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**Language as an Index of Identity and Otherness: Overt Language
Attitudes in a Multilingual Kabyle Speech Community**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for a Master's Degree in
Linguistics.**

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Abstract

Attitudes to languages are crucial in multilingual speech communities, for many outcomes arouse from them. This study aims at investigating language attitudes among Kabyle students towards all of Kabyle Berber, Arabic, French, the reasons that account for these attitudes and their possible correlation with language use. An 88-item questionnaire containing three language attitudinal scales, close-ended and open-ended questions, and three other language use scales was sent online to Kabyle students across Greater and Lesser Kabylia. The Data was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The results showed that Kabyle students have positive attitudes towards Kabyle Berber and French and indecisive attitudes for the Arabic language. These attitudes are due mainly to the determination for language preservation, language policy decisions which disfavored one language over another and the utility of French especially in higher education. Besides, the correlation of language attitudes and language use shows a positive relationship. Implications and consequences of these results were eventually discussed.

Keywords: Language Attitudes, Kabyle Speech Community, Multilingualism.

Résumé

Les attitudes envers les langues sont cruciales dans les communautés multilingues, car de nombreuses conséquences en découlent. Cette étude vise à enquêter sur les attitudes linguistiques des étudiants kabyles envers le kabyle berbère, l'arabe, le français, les raisons qui expliquent ces attitudes et leur possible corrélation avec l'usage de la langue. Un questionnaire de 88 items contenant trois échelles d'attitudes linguistiques, des questions fermées et ouvertes et trois autres échelles d'utilisation de la langue a été envoyé en ligne aux étudiants kabyle à travers la Grande et la Petite Kabylie. Les données ont été analysées à la fois quantitativement et qualitativement. Les résultats ont montré que les étudiants kabyles avaient des attitudes positives envers le berbère kabyle et le français et des attitudes indécises pour la langue arabe. Ces attitudes sont principalement dues à la volonté de préserver la langue, aux décisions de la politique linguistique qui ont défavorisé une langue par rapport à une autre et à l'utilité du français, en particulier dans l'enseignement supérieur. En outre, la corrélation entre les attitudes linguistiques et l'utilisation de la langue a montré une relation positive. Les implications et les conséquences de ces résultats ont été discutées.

Mots-clés: Attitudes Linguistiques, Communauté Kabyle Linguistique, Multilinguisme.

Dedication

I dedicate this modest work to my family

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This research paper would not have been completed without the assistance and guidance of my supervisor Miss Arib Soraya for whom I express my sincere gratitude.

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1 Chapter 1 General Introduction

1.1 Overview

The Algerian society is deemed rich in terms of linguistic diversity given the range of languages that are at interplay. It is worth noting that Algerians are moving back and forth between different languages predominantly Arabic, Berber, and French; this fact gives rise to multilingualism. Accordingly, Daoudi (2018) states that the complex linguistic repertoire of Algeria makes it an original case study. In fact, the official languages of Algeria, Arabic, Berber and their varieties, are being largely used. These two languages are representative of Algeria's major ethnic groups; they are a manifestation of the co-existing linguistic repertoire let alone cultural heritage of the country. French, however, is a heritage of colonial history; whether it is a blessing or a curse is still a debatable issue.

Given this diversity, language contact is bound to happen and may result in language planning issues, language conflict, and thereof linguistic identity crisis. This is a serious issue in Algeria; language planning policies in the post-colonial era have opted for an eradication of the French language and have privileged the Arabic language through an Arabization process. These facts have resulted in serious disputes as to language recognition and language stratification. Although, policymakers have well established for a non-francophone state, they have apparently failed to deconstruct the French colonial heritage; French persists until present-day Algeria and the language is still at widespread use in the media, government, and education as well. The late decisions in the language policy have standardized Berber, a language that has been marginalized for at least four decades after independence. This standardization has been a result of a longstanding struggle that culminated in the Kabyle region in the name of the 'Berber Spring' in the 1980s, subsequently, followed by the 'the Black Berber Spring' in the 2000s.

Eventually, attitudes arise in this language conflict situation and tensions become not only linguistic; ethnic considerations arise in the form of self-preservation ideologies. Attitudes are both important in psychology and sociolinguistics. It is a pivotal and significant concept in social psychology (Perloff, 1993: 26 as cited in Garrett et al., 2003) and also in sociolinguistics since the work of Labov (1966 as cited in Garrett et al., 2003) on the social stratification of speech communities.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Being aware of certain attitudes, particularly language attitudes may help in predicting future problems and thus solving them. The Algerian society has been through some language policies consisting of three stages: The colonial period, the post-independence period, and the national reconciliation period (Sabrina, 2017; Benrabah 2007). The first stage was characterized by the imposition of the French language by the colonizers on the society and marginalizing the existing languages. The second stage saw a shift in language policy where Arabic was imposed particularly in the educational system through the incorporation of Arabic teachers and Arabic written materials; this is known as the Arabization process. The last stage began in the early 2000s and witnessed a less assertive Arabization coupled with the recognition of Tamazight as national (at this stage Berber was only a national language but not an official one) by the constitution. Eventually, attitudes towards these languages differ from one region to another and should be clearly defined and understood so that correct behaviors and measures are to be taken.

