally; and (7) time management. The previous points reveal several findings among which the difficulties in expression and understanding may also refer to the four language skills that are not well developed and that those informants are still not aware of. As to unfavourable teaching environment, those participants listed factors such as noise and crowded classrooms. Besides, several participants have serious methodological issues since many have explicitly written: “I do not know how to study or organise my ideas when I am speaking or writing”. All the four previous difficulties may lead to a lack of concentration and a dilemma in sorting out the way revision should be achieved. The last concern they encounter is time management as they could not adequately organise their time for homework, reading and social activities. According to those informants, studies take so much time, and they cannot cope with that exertion.

#### 4.3.6. Difficulties in Phonetics

In addition to the difficulties in language skills and methodology, this work will be incomplete if it does not deal with the way the informants perceive their English pronunciation and what difficulties they may run into during their speech. Besides, in spite of being a small attempt towards research, this work has also to serve a paramount purpose of improving the author's teaching. Indeed, the explicit utterance of such concern compels us to abide by what informants mostly need. Therefore, we have also asked them to enumerate their pronunciation difficulties in the form of an open question. The following figure points up major phonetic features:

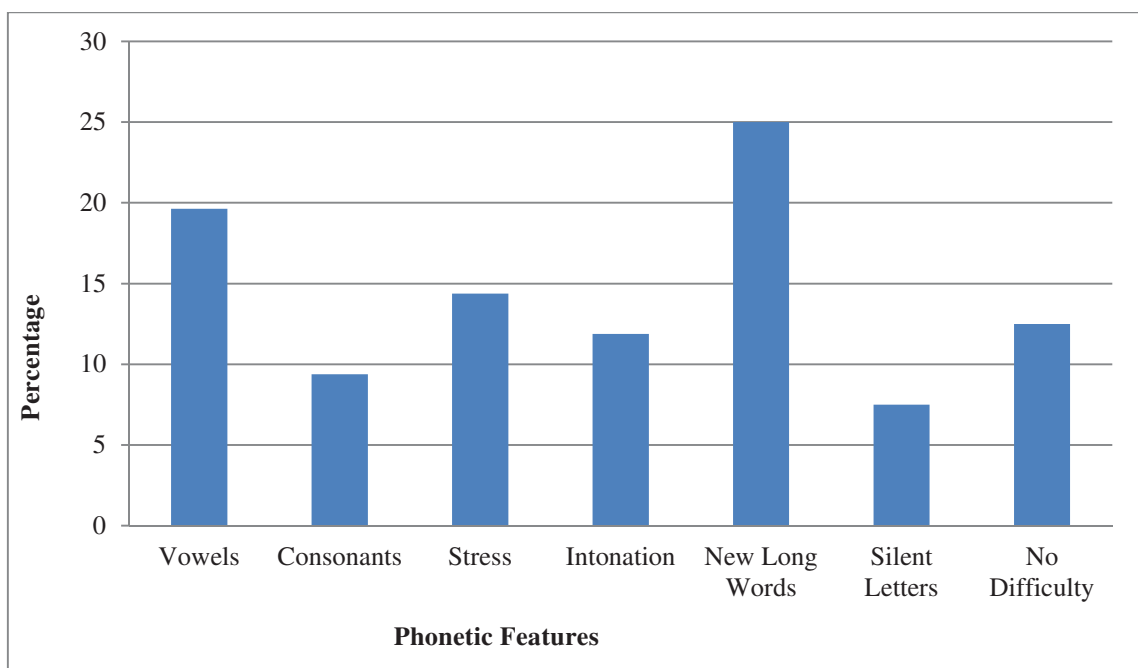


Figure 4.8: Difficulties in English Pronunciation

According to figure 4.8, the informants have difficulties in most of the pronunciation features covered in Chapter III. Indeed, an accurate production of vowels, consonants, stress and intonation seems an arduous task to accomplish regardless of one year's lectures in Phonetics (1h30/week). However, what mostly distresses the participants is the way "new and long words" should be realised. It is undeniable that English is problematic in the way the letters should sound since numerous possibilities may correspond to a particular spelling or another. Indeed, a sound may be spelt differently, and a letter does not always have the same pronunciation in English, such as *s* in *dogs, sure, sense, measure, etc.* or */f/* in *feature, phonetic, enough, affect* and so on.

For those informants, the pronunciation difficulties in English range from new/long words, vowels, stress, intonation, consonant to silent letters. A small proportion of the participants, however, presupposes they do not have any difficulty at all in pronunciation. Syllable structure, for instance, is not mentioned. Those findings portray what the subjects believe about their own learning; but nevertheless, they might be either corroborated or challenged throughout the discussion of the experiment results in Chapter V.

#### **4.3.7. Difficulties in English: Whose Responsibility?**

In our quest for a better understanding of those informants, we have wanted to test whether they may blame somebody or not for their difficulties in English. In fact, there is no learning process without linguistic challenges, and difficulties are a normal occurrence. However, we needed to verify whether those informants felt responsible or not for their learning; therefore, we have included the following question: do you think it is your responsibility or your teacher's you have difficulties?

In addition to that, as only 33% of the subjects have stated they study at home, we wanted to identify whether the remaining ones may feel responsible for their linguistic situation in English and if so they might, thus, alter their behaviour. Also, since their baccalaureate mean is 14.1/20 which substantially plummets at university; school or university teachers might also be held as much as responsible for that decrease. Indeed, the lack of organised studies might lessen learners' opportunities for language acquisition, and it may also add more difficulties through academic requirements in subsequent years. At first, the question was only optional, but we believe at present that sharing the findings on the matter might disclose the way some informants unconsciously cope with their difficulties. The following figure illustrates the percentage of those results:

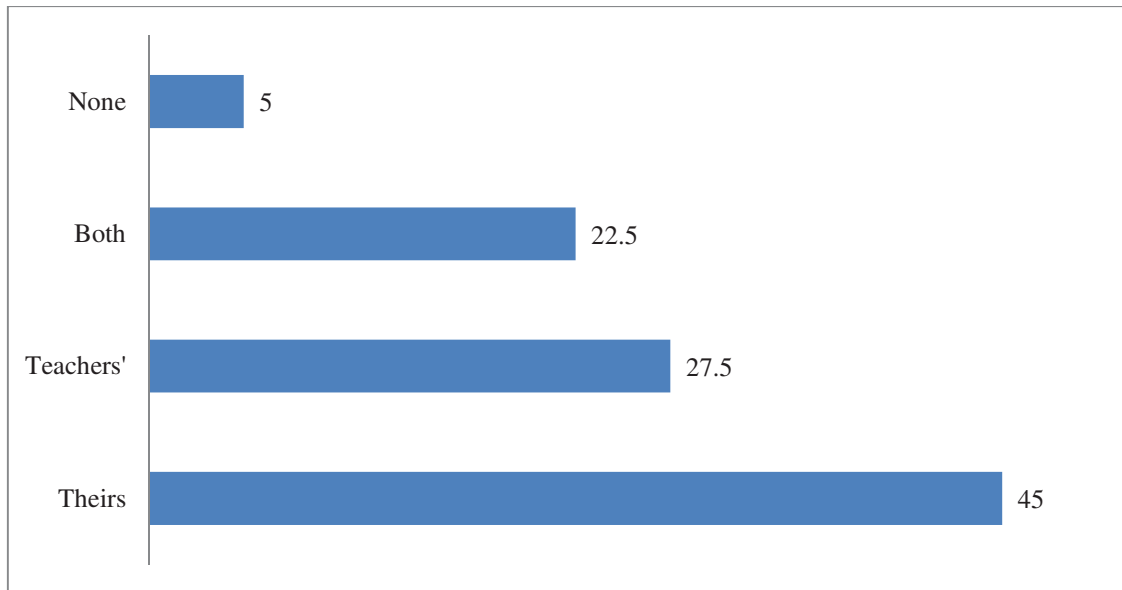


Figure 4.9: Learning Difficulties Responsibility

The above-drawn diagram depicts the way the subjects represent the responsibility for their learning difficulties. Most informants have justified the reasons behind their answer without any instruction to do so on the questionnaire. In fact, 45% of the participants believe that they do not study enough and that their difficulties result from their lack of involvement and commitment. While some claim they do not have sufficient time to study; others sincerely profess that they do not want to study and prefer achieving other occupations instead. As to the 27.5% informants who are persuaded that it is their teachers' fault, they believe that some teachers are not ethical or competent enough. Others have even claimed that some teachers "do not care about our difficulties" and that school was a much better place because of the grades they had. Regarding the 22.5%, who view that the responsibility is shared by both, consider that language acquisition needs both teachers and learners, and each one has a designated role to play. As to the 5% informants left, they simply think that their difficulties are just a momentary condition that may decrease with hard work and effort.

Those results have conducted our analysis to enquire whether there is a difference between those who study at home and those who feel responsible for their difficulties. We might suppose that those who do not study reject the blame on teachers. The following diagram illustrates the correlation in terms of percentage:

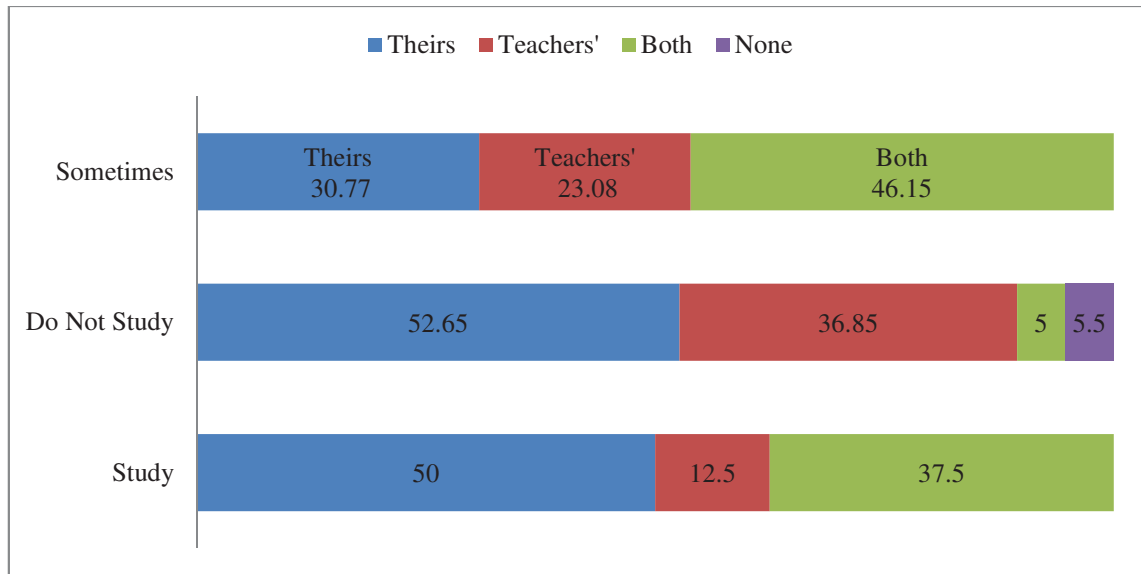


Figure 4.10: The H. S. Group View of Responsibility

The results of the above table refute our previous stated supposition about those who do not study. In fact, although both teachers and learners should share responsibility for learners' difficulties in language learning, most informants do not seem to believe as such. On the one hand, 52.65% of those who do not study at home consider that their language difficulties are more their own responsibility than their teachers'. On the other hand, only 12.5% of those who study believe that their difficulties in English should fall on their teachers' accountability. Besides, even those who study do not completely blame their teachers alone since 50% state they should be held responsible too and 37.5% claim that both teachers and learners are accountable for learning difficulties. However, those who only study before their examinations 46.15% perceive that the responsibility should be shared.

Finally, we also would like to analyse the way males and females behave in such a matter. Is there a difference between the genders or do both learners observe responsibility equally? As we have mentioned before, the male and female informants do not perceive languages likewise. Therefore, it is pertinent for this work to explore such a field. The following table clearly demonstrates the difference in the way responsibility for learning difficulties is perceived:



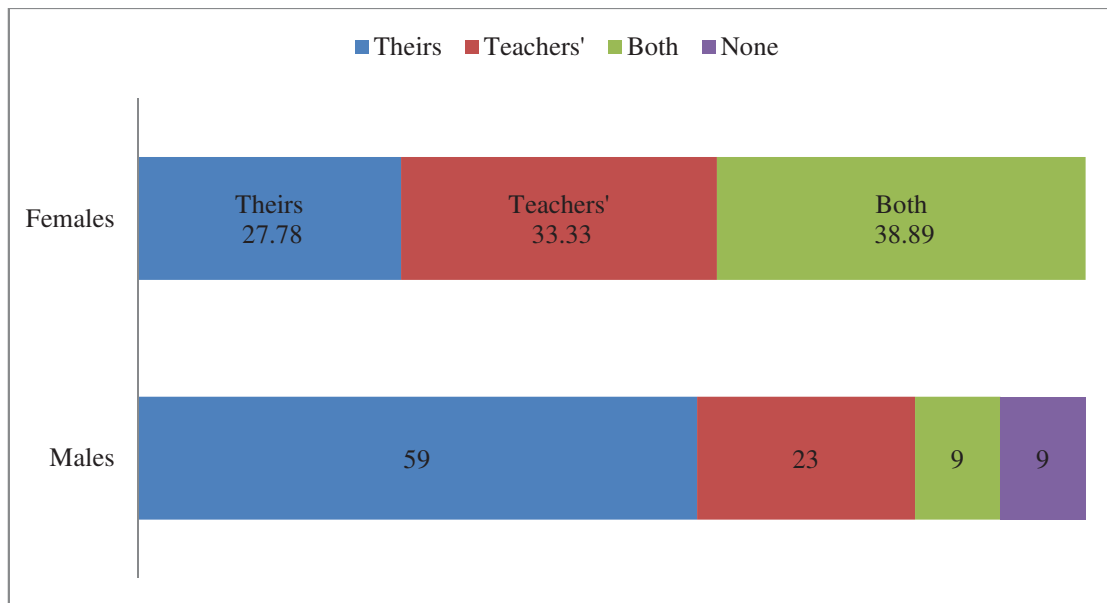


Figure 4.11: Gender Differences in the Perception of Responsibility

Again, the previous figure demonstrates that there is a difference between the way male and female participants perceive responsibility for their own difficulties. As we have observed before, males' rates in grades and the percentage of home studying are less high than their female counterparts. Nevertheless, they seem to feel more responsible for their difficulties than females do since 59% consider that their linguistic difficulties are their only duty. In spite of the low rates in home studying, this may prove that most males are conscious of their reduced academic achievement because only 23% believe that they are not responsible for it too. As to the females, 38.89% believe that the responsibility for learners' difficulties should be shared and only 27.78% feel completely responsible for their linguistic concern.

The results mainly demonstrate that there is a distinction between males and females regarding the way they represent their difficulties. The adoption of one attitude or another might be of paramount importance as to the future of a learner's learning process. Indeed, neither a burden of guilt nor an air of nonchalance could be truly effective in English language acquisition. The remaining question is how to make the informants who think their difficulties are someone else's fault study harder and feel certainly not guilty but more involved in their studies. Besides, if society pressures individuals for social achievement but if a sense of solidarity to one's in-group simultaneously demands a lack of studying; how, then, those who aspire for academic achievement can be more assisted through their learning process.

#### 4.3.8. Overcoming Difficulties

The last relevant question that will be discussed in the present analysis refers to the suggestions proposed by the informants to overcome their difficulties. The questionnaire asks in a carrier phrase: *Suggestions to solve difficulties: I... .* The phrasing of the instruction results from two main factors; first, the words should be as clear as possible; and second, the form may trigger more answers than an open question. As we have also aimed at analysing students' needs, we believe that sharing their suggestions may also provide some insight into their learning and linguistic behaviour.

Most participants have replied to the question with a detailed answer by stating: (a) what should be accomplished, and (b) how such an accomplishment might be achieved. The informants believe that their difficulties in English might be overcome through more practice in the following skills which are classified in terms of percentage in the following pie chart:

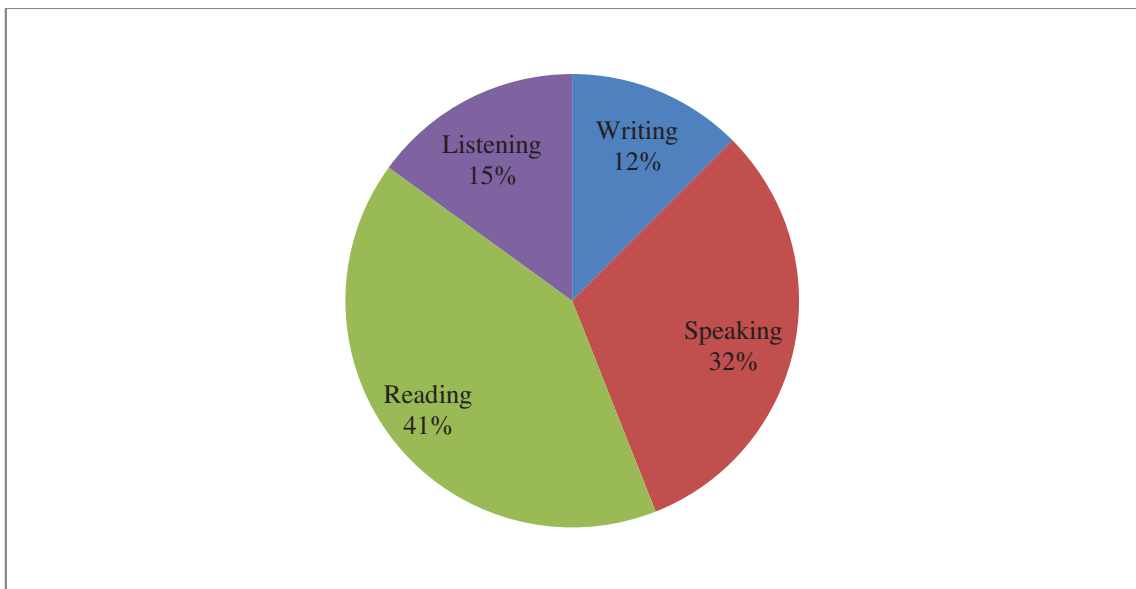


Chart 4.5: Informants' Suggestions

The preceding chart represents what the informants consider as *difficulty solving suggestions*. They assume that to resolve their English linguistic problems, they need to make more effort mostly in reading by 41%. In fact, although most of the **Group 1** subjects ( $n = 100$ ) of the first experiment could not provide English books titles, 41% of the 140 informants are, nevertheless, aware that they can only cope with their difficulties

through reading. They also believe in a lesser extent that speaking 32%, listening 15% and writing 12% would help them as well.

In addition to that, the informants have also suggested the way the four language skills should be developed so that their difficulties might be surmounted. They have put forward six practical strategies that they deem adequate to their learning situation. The following figure interprets the subjects' suggestions in terms of percentage:

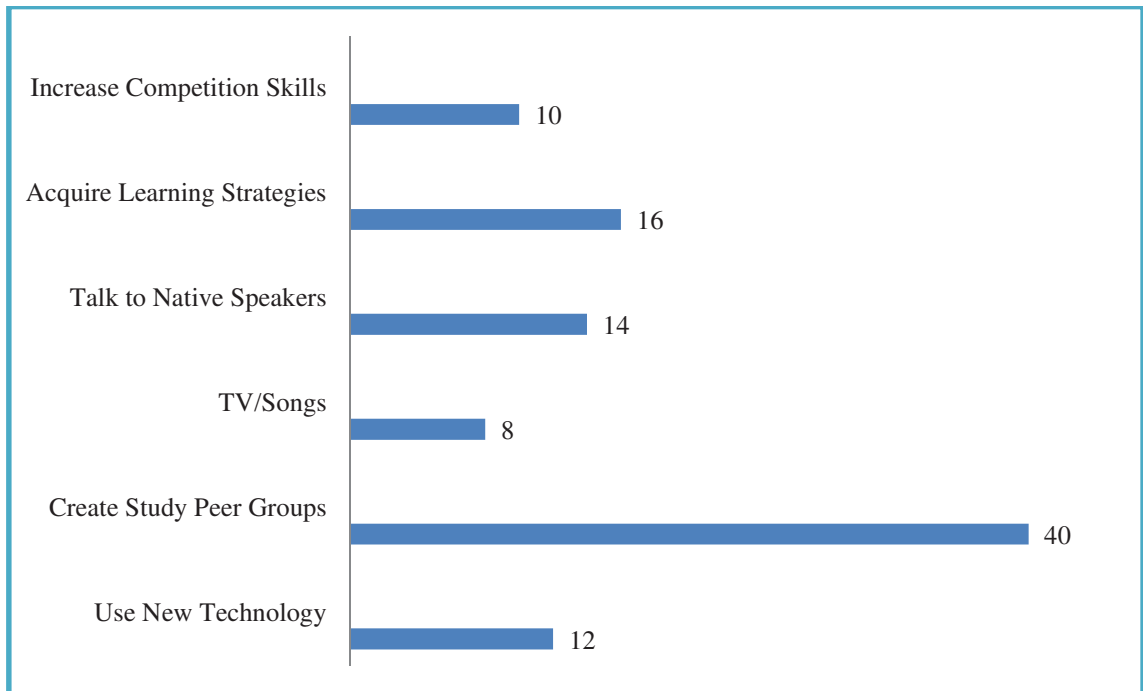


Figure 4.12: Suggested Strategies for Better Language Skills

It is apparent from the previous figure that the participants have already some awareness about the way they could improve their level and overcome their linguistic difficulties. 40% of the sample population consider peer work as an efficient strategy that might help them enhance their learning. Besides, while 16% wish to develop their learning strategies, 10% consider an increase in competition might be rewarding. Next, 14% suggest the face-to-face discussions with native speakers of English and 12% view the use of technology in class might be helpful. Finally, 8% regard listening to native songs and watching English speaking channels may contribute to an improvement in their language skills.

#### 4.4. The Experiment Results

Since the previous section has tried to understand the informants in order to uncover some socio-cultural factors, this section turns now to the experimental evidence on the English pronunciation that was recorded. The present part of this chapter includes some of the observed pronunciation deviations of English sounds, stress and intonation along with syllable structures. As the number of the informants' deviation was considerable, we have classified the results in the form of tables for a better exposition and control of the data. The purpose of this presentation is to provide a sample of the most frequent phonetic/phonemic concern faced by the interviewed informants. Such a sample might also be representative of the repeated deviated pronunciation produced by Algerian learners of English at the University of Oran.

As we have previously mentioned, we have conducted two research projects. The first was to elicit Crosslinguistic Influence practices during English speech production, the second test, however, was to make them read the same words of a poem for the following reasons: (1) to compare between two types of speech; (2) to analyse if during reading their CLI decreases or increases; (3) to confirm whether the pronunciation features of the first experiment would be found during reading; (4) to examine their stress and intonation patterns; (5) to observe whether they could respect the rhyming pattern of poetry; and (6) to uncover other relevant features that might characterise their pronunciation.

However, the exercise was far from easy owing to the following results: (1) there is a clear divergence between informants' speaking and reading; (2) Crosslinguistic Influence largely increases during reading while they decipher the words; (3) the reading activity is still complex because they read the alphabet letters instead, as if it were French; (4) stress was either overly present or completely absent; (5) intonation patterns were not respected as most tones were falling which might give the impression of a monotonous speech; (6) although there was a considerable attempt to pronounce sounds according to Standard British English and R.P. (Received Pronunciation), it was clear that the poem has an Arabic resonance; (7) despite the fact they were listening to a native version of the poem while they were silently following the text, their afterwards loud reading was enriched with interruptions and hesitation; (8) punctuation was not respected most of the time; and (9) most informants did not employ liaison sounds such as the linking-r.

Regarding the distinguishing features of the first experiment, the informants' speech was largely characterised with silences, hesitations, short words choice, repetition, TOTs (tip-of-the tongue), French words use and filler words such as *uh* occurring almost after every three words.

In spite of the formerly mentioned differences, there are much more similarities between both experiments. Indeed, as Crosslinguistic Influence was more present in reading, most sounds realisations seem to be recurrent and which may imply that during speaking, informants may retrieve not only sounds but most what they know about the sound. In other words, an informant of the first survey who knows a word such as *trust* /trʌst/ would likely pronounce it correctly when they are speaking; however, an informant from the second experiment may pronounce it [trust] when they are reading. However, further research should be done to investigate the way the same learner speaks and reads a text in English.

Both experiments, however, have revealed a few common deviations that have been summarised and classified according to *vowels*, *consonants*, *syllable*, *stress* and *intonation* in the present section. It is important to point out that the present work is exploring only major frequent features as a small sample of the informants' speech. The most frequent deviations in the pronunciation of the most recurrent words are illustrated, and only a few examples for each feature are introduced depending on the context of occurrence. In fact, while some CLI features occur in varied contexts; others, however, may typically take place only word-finally, before a back vowel, etc.

Another relevant point that needs to be raised is that the words having more-than-one syllable contain several phonetic/phonemic features. Therefore, we have sometimes reused the same words to illustrate the common deviations in the vowel, consonant, stress or syllable sections where they should be classified. To illustrate, a word such as *economic* which should be pronounced as /i:k.ə'nɒm.ɪk/ but which is realised as [i'ko:.nɒ.mɪk] includes several deviations in vowels, syllable and stress. Therefore, as it contains recurrent features present in the informants' speech, we have put it in the three corresponding sections.

Regarding transcription, we have used both *Daniel Jones Pronouncing Dictionary* (2003) and the *Longman Pronouncing Dictionary* (2008). As they sometimes differ in dividing syllables, we have adopted the linguistic theory rather than the pulse one concerning syllable division in this work. For example, *beautiful* is divided in the LPD as

*/'bju:t.ɪf.əl/* but in the DJPD as */'bju:ɪ.tɪ.fəl/*; however, *university* is structured as */,ju:n.ɪ.'vɜ:s.ət.i/* in LPD and */,ju:ɪ.nɪ.'vɜ:s.ɪ.ti/* in DJPD. Therefore, we have selected the DJPD version of *beautiful* */'bju:ɪ.tɪ.fəl/* and the LPD one of *university* */,ju:n.ɪ.'vɜ:s.ət.i/*, on the basis that those words are divided into affixes (the linguistic theory) rather than into breath stops (the 'pulse' theory). This method has been applied where it was possible.

#### 4.4.1. Common Deviations in English Vowels

Vowels have revealed to be the most complex concern for the participants. Indeed, most deviations occur in vowel production. As there are twenty vowels and five additional triphthongs, this section presents each sound alone in a table. The English phoneme is represented on the left together with the realisations of that sound by the informants in the middle. In addition to that, examples are provided on the right side of the table to illustrate the context of occurrence for each realisation.

##### 4.4.1.1. /i:/

*/i:/* can mainly be realised in three regions (a) in the close position near cardinal vowel No.1 [i], [i(:)<sup>\*2</sup>], (b) close to cardinal 2 [ɪ:], [e], [e:] and (c) in the mid-centre region [ijəj], [ə].

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<i>/i:/</i>	- [e]	geology <i>/dʒi'ɒl.ədʒ.i/</i> → [dʒe'jo.lo.dʒi], geography <i>/dʒi'ɒg.rəf.i/</i> → [dʒe'jo.gra.fi]
	- [e:]	encyclopedia <i>/ɪn,sai.klə'pi:.di.ə/</i> → [ɛ̃sɪ.klə'pe:.di.'ja]
	- [i]	economic <i>/,i:k.ə'nɒm.ɪk/</i> → [,i'ko:.nɒ.mɪk], details <i>/'di:.teɪlz/</i> → [di'tejlz]
	- [ɪ:]	reasons <i>/'ri:z.ənz/</i> → [ 'rɪ:.zə̃(n)z]
	- [i(:) <sup>*2</sup> ]	When <i>/i:/</i> occurs or before a silence or a pause, it is lengthened twice its duration as he <i>/hi:/</i> or she <i>/ʃi:/</i> in 95% cases.
	- [ijəj]	creature <i>/'kri:.tʃə/</i> → [kri'jəj.tʃə]
	- [ə]	revenge <i>/ri'vendʒ/</i> → [rə'vẽŋ]

##### 4.4.1.2. /ɪ/

*/ɪ/* might be produced anywhere between the high front and low front positions as it is illustrated in the following table:

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ɪ/	- [i]	busy /'bɪz.i/ → [bi.zi], beautiful /'bjʊ:.tɪ.fəl/ → ['bjʊ:.tɪ.ful], it /ɪt/ → [ɪt̪], cultivate /'kʌlt.ɪ.veɪt/ → ['kyl.ti.vejt], Islam /'ɪz.lɑ:m/ → [ɪs'la:m]
	- [ʌ]	busy /'bɪz.i/ → [bʌ.zi], business /'bɪz.nɪs/ → ['bʌz.nəs]
	- [i:]	this /ðɪs/ → [ðɪ:z̥], cinema /'sɪn.əm.ə/ → [si.'ne:.mə]
	- [aɪ]	driven /'drɪv.ən/ → ['draɪv.ən], risen /'rɪz.ən / → ['raɪz.ən], wind /wɪnd/ → [waɪnd], live /lɪv/ → [laɪv]
	- [e]	example /ɪg'zɑ:mp.əl/ → [eg'zæm.pəl], Alexander /ˌæ.lɪg'zɑ:n.də/ → [ˌa.lek'sæ̃n.dər], present (adj.) /prɪ'zent/ → ['prezent], employed /ɪm'plɔɪd/ → [em.plɔɪd]
	- [a]	village /'vɪl.ɪdʒ/ → [vɪl.adʒ] or [vɪl.e(d)ʒ]
	- [ə]	poem /'pəʊ.ɪm/ → [po.wəm], attracted /ə'trækt.ɪd/ → [a.t̪ræk.'təd], receipt /rɪ.'si:t/ → [rə.'si:pt]
	- [œ̃]	encyclopedia /ɪnˌsai.klə'pi:di.ə/ → [œ̃sɪ.klə'pe:.di.'ja]

#### 4.4.1.3. /e/

Most deviations of /e/ are produced below cardinal 2 and/or are confused with other vocalic phonemes /ɪ, i:, ø, a, ɛ̃/.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/e/	- [ɛ̃]	head /hed/ → [hɛ̃d], men /men/ → [mɛ̃n] lowered, accept /ək'sept/ → [ək'sæpt]
	- [ø]	America /ə'mer.ɪk.ə/ → [ə'mø.ɪ.kə]
	- [ej]	says /sez/ → [sejz]
	- [ɪ]	president /'prez.ɪd.ənt/ → ['prɪ.zɪ.dənt], intelligent /ɪn.'tel.ɪdʒ.ənt/ → [ɪn.'tɪ.lɪ.dʒ.ənt], adolescent /ˌæd.ə'les.ənt/ → [a'do.lɪ.sənt], reception /rɪ'sep.ʃən/ → [rɪ'sɪp.ʃən], enemy /'en.əm.i/ → ['ɪ.nɪ.mi], relative /'rel.ət.ɪv/ → [rɪ'leɪ.tɪv]
	- [i:]	read (past) /red/ → [ri:d]
	- [a]	anything /'en.i.θɪŋ/ → [a.nɪ.'tʃɪŋg]
	- [ɛ̃]	French /frentʃ/ → [frɛ̃ŋ]
	- [ɛ̃]	revenge /rɪ'vendʒ/ → [rə'vɛ̃ŋ]



#### 4.4.1.4. /æ/

/æ/ has two main contextual realisations: in the open front or the open back position. It is also affected by its adjacent sounds since it can be lengthened before voiced consonants and nasalised before nasal ones.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/æ/	- [a]	act /ækt/ → [akt], adolescent /,æd.ə'les.ənt/ → [a'do.li.sənt], chapter /'tʃæp.tə/ → [ʃap.'tə], Alexander /,æli.ɪg'zɑ:n.də/ → [,a.lek'sæ̃n.də], statute /'stætʃ.u:/ → ['stat.ju:]
	- [æ̃]	stands /stændz/ → [stæ̃n.d <sup>o</sup> z]
	- [wa]	guaranty /'gær.ən.ti/ → ['gwa.rən.ti]
	- [ɑ]	battle /'bæt.əl/ → [ba.təl]
	- [ɑ:]	gas /gæs/ → [gɑ:]

#### 4.4.1.5. /ʌ/

The participants' production of /ʌ/ occurs in several positions in the oral cavity as it is depicted in the following table.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ʌ/	-[u]	Muslim /'mʌz.lɪm/ → ['mu.slim], muscle /'mʌs.əl/ → [mus.kəl]
	- [y]	cultivate /'kʌlt.i.veɪt/ → ['kyl.ti.vejt]
	- [o]	son /sʌn/ → [son], come /kʌm/ → [kom], nothing /'nʌθ.ɪŋ/ → [no.tɪŋ], month /mʌntθ/ → [mont <sup>s</sup> ]
	- [o:]	love /lʌv/ → [lo:v] when /l/ is clear [l]
	- [ɒ:]	love /lʌv/ → [lɒ:v] when /l/ is dark [ɫ]
	- [ɒ]	money /'mʌn.i/ → [mɒn.i]
	- [õ]	none /nʌn/ → [nõn]
	- [jɜ:]	triumph /'traɪ.ʌmpf/ or /'traɪ.əmpf/ → [trɪ'jɜ:mf]
	- [ə̃]	unfortunately /ʌn.'fɔ:tʃ.ən.ət.li/ → [ə̃n.'fɔ:tʃ.ən.ət.li], comfort /'kʌmpf.ət/ → [kə̃ŋ.fət]
	- [æ]	husband /'hʌz.bænd/ → [hæz.bænd]
	- [ɑ]	but /bʌt/ → [bat], cut /kʌt/ → [kat], couple /'kʌp.əl/ → [ka.pəl], love /lʌv/ → [ɫav]

	- [əʊ]	dove /dʌv/ → [dəʊv], glove /glʌv/ → [gləʊv <sup>ə</sup> ], oven /ʌvən/ → [əʊvən], above /ə' bʌv/ → [ə' bəʊv]
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#### 4.4.1.6. /ə/

Another central vowel that seems to have several variations is the schwa which can be found in twelve different positions.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ə/	- [juə]	spontaneous /spɒn'teɪ.ni.əs/ → [spən,tʰa.'njuəs]
	- [jə]	curious /'kjʊər.i.əs/ → ['kjʊ:r.jəs]
	- [u]	courageous /kə'reɪdʒ.əs/ → [kə'reɪ.dʒus], difficult /'dɪfɪ.kəlt/ → ['dɪ.fɪ.kult], beautiful /'bjʊ:.tɪ.fəl/ → ['bjʊ:.tɪ.ful]
	- [ɪ]	enemy /'en.əm.i/ → ['ɪ.nɪ.mi]
	- [y]	surprise /sə'praɪz/ → [syr'pra:jz], suggest /sə'dʒest/ → [syg'zest], century /'sen.tʃər.i/ → ['sen.ty.ri] however, the lips are not completely rounded and this may cause an /i/ sound at the end
	- [ɜ:]	triumph /'traɪ.əmpf/ or /'traɪ.ʌmpf/ → [tri'jɜ:mf], circumstance /'sɜ:.kəm.stænts/ → [sɪr'kɜ:m.stænts]
	- [o]	geology /dʒɪ'ɒl.ədʒ.i/ → [dʒe'jo.lo.dʒi], people /'pi:p.əl/ → [pi:.'p <sup>h</sup> ɒl], example /ɪg'zɑ:mp.əl/ → [eg'zæm.pɒl], adolescent /,æd.ə'les.ənt/ → [a'do.lɪ.sənt], pollution /pə'lu:ʃən/ → [pə'lu:ʃən]
	- [o:]	economic /,i:k.ə'nɒm.ɪk/ → [,i'ko:.nɒ.mɪk]
	- [a]	geography /dʒɪ'ɒg.rəf.i/ → [dʒe'jo.gra.fi], particular /pə'tɪk.jʊl.ə/ → [pə'tɪ.k(j)ʊ.lər], about /ə'baʊt/ → [ə'bbəʊt <sup>ə</sup> ], attracted /ə'træktɪd/ → [ə.t <sup>h</sup> rak.'təd]
	- [jə]	encyclopedia /ɪn,sai.klə'pi:.di.ə/ → [ɛnsɪ.klə'pe:.di.'jə]
	- [ej]	relative /'rel.ət.ɪv/ → [ri'lej.tɪv]
	- [ɛ]	reasons /'ri:z.ənz/ → ['ri:.zɛ(n)z]

#### 4.4.1.7. /ɜ:/

Although /ɜ:/ and /ə/ have the same quality, the deviations of /ɜ:/ are mainly produced either with round lips or with the tongue in the close positions.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ɜ:/	- [ɛ:]	girl /gɜ:l/ → [gɛ:rl]
	- [ɔ:]	world /wɜ:d/ → [wɔ:ld]
	- [ɪ]	circumstance /'sɜ:.kəm.stænts/ → [sɪr'kɜ:m.stænts]
	- [ø]	work /wɜ:k/ → [wørk], searching /'sɜ:tʃ.ɪŋ/ → ['sø:r.ʃɪŋ], word /wɜ:d/ → [wørd], world /wɜ:ld/ → [wørd] most informant confuse between the last two words. They tend to emphasise the /l/ as a strategy to precise they are referring to the <i>world</i> and not to a <i>word</i> .
	- [œ:]	heard /hɜ:d/ → [hœ:rd]
	- [u]	purpose /'pɜ:p.əs/ → [pur.pus]/[pur.pu:z]

#### 4.4.1.8. /ɑ:/

The participants' production of /ɑ:/ is generally realised in front positions between the half-open and the open area. Examples of those deviations are as follows:

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ɑ:/	- [ʌ]	argue /'ɑ:gju:/ → [ʌrg'ju]
	- [æ]	answer /'ɑ:nts.ə/ → [æns.ə]
	- [æ:]	Islam /'ɪz.lɑ:m/ → [is'læ:m]
	- [ã]	example /ɪg'zɑ:mp.əl/ → [eg'zãm.pol], Alexander /,æ.l.ɪg'zɑ:n.də/ → [,a.lek'sãn.də], dance /dɑ:nts/ → [dã:s]/[dã:s]
	- [aː]	master /'mɑ:st.ə/ or /'mɑ:s.tə/ ['maːs.tə]
	- [a:]	half /hɑ:f/ → [hɑ:lf], [tʰolk], start /stɑ:t/ → [stʰa:rtʰ], Islam /'ɪz.lɑ:m/ → [is'la:m]
	- [wɑ:]	guardian /'gɑ:d.i.ən/ → [gwɑ:r.di.jən]

**4.4.1.9. /ɒ/**

In the following table, the few examples of /ɒ/ deviations clearly demonstrate that such a sound is usually difficult to produce.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/ɒ/</b>	- [o]	of /ɒv/ → [of], confidential /,kɒn.fi'dentʃ.əl/ → [,kon.fi'denʃ.jəl]
	- [o:]	solve /sɒlv/ → [so:lv], because /bi'kɒz/ → [bi'ko:z]
	- [əw]	knowledge /'nɒl.ɪdʒ/ → [nəw.lədʒ]
	- [a]	watch /wɒtʃ/ → [waf]
	- [ʌ]	body /'bɒd.i/ → ['bʌ.di]
	- [ʌ̃]	beyond /bi'jɒnd/ → [bi'jʌ̃nd]

**4.4.1.10. /ɔ:/**

Most deviations of /ɔ:/ are produced in a higher or a fronter place than the intended one such as:

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/ɔ:/</b>	- [o]	all /ɔ:l/ → [oʔ], although /ɔ:l.'ðəʊ/ → [ol.'ðoʊ], talk /tɔ:k/ → [tʰolk]
	- [o:]	afford /ə'fɔ:d/ → [ə'fo:rd]
	- [a]	autum /'ɔ:t.əm/ → ['a.təmn]
	- [a:]	all /ɔ:l/ → [a:t] (also frequent); ball /bɔ:l/ → [ba:l]
	- [u:]	sure /ʃɔ:/ → [ʃu:r]
	- [oʊ]	abroad /ə'brɔ:d/ → [ə'broud]
	- [ʌ]	award /ə'wɔ:d/ → [ə'wʌrd]
	- [ə]	towards /tə'wɔ:dz/ → [tu'wərdʒ]

**4.4.1.11. /ʊ/**

The short close back vowel is commonly realised by the participants near the long one /u:/ or near Cardinal 8. Besides quality change, there also seems to be a variation in quantity as in the following examples.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ʊ/	- [uː]	look /lʊk/ → [luːk]
	- [u:]	good /gʊd/ → [gu:d], would /wʊd/ → [wu:ld]
	- [y:]	book /bʊk/ → [by:k]
	- [u]	faithful /'feɪθ.fʊl/ → ['feit.ful]

#### 4.4.1.12. /u:/

With regard to this sound, the results of the experiment have revealed different realisations among which the most recurrent ones are illustrated in the following table.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/u:/	- [u <sup>ʷ</sup> ]	too /tu:/ → [tu <sup>ʷ</sup> ]
	- [uə]	cool /ku:l/ → [kuəl]
	- [e]	jewellery /'dʒu:.əl.ri/ → ['dʒe.wəl.ri]
	- [uwə]	viwed /vju:d/ → [vju.wed], cruel /'kru:.əl / → [kru.wəl]

#### 4.4.1.13. /eɪ/

The closing diphthong /eɪ/ is generally articulated with a front low/mid-low position for the first quality and with a palatal glide for the second.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/eɪ/	- [a]	spontaneous /spɒn'teɪ.ni.əs/ → [spɒn,tʰa'njuəs], hating /'heit.ɪŋ/ → ['ha.'tɪŋg]
	- [ɛ:j]	play /pleɪ/ → [plɛ:j], way /weɪ/ → [wɛ:j]
	- [æ:j <sup>ə</sup> ]	say /seɪ/ → [sæ:.j <sup>ə</sup> ], pay /peɪ/ → [pæ:j <sup>ə</sup> ]
	- [eɪj]	claim /kleɪm/ → [kleɪjm]
	- [ej]	details /'di:.teɪlz/ → [di'tejlz], cultivate /'kʌlt.ɪ.veɪt/ → ['kyl.ti.vejt]
	- [jej]	create /kri'eɪt/ → [kri'jejt <sup>ə</sup> ], creation /kri'eɪʃ.ən/ → [kri'jej.ʃən]

#### 4.4.1.14. /aɪ/

The subjects' production of this sound is not as complex as that of the centre vowels. However, some of the frequent deviations result in the following realisations.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/aɪ/</b>	- [a:ɟ]	surprise /sə'praɪz/ → [səɾ'pra:ɟz], cry /kraɪ/ → [kra:ɟ]
	- [ɪ]	triumph /'traɪ.əmpf/ → [trɪ'jɜ:mɸ], encyclopedia /ɪn,saɪ.klə'pi:di.ə/ → [æɪsɪ.klə'pe:di.'ja]
	- [eɪ]	rises /raɪzɪz/ → [reɪzɪz]
	- [i]	psychology /saɪ'kɒl.ədʒ.i/ → [psi.kɒ.lo.ɟi]

#### 4.4.1.15. /əʊ/

This diphthong starts with a centre quality which already seems complex to produce as a monophthong (see chap IV section 4.4.1.6). The informants' realisations of /əʊ/ is generally characterised either by monophthongisation as in [o:], [o], [ɒ], [u:] or by the velar gliding of the second quality as in [ow], [əw], [ɔ:w], [ɛ:w]. Sometimes, the first quality of the diphthong is lowered to the half-open position.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/əʊ/</b>	- [o:]	don't /dəʊnt/ → [do:nt]
	- [o]	poem /'pəʊ.ɪm/ → [po.wəm], spoken /'spəʊk.ən/ → ['spo.'kən]
	- [ɒ]	sold /səʊld/ → [s <sup>ɔ</sup> ɒld], wrote /rəʊt/ → [wrɒt]
	- [u:]	shoulder /'ʃəʊld.ə/ → ['ʃu:l.dər], chosen /'tʃəʊz.ən/ → ['tʃu:.zən]
	- [oʊ]	although /ɔ:l.'ðəʊ/ → [ɔl.'ðoʊ], so /səʊ/ → [soʊ], chosen /'tʃəʊ.zən/ → ['tʃoʊ.zən]
	- [ow]	old /əʊld/ → [owld], rainbow /'rem.bəʊ/ → [rem.'bow], joking /dʒəʊk.ɪŋ/ → [ʒow.kɪŋ]
	- [əw]	those /ðəʊz/ → [ðəwz]
	- [ɔ:w]	though /ðəʊ/ → [ðɔ:w]
	- [ɛ:w]	know /nəʊ/ → [nɛ:w], no /nəʊ/ → [nɛ:w]

**4.4.1.16. /aʊ/**

Regarding this vowel, most of the informants' deviations are characterised by the velar gliding of the second quality.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/aʊ/	- [a:w]	doubt /daʊt/ → [da:wt], down /daʊn/ → [da:wn], aloud /ə'laʊd/ → [a'la:wd], ground /graʊnd/ → [grawnd]
	- [ow]	cow /kaʊ/ → [kow], bow /baʊ/ → [bow]

**4.4.1.17. /ɔɪ/**

The main informants' deviations in the realisation of this closing diphthong /ɔɪ/ are the lip-rounding for the first quality and the palatal gliding for the second.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ɔɪ/	- [oj]	annoyed /ə'nɔɪ/ → [ə'nojɔ], employed /ɪm'plɔɪd/ → [em.plojɔ]
	- [oɪ̯]	appointment /ə'pɔɪnt.mənt/ → [ə'poɪ̯(n)t.mənt]

**4.4.1.18. /ɪə/**

Among the three centring diphthongs, /ɪə/ appears to cause more pronunciation deviations. Indeed, even if some words have the same spelling *ea*, the informants would not realise the diphthong similarly:

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ɪə/	- [i:]	tear (n.) /tɪə/ → [ti:r], dear /dɪə/ → [di:r]
	- [ø]	years /jɪəz/ → [jørz]
	- [øjə]	real /rɪəl/ → [rø.jəl]
	- [ɪ:]	disappear /,dɪs.ə'pɪə/ → [,dɪ.zə'pɪ:r], severe /sɪ'vɪə/ → ['sɪ'vɪ:r]
	- [eo]	theory /'θɪə.rɪ/ → ['θeo.rɪ]
	- [eə]	theatre /'θɪə.tə/ → ['tʰeə.tʰə]
	- [ijə]	guardian /'gɑ:d.i.ən/ → [gwa:r.di.jən], idea /aɪ'dɪə/ → [aɪ'di.jə]



**4.4.1.19. /eə/**

Most subjects' deviations of this sound occur with the first quality being monophthongised or lowered as in the following examples:

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/eə/</b>	- [ɛ]	their /ðeə/ → [ðɛr], careful /'keə.fəl/ → [kɛr.fəl]
	- [ɛ:]	air /eə/ → [ʔɛ:r], care /keə/ → [kɛ:r], share /ʃeə/ → [ʃɛ:r], hair /heə/ → [hɛ:r]
	- [ej]	they're /ðeə/ → [ðejr]
	- [a]	area /'eə.ri.ə/ → [a.rjiə] or [æ.rjiə]

**4.4.1.20. /ʊə/**

The findings of the experiment demonstrate that the realisation of /ʊə/ is generally characterised by the confusion between /ʊ/ and /u:/. Besides, the velar glide /w/ might also occur between the two qualities of the vowel.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/ʊə/</b>	- [ʊ:]	curious /'kjʊər.i.əs/ → ['kjʊ:r.jus]
	- [u:]	cure /kjʊə/ → [kju:r], pure /pjʊə/ → [pju:r]
	- [uwə]	fluent /'flu:.ənt/ → [flu.wənt]
	- [ewe]	jewel /'dʒu:.əl/ → [dʒe.wel]
	- [y:]	bureau /'bjʊər.əʊ/ → ['by:'rə]

**4.4.1.21. /aɪə/**

The informants' realisation of such a triphthong is mostly characterised by the palatal gliding of the second quality or the third one.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/aɪə/</b>	- [aɪj]	tired /'taɪəd/ → ['taɪj.rəd], society /sə'saɪ.ət.i/ → [sə'saɪj.ti]
	- [aje]	dial /daɪəl/ → [da.jel], fire /faɪə/ → [fa.jer], admire /əd'maɪə/ → [əd'majər], diet /daɪət/ → [daɪ.'jet]
	- [ajə]	acquire /ə'kwaɪə/ → [ə'kwajər]

**4.4.1.22. /ɔɪə/**

This vowel is mainly pronounced with loose-rounded lips and a palatal glide to replace the closing quality.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/ɔɪə/</b>	- [ɔjə]	lawyer /lɔɪər/ → [ˈlɔ.jər], employer /ɪmˈplɔɪər/ → [emˈplo.jər]
	- [ɔje]	loyal /lɔɪəl/ → [lɔjel]

**4.4.1.23. /eɪə/**

The most frequent realisations of the triphthong is as follows:

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/eɪə/</b>	- [ɛje]	layer /leɪər/ → [lɛ.jər], player /pleɪər/ → [plɛ.jər]

**4.4.1.24. /aʊə/**

A velar glide generally replaces the second quality of the vowel. In addition, the third quality seems to change from one context to another as in the following table:

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/aʊə/</b>	- [awə]	flowers /flaʊəz/ → [fla.wərz]
	- [awɔ]	our /aʊər/ → [ʔa.wər], power /paʊər/ → [pa.wər]
	- [awa]	nowadays /ˈnaʊə.deɪz/ → [na.waˈdeɪz]

**4.4.1.25. /əʊə/**

The subjects tend to have difficulties in producing centre vowels. As this triphthong contains a schwa quality in the margins, it is expected to find several deviations in producing the sound. However, the results have revealed that it is the first /ə/ that causes mispronunciation. In addition to that, a velar glide is inserted instead of the closing quality.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/əʊə/</b>	- [uwi]	coincided /ˌkəʊənˈsaɪd.ɪd/ → [ku.win.sajˈdəd], coincidence /kəʊˈɪnts.ɪd.ənts/ → [ku.ˈwin.si.dəns]
	- [uwə]	widower /ˈwɪd.əʊər/ → [wi.du.wər]
	- [owə]	slower /ˈsləʊ.ər/ → [sləwə]

#### 4.4.1.26. Weak vs. Strong Forms

The most recurrent aspect in the production of English weak forms is that the vowels are realised in their strong form. Nevertheless, hypercorrection occurs where it should not.

Weak/strong forms	Realisation	Examples
/ə/	[strong]	Weak forms are rare. Most forms such as <i>you, to, for, his, of,</i> and so on are generally realised in their strong form.
/u:/	- [u]	too /tu:/ → [tu] this word has no weak form in English, but most informants pronounce the vowel with no length

#### 4.4.2. Common Deviations in English Consonants

Interestingly, consonants are the least phonetic segments which are affected by deviation. Still, only /f/ and /w/ are pronounced with no major difficulties. The remaining English consonantal sounds experience some alteration at the level of place and manner of articulation. Sometimes, the voicing of the vocal cords also undergoes some effects during the informants' realisation. Similar to vowels, each consonant is presented in a table with the subjects' realisations and examples.

##### 4.4.2.1. /p/

Concerning the voiceless bilabial stop, the informants do not have difficulties in the articulation of the phoneme. However, when it comes to its contextual realisations, the participants do not always produce the English allophonic processes.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/p/	unaspirated [p <sup>h</sup> ]	/p/ is rarely aspirated in initial accented syllables such as <i>people</i> ['p <sup>h</sup> i:p.əl] → [pi:], <i>pay</i> /peɪ/ → [pe:j]
	- [p <sup>h</sup> ]	/p/ can be exceptionally aspirated but in a different context such as <i>people</i> ['p <sup>h</sup> i:p.əl] → [pi:.'p <sup>h</sup> ol]
	- [released]	In most contexts, the final stage of the plosive is fully released

##### 4.4.2.2. /b/

The main deviations made in this sound are germination and fully voicing in the syllable margins.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/b/</b>	- [bb]	about /ə'baʊt/ → [a'bbɑʊt <sup>ə</sup> ]
	- [b]	In most contexts /b/ is fully voiced and it is not devoiced word-initially or finally.

#### 4.4.2.3. /t/

The subjects tend to articulate the voiceless alveolar plosive either as a voiced plosive [d] or as a dental one as in the following examples. Sometimes, however, it is affricated [tʃ], [tʃ<sup>s</sup>] or velarised/pharyngealised [t̤].

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/t/</b>	- [d]	published /'pʌb.lɪʃt/ → [pʌb.lɪ.ʃɪd], looked /lʊkt/ → ['lu:kəd], mixed /mɪkst/ → [mɪk.sɪd]
	- [dental]	/t/ is mainly dental and not alveolar in all places of the syllable as in writer /'raɪtə/ → [wraɪ.tər]
	- [tʃ <sup>s</sup> ]	dental /'dent.əl/ → ['dent <sup>s</sup> .əl], but /bʌt/ → [bʌt <sup>s</sup> ], that /ðæt/ → [ðæt <sup>s</sup> ], it /ɪt/ → [ɪt <sup>s</sup> ], theatre /'θiə.tə/ → ['t <sup>s</sup> eə.t <sup>s</sup> ər]
	- [tʃ]	literature /'lɪtr.ətʃ.ə/ → ['lɪt <sup>ʃ</sup> .rə.tʃər], tree /tri:/ → [t <sup>ʃ</sup> ri:], attracted /ə'træktɪd/ → [a.t <sup>ʃ</sup> rak.'təd]
	- [t] unasp.	tape [t <sup>h</sup> eɪp] → [teɪp]
	- [t̤]	top /tɒp/ → [t̤ɒp], talk /tɔ:k/ → [t̤ɔlk], start /stɑ:t/ → [st̤ɑ:rt <sup>s</sup> ]

#### 4.4.2.4. /d/

The results indicate that the participants realise this alveolar stop as a dental one. Besides, it often occurs fully voiced in syllable margins.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/d/</b>	- [dental]	In most contexts /d/ is dental and not alveolar as in <i>dark</i> .
	- [ɾ]	It is realised by some informants as a tap when it is intervocalic as in <i>found it</i> [ɾ], very near to the American pronunciation assimilation.
	- [d]	/d/ is fully voiced in most contexts

#### 4.4.2.5. /k/

The experiment subjects do not have difficulties in realising this sound in its voice, place and manner of articulation. Still, in connected speech, the English allophonic variations of the phoneme are not realised such as aspiration. Instead, other features may accompany its release.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/k/	- [(k)]	/k/ can sometimes be elided as in strength /streŋkθ/ → [streŋθ]
	-[released]	In most contexts /k/ is completely released.
	- [k <sup>ə</sup> ]	When word-final, /k/ can sometimes be accompanied with an air expulsion similar to the quality of the schwa vowel as in think /θɪŋk/ → [θɪŋk <sup>ə</sup> ]

#### 4.4.2.6. /g/

The most recurrent deviation of this phoneme is its being the fully voiced in syllable margins. Besides, it might also be realised with a vowel.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/g/	- [silent]	signature /'sɪɡ.nə.tʃə/ → [sɪ.njə.tʃə]
	- [g <sup>ə</sup> ]	It is fully voiced either initially or finally, and air in the final stage of the plosive is fully released as in bag /bæg/ → [bæg <sup>ə</sup> ]
	- [k]	Alexander /,æɪ.ɪɡ'zɑ:n.də/ → [,a.lek'sæɪn.də]

#### 4.4.2.7. /m/

The informants do not seem to have difficulties in producing this sound.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/m/	- [m]	triumph /'traɪ.ʌmpf/ → [trɪ'jɜ:m̩f], comfort /'kʌmpf.ət/ → [kʌm̩.fət]

**4.4.2.8. /n/**

Generally speaking, the participants do not have difficulties in producing the alveolar nasal in isolation. Yet, they tend to produce it with some influence from adjacent sounds in connected speech.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/n/</b>	- [ŋ]	unfortunately /ʌn.'fɔ:tʃ.ən.ət.li/ → [ʌŋ.'fɔ:tʃən.ət.li]
	- [(n)]	reasons /'ri:z.ənz/ → ['ri:zə(n)z], dance /dɑ:nts/ → [dɑ:s]/ [dæ:s] Many informants, when they nasalise a vowel, do not fully pronounce the nasal consonant. However, this feature can only be found in the plural form of the word because /z/ is an alveolar similar to /n/.
	- [dental]	no /nəʊ/ → [nɛ:w]
	- [ɲ]	signature /'sɪɡ.nə.tʃə/ → [sɪ.ɲə.tʃə]

**4.4.2.9. /ŋ/**

Most participants have difficulties in the realisation of the velar nasal. In fact, it is usually released as [ŋg] or [ŋk] and rarely as [ŋ].

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/ŋ/</b>	- [ŋk]	waiting /'weɪ.tɪŋ/ → ['weɪ.tɪŋk], something /'sʌm.θɪŋ/ → [sʌm.tɪŋk]
	- [ŋg]	sing /'sɪŋ / → [sɪŋg], feeling /'fi:.lɪŋ/ → ['fi:.lɪŋg]

**4.4.2.10. /f/**

The findings of the experiments have confirmed that the participants have no difficulty in producing [f].

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/f/</b>		No difficulties in the realisation of the labio-dental /f/

**4.4.2.11. /v/**

The most common deviation in the realisation of this phonemes is the fact that it occurs fully voiced in all contexts.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/v/	- [f]	of /ɒv/ → [ɒf], alive /ə'laɪv/ → [ə'laɪf]
	- voiced	/v/ is fully voiced word-initially or finally as in live /lɪv/ → [laɪv]

**4.4.2.12. /θ/**

Among the recurrent deviations of this sound, the results reveal that it is largely produced as a voiceless dental [t] with some variations, as it is illustrated in the following table.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/θ/	- [t <sup>h</sup> ]	earth /ɜ:θ/ → [ɜ:rt <sup>h</sup> ]
	- [t]	thought /θɔ:t/ → [to:t], something /'sʌm.θɪŋ/ → [sʌm.tɪŋk], faithful /'feɪθ.fəl/ → ['feɪt.ful], nothing /'nʌθ.ɪŋ/ → [no.tɪŋ]
	- [t <sup>s</sup> ]	think /θɪŋk/ → [t <sup>s</sup> ɪŋk], month /mʌntθ/ → [mont <sup>s</sup> ], theatre /'θɪə.tə/ → ['t <sup>s</sup> eə.t <sup>s</sup> əɪ], anything /'en.i.θɪŋ/ → [a.ni.'t <sup>s</sup> ɪŋg]
	- [ð]	wealthy /'welθ.i/ → ['wel.ði]

**4.4.2.13. /ð/**

The voiced dental fricative might be affected and produced either as a voiced dental plosive or it can be voiceless.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ð/	- [d]	this /ðɪs/ → [dɪs], that /ðæt/ → [da:t]
	- [θ]	breathe /bri:ð/ → [bri:θ]

**4.4.2.14. /s/**

Sometimes, the voiceless alveolar fricative is produced as voiced [z] or as emphatic [s<sup>f</sup>] as in the below-mentioned examples.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/s/	- [z]	disappear /ˌdɪs.əˈpiə/ → [ˌdɪ.zəˈpiːr], us /ʌs/ → [ʌz], useful /ˈjuː.s.fəl/ → [ˈjuːz.fəl], gas /gæs/ → [gɑːz]
	- [s <sup>h</sup> ]	sold /səʊld/ → [s <sup>h</sup> ɒld]
	- [z̥]	this /ðɪs/ → [ðɪːz̥] many informants start with /z/ just after the vowel, then they end with [s] or continue with [z]

#### 4.4.2.15. /z/

Generally speaking, the informants' realisations of the consonant might result as [s] or as fully voiced in all contexts.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/z/	- [s]	clumsy /ˈklʌmz.i/ → [ˈklʌm.si], muslim /ˈmʌz.lɪm/ → [ˈmu.sɪm], Islam /ˈɪz.lɑːm/ → [ɪsˈlɑːm]
	- [z]	In most contexts, /z/ is fully voiced

#### 4.4.2.16. /ʃ/

Some subjects tend to mispronounce /ʃ/ by producing the affricate [tʃ].

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ʃ/	- [tʃ]	chivalrous /ˈʃɪv.əl.rəs/ → [tʃaɪ.vərɪl.rus]

#### 4.4.2.17. /ʒ/

The realisations of the voiced post-alveolar fricative can be characterised by affrication [dʒ].

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/ʒ/	- [dʒ]	prestige /preˈstiːʒ/ → [prɪs.ˈtiːdʒ]

#### 4.4.2.18. /h/

One major deviation in the production of the glottal consonant is that the latter becomes silent or glottal [ʔ].



Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/h/</b>	[silent][ʔ]	hospital /'hɒs.pɪ.təl/ → ['ʔɒs.pɪ.təl], hotel /,həʊ'tel/ → [,o'tel]
	- [ɦ]	/h/ is voiceless, but it may be voiced [ɦ] as in <i>I <u>h</u>ave <u>h</u>heard</i> since it occurs between two voiced sounds. [ɦ] is an allophone of /h/ in English too.

#### 4.4.2.19. /tʃ/

/tʃ/ have been realised differently by the participants, among the frequent deviations are [ʃ], [tʃ], [tj], [ʃj] as illustrated below.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/tʃ/</b>	- [ʃ]	chapter /'tʃæp.tə/ → ['ʃap.tə], choice /tʃɔɪs/ → [ʃɔɪs], watch /wɒtʃ/ → [wɒʃ], which /hwɪtʃ/ → [wɪʃ], French /frentʃ/ → [frɛnʃ], children /'tʃɪl.drən/ → [ʃɪl.drən], searching /'sɜ:tʃ.ɪŋ/ → ['sø:r.ʃɪŋ]
	- [s]	March /mɑ:tʃ/ → [mɑ:rs]
	- [tj]	statue /'stætʃ.u:/ → ['stat.ju:]
	- [ʃj]	confidential /,kɒn.frɪ'dentʃ.əl/ → [,kon.frɪ'denʃ.jəl]

#### 4.4.2.20. /dʒ/

Some of the observed deviations of /dʒ/ are [ʃ], [ʒ], [gʒ] as in the following examples.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
<b>/dʒ/</b>	- [ʃ]	revenge /ri'vendʒ/ → [rə'vɛnʃ]
	- [ʒ]	intelligent /ɪn.'tel.ɪdʒ.ənt/ → [ɪn.'tɪ.lɪ.ʒənt], psychology /saɪ'kɒl.ədʒ.i/ → [psɪ:'kɒ.lo.ʒi], joking /dʒəʊk.ɪŋ/ → [ʒəʊ.kɪŋ], major /'meɪdʒ.ə/ → [meɪ.ʒə], subject /'sʌb dʒekt/ → ['sʌb.ʒəkt]
	- [gʒ]	suggest /sə'dʒest/ → [syg'ʒest]

#### 4.4.2.21. /r/

The main deviation of the English /r/ is its being pronounced as a thrill.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/r/	[pronounced]	their /ðeə/ → [ðɛr], earth /ɜ:θ/ → [ɜ:rt̪], harm /hɑ:m/ → [hɑ:rm]
	- [thrill]	married /'mæɪr.ɪd/ → ['mæɪr.ɪd], reasons /'ri:z.ənz/ → ['ri:.z̃(n)z], create /kri'eɪt/ → [kri'jejt]

#### 4.4.2.22. /l/

The subjects do not have difficulties in producing such a sound. However, they seem to confuse between dark and clear /l/.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/l/	- [l]	deal [di:ə] → [di:l]
	- [ɫ]	love /lʌv/ → [ɫɒ:v], a lot (as in <i>a lot of</i> ) /ə lɒt/ → [ə ɫɒt], like /laɪk/ → [ɫaɪk], loyal /lɔɪəl/ → [ɫɔ:jeɪ]
	- [ɭ]	/l/ is realised with the tongue; however, it is sometimes not fully produced; instead, it has a back vowel resonance similar to [ɔ] as in details /'di:.teɪlz/ → [di'tejlz]

#### 4.4.2.23. /w/

The results have demonstrated that the informants do not have any difficulty in realising the velar glide.

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/w/		No difficulties in the realisation of the labio-velar /w/

#### 4.4.2.24. /j/

The pronunciation of this consonant does present a problem to the participants; yet, the latter might be released with a labio-palatal glide [j<sup>h</sup>].

Phoneme	Realisation	Examples
/j/	- [(j)]	The pronunciation of /j/ is not always present and it can sometimes be elided as in as in particular /pə'tɪk.jəl.ə/ → [pə'tɪ.k(j)ɔ.lər]

- [j <sup>h</sup> ]	yesterday /'jest.əd.i/ → ['j <sup>h</sup> es.tər.dej], university /,ju:n.i'vɜ:s.ɪ.ti/ → [,j <sup>h</sup> u:.ni'vɜ:r.sɪ.ti]
- [j]	cure /kjʊə/ → [kju:r], pure /pjʊə/ → [pju:r]

#### 4.4.2.25. Silent Letters

Although consonants appear to be as much complicated as vowels; they nonetheless pose a serious concern when the informants have to integrate which sound is silent or not. Indeed, the majority of students have a serious issue in the pronunciation of silent letters as it is illustrated in the table below:

Silent letters	Realisation	Examples
- [p]		receipt /ri.'si:t/ → [rə.'si:pt], psychology /saɪ'kɒlə.dʒi/ → [psɪ.kɒ.lo.ʒi]
- [w]		answer /'ɑ:nts.ə/ → [æn.swər], wrote /rəʊt/ → [wrɒt], writer /'raɪtə/ → [wraɪ.tər]
- [k]		muscle /'mʌs.əl/ → [mus.kəl], knife /naɪf/ → [knɑɪf], know /nəʊ/ → [knɛ:w]
- [g]		suggest /sə'dʒest/ → [syg'zest]
- [r]		particular /pə'tɪk.jʊl.ə/ → [pɑr'tɪ.k(j)ʊ.lər]
- [l]		talk /tɔ:k/ → [t <sup>h</sup> ɔlk], half /hɑ:f/ → [hɑ:lf], would /wʊd/ → [wu:ld]
- [b]		doubt /daʊt/ → [daʊbt], debt /det/ → [debt]
- [t]		fasten /'fɑ:s.ən/ → ['fɑ:s.'tən]
- [n]		autum /'ɔ:t.əm/ → ['a.təm]

#### 4.4.3. Common Deviations in English Syllable Structure

A change in vowels and consonants may result in a change in the syllable structure of words. In English, there are four major syllable structures vowel (V), consonant vowel (CV), vowel consonant (VC), and consonant vowel consonant (CVC). Some realisations of sounds have resulted in a change in the syllable structure of English. The following examples are most common production in which the original English version is presented between slashes // and the informants' syllable division is between brackets []. In addition

to the following syllable structures, informants may often insert vowels or consonants that might operate such an alteration of the structures. Therefore, this part will tackle *Syllable Structure, Vowel Epenthesis* and *Glide Insertion*.

#### 4.4.3.1. Syllable Structure

Concerning syllable division, it seems clear that most informants divide their syllables according to the number of pauses. For validity and reliability purposes, we have transcribed the following syllables examples, according to a very slow play of the records with Audacity software which allows the identification of pauses in words.

Syllable	Realisation	Examples
V	- [CV]	busy /'bɪz.i/ → ['bi'zi], disappear /,dɪs.ə'pɪə/ → [,dɪ.zə'pɪ:r], America /ə'mer.ɪk.ə/ → [ə'mø.rɪ.kə], I /aɪ/ → [ʔaɪ], economic /,i:k.ə'nɒm.ɪk/ → [,i'ko:.nɒ.mɪk], university /,ju:n.ɪ'vɜ:s.ɪ.t.i/ → [,j'u:.nɪ'vɜ:r.sɪ.ti], adolescent /,æd.ə'les.ənt/ → [a'do.lɪ.sənt], cultivate /'kʌlt.ɪ.veɪt/ → ['kyl.ti.vejt], encyclopedia /ɪn'saɪ.klə'pi:.di.ə/ → [ɔ̃sɪ.klə'pe:.di.'ja], wealthy /'welθ.i/ → ['wel.ði], statute /'stætʃ.u:/ → ['stat.ju:]
	- [CVC]	shoulder /'ʃəʊld.ə/ → ['ʃu:l.dər], widower /'wɪd.əʊə/ → [wi.du.wər]
CV	- [VC]	surely /'ʃʊ:.li/ → ['ʃu:.ər.li]
	- [CVC]	know /nəʊ/ → [nɛ:w], no /nəʊ/ → [nɛ:w], particular /pə'tɪk.jəl.ə/ → [par'tɪ.k(j)ɔ.lər]
VC	- [V]	adolescent /,æd.ə'les.ənt/ → [a'do.lɪ.sənt], Alexander /,æ.lɪg'zɑ:n.də/ → [,a.lek'sæ̃n.dər]
	- [CV]	geography /dʒɪ'ɒɡ.rəf.i/ → [dʒe'jo.gra.fi], literature /'lɪtr.ətʃ.ə/ → ['lɪtʃ.rə.tʃər], university /,ju:n.ɪ'vɜ:s.ɪ.t.i/ → [,j'u:.nɪ'vɜ:r.sɪ.ti], coincidence /kəʊ'ɪnts.ɪd.ənts/ → [ku.'wɪn.sɪ.dəns]
	- [CVC]	triumph /'traɪ.əmpf/ → [trɪ'jɜ:mf], people /'pi:p.əl/ → [pi:.'pʰol], example /ɪg'zɑ:mp.əl/ → [eg'zæm.pol], jewellery /'dʒu:.əl.ri/ → ['dʒɪ.wəl.ri], Alexander

		/,æ1.ig'zɑ:n.də/ → [,a.1ek'sæ̃n.dər], create /kri'eit/ → [kri'jejt], creation /kri'eɪf.ən/ → [kri'jej.fən], poem /'pəʊ.ɪm/ → [po.wəm], autumn /'ɔ:t.əm/ → ['a.təm]
CVC	- [CV]	spoken /'spəʊk.ən/ → ['spɒ.'kən], busy /'bɪz.i/ → ['bi.'zi], published /'pʌb.lɪʃt/ → [pʌb.ɪ.ʃɪd], disappear /,dis.ə'pɪə/ → [,di.zə'pɪ:r], America /ə'mer.ɪk.ə/ → [ə'mø.rɪ.kə], particular /pə'tɪk.jʊl.ə/ → [par'tɪ.k(j)ʊ.lər], university /,ju:n.ɪ'vɜ:s.ɪ.t.i/ → [,j'u:ni'vɜ:r.sɪ.ti], reasons /'ri:z.ənz/ → ['ri:zə̃(n)z], people /'pi:p.əl/ → [pi:.'pʰol], adolescent /,æd.ə'les.ənt/ → [a'do.ɪ.sənt], Muslim /'mʌz.lɪm/ → ['mu.sɪm]
	[CV]+[CVC]	looked /lʊkt/ → ['lu.kəd], clothes /kləʊðz/ → [kləʊ'ðəz], gives /gɪvz/ → [gɪ.vʰz], viewed /vju:d/ → [vju.wed], diet /daɪət/ → [daɪ.'jet], dial /daɪəl/ → [da.jel], fire /faɪə/ → [fa.jer], player /pleɪə/ → [ple.jer], our /aʊə/ → [ʔa.wʊr], power /paʊə/ → [pa.wʊr], loyal /lɔɪəl/ → [tɔ.jel]
	[CVC]+[CVC]	mixed /mɪkst/ → [mɪk.sɪd], stands /stændz/ → [stæ̃n.dʰz], joined /dʒɔɪnd/ → [dʒɔj'nəd]
CV+VC	[CVC]	society /sə'saɪ.ət.i/ → [sə'saɪ.ti]

#### 4.4.3.2. Vowel Epenthesis

Vowel epenthesis is the insertion of a vowel in syllables or words. In order to change the structure of syllables, the participants may insert a vowel before or after a consonant as a strategy to form CV or CVC and to avoid consonant clusters.

	Realisation	Examples
Vowel Epenthesis	- [ə]	about /ə'baʊt/ → [a'bbəʊtʰ], glove /glʌv/ → [gləʊv ə], gives /gɪvz/ → [gɪ.vʰz], stands /stændz/ → [stæ̃n.dʰz], joined /dʒɔɪnd/ → [dʒɔj'nəd]
	- [ɪ]	clothes /kləʊðz/ → [kləʊ.ðɪz] or [kləʊ'ðəz], published /'pʌb.lɪʃt/ → [pʌb.ɪ.ʃɪd], mixed /mɪkst/ → [mɪk.sɪd],
	- [u <sup>(h)</sup> ]	after <i>so, and, the</i> , the informants mainly add uh as: the /ði/ or /ðə/ → [ðə <sup>uh</sup> ], and /ænd/ → [ænd <sup>uh</sup> ], so /səʊ/ → [səʊ <sup>uh</sup> ]

	- [ɒ]	people /'pi:p.əl/ in which /l/ can be syllabic [l] → [pi:.'p <sup>h</sup> ol], example /ɪg'zɑ:mp.əl/ → [eg'zæm.pol]
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#### 4.4.3.2. Glide Insertion

Another strategy to modify English syllable structures is the insertion of glides /w, j/ in any place of the syllable (onset, peak, coda).