However, few cases have been investigated in the Algerian society; especially the Kabyle community which has been at the margins of all the language policies. In fact, Mokhtar (2018) claims that the marginalization policy was directed towards the erosion of Tamazight through political, educational, and economic pressures up to physical violence in the 1980s. Intriguingly, French is still mostly used in education, culture, business, press,

Algerian banking, medical reports, and even in some ministries documents although the Arabization was primarily designed to eradicate French from public life (Gherzouli, 2019). For Benrabah (2007), this maintenance could be interpreted as a resistance to the monopoly of Arabization; a view which is far from being implausible.

Ultimately, Tamazight has been recognized as a national language and part of the national identity in 2002 (Mokhtar, 2018) and made official and compulsory for learning in 2016 (Zahaf & Abid, 2017). Eventually, reactions to these changes arose from different sides of the country. As reported by the press and social networks, some protagonists view this as a step of merit and respect to the regulation of the Berber language issue while many antagonists questioned the ability of the language to fulfill the needs in socio-economic, technical, and modern fields of life (Zahaf & Abid, 2017).

The aforementioned linguistic snapshot of Algeria makes of the study of language attitudes a worthwhile concern. Gaining insights from Kabyle students's attitudes towards these widely used languages is important and could only be done through the present study. To this end, the central research query is the following:

What are Kabyle students' attitudes towards languages of Algeria, how are they reminiscent of underlying ideological trends and what are their subsequent relationships with language use?

1.3 Research Questions

- What are the attitudes of the Kabyle students towards their native language and other languages?
 - Tamazight, represented in this study by the Kabyle variety.
 - Arabic Language
 - French language

- What are the possible reasons behind these attitudes?
- Is there a relationship between language attitude and language use?

1.4 Research Assumptions

Based on the aforementioned research queries and the prevalent linguistic situation, we assume that the Kabyle students hold these attitudes:

- Attitudes of pride and preservation towards their native language.
- Negative attitudes towards Standard and colloquial Arabic reminiscent of the prestigious place these two have enjoyed in language policies at the expense of Berber.
- Positive attitudes towards the French language.

We also assume that these attitudes stem from significant contextual events that we portray in the following:

- Positive attitudes and pride towards the Kabyle variety which instigates from the existing culture of self-preservation and the feeling of belonging to this ethnic group.
- Negative attitudes towards Arabic due to the linguistic discrimination of the Berber language wielded by the authority in aid of the Arabic language.
- Positive attitudes towards the French language which is due to the belief of being a more useful tool to get access to education and a significant asset for immigration.

We also assume the existence of a relationship between language attitudes and language use.

1.5 Aims of the Study

The present study aspires to shed light on the complex linguistic situation in a multilingual speech community, herein the Kabyle students, and sort out the ideological mechanism underlying the attitudinal and behavioral manifestations of language and identity.

- To determine the attitudes held by the Kabyle students towards their language and other languages.
- To discover the reasons that trigger these attitudes.
- To predict the subsequent behaviors and effects on the use of these languages.

1.6 Context of the Study

This study investigates attitudes held by the Kabyle students towards the different languages existing in the Algerian society. Therefore, a description of the Algerian context generally, and the Kabyle context specifically is required.

Algeria is a country that is situated in the North of Africa, sharing boundaries with Tunisia in the East and Morocco in the West. Its population can be divided into two major ethnic groups: the Algerian Arabs and the Algerian Berbers. Chapan (1994) points out that the term Berber is not used by the people themselves but was attributed to them by the Greeks and then was retained by the Romans and the Arabs. He then reported that the main Berber groups are the Kabyle people and the Chaouia people, with other smaller groups such as the Mزاب and the Tuareg while, the Arabs (descendants of Arab invaders and Berbers), constitute the majority of the population (80%) with cultural and political dominance.

Additionally, Chapan (1994) claims that linguistically, the Algerian Arabic dialects that stem from the seventh-century invaders do not differ from each other, except for the nomadic groups which are believed to derive from Bedouin dialects. Arabic, the language of

the majority and the official language, started to spread in North Africa thanks to Arab invaders of the 7th Century and the Bedouin Arabs of the 9th Century (Chapan, 1994).

According to Roberts (2014), the region called “la Kabylie” derived its name from the Arabic word “Qbayel” literally translated as the tribes and proposed another derivation from another Arabic word “qabila” meaning “to accept” designating the first people who accepted Islam. But he favors the first interpretation due to the existence of the word “thaqvilth” in Berber language meaning the largest unit of political organization. Roberts also distinguished between Berber as a linguistic term of classification of Berber dialects and Amazigh as a linguistic term that is used for all Berber things and persons since the rise of the Berber movement in the 1980s.