Consonant Insertion	Realisation	Examples
	- [w]	
- [j]		signature /'sɪɡ.nə.tʃə/ → [sɪ.njə.tʃə], confidential /,kɒn.fi'dentʃ.əl/ → [,kon.fi'denf.jəl]

#### 4.4.4. Common Deviations in English Stress

During English production, the way most subjects have accented their syllables differs from the way native English speakers usually stress theirs. On the left side of the following table, we have put the number of syllables /S/ each word contains and the primary stress /' that normally falls on it. In the middle and between brackets, however, we have transcribed the informants' realisation of stress. On the right side of the table, examples of word stress realisations are provided.

In addition to that, a salient feature that characterises the informants' English speech is that their words mostly include two or four syllables. Recurrent large words of five syllables have been scarce to identify in the recorded speech.

Accented Syllable	Realisation	Examples
/S./	- ['S.,S.]	looked /lʊkt/ → ['lu,kəd]
	- ['S.'S.]	mixed /mɪkst/ → ['mɪk.'sɪd], stands /stændz/ → ['stæ̃n.'dɔ̃z], joined /dʒɔɪnd/ → ['dʒɔj'nəd]
/'S.S./	- [S.'S.]	argue /'ɑ:gju:/ → [arg'ju], triumph /'traɪ.əmpf/ → [tri'jɜ:mɪf], people /'pi:p.əl/ → [pi:.'p <sup>h</sup> ol], village /'vɪl.ɪdʒ/ → [vɪ'lɪdʒ], record (n.) /'rek.ɔ:d/ → [re'kɔ:d], details /'di:teɪlz/ → [di'tejlz], rainbow /'reɪn.bəʊ/ → [reɪn.'bəʊ],

		Islam /'ɪz.lɑ:m/ → [is'la:m], context /'kɒn.tekst/ → [kɒn.'tektst], content /'kɒn.tent/ → [kɒn'tent]
	- ['S.'S.]	busy /'bɪz.i/ → ['bi.'zi] severe /sɪ'vɪə/ → ['sɪ'vɪ:r], chapter /'tʃæp.tə/ → ['ʃæp.'tər]
	- [S.'S.S.]	creature /'kri:.tʃə/ → [kri'jəj.tʃər]
	['S.'S.'S.]	seventy /'sev.ənt.i/ → ['se.'vən'ti]
/S.'S./	- ['S.S.]	present (adj.) /prɪ'zent/ → ['pre.zent]
	- ['S.'S.]	surprise /sə'praɪz/ → ['sɪr'pra:jz]
/'S.S.S./	- [S.'S.S.]	circumstance /'sɜ:kəm.stænts/ → [sɪr'kʌ:m.stænts], relative /'rel.ət.ɪv/ → [rɪ'leɪ.tɪv], cinema /'sɪn.ə.m.ə/ → [si.'ne:.mə]
	- [S.S.'S.]	concentrate /'kɒnts.ən.treɪt/ → [kɒn.sɒn.'treɪt]
/S.'S.S./	- [S.S.'S.]	attracted /ə'trækt.ɪd/ → [a.tʃræk'təd], anything /'en.i.θɪŋ/ → [a.nɪ'tɪŋg]
	[S.S.S.'S.]	coincided /,kəʊɪn'saɪd.ɪd/ → [ku.wɪn.saj'dəd], economic /,i:k.ə'nɒm.ɪk/ → [,i.ko:.nɒ'mɪk]
/S.S.'S.S./	[S.'S.S.S.]	adolescent /,æd.ə'les.ənt/ → [a'dɒl.ɪ.sənt]
/S.'S.S.S./	[S.S.'S.S.]	confidential /,kɒn.fɪ'dentʃ.əl/ → [,kɒn.fɪ'denʃ.jəl]
/S.'S.S.S.S./	'S'S'S'S'S	considerable /kən'sɪd.ər.əb.əl/ → ['kən'sɪ'de'ra'bəl]

#### 4.4.5. Common Deviations in English Intonation and Sentence Stress

What can be heard from the informants' intonation is that it falls down in most of their speech unless there is some important information or question to be highlighted. In other words, at the end of a statement the pitch falls, and after a question or attitude, it rises. Furthermore, the lapses between stressed syllables are almost the same and which makes speech approximately sound as having the same tempo or being monotonous.

During the second experiment, intonation falls at the end of each content word of a verse. As to the first project, however, when speaking, the informants have used sentence stress to distinguish meaning. What can result from hearing the subjects' performance is the accent on a syllable in most words of the utterance. According to both experiments, we can divide two groups of tone. In the first, the stress on the syllable is weak; whereas in the second, the stress is strong to attract attention. It is often falling





#### **4.5. Conclusion**

The case study of this dissertation consists of two experiments which were divided into three tasks: observation (exposure to native English speech), a survey (a lengthy questionnaire) and a test (a recorded interview/text reading). The primary issues addressed in this chapter are the experiments' methodology and results. This part of the dissertation has mostly been descriptive, analytical and statistical. The purpose behind such an approach is to understand the informants and to observe their English production taking into consideration concrete empirical evidence that needs to be both valid and reliable.

To achieve such an objective, we have started a stratified sampling of the population (first-year students at the University of Oran) to avoid as many errors as possible. From 119 subjects of the first experiment, 100 were selected, and from the 567 of the second study, 40 were, however, conveniently sampled according to their grades. The 140 participants had to respond to a questionnaire survey for better identification and understanding of Crosslinguistic Influence contextual occurrence. The analysis of the survey has revealed several socio-cultural implications underlying the statistical findings. Last but not least, samples of major English pronunciation deviations have been classified according to vowels, consonants, syllable structure, stress and intonation. In addition to that, several claims have been put forward that could either be rejected or refuted should a future investigation on the matter be undertaken.

This chapter mostly consists of the major findings of the two experiments; however, the study will be incomplete if those results are not discussed or analysed in term of educational perspectives. Therefore, the next chapter will explore the collected data and will attempt to understand what they may imply from socio-cultural and pedagogical perspectives.

## **Chapter Five**

### **The Experiment Discussion and Educational Implications**

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## Chapter V

### The Experiment Discussion and Educational Implications

#### 5.1. Introduction

The study in Chapter IV was conducted to analyse the Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) on the English pronunciation of a sample population of first-year students at the University of Oran. The purpose was not only to identify transfer but also to detect from which previously acquired language (Arabic or French) CLI was likely to have access to. Besides, it sought to detect the reason(s) triggering a particular transfer instead of another.

Phonetic/phonological rules differ from one language to another albeit the existence of some universal features. Indeed, in Chapter III, a brief contrastive analysis has been carried out between Arabic, Berber, French and English. While some segments might be commonly found in each of the named languages; major distinctions can also be recognised depending on the language typology distance.

The present study concentrates on the use of Arabic and French phonetic/phonemic features by the informants when they produce speech in English. It also explores the extent of that influence on altering the configuration of L2 production by some prevalent aspects those learners have already acquired. As we have mentioned in Chapter I, CLI might be shaped by several internal or external factors. In fact, a speaker's choice of a segment or a feature does not only reflect competence in language, but it may also communicate varied factors that influence a production over another.

The question that remains is how we analyse pronunciation deviations and how we discuss them. The categorisation can either be in terms of consonants, vowels, stress, and syllables production or in terms of types of errors as mentioned in Chapter I such as overproduction, hypercorrection and so on.

In this work, we shall analyse those deviations primarily according to their importance either from intelligibility or frequency perspectives. Indeed, although some may suggest that pronunciation is only secondary to the acquisition of grammar and vocabulary, it nonetheless remains problematic in case of misunderstanding or non-achievement of communication goals. In addition to that, recurrent realisations of some

phonetic features also need to be considered as they should normally be overcome during advanced levels of English acquisition.

This section will endeavour to understand in what way the informants construe CLI configurations, what may engender them and how they can be interpreted and tackled. This chapter deals with *Experiment Discussion, CLI and the 'Cultural Load' Model, Deviations: Several Causes and Strategies, Educational Implications, and Course Syllabus*.

## 5.2. Experiment Discussion

In the previous chapter (IV), we have tried to classify most frequent English realisations of each segment produced by the participants. Those productions of phonetic/phonological features have helped this work identify and group what might be transferred from Arabic or French. In Contrastive Analysis, the comparison between native and target languages is necessary; however, in this work, we do not adopt the contrastive analysis approach and instead we have compared the languages to point out where transfer exists. Phonetic differences lie in the articulatory or functional aspects of specific segments. The latter is physical and is often described in terms of places, manner of articulation and voice pitch.

While the experiment of this work derives from Odlin & Jarvis (2004); the method and the following discussion of the results is inspired by Jarvis's 'Methodological Rigor in the Study of Transfer' (2000). In fact, the latter (Jarvis, 2000) has set a unified methodological framework for verifying and identifying transfer in a multilingual context. The purpose behind that framework is to avoid errors and contradictions in (a) the nature of Crosslinguistic Influence, and in (b) the way it should be investigated. For him, a rigorous investigation of transfer implies first a literature review, a list of controllable variables of the situation in which transfer occurs and a concise but exhaustive empirical evidence of what might be considered as CLI. Since it is often referred to in contemporary CLI studies as being a scientific CLI framework, this work has deemed it compulsory to respect some guidelines in its analysis of CLI.

In addition to that, Jarvis states that CLI truly occurs if one of the following three cases proves observable (a) *intra-L1-group homogeneity in learners' interlanguage (IL) performance*, which refers to learners of the same L1 producing similar linguistic behaviour in L2; (b) *inter-L1-group heterogeneity in learners' IL performance*, which can be applied to learners who have different L1 and who diverge in L2 production; and

(c) *intra-L1-group congruity between learners' L1 and IL performance*, which relates to learners' use of some L2 features that correspond to their L1 (2000, pp. 253-5).

Such a division helps this study examine three types of evidence in the English pronunciation of the participants. This section will try to analyse the results according to three main criteria, first, what is commonly produced from Arabic influence; second, what differentiates an informant from another with the degree of their use of French features; third, what is frequently observable in the informants' performance from both Arabic and French. This part will address the following: *Evidence for Arabic Crosslinguistic Influence, Evidence for French Crosslinguistic Influence, and Algerian Oranese English: CLI from Arabic and French*. The overall recurrent pronunciation deviations made by the subjects will be discussed according to five main categories: vowels, consonants, syllable structures, stress and intonation in each of the following three sections.

### 5.2.1. Evidence for Arabic Crosslinguistic Influence

While all the deviations in English pronunciation made by the participants cannot be interpreted in terms of Crosslinguistic Influence, a greater part originates from some transfer at a particular phonetic/phonological realisation of an utterance.

#### 5.2.1.1. Vowels

Vowels in Arabic are eight, three short with their corresponding lengthened qualities /i, i:/ /u, u:/ /a, a:/ and two diphthongs /aj, aw/. The following diagrams display the main six vowels on the left vowel scale along with their different realisations (from left to right):

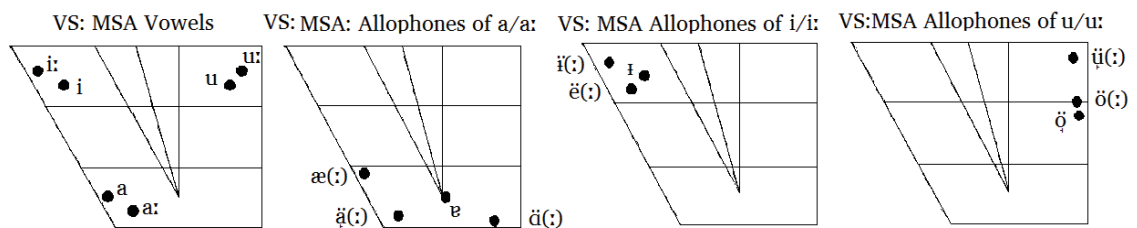


Figure 5.1: MSA Vocalic Phonemes and Allophones

The former vowel scales demonstrate where most Arabic vowels occur in the oral cavity. The first striking feature in those diagrams is the absence of centre, front mid-close/mid-open, and back mid-open vowels. This may imply that Arabic speakers may have difficulties in the production of English qualities produced in those places. In

addition to that, however, English sounds having the same quality as the Arabic ones will probably be easier to acquire and reproduce. Indeed most English realisations of vowels which are influenced by Arabic are congruous if not similar to those observed in the above diagrams.

R.P. English has seven short vowels /ɪ, e, æ, ə, ʌ, ɒ, ʊ/, five long vowels /i:, ɜ:, a:, ɔ:, u:/ and eight diphthongs /eɪ, aɪ, əʊ, aʊ, ɔɪ, ɪə, eə, ʊə/. The informants have a tendency to realise long vowels as short and centring diphthongs /ɪə, eə, ʊə/ as long vowels of the first quality. Most five closing diphthongs /eɪ, aɪ, əʊ, aʊ, ɔɪ/ are realised with no difficulty (except /əʊ/ which we shall develop in French CLI). Concerning the short vowels, most of them (except /ɪ, æ/ which can be found in Arabic) present some difficulties to learners. The mentioned realisations are basically transferred from Arabic because of the following reasons:

### (i) Vowel Length Reduction

Although length exists in Arabic, its function and duration are different from English. First, in Arabic, length serves inflectional purposes to modify grammatical and functional categories with the use of three vocalic segments (ى, و, ا) 'i, u, a' as in *kataba* 'to write' becomes *kitaab* 'book', *katabuu* 'they wrote', *kitaabii* 'my book'. In English, length does not change a verb into a subject or an adjective into a noun. Instead, Arabic speakers when learning English need to pay more attention to derivational and inflectional affixes; and length might be perceived but not equally produced in speech. Second, length in Arabic does not have the same duration as in English because it is less long in its realisation. Besides, Arabic long vowels when final are reduced such as *ʒalaa* [ʒalaː] 'on' and *ʒalaa* [ʒalaːʔ] 'boys name: Alaâ'. The two previous words have the long vowel /aː/; however, when it occurs word-finally it is reduced [aː]. In Colloquial Algerian Arabic (CAA), vowels are also shortened word-finally as in *lmaa* 'water' or *mshaa* 'he went'. In fact, the reduction of length in Arabic is caused by a phonological rule that avoids stressing syllables words-finally unless the syllable is strong or heavy and should, therefore, be stressed. In addition to that, according to Sibawayh, the length of Arabic vowels may also be more reduced next to voiceless sounds 'Harf mahmuus' than near a voiced sound 'Harf majhuur'. To illustrate, Fledge has made an experiment on the length of vowels produced by Americans and Saudi Arabians and who were either native speakers of English or Arabic. He has found that the same vowel such as /aː/ produced in the same context of segments is 177 microseconds (*ms*) in Arabic and 187 *ms* in English (1981, p. 127).

### (ii) Vowel Monophthongisation

Centring diphthongs /ɪə, eə, ʊə/ are generally monophthongised e.g. *here* /ɪə/, *wear* /eə/, *cure* /ʊə/ in which the first quality is often lengthened in most informants' English pronunciation. In class, learners do not seem to have problems in identifying and reproducing those sounds when they are in isolation. However, in connected speech and when those sounds neighbour other sounds, they become monophthongised as long vowels [ɪ:] [hɪ:r], [e:] [we:r], [ʊ:] [kjʊ:r]. The fact that closing diphthongs might easily be uttered in connected speech implies that the deviations in the centring ones do not arise from a difficulty in producing diphthongs but from a complication in reproducing centring sounds qualities. In Arabic, closing diphthongs exist /aj, aw/ but centring ones do not. In addition to that, they are monophthongised into long vowels in the same way Arabic sounds do. To illustrate, a word such as *Saif* 'summer' or *llawn* 'colour' can be produced with a monophthong [s'i:f], [llu:n] in which the second quality becomes one long vowel. Instead of lengthening the /ə/ in /ɪə, eə, ʊə/, the first quality is monophthongised for distinctive and semantic purposes.

### (iii) Vowel Palatalisation/Velarisation

The palatalisation/velarisation of vowels may occur from both Arabic and French. While French transfer includes the palatalisation/velarisation of the first (or before the first) quality of a diphthong/triphthong/syllable, Arabic influence tends to palatalise/velarise the last quality of a diphthong/syllable or the second of a triphthong. To illustrate, a word such as *triumph* /'traɪ.əmpf/ → [tri'jɜ:mf] is influenced by French; whereas, *rainbow* /'reɪn.bəʊ/ → [reɪn.'bɔw] is clearly from Arabic. Although the Arabic syllable structures CV, CVC are frequently used; the informants tend to resort to French first to produce such structures in English.

Most closing vowels /eɪ, aɪ, əʊ, aʊ, ɔɪ/ are realised with ease, and sometimes they are even overly used resulting, thus, in overgeneralisations. Phonetically speaking those diphthongs glide in the oral cavity from one quality to a closing one such as /ɪ/ or /ʊ/. However, in Arabic, the second quality of the diphthongs /aj, aw/ is either palatal /j/ or velar /w/. Sibawayh describes those two Arabic diphthongs as a process of *idghaam*<sup>1</sup> (إدغام) 'glide' in which the second quality is high in the oral cavity, and it is often realised with more or equal emphasis as the first one. Therefore, frequent realisations have been

<sup>1</sup> Idghaam is described by Sibawayh as a process in which two sounds become one; and it is divided into several types such as coalescence, gemination, assimilation, diphthongs, glides, etc.



observed of /ɪ/ becoming /j/ and /ʊ/ being articulated as /w/ because of possible Arabic realisations (standard or colloquial) such as *yawSal* ‘he arrives’ [jəwsʰal], *fawran* ‘now’ [fawran], *at-Tair* ‘the bird’ [ətʰʰajr]. Moreover, the /ɔ/ in /ɔɪ/ does not exist in Arabic, instead [oɪ] is often realised because [o], a back vowel, can be allophonic to /u/ as in the imperative form *qul* ‘say’ in some verses of the Quran. The vowel /eɪ/ in *stay* which is more open can also occur in Arabic in syllable boundaries such as *ysaayis* ‘handle carefully’ [jsɛːjəs]. When /e/ is produced in a lower or closer place, the influence is generally from Arabic since French has that phoneme /e/ in its inventory but Arabic does not. In sum, most closing diphthongs can be easily produced but a palatal or velar sound may substitute the second quality.

#### (iv) Vowels Typical Sound Changes

The examples of some deviations, in the English pronunciation of vowels in Chapter IV, are realisations which are quite typical or common among the subjects. While some originate from Arabic, others are triggered by French transfer or by both. It is interesting to identify that most deviations of the English /i:, ɪ, u:/ do not result from Arabic influence. Since Arabic shares approximate qualities, most noted deviations of these three sounds derive from French. As to the other sounds, CLI from Arabic or/and French can be noted. Therefore, we shall try to summarise most frequent typical realisations transferred from Arabic in the following paragraphs.

As it can be observed in the above vowel scales of Arabic, /e/ is a phoneme which is missing; therefore, its acquisition by the participants is due to French first or to English second even if French /e/ does not have an identical quality of the English one. A transfer from Arabic involves an articulation which is either higher or closer than its usual place. Some of the most frequent realisations are [ɛ], [ɪ] as in *men* /men/ → [mɛn], *president* /'prez.ɪd.ənt/ → ['prɪ.zɪ.dənt], *relative* /'rel.ət.ɪv/ → [rɪ'leɪ.tɪv]. Although the spelling *e* of that sound can indicate the right pronunciation, speakers who tend to transfer more from Arabic than from French in this particular case may not produce [e] as in *men*, *man* where the distinction is almost non-existent.

The production of /æ/ does not generally pose any issue to an Arabic speaker since it occurs in words such as *kalaam* ‘speech’ in standard Arabic or *klaam* in CAA [k(æ)læ:m]. However, it can be realised as a back vowel [ɑ], [ɑ:] in a velar or velarised context as in *battle* /'bæt.əl/ → [bɑ.t<sup>(s)</sup>əl], *gas* /gæs/ → [gɑ:z]. These realisations are mainly influenced by Algerian Standard Arabic that can be found in *al-baTal* ‘hero’

[ʔal.ba.tʕal] and *al-ghaaz* ‘gas’ [ʔal.ɣaːz] (the latter is normally realised as [ʔal.ɣaːz] in the standard). However, *a* in Oran tends to be realised in a more open position than in other Arabic vernaculars (such as Tunisian or Egyptian). To illustrate, the same word *jaa* ‘he came’ is realised with [a] in Oran, [ɛ] in Tunis and with [e] in Cairo.

As there are no centre vowels in Arabic except the occurrence of [ə], /ʌ/ tends to be realised more open either as a front [æ] or as a back [ɑ] when influenced by Arabic as in husband /'hʌz.bənd/ → [hæz.bənd] or couple /'kʌp.əl/ → [kɑ.pəl], but /bʌt/ → [bɑt]. In addition to that, some words are realised with [u] such as Muslim /'mʌz.lɪm/ → ['mu.slim] because the (mu) in such words may sound similar to the Arabic inflectional prefix *mu* that grammatically corresponds to the English suffix *er* as in *musaafir* meaning *traveller*.

The sound /ə/ can be found in both CAA and French. However, most deviations do not occur because of Arabic transfer as some informants try to pronounce the writing system in a French way. Indeed, the findings have demonstrated that /ə/ has a minimum of 12 different realisations among which [ɪ] might be transferred from Arabic as in enemy /'en.əm.i/ → ['ʔɪ.nɪ.mi]. That realisation can be explained from an Arabic phonemic point of view: [ɪ] is produced at the front to be like the other vowels ['ʔɪ.nɪ.mi] for ease of articulation as it often happens in Arabic where the same vowel is found in a trilateral word CVCVCV as in *kataba* ‘to write’.

Similar to centre vowels, the long vowel /ɜː/ which has the same quality as /ə/ is mostly influenced by a French reading of the spelling system. Yet, a major realisation provoked by Arabic transfer is [ɛː] as in girl /gɜːl/ → [gɛːrl] in which the vowel is advanced to the front and lowered in order to approximate some Arabic allophonic vowels.

As /ɑː/ is a long vowel, length sometimes tends to be reduced because of Arabic influence. However, the articulation of such quality should not pose any issue to Arabic speakers as it exists in words such as *mil3aqa* ‘spoon’ [ˈmil.ʕa.qɑ] or Allah [ʔɑlˈlɑːh]. However, it can sometimes be pronounced as [æ] or [æː] in answer /'ɑːnts.ə/ → [æn.sə] or Islam /'ɪz.lɑːm/ → [ɪsˈlæːm]. Although [ɑ] can also be transferred from Arabic, the realisation of [ɪsˈlɑːm] with [ɑː] originates from a French pronunciation. Moreover, most of the deviations found of this phoneme are caused by French influence as we shall see afterwards.

The actual findings have revealed that /v/ and /ɔː/ might be more transferred from French than from Arabic. Those two phonemes are generally influenced by the French

writing system since /ʊ/ can be spelt with *o*, *a*, *ou*, *ow* or *au*; and /ɔ:/ is written with *or*, *aw*, *ou*, *au*, *a*, *ore*, *oor*, *oar*, *our*, *u*, *oa*. Most deviations occur because the subjects tend to pronounce those letters as sounds.

The last monophthong that is mostly influenced by Arabic is /ʊ/. Indeed, most deviations found of this sound originate from an attempt at nearing Arabic vowel quality. The experiment has identified the occurrence of a long [u:] as in good /gʊd/ → [gu:d], half long [uː] as in look /lʊk/ → [lu:k], short [u] as in faithful /'feɪθ.fʊl/ → ['feɪt.fu]. Sometimes, it can be realised as a long and slightly retracted vowel [u:] as in book /bʊk/ → [bʊ:k].

As we have already mentioned, most closing glides /eɪ, aɪ, əʊ, aʊ, ɔɪ/ are produced without too much difficulty for the informants. However, as some might be found in Arabic, they are generally transferred from Arabic rather than from French. Therefore, most realisations transferred from Arabic may obviously result in deviations caused by Arabic CLI. First, /eɪ/ can be pronounced as [ɛ:j] in play /pleɪ/ → [plɛ:j], as [æ:j<sup>ə</sup>] in say /seɪ/ → [sæ:j<sup>ə</sup>], as [eɪj] in claim /kleɪm/ → [kleɪjm] or as [jej] in creation /kri'eɪʃ.ən/ → [kri'jej.ʃən]. Second, /aɪ/ is often realised as [a:j] in words like cry /kraɪ/ → [kra:j] with no particular trouble. Third, /ɔɪ/ is similarly produced from the influence of Arabic [oj] as in annoyed /ə'nɔɪ/ → [ə'nojd]. Generally, this phoneme can easily be produced from Arabic CLI instead of French because even if some English words look French, they are pronounced with [oj] rather than with a French pronunciation as in appoint, choice, point, etc. However, when the informants are not used to particular words, they may produce them in French as Detroit in which /ɔɪ/ becomes [wa]. Fourth, /aʊ/ is also transferred from Arabic and it is generally produced as [a:w] in /ə'laʊd/ → [a'la:wd] or doubt /daʊt/ → [da:w(b)t]. Fifth, the last closing diphthong /əʊ/ is largely pronounced according to the way it is spelt; however, it can be influenced by Arabic and be articulated as [əw] those /ðəʊz/ → [ðəwz] where the second quality becomes a labio-velar or as [ɔ:w] in though /ðəʊ/ → [ðɔ:w] where the first quality is slightly advanced to the front between /e/ and /ə/ or as [ɛ:w] in open syllables as in know /nəʊ/ → [nɛ:w] where the vowel is front and lower similar to cardinal vowel No. 3. Another example can be mentioned [ow] even if it combines the pronunciation of a French spelling and a glide to a velar position as in old /əʊld/ → [owld]. Generally speaking, the participants can perceive it /əʊ/; however, they tend to produce the first quality in a more advanced position (nearing the front of the oral cavity).

The influence on the centring diphthongs /ɪə, eə, ʊə/ from Arabic is basically monophthongising the first quality of the glide /ɪ:, ε:, ʊ:/. However, there are other recurrent realisations that are triggered by Arabic. First, /ɪə/ can often be produced as [ɪ:] as in *severe* /sɪ'vɪə/ → [sɪ'vɪ:r], or as [ijə] in *idea* /aɪ'diə/ → [aɪ'di.jə] for phonological purposes as we shall try to examine later. Second, although /eə/ has a nearing French equivalent, most deviations found of that sound seem to result from Arabic transfer than from French. Indeed, the vowel is generally produced in the same way Colloquial Algerian Arabic *dɛɛr* 'he did' [dɛ:r] as in *hair* /heə/ → [hɛ:r]. Other frequent realisations might be palatalising the second quality [ej] in *they're* /ðeə/ → [ðejʔr]. Third, /ʊə/ can also be realised with monophthong [ʊ:] as in *curious* /'kjʊə.r.i.əs/ → ['kjʊ:r.jus].

Triphthongs are closing diphthongs /eɪ, aɪ, əʊ, aʊ, ɔɪ/ to which /ə/ is added as a third quality resulting in /eɪə, aɪə, əʊə, aʊə, ɔɪə/. These five vowels are mostly realised as [ejə, ajə, əwə, awə, ɔjə]. Phonologically speaking, the placement of more than two vowels in one syllable does not occur in Arabic. Phonetically speaking, as the second quality of the closing diphthongs changes into a palatal [j] or labio-velar [w] for speech habits or ease of pronunciation, the centre vowel is simply added [ə] without any difficulty. Examples of those realisations are as follows: first, /aɪə/ can often be realised as [ajə] in *acquire* /ə'kwɪə/ → [ə'kwajər], as [aɪj] in *society* /sə'saɪ.ət.i/ → [sə'saj.ti] or as [aje] in *dial* /daɪəl/ → [da.jel]. Second, /ɔɪə/ can be produced as [ojə] in *employer* /ɪm'plɔɪə/ → [em'plo.jər] or as [oje] in *loyal* /lɔɪəl/ → [lə.jel]. Third, /eɪə/ is often realised as [ɛje] as in *player* /pleɪə/ → [plɛ.jər]. Fourth, /aʊə/ is produced by the informants either as [awə] in *flowers* /flaʊəz/ → [fla.wərz] or as [awʊ] in *our* /aʊə/ → [ʔa.wʊr]. Fifth, /əʊə/ is mainly realised as [uwə] in *widower* /'wɪd.əʊə/ → [wi.du.wər].

### 5.2.1.2. Consonants

Regarding consonants, most subjects seem to be inspired by some French phonetic/phonological rules or by its writing system in case of difficulty. However, there are a few occurrences where rules are derived from Arabic; among those are the following examples:

#### (i) Consonants Affrication [ʃ]

Several participants affricate /t/ and /θ/ as [tʃ] when they produce these sounds. In fact, this feature can frequently be heard in CAA in words such as *thuum* 'garlic' [tʃu:m] or *latay* 'tea' [læ.tʃɛ:j] in Oran where some friction may be detected in the release of these

sounds. The affrication of these sounds is not as heavy as other Algerian dialects such as the one found in Constantine in the east of Algeria; however, some informants have such a tendency that might be explained by this occurrence. Examples of English pronunciation can be found in think /θɪŋk/ → [tʰɪŋk] or in it /ɪt/ → [ɪtʰ].

### (ii) Consonants Pharyngealisation/Velarisation

In Arabic, some consonants can be either pharyngealised such as /sˤ/ or /tˤ/ or velarised such as [ɣ]. Since in English there are not such phonological rules or phonemes /sˤ/ or /tˤ/, some informants tend to reproduce the same features, in particular, English contexts especially before back vowels. Therefore, the realisation of /s/ as [sˤ], /t/ as [tˤ] or /l/ as [ɣ] can be found in words such as sold /səʊld/ → [sˤəʊld], [tˤ] top /tɒp/ → [tˤɒp], start /stɑ:t/ → [stˤɑ:tˤ] and a lot (as in *a lot of*) /ə lɒt/ → [ə lɒt]. It is necessary to mention that dark [ɣ] exists in English, but it does not take place before a vowel as in this occurrence.

### (iii) Consonants substitution

The results of the experiments have demonstrated that some informants tend to substitute a consonant with another in some contexts. To illustrate, /θ/ and /ð/, which are also found in Standard Arabic and Colloquial Algerian Arabic, are pronounced [t] and [d] in Oran. Indeed, a word such as *el-ithnein* 'Monday' or *dhahab* 'gold' are pronounced in Oran as [læt.ni:n] and [dhəb] because such a realisation is considered more urban than the use of [θ] and [ð]. This habit of pronunciation may influence English speech production and particularly the way these English phonemes are uttered. A recurrent pronunciation deviation that several informants repeat is the realisation of English dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ as dental plosives [t] and [d] in words such as this /ðɪs/ → [dɪs] or thought /θɔ:t/ → [to:t]. This phenomenon implies that such a realisation is not due to a difficulty in pronouncing those sounds but to a speech habit from CAA.

### (iv) Consonants (de)Voicing

Similar to English, CAA oral plosives /b, d/ can often be devoiced initially mainly before a consonant cluster, and /h/ when intervocalic becomes voiced in both Standard Arabic and CAA. The results show that the devoicing of /b, d/ occurs in consonants cluster but not before a vowel, and that /h/ a voiceless sound may become voiced [f] as in *I have head* as it occurs between two voiced sounds.

### (v) The Realisation of /r/

A salient feature that typically characterises the informants' speech is their pronunciation of the English /r/. In Arabic /r/ is a flap/tap as in *raaH* 'he went' [ra:h̩] but it may become thrilled in gemination as in *murr* 'bitter' /morr/. Regarding the participants' pronunciation of this phoneme, there are mainly two types of realisations. While many try to approximate the American flap [ɾ], most realise it as Arabic flap /r/ as in *earth* /ɜ:θ/ → [ɜ:rθ]/[ɜ:rɪ]. Rarely is that sound silent word-finally or before a consonant; instead, it is produced most of the times in all contexts.

### (vi) Pronouncing silent letters

Unlike English which has several silent letters, Arabic has all its consonants pronounced. A transfer from such a phonological rule may influence the production of silent letters in English. Indeed, a recurrent finding in the subjects' speech is the utterance of the English silent letters as in *receipt* /ri.'si:t/ → [rə.'si:pt], *doubt* /daʊt/ → [daʊbt], *answer* /'ɑ:nts.ə/ → [æn.swər], *writer* /'raɪtə/ → [wraɪ.tər], *know* /nəʊ/ → [knɛ:w], *half* /hɑ:f/ → [ha:lf], *autum* /'ɔ:t.əm/ → ['a.təmn], *fasten* /'fɑ:s.ən/ → ['fɑ:s.'tən].

#### 5.2.1.3. Syllable Structure

While English has four different types of syllables (V, CV, VC, CVC), Arabic has only two (CV, CVC) which seem easier for learners. The findings largely demonstrate that most informants structure their syllables in order to have either a CV or a CVC pattern or both in the case of long words. This can clearly be observed in the following English syllables changes which are quite systematic in almost all informants' speech:

#### (i) From V → (to) CV/CVC

It is very frequent that a vowel functioning as a single syllable changes into a CV or a CVC pattern, e.g. *disappear* /,dɪs.ə'pɪə/ (cvc+v+cv) → [,dɪ.zə'pɪ:r] (cv+cv+cvc), *shoulder* /'ʃəʊld.ə/ (cvc+v) → ['ʃu:l.dər] (cvc+cvc).

#### (ii) From VC → (to) CV/CVC

The most recurrent and quite automatic change among all syllable changes is when a VC syllable alters into CV or CVC, e.g. *adolescent* /,æd.ə'les.ənt/ (vc+v+cvc+vc) → [ʔa'do.li.sənt] (cv+cv+cv+cvc), *Alexander* /,æl.ɪg'zɑ:n.də/ (vc+vc+cvc+cv) → [ʔa.lek'sæn.dər] (cv+cvc+cvc+cvc), in which the first vowel is separated and produced with a glottal stop in order to make a CV pattern and change all the syllable structures to

have CV or CVC. Other cases also illustrate the way a VC changes into CVC as people /'pi:p.əl/ (cvc+vc) → [pi:.'p<sup>h</sup>ol] (cv+cvc), jewellery /'dʒu:..əl.ri/ (cv+vc+cv) → ['dʒɪ.wəl.ri] (cv+cvc+cv).

**(iii) From CV → (to) CVC**

such a modification is not as frequent as the previous one; however, it might happen in case of a closing diphthong or triphthongs in open final syllables as in know /nəʊ/ (cv) → [nɛ:w] (cvc) or in fire /faɪə/ (cv) → [fa.jɛr] (cv+cvc).

**(iv) From CVC → (to) CV**

A syllable having CVC may chiefly be transformed into a CV in the following contexts:

- Some final consonants cluster (not found in Arabic) as in clothes /kləʊðz/ (cvc) → [kləʊ'ðəz] (cv+cvc).
- Triphthong (not found in Arabic) as in dial /daɪəl/ (cvc) → [da.jel] (cv+cvc).
- Words having CVC with a neighbouring V or VC pattern as in spoken /'spəʊk.ən/ (cvc+vc) → ['spə.'kən] (cv+cvc).
- Words which include semi-vowel letters medially (considered consonants in Arabic) as in viewed /vju:d/ (cvc) → [vju.wed] (cv+cvc) or in loyal /lɔɪəl/ (cvc) → [tə.jel] (cv+cvc).

**(v) From CVC → (to) CVC**

Similar to the former transformation a CVC may change into a different CVC for a balance of the whole word into CV or CVC or when the English CVC contains clusters or complex vowels (diphthongs/triphthongs) as in mixed /mɪkst/ (cvc) in which the coda includes a CCC turns into → [mɪk.sɪd] (cvc+cvc). However, this occurrence might also be transferred from the French writing system.

**(vi) From CV + VC → (to) CVC**

In Arabic, some vowels are elided for an easier pronunciation of words either finally or initially. To illustrate, *kataba* 'he wrote' (cv+cv+cv) may become *katab* (cv+cvc) or even *ktab* (cvc). This process of vowel elision for the transformation from a standard form to a colloquial one is a very common feature among most Arabic spoken varieties. This elision may, however, be detected in case of CLI in some English words such as society /sə'saɪ.ət.i/ → [sə'saɪj.ti].



### (a) Strategies for Syllable Structure Change

All those changes in the English syllable structure are not done at random. In fact, the findings of the experiment have revealed some of the strategies that are adopted for that purpose. Some of the frequent syllable transformations are induced by the following means:

#### (1) The Use of the Glottal Stop [ʔ]

Most vowels, occurring at the beginning of words and after some pause/silence, are realised with [ʔ] for a CV/CVC pattern as again /ə'gen/ (v+cvc) are realised as [ʔə'gen] (cv+cvc) in which the stop is inserted.

#### (2) Linking Avoidance

Most informants avoid using the liaison because they already introduce the glottal stop to form CV or CVC as in *I asked him* /aɪ'ɑ:skt\_ɪm/ → [ʔaɪ 'ʔɑ:skt hɪm] in which the syllables structures are CV CVC CVC while the English ones are V VC VC.

#### (3) Division of Consonants Cluster

Another strategy used to transform English syllables is dividing consonants cluster as in *wealthy* /'welθ.i/ → ['wel.θi] where a syllable-final consonant cluster is divided to form the margins of the unit. Nevertheless, if there is no consonant cluster in the neighbouring syllable, a glide is inserted.

#### (4) Glides Insertion

It is very common that glides are used to have CV or CVC pattern in case of triphthongs as in *our* /aʊə/ → [ʔa.wəʊ]. However, those glides are mainly found in English words which have a French origin. It seems that the subjects use French (rules or spelling) first in order to reach the syllable structure they target as in *creation* /kri'eɪʃ.ən/ → [kri'jej.ʃən], in coincidence /kəʊ'ɪnts.ɪd.ənts/ → [ku.'win.si.dəns], or in *player* /pleɪə/ → [ple.jer].

#### (5) Vowel Epenthesis

/ə, ɪ, u, o/ are often inserted in consonants cluster to form a CV/CVC structure. Examples of such occurrences can be example /ɪg'zɑ:mp.əl/ syllabic [l] → [eg'zæm.pəl] (cvc), and /ænd/ (vc) → [ʔænd<sup>u(h)</sup>] (cv+cv), joined /dʒɔɪnd/ (cvc) → [dʒɔj'nəd] (cvc+cvc), mixed /mɪkst/ (cvc) → [mɪk.sɪd] (cvc+cvc).



## (6) Producing silent letters

Although the pronunciation of silent letters may frequently arise from a lack of knowledge of English phonological rules; that deviation may result in a change of the syllable structure and which should, therefore, be pointed out. Some of those deviations can be identified in *muscle* /'mʌs.əl/ (cvc+vc) → [mus.kəl] (cvc+cvc) or in *suggest* /sə'dʒest/ (cv+cvc) → [syg'zest] (cvc+cvc).

### 5.2.1.4. Stress and Intonation

The informants' speech is mostly influenced by French stress and intonation. While stress refers to the prominence with which a particular syllable is produced; tone applies to the falling or the rising of the pitch of the voice in utterances. However, each language uses stress or tone according to its own phonological criteria. Although both Arabic and English are stressed-timed languages, English uses stress to distinguish parts of speech in a way Arabic does not.

It is logical that a change in the syllable structure might seriously affect stress. Unlike English, stress in Arabic is basically founded on one simple rule which applies stress to the heaviest syllable of a word i.e. the more segments a syllable has, the heavier it becomes and the more likely it is stressed. For example, a word, which has a CV and a CVC, will stress the CVC as it is the heaviest as in *3UMla* (عملة) 'currency' /'ʕum.la/. And if, however, a word contains equal structures such as CV+CV or CVC+CVC then the first one should be stressed as in *3Amila* (عمل) 'he worked' /'ʕa.mi.la/ or in *YA3mal* 'he makes' (يعمل) /'jaʕ.mal/. A transfer from Arabic to English may induce such a rule in stress realisation e.g. *context* /'kɒn.tekst/ in which stress should fall on the first syllable because it is a noun, may be produced by the informants as [kɒn.'tekt] in which the second unit is stressed. In fact according to the Arabic rule of stress, in a word such as *context* /'kɒn.tekst/ which has cvc and cvccc, the second syllable is considered heavier, and it should, therefore, be stressed<sup>2</sup> [kɒn.'tekt]. Similarly, a word such as *relative* /'rel.ət.ɪv/ in which the accent is on the first syllable might be produced by the informants as [rɪ'leɪ.trɪv] because this word was divided into cv+cvc+cvc, thus, the stress should occur on the first cvc [leɪ].

<sup>2</sup> The fact that stress in *context* falls on the second syllable might be explained as a transfer from either Arabic or French. It can be from Arabic because that syllable is heavy or from French because the last syllable of the word should be stressed.

Nevertheless, the same rule may prove helpful when stress falls on the right syllable. According to the *Longman Pronouncing Dictionary* a word such as *university* is phonemically divided as /,ju:n.i'vɜ:s.ɪ.ti/, however, it is divided by some informants as [,ju:.nɪ'vɜ:r.sɪ.ti] to match the Arabic syllable pattern CV/CVC. Most informants who have pronounced this word have had the right stress which observes the Arabic rule of stressing the heaviest unit namely the cvvc unit.

Tone in English is used to distinguish (not words) but complete utterances (wh-questions, yes/no-questions, statements, imperatives, etc.). Generally speaking, Arabic uses the same prosodic features as English; however, the way those features are used make a large difference which may result in serious difficulties to Arabic speakers learning English. For instance, Arabic avoids stressing the last syllable unless it is the heaviest of the word in which it occurs. Also, when English stresses a pronoun, Arabic does not since the inflectional trilateral verb already retains an unstressed pronoun at the end as in '*katabat* 'she wrote'

As to intonation, similar to English, Arabic uses almost comparable tonic patterns at the end of an utterance (falling for statement, wh-questions, commands and rising for yes/no questions). Nevertheless, Arabic has additional movable tones used for emphasis which produces sentence stress. In addition to that, the pitch in Arabic tone does not fall as low as English does and that slight dissimilarity might be difficult for learners to perceive. In other words, English may lower pitch in order to weaken a word/vowel to non-stress level; however, Arabic tone when falling may only reduce the voice quality to form a kind of secondary-stress pattern. The quality of the falling is not the same, and it may seriously alter the way utterances are perceived. English words such as *am, for* which can be weakened, are generally pronounced with stress if transfer occurs from Arabic. Intonation influence from Arabic also includes a pitch rising for questions and a falling one for statements and imperatives, but it mainly includes stressing several words within the sentence for emphasis. The following example clearly demonstrates the way some informants transfer Arabic tonic groups to emphasise some words:

↗   ↘   ↗   ↘   ↗

My favourite book which I read was a book called the *Last Song* it's a book of Ernest

↗   ↘   ↗

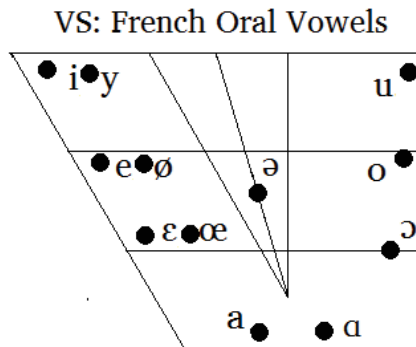
Hemingway and it is about a girl...

### 5.2.2. Evidence for French Crosslinguistic Influence

The informants seem to transfer more from French than from Arabic. Indeed, with the idea that English contains 40% to 70% of French and Latin vocabulary; typologically, English is nearer to French than to Arabic. However, the informants tend to generally transfer not from the language itself but from what they know or what they think they know of the language. With a high proportion of French/Latin vocabulary, English may seem easy to acquire to speakers of French. However, there are many deviations caused by transfer from French.

#### 5.2.2.1. Vowels

The results have demonstrated that the subjects tend to transfer more from French than from Arabic in the production of vowels. Indeed, a vast majority of deviations in vowel pronunciation are caused by (a) an influence of French phonetic/phonological rules, (b) a French reading of some letters, and (c) a borrowing of French lexis/pronunciation in case of difficulty. In the following vowel scale, we can observe where the French oral vocalic qualities are produced:



Vowel Scale: French Oral Vowel

The previous diagram demonstrates that several qualities may approximate some English vowels. Therefore, we can infer that a learner who is already acquainted with French may resort more to French in the production of English. To illustrate, English /i:/ is often realised as the French /i/ a closer quality to cardinal vowel No. 1. A transfer from French to English pronunciation of vowels is mainly characterised by the following:

#### (i) Vowel Nasalisation

Some English words, which contain letter vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* next to *n* or *m*, may undergo some nasalisation of the vowel sound neighbouring the nasal as in dance /da:nts/ → [dã:s]/[dã:s].

### (ii) Vowel Palatalisation/Velarisation

While the Arabic palatalisation/velarisation of some vowels occurs in the last quality of a diphthong/syllable or the second property of a triphthong, the French palatalisation/velarisation takes place before or in the first quality of the named sounds. Palatalisation and velarisation may occur in three different places. First, phonologically speaking, the nine basic French vowels /i, y, e, ø, ə, a, o, u, ε/ can be followed by glides either palatal /j, ɥ/ or velar /w/ (Monod, 1971). When transfer occurs from French, an English vowel may undergo the same phonological French rule as in *guardian* /'gɑ:d.i.ən/ → [gwɑ:r.di.jən], *fluent* /'flu:.ənt/ → [flu.wənt]. Second, words ending in *us* may be pronounced as [jus] or [jəs] as in *curious* /'kjʊər.i.əs/ → ['kjʊ:r.jəs]. Third, words having *ure* can be articulated with a French influence as [ju:r] in words such as *pure* /pʊə/ → [pju:r].

### (iii) Vowel Lengthening

According to Monod (1971), French vowels cannot be diphthongised or shortened because “in French, vowels have a constant value” (p. 93). However, a vowel that occurs in the last syllable of a word can be lengthened as most final syllables are stressed in French as in *she* [ʃi:] or *bread* [brɛ:d].

### (iv) Orthographic Transfer

Producing letters according to the French writing system can account for a large part of the deviations in English pronunciation. Indeed, most informants seem to rely on spelling to learn the pronunciation of a word. The second experiment has revealed that when informants are reading the poem verses, they tend to read what they believe English rules are or they resort to French in case of difficulty. Several informants, for instance, would read a word such as *hating* /'heit.ɪŋ/ as ['ha.'tɪŋg].

### (vi) Vowels Typical Sound Changes

Crosslinguistic Influence from French is twofold. On the one hand, the informants use phonetic/phonological rules because of the language distance between English and French. On the other hand, they turn to the French writing system for pronunciation help and gap filling in case of difficulty. Major cases of those two causes of deviations in English pronunciation are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

English has four front vowels /i:, ɪ, e, æ/. First, the long close front English vowel /i:/ can be realised as [e] in *geography* /dʒi'ɒɡ.rəf.i/ → [dʒe'jo.gra.fi], as [e:] in

encyclopedia /m,saɪ.klə'pi:.di.ə/ → [œ̃sɪ.klə'pe:.di.'ja], as [i] in economic /,i:k.ə'nɒm.ɪk/ → [,i'ko:.nɒ.mɪk], as a longer [i:] in he /hi:/, or as [ə] in revenge /ri'vendʒ/ → [rə'vɛ̃ŋʃ]. Second, concerning the short close front vowel /ɪ/, however, it can be articulated as follows: as [i] in beautiful /'bjʊ:.tɪ.fəl/ → ['bjʊ:.tɪ.ful], as [e] in employed /ɪm'plɔɪd/ → [em.ploɪd], as [a] in village /'vɪl.ɪdʒ/ → [vɪl.ədʒ], as [ə] in receipt /rɪ.'si:t/ → [rə.'si:pt] or as [œ̃] in encyclopedia /m,saɪ.klə'pi:.di.ə/ → [œ̃sɪ.klə'pe:.di.'ja]. Third, the vowel /e/ also undergoes a series of CLI from French such as: [ø] in America /ə'mer.ɪk.ə/ → [ə'mø.ɪ.kə], [a] in anything /'en.i.θɪŋ/ → [a.ni.'tʃɪŋ], [ɛ̃] in French /frentʃ/ → [frɛ̃ŋʃ] or [ɛ̃] in revenge /ri'vendʒ/ → [rə'vɛ̃ŋʃ]. Fourth, the last front vowel /æ/ is realised as [a] in adolescent /,æd.ə'les.ənt/ → [a'do.ɪ.sənt] or as [æ̃] in stands /stændz/ → [stæ̃n.dʒ].

The results have demonstrated that centre vowels are the most difficult to realise among all other vowels. Indeed, most centre vowels /ʌ, ə, ɜ:/ represent serious difficulties to the informants; the reason behind such a performance is mainly due to a French orthographic pronunciation of the different spelling used in English to refer to those sounds. First, /ʌ/ can be realised as [y] in cultivate /'kʌltɪ.veɪt/ → ['kyl.ti.vejt], as [o] in nothing /'nʌθ.ɪŋ/ → [no.tɪŋ], as [o:] in love /lʌv/ → [lo:v], as [ɔ̃] in none /nʌn/ → [nɔ̃n], as [jɛ̃:] in triumph /'traɪ.ʌmpf/ → [trɪ'jɛ̃:mf] or as [ɔ̃] in comfort /'kʌmpf.ət/ → [kɔ̃ŋ.fət]. Second, although /ə/ exists in Colloquial Algerian Arabic and in French, it remains, nevertheless, the most problematic sound for most informants. It can be realised as [juə] in spontaneous /spɒn'teɪ.ni.əs/ → [spən,tʃa.'njuəs], as [ja] in encyclopedia /m,saɪ.klə'pi:.di.ə/ → [œ̃sɪ.klə'pe:.di.'ja], as [jə] in curious /'kjʊər.i.əs/ → ['kjʊ:r.jəs], as [u] in courageous /kə'reɪdʒ.əs/ → [kʊ'reɪ.dʒus], as [y] in surprise /sə'praɪz/ → [sɪr'pra:jz], as [ɛ̃:] in circumstance /'sɜ:kəm.stænts/ → [sɪr'kɛ̃:m.stænts], as [o] in pollution /pə'lu:ʃən/ → [pɔ'lu:ʃən], as [o:] in economic /,i:k.ə'nɒm.ɪk/ → [,i'ko:.nɒ.mɪk], as [a] in particular /pə'tɪk.jʊl.ə/ → [pɑr'tɪ.k(j)ʊ.lər] or as [ɔ̃] in reasons /'ri:z.ənz/ → ['ri:.zɔ̃(n)z]. Third, the long centre vowel /ɜ:/ also poses some serious concern to some informants in their speech production. The major realisations of that phoneme are mostly influenced by French as the following examples illustrate. It can be realised as [ɔ:] in world /wɜ:d/ → [wɔ:ld], as [ɪ] in circumstance /'sɜ:kəm.stænts/ → [sɪr'kɛ̃:m.stænts], as [ø] in work /wɜ:k/ → [wørk], as [œ:] in heard /hɜ:d/ → [hœ:rd] or as [u] in purpose /'pɜ:p.əs/ → [pʊr.pus]/[pʊr.pu:z].

Regarding back vowels /ɑ:, ɒ, ɔ:, u:/, they are frequently articulated in terms of the French spelling system except /ʊ/ which is most influenced by Arabic. First, /ɑ:/ can

be produced as [æ̃] in example /ɪg'zɑ:mp.əl/ → [eg'zæ̃m.pəl], as [a:] in master /'mɑ:s.tə/ [ma's.tər] or as [a:] in start /stɑ:t/ → [stʰa:rtʰ]. Second, /ɒ/ has often the following allophones [o] in confidential /,kɒn.fi'dentʃ.əl/ → [,kɒn.fi'denʃ.jəl], as [o:] in because /bi'kɒz/ → [bi'kɔ:z], as [ɛ̃] in beyond /bi'jɒnd/ → [bi'jɛ̃nd] or as [a] in watch /wɒtʃ/ → [wɒʃ]. Third, after centre vowels /ɔ:/ seems to be the source for several deviations to some informants as it can be realised as [o] in talk /tɔ:k/ → [tʰɔlk], as [o:] in afford /ə'fɔ:d/ → [ə'fɔ:rd], as [a] in autumn /'ɔ:t.əm/ → ['a.təm], as [a:] in ball /bɔ:l/ → [ba:l], as [u:] in sure /ʃɔ:/ → [ʃu:r], as [oʊ] in abroad /ə'brɔ:d/ → [ə'broʊd], as [ʌ] in award /ə'wɔ:d/ → [ə'wɔrd] or as [ə] in towards /tə'wɔ:dz/ → [tu'wɔrdʰ]. Fourth, the last long back vowel might be uttered as devoiced as [u<sup>h</sup>] in too /tu:/ → [tu<sup>h</sup>], as [e] in jewellery /'dʒu:.əl.ri/ → ['dʒe.wəl.ri] or as [uwə] in cruel /'kru:.əl/ → [kru.wəl].

Most five closing diphthongs /eɪ, aɪ, əʊ, aʊ, ɔɪ/ are realised with no difficulty except /əʊ/ as it starts with a quality from the centre of mouth. They are generally transferred from Arabic; however, some deviations in their staging might be caused by a transfer from French. First, /eɪ/ can be realised as [a] in spontaneous /spɒn'teɪ.ni.əs/ → [spən,tʰa'njuəs]. Second, might be realised either as [i] in psychology /saɪ'kɒl.ədʒ.i/ → [psi.kɒ.lo.ʒi] or as [ɪ] in encyclopedia /ɪn,sai.klə'pi:.di.ə/ → [ɛ̃sɪ.klə'pe:.di.'ja]. Third, /ɔɪ/ can also be influenced by French in the following occurrence [oɪ̃] in appointment /ə'pɔɪnt.mənt/ → [ə'pɔɪ̃(n)t.mənt]. Fourth, /aʊ/ can be produced as [ow] in cow /kaʊ/ → [kow]. Fifth, the last closing diphthong /əʊ/ which starts with a centre vowel is a source of several deviations, and most realisations are provoked by a reading of the spelling system. It can be pronounced as [o:] in don't /dəʊnt/ → [dɔ:nt], as [o] in poem /'pəʊ.ɪm/ → [pɔ.wəm], as [ɒ] in sold /səʊld/ → [sʰɒld], as [u:] in shoulder /'ʃəʊld.ə/ → ['ʃu:l.dər] or as [oʊ] in although /ɔ:l.'ðəʊ/ → [ɔl.'ðoʊ].

As we have mentioned, centre vowels seem to be the most difficult vowels to produce in connected speech in which the level of transfer from French increases. Indeed, although Colloquial Algerian Arabic and French have /ə/, the informants' reliance on French writing system results in several deviations. In relation to the centring diphthongs /ɪə, uə, eə/, the findings have reported several deviations among which are the following examples. First, /ɪə/ can be vocalised as [ø] in years /jɪəz/ → [jørz], as [øjə] in real /rɪəl/ → [rø.jəl], as [eə] in theory /'θɪə.ri/ → ['θeə.ri] or as [eə] in theatre /'θɪə.tə/ → ['tʰeə.tʰər]. Second, /uə/ is often produced in terms of the French spelling that the informants believe to be close to English. Major realisations can be [ewe] in jewel /'dʒu:.əl/ → [dʒe.wəl] and

[y:] in bureau /'bjʊər.əʊ/ → ['by:'rɔ]. Third, concerning the last centring diphthong /eə/ can be realised as [ɛ] in their /ðeə/ → [ðɛr] or as [a] area /'eə.ri.ə/ → [a.rjiə] or [æ.rjiə].

As triphthongs represent closing diphthongs /eɪ, aɪ, əʊ, aʊ, ɔɪ/ + a schwa /ə/, they are largely transferred from Arabic. However, some pronunciations are directly transferred from French especially a) /əʊə/ as [uwi] in coincidence /kəʊ'ɪnts.ɪd.ənts/ → [ku.'win.si.dəns]; or b) /aʊə/ as [awə] in flowers /flaʊəz/ → [fla.wərz] or as [awa] in nowadays /'naʊə.deɪz/ → [na.wa'deɪ:z].

#### 5.2.2.2. Consonants

Comparable to vowels, several deviations in English consonants pronunciation are caused by a French influence of phonetic/phonological rules or by the pronunciation of the English spelling system in the same way French does. Major characteristics in the realisation of the informants' consonants are as follows:

##### (i) Consonants Substitution

In French, the particular occurrence of some letters within the same contexts may result in a particular sound. To illustrate, the letter *s* when intervocalic is realised as [z] as in rose 'rose' /roz/. This rule is largely applied by the informants when they produce the English letter *s*. Words such as purpose /'pɜ:p.əs/ might be realised as [pɜ:pu:z], us /ʌs/ → [ʌz], disappear /,dɪs.ə'piə/ → [,dɪ.zə'pi:r]. In the *Daniel Jones Pronouncing Dictionary*, we have counted the words written with *disa*, there are 116 words and only two words: disaster and disastrous are pronounced [dɪz]; all others are mainly pronounced with [dɪs] except disarm and disarmament which have both possible pronunciations with [dɪs] being the first choice. Another example of consonantal substitution is the occurrence of *gn* in words and which are pronounced as the palatal nasal /ɲ/. English words such as signature /'sɪɡ.nə.tʃə/ might be often produced with French [ɲ] [sɪ.ɲə.tʃə].

##### (ii) Consonants Fully Voiced

Unlike English in which some voiced obstruents can be devoiced word-initially/finally, French fully voices those consonants in all contexts. Therefore, it is frequent that the informants who transfer more from French than from Arabic fully voice those consonants as in bad [bæd] → [bæd].



**(iii) Unaspirated /p, t, k/**

In Arabic, /k/ in some contexts might be aspirated. However, as French does not aspirate /p, t, k/, most informants forget aspiration in initial accented syllables as in people [ˈpʰi:p.əl] → [pi:] or tape [tʰeɪp] → [teɪp].

**(iv) Vowel Epenthesis [ə]**

As French stresses the last syllables of words, final consonants tend to be released with a vowel quality similar to [ə] as in *vitre* ‘windowpane’ /vitʁ/ → [vitʁə]. This process is frequently present in the informants’ pronunciation which makes their final consonants not only fully released but also accompanied with a vowel. /g/, for instance, is fully voiced either initially or finally and air in the final stage of the plosive is fully released as in *bag* /bæg/ [bæg̊] → [bægə]. Similarly, when word-final, voiceless /p, t, k/ can sometimes be accompanied with an air expulsion similar to the quality of the schwa vowel as in *think* /θɪŋk/ → [θɪŋkə] or in *earth* /ɜ:θ/ → [ɜ:rtə].

**(v) Orthographic Transfer**

similar to vowels, some English consonants are pronounced according to the French orthographic system as in *of* /ɒv/ → [ɒf], *Alexander* /ˌæ.lɪŋˈzɑ:n.də/ → [ˌa.lekˈsæ̃n.dər], *sing* /ˈsɪŋ/ → [sɪŋg], *major* /ˈmeɪdʒ.ə/ → [meɪ.ʒor], *March* /mɑ:tʃ/ → [mɑ:rs], *suggest* /səˈdʒest/ → [sygˈʒest], *revenge* /riˈvendʒ/ → [rəˈvɛ̃ŋʃ], *intelligent* /ɪnˈtel.ɪdʒ.ənt/ → [ɪnˈti.li.ʒənt], *particular* /pəˈtɪk.jʊl.ə/ → [parˈti.ku.lər]. Moreover, the combination of the letters *ch* is often pronounced /ʃ/ in French but /tʃ/ in English. Even though CAA has [tʃ] as a negation suffix for verbs, some informants tend to produce those letters according to the French tendency as in [ʃ] *chapter* /ˈtʃæp.tə/ → [ˈʃap.tər], French /frentʃ/ → [frɛ̃ŋʃ], *children* /ˈtʃɪl.drən/ → [ʃɪl.drən], *searching* /ˈsɜ:tʃ.ɪŋ/ → [ˈsø:r.ʃɪŋ], etc. In addition to that, some vowel epenthesis may result from an influence of spelling transfer such as *published* /ˈpʌb.lɪʃt/ → [pʌb.li.ʃəd] or *looked* /lʊkt/ → [ˈlu.kəd]. Although Arabic has this kind of coda consonants cluster such as *Hashd* ‘large group/gathering’ *halakt* ‘I perished’, such deviations are generally caused by orthographic French transfer. Another common irregularity in pronunciation which originates from French is the elision of /h/ as in *hospital* /ˈhɒs.pɪ.təl/ → [ˈʔɒs.pɪ.təl] or in *hotel* /ˈhəʊ.təl/ → [ˈo.təl].

**(vi) Consonants Palatalisation**

Another phonetic/phonological French rule that takes place in some contexts before *u* as in *aiguille* ‘needle’ /egɥij/ or *rayure* ‘stripe’ /ʁɛjyʁ/ might be emulated during English



speech production. The palatal glides /j, ɥ/ in similar contexts might be found in words such as university /ju:nɪ'vɜ:sɪ.ti/ → [j<sup>u</sup>.nɪ'vɜ:r.sɪ.ti], pure /pjʊə/ → [pj<sup>u</sup>.r].

### (vii) Allophonic Realisations

Some allophonic variations of French consonants can also be found in the participants' speech. First, the French /l/ is always clear; the informants that transfer more from French than from Arabic tend to produce a clear /l/ in all contexts as in [l] deal [di:<sup>ə</sup>l] → [di:l]. Second, many informants, when nasalising a vowel, do not fully pronounce the nasal consonant as in reasons /'ri:z.<sup>ə</sup>nz/ → ['ri:.zə̃(n)z] or dance /dɑ:nts/ → [dɑ̃:s]. Third, a labio-dental next to a nasal sound tends to be produced as the labio-dental nasal [ɱ] in French. Although such a feature takes place in English and in Arabic, this particular allophonic realisation mainly stems from French because of the French origin of words such as triumph /'traɪ.ʌmpf/ → [tri'jɜ:ɱf], comfort /'kʌmpf.ət/ → [kə̃ɱ.fət], unfortunately /ʌn.'fɔ:tʃ.ən.ət.li/ → [ə̃ɱ.'fɔ:tʃən.ət.li].

### 5.2.2.3. Syllable Structure, Stress and Intonation

While the speech of the informants is mostly characterised by the predominance of French influence; syllable structure, however, seems to be completely under the effect of Arabic transfer. Like English, French has four syllable structures V, CV, VC, CVC. Arabic has only two types of units CV/CVC and that easy construction might somehow explain why the informants would rather model the configuration of English syllables according to Arabic rather than to French.

Stress in French is less complex than in English and even easier than in Arabic. Unlike English and Arabic, stressed-timed languages; French is a syllable-timed language which implies that each syllable has a constant value. Moreover, in French, stress generally falls on the last syllable of a word. Therefore, those two aspects may incite the informants who tend to transfer stress from French to produce mainly four types of deviations.

First, the participants may stress the last syllable as in details /'di:teɪlz/ → [di'tejlz] or in economic /,i:k.ə'nɒm.ɪk/ → [,i.ko.nɒ'mɪk]. However, such a realisation may cause serious intelligibility issues since English uses stress to distinguish between homonyms or homographs such as record (n.) /'rek.ɔ:d/ and record (v.) /ri'kɔ:d/. Both former words are generally realised by the informants as [re'kɔ:d] in which stress is on the second unit and which might sound as a verb instead of a noun. Besides, confusion

is also found in identifying numbers (-ty vs. -teen); stress in **seventy** and **seventeen** is often problematic as the participants tend to stress the last syllable of seventy [se.vən'ti] instead of the first /'sev.ənt.i/ in the same way they stress seventeen /,sev.ən'ti:n/ → [se.vən'ti:n]. The consequence is that seventy usually sounds as seventeen.

Second, they may attribute equal emphasis to more than one syllable as considerable /kən'sɪd.ər.əb.əl/ → ['kən'sɪ'de'ra'bəl] in order to have an equal value for all syllables but which may give the impression that speech is monotonous. Third, contrary to English rules, the schwa can be stressed and this aspect may truly distort pronunciation intelligibility. Fourth, as French does not shorten vowels, irrelevant of content or function words, most weak forms tend to be strongly realised and might be even stressed to have the value that the French syllable equal pattern requires. In sum, the findings of the experiments have reported that the informants' stress is more derived from French than from Arabic.

As we have tackled in Chapter III, intonation in French mostly functions to distinguish sentence types; and most mentioned French sentences have falling tonic groups except yes/no questions. The interview has revealed that in most informants' speech, tone has a tendency to fall down more than it rises. However, the falling tone is not very low and such a production might give the impression that speech is monotonous as the difference between the voice pitch falling and rising is not very vast. Most of the analysed results were largely common between both experiments; however, an important divergence between the two needs to be pointed out in terms of intonation. On the one hand, most of the informants of the first experiment use a falling tone in conversation except when they want to emphasise some words. On the other hand, when the subjects of the second experiment were reading the poem, they predominantly apply falling tones except at the end of each line where some slight rising of the voice was heard to indicate continuity in reading. However, it will be interesting if further research is undertaken to compare the intonation of the same learners during speaking and reading activities to identify whether reading enhances a falling of the voice pitch. In order to illustrate intonation transferred from French, the following example is provided by a male informant whose entire speech has been clearly influenced by French:

↘                      ↘                                      ↘                                      ↗    ↘                      ↘

The movie is *Transporteur* and he is a good man who drives very well and he has a

↘

child

### 5.2.3. Algerian Oranese English: CLI from Arabic and French

As we have seen, the informants' English is somehow produced with a tremendous amount of transfer from French first, from Standard Arabic second and from Colloquial Algerian Arabic (CAA) third. The following figure explains the general tendencies of the informants' speech:

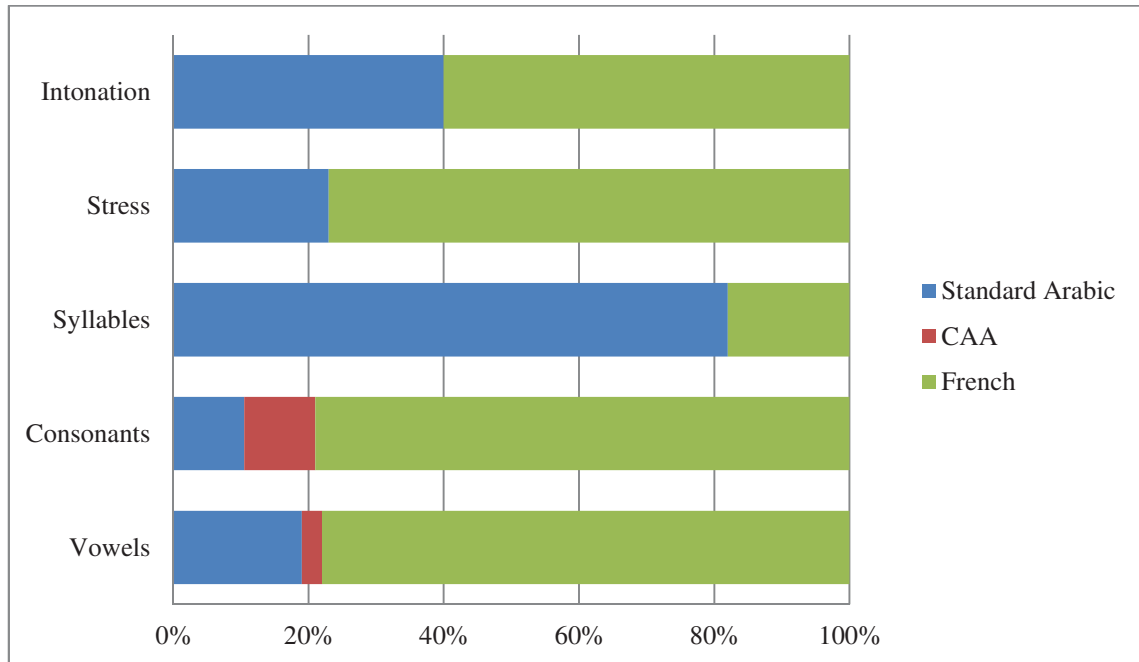


Figure 5.2: Algerian Oranese English (or Oranese Pronunciation of English)

Before discussing the above table, it is important to mention that not all deviations in pronunciation are caused by transfer since a minimum of 31% of the findings can be explained without any reference to CLI reasons. However, since this study mainly deals with CLI, we shall essentially focus on the 69% caused by transfer and leave the 31% left for a future investigation.

In the previous table, we have tried to summarise the findings of the most frequent deviations in English pronunciation caused by transfer of the 140 informants. For example, we have identified 96 frequent deviations in the production of vowels among which 75 are from French which makes a percentage of 78%. Similarly, there are 38 recurrent deviations in the realisation of consonants and 4 are from Colloquial Algerian Arabic such as the substitution of /θ, ð/ with [t, d] and which makes a percentage of 10.5%

of all deviations. Concerning syllable structure, the CAA is formed according to the standard in which we find either CV or CVC. Most informants' syllables deviations are structured according to Arabic except some words that have a French origin and which are utterly pronounced in a French way. Stress is mostly transferred from French as there are several words from French and Latin origin; however, the informants who transfer more from Arabic tend to stress heavy syllables since both CAA and Standard Arabic obey to a similar stress pattern. As to tonic groups, in careful speech and reading, the informants seem to transfer more from French than from Arabic which is nearer to English intonation patterns than to French ones. However, most informants' use of additional and extra tones may be attributed to age, attitude, region, gender, etc. which sometimes do not belong to either Standard Arabic or French.

Nevertheless, these findings cannot be extrapolated to all learners in all contexts at all times. Indeed, the combination balance between Arabic and French CLI on the pronunciation of English may vary according to each informant. To illustrate, we have found that those who tend to realise /h/ as a silent letter or as [ʔ] tend to produce a French /t/ as in hospital /'hɒs.pɪ.təl/ → [ʔɒs.pɪ.təl] and those who produce [h] have the tendency for [tʕ] in ['hɒs.pɪ.tʕəl]. While the first realisation [ʔɒs.pɪ.təl] is French; the second ['hɒs.pɪ.tʕəl] is from Arabic. Nevertheless, it is not always the case since both Arabic and French transfer can be identified in the same unit such as century /'sen.tʃər.i/ → ['sen.ty.ri] in which vowels are pronounced like the French qualities, but stress and syllable structure correspond to Arabic. It seems that future investigation is recommended to account for that variation proportion in transfer.

Beside the evidence from both Arabic and French transfer that may describe several recurrent deviations in English pronunciation, three almost omnipresent characteristics of Algerian English pronunciation by those informants' speech are as follows.

### 5.2.3.1. Dental Consonants

Most informants produce some alveolar consonants as dentals. Both Arabic and French have dental /t, d, n, l, r/ which are alveolar in English and which are either affricated or velarised when the obstruction is retracted behind the teeth in the oral cavity.

### 5.2.3.2. Absence of Vocalic Length

Among the main characteristics that can clearly be identified in the informants' production of vowels is the lack of a clear discrimination between English long and short vowels. Such a factor may originate from both French and Arabic. On the one hand, French does not have long vowel phonemes even if some realisations are longer. Indeed, some vowels might be lengthened for emphasis or at the end of a word; but their meaning does not change when length is added. On the other hand, even if Arabic has three long vowel phonemes, the latter tend to be shorter than their English counterparts, a fact that may also influence speech habits.