For Chapan (1994), the Kabyle people, which are the largest group of Berbers, refer to themselves as ‘Imazighen’ and have a strong sense of independence and solidarity. He also reported that the Berber language is a spoken language, although it has a writing system called ‘Tifinagh’ that still exists among the Tuareg and is used for special purposes (shorts writings like graffiti on rocks, games, messages, inscriptions on utensils) rather than communication.



Map 1 : The Kabylia

Roberts (2014) mentioned that the region of Kabylia can be divided into two main parts Greater Kabylia and Lesser Kabylia (see Map 1) as to further distinguish between the dialects. The former is totally a Berber speaking region while the latter is equally shared by Berber and Arabic speakers.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Given the diversity of languages in Algeria and the implications of the different language policies that changed gradually their status over the years, attitudes are unavoidably present and different from one region to another. Additionally, there have been little studies on language attitudes in the Algerian context, specifically the Kabyle speech community underlines the need to carry out more research on this field of study. By defining clearly the attitudes of Kabyle students towards each of the languages, it will provide an insight of this population aspiration for their language and other languages, and possibly enlighten other regions about stereotypes and claims towards this Kabyle region. Furthermore, the characteristic of multilingualism in the Kabyle community arouse attitudes that might affect behaviors; and therefore, raise awareness towards them. Finally, these attitudes could be a basis for further research in the field of sociolinguistics, especially macro-sociolinguistics i.e. language maintenance and ethnolinguistic identity research.

1.8 Limitations of the study

Some restrictions were encountered during the research process and which mainly relates to methodological and researcher limitations. One of the methodological restrictions is the lack of research on language attitudes conducted among Kabyle people, which did not provide enough literature to study. The other methodological restriction is related to the distribution of the questionnaire which could only be done online and thus limiting the distribution of the questionnaire to only those who can be accessed through social media. This is due to the Covid-19 pandemic in which quarantine was imposed and therefore couldn't hand the questionnaire in person. The last restriction is concerned with the non-availability of printed sources about the research investigated and thus the majority of the literature was selected online.

1.9 Theoretical Framework: the Sociolinguistic Theory

One of the functions in which language is used, besides communicating meaning, is the maintenance of social relationships (Spolsky, 1998). This means that language and society are interrelated, and the science that studies this relation is known as Sociolinguistics. This latter is defined by Holmes (2013) as a term that refers to the study of the relationship between language and society, and how language is used in multilingual speech communities. Moreover, Spolsky (1998, p.3) provides the same definition of sociolinguistics, "the field that studies the relation between language and society, between the uses of the language and the social structures in which the users of the language live".

However, as Meyerhoff (2006) pointed out sociolinguistics is an exceptionally wide field that can be utilized to describe diverse ways of studying the language. That is to say, sociolinguistic research can be divided into studies focusing on language and others on society. These are called macro and micro-sociolinguistics. Coulmas (1998) explains that micro-sociolinguistics deals with the influence of social structures and social variables (age,

gender, class) on language use whereas macro-sociolinguistics (sometimes called the sociology of language) investigates what societies do with language such as attitudes to language variation, language shift and maintenance, and interactions of speech communities.

As far as we are concerned, this study investigates language attitudes which can be viewed as the way in which society deals with languages and therefore can be categorized as a macro-sociolinguistic study.

1.10 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is divided into four Chapters. Chapter 1 starts with a description of the study and the context in which it will be conducted. In Chapter 2, we delve into the literature review to understand the mechanisms by which language attitudes shape language use, maintenance or shift; this is done through getting back to eminent scholars and studies in the field. This chapter is thereafter divided into three major sections; in section one, multilingualism and related aspects are explained with a focus on the existing languages in Algeria, their historical background, domains of use, and language planning policies. Section 2 deals with connections between language, identity, and ideology. Section 3 discusses language attitude and refers to different approaches and studies in both the foreign literature and in Algeria as well. After the theoretical part, Chapter 3 gives a concise explanation of the methodological path that was followed in this research; it specifies the population, accounts for the choice of the sample, sample description, research method, data collection tools, and their analysis. Ultimately, Chapter 4 analyzes and discusses the results. Therefore we provide answers to our research questions, draw conclusions, and suggest recommendations for future research in mainstream language attitudes.

2 Chapter 2 Literature Review

1. Overview

In this chapter, we consider some important concepts and approaches which are relevant to this study. A portrayal of the linguistic situation and multilingualism is crucial for the understanding of the linguistic community being under scrutiny. However, other concepts such as identity and ideology are strongly linked to language and thus may shape attitudes and/or account for them. After that, we eventually consider major concepts and studies of language attitudes.

2.1 Section I: Multilingualism and languages of Algeria

2.1.1 Introduction

Multilingualism is a characteristic of the Algerian society, notably the Kabyle community. Thus, the following section is devoted to definitions of multilingualism, reasons for multilingualism with a particular focus on the languages striving to exist in Algeria.

2.1.2 Multilingualism

As mentioned earlier, the Algerian society is multilingual. Therefore, understanding the concept of multilingualism and its mechanisms is a prerequisite.

Maher (2017) defines multilingualism as a social situation in which a group or a community communicates with more than one language, in addition to the national or official language. He specifies that this kind of multilingualism is called societal multilingualism whereas individual multilingualism also referred to as bilingualism is the ability to use two languages. For Spolsky (1998), multilingualism is a variation of language that is well studied by linguists due to its characteristics as being common in most countries and salient.

Maher (2017) also highlights the fact that a multilingual person is not the one who necessarily masters several languages but also the one who can use language for different functions in different contexts.

2.1.3 Causes of Multilingualism

It is important to take a look at how multilingual societies emerged to better understand the multilingual context being studied.

Maher (2017) highlighted five factors that contribute to the formation of multilingualism and they are as follows: wars and colonization, migration and settlement, religion, the need for trade and business, and the media. He follows up by pointing out the conditions in which these factors went through: the introduction of the language by an event, the sustainment of that language by the government, then the shift and establishment of the language as the mother tongue, and finally the benefit on the use of that language.

On the other hand, Spolsky (1998) identifies different ways in which multilingual societies came to existence. For him, multilingualism is the result of migration, whether voluntary or involuntary migration, and also of conquests and colonial policies. He underlined that the most common outcome of this language contact as being language conflict portrayed by the pressure produced by one language to other language speakers in its adoption. For Spolsky, language contact and multilingualism imply a strong emotional reaction that stems from the symbolic function of language as an index of identity. He points out that language is a significant marker of identity and this is because of its symbolic allusion to individual thought and social relations. Additionally, Spolsky specifies that most ethnic groups believe that their language is the best medium to preserve and express their traditions.

2.1.4 Multilingualism in Algeria

To understand the linguistic situation of Algeria, one has to trace back the history of this county; and thus, a brief historical overview of the Maghreb is essential. Fitouri (1983, as cited in Ennaji, 2005) reports that the Maghreb as a political and cultural community appeared during the Berber Era before 215 B.C. Ennaji (2005) relates that the region became Roman colonization until 402 AD with the arrival of the vandals, serving as colonies to transport grains to Italy and therefore they were not interested in imposing their Latin language. Thereafter, it became Byzantine colonization until 647 AD with the arrival of Arab conquests which put an end to Christian and Jewish Byzantine power. Also, Ennaji specified that the Arab Conquerors adopted a language policy that helped them spread the Arabic and Islamic culture that consisted of creating Quranic schools to form future leaders. As he reported, Algeria was then occupied by the Ottoman Empire from 1574 until the French colonization Era. As Chapan (1994) noted, the French tried to eradicate the Algerian culture and identity by imposing the French language and culture on society resulting in a dual language system.

2.1.5 Languages of Algeria and language planning policies in the post-colonial era

2.1.6 Arabization: a portrayal of the national identity

After Algeria declared its independence from the French in 1962, a policy of Arabization was implemented. Chapan (1994) pointed out that this was a reaction by the leaders of the War of Independence and subsequent government against the French linguistic imperialism with the aim of reviving the Arabic language and the Islamic cultural values. For Chapan, this policy focused mainly on language which started by the government of President Houari Boumediene in the late 1960s by promoting Arabic in the bureaucracy and schools. He noted that there were two major oppositions to this policy: the modernizers (bureaucrats and technocrats), and the Berbers, more specifically the Kabyles. As for the modernizers, they

argued that French language facilitated foreign commerce, economic and political development. On the other hand, the Kabyles were more complaining about cultural imperialism and the domination by the Arabic-speaking majority, demanding recognition of their language and the economical development of Kabylia.

2.1.7 Berber and the Berber Identity movement

Berber is nearly spoken in ten North African countries; Algeria and Morocco count most of the Berber-speaking population (25% in Algeria, 35% to 40% in Morocco) (Chaker, 2001). Although it is known to be an indigenous language of the North African populations, it has never been the standard language of these countries; thus, a revival movement has been noticed (El Aissati, 2001). As El Aissati (2001) reports, this movement has started since the 20th Century with works of Boulifa in 1879 and the work Jean Amrouche “Les Chants Bérberes de Kabylie”, but became a central political and cultural issue in the second half of the 20th Century. He follows up by explaining the recent claim and protests for the Amazigh identity are being caused by the alternative change of the linguistic theory which refuted the idea that some languages are better than others.

Chaker (2001) states that after the independence of Algeria, an ideology of hostility towards the Berber language was launched publicly and politically. He further explains, the State defined itself as Arabic and Muslim in the constitutions since 1961 and was concretely practiced through the politic of Arabization and re-Islamicization which considered linguistic diversity as a danger to national unity. This policy had serious consequences and resulted in an important protest movement in March 1980 called “The Berber Spring of Kabylia” and which is considered by Chaker as an awakening of the Berber identity consciousness and a first time in the history of North Africa that the Berbers claimed clearly their right and will to exist through their demands of language and culture recognition. This period extending from

post-independence to 1988 was characterized by exclusions and repressions but started to change drastically from 1989 as a result of political opening and the abolishment of the single-party system (Chaker, 2001). These changes concerned many aspects of the social environment specifically the publications of some books in the Tamazight and were significantly marked by attempts to create Berber-language newspapers, the creation of a radio broadcasting channel and a daily broadcast of TV news in Kabyle and Chawi, and the creation of a Berber department in both of Tizi-Ouzou and Bejaia universities in 1990 and 1991 (Chaker, 2001).