### 5.2.3.3. Vowel Production

Among the most frequent production of vowels there is an inclination to produce the English monophthongs in a particular place. As the 140 informants of this study belong to the same level of education (first-year students) and who have approximately an intermediate level in English, we shall, then, be able to analyse that particular level of transfer in English. In fact, as most deviations in the pronunciation of RP English concern vowels, we have tried to plot the places where those monophthongs are likely to be produced in the oral cavity. The following diagram endeavours to summarise the vowels of Algerian Oranese English in the speech of first-year students:

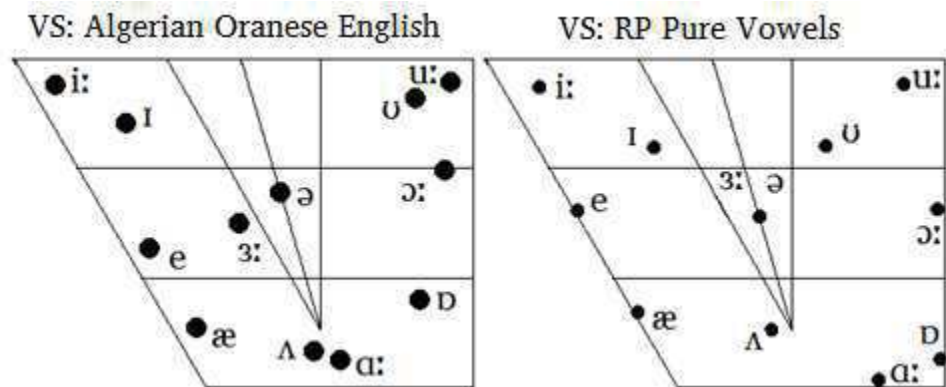


Figure 5.3: Algerian Oranese English Vowels vs. RP Pure Vowels

The above comparative figure tries to depict English vowels according to where they are frequently realised by the informants (on the left) and by the native RP speakers (on the right). As we can see, there is a clear difference between most places of

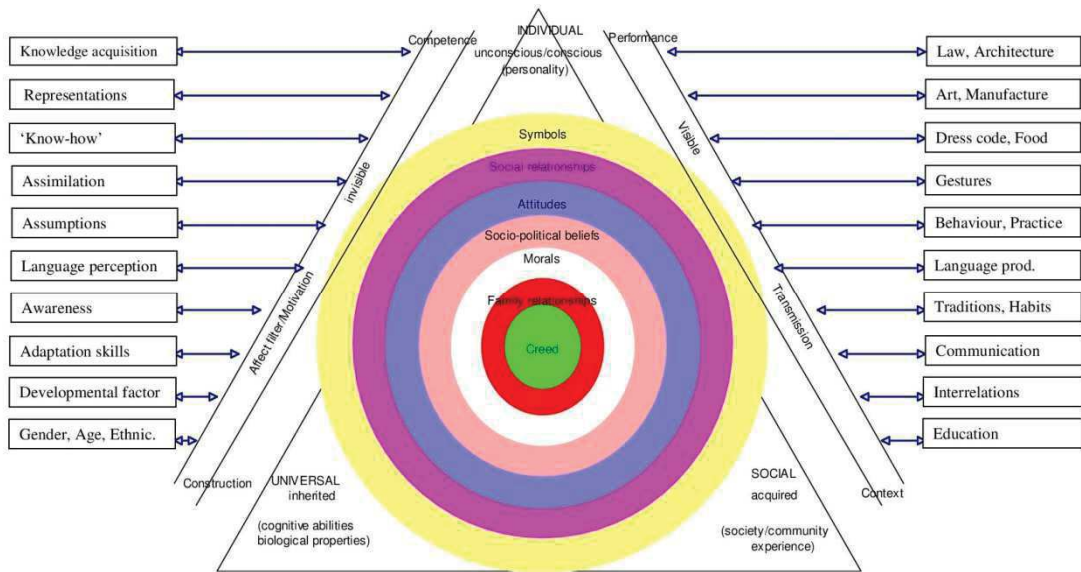
articulation. It is undeniable that such a vocalic production may vary from one informant to another since transfer may be more from Arabic than from French or vice versa and, thus, vowels might be closer to French qualities than to Arabic ones. Besides, those realisations might also depend on other variables unconnected to CLI. However, from the prevailing tendency of deviations, those places seem the most recurrent when analysed.

The fact that Standard Arabic has 36 phonemes, CAA (an addition of [p, v, ə] and French 37 (or 35 as two are disappearing) may constrain the 44 English phonemes into a limited number of articulation places until later proficiency stages in English. Indeed, the more proficient the learner becomes in English, the more target-like their pronunciation approximates unless fossilisation occurs (a stage at which a speaker of native-like syntactic proficiency may keep on repeating the same CLI features).

However, it is particularly imperative to mention that those findings are only general tendencies and that they may not equally apply to all learners since each speaker may differ in terms of proficiency and amount of transfer. Indeed, identifying where CLI always occurs. According to Jarvis (2000) “there still remains a surprising level of confusion in the field concerning when, where, in what form, and to what extent L1 influence will manifest itself in learners’ use or knowledge of a second language (L2)” (p. 246). In addition to that, some may transfer more from Arabic others more from French depending on some socio-cultural factors.

### **5.3. Crosslinguistic Influence and the ‘Cultural Load’ Model**

Comparing linguistic systems might be helpful to identify some of the contexts in which transfer may occur. It is clear that there is a considerable amount of transfer from French to English because of the typological/psychotypological distance between both languages. However, several linguists such as Jarvis (2000) claim that typological distance is not enough to explain transfer and that there are other factors related to individuals and which can explain the variation in the amount of transfer. Therefore, to validate or refute our hypothesis whether CLI may occur because of socio-cultural factors, we need to re-examine the Cultural Load Model we hypothesised in the second chapter and superimpose some of the frequent CLI features of the informants’ pronunciation.



The 'Cultural Load' Model

In the above diagram, the seven cultural layers seem very complex to identify in the many transfer occurrences. However, some of those findings may be able to demonstrate that transfer is not at random but that it might be caused by some socio-cultural factors. To illustrate such a statement, we shall try to provide recurrent CLI instances according to the cultural layers:

### 5.3.1. Creed

Transfer in the English pronunciation from Arabic or French might be influenced by creed or religious standpoints. In fact, words such as Islam /'ɪz.lɑ:m/ and Muslim /'mʌz.lɪm/ tend to be directly transferred from Arabic than from French as [is'læ:m] and ['mu.sɪm] regarding sounds (vowels and consonants), syllable structure and stress. In addition to that, the fact that some Arabic dialects such as Egyptian may produce *muDHLim* 'dark' as [muzɫim] or *eDHalaam* 'darkness' [iza'lɑ:m] might also explain why those Arabic speakers of English purposely deviate their pronunciation of those words in which being a Muslim does not sound as darkness or obscurity.



### 5.3.2. Family Relationships

To identify family relationship and CLI, we have tried to analyse the informants' production of words such as *mother*, *father*, *sister* or *brother* when they were describing the movies or the books they liked. In fact, those words occur in two different contexts; they are found either as the main story characters as in *her father travelled abroad*, or as the informants' own family members as in *I watched that movie with my sister*. We have found that (a) in both contexts the voice pitch is frequently raised for emphasis purposes as in Arabic intonation patterns, and that (b) while the voice pitch may lower when they repeat a character of the movie; it does not when the participants are speaking about their own family as it seems constantly raised (similar to primary stress).

### 5.3.3. Morals

Similar to the previous cultural layer, we have selected words mainly action verbs such as *kill*, *cheat*, *steal*, *murder* or *help*, *save*, *sacrifice*, *love* and so on to try and identify how they were pronounced. In fact, most terms such as *kill*, *cheat*, *steal*, *murder* were produced with an evident Colloquial Algerian Arabic accent disapproving the action. Equally, words such as *help*, *save*, *sacrifice*, *etc.* were produced with a rise in the voice pitch accompanied with CAA accent appraising the action.

### 5.3.4. Socio-political Beliefs

It has been extremely difficult to identify such a cultural layer in CLI. In French pronunciation, some Algerian males consciously realise /r/ as Arabic [r] to distinguish themselves from the former coloniser. Therefore, we have endeavoured to identify whether such beliefs can be detected in the informants' speech. We have found that some Oranese males purposely tend to velarise some consonants and vowels to sound more male or powerful. In fact, some differences between those who transfer more from Arabic than from French can be illustrated as follows, the word *love* /lʌv/ as in *I love this movie/book* is pronounced either (a) with a long back vowel and a dark /l/ [ɫɒ:v] in the speech of those who transfer more from CAA, (b) with dark /l/ and open back vowel [ɫʌv] from Standard Arabic, or (c) with a clear /l/ and a long mid-close vowel [lo:v] from French. The general fact that Arabic transfer may trigger a realisation with dark /l/ before open back vowels can be explained by words such as *Allah* in which a back vowel follows the dark /l/. However, the particular reason that the transfer is from CAA rather than from



Standard Arabic (a realisation especially found among males) might imply that some Oranese male participants believe that such an articulation would sound more masculine.

### **5.3.5. Attitudes**

To recognise learners' attitudes in the spoken language is easier than in the written one. Indeed, intonation, sentence stress and prosodic features might somehow reveal a speakers' attitude towards a particular topic, person, a story or any given situation. Besides, a large component of individuals' attitudes depends on their socio-cultural background. Nevertheless, concerning transfer from Arabic or French, the findings have revealed that the informants adopt a particular CLI attitude when they demonstrate their literary or linguistic competence and aptitude. In Chapter IV, on the one hand, 45% of females believe they can express themselves better in Arabic; 17% in French and 33.5 in English. On the other hand, 36% of males view Arabic as their tool language, and 26% favour French and 29% English. In other words, males may resort to French more than female informants in a similar context. Some of the obtained findings have revealed that, indeed, males would transfer more from French than their female counterparts when displaying knowledge. To put it differently, when the informants want to demonstrate their competence in some knowledge (as when they utter the title of a book/movie or provide the name of a writer) they tend to adopt an attitude by either using a falling intonation, primary stress or a slow speech production. Such an attitude is often accompanied by a heavier transfer from French for males than for females. Although careful speech (utterances displaying knowledge) can also be characterised by an attempt to approximate the pronunciation of the target language, namely English, for both genders; females seem to transfer more from Standard Arabic than the male informants in similar contexts.

### **5.3.6. Social Relationships**

Such cultural layer can be uncovered through the transfer behaviour some informants exhibit in front of their classmates. The recording of the interviews took place individually either with the presence or the absence of other informants. However, while several participants were attending the interview, the interviewee was also paying attention to their audience. In fact, we have found that unlike the informants who were interviewed alone and who mainly focused on the topic, those who had other learners listening to them modulated their transfer from Arabic to French deliberately depending

on the existing social relationship. To illustrate, a female informant, also a former student whose English might be considered as upper-intermediate at the time of the experiment, seemed to consciously transfer more from CAA because of group solidarity as the two previous interviewees did and who had a much inferior linguistic proficiency than she. Another example, a group of three males was audio-taped, and their apparent leader seemed to attempt at impressing his other two friends by producing French-like realisations to conceal his lack of knowledge of English phonetic rules.

### 5.3.7. Symbols

The last cultural layer has been the easiest to identify among the six preceding ones. In the subjects' English pronunciation, most weak forms do not occur except in the speech of those who obviously attempt to reproduce for example the vernacular American songs (such as Black English Vernacular BEV) with the use of shortened forms such as *gonna*, *'cause*, *he's* (he is), *won't*, etc. Everywhere else strong forms are realised except in some case where the weak form of *I*, *the*, or *a* can be heard as in *I'm* [am]. Moreover, in those participants' speech /t/ can be articulated as the American flap [ɾ] when intervocalic as in *shootiŋ* (killing) but also in contexts where /t/ is word-final or initial. In addition to that, CLI from French or Arabic may occur according to learners' symbols such as actors, singers, journalists, so on and so forth.

Another salient feature that needs to be pinpointed is the occurrences of Arabic and French transfer. As we have mentioned in Chapter II, the seven cultural layers extend from the most fixed cultural point or the less likely to vary to the more open to alterations or the less constant. In the seven examples mentioned above from creed to symbols, we can infer that in the closed cultural layers Standard Arabic might be found first, followed by CAA, then by French to end with English at the level external layers. Even though French is principally prevailing in Algerian Oranese English, socio-cultural factors may just shape the amount of either language influence in particular contexts.

Furthermore, the fact that there are recurrent types of phonetic/phonemic aspects in the participants' performance of English reveals that they share a similar background. Although such a claim might appear axiomatic, it is a statement from which many inferences can be drawn. Indeed, in spite of enough flexibility in individuals' possible variations, several pronunciation features are more likely to occur than other ones because of common socio-cultural factors since they approximately share the same variables such

as age, the level of instruction, L2 academic exposure, geographical region and a similar Algerian/Oranese cultural background. Nevertheless, although these variables are common this interpretation is only an attempt at investigating CLI in the English pronunciation of the informants, and other factors may also regulate Arabic and French transfer.

#### 5.4. Deviations: Several Causes and Strategies

As we have already mentioned learners' deviations in pronunciation are not always induced by CLI (such as the orthographically-induced transfer geography /dʒi'ɒg.rəf.i/ → [dʒe'jo.graf.i]), However, they can generate from several other reasons. On the one hand, learners may simply lack the knowledge of English pronunciation rules since not every rule is mastered yet. TOTs, for instance, are common examples of this inability in which learners forget not only the pronunciation but also the form of a concept they cannot put words to and which leads to stutter or the repetition of a segment(s). Jarvis explains that linguistic transgressions and variation in those deviations may be caused by several factors:

Research has indeed revealed that individual differences in age, personality, aptitude, L2 proficiency, literacy, and other social and pedagogical factors can cause learners who share an L1 to differ in their use of a common L2. Factors such as L2 influence and acquisitional universals may also motivate consistent similarities in learner behavior. (Jarvis, 2000, p. 256)

Indeed, examples of those deviations can be interpreted in terms of different types of the informants' intralingual errors:

Simplification	strength /streŋkθ/ → [streŋθ]
Overgeneralisation	oven /ʌvən/ → [əʊvən]
Hypercorrection	driven /'drɪv.ən/ → ['draɪv.ən]
Fossilisation	<i>tear</i> (n.) /tɪə/ → [ti:r] (v.) /teə/ → [ti:r]
Avoidance	breathe / bri:ð/ → [briθ]

Table 5.1: Types of the Informants' Intralingual Errors

However, although deviations in English pronunciation may be shaped by several other factors; CLI might be viewed as a basic strategy to acquire L2 or to reduce

difficulties in the target language. According to Kellerman (1978), foreign language students transfer fewer features of words they consider to be less “core”. However, transfer is found in all linguistic subsystems whether morphological, syntactical, lexical, semantic or phonemic. Influences from the mother in acquiring L2 affect all aspects. Besides, CLI is not always negative. It can be positive too as it can be very helpful. According to Jarvis (2012):

Crosslinguistic influence is the often preferred term for a phenomenon more commonly known as transfer, which is the influence of one language on another ... because it more naturally refers to a wider variety of crosslinguistic effects—including the overuse, underuse, and avoidance of language forms, functions, and structures in one language due to the influence of another language, as well as crosslinguistic effects at the level of conceptualization and mental processing—whereas the latter term [transfer] is often interpreted as the literal transfer of a form, structure, or meaning from a person’s knowledge of one language to their use of another. (Jarvis, 2012, p. 1554)

Detecting CLI is important but so is the identification of its strategies used by L2 learners.

Transfer from Arabic or French generally occurs to reduce difficulties when using English. Similar to L1, learners progressively assimilate the new sounds through time with work, effort, cognitive maturity and the development of metalinguistic skills. Learners develop strategies according to different contexts in which they find themselves such as learning, communicating, etc. During the second experiment (in the reading activity) the informants have been more careful in their production than during their first experiment (when speaking). The fact that they have been more careful seems to increase transfer as they are generally misled by what is written, and they have demonstrated a preference for Arabic or English in their pronunciation. Ellis, for example, explains “how classrooms as social contexts shape the way learners behave and on how learners themselves can help to construct the local contexts in which they are learning” (2012, p. 160).

Learners usually transfer to L2 from what they know about their L1 in relation to linguistic, metalinguistic knowledge or the L1 experience as a whole process. Moreover, learners may transfer from what they know and what they believe they know about their L1. Multilingual/multi-competent learners tend to rely on the language such as French as it is typologically closer to English than Arabic.

Not all the subjects' deviations in English pronunciation stem from Crosslinguistic Influence. While some derive from a lack of L2 proficiency; other may originate from the hypothesis learners' use to test language universals. There are several aspects of the informants' speech that might be attributed to language universals. Indeed, the fact that some may devoice some word-final obstruents or aspirate /p, t, k/ in accented syllable-initial as in people ['p<sup>h</sup>i:p.əl] → [pi:.'p<sup>h</sup>ol]. In fact, Garcia (2013) explains that the L2 interlanguage is built first with the L1 influence which slowly decreases with the use of more language universals second and third it will increasingly include larger L2 linguistic features in later stages. Each stage decreases with added L2 proficiency since the role of L1 influence and language universals become less required.

Garcia explains in her study that learners “with higher metalinguistic competence will have acquired the L3 more quickly... this indicates that their L3 interlanguage is more target-like, with the possibility of minimal interference from the L1 and L2 or language universals” (p. 178). In fact, a high level of metalinguistic knowledge may accelerate L3 acquisition since as the L3 interlanguage becomes nearer to the target, there is a decrease of L1 transfer and use of language universals. Her main hypothesis is that bilingualism/multilingualism has positive effects on L2/L3 learning and that a high L2 proficiency will produce a target-like pronunciation in the early stages of L2/L3 acquisition. All of these points incite us to try to understand these findings from teaching/learning perspectives.

### **5.5. Educational Implications**

English pronunciation is usually not given as much importance as syntax or lexis, and syllables structure, stress, intonation and rhythm are the aspects that are less dealt with whenever pronunciation Phonetics/Phonology is taught. Unfortunately, it might maximise the impact of foreign accent and intelligibility. Therefore, the need for an analysis of educational implications is necessary.

When acquiring a new language, it is quite common for learners to make deviations in pronunciation. Although it is quite difficult for teachers to predict each and every student's deviations; it is usual, however, to anticipate some of those that are recurrent. In other words, to some extent, teachers can predict their students' pronunciation tendencies holistically rather than separately – it is easier to predict the pronunciation habits of the group than those of each individual alone. To illustrate, we can predict that students not familiar with particular sounds would likely have difficulties

when producing them e.g. French speakers, unfamiliar with /ð/, are expected to realise it as [z] and they probably would, whereas Arabic speakers will probably produce it correctly without any problems because it already exists in Arabic. However, it does not necessarily imply that all French speakers are unable to produce /ð/ or that all Arabic speakers would realise it. Nevertheless, each language has its own set of phonemic inventory and the ways of realising it, and this may help or hinder its speakers reproducing a target sound when acquiring a new language from a general perspective.

In addition to that, although the participants do not represent a homogenous level of English language proficiency, they mainly have an intermediate ability as almost 70% of the informants scored  $\geq 10/20$  in Grammar, Phonetics, Written and Oral Expression. Such a fact might also be helpful in analysing the teaching/learning implications for learners of English as a group. Therefore, as we would like to understand learners' difficulties, we need to identify several other parameters related to CLI such as *Teaching Implications*, *Learning Implications and Difficulties*, and *Educational Suggestions*.

### 5.5.1. Teaching Implications

Analysing CLI occurrences might also be explained by the identification of some teaching practices. Indeed, the latter might reinforce and even generate CLI. Among the teaching implications that can induce transfer are as follows: first, do teachers spend enough time rectifying deviations in class? Teachers may not correct the deviations in English pronunciation and prefer to correct grammar or vocabulary instead. In fact, when learners try to communicate and interact in class, attention is often paid to the content and the form of language than to the way it sounds. Furthermore, sometimes students intentionally use CLI and wait for the correction that might arrive or not.

Second, do teachers have the right pronunciation? Learners usually emulate the pronunciation of their teachers. However, there exist a few teachers with native-like syntactic proficiency but whose pronunciation might verge on intelligibility. This might be problematic since teachers themselves cannot provide the right pronunciation nor can they correct the deviations learners make if they, themselves, do not apply the rules.

Third, do teachers value less pronunciation than they do grammar or vocabulary? Another teaching implication that may engender CLI is the use of a traditional method, namely the Grammar-Translation Approach which privileges “the memorisation of rules of grammar and lists of words and the development of the writing skill” (Miliani, 2003, p. 27). If teachers always focus on English grammatical and lexical rules, they will not

only disfavour phonetics and phonology, but they will also affect learners' perception of pronunciation by not granting it enough importance.

Fourth, do highly qualified teachers prefer teaching advanced learners? Owing to a shortage of lecturers at the University, it is frequent that part time teachers are given first-year classes and that more experienced teachers are kept for higher proficiency levels. Learners who may learn deviated pronunciation from the very beginning may risk fossilisation of those phonetic/phonological transgressions that would accompany them through later stages. Once speech habits are acquired, they would be very hard to remedy.

### **5.5.2. Learning Implications and Difficulties**

Attention has often been more devoted to teaching than to learning. However, both processes cannot be detached from one another. Several learning implications causing difficulties may also account for the amount of transfer generated by the subjects of this study. Some of those implications are listed below:

First, is English an easy language to learn? When it comes to pronunciation, the phonetics and phonology of English are more difficult to assimilate than either Arabic or French. Unlike Arabic which has a transparent orthography, English is an opaque language where graphemes do not necessarily indicate the sound of a phoneme. In fact, Crosslinguistic Influence might also be caused by such a difficulty since English as a language can be complicated to learn because of its spelling system. De Saussure claims that "writing is not a guise of language but a disguise" (1996, p. 30), and, therefore, the complex writing system of English may obscure language and the way it sounds.

Second, do deviations in English pronunciation increase spelling mistakes? According to De Saussure, the oral language came before the written one. Pronunciation deviations may account for the spelling mistakes students make in writing when graphemes are associated with phonemes. To illustrate, when asking teachers to spell some words used in class, learners often find they already know the orthography and express their satisfaction with their knowledge. Learning a deviated pronunciation may cause learners to misspell words and to acquire a wrong orthography.

Third, do learners discriminate between sounds? Learners may not perceive the quality of each sound. The fact that English has more phonemes than either Arabic or French may imply that the learners' perception of those differences needs more time to be achieved. After hearing or producing a segment they are not familiar with, they might simply relate to the closer one they know from Arabic or French.



Fourth, do transgressions in pronunciation cause intelligibility? An important learning implication causing CLI is the learners' belief that deviations in pronunciation do not cause intelligibility. It is largely assumed that pronunciation does not impede communication and intelligibility; therefore, all attention must be paid to the grammatical aspects of language. Some linguists such as Munro & Derwing claim that the principal objectives for learners are to understand and be understood in a variety of contexts; a transfer of L1 pronunciation can never be a barrier to communication: "researchers and teachers alike were aware that an accent itself does not necessarily act as a communicative barrier" (1999, p. 285). Nevertheless, a serious limitation of this argument is the existence of some findings that expose pronunciation as of paramount importance for intelligibility. According to the following statistics, pronunciation is considered as the most important cause of unintelligibility. Tiffen (1974, p. 227) analysed what causes unintelligibility in Nigerian English. He found that syntactic as well as lexical mistakes represent only 8.8% of the reasons for intelligibility failure and that pronunciation errors constitute as much as 91.2%, partitioned as follows: (a) Rhythmic and stress errors 38.2%, (b) segmental errors 33%, and (c) phonotactic errors 20%. Those statistics demonstrate that transgressing pronunciation rules may engender unintelligibility. Indeed, the first time we had heard words such as literature /'lɪt.ə.tʃ.ə/ → ['lɪ.tʃ.ə.tʃ.ə], clothes /kləʊðz/ → [klou'ðəz], purpose /'pɜ:p.əs/ → [pur.pu:z] a few years ago, we had to make students repeat as we did not understand their utterance. At that time, the pronunciation of those words was rare; at present, however, it has become more frequent among the interviewed informants.

Fifth, do learners have enough exposure to English phonetic/phonemic rules? By the end of seven years through middle and secondary school, learners would have studied between 756 to 828 hours of English. We have counted the number of pronunciation activities in the third-year manual on the English language at secondary school, and we have found only 16. In addition to that, most students in Phonetics course claim that between only 4 and 6 of those activities were undertaken. Obviously, the small mentioned numbers imply that CLI along with speaking activities is not given enough attention to reinforce or weaken some pronunciation habits during the 7 seven years of the English learning process.



### 5.5.3. Educational Suggestions

As we have mentioned, we do not exclude the role of non-structural factors that may also influence verbal performance in the second language. Indeed, personality, motivation, attitude toward the target language and so on are major topics in current Applied Linguistics studies. The purpose of this work is not to belittle what may contribute to students' capital learning. Instead, our objective is to detect pronunciation deviations, analyse them, to mainly trace them back to their starting point and to find some solutions in order to avoid them.

To the former educational implications and difficulties, we shall try to propose a few suggestions. The purpose of such an attempt is not to sound like a native English speaker but to be able to develop auditory discrimination abilities. Indeed, expecting or requesting a native-like pronunciation (accent-free) from Algerian learners is utopian and unfeasible. Although Received Pronunciation (R.P.) is called a 'neutral' accent, it nevertheless represents the variety of the Queen, the BBC and of Oxbridge. No spoken form is free from accent; an American form sounds like an American accent to a British variety speaker and vice versa. Therefore, our aim is not to completely erase the Algerian accent but to enhance learners approximate the target at the level of perception and production to avoid unintelligibility and misunderstanding. Among the many suggestions to achieve that purpose, a few are as follows:

- In class, when learners produce utterances in the form of comments, questions or answers and so on, teachers may repeat or rephrase that speech production with the right pronunciation. Moreover, if a teacher addresses a student by saying: '*do you mean X?*', '*is X what you wanted to say?*', ... they will probably draw some attention to the corrected pronunciation without any negative feedback which may not prevent students from sharing their ideas in class.
- All the stages of the learning process are crucial; however, the fact that the first stages are of major significance compels us to privilege them with proper attention. In fact, learning English from highly competent/qualified teachers from the first-year courses at university might be more beneficial since the knowledge they acquire need not be altered in later stages.
- The introduction of contrastive phonetic/phonological rules that might generate deviations. As we saw in Chapter IV, the informants were asked to state their pronunciation difficulties; however, among the many listed, *syllable structure* was

never mentioned. Yet, deviations in syllable structure are almost inevitable whether the subjects had a pre-intermediate level or an upper-intermediate one. Again, distinction should be drawn between what the informants really know and what they think they know. Therefore, after a lesson, the exercises might include frequent pronunciation transgressions based on common CLI deviations that learners need to identify and correct according to the rules. The contrastive activity might also be conducted through the opposition of segments, units and structures either in isolation or connected speech between English, and French/Arabic.

- Another suggestion, which may prove helpful to reduce CLI, is teaching new vocabulary with phonetic/phonemic information (transcription, stress and syllable structure). 25% of the informants have answered that ‘new long words’ are the most difficult to learn. As in English, the relation between letters and sounds is complex; teaching phonetic/phonemic data from the early stages of learning may help learners acquire valid knowledge from the beginning.
- For a better perception of sounds, learners might need a phonetic laboratory and adapted materials to be able to hear themselves speak and compare their pronunciation to that of the natives’. We have tried to ask students to use their cell phones in class for phonetic activities. First, they had to listen to the native recordings of selected sounds or units; second, to repeat and record their own speech; third, to listen to their own pronunciation; fourth, to write down the deviation on a slate and raise it with their hands since the class contained over 100 students and walking through the rows to check every learners’ answer was impossible to achieve. However, with the use of cell phones in class, some students have forgotten the ongoing of the lesson and have started to focus on their phone applications instead. Therefore, the use of a phonetic laboratory has really become a necessity.

The previous suggestions are only an attempt and a proposition among many others to improve learners’ English pronunciation and to reduce CLI in their speech production. We have selected them since they might be feasible and concrete in the near future. Nevertheless, this work will be incomplete if a course syllabus in Phonetics is not provided.

## **5.6. Course Syllabus in Phonetics**

According to Miliani (2004a, 2004b), an LMD Curriculum has to take into consideration several aspects among which the ‘know what’ and ‘know how’ should receive proper attention in order to make students more autonomous in their learning. On account of the study findings and the students’ need for some awareness of what may cause frequent deviations and how the latter can be reduced, it seems pertinent to integrate some of those findings into pronunciation activities in class. The following Phonetics syllabus respects the curriculum of the University of Oran for the first-year students of English. It is founded on a previous material we developed in 2010 and that we intend to improve in the future according to further experience and experiments.

### **Course Syllabus in Phonetics**

#### **5.6.1. Learning Outcomes**

##### **5.6.1.1. Goals**

Students will be able to:

- Recognise and distinguish between the 44 sounds and the prosodic features of RP English
- Use terminology related to English sounds accurately
- Identify major CLI deviations

##### **5.6.1.2. Objectives**

Students will be able to:

- Recognise and recall RP English sounds
- Define key phonetic terms (such as phonetics, phonology, phoneme, allophone, stress, intonation, syllables, etc.)
- Use the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) chart
- Recognise and interpret the Cardinal Vowel Scale
- Describe English sounds by using the Cardinal Vowel Scale
- Identify and use pitch, loudness, and length to realise word and sentence stress.
- Identify and classify syllables
- Recognise and produce falling and rising tones
- Recognise and use CLI deviations

## **5.6.2. Assessment**

### **5.6.2.1. Formative Assessment (weekly)**

Students will:

- Be given sounds, words, and sentences to pronounce
- Have to define key phonetic terms
- Produce and repeat RP sounds
- Transcribe sounds, words, and sentences
- Convert and rewrite transcribed words and sentences into letters
- Fill out charts representing the speech mechanism
- Divide words into syllables
- Identify a falling or rising tone according to different sentence types

### **5.6.2.2. Summative Assessment (end-of-semester)**

Students will be able to demonstrate their understanding of the RP English phonetic system by:

- Using the IPA symbols accurately
- Transcribing words and sentences
- Dividing syllables
- Defining and explaining basic phonetic concepts using their own words
- Identifying word-stress and sentence stress
- Providing the right tone for each sentence
- Picking out the odd word with one different sound criterion (e.g. vowel length) from a list of words
- Detecting CLI deviations

### **5.6.3. Course Description**

This course introduces students to the English phonetic system and prosodic features — in particular, Standard British English — to build an empirical foundation for examining major features related to Standard English pronunciation. The course also acquaints students with key phonetic concepts and terminology to provide opportunities for demonstrating and developing their phonetic competence. In addition to that, it provides major pronunciation features that can be contrasted to Arabic and French phonetic/phonemic features.

#### 5.6.4. Requirements

Individual or collaborative assignments are designed, and phonetic research projects are conducted as appropriate. Students are required to attend all sessions and hand in given homework in due time.

#### 5.6.5. Grading

The course is graded on a *pass/fail* basis. Students need a minimum overall grade of 10/20 (or higher) to pass the course. The quality of students' work is based on the following marks:

20 – 16 *Excellent* / 15 – 13 *Good* / 12 – 10 *Average* / 09 – 06 *below average* / 05 – 00 *Failing*

The year includes two terms (semesters); each includes a test, an examination and a re-sit. Students are also evaluated on their regular participation in class, including their familiarity with assigned reading, class assignments, and written papers.

#### 5.6.6. Content

The course will cover the following topics in two semesters:

##### First Semester

**Unit 1- Introduction to Phonetics:** this unit introduces terminology related to phonetics.

- Phonetics vs. Phonology
- Branches of Phonetics
- Letters vs. sounds (IPA)
- Crosslinguistic Influence

**Unit 2- Speech mechanism:** it describes the process of speech production from the lungs to the lips.

- Sounds production (Pulmonic egressive airstream mechanism)
- Organs of speech (passive/active)
- Cavities (oral, nasal, glottal, pharyngeal)

**Unit 3- Classifying speech sounds** it introduces the description and transcription of British English sounds.

- Consonants vs. vowels (phonetically/phonologically)
- RP English vowels (Vowel Diagram, Describing Vowels, The spelling of vowels)
- CLI deviations in vowels
- RP English consonants (Consonants table, Describing consonants, the spelling of consonants)

- CLI deviations in consonants

*First Semestre Examination*

### **Second Semester**

**Unit 1- Connected speech:** it covers some of the prosodic features that take place in connected speech.

- Connected speech vs. sounds in isolation
- Phonemes vs. Allophones
- Allophonic processes (Aspiration, assimilation, devoicing, dark /l/, etc.)

**Unit 2- Stress:** it introduces English stress and rhythm.

- Syllables (Syllable definition, English syllables, Syllable cluster)
- Content words and function words
- Word stress and sentence stress
- Strong forms and weak forms
- Liaison, linking r, intrusive r
- Rhythm (Stressed-timed vs. syllable-timed)
- CLI deviations in syllable structure and stress

**Unit 3- Intonation and meaning:** it describes English intonation patterns and provides their relevance in meaning.

- Tone
- Fall, rise, fall-rise patterns
- Target tones
- CLI deviations in intonation

*Second Semester examination*

#### **5.6.7. Recommended reading**

Different copies of the following books are available at the library of Oran University

- A. Cruttenden (2001): *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*.
- A. C. Gimson (1970): *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*.
- W. J. Hardcastle, J. Laver, & F. E. Gibbon (2010). *The Handbook of Phonetic Sciences*.
- J. D. O'Connor (1991): *Phonetics*.
- P. Roach (1998): *English Phonetics and Phonology*.
- I. Roca; W. Johnson (2003): *A Course in Phonology*.
- D. Crystal (1992): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*.
- D. Crystal (1992): *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language*.
- P. Ladefoged (1982): *A Course in Phonetics*.
- P. Ladefoged (2001): *Vowels and Consonants: An Introduction to the Sounds of Languages*.

### **5.7. Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have tried to discuss some of the main findings of the two experiments in terms of CLI configuration and origins from either Arabic or French. We have found the informants' pronunciation is largely influenced by a transfer from French first, and from Arabic second. Such transfer (from one language to another) does not take place at random; instead, there are some socio-cultural factors that may trigger CLI along with a variation in the amount and the manner of occurrence. The phenomenon is a process that may accompany learners even at advanced levels of English language acquisition. The findings we have tried to analyse have compelled us to understand CLI as a strategy used by the informants to learn English. The identification of some learners' difficulties can be effectively used to reduce some pressure students may have when they cannot speak English like the natives. For, they may comprehend that the intended target, first and foremost, is to identify strategies in order to avoid unintelligibility. However, these findings can only be viewed as a starting point since such a field deserves future attention to investigate whether the same holds true in similar and/or different contexts.

## **General Conclusion**



## General Conclusion

Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) includes “*such phenomena as “transfer”, “interference”, “avoidance”, “borrowing” and L2-related aspects of language loss”*” (Sharwood Smith & Kellerman, 1986, p. 1). It is a term proposed in the eighties, and it takes place during L2 acquisition and which generally consists of transferring any previously acquired language during L2 interlanguage development. Different effects may shape that phenomenon regarding the amount of linguistic transfer. The latter has often been viewed as a negative process driven by lack of knowledge, linguistic incompetence, misleading teachers, attitudes to L2 and so on. However, CLI is a complex process, an insight into SLA. This work does not focus on distinguishing between positive and negative transfer as much as it tries to analyse the findings of the case study. We also need to mention that even if this research values the importance of language transfer in acquiring English; it does not, in any case, discard the role the cognitive mechanisms have on people’s assimilating and processing data.

This work is divided into five chapters, the first two for the literature review, the third for language and phonetic/phonological comparison and the last two for the results and discussion of the experiment. In the first chapter, we have tried to understand the development of Crosslinguistic Influence from two main perspectives. First, *the historical evolution of CLI* in which several theories such as the Contrastive Analysis, the Error Analysis, Universal Grammar and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies have paved the way for the emergence of such a field of research. Second, *the learning/teaching process* in which CLI, a psychological and cultural phenomenon, contributes to the development of L2 interlanguage and acquisition. The second chapter, however, has dealt with the existing interrelationship between culture, language and identity in bilingual/multilingual contexts. We have endeavoured to understand such a relation from linguistic, psycholinguistic, cognitive, sociolinguistic, anthropological, sociological, and philosophical perspectives. In addition to that, we have tried to frame that relationship into a diagram that we have termed the ‘*Cultural Load*’ Model, an attempt to summarise an individual’s socio-cultural configuration. As to the third chapter, it has sought to understand the linguistic situation of Algeria and to compare a few phonetic and phonological aspects related to Arabic, Berber, French and English, a

fundamental analysis for the subsequent chapters. The fourth chapter has discussed the two experiments methodology and results. In fact, the study includes 140 informants (first-year students of English at the University of Oran). A questionnaire was distributed and those subjects were audio-taped in order to elicit and detect CLI occurrences in their English pronunciation either by summarising a book/movie (1<sup>st</sup> experiment) or by simply reading a poem (2<sup>nd</sup> experiment). Both experiments have revealed some recurrent transfer practices from Arabic, French or both simultaneously. Finally, the last chapter has tried to identify major CLI findings and to discuss their implications. It has also sought to view such a phenomenon from a socio-cultural standpoint an attempt to investigate the learning/teaching of English pronunciation at the University of Oran. Finally, a syllabus design has been proposed.

The present dissertation was designed to assess the extent of CLI in the English pronunciation of first-year students. The purpose was also to determine the contribution of socio-cultural factors during speech production and transfer. It also aimed at understanding the reason(s) behind some fossilised deviations despite some learners' successful academic achievement. Although this work concentrates on improving the authors' teaching, it also set out to understand some difficulties faced by learners in order to identify and try as best as possible to surmount them. Indeed, the aim of this study was also to find ways to comprehend learners progressively and to make them aware of their own deviations.