Nevertheless, with the commemoration of the Berber Spring in 2001, things turned into riots when hundreds of activists claimed their demands, culminating in 126 victims (Zahaf & Abid, 2017). This is known as “the Black Spring”. Zahaf and Abid also claimed that the events lead unexpectedly to the recognition of Tamazight as a national language in 2002.

2.1.8 French: a colonial heritage

The status of the French language in Algeria has gradually changed through the years. It started with the French colonization (1830-1962) that applied an assimilation policy of the French culture through the weakening of the native languages and restricting religious practices (Alloua, 1990). Moreover, French was established as the official language of instruction, and thus all subjects were taught in the French language (Hetman 2018). Hetman claims that this policy failed to succeed due to poor implantation policies and had rather negative consequences such as resentment towards the French language and culture.

After independence, the French language was widespread and was present in the Algerian linguistic scene; consequently, Algerians who studied under the French educational system became bilinguals and multilingual (Alloua, 1990). However, an Arabization policy was started with the aim of annihilating French and other existing dialects and languages in

Algeria (Benrabah, 2007). The language of instruction was then replaced by Arabic; thus, reducing the use of French which became a second language in 1964 and a foreign language in 1974 (Massihedin, 2018).

However, as Massihedin reported, the election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika as a president has slowed down the attempts to the eradication of the French language through his different claims in renewing Franco-Algerian cooperation. Indeed, this was done in reopening French education institutions, the creation of private schools offering French education, and the opening of French centers by the French government.

2.1.9 Conclusion

This section analyzed the linguistic landscape of Algeria with relevance to Kabyle Community and focused on the multilingual aspect of these communities. The multiple languages that intertwine in the Algerian context make it both an interesting and complex situation to study. This is due firstly to the different languages existing in this context and the different changes applied to them through the course of history. These circumstances lead mainly to language identity and language maintenance issues which will be discussed in the following section.

2.2 Section II: Language as Identity and Ideology

2.2.1 An Overview

Identity and ideology are displayed through language use. For Thomas et al., (2004) how people talk is an indicator of who they are; i.e. the way they talk signals their identity.

2.2.2 Language and the construction of group identities

Thomas et al.,(2004) explained that social identity is constructed by the categorization of a group of people as belonging to a particular group through labels of identity (naming their social group and owning their representation of themselves). This social categorization, as they reported, cannot always be controlled as it is frequently imposed by a group in a powerful position on other groups. They also stated that social identity is only perceived in relation to others and the individual status within a social group. For them, this latter is constructed through appropriate language use of the linguistic terms according to the norms that are associated with a particular group to establish a membership to the in-group (other members of the group), and the out-group (members outside the group). This use, for instance, is displayed through standard and non-standard varieties of the language and different accents.

2.2.3 Linguistic variation and the construction of identity

It is important to note, as Thomas et al., (2004) claimed that people tend to speak differently in different kinds of interaction (different grammar or pronunciation), and which is referred to as style-shifting. They pinpointed one of the theories that accounts for this variation in style, the audience design, in which they explained that people shift in style according to the context to show solidarity and approval through linguistic convergence (changing the pattern of speech to fit the person speaking to). However, in some situations,

people may maintain their language variety (language maintenance) or speak a more extreme variety of their dialect to emphasize the linguistic differences (linguistic divergence).

Thomas et al, (2004) also believe that the maintenance of a minority language in a majority culture is related to the maintenance of its cultural identity and values. They also relate that language loss is related to the loss of identity, as this happens in a situation where a language is imposed and another is suppressed by the dominant power. Moreover, they emphasized the fact that the use of one language over the other may result in privileging one community to the detriment of the other by restricting or permitting to access social and institutional structures.

2.2.4 Ideology and Language

Wodak (2007) states that language is intricately related to beliefs, opinions, and ideologies. This is true in the sense that ideologies can be expressed through language use. However, he claims that the concept of ideology is a complex term due to its ambiguous nature as it has been viewed from two different positions: one considers ideology as false theories about reality while the other relates it to both thinking and acting (i.e. belief system and the actions that are done accordingly). A broad definition of linguistic ideology can be found in Rumsey (1990) as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world”.

2.2.5 Language Shift and Maintenance

One of the potential outcomes for language attitudes is language Shift. Trudgill (2000) views attitudes to language, especially the feeling of shame, as an important factor that leads people to abandon their language.

One of the terms associated with language loss and that accounts for language disappearance, for Trudgill (1991), is language shift. He defines it as a process in which a community gradually abandons its original language and adopts another via bilingualism. Language shift is not only considered as an outcome but also as a process. Pauwels (2016) explains that it is a process in the sense that language shift occurs gradually because it may take one or more generations for people to abandon their language. On the contrary to language shift, language maintenance for Pauwels (2016) is the continuous use or retention of a language. Trudgill (1991) points out that language maintenance is important for the preservation of culture. Therefore, preserving the language is preserving culture. For him, language can be maintained firstly through political actions such as organizations that fight for the right of minority people and tribes. He further highlighted the role of linguists in generating positive ideas about languages and dialects to change people's attitudes and stereotypes towards these languages.