This study has tried to find some answers to a few questions we previously had and to validate or refute the hypotheses we believed plausible. While some have been answered; others still need more empirical research and further investigation. The introduction chapter of this work has formulated three main hypotheses and eleven questions that we shall try to review briefly. It was mainly hypothesised that some socio-cultural factors (the 'Cultural Load') could be manifested onto the English of Algerian learners. This hypothesis was confirmed since some findings have illustrated that consciously or unconsciously transfer from Arabic or French can be culturally induced. To the second hypothesis that CLI is entirely or partially beneficial to the L2 acquisition, we have found a two-edged reply. On the one hand, some English sounds can be found in Arabic (such as vowels /æ, ɪ, aʊ/) and French (such as consonants /p, v, ʁ/) and which makes learning easier. On the other hand, an unconditional transfer from Arabic and French to English might not prove entirely beneficial as it may cause some

misunderstanding, unintelligibility and even fossilised deviations. Concerning the third hypothesis, the following claim was formulated: a high frequency of exposure to the target language may reduce CLI. The results of the questionnaire about some learners who intentionally do not want to study and revise their lessons at home despite eight years of English exposure may refute the statement. Indeed, a high frequency of exposure to English does not necessarily reduce CLI, since there are other variables to be taken into consideration to limit deviations in English pronunciation.

In relation to the eleven questions of the Introduction Chapter, we shall briefly endeavour to answer them according to the findings we have obtained. First, to the question: what makes culture enhance or hinder L2 acquisition, we may reply with the fact that the perception of L2 language through L1 culture might cause some deviations in pronunciation. Second, regarding the relationship between culture, language and identity, the study has illustrated a few instances where culture and identity might influence language. Third, another enquiry that was made concerns the ability of culture to be the main cause for CLI. In fact, this interrogation can be negatively answered because there are other variables that trigger transfer. The latter is a normal process during L2, and although it might be shaped by learners' culture, socio-cultural factors alone do not have the ability to cause or prevent the phenomenon (CLI) from taking place.

Fourth, we have also enquired whether learners sharing the same culture might also be sharing the same types of pronunciation deviations. Although we have found numerous comparable deviations caused by transfer in the participants' speech, we need to be cautious since we cannot categorically predict or ascertain that the same deviations will be produced by all Algerian learners of English in all contexts. Further studies need to be conducted to endorse such happenings. Fifth, as to whether or not Algerian learners of English go through the same process through CLI in L2 acquisition, we have found four main aspects: (a) the Algerian informants use both Arabic and French to construct their English interlanguage; (b) they transfer more from French than from Arabic; (c) they transfer generally not from the language itself but from what they think they know about Arabic or French and (d) the amount of transfer from Arabic or French varies from one learner to another. Indeed, some results reveal that although both females and males informants transfer from French first and from Arabic second, we may, however, specify that in some contexts, socio-culturally induced, males transfer more from French and females more from Arabic.

Sixth, as we had formerly believed that an activity such as reading a text would lower the amount of transfer as the participants read the words in front of them; we asked which major phonetic/phonological rules were more complex and more difficult to apply during spontaneous speech than during reading. Nevertheless, the fact that the findings have revealed that the subjects seem to transfer more when they are reading entails that they do not read enough and that their reading skill is not as proficient as we have expected. Therefore, we are unable to provide an answer to that question since we cannot compare between what is different but between what is common instead. However, in spontaneous speech, some results demonstrate that learners, when acquiring a segment or a unit, not only learn its meaning but its sound(s) too simultaneously. Therefore, when they retrieve a phoneme, a morpheme or a lexeme for speech, they produce it with the association of information knots they previously attached to that unit, a connection of elements which can either be correct or deviated.

Seventh, we have also asked about the recurring transfers from Arabic and French to English pronunciation. The informants seem to transfer more from French than from Arabic except in syllable structure, and the transfer occurs at most levels of phonetic/phonological production with a greater amount in vowels first, stress second, syllable structure third, consonants fourth and intonation last according to intelligibility criteria. It is undeniable that such order may alter if all types of deviations are taken into consideration and not only transfer. Eighth, the logical question that should follow the previous findings is the reason why such transfers occur in that order. The fact that English has 20 vowels but Arabic 8 and French 16 may explain that the informants have already developed specific speech habits which render the production of English vowels quite difficult to perceive. Indeed, unlike consonants, vowels are produced with no obstruction to the airflow in the oral cavity, a circumstance which might complicate the perception of their place of articulation.

Ninth, another question that we have tried to address is whether the identification of CLI would provide an insight into some strategies that learners use to construct their English interlanguage (IL). It is clear that CLI is in itself a strategy for the development of the L2 IL and that it encompasses several other sub-strategies such as (a) testing hypotheses about L2, (b) facilitating communication in L2, (c) constructing and reconstructing use/knowledge about L2 and (d) solving difficulties in L2.

Tenth, to the question whether those CLI occurrences might be predicted, corrected, regulated or completely avoided, we might be unable to answer at the moment since the present findings need to be put into practice first according to the educational suggestions dealt with in Chapter V. In fact, this study helps us only found the ground for a future investigation that we intend to conduct in order to identify which parameters might be regulated or avoided.

The eleventh question we have attempted to answer refers to the existence of Algerian English and if we can develop a corresponding syllabus design to Algerian learners of first-year English Phonetics at the University. Although we have tried to design a syllabus in Chapter V, it remains, nevertheless open to future corrections since it is only at the level of hypothesis testing and it needs much more empirical research and constant improvement. Besides, it is quite difficult to extend the findings of a study conducted in Oran to all Algeria. As to the existence of Algerian English, as a theoretical possibility, we may answer that question positively because of three major factors. First, the fact that the informants transfer from French first, from Standard Arabic second and Colloquial Algerian Arabic only third makes the features of French and Standard Arabic (two languages commonly learnt at school in Algeria) widely spread in English pronunciation. Second, even if the expression *Algerian English* seems precipitate, it refers nevertheless, to a spoken form which is currently used and which may be analogous to any spoken dialect that has later become a written standard. Third, in a time of globalisation and social media and an increasing demand for English, Algeria might soon find itself privileging English over French.

It should be noted that the present findings are by no means conclusive and that they are only intended to investigate CLI in the English pronunciation of Algerian Oranese learners. The results of this study and all those above research answers have generated several implications among which the following should be mentioned. The evidence from this dissertation implies that some awareness of CLI during English learning/teaching may prove tremendously useful and may even enhance positive pedagogical impacts. In other words, such awareness might (a) develop learners' understanding of their own difficulties, and that will help them modulate the number of their deviations in pronunciation, (b) increase learners' understanding of the English sound system, (c) help them become more autonomous and goal oriented to their learning, and (d) reduce demotivation when facing CLI issues. Indeed, both learners and teachers

of English need at least to adopt methods and techniques in order to avoid fossilisation of some sounds especially those that may create intelligibility and hinder the communication process.

In general, the study also suggests that CLI effects take place in multiple directions and may even fluctuate as learners become more proficient in L2. CLI features are general tendencies and probabilities which are likely to vary because they cannot be applied to all speakers with the exact amount of transfer from both Arabic and French in all contexts. Those occurrences diverge and are not forms of fixed patterns as it has been claimed by Odlin (1989) and Jarvis (2000). In fact, even if the English pronunciation of the subjects who share a number of common variables and who evolve in a similar educational environment, it is imperative to allow some room for learners' differences.

Besides, multilingualism in this work has been used as a cover term to multicompetence in two or more languages either in natural or non-natural contexts, as in Algeria where several languages can be acquired in different environments. Although it might be supposed that CLI occurs more from Arabic than French since Arabic is an L1, and French comes only a few years later, the findings indicate that longer exposure to a language does not necessarily imply a greater amount of transfer since the informants' English speech was mostly influenced by French.

Another implication that might be discussed is that positive transfer is not less important than the negative transfer in English acquisition as it helps in the development of L2 interlanguage. Besides, the findings have demonstrated that CLI needs to be taken with caution since some informants may intentionally increase the amount of transfer either out of group solidarity or individual considerations since Crosslinguistic Influence works in tandem with other cognitive and socio-cultural factors.

As to the contribution of this work and its significance, the study is an exploration of CLI along with its correlation with socio-cultural factors; it is an attempt at understanding CLI impact on English phonetic/phonological acquisition by Algerian learners. The present study confirms previous findings and tries to slightly contribute to the learning/teaching of English phonetics and phonology at the University of Oran. As stated by Jarvis (2012), L2 may be affected by aptitude, motivation and personality. However, socio-cultural factors need also to be taken into consideration when accompanying learners' through their CLI process. Additionally, this work may help us

develop teaching materials that can directly target Oranese students' difficulties, help them overcome them and hopefully meet some of their needs.

Moreover, this analysis may serve as our starting point to regulate the amount of CLI parameters in class. Every learner transfers linguistic features according to several variables some of which might be modulated through targeted exercises and activities in class. In addition, as claimed by Odlin (2012), CLI affects both comprehension and production; indeed, the findings have demonstrated that transfer is more present in reading than in spontaneous speech and that in the latter the assimilated units incorporate relevant information that would be retrieved simultaneously. Both circumstances may assist us to insist on learning/teaching particular phonetic/phonemic features from the early stages of English acquisition to reduce fossilisation.

We also need to point out that before conducting this study; we have expected particular CLI pronunciation aspects to be more present than others and that we had previously taken for granted as being part of Algerian English. However, with the present study, we have learnt that while some of those expected characteristics were not only singular but that other factors of more importance were often recurrent and which should receive proper consideration. Indeed, we have discovered several new findings that will serve a prime purpose in improving our understanding of learners' difficulties in relation to CLI.

Although this work has identified some significant findings, it nonetheless remains with several limitations among which some need to be revealed in order to be overcome in future research. First, to elicit more socio-cultural factors feedback in transfer, the topic of the interview might be more personal than general. At first and for the study to be objective and valid, we have selected the topic and the poem to uncover transfer in a common context where the informants could communicate easily without any type of pressure. However, it might be interesting to compare the present findings with those of another study that exposes more socio-cultural aspects that learners might (un)consciously express should the topic be more focused on social, religious, cultural and political issues. Second, in the survey, we have realised that while some questions were extremely useful in understanding the participants; others should have been more personally oriented towards their own beliefs together with their experience of CLI. Although the questionnaire of this work focuses on learners' linguistic achievement, proficiency and difficulties, it does not invite them to share their opinion on transfer. The



purpose of avoiding such a question was a fear of any conscious change in the informants' speech during the interviews. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to study pronunciation performance which might be more CLI oriented. Third, this work does not analyse CLI from Berber because we could not find any results despite our hard attempts. As a doctorate thesis is individual, we could not, therefore, seek help from Berber speakers to analyse the English pronunciation of our 140 informants. However, future investigation may allow us such collaboration and further exploration into the matter.

In addition to that, this research has thrown up other questions in need of further investigation. In fact, among the issues we would like to explore is a comparative study which will consist of making informants read a text first then answer free topic questions second to spontaneously elicit the same units they will have already read in the text. The findings of such an experiment might contrast CLI aspects between the two situations, and it may detect other findings helpful to a better understanding of the phenomenon in our teaching.

Throughout this work, some questions were asked and many assumptions were made, but much more is yet to discover and analyse. This work is but the starting point for a long, patient and hard path towards research. Finally, we shall end this work with a quote by Isaac Newton on knowledge and research:

I do not know what I may appear to the world, but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me.



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## **List of Appendices**

## THE ALGERIAN ENGLISH FRAMEWORK (AEF)

	MS1	MS2	MS3	MS4	SE1	SE2	SE3
<b>Interaction</b>	<p>Can interact orally to ask and answer a question</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>on topics and situations related to describing themselves and others, home and time</li> <li>using memorized phrases and basic sentences.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of Spoken Interaction Strategies used</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to get help from others</li> <li>to facilitate pair work in class to maintain conversations.</li> </ul>	<p>Can interact orally to ask and answer questions in very short exchanges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>on concrete topics of family and people, places and living conditions, possessions, likes and dislikes, school and leisure activities, and routines</li> <li>using formulaic phrases and simple sentences.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of Spoken Interaction Strategies used</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to facilitate pair work in class</li> <li>to convey the meaning of unknown words, phrases and structures</li> <li>to evaluate one's learning.</li> </ul>	<p>Can interact orally to ask and answer questions in short exchanges and to respond briefly to the news of others</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>on familiar, personal topics about self, community, personal experiences and plans, leisure activities</li> <li>using simple sentences and frequently used expressions</li> </ul> <p>Can deal with simple, predictable travel situations related to restaurants (e.g. ordering), shopping (e.g. asking for an item), and transportation e.g. (asking where something is and how to get there, asking and telling times/ schedules).</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of Spoken Interaction Strategies used</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to facilitate pair work in class</li> <li>to convey the meaning of unknown words, phrases and structures</li> <li>to learn common "chunks" of language.</li> </ul>	<p>Can interact orally to start and maintain short conversations (i.e. asking/ answering questions and responding to information and news of others)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>on a range of familiar topics related to self and community</li> <li>using both routine and simple, spontaneous sentences.</li> </ul> <p>Can carry out a small range of common functions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to make plans, give opinions and advice, give and follow directions and instructions, and ask for and offer things and assistance</li> <li>using routine and simple spontaneous language.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of Spoken Interaction Strategies used</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to facilitate pair work in class</li> <li>to convey the meaning of unknown words, phrases and structures</li> <li>to gain time to plan and recall language.</li> </ul>	<p>Can interact orally to start and maintain a conversation (e.g. greetings, asking and answering questions, giving opinions and advice, responding to ideas and news of others)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>on topics of interest and familiar matters outside of self and community</li> <li>of a primarily concrete nature (e.g. everyday life, travel, current events)</li> <li>using simple, but primarily spontaneous language.</li> </ul> <p>Can carry out common functions involving two people (e.g. apologizing, asking for and offering help, making plans, giving opinions and advice)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>in a range of contexts and situations</li> <li>when the functions are generally uncomplicated but require spontaneous language.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of Spoken Interaction Strategies used</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to maintain conversations</li> <li>to get and give turns</li> <li>to convey the meaning of unknown language, and explore alternative ways to interact.</li> </ul>	<p>Can interact orally to start, maintain and close a conversation (e.g. greetings, asking questions and follow-up questions, giving and seeking facts and opinions, good-byes) on topics of interest and familiar matters (e.g. current events or concrete issues related to personal life and found in media, such as film, books and music)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>using generally simple language</li> <li>with some variety of expression.</li> </ul> <p>Can carry out common functions involving two people (e.g. apologizing, asking for and offering help, making plans, giving opinions and advice), with some variety in contexts and situations.</p> <p>Can participate in a basic discussion and group decision- making</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>on familiar matters</li> <li>that include the exchange of ideas and opinions.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of Spoken Interaction Strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to maintain conversations, get and give turns,</li> <li>to convey the meaning of unknown language</li> <li>to communicate and check understanding.</li> </ul>	<p>Can interact orally to start, maintain, and close a conversation (e.g. greetings, asking questions and follow-up questions, answering in detail, giving and seeking facts, reasons, advice and opinions and agreeing and disagreeing) on topics of interest and familiar matters (e.g. current events and contemporary issues; concrete issues related to personal life and found in media such as film, books and music) using a range of appropriate, simple language.</p> <p>Can carry out common functions involving two or more people (e.g. making plans, giving opinions and advice, apologizing, asking for and offering help)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>in a variety of contexts and situations</li> <li>making use of a range of language.</li> </ul> <p>Can help sustain a basic discussion and group decision making</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>on familiar topics and matters of interest</li> <li>including the exchange of ideas and opinions.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of Spoken Interaction Strategies used</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to get and give turns in conversations and discussions</li> <li>to communicate and check</li> </ul>

							understanding.
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MS1	MS2	MS3	MS4	SE1	SE2	SE3
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<b>Interpretive Listening</b>	<p>Can listen to and understand main points and some important details (e.g. who, when, where) of very short and simple monologs and dialogs related to familiar topics and concrete situations (e.g. introductions, descriptions of location and physical properties).</p> <p>Can listen to and understand very short, simple classroom instructions and explanations that are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>concrete</li> <li>accompanied by visuals (e.g. gestures, writing or drawing, modeling, demonstration)</li> <li>broken down step-by-step.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of a few basic listening strategies to aid comprehension by</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>using key words</li> <li>using paralinguistic cues</li> </ul> <p>maintaining a helpful state of mind.</p>	<p>Can listen to and understand main points and important details of short monologs and dialogs consisting of simple sentences using formulaic phrases and frequently used expressions related to concrete familiar topics or situations (e.g. personal information or interests, shopping for items, colors, sizes, prices), local places).</p> <p>Can listen to and understand short, simple classroom instructions and explanations that are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>accompanied by visuals (e.g. gestures, writing or drawing, modeling, demonstration)</li> <li>broken down step-by-step.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of a variety of listening strategies to aid comprehension by</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>using key words</li> <li>using paralinguistic cues</li> <li>maintaining a helpful state of mind.</li> </ul>	<p>Can listen to and understand main points and important details of short monologs and dialogs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>consisting of simple sentences using frequently used expressions</li> <li>related to familiar topics or situations, (e.g. personal information, leisure activities opinions interests, restaurants, shopping and transportation, such as where, how, times, cost, route).</li> </ul> <p>Can listen to and understand very short, routine classroom instructions without supporting visuals.</p> <p>Can listen to and understand unfamiliar instructions and explanations that are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>very short and straightforward</li> <li>accompanied by visuals (e.g. gestures, writing or drawings, modeling, demonstration)</li> <li>broken down step-by-step.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of a few listening strategies in order to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>comprehend general ideas or gist</li> <li>make reasonable guesses at meanings.</li> </ul>	<p>Can listen to and understand the gist and some important details of medium-length monologs and dialogs between 30-60 seconds long, with key information presented in routine, but varied language on regularly encountered matters (e.g. school, interests, places, health, personal experiences and stories).</p> <p>Can listen to and understand routine classroom instructions without supporting visuals.</p> <p>Can listen to and understand unfamiliar instructions and explanations that are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>medium length (more than one simple sentence) and straightforward</li> <li>accompanied by visuals (e.g. gestures, writing or drawing, modeling, demonstration)</li> <li>broken down step-by-step.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of several listening strategies used</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to make reasonable guesses at meanings</li> <li>to maintain a helpful state of mind.</li> </ul>	<p>Can listen to and understand main points and some important details of medium-length monologs and dialogs of roughly one minute</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>with key information presented in relatively straightforward language</li> <li>on a range of topics of interest and regularly encountered matters, events and issues found in media</li> <li>that are delivered clearly.</li> </ul> <p>Can listen to and follow directions and instructions that are medium-length (several uninterrupted sentences) and generally straightforward.</p> <p>Can plan for, use, and evaluate the effectiveness of a listening strategy to acquire new language from listening</p>	<p>Can listen to and understand main points and the important details of medium-length (roughly minute-long) monologs and conversations with two or three people</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>on a range of topics of interest and well-known matters found in media (e.g. radio and film), such as plot, characters and themes</li> <li>that may contain less common or more complex language</li> <li>that are delivered clearly.</li> </ul> <p>Can listen to and follow longer (15 or more sentences) directions or instructions that are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>broken into chunks of several sentences</li> <li>generally straightforward</li> <li>familiar in nature and/or have at least one supporting visual.</li> </ul>	<p>Can listen to and understand main points and the important details of longer (more than minute-long) monologs and conversations with two or three people</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>on a range of topics of interest and well-known matters found in media (e.g. radio and film) such as plot, characters, themes and issues</li> <li>that contain less common or more complex language</li> <li>that are delivered clearly, though with some variety in the nationalities of the speakers (e.g. users of English from Algeria, India, England, France, the US or Germany).</li> </ul> <p>Can listen and follow detailed directions and instructions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>with some complex sentences and unknown words</li> <li>that are familiar in nature and/or have at least one supporting visual.</li> </ul>
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Year	MS1	MS2	MS3	MS4	SE1	SE2	SE3
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<p><b>Interpretive Reading</b></p>	<p>Can read and understand the main ideas of very short, formulaic information and descriptive texts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• comprised of learned words, basic phrases and very simple sentences</li> <li>• on familiar topics related to self (e.g. family, home, school, food, leisure activities, clothes).</li> </ul> <p>Can read and understand very short, simple, routine instructions and explanations that</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• are concrete</li> <li>• are found in language learning materials</li> <li>• provide visual support (e.g. pictures and graphs).</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of a few basic reading strategies to aid comprehension by identifying the purpose and using orthographic cues.</p>	<p>Can read and understand the general ideas and some important details of very short, simple informational and descriptive texts (e.g. formulaic personal email) on familiar, concrete topics related to self (e.g. family, home, school, interests, leisure activities and routines).</p> <p>Can find specific, routine information in short texts of simple everyday material that follow a predictable format (e.g. advertisements, menus, itineraries).</p> <p>Can read and follow short, simple directions.</p> <p>Can read and understand short, simple, routine, concrete instructions and explanations found in language-learning materials.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of reading strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to grasp general ideas quickly</li> <li>• to find specific information.</li> </ul>	<p>Can read and understand the main points and important details of short, simple texts on familiar personal topics related primarily to self that consist of common, concrete everyday language.</p> <p>Can find specific, predictable information in a range of simple, straightforward everyday material (e.g. some websites, travel brochures, catalogs).</p> <p>Can read and understand simple instructions and explanations that are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• concrete in nature</li> <li>• found in language-learning materials.</li> </ul> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of a few basic reading strategies to develop</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• reading efficiency and speed</li> <li>• guessing skills.</li> </ul>	<p>Can read and understand the main points and some important details of medium-length texts (e.g. two - three paragraphs) on familiar topics related to self and community (e.g. school, interests, health, experiences and well-known events or issues) that are straightforward and clearly written.</p> <p>Can read and understand the gist of simple arguments or opinions that are clearly written.</p> <p>Can read and understand the main points of simple personal messages describing personal events, feelings/opinions and wishes.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of a few basic reading strategies to develop</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• reading efficiency and speed</li> <li>• guessing skills.</li> </ul>	<p>Can read and understand the main points and some important details of longer texts (three detailed paragraphs) on familiar topics (e.g. school, interests, health, personal experiences, stories and straightforward events or issues) that contain a few complex sentences and less frequent expressions (e.g. advice columns, book jackets, autobiographies, diary entries).</p> <p>Can read and identify the conclusion, main points and some, but not all, details in clearly signaled, generally straightforward arguments on familiar topics (e.g. letters to the editor).</p> <p>Can read and understand enough to make a general response to generally straightforward personal letters describing events, feelings/opinions and wishes.</p> <p>Can plan for, use, and evaluate the effectiveness of several reading strategies to develop</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• guessing skills</li> <li>• the ability to distinguish between literal and implied meaning.</li> </ul>	<p>Can read and understand the main points and significant details of long and detailed texts of three or more paragraphs on familiar matters (including some more abstract cultural and contemporary issues) that contain some complex language, but are generally straightforward, e.g. encyclopedia entries, award nominations, eyewitness accounts.</p> <p>Can identify the line of argument in clearly signaled and organized arguments that deal with familiar matters and that are generally straightforward but may contain complex language.</p> <p>Can read and understand details sufficiently to make specific, short responses to generally straightforward personal messages describing events, feelings/opinions and wishes.</p> <p>Can plan for, use, and evaluate the effectiveness of several reading strategies to develop guessing skills to clarify or summarize information.</p>	<p>Can read and understand the gist and significant details in texts of three or more paragraphs on familiar matters of a more abstract nature (such as cultural and contemporary issues) that contain some unexpected or complex language and ideas, such as political speeches, social commentaries, book or movie reviews.</p> <p>Can identify the line of argument in clearly signaled and organized arguments that deal with familiar matters and that contain unexpected or complex language and ideas.</p> <p>Can read letters or email from friends and understand descriptions of events, feelings and wishes sufficiently to comment or respond appropriately and specifically.</p> <p>Can plan for, use, and evaluate the effectiveness of reading strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to use paratextual clues to aid comprehension</li> <li>• to acquire new language from reading.</li> </ul>
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	MS1	MS2	MS3	MS4	SE1	SE2	SE3
<b>Productive Writing</b>	<p>Can fill in forms or give simple details in writing about personal information (e.g. family, school, address) using very basic and unconnected sentences and phrases.</p> <p>Can write a very short, basic holiday greeting or travel postcard/email comprised of short and simple sentences and phrased, using memorized language and following a prescribed format.</p>	<p>Can write very short, factual descriptions of personal information (e.g. family, home, school/work, friends, using a few formulaic sentences.</p> <p>Can write personal notes and email on routine topics (e.g. travel, thanks and apology), following a standard formula.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of one or two very basic writing strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to generate ideas</li> <li>to create a draft of a text.</li> </ul>	<p>Can write short, factual descriptions about his/her basic environment (e.g. people, places, school/work, living conditions), and about uncomplicated past activities, personal experiences and events, as a list of simple sentences linked with most common connectors (e.g. and, but, because).</p> <p>Can write very short letters or email containing simple descriptions of personal life.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of a few basic writing strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to generate ideas</li> <li>to create a draft of a text.</li> </ul>	<p>Can write short narratives and factual descriptions on familiar topics of personal interest as a loose paragraph of related ideas, using common connectors (e.g. and, but, because, so, then, next, finally).</p> <p>Can write short, personal letters or emails on familiar topics of personal interest to provide description and ask questions, following a conventional format consisting of one main paragraph.</p> <p>Can write basic instructions and directions about routine matters (e.g. recipes, how to get to a site of interest, how to do something) that are generally coherent.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of several writing strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to generate ideas</li> <li>to create a draft of a text.</li> </ul>	<p>Can write short narratives, descriptions and factual reports on personal and/or concrete topics ( e.g. diary entries, imaginative stories, reports, advice letters)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>getting across in writing points he/she feels are important</li> <li>organized into two paragraphs that are unified by topic.</li> </ul> <p>Can write a personal message conveying news and asking for/making brief comments about a friend's news, about topics of interest related to self and community, following a conventional letter format consisting of one main detailed paragraph.</p> <p>Can write basic instructions and directions about routine matters (e.g. recipes, how to get to a site of interest, how to do something) that are generally coherent.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of writing strategies related to each step of the writing process.</p>	<p>Can write narrative, descriptive and expository texts, on a range of familiar matters and topics of interest that are straightforward and consist of two to three relatively cohesive paragraphs.</p> <p>Can write a short, persuasive letter to the editor on a familiar matter, exhibiting simple characteristics of an argument.</p> <p>Can write personal messages giving news and expressing thoughts and opinions on topics of interest related to self and community and beyond, or responding to the news of his/her correspondent, following a conventional format of more than one paragraph.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of several writing strategies related to each step of the writing process.</p>	<p>Can write narratives, descriptions, expository texts or essays (e.g. articles for media, reports, essays, film reviews), on a variety of concrete and more abstract subjects related to his/her interests and studies, that are relatively detailed and consist of three generally clear and cohesive paragraphs.</p> <p>Can write a simple factual argument exhibiting a line of development which includes some subsidiary points and relevant examples, and a conclusion.</p> <p>Can write personal letters giving news and expressing thoughts and opinions about well-known abstract socio-cultural topics (films, music, well-known contemporary issues or news) and commenting on the news and thoughts of his/her correspondent.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of several writing strategies related to each step of the writing process.</p>



Year	MS1	MS2	MS3	MS4	SE1	SE2	SE3
<b>Productive Speaking</b>	<p>Can orally produce a very short, simple self-introduction comprised of basic information such as name, age, school, address, interests.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of one basic productive speaking strategy for producing a clear message.</p>	<p>Can sustain a very short, simple oral description of everyday life, interests and abilities in a list of points, using formulaic sentences and phrases.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of one or two basic productive speaking strategies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to produce a clearer message</li> <li>• to evaluate one's learning.</li> </ul>	<p>Can orally tell a very short story or give a brief description about personal things (e.g. plans, routines, possessions, likes/dislikes) in a simple list of points.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of productive speaking strategies used</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to gain time</li> <li>• to plan and retrieve language.</li> </ul>	<p>Can sustain a short oral narrative (story, experience or event) or a description on topics of interest, as a series or sequence of connected points.</p> <p>Can plan for, use and evaluate the effectiveness of productive speaking strategies used to maintain interest.</p>	<p>Can sustain an oral narrative (story, personal experience or event) or a description, on a variety of topics of interest, consisting of one to two paragraphs loosely organized by topic and basic connectors.</p>	<p>Can sustain an oral narrative or description, on familiar matters and topics of interest, consisting of more than one somewhat cohesive paragraph.</p>	<p>Can produce an oral narrative or description, on a variety of topics (e.g. dreams, hopes, ambitions, plots of books, unpredictable occurrences such as accidents), consisting of more than one somewhat cohesive paragraph that includes some basic sensory details and vivid description.</p> <p>Can give an oral report prepared from researched facts on a familiar matter or topic of interest, presented as 2-3 unified, coherent paragraphs.</p>

Year	MS1	MS2	MS3	MS4	SE1	SE2	SE3
<b>Linguistic Competency</b>	<p><b>Vocabulary:</b> Can relate personal details in routine, concrete situations, using very basic, memorized words and phrases.</p> <p><b>Grammar:</b> Can use a few very simple grammatical structures and memorized sentence patterns, with limited control.</p> <p><b>Pronunciation:</b> Can pronounce a very limited repertoire of practiced words and phrases, with varying intelligibility and a strong foreign accent.</p>	<p><b>Vocabulary:</b> Can politely communicate a limited range of information in simple, everyday situations, using memorized phrases and groups of a few words.</p> <p><b>Grammar:</b> Can use very simple sentence patterns with memorized phrases with some control, but still systematically makes basic mistakes.</p> <p><b>Pronunciation:</b> Can pronounce practiced words, phrases and some routine sentences with varying intelligibly and a strong foreign accent, with mispronunciations common.</p>	<p><b>Vocabulary:</b> Can use sufficient vocabulary to carry out routine and straightforward exchanges by adapting memorized simple phrases with limited vocabulary substitution, communicating appropriately, with vocabulary mistakes common when venturing away from concrete topics.</p> <p><b>Grammar:</b> Can use simple structures accurately but still makes basic mistakes.</p> <p><b>Pronunciation:</b> Can pronounce practiced words, phrases and some simple sentences intelligibly, with a strong foreign accent and with basic mispronunciations present.</p>	<p><b>Vocabulary:</b> Can effectively use the words and phrases needed to express ideas within straightforward, familiar topics and situations, comprehensibly, politely and appropriately, using strategies to convey concepts or adjust message when exact words are not known.</p> <p><b>Grammar:</b> Can use</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• common routines and patterns with general, but not complete control, with mistakes common within less familiar topics and situations, or when trying to express complex ideas.</li> </ul> <p><b>Pronunciation:</b> Can pronounce familiar and some simpler new words, phrases and routine sentences intelligibly, with a strong foreign accent and with mispronunciations present.</p>	<p><b>Vocabulary:</b> Can exploit a wide range of simple language (words and phrases) to appropriately express much of what he/she wants to say on a range familiar topics, in order to be easily comprehended much of the time when trying to say exactly what he/she wants to.</p> <p><b>Grammar:</b> Can use a range of routines and patterns in predictable and some less predictable situations with general accuracy, though mistakes can occur that affect comprehension.</p> <p><b>Pronunciation:</b> Can intelligibly pronounce most language used, with a foreign accent often evident and mispronunciations to be expected.</p>	<p><b>Vocabulary:</b> Can effectively use the vocabulary needed to fully express his/her ideas on most topics pertinent to his/her life and community, appropriately and with errors that only occasionally affect comprehension.</p> <p><b>Grammar:</b> Can use grammar needed to express ideas in a range of familiar situations with good accuracy, with native -language influence present and mistakes that only occasionally affect comprehension.</p> <p><b>Pronunciation:</b> Can intelligibly pronounce language used, though a foreign accent is evident and mispronunciations occur.</p>	<p><b>Vocabulary:</b> Can effectively and use the needed vocabulary to fully express his/her ideas with precision on matters connected to his/her interests and generally known topics.</p> <p><b>Grammar:</b> Can use grammar needed to express ideas on matters connected to his/her interests and generally known topics, with good accuracy and precision, though minor mistakes may occur.</p> <p><b>Pronunciation:</b> Can clearly and intelligibly pronounce language used, though a foreign accent is evident and occasional mispronunciations occur.</p>

**APPENDIX B**  
Questionnaire

Questionnaire - Informant Number....

LMD Year L1, L2, L3

- Age.....
- Female / male
- Place of birth.....
- Where do you live (now)? .....
- Name of High School and place.....
- Did you study only in Algeria? Yes / No
- If No, then please mention the place and the period.....
- How many years have you studied English?.....
- Do you attend/Have you attended extra lessons in English (e.g. private school, extra schooling at home by teachers, etc.) Yes / No
- If Yes, then please mention the period.....
- What was your mark in English at the “Baccalaureate” exam? .....
- What are your marks in Grammar ..... Phonetics.....Written ..... Oral.....
- Do you like English? Yes / No
- Was English your first choice at university Yes / No
- Do you prefer British English / American English/ Other.....
- Do you feel motivated studying English?.....
- .....
- .....
- Do you honestly study at home?.....
- .....
- .....
- Do you think that learning English is easy? Yes / No
- If no, please mention your difficulties.....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- Suggestions to solve difficulties: I.....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- According to you, what are your difficulties in pronunciation?.....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- Suggestions to have a better pronunciation: I.....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....



## APPENDIX C

### If - Poem by Rudyard Kipling

If you can keep your head when all about you  
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;  
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,  
But make allowance for their doubting too:  
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,  
Or, being lied about, don't deal in lies,  
Or being hated don't give way to hating,  
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise;

If you can dream---and not make dreams your master;  
If you can think---and not make thoughts your aim,  
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster  
And treat those two impostors just the same:.  
If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken  
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,  
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,  
And stoop and build'em up with worn-out tools;

If you can make one heap of all your winnings  
And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,  
And lose, and start again at your beginnings,  
And never breathe a word about your loss:  
If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew  
To serve your turn long after they are gone,  
And so hold on when there is nothing in you  
Except the Will which says to them: "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,  
Or walk with Kings---nor lose the common touch,  
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,  
If all men count with you, but none too much:  
If you can fill the unforgiving minute  
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,  
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,  
And---which is more---you'll be a Man, my son!

**APPENDIX D**

Questionnaire on English Accents

Age: ... .. Masculine  Feminine

Level of Education: ... ..

Do you watch any English channels? Yes  No

Specify the English channels you watch: British  American  Others  ... ..

.....

Are you able to distinguish an RP (English) speaker from an American one?

Yes  No

Which English accent do you prefer? RP  American  Others ... ..

Why? .....

.....

.....

.....

---

Age: ... .. Masculine  Feminine

Level of Education: ... ..

Do you watch any English channels? Yes  No

Specify the English channels you watch: British  American  Others  ... ..

.....

.....

Are you able to distinguish an RP (English) speaker from an American one? Yes

No

Which English accent do you prefer? RP  American  Others ... ..

.....

Why? .....

.....

.....

.....

**APPENDIX E**  
Informants' Transcripts

The following transcripts represent the recordings of the 100 subjects of the first experiment. The informants were given numbers according to the groups they belonged to at the time of the experiment. Informants from 1 to 44 were my students; however, those between 101 and 201 were not. Moreover, not all informants were recorded.