Therefore, two significant settings have been investigated in the fields of language shift and maintenance: settings related to forms of migration and settings related to indigenous linguistic minorities (Pauwels, 2016). The former is the one that has been widely investigated and is concerned with the movement of groups or communities to settle in another area. The latter is related to indigenous people who became a linguistic minority in their territory due to the arrival of other groups with a dominant language. From this definition, we can consider the Berber communities as part of this setting. As Pauwels (2016) outlined, most of these territorial minority settings face language shift and ultimately language disappearance. Thus, it is crucial to monitor this phenomenon in the Kabyle community.

2.2.6 Conclusion

The connection between language and concepts such as identity and ideology is intrinsically strong. Identity is conveyed through language and this simple fact leads to the emergence of attitudes and ideologies. Ultimately, different outcomes such as language shift and language maintenance are observed among communities.

2.3 Section III: Language Attitudes.

2.3.1 Overview

The main goal of this study is to determine and clarify the attitudes of the Kabyle Students towards the languages of Algeria. Therefore, a concise review of language attitudes will permit us to better investigate Kabyle peoples' language attitudes. To this end, it is necessary to differentiate attitudes from other concepts and to be aware of the main approaches and studies in this area.

2.3.2 Definitions of attitudes

Kothandapani (1971, p.223) defines attitude as “learned predisposition to respond to an object or class of objects in a consistently favorable or unfavorable way”. The same definition can be found in Breckler (1984, p.1191) where he defines an attitude as “a response to an antecedent stimulus or attitude object”. This means that attitudes are subject to an external factor whether it is a stimulus or attitude objects.

Others give a more detailed definition such as Oppenheim (1982 as cited in Garrett et al., 2003) who includes the behaviors from which inferences about other people's attitudes are made. For him an attitude is:

A construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through such more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behavior. (p.27)

2.3.3 Attitude and related terms

The term attitude is closely related to other terms (habits, values, beliefs, opinions, ideology), and are sometimes used interchangeably (Garrett et al., 2003). Therefore brief differences are provided by McKenzie (2010) to distinguish between these terms. For him, beliefs are cognitive in nature and thus are only a single component of attitudes, opinions are overt beliefs and verbally expressed whereas attitudes are latent and expressed verbally and non verbally, values are ideals to achieve and are more abstract than attitudes since they go beyond specific actions and situations, habits are behavioral in nature whereas attitudes are factors of behaviors, motives are goal-specific while attitudes are object-specific, ideology as defined by Garrett et al.(2003), is ‘a patterned, naturalized set of assumptions and values associated with a particular social or cultural group’ and is viewed as global attitudes, on the contrary of attitude which tend to be towards specific objects.

2.3.4 Attitudes and Behaviors

A common view about attitudes and behaviors is that they are aligned. In other words, this view assumes that if we are able to change people’s attitudes towards an attitude object, we change their behaviors and we are also able to deduce people’s attitudes from their behaviors. This is mainly demonstrated in Festinger’s (1957) theory of ‘cognitive dissonance’ which suggests that we prefer to keep our beliefs, attitudes, and behavior aligned.

However, a great deal of research on attitudes shows that attitudes and behaviors may sometimes not be aligned. For instance, the ‘theory of reasoned action’ initiated by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980, as cited in Garrett et al., 2003) stresses the social context within which an individual operates, and how this may affect the relative importance of private attitudes (not behaving in accordance with attitude after anticipating hostiles reactions from others).

2.3.5 Psychological theories of attitudes

2.3.6 The behaviorist approach

Attitudes are studied according to two psychological approaches: the behaviorist view and the mentalist (cognitive) view. McKenzie (2010) explains that the behaviorist approach considers that attitudes can be inferred from the behavioral responses of an individual to social situations as no self responses from the individuals is necessary. However, he reported that this approach is criticized for viewing attitudes as the only factor of behavior without considering other social factors (age, gender, group membership...) and the difficulty to infer reliable behavior due to the regularities of human interactions which can result in wrong explanations.

2.3.7 The mentalist approach

The other approach as McKenzie (2010) explains, considers attitudes as an internal state which can affect the responses of an individual when it is stimulated and can be inferred only by the respondents' introspection. Thus, mentalists assume that an attitude is formed by three components (cognitive, affective, and conative) but these are not necessarily present in any given attitude. That is to say, not all attitudes have always the three elements; and thus attitudes with only a single or two elements exist.

2.3.8 The Tripartite Model of Attitudes

As stated earlier, attitudes are believed to have a tripartite structure (Breckler, 1984). That is to say, attitudes are made up of three components: cognitive, affective, and conative. The cognitive part is related to the beliefs that a person has about the world or a specific object. For example, the French language will permit me to access more scientific knowledge than Arabic. The affective part of attitudes is merely the positive or negative feelings that we

have towards an attitude object; for instance, hostility towards a given language. The conative part is concerned with the disposition to act in a certain way that stems from the affective and cognitive components (Learning the French language and neglecting the Arabic language).

This tripartite model was presented by Rosenberg and Hovland (1960 as cited in Garrett et al., 2003), and supported by subsequent studies by Ostrom (1969 as cited in Garrett et al., 2003), Kothandapani (1971), and Breckler (1984). For McKenzie (2010), the main advantage of this model is that it tries to explain the ambivalent attitudes of human beings towards attitude objects which occur when the components of this model are in conflict. For instance, an individual may believe that Arabic maybe useful in Algeria (cognitive component) but at the same time neglects to learn it (conative component). This model has been criticized for prejudging a relationship between attitude and behavior (Zanna and Rempel 1988, as cited in Garrett et al., 2003).

2.3.9 Approaches to the Measurement of Language Attitudes

In research for language attitudes, three major approaches have been recognized: the societal treatment approach, the direct approach; and the indirect approach (referred to as ‘the matched-guise technique’ by Lambert et al., 1960).

2.3.10 The societal treatment approach

It involves a content analysis of the ‘treatment’ given to languages and language varieties, and to their speakers within society (Garrett et al., 2003). In other words, it is the researcher who infers attitudes from document analysis and observed behaviors. Garrett et al, (2003) pointed out that many of them are qualitative in approach but there are some of them which use formal sampling procedures and provide some descriptive statistics. This approach is often neglected in langue attitude research because it is considered as being too informal

and therefore can serve as preliminaries of sociolinguistic and social psychological studies (Garrett, 2010). Van Hout and Knops (1988, p.7) argue that this approach may be appropriate in situations where the respondents cannot be accessed because of the restrictions of time and space

2.3.11 The direct approach

Asking direct questions about language preferences through questionnaires and interviews is the main characteristic of this approach (Garrett et al., 2003). According to Van Hout and Knops (1988), the principal difference between this approach and the social treatment approach is that it is not the researcher who infers attitudes from the observed behaviors, but the participants themselves who are asked to do so.

There are general difficulties related to the direct approach studies, but also concern the indirect approach. Some of them are concerned with the formulation of questions: hypothetical questions (asking people how they would react to some object or situations), strongly slanted questions (using words that push people to answer one way), and multiple questions (more than one component in the question). Some others are related to the tendencies of the participants: social-desirability bias (give answers that are thought to be socially appropriate), acquiescence bias (Agree with the items to please the researcher), characteristics of the researcher (Ethnicity and sex not in relation to the study) (Garrett, 2010).

These difficulties will be taken into consideration for the investigation carried out in this paper.

2.3.12 The indirect approach

In this approach, deceptive techniques are used rather than asking direct questions. For Dawes and Smith (1985, as cited in Garrett et al., 2003), this is done by three main strategies:

Observing the participants without being aware that they are observed, observing their behaviors on which it is presumed they have no control, and deceiving the participants by getting them into believing that the research is not about attitudes.

In attitude language research, this approach is generally seen as synonymous with the matched-guise technique (MGT) which was developed by Lambert and his colleagues in the late 1950s (Garrett, 2010). However, for Dawes and Smith (1985, as cited in Garrett et al., 2003), the matched-guise technique differs from the direct approach in the sense that the participants fill in attitudes rating scale on questionnaires and are aware that their attitudes are being studied. Nevertheless, the matched-guise studies are regarded as an indirect method because they are designed in such a way that participants are fooled into believing that the attitudes being studied are the same as the researcher is studying (Garrett et al.,2003).

2.3.13 Language Attitudes Research

2.3.14 Foreign Language Attitude studies

We have mentioned earlier that language attitudes are studied according to three main approaches. Some prominent studies that have been conducted under these perspectives will be provided. Although the Social Treatment approach is overlooked in modern language attitude research, we can relate it to the work of Cots and Nussbaum (1999) on the view of governmental and educational reform documents on the use of different languages in schools. This study aimed at discovering the role of language awareness in learning/teaching languages within the framework of the educational reform in Spain, by asking three questions: what is the degree of consistency between the view of secondary school teachers on language awareness and the new curriculum proposals? What is the educational basis for the introduction of language awareness in the curriculum? And how this can be enriched? To answer these questions, the researchers analyzed official curricula, interviewed three language

teachers (English, Spanish, Catalan), and observed their classroom practices. The results have concluded the following: for the first question, the degree of consistency is little between the English teacher views and curriculum, moderate consistency between Spanish teachers' views and the curriculum, high consistency between Catalan teacher views and the curriculum. For the second question, neither the teachers nor the curriculum provided them with answers but they formulated their answer from the data analyzed which is based on the postmodernist view of knowledge. For the final question, the answer was not from the data but rather what they would have liked to find, and consisted in making the curriculum critical than it is currently.