INF.1/F.	[I I like I read book about uh the sport uh my favourite sport is about aikido is about aikido uh the writer is Georges Well Georges Well is about the technique of aikido is about the story of aikido uh this sport is an art-martial in Japanese and uh I practise this sport this sport uh this book in French this book in French I uh I I feel this is this is my lonely uh this is my favourite thing in my life uh when I practise or uh I watch video about this sport or I read uh this book I feel good and I don't know I can this is the the first thing I do it in my life by myself and I and I succeed in this sport very quickly very quickly because I love it too much I do it by my heart and and I participate in this uh sport and this book is very important to me because uh because he uh because it uh speaks about technique and uh technique and uh the the big Sensei because uh because the I rest in this when I go to the place when I practise uh I rest uh I rest and I uh all my problems all my thinks think about the about about my studies I forget it and I uh change my mind and I start uh uh a new day a new and I start a new day I feel good I uh]
INF.2/F.	Wuh The book my favourite book which I read was the a book called the last song it's a book of Ernest Hemingway and it is about a girl who had had her parents divorced and she was forced to live with her father for awhile but she didn't know the reason why she had to stay with him uh em and her little brother fo uh so she moved from her living place and left her mother behind and then she spent uh a moments I mean awhile with her father being so wild and trying to be (outloy) but then she discovered and she met a boy in the city she was staying in and she lived a very very romantic story with the guy and she start to discover very bad things about him and the other thing that sh her father was had cancer and she didn't know and with the time the boy was involved in something that has relation with her father since her father was em accused in burning a church and she didn't know of course and then when she discovered she had this idea that her boyfriend that she was so in love with him was also involved in this actually his friend were the ones who burned the church so she blames him for being dishonest with her and letting her father being accused like this and even though he knew that he had cancer and she he didn't do anything about it so with time her father dies after suffering with his the cancer and then her relationship with this boy gets very worse but she se she she remains loving him even that he made huge mistakes so she works in forgiving him but instead she te decides to take a step in her life letting her wildness behind being a good girl even though she lost her father and her boyfriend but she earned something which is a new starts and a lesson and she learn a very very precious lesson
INF.3/M.	[The movie is uh is a name Transporteur and there is uh good man who have uh has a nice ride and he drive uh very well and uh he have a child to take him to the school and uh the the father of this uh the child work is uh a president or something like this and there is uh a bad man who kidnap this child and uh tell uh to the father of uh this the child to give him uh money to uh see his child again and this good man he will save this uh child and uh in the end uh he succeed uh to see this child alive and uh I see this movie uh on MBC Action and uh is movie uh action and uh I like it uh the action the action this man because this man is good man and he this dislike to kidnap a child]
INF.4/F.	Em I really like the movie uh of the Italian Job it's an action movie I saw it about uh three or four times uh it's a story is about uh a group of people who get used to steal money from banks and so on and this time is their last time uh to steal so they decided to steal a ship of gold and what I uh loved the most in this movie is uh the cars and specially the driving which was very interesting and uh also the places which uh was in New York and Spain and uh also the great artist who made the movie uh very nice and uh that's all If I have the opportunity to see it or to watch it uh for another time I will watch it
INF.5/M.	Well the book is named by uh the Broken House for uh Agatha Christie uh uh ok the author and then it was established in 2003 and uh the facts are in the uh the story that Josephine the little girl killed her grandfather uh just because she was uh curious and uh she was uh a phenomene phenomene a phenomenon so uh this is this is about the story uh and it's about this Ralph who love uh Sophia Sophia is the sister of Josephine and all the all uh the personalities are of the story everyone has special character which is not like the other one and all of them are uh very has very specific uh how to say it well let's say character that's all thank you uh I like the book because uh it was Ramadan so I didn't have something else to uh to do and uh it was very very interested book because you ca couldn't know what is next everything is so complicated so that when you when you feel that know the story you find something else you feel confused this is why I I loved the books and uh the book uh about twenty-four books uh no twenty-six books are uh the same uh like uh it was very interested and I read all the books in uh Ramadan uh and thank you



INF.6 /F.	<p>Uh uh my story is ab is about uh it's a book but they make it as a movie so uh it was uh about a man uh in uh in a ship that uh with a crew that uh uh travel from one uh one country to another once uh the it was very uh uh a storm in the uh ocean so their ship was uh was not very uh very good for those for those condition so uh when the storm came the uh boat was uh going and so uh the this man Georges Robinson was uh the uh the chief or the leader of the ship so he uh make decision to uh that all the crew of the ship have to uh go go out of the ship to the ocean so uh when uh so they they uh they go out from the ship uh and in the morning uh when he wake up uh uh he found himself uh on the beach and all the other crew are died but when he look uh look up he w saw the ship uh in very good condition uh so he was very regret and it was a very magnificent uh uh very magnificent story I like it because uh it was very em it was very it have meaning that sometime you you have a decision but uh and you see it in all the size is good and the best for you but it is not</p>
INF.7 /F.	<p>Me personally I I like movies and stories uh so much in this case I want to tell you the the type and the kind of movie uh I like uh love movies uh so uh the the movie which uh which I like it and prefer it is uh Titanic uh uh it's so I want to uh talk about uh the moevem uh uh so uh I choose Titanic because uh because it's the the movie which I like it and prefer it and also uh it's uh revo remove my the film which remove my feelings and emotion and also uh uh it talks about uh its it talked about two lovers Jack and Rose also em talk about uh uh the the big ship which (sl...) uh and also talked about love because I like love because nothing is more real in this life uh I like it because uh talked about love uh nothing is more real in this life like love</p>
INF.8 /F.	<p>I don't like books and I don't watch the movies but I'm going to talk about a real story that I saw in the TV it was about the uh it's about the uh decline in our uh Arab worlds it is in our Arab worlds it was about a little kid who is uh who lives in uh Saudia Arabia uh he was uh a little kid uh the older one in his family in his family he had three uh two others two other kids uh sisters and brothers uh he is the older one he is punished because he uh was uh punished by his parents because he was the first one without no reason in illegal way uh they burnt him and they uh they burnt him they they they they deal him like uh like a slave in a not member of his or he her family I did like it the story because it is it was mentioned in it was mentioned in the uh in uh in uh a TV show which is MBC MBC in a week which deal with social situation in the Arab world and were in uh in the world in whole I did like the story because uh it shows as uh the situation which is going through decline uh in our Arab world</p>
INF.9 /F.	<p>The movie is an Algerian movie is uh uh Dar Sbitar is the title and uh is talk about the (revo) uh Algerian revolution when uh is talk about the condition uh of people in this period uh because uh the uh the colonial was very severe with Algerian and even uh with families so uh there was a family uh children was the boy whose name is Omar he refused the condition of his family and try to change it uh so uh one day all his member of his family he talked to his mother and they said that uh he was very hungry so uh the woman his mother was hard worker she worked very hard to get uh uh for her family to give him food and uh and uh every all the condition uh for best life uh but uh uh the mother was very depressed because she's very hard worker she work hard even though she can't uh uh uh give their member family all the condition so I like this story because uh the actor Shafia Boudraa uh was the mother of Omar she was uh a hard worker even although uh the condition was not good for her she uh fight and don't give up and uh try her best to give all the member of her family a better life I like it because uh uh the mother uh she fight for her uh her freedom because uh in this period was uh a colonial period so it's not easy for a woman to fight and uh to work uh because uh the colonials very severe uh because Algerian woman was so brave so I like it</p>
INF.10 /M.	<p>I want to speak about a story of celeb of one of celebrities it's called Edith Piaf me personally I like her uh story because uh it was very impressive and uh when the story's speak about his life she was uh hung out out and uh she she gave us uh many beautiful songs uh can give the title like Badam Badam La Vie en Rose me personally I want impressed I was impressed and uh ferfunately her death that was a big shock for her fans and so on uh the thing that I like it uh this uh story her personality was very strong and uh the titles of her songs uh were true true love true word uh that can goes deepen of our heart of course and that's all</p>
INF.12 /F.	<p>Good morning my favourite book is about uh <i>Animal Farm</i> it's uh uh for uh author George Orwell uh (stor) my favourite actor is uh Snowball Snowball animal farm is uh a story about the war in the world it is a great story that I like it it is uh showed that uh the power change the man it change the man how when uh when ye when someone become power and can change the people to become bad or uh good if he was good he change the world become peace and love and give hope to the others and if it was bad it's war and disaster crime every bad things in the worlds that what I think about it I like the party that show the reality of the society everything it shows that the wise man always find solutions and he if he the wise man die everything became disaster huge disaster that's what I think</p>

INF. 13 / M.	<p>Uh I I have a book uh actually I read it uh his name is uh uh a Sailor uh it's a story about a young boy taking uh ship with his friends uh to to right to the sea so the story is all about the courage and uh how to be a brave and to take uh uh brave decisions with his friends and to face difficulties and how uh to to deal with his friends in hard moments and uh this book is uh wrote has written by the writ uh the author Melville uh the most yes the most uh writer of Moby Dick uh I liked it so much because I bring it from a library (I'INESM) and so I didn't finish the story so I take it again and I hold it here with uh in my my bag and uh I liked it so much because is all about how to be how as I said just a moment ago how to deal with the the difficulties and how to deal with your friends and to be courage in the most hard moments</p>
INF. 14/ F.	<p>uh I saw movie uh it's uh it's a long time uh the title is fi mahab arih I do not know how to say it in English uh it's a story about uh about uh about a woman uh how uh ok my English I can't talk uh it's a woman uh who struggle wuh with the life or how aahm uh it's a long time so it's uh it's about a woman uh they show or or the story show uh it's a story about uh the war uh in America the Nordists Sudists the South and uh the n uh the Nor Nordist uh ok I like uh what what uh why this story attract me uh this story attract me uh b humph uh what I uh watch uh what uh what I like in the story is about uh the woman how she uh she get get the power of her family uh to uh uh to have uh a better better life uh she aahm she she worked uh different uh work uh uh even uh she uh even she uh she became a liar uh to have uh to have money to have money I yes I'm so sorry</p>
INF. 15/ M.	<p>ok uh I've always uh liked uh this book uh it's always been in my shelf bookshelf it's called uh Great American Short Stories uh my my father always showed it to me and uh advised me to read it uh but once I was going to read it but there was there was uh hard vocabularies in it so I I didn't read it since then so uh as about the movie uh ok so I I didn't read actually the book but I like this movie it is called uh uh Kingdom of Heaven uh it's uh it's about uh the Christian campaign in Jerusalem and I am a huge fan of the the Middle Ages and what's what was what was going in the Middle Ages and uh uh as uh as about uh the name of uh of the boo of the movie it's called Kingdom of Heaven and the author I don't actually remember I didn't pay attention to the uh the uh I I liked I liked very much the movie because uh it was all about uh it was it was something to do with uh the the Muslims in all over the world and uh it was talking about how Christians wanted to to take Jerusalem which is a land of Muslims and it has always been and uh I like also uh the history of Muslims and uh and uh and a land uh it's called Constantinople it's now called Turkey and uh and uh in the future they they tell stories that uh in in uh in Constantinople they will they will be a final final war between between the Muslims and the uh and the Christians and so that's what I like this age</p>
INF. 16/ F.	<p>actually I watch uh washed a movie which is his name is Vampire's Diaries uh I don't know the uh the actors because is not uh they're not famous one but uh it talk about imagination and supernatural power it talk about uh some people who drink drink uh blood not water and uh uh it's they scare from the sun so it wil they walk in the night and I like this movie because it it uh it uh take the brain imagines uh imagine and uh I like it because uh the actors uh let you uh lets your brain uh is like you are one of the actors and uh I not bore uh when I watch it again and again</p>
INF. 17/ F.	<p>There is uh a movie which I like so much uh it called Twilight I like uh so the act uh it talked about uh the actors are uh robbed by the sun uh and uh Christian Stewart the uh the is the story talked about uh a young couple uh the they are in love and uh the boy is a vampire and a the girl is human the uh there's so much differences uh in their lives they are living differently he [laughs] he what to say it[laughs] he is his food is uh blood uh and he her foodd is uh like us ok aahm he loved her so much so uh she didn't know the first that he is a vampire she thought he was human but uh bu uh but the time she find that something unnatural is happening and uh she start uh he he cached her attach like this and uh they they they were involved in relationship and uh they get uh married yes aahm but uh someone wants to kill her because she is human and she is uh like uh a target and uh they want her blood and uh he fought for her because uh she is so precious uh [laughs] uh so precious than anyone an even he was younger than her and uh he's he prefer to walk away to protect her than uh to uh to be next to her and hurt her to be hurt uh so she is sh she was uh heartbroken because she thought that he never loved her uh in the end they were together and they get married and they she get pregnant uh when she get pregnant she uh she uh had changes in her physical [laughs] pregnancy because the she uh the baby inside her was uh a vampire half-vampire and half-human so it almost killed her but she she prefers to keep the baby than to lose him cause so precious because it's uh a love baby [laughs] but uh she did and uh she succeed to uh to give birth to uh a vampire baby and at the end th she prefers also to be a vampire like her husband to uh to be to live forever with him the end of story and what I what I liked the most of this movie is that uh they live in the movie but in relaiy also they had a relationship [laughs] uh so uh that catch me a lot thank you yes</p>

INF. 18/ F.	<p>Uh so it's a story about the <i>Letter of Juliette</i> is a book and is a movie and uh a book uh his name is the letter of Juliette is written but by uh Nicholas Sparks uh and uh the movie is or the book is about uh a young a young girl who want went to Venice to she she travel to get some time and she was working in the street uh and she found monument of Juliette and there was a war and this war was uh there was a a letters that uh girls uh who who were in loves in love sorry uh writed about her boyfriend and so uh she she readed the letters and when she check on letter in the war she found all the letter about old woman who was put in there after 15 years so uh she found the address and uh she writes to this old woman and after she came back to Venice uh because she was she get ambition to fond her love and uh she travelled over the north of Italy and south and she found her love and they get married and after uh she had this old mother uh sorry this old woman had uh a nephew and girl had married with her nephew so this is the story I I like this story because emm there was a message and I like the story that they had drama and romantic style so and I found it and I like the end the happy end this is why yes thank you</p>
INF. 19/ F.	<p>The title of the book I remember uh uh the first book and my favourite book that I have ever read was ti titled uh <i>La Petite Fadette</i> it was a book about two about uh about a married couple who brought ou uh who brought out to life aahm twins those twins why they grew up right and I don't remember the writer na the writer's name so I'm re ss sorry well as I said before it was about two couples who brought up the lives of uh twins uh very very adorable twins and uh when they grew up one was named aahm I don't remember the name there was this girl who was named uh Fadette and she was a very uh not girly like err she her mother di date that and uh uh it was sad that she was a witch because uh they she was uh she was uh preparing like uh how do I say it uh like me they are medicines for people but people thought they were uh like drugs so uh that her family had a a bad uh as we say uh ok I have the lost the word about uh I precisely wanted to say so I'll pass to why did I like the story I like the story because it was uh I like the moral in it it was about uh friendship jealousy and being shallow because this girl was ugly and uh and even though she was ugly she has got a very very kind personality and a very uh well and kind hearted girl and the uh th there was only that twin who uh developed the feelings for her because he he uh found out that side of her which was the uh inner side her her real uh beauty in inside of her so I like this because it was most of people nowadays only look in the superficial uh of uh people and this uh story showed us uh showed me uh the the mm small which is uh being reasonable being wise wise and uh looking uh others personality and consideration and understanding</p>
INF. 20 /F.	<p>ok the title of the book is <i>Code Life</i> by the and the writer is Doctor Fill I I like so much this book because I found it it help a lot to stand uh and you have to face the world and you've got to make yourself stronger inside and outside with people everyone in the world has a weak and strong points but this book help a lot to accept yourselves inside first and outside then it comes later uh it's so interested and uh uh as I said specially the first <u>sh</u> chapter it's amazing I found it amazing</p>
INF. 21 /F.	<p>The book that I had read named by (<i>bi ma ta7lomo diaab</i>) uh is uh written by uh Yasmina Khadra actually I uh love this uh book because uh there was uh a lot of suspense and a lot of actions and uh it was uh uh talking about Walid Nava who is someone that he is always running uh because uh af the police was running after him because uh he was uh [Miss how we tell <i>irhab</i>?] because uh he was afraid from uh and uh no matter what he has run far uh the police finally catch him and he was killed so uh we I have understand that fi uh things that ha God had uh make them for us they are always they're always happened and this is what we call faith yes</p>
INF. 22 /F.	<p>I I the title ok the title of the book is <i>Monkey's Power</i> it's the title of the book is uh [missed recording/inf. hand on micro]</p>
INF. 23 /F.	<p>the book is uh Arabic uuuh Ahlam Mostaghanemi) uh <i>al asswad yalik bik</i> is talk about uh uh the se sufferance of a woman uh and this book uh has uh many poem and uh proverb uh talk about general uh a man uh everything but on I like it because he uh he uh because he talk about a woman everything uh the feeling what sh uh what she feel when uh she fall in a love this uh book is uh will be a series in Ramadan TV title of book is al aswad yali9 bik writer uh Ahlam Mstghanemi summarise is done yes yes</p>
INF. 24 /F.	<p>the title of the story is uh a <i>Necklace</i> written by Guy de Maupassant is uh a French writer uh th the story's talk about uh a m a married woman uh who is poor woman married with uh married with uh</p>

INF. 25/F.	<p>Ok so it's a book I really like it and read it every time it was a gift from my grandfather and uh I appreciate it a lot so the title of the book <i>Le Conte de Monte Cristo</i> it's French it's a French uh novel and uh of uh the writer Alexander Dumas so uh the story is about uh a sailor who was uh uh committed and no it he he was uh he was judged and uh jai uh he was put in jail uh but uh he didn't committed any crime so uh as a summarise uh I will say uh that uh aahm he's uh his best friend were the uh the the reason which was uh the reason behind uh this story so uh so first of all uh he was uh dis he was uh dis he was uh sailor and uh in uh engaged to this uh uh French uh woman and uh he she was uh aahm from a big uh fa family uh her high status was uh was the the problem and his best friend envied him uh so he uh aahm he put this uh this trap for him this trick and he was uh in jail for uh twenty years and uh he met this old man wi uh with which left him uh aahm a treasure so uh when the d the old man died he he uh gave him this map and after that uh he he uh escaped from jail so uh who went out to uh to get his treasure so after that he he come he uh he he had this plan of coming back to that village to revenge uh to get revenge so uh after that uh he really did it so what I like about this story is uh that uh it is true this uh this feelings this uh everything is true the you can uh expect everything from the the closest uh friend of yours or even one your family so aahm that's it</p>
INF. 26/F.	<p>uh I start I <u>wash</u> uh this movie since uh five or uh six year in the uh uh the channel of uh Alger Algeria uh it is about uh Mars Attacks that are uh people of uh uh Mars that invade uh our ear our uh planet and uh their purpose is to kill all people and uh uh became uh the leader or I don't know president of the Earth so it in order to inva uh colon colonise it so they start killing people without reas without uh any reasons and aahm aaa remember one action they uh the did that is they uh cry and uh one to uh uh I don't know how to say it [laughs] uh peace of someone I don't know and uh when they touched their hand they uh uh disappear this person uh I don't how but uh they are like this and uh uh fi finally I didn't remember the details but finally uh uh intelligent intelligent boy with his grandmother uh know what their weakness is and uh create uh a musical uh part errr I don't knwo how to say it uh which make them uh errr which which is very loud and uh aahm and uh make when they uh when the uh people of Mars heard it they start cry and uh and uh aahm no and they disappear like this uh [laughs] uh b became liquid and uh and uh uh like it aahm because uh uh little boy can uh [laughs] uh can fe la can win can wins errr I really easy part uh yes like it because uh they are not and this people are not intelligent because uh because they may they have no mind people of Earth are more intelligent than them than them only</p>
INF. 27/F.	<p>uh I didn't read a book before but I uh read a the Quran uh so uh I will give you a summary of the Quran uh the Quran is a religion book of course for Muslims and uh it contains many interesting things about the future uh and also it talks uh to us about uh the past and uh it contains lot of stories of prophets which make which make it uh a lot interesting and uh uh what I say I like about the Quran that it is it talks about the reality about our future also uh it's makes us learn how to live and uh and also it contains many many new things that are not in the uh in reality and uh that's all</p>
I. 28/M	<p>Really I didn't read literature book or a novel before but I read uh Encyclopedia and uh Book of Sciences uh the book uh which I like uh it talk about it talk about uh the uh the Earth and the geology geology I like it be because it uh gives me uh information about the Earth and the uh cultivate me and uh now all about the Earth and the uh the disaster and uh that's all I like it before it give more information and uh</p>
INF. 29/M	<p>Uh well I didn't read read any book uh before but I watch some TVs like the movie uh the Last Man stands uh Standing uh and the hero in the story uh is <u>wish</u> name is Yuri m he's gived me all what I need because this is life and he practiced the mixed martial art uh it's kind of sport like boxing uh and he can lifted by crime into jail because he killed people uh uh you know the world and disputed it's in this particular example uh we see kind of belief or tr and trust uh and even though confidence that this man going to do everything in his life well so is gonna be good for me Insha-Allah uh but I like this movie because he give me all what I need uh be because life is uh challenge and beauty uh so we need and take our part uh we take uh our personality carefully</p>
INF. 30/F.	<p>The uh title of the movie is uh the Notebook it is a real story about uh two couple uh in the first uh they show us in the movie uh a man an old man an old man who his uh wife uh is uh in hospital uh she lose her uh memorise uh he uh she thought that he is just a friend she di she she do she didn't know knew that he he's uh husband so he tell tell her he ask her to to uh read a book for her and she she said yes so he he tell her that uh the there was a boy who liked a girl she's seventy she was seventeen years old she uh her name is Ally and his name is is Noah so she uh she he wanted to date her but she don't want to uh she was very rich girl uh she she's uh educated he but he's he is not so he keep follow her and follow but she didn't want to accept him but finally he wins her heart [laughs] uh I like uh this movie because it's a real story uh uh it's uh show us the the level of uh s soci society sh because she was a rich girl but he a poor uh her father didn't want to accept this relation but at the end he wins her heart</p>

INF.31/F.	The book that I chosed is uh the <i>Count of Monte Cristo</i> uh the writer is Alexander Dumas uh why I chose this book because uh or the summary of the book that aahm before in uh eighteen uh thirty six I think uh sailor man whose name was or is aahm uh Edmond Dantes and uh he was uh successful uh sailor man and has uh fiancé whose name uh was uh Mercedes and he was so in love with her and uh unfortunately uh he has uh a friend but this friend was so jealous of him so he try to betrayed him and uh put him in prison and he didn't know about about it so uh when he get off out he met an old man in prison and he helped him to uh to know and to be more uh vigilant next time and uh when he uh get got out of the prison he take the revenge and uh killed uh he didn't killed but he he killed the his enemies and uh in the end he uh I don't remember the story [laughs] I chose this book because uh Edmond Dan because in life we don't have we we have to be vigilant and to know and to choose our friends because even our uh close friends can be uh can be dangerous and uh can be jealous of us so we have to be vigilant and uh to take care
INF.32/M.	Uh the movie that I chosed to summarise it is uh uh the movie of Freedom Writers it was uh movie that it's inspired from true story in uh real life it was uh about teacher who who make a change for her students to uh face uh their life even the students there were born in poor city and they uh they were more more educative so uh she pu she pu she pushed them to uh to to be uh more uh interesting in studying and how to write uh they were they were their liver were from zero until she learn she learn them to uh to be free in writing to be uh to fa uh to to uh to be free in uh your writing in your life to uh to be not uh af afraid from uh from something because uh this life needs to be uh this life need to be uh more uh conscious uh so that uh she make a change I like this movie because uh she show uh she it show us how uh the teacher is important in uh the life and how uh it make change ev uh in the student and in new generation uh even if the students uh are not uh have a good
INF.33/F.	Titanic is my prefer uh is my prefer film uh well I I chose Titanic because it's it a true story uh the true story speaks about uh speaks about an true story uh which happens in uh middle of uh ocean and uh where and uh this and where this uh films it speaks about it speaks about uh true story which happens in middle of uh ocean and uh and this shape were true lovers two really lovers aahm uh represents represents uh the faithful love represents the faithful love and uh sensitive uh emotion and feelings well I like it because uh today uh nowadays there is no uh true love nowadays uh there is no true love and uh uh we need uh we need it today that's all I like it because uh it's inspired me uh inspired me and when I watch when I watch it I feel good that
INF.34/F.	Three Meters above the Sky I uh wanna uh talk about uh an uh an Italian love story uh she's uh she is speak errr it's speak uh about uh an uh aahm an actor who called uh aahm Hugo Olivera about a movie uh Hugo Olivera uh is a bad boy uh that uh he discover uh that uh his mother is uh an uh uh a whore that his uh he discover that his mother is a whore uh and uh he fall in her love with her girlfriend uh Katrina and uh finally finally he uh I like it because uh I uh aahm I wants all the parents and uh exactly mothers uh with uh always with uh her childrens uh with their childrens and uh errr that's all that's all yes
INF.35/F.	So bismillah first I would like to say that I'm obsessed of Shakespeare he's my uh he's my favourite one I love reading his books I love reading his books and I'm obsessed of his stories uh for example Romeo and Juliette and King Lear and Othello uh and so uh I I really love to know uh more about uh the period that uh he he lived in and about uh the that ages that ages and I wish if I were living there living there with him cause I love their uh their style clothes yes their clothes and aahm his uh his his uh let's say his uh way of writing cause he he has a sp a special words that he used in his uh play and uh plays and uh books and uh book uh like sh like Romeo and Juliette he's my favourite one and uh I didn't read all the book but I uh read a few a few pages of it uh I love the parts when he was uh just uh in front of uh Juliette and he was saying a poem that uh he loves her and his start describing her face her love for her and I'm obsessed of this story and uh it is my my let's say the part that helped me to have ambition ambition to finish my study abroad and to to work hard here and succeed cause this is I love this book cause uh there's a new words a new words that I didn't know and uh I can uh get benefit with with this words when I when I for example when I start reading this book I I uh pick up this word and went to my dictionary which Oxford and I check in the dictionary the meaning of this word and uh I use it my paragraphs in the exams and uh in my examples for example if teacher wan want example I'll you I'll give him this new words yes can I uh carry on so so I wish I wish to to to be uh experienced in uh in literature this is my my dream that's it
INF.36/F.	I've chosen a s TV serie which uh speaks about a group of teenagers uh uh who live who live in California in New Port Beach aahm uh the story is about uh one of this uh of this uh of this teenagers who who is uh who aahm can I repeat please uh he was abdo uh adopted by a rich family and uh he loved a girl aahm but at the end uh the girl died uh aahm uh I uh I really love this uh this serie because uh you can feel that the events uh can can happen to any anyone uh in the real life yes [laughs]
INF.37/F.	Title of this story is uh Goodbye Africa uh I didn't know the writer uh this story is talk about uh a couple from Britain and they come to Africa to work uh uh aahm and uh the husband is a colonian her husband is a colonian uh and when he uh uh he go to uh work for a long time he stay uh alone at home with her serva servant and aahm uh he uh cheat oh her husband she cheat on her husband with her servant uh and at the end uh he didn't uh knew what uh what he did and he tell the truth and they come uh come back to Britain I uh like this story because uh it is uh it is true story uh and uh they can



INF.38 /F.	I have I have watched a lot of movies but the one which I really liked is uh movie of a ar-risala produced by Mostafa Al-Aqad this movie speaks about the life of our Prophet Mohamed Salla Allahu 3aleihi wa sallam how prosper Islam from the beginning till at the end in order to save people from the hell and push them to in the right way to continue the second life in the paradis this movie is uh the one in the uh the Arabic world which uh that people saw it uh enjoy it and proud about it so uh as I say for many reasons and uh I had chose this movie specially this movie because it's the perfect one for uh me for many reasons because it indicate how it was the life of our Prophet Mohamed Salla Allahu 3aleihi wa sallam how he prosper Islam and how uh he was uh participate with people even if they are not good how he make them to uh to follow our religion one tense and one God
INF. 39/F.	the title of uh the book uh that I have chosen uh Castaway it is about a man who uh travel uh for work and the uh the plane was crashed in the middle of the sea and uh uh it was uh he was the only survivor in this plane and uh he was uh found in the aa is uh isolated uh island and uh where there is no people uh he the uh didn't eat well and aahmm uh he uh he made uh a his spend 4 years to write I don't know the name of the write Castaway uh and he fa uh he uh spend 4 years in this uh island and uh he uh finally decided to uh uh made uh small uh boat uh for travel and he survive and I like uh this uh movie because uh it is interesting and uh the uh it show me uh the important of uh being wrong the people and uh it is well and uh yes
INF. 40/F.	uh I chose uh a movie it's interesting movie uh the title is Twilight the series of Twilight I like uh this movie a lot I watched uh all uh of the summer I uh I uh bought many uh CDs of it uh this story is unreal imaginary that's why it's so entertaining and fun uh the actors are teenager like us so it's was so easy to understand uh this series uh the actor was uh Taylor Lautner Kristen Stewart and uh Robert Pattinson it's not just me who like this movie but all over my family uh I watched in uh movie also the cinema it was so enter entertaining the story is not too uh it's not too sh is s so long uh this story uh was uh made by a woman was dream that's aahm wi who was uh they uh she dream about it and uh she wrote a book and uh one day uh that's uh a man uh came to this woman and uh she showed him the book and they uh he was a producer of movies he like the story he told her why we can't made it like the movie so she accepted and they make uh beautiful movie
INF.41 /F.	uh I watched last uh last week I washed a movie which speaks about a little girl uh his title is uh the Neck I suppose uh which speaks about a little girl uhhhh which has a cancer in his head uh so uh doctors doctors tell tells that uhhhhhh she has uh fumors she died she has uh she she has fumor in his head to die so she make she made uh a list of uh things that she would uhhhhhh she want to to do before she die uhhh uhh soooo she met a guy and this guy uh help her to do uh things uh that she wanted uh to do and uhhhh after that she's it's its pity story sad story aahm that I really like it uhh uh I liked the story because uh it is really interesting and uh she uh hurts me little bit uh I cry uhh she's uh it's a sad story that's why I like it
INF.42 /F.	this Turkish movie uh the title of this movie is uh a7babbu Tifla uh uhh uh I love the uh uh the girl a little girl uhhh this uh story is about a girl whooo who married uh with uh with uh with uh aahm with a man uh who have uh little uh child uh and the girl uh have and the girl has uh uh 60 60 year uh she uh she she she doesn't this uh man uh and uh she uh she was uh she was uh uh loved uh another man uh who wo who was study with her uh and uh they uh they uh the the the the [laughs] the man uh the one man who who uh loves uh uh travel uh tonather country uh I think Amrica they try to love to love this ma this man who who married with her but uh she she can't she can't love uh her him uh uh uh and they uh uh nsit [laughs] she was enceinte after she she married with uh with the the the the man the the n the uh the second man uh wo she was enceinte uh uh uh him she was enceinte uh [laughs] from uh uh the the the the the first uh the first man uh and uh ehmm the first man she she she w she she get uh boys boy boy uh and uh she uh the the the man the second man love uh the boy uh like he his son uh but uh but uh his name is uh Mina Mina uh doesn't love uh uh Taymour the second man is Taymour she uh she always uh love Sinan the first name uh the first man sh she still loove him love so much [laughs] uh uh Sinan come back too to turk Turkey and uh and uh no h uh he doesn't the Mina is uh is enceinte and uh get boy hi so uh she sh he hee he think that hee she Mina sh uh uh Mina married uh jus uh like this because uh she uh she doesn't like her uh uh why I liked the story because it is from our uh ehmm our uh uh société it is true story uh tiz sell uh we we we we hear the a lot of story uh like this like this story because that I like yes yes [laughs]
INF. 43/F.	I read uh a book which uh the title of the book the title of the book uh was uh uh <i>kalila wa dimna</i> the writer uh was Ibn al-Moqafa I don't know th Ibn al-Moqafa was translate the in Arabic but the real writer I don't know his name uh I forget his name uh uh it's a book which talk uh the animals who uh are uh uh animals uh which characterise uh a person like uh in our society like th like uh uh when when a person is uh ego uh there are animal who represent uh this uh like a san in our life who ig who is represent by this animal a group of animal uh and each animal uh has a characteristic that uh represent a human being and the like uh ego selfishness uh I like this story because uh it represents uh our society ourselves the uh the uh the nature of human on this animal that's

INF. 44/F.	uh I chosen uh the the movie of Freedom Writers about which is about uh a teacher uh who may who li who let her her uh pupils to be uh re to be real writers uh first they uh they were uh and unhappy and desperate because of racism and uh uh ignorance uh but uh when she start teaching teaching them uh she uh uh she try to make uh to change uh the syst not the system to change the méthode of teaching uh so uh uh she couldn't and succeed uh to help them uh so that they uh they didn't uh uh they didn't disappoint her uh they uh and they succède uh but the so that I like the movie and today my teacher of Phonetics remind me of her and I we say again thank you I like it because she turn uh her emotion which was uh which was desperate in uh in super energy uh which is to help themself and help them change
INF. 101/F.	I the book is uh <i>Animal Farm</i> the writer is George Orwell uh the story is uh about uh the English uh government I give the summary? uh it's speak uh about uh a farm uh Madame I forget ahmm and like summary is uh there is a farm and the uh the the owner is f of a farm is Mr. Jones uh he treats uh his animals uh badly uh so uh one day the animals uh decide to to wr uh [laughs] to do uh ok I like the story because uh the writer knows how to uh to play with the uh the characters very well uh and uh each character signify the right the right person
INF. 102/F.	the ti the title of the the sto the the book uh which uh which I re I read it is the the <i>Great Gatsby</i> the summary I I love the this uh uh story and uh ahm uhh all uh what I uh all what I uh understand uh when I finish the uh when I uh when uh when I finish the the book that uh the person must honest with the other especially especially the lovely persons because in this story the uh there is uh a the wealthy the wealthy uh push pushes the person to uh to uh not to be uh to be not uh to be not uh honest with the uh the other persons for instance Jordan Baker uh it is uh it is a woman which which live which lived which is lived in uh in a wealthy family and when uh when when he she is when she is married she uh she do not uh she do not uh be honest with uh with her husband and the <i>Great Gatsby</i> I'm I'm like I'm uh like it uh because I'm I uh I'm learned uh that there is a things that we cannot buy it with money like healthy and families and the lovely persons and uh I'm uh and I and I improve the the in my vocabulary in English I I love reading the stories to improve my vocabulary and my uh grammar because uh I find difficulties in in conversation
INF. 103/F.	I read a book of the <i>Great Gatsby</i> uh which wrote by Scott Fitzgerald uh the narrator was uh Nick Carraway uh i like this book a lot because uh it talk about a romantic story uh uh the the ch the uh the characters was uh uh <i>Gatsby</i> uh Myrtle Tom Buganan and uh and deiz Daisy Buganan uh the book talk about uh the talk about [laughs] talk about <i>Gatsby</i> uh specially with with he with Daisy uh with Daisy they were in love but <i>Gatsby</i> was poor in the first uh he they couldn't get married so she she got married with a rich man uh <i>Gatsby</i> uh became <i>Gatsby</i> became rich uh and he didn't forget forget her he he buy a house close to her house and he never think about her uh she was married to uh uh she as married to uh to a man who was uh strong who who was strong uh she she do she did she didn't like him uh she got married to him just because he was rich and whe she wanted a good life uh when <i>Gatsby</i> uh I like the story because uh it doesn't look the other stories I there's something special in that story that I really like it uh once I started to read it I wanted uh to finish the book that's all
INF. 104/F.	so uh I never read a book in my life only this year uh I read I read the <i>Great Gatsby</i> uh written by uh Scott Fitzgerald uh he uh the summary of the book the <i>Gatsby</i> was chasing the American dream he uh and uh he even took a legal way to get rich because he loved Daisy the love of his life Daisy and uh she was dating him and because he was poor she broke up with him and she's married to john Buchanan who was a rich man very rich man but he was uh cheating on her with Myrtle and uh on uh on the end of the story Myrtle was dies by accident w when Daisy was driving the car his hu her husband was uh he thinks killed her and eventually <i>Gatsby</i> died on the uh end of the story and uh Nick Carraway was the narra narrator of the story uh he n heee uh he na narrate he was the cousin of Daisy the love of <i>Gatsby</i> ok I like this story because he w she was it was a love story and uh what man it was capable to do to get back the love his life and simply the woman uh take the money take the money ok
INF.105 /F.	uh recently I've read recently I read a book about uh why women cry uh it was interesting book and uh it talks about the relationship between man and woman and life and uh the relationship between the the uh the son and his mother w and what causes after uh when he married uh because it uh end uh the relationship between uh the sto what can happen to the woman uh that the working woman an her house and uh uh it it can uh has uh many problems with uh her husband but uh it I recommend uh to read to everyone to read this book it's about the ti the title is uh <i>Why Woman Cry</i> uh writer I don't remember I don't remember actually because it was a book on int on the internet I didn't wr uh search of for uh the writer but it was interesting a lot uh I recomm why I uh like the story because uh it can uh uh show me a to understand uh the mentality of woman and man uh because uh I uh I learnt so much from uh this book it so interesting that's all



INF. 106/F.	I read a book uh for Simon Osman uh Senegal literature uh this book the title is Khala uh it talk about uh polygamist in uh Senegal there was a man in uh Senegal a rich man and uh he married any woman uh as he like and uh the last woman was uh uh less a young m woman and uh she was uh materialist she she didn't want to cook or to do anything uh in uh the house uh and uh until the the man had had uh nothing he he hadn't money or uh nothing and uh I like the book because uh I the end of the book the man realise that uh his uh first wife uh ahmm was the was the uh a good wide and uh she was the the uh mother of he has of uh his uh baby and the last woman didn't want to have uh to have uh baby because she w she wan she to guard his ba her bad that all that is I like it because in the last of in the end of uh the book he realise that uh he cannot marry any woman but the the old wo uh woman is the the uh the good wo the good wife that
INF. 107 /F.	uh last month I've read a book about <i>The Age of renessanc Innocence</i> it was written by Edith Wharton uh it was published in 1920 I've read this book uh because it uh speaks about uh how people were innocent uh in a dirty society uh there were rich peoples there are major characters in Newland Archer he was ma engaged uh to his cousin uh her name was May then he fell in love with the cousin of uh May of his fiancée he wanted to uh have an affair with her at the end he he p uh he continued in his marriage with May uh they got uh 2 childrens 25 years later May died and uh his son his older older son he decided to visit Olenska the Countess which he had his father had an affair with and uh at the end of the uh the story we were we do have the choice to end uh because uh our Newland Archer didn't uh go the uh the flat of Olenska to see her he was just tending so uh so it was up to us to finish the story uh I think that all ok uh I've like it because uh his fiancée May uh she was uh recognised uh she was in her society they uh they saw her as the innocent girl she was pure she she was uh from a prestigious family and he said they said that uh that she was innocent however I think it's not the case because uh she knew about the affair of her husband with the her cousin she didn't say anything she kept the secret she kept it as a secret and I think uh she succeeded because uh she kept her husband until she died
INF. 108 /F.	so it is uh the French uh book uh the title is uh la <i>L'Analyse de Spectacle</i> the writer is uh Patrice pa Pavis uh the summary is uh how uh show how uh people and actors play in the stage and uh I like this uh books because uh show to the readers how uh find actors difficulties and uh stress and uh stage back
INF. 109 /F.	so I read the uh the book of uh <i>The Great Gatsby</i> and uh it was written by Scott Fitzgerald Scott Felzerad it about Daisy and Gatsby which uh was s a love story that uh was really really for me uh that really touched me uh because she got married to Tom because Gatsby didn't have enough money for her because she was prestigious and uh she wanted uh an uh a castle as they say she wanted a great life and uh Tom she had th daughter with Tom after 5 years Gatsby showed up and uh he has money and uh she saw him that he was better than uh he was may be she regretted that why uh she had uh fair with him and her me and her her ma her husband he discovered that when they went to the to a town he had uh little uh ahmm fight with Gatsby he told him that I know what's wrong with you and uh Daisy and after they uh she didn't uh she didn't she was with him in a fair but she didn't love him she just wanted to have an adventure or something and after Gatsby uh was shocked and killed that was the settings for he was killed ahmm I liked the story because uh it was sad and I love sad stories I don't why I love stories that that have uh have a sad ending that's it
INF. 110 /M.	uh I am uh I am reading a book about uh British civilisation entitled British civilisation uh the writer is uh Belmekki Professeur Belmekki with uh ahm with another teacher I don't remember his name uh it the book talk about talks about uh uh English government and uh the parliament English parliamentary it also talk talks about uh uh queens' functions and uh uh talks about uh Tudors' dynasty so it reveal uh all uh the the history of uh English monarchy I think that all I like uh in this uh I like the part of Tudors' dynasty because uh I have have already a film a series about uh I have already a film about uh the story of Tudors start with uh the Henry Henry VIII and uh finish an until he until he died yes
INF. 111/M.	Miss uh uh the last book that uh I had that I have read uh about uh linguistics uh entitle <i>New Horizons in Linguistics</i> uh b by uh John Lyons uh [laughs] ahmm his he spoke about the scope of uh Linguistics and uh even he he spoke about uh the generative syntax about linguistique also uh even we c we can find in this book all what uh we want to deal with uh if you want to uh how we spell it uh ahmm he gave uh new idea ab about uh the linguistics in in the elem in the early period even uh ne John Lyons in this book uh uh talk about uh how do we say it the scope the scope of Linguistics uh the story Miss because uh it is uh interesting book uh and uh the teacher of Linguistics uh told us to uh to re to uh to search in this book the generative syntax in Linguistics uh Miss I found it very good uh book and uh that all

INF.112 /M.	I have read uh many Arabic wo books uh the one which uh uh attracted me y attention is uh is uh the ran <i>Renaissance in the Islamic World</i> written by uh by Algerian writer who is Soleiman Ashkalati this book covers many problems in the Islamic world uh in the Islamic world also uh it shows uh us the the steps we should uh follow in order to be real Muslims uh the things that uh I like this book because of many things and the one is uh to give uh a good image to the Islam firstly uh and uh also uh the problems that we can see nowadays outside uh as I told you uh this book uh in this book uh there were plenty of uh advice to I mean not all the the Muslim not only the Muslim but also uh the Christian also if uh someone for example read this this book he can understand everything about the Islam and also it's related to uh Turkish movement made by uh Turkish people this movement uh encouraged uh to get in our religion in all all in uh all the fields not only uh scientific but but also literary fields that's all thanks
INF. 113/F.	the title is the uh about the Great Gatsby uh the writer was Scott Fitzgerald I like this story uh it was interesting story uh and uh this describe the regime of Gatsby with her with his lovers Daisy uh and the story contain uh variable characters uh like uh Nick uh Tom Buchanan uh Jurdan Mickey George Washington uh this story describe the dream of Gatsby uh that uh he was uh powerful man and uh famous wealthy man ahmm and uh this period uh describe the people of nineteen twenty but uh I never read a book read a book uh till this year because uh the teachers of literature oblige me to uh to read it for uh perceive uh more information I like it because uh it was interesting dream that is dream that uh don't exist it's ok
INF. 114/F.	so I uh I read a book uh sorry I read a book uh <i>the Famish Road</i> written by uh Ben Okri uh this book is uh about uh a fiction story uh and this book Ben Okri uh speak about speak about uh uh African uh sperititu spirit child uh who lived in uh Nigeria and uh this uh child uh uh is always uh so something that not exist it in reality uh for example he uh saw uh a light uh come from from outside and when he when heeee uh when go uh to uh the window he find nothing and uh I like this uh story because uh it's uh it's something of faction and uh aah fiction [laughs] uh and uh is not exist in a reality
INF. 115/M.	I have uh just read uh a book uh for for uh for two weeks uh approximately uh his uh establisher is called Ibrahim al-faqi he died and he establish and he establish it uh in 2008 he speaks about uh how do we make the right decision and he gives uh and he gave uh many examples like uh for example uh for example one who achieve or a leader who gi uh who has a communauté of cars and uh his uh community moment go for for uh decline but uh for uh his uh g for for example thanks uh san thanks for his uh patience little by little he uh he could he could treat uh this problem and uh his community uh became uh wo became working like the first time I'll give example when we uh for example we uh ha we have a dream and uh we want to uh to uhhhh when have a dream and uh we want to uh reli reliase it for example uh someone who uh who wants to uh succeed in hi in his Baccalaureate and then uh when he uh and then we when he passes at university he uh he wil not uh study uh v very uh very well because uh he his dream is stopped at uh his Baccalaureate and then uh he uh he knows I like uh this story and the uh especially for the second example that uh I have uh told and from uh this uh from uh this example I uh I was shocked in the first time but uh when I uh I uh I uh w I read this second example I we uh I really uh I didn't have uh a g a problem uh with myself this is it
INF.116 /M.	it about a book uh American book uh writer is uh Lincoln Bendicks it's American book uh it was uh published in uh 1920 uh this book title uh is uh How to Analyse People he speak uh about body language what I like in this book uh he he uh he uh he sp he spe speak about how we can talk uh with our body so uh 18% of uh our our communication is by body so the first com the first contact with other person is eyes and they come after uh they u we use our hand our bod uh all our body then we use the uh the lexique and the grammar what we have to say and uh to use uh our mind that concept the concept of the book uh the book first of all uh it was it wasn't accepted then uh in uh in uh class it was class cla class classify in classic book then uh after that the scientific doctor accepted because it wasn't reality scientific scientific reality but uh with time that was accepted uh with uh with the ave uh that was uh expen experienced who prove uh uh proved that with uh with uh a lot of people what I like in this book that uh help me with my friend how to understand what they they want to say because the uh so uh in uh th there is sometimes we can't express ourself but we express it with our body so we can uh understand that and uh I have uh past form I had uh the information about Educateur what mean to have contact to uh with young people in my age and help them in their uh problems that's why uh this book I like this book
INF. 117/M.	uh the title of the book I read is uh <i>Asrar Asrar An-naja7</i> the writer is Ibrahim Faqi uh this book speak about uh people how uh they can uh reali rely realise success in life uh this this book uh specially talk about seven uh uh element to success in life uh I like this book because uh because uh he help me uh to be a leader in this uh society uh and to to get to get more knowledge about myself and about this life

INF.118 /M.	uh the title of book is about uh <i>Ghost</i> uh the writer uh is uh Ibsen ahm z the story te turn round a family Norwegian family uh uh in uh na na 90century it about father father uh who hit the uh his wife his wife and then uh the her children was uh was faraway then she went she went to to he he the father want after after d dead of his wife he wants to uh to bring uh to bring her his chin his chil children to attract her he huh him them from uh uh wi with money and then uh then uh her uh one of his uh girls want to open an orphanage the uh the and uh the then wh who he heee he want wanted to open a bar it's situation was interesting for me because he he was uh uh so uh so rush ration with them and then uh the the the girls show sho show him the uh and the the opposite
INF.119 /F.	uh the title was uh <i>Animal Farm</i> by uh uh George Orwell it's all by politics and uh uh and it was about it was stalinism uh it tooks the doctrine of uh of uh well of capitalism and communism and uh that the survival was for the feistiest it was illustrated by animals uh in fact uh but uh pigs and uh well uh donkeys and uh all that uh ahm well uh this it I don't have too much to say [laughs] and I did like it in fact because uh uh it was uh mysterious as as a whole uh it was so mysterious and uh uh well it was ahmm well I did like uh be just like that well because I like politics as simple as that that's it [laughs]
INF. 120/F.	uh the book that I uh that I read and liked is uh <i>the Old Man and the Sea</i> by Ernest Hemingway uh its was about un old man who and his st struggle in the sea uh with uh uh with uh this book uh talks about uh the s the struggle of this old man uh with uh the sea and the fish that he he's trying to hook and uh although he's uh old age and his tiredness and his illness he's trying and trying to get this fish uh [laughs] all the way to the uh to the end and I liked this book because uh he's d it's des it describes the feelings and the what uh the old man says to himself and uh that's all [laughs]
INF. 121/F.	uh the book that I have chosen is uh <i>Animal Farm</i> written by George Orwell uh it's uh speaks about ahmm some animals who have uh rebelled against uh the owner of the farm and uh they have suffered frommm bully from bully person and at the end uh and they succeeded to have their freedom from that man and uh they had uh their own uh farm I liked this book because uh it uh it gave uh I because they uh it talks about animals but in real it was for human who have succeeded uh to gain their freedom by themselves not by the others that's it
INF.122/F.	the poem I that I'm going to speak about is Annabelly written by Edgar Allen Poe this poem speaks about uh uh his dead wife and uh his dead wife uh and uh the love that he had to her ahm and uh he speaks in this poem he speaks about uh her family and uh the problems that he had and uh it speaks about the problems that they had together uh I liked this poem because uh because I feel I fell that he loved her so much and uh their their story were a true love
INF.123/F.	I have chosen uh <i>Great Gatsby</i> written by Scott Fitzgerald it's story about uh love it cover is uh both about love story but it contains uh is but it contains is about uh its contains is about America American dreams which were corrupted American dreams which were corrupted I loved this uh book be because it is so romantic
INF.124 /F.	the book is about uh the r the experience of a <i>Robinson Cruse</i> it's write abou uh by by Daniel Defoe uh the story is about uh one uh boy that uh was addicts by the sea and he was uh he liked the travelling a lover of the world but uh his father uh want him to be uh a man of law but uh his uh disir was more than the dream of his father so uh he he take the challenge and uh go to the sea with uh uh his friend in the ship of his father and after he was attacked by the pirates and uh fi uh and uh he found hisself in uh in ahm in land uh and he start to make uh his own life he start uh to to make his uh house and uh he uh he learn uh lot of things uh about life ha uh and after uh the most important things that I like in this story is a about how we can start our life from the zero to uh to make uh to make something good and uh to co to construct our selfs [laughs]
INF.125 /F.	chose a book uh about uh <i>Great Gatsby</i> the uh the uh it uh writer uh Scott Fitsgerald this book uh talk about uh American dream uh uh a poor man who who loved uh a girl from uh high class they they love each other they promise each other to say uh forever uh the m uh the man uh de decide to uh to go to the army and the girl promise him uh to stay fo faitfall uh faithful but she didn't she uh married uh with uh uh with a wel uh a rish a rich man uh the the uh man uh the the poor man he uh he know that uh that that the girl she uh she she she cheat him uh she cheat him uh so he decide to uh to be wealthy we we uh rich man to to be uh to uh to be uh wel uh w rich man and uh come and come back uh to her and to uh to uh to win his his uh his love so he uh I chose it because uh he talk about uh uh uh uh it talk about the love and uh talked a period uh the the period in America uh th they uh they forbid the the alcoholic they forbid the alcoholic and uh forbid uh the parties in the nights that's it

INF. 126/F.	I have chosen is about uh uh woman's right uh written by Fatima-Zohra Imalayen known uh known as Assia Djebbar she defends uh uh she defends uh against the right of uh right [laughs] of women of women and in the future uh I hope uh uh I hope I wish like her uh big novelist uh big novelist uh because before no one no one uh uh no uh no no one uh have no have no one have uh have uh have uh the volonte to speak about the right uh the rightv woman uh then uh then I I think I think that Assia dj Assia Djebbar came uh uh came [laughs] uh came to uh came to change to change uh the pictures of woman the picture of woman bad uh in in the future I hope uh uh to be like her uh uh a very very design
INF.127/F.	title of book is uh <i>Morning Noon and Night</i> the writer is uh Sidney Sheldon the li uh Sidney Sheldon and uh th the context of these uh novels is that uh that uh th this person is an affair with his governess and he get uh uh a daughter illegally [laughs] so this this I like this novel because it express reality that all
INF.128/M.	recently I've read recently I've read a book uh of <i>Great Gatsby</i> uh can I repeat recently I've a read a book about Great Gatsby written by Fitzzgerald written by Fitzgerald this book talking about two lovers one is uh the wo the woman which is cold which is cold Daisy is married one uh this this married wife is loved by uh the Great Gatsby the rich man rich man this story tell about the tree ty of Daisy for uh for her husband which is called uh uh Buchanan then uh this uh this book this story uh tell us and uh give us a lesson about the treaty and how can uh two lovers uh makes me how uh how can two lovers make make problems uh how one can one liver the man make how uh the the Great Gatsby made problems in family of Daisy that's it I liked uh I liked this uh this book because uh this this uh last one give give me a lesson how to deal with my family particular and how to and how to keep uh uh I don't know that's it that's all
INF. 129/F.	title of the book which I have read it's uh l'impur uh <i>L'Impure</i> the written by uh gud Guy Des Cars a French uh writers the story is about uh a le uh a pretty girl who lives in a orphanat she lives in liv Liverpool uh after that she became a famous girl who uh make the fashion uh be be after I see meet ma a man he be he wil he became he would he have he married with him he lived to uh Sidney we lived there after uh s after fff after after years she uh she uh get the illness of the lepers so uh she suffered a lot I and she became a lady in ahmm who works in the church uh after suffering many many years she she dead and the story why I did like it I have depression in my life so uh her story get me ahmm give some uh gave me some uh some courage some uh uh some passion some so that
INF. 130/M.	I uh r read a book uh <i>Zahir</i> written by Zahir writ written by uh Paulo Coelho uh it's all about a man who uh wor uh who who didn't his wife and were searching for her a long time uh and then she uh she she just show up an and it explained to him she why she went it's a it well about it was all about her love and trust and I uh I liked this book because uh I I am uh gonna be writer one day and it games me many many uh ideas about how can I can I uh can I write and can I do stories like uh this writer because I like this writer
INF. 131/F.	uh I want to speak about Animal Farm sorry which is written by George Orwell it's a story about politics and I like it because uh i it is a story which draw the the politics in uh that time in America yes and it is a story which uh re repeatent the by animals to uh to reach a massage which is uh in America there was uh illegal illegality that's I don't remember the story sorry
INF.132 /F.	uh I've read uh the book of uh the <i>Secret Garden</i> uh I don't remember the first name name of the writer uh uh Frances Burnett but uh the first uh I didn't remember uh ahmm it was about uh a girl uh her name Mary Lennox she was living in uh in India when she lost her mother and uh father uh her uncle was living in uh England uh he came to take her uh to England so sh she uh she was living in there uh with her an uncle uh then she di uh when she was she was living there she discover a secret garden uh I like the story uh because it uh has uh a mysterious uh secret so I read it because I want to know what is the secret garden just
INF.133 /F.	one day I uh I one day I uh went to magazin in order to uh to buy a novel uh to uh my my f my uh my little girl I uh I prefer the a l a story of ahmm of g of <i>Girl of Salts</i> one day uh her her uh her father said uh how much uh you love me my daughter uh he said uh I love you like jewels and uh the second uh he second I li I like your like uh salts uh he told uh he told her uh you uh it means uh you you don't uh love me uh you doesn't love me my uh dauther you go to uh t uh to live uh with the the your grandmother in uh the chake he said she said uh yes after he uh after she uh she me after uh she uh she met with uh a boy uh this boy uh the uh the son of uh King after uh he uh se she go with uh with him and uh and the uh the King uh and tell to the King uh her story after the King make an uh a dinner for her brother uh he said uh don't uh make salt in a the dinner after uh when uh he pe he began to uh to eat he uh he didn't like food after uh after she uh she liked to her uh father uh from uh this I did you uh I like you like salt I like uh this tory because uh has uh m meaning and uh very uh nice [laughs]

INF.134/M.	it's a story it's uh story I have finished yesterday uh the title is uh tell you <i>Tell Me Your Dream</i> written by uh written by uh Sidney Sheldon the story of a woman who had a empty multiple personality disorder and she and uh he its it means that she had disorders that control her her and committed crimes 5 crimes and uh there was a story is being how they uh the the the her la discover this this this uh mentally problem the mental problem that is not very known in uh in society and how uh th he did convince to uh the jury and uh the judge it was hard for him uh because cause they didn't accept and have let prooves and by some doctors that s dis this problem is like schizophrenia like disorder and uh that's that was really really for him uh and the the stor the side of the story is that this mental personality from a true one she had when she was a s uh young her father uh raped her he raped abused sexually at her and uh that's why she she kepted to for herself disorder that came uh he didn't came by uh like by by forcing her they cut to protect her in in in other side that story and uh that why the story interests me because I didn't know about uh this this this mentally problem that made that I read in the the dis when the book I read that this problem is current is currently have the ss in fi few thousand ff fifth hand five hundred thousand person have this problem and the orders can be more than two they became 90 100 and they already f proved this problem and that was interested me because I ignore this problem that they exist really exist yes
INF. 135/F.	I read a book the <i>Great Gatsby</i> uh which uh which is uh wri written Scott Fitzgerald uh it was story which speak about a man who very rich and uh he he got uh his money in illegal way uh he was buying alcohol and uh I read this book cause uh I was uh obliged to read it in order to answer the question of literature Literature's exam uh I like uh to read this uh this book because uh because of uh this to discover uh the right way he gathered his money
INF.136/M.	the title is uh one mars of goods the writer is uh Sidney Sheldon uh the story is about a Mary Ashley a professor in uh the states states university uh she she offered the an ambassadorship for uh from uh Pol the the president of US and she refused refused the uh to be a an ambassador because she he's his husband Edward Ashley uh the did want to leave uh his uh his job in uh US and uh after his his husband died and uh I I try to to be an ambassador and uh travel uh to uh Romania to discover something about uh kidnapping and killing where where she met she met to 2 man 2 Russian man uh she heard that uh so someone w uh from uh the uh persons want to to kill her and after she uh lived with them uh a long time she discovered an uh no problem with them and uh and uh it's it's just a lies and she uh after she she returned to US I did it it because to discover the relation between uh the the title and uh the contain of the book and and they uh I try to to compare between them
INF.137/F.	uh I read uh the book of <i>Moby Dick</i> I read the book I read the book of Moby Dick it's a name of a big fish this story began when uh one person uh decide uh decided decided to take an experience in his life so heee uh decide to go for fish with uh crew with a crew and one uh with the crew so in the middle of sea they knew that uh their Captain doesn't have one of his leg and uh the cause is he that uh this uh fish is a cause of uh losing uh losing uh his leg uh so the Captain tell them that uh he is here uh to uh in order to uh to kill his enemy and here this is start sturgl between them I haven't finished the story yet I like this story because I find it uh interesting and uh quite different from what I have seen before
INF.138/M.	I have read a story about uh uh a a man a man uh who was working a farm on a farm the title was uh the <i>Alchemist</i> written by calo pollo {me: Paulo Coelho?} yes it's a story about uh a man who was working on a farm he had a lot of sheeps uh so but heee didn't appreciate his life as a sheep owner so he wanted to travel to Egypt the Middle to Egypt sooooo he wanted to sold all his sheeps sheeps and make uh th history and uh I at the first his aim was to reach uh Egypt but uh the reason was different uh because uh in his way he met uh a lot of people uh and uh he slept uh on the ground uh facing uh the sky uh for stars and so on he discovered the a lot of place he worked as uh he work on uh a store uh store uh he sold uh uh he sold uh I don't know what uh how he we call it uh the things that we feel with flowers and uh so on so that's it uh that's all I remember I uh appreciated the story cause uh it was uh I discovered through the story a lot of things uh a lot of uh uh adventures and uh that's it
INF.139/F.	uh the book is about <i>Clarissa Dalloway</i> uh it is written by uh Virginia Woolf uh it was about woman uh who was planning for uh for giving a party for her friends uh she watch she was uh while she was went out to uh buy flowers she met so many friends aahmm and when she wanted to return home she started thinking about uh her old days how she was uh how she lived with her friends especially her f her best friend Peter Walsh ahhh aaann and at the end uh she end up by uh by having a great party uh with her old friends an she thank God that she had a great life with with them I enjoyed reading the book because uh I discovered how how rich people enjoyed their lives by s uh by throwing parties and that's it
INF. 140/M.	the book that I have read uh that I have read is uh is called uh is called uh <i>Arrow of God</i> it is uh written by Chinua Achebe African write so the story reflected a struggle between two villages which were under the the British colonisation the strug uh and they were about to sar war but uh but the wise ma the wise man in uh in these 2 villages uh succeeded to calm down to calm down the uh the war that's it I didn't I didn't like this story because I was obliged to read this book in order to get a mark



INF.141 /F.	ok the story that I have read it uh is the uh the story of the <i>Sigma Protocol</i> is a political story uh is written completely by Robert Ludlum uh and publish person muddling it is the story of the uh of the son of the Holocaust survivor iuh who get entangled by uh uh in international conspiracy by industrists and financial in order to take advantage of world time technology uh this sigma has grown is uh small group has grown in simple attempt uh to plan the Nazi treasury and uh to stabilise uh the uh industrial and financial state and uh in the world uh in of the war to a political and uh financial machine which which controlled as many as 75% of the uh the leading companies in the world I uh chose uh this uh specially this story because uh the title attract me uh sigma protocol is unknown I chose it order to what it does mean this title ok {CP Wikipedia}
INF.142 /F.	uh I have read uh the book of a Sidney Sheldon uh with title I refer from darkness I was afraid from the darkness uh the book speak about 4 women their husband died in uh a mysterious situation and uh this woman are loyal for their uh husband that's it I didn't like the story because I didn't understand really because uh the English little bit uh uh difficult
INF.143 /F.	title was the uh <i>the Broker</i> and uh the writer was uh John Grisham uh the story was about uh about 4 man about broker uh who was in Washington uh and he was uh perceived by the CIA as uh as uh a criminal uh that uh he uh he did several crimes uh and after he uh he went to Italy to live uh to life there to live there and uh and after uh he ahmm he uh return in uh Washington and uh [laughs] I like uh the story because it was very inters testing and uh I uh I understand that uh uh I understand that uh that is [laughs] I understand that uh it was uh very interesting story that's all
INF.144 /F.	I have read uh a book his title is uh <i>Skipping Christmas</i> it was written by John Grisham it's u talked about uh a family b mother and father and uh his uh daughter they decide uh he and his wife to uh to skip a Christmas for uh one year because uh her daughter travelled to like volunteer to teach people so uh they were alone but it was not the real re reason that they will skip Christmas because last year uh a year before this they spend a lot of meaning in decoration in light gifts and buying food an d all this things uh it's about 1600\$ uh so it was so her neighbours were shocked by this uh thi this decision because it's a very interested for their to to make this to make Christmas and uh the at the end their their daughter to make a surprise for their parents to return to do the Christmas with them and she called them tell them that I will return they were surprised they have nothing they organise nothing for this party so their neighbours helped them to buy food buy decoration and uh she uh she uh come with her fiancé also I liked this story because it's funny one and uh it's good
INF. 145/M.	uh the book that I have read the book that I have read was named uh <i>Are you Afraid of the Dark</i> written by Sidney Sheldon the book was about mystery crimes uh who there someone who create company an search for uh the best employees so that uh the company reach better but uh after uh the a employé reject he try to uh to finish them and after finish them they they they uh the wise of their employees knew about the truth so that and uh the Kinsley uh the main character try to finish them also but uh they were very smart and I didn't finished the last uh I liked th the story because it was touching and uh and [laughs]and it was very interesting so that uh you can uh lived the moment that they were living in it that's it
INF. 146/M.	uh so it uh it was the first book it was the first book that I've read uh it uh it was named <i>Robinson Crusoe</i> and uh and I don't remember the writer uh there was named Daniel Defoe and uh it uh was story about uh a man who was lost in a desert island and uh he had to depend on his ha on hiss uh on hisself and uh at that uh bet and uh had to adapt to his new life he stayed there for years and uh and uh this is it this is story uh I liked the story because uh it was the first one that I've read and uh I uh I liked I liked reading it uh because uh I've learn some uh some new words this is
INF. 147/F.	uh the title is the the famous of <i>the Great Gatsby</i> written by a Scott Fitzgerald as I remember it's a story about a German poor guy who fa fail in love with uh a pretty woman from the upper class from the upper class of that time uh but unfortunately she didn't accept as a man because he was poor so he decided to uh to start his life from the zero he uh he uh he gathered money for in illegal ways to pay her attention and after and after many days uh they uh they uh and fate after days he made a party and invited all her neighbours of uh of that upper class to present him his hisself as one of uh a member of of upper class and to pay her attention in a good way that's all Miss I can't remember uh I uh I ha I uh was interested by this uh story because it's uh it uh sell us about uh the difference of that upper to the classes that that time of social classes so uh th that's what's uh what's uh what's made uh a pretty woman refuse a poor guy so it's a unjust for to him that's
INF. 149/M.	I read an American movie the Grey directed by Joe Carnahan uh uh based on uh on the short story uh of uh <i>Ghost Walker</i> by uh John MacKenzi Jeffers the hero is called is an American called Liam Neeson uh the story is about American workers uh who work in a big petrolling company uh so after uh after a long of hard work uh they decided uh to uh to return to to their families uh so during the flight uh the the plane was destroyed and all passengers uh died uh except uh some others whom were killed by wolves uh this story is more interesting I love it uh because it shows us uh how human uh fight against wild animals without weapon for just staying alive

INF. 150/F.	the story is about a girl she is a very rich girl she lived with her father uh she she do uh only bad things because she is uh rich she think she can do everything she want so her father decided to uh to sent her to a private school just to uh just just to learn how to be a strict person and uh to respect the rules uh she uh became a g a good person at the end of th she became a good person because she learn how ca can we we can be god person uh and that's money it's not everything I like Miss I liked the story and uh because it is interested and funny and it's uh teach us how we can be a good person and change from a bas to the good will
INF. 151/F.	uh I have read a book of uh <i>Great Gatsby</i> uh it was very important book talk about romanticism and about greats Gatsby and he's faithful uh all people read it until now and for me I don't feel boring if I read it again uh I like this I like this book for uh because uh ahmm it talk about romanticism and uh about emotions something like that
INF. 152/M.	I have something its title is Tear of the Star uh is about a group of army of American army who goes to Nigeria to save uh the doctor it's uh I like it because it's uh a fool of i full of action and is an interesting [laughs] in this film the doctor want to take all patien with him in the helicopter but the army m uh but but the army uh don't take the don't want to take all the patien in this patien there uh a vice-president it's all
INF.153 /F.	uh the book uh uh there is a book uh that has have uh that really pleased is uh scientific boost uh book uh the title is uh the <i>Reproduction of HIV</i> virus in sciences I'm I'm very in this field of in science I've chose it because I wanted to notice uh more uh more information about the the cells that fight uh for uh unknown virus and uh also I've note noticed how can this virus small organs f fight uh unknown viruses like HIV I know that this virus is strong and we cannot easily uh detect it uh and uh I notice what are the pur purposes of con uh provoke uh this uh this illnesses so which are uh plot trans transfusion in medicine field and uh with the modern science I've noticed the uh uh how can et how we can detect this virus there is a some injections like uh interleukin number 2 which can uh can enlarge uh the uh the cytoplasm of cells uh in this book I like how can this small organs uh uh work together in order to protect the organ it look like society each one protect its side to have uh a strong body
INF.154 /F.	uh last uh last week I have watched a movie uh which which call Unacceptable this movie we was tell a story about 2 friend who passed all their studies to get there when they arrive uh one of them which uh was poor and the other was rich so when they uh arrive in the baccalaureate so they passed their exam th the rich one ahm the rich one succeed in his exam and the other fail in his exam uh uh the the poor one when he fail uh when he fail in his examd her parent can accept uh can accept that because the uh the he was the only boy and uh he was h their uh only choi choice because their parents want to be a doctor so ha haaa his father he can stand the shock and he feel ill so uh and uh and this moment the boy was uh was faced to a heard situation uh so he was obliged his dream about medicine ekcetera and uh he searched to work in order to take care of his mother and sister so he uh he take the choice between uh the study and uh uhhe take the choice between the study and obligation uh so he ch chose his gym ekcetera and work ahm but uh a at the same time he uh he didn't forget dream he was uh at same time working uh at home and uh enfin working and make his studies [laughs] uh by the time one day he make uh uh an experiment which uh which he which he published in the by the internet so uh n an organisation have learn about this research and ha uh and he give him a chance to enter the university so they give the him a a bourse like a bourse to enter the university so here why I very like it this movie because he was sh uh he was the that uh if you want to do something uh uh we can do it besi all the the difficulties we can do it and we can obtain our dream and uh that's all [laughs]
INF.155 /F.	uh the story is uh about uh a woman super woman who uh who has uh a super woman who has uh who get divor who has divorce and uh and uh found herself responsible of uh 7 girls so uh she uh found her she had uh and the uh unfortun unfortunately she was uh illiterace and uh she doesn't know any work except uh fishing uh so so uh this uh super woman uh this super woman fight uh to uh to live and uh to grown h has uh her uh her daughters uh so she uh was uh a fisherwoman who uh she was a fisherwoman who ahmm who who was uh she was super woman she was refreshing woman who uh who uh w uh who fish uh at night or uh or days with the uh her daughter uh it wasn't uh uh a man who help them so uh for me the story uh give me an example and the uh sh and she was a slogan for uh the uh the f the f women who fight and uh who woman who fight an the uh and until she get what they want uh and she wasn't uh a slogan an example only for me but for all the world because uh the president gave her a price for her courage and for her uh sacrifice uh so I like uh the mo this movie because uh I like this movie an because it's uh it's an example it's uh that's why I like it because I feel that she's a super woman and a good mum and a good mum that's it



INF. 156/F.	<p>I have seen a movie ahm that impressed me it it entitled uh it entitled Gr Great Gatsby the Great Gatsby it's very interesting movie uh it is about in the story talk about uh love story love love story between 2 persons uh the great Gatsby and Daisy he did he did all every he did everything for her uh he uh he get money he get a money for he get a money in a legal way just for make her happy and uh and to get a good life then uh ahm he he he wanted to be close to her uh and uh ahm to make her he to make her her his wife and then uh at the end he he fell and uh he fell and uh the hurt and he end by he finish by uh by hurting all uh hurting her and uh all uh all persons that around her yes I like it because I like this movie because I I found it uh I there is a moral in uh this uh in this mi in this movie we can happy we c we can buy happiness by money just we uh we work we work we work hard to get to get uh money and uh to to live in happiness and uh in uh in uh satisfy satisfying s yes</p>
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INF. 157/F.	<p>I have seen a movie uh I have seen an Egyptian movie it was uh about uh woman f bout famous woman uh lawyer uh this letter uh make a big problem to a man uh when she put him uh in prison uh and when he he was free uh he want to uh revenge but uh at the end uh but at the end he uh failed because uh because she put him uh in the prison uh second time I uh I like this uh this movie because uh it contain uh more actions uh that I liked uh I like</p>
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INF.201 /M.	<p>I told you about a book I have read uh [laughs] uh it's about a I will told you about a book that I have read it's uh about the writer of uh the title is uh <i>Lord Jim</i> writes by uh Jim Conrad uh it is speaks about uh he is he is uh worker in the maritime uh uh he wo he travels a lot from one uh from one country to another and he experi many exprime many things and he uh learnt many such as various things also uh in his sto uh in his story is uh I liked I I like this story because it's uh it's an adventure of uh a man who uh travelled all around the world and expert many things in his lifes</p>
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## Little Red Riding Hood

Little Red Riding Hood lived in a wood with her mother. One day Little Red Riding Hood went to visit her granny. She had a nice cake in her basket.

On her way Little Red Riding Hood met a wolf. "Hello!" said the wolf. "Where are you going?"

"I'm going to see my grandmother. She lives in a house behind those trees."

The wolf ran to Granny's house and ate Granny up. He got into Granny's bed. A little later, Little Red Riding Hood reached the house. She looked at the wolf.

"Granny, what big eyes you have!"

"All the better to see you with!" said the wolf.

"Granny, what big ears you have!"

"All the better to hear you with!" said the wolf.

"Granny, what a big nose you have!"

"All the better to smell you with!" said the wolf.

"Granny, what big teeth you have!"

"All the better to eat you with!" shouted the wolf.

A woodcutter was in the wood. He heard a loud scream and ran to the house.

The woodcutter hit the wolf over the head. The wolf opened his mouth wide and shouted and Granny jumped out.

The wolf ran away and Little Red Riding Hood never saw the wolf again.

## Story



Listen to this story <http://learnenglishkids.britishcouncil.org/en/short-stories/little-red-riding-hood>

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### The Same Earth

River Mumma had taken her poor brother – Miss Dorcas’ son. Just like the legend. Tempted him with the golden comb. Now he was drowned. And when Miss Dorcas heard this, she too collapsed without anyone to catch her. Flat out on her doorstep. The other children who had been playing by the river soon arrived – they had not run as fast as the little girl who was energized by a grief she should not have known at that young age. They backed up her story. Yes Miss Dorcas. Yes, is true. Her little boy was drowned. No. They didn’t see exactly how or when. They was just playing a game of hide and seek by the river and everybody know Jonathon was a boy who loved to play it dangerous – loved to go into the river and hide. Hold his breath under water whenever someone came near, for who would look for him in the waters? Don’t it? Don’t they had all seen him do that before? Yes. Yes they had. And don’t they had told him, him play too dangerous. Dat him luck was going to run out – don’t they had told him? Yes, the children all agreed with each other. They had told him. Well, sure as fate, this time the worst had happened. They found his shoes by the river, but nothing else. All the children called and called. They went into the water. His sister called and called. And it was over an hour. The sun was about to set, and all of them had looked up just in time to see the light glinting off of a rock. And didn’t all of them see it? Yes – all the children nodded that they had – glinting on the stone, something that looked like a golden comb – a sure sign of the River Mumma who tempts children her way, then drowns them.

...

Soon everybody was walking down to the Rio Bueno with candles and lamps. They had to hold Miss Dorcas up and carry her the whole way. The children were all silent and serious as they made up the rear of the procession. At the river, men rolled up their pants to their knees and women tied their skirts up high. ...They all walked into the water, slowly down and around it, feeling the bottom with their feet, searching for something softer and larger than simple river stones.

All this time little Jonathon watched from on top of a mango tree fearing what was surely going to happen to him for he realized he had taken a joke too far this time. He was in trouble and he knew it. If Miss Dorcas beat him all the way into next year, he would count himself lucky.