On the other hand, studies conducted under the direct approach are numerous and used in many contexts. One of the early works employing this approach is found in Labov's investigation on the different uses and evaluations of /r/ among social classes in New York City, in 1962 (Labov, 2006). The investigation was carried out in three different department stores that were patronized by each of the three social classes. The interview, as a customer approached the employees and asked them for directions to a particular department (the department in question was on the fourth floor). He then received answers "the fourth floor", but then he would reply by "excuse me" to get the same answer with an emphasis on the words, and thus analyzed the /r/. Labov found that the employees of the store related to the upper class used more the rhotic /r/ and less by the lower and middle classes but would emphasize the sound when asked to repeat. He then concluded that the use of /r/ is associated with upper classes and overt prestige. Subsequent studies differed in many contexts as we can cite the work of Errihani (2008) on languages used in Morocco particularly Berber; Al-Nofaie (2016) on attitudes towards learning rarely spoken foreign languages; and Macaro and Lee (2013) on attitudes towards instruction in codeswitching.

A similar case close to the Kabyle context can be found in the study of Garrett et al, (2009) on the comparison of the ethnolinguistic identification and attitudes towards the Welsh language in three communities: Wales itself, Welsh communities in North America and in Patagonia. The main methodological tool used to gather data was a questionnaire distributed to these communities, and which was divided into four headings:

1. What do you think about the Welsh language?
2. What do you know about Wales?
3. What do you feel about Wales?
4. Welsh things that you do.

The results were divided into four items. The first one is related to the feeling of affiliation to Wales; it has shown that participants have positive attitudes towards being a Welsh. However, this attitude is the gradient across the groups. The second one is concerned with vitality perceptions of the Welsh language. While all three groups showed a positive commitment to the Welsh language, the community in Patagonia was perceived to be more vital than the other groups that have shown a moderate commitment. The results for the third question on the importance of using the Welsh language in the domains of priority (literature, place names, people names, ceremonial and cultural events) have shown that the three groups reported differently high importance to these uses. The last question which is concerned with the engagements with welsh activities which showed that the group in Wales was more involved in welsh activities than the others due to political issues.

Conversely, indirect approaches to language attitude studies can be traced back to the work of Lambert et al., (1960) on evaluative reactions to spoken languages, mainly French and English. The study was carried out with participants living in Montreal both English speakers and French speakers, using the Matched-Guise Technique. This technique consisted

of recording the voices of male bilinguals reading a philosophical text in both French and English and presenting them to the participants with a sheet containing a scale of traits (height, good looks, leadership, sense of humor, intelligence, etc) related to the two languages. The participants were not aware that the speech is made by a bilingual, and were asked to evaluate the persons in those tape-recorded speeches. Lambert came with some unexpected results, in which he found that French speakers valued English favorably as much as English speakers whereas they value less French when compared to the evaluation of English speakers on the same language. Eventually, many subsequent studies followed the approach made by Lambert to language attitude. One example is the work of Wendy et al., (2009) on language attitudes of the bilingual youth towards their Mother Tongue and English in Singapore. The matched-guise technique and an attitude questionnaire were used to collect data from a sample of 443 primary school learners (Malay, Indians, and Chinese). They were asked to evaluate recorded speakers' speech on a tape without being aware that it is the same person speaking the two languages. The result showed that Indians and Chinese children had lower attitudes than their mother tongue, compared to the Malay children who expressed no significant difference. Lower, middle and, upper socio-economic groups were also compared and showed that the lower socio-economic group had more positive attitudes towards the three languages than the other two groups.

2.3.15 Language Attitudes Research in the Algerian Context

Studies on language attitudes in the Algerian context are few and they are often conducted under the direct approach. The study of Ghounane and Rabahi (2018) on language attitudes towards teaching Tamazight in Tlemcen's Primary Schools aims primarily at identifying the reasons behind the failure of the inclusion of Tamazight in non-Kabyle communities' schools. Data were gathered using a series of questionnaires distributed to 110

informants across the province of Tlemcen and a focus group interview with 10 teachers followed up. The results of this study more or less demonstrated negative attitudes. In fact, 41% of the respondents didn't consider Tamazight as a language but rather as a variety of a language due to the lack of codification and they also questioned which variety of Tamazight to select for schools. Additionally, only 40% of them share positive attitudes to the teaching or learning of Tamazight while 60% had negative attitudes towards this arguing that it is only spoken by a minority of Algerians and the rest of the population is speaking different Algerian Arabic dialects.

Another study was conducted by Belmihoub (2012) on language attitudes in Algeria aiming at describing attitudes to the presence of English and other languages. A 51-item questionnaire was used to collect data from 101 participants mainly first and second-year students at the University of M'hamed Bougara in which 61 selected Arabic as their native language, 33 for the Tamazight language, and the remaining identified themselves in both languages or a variety of Tamazight (Chaouia). The results were different from one group to another as the overwhelming majority of native speakers of Tamazight were proponents of teaching French and English to all pupils in Algeria compared to the Arabic speakers. However, the majority of the respondents agreed that French and English are necessary for employment in Algeria's economy. Concerning their attitudes to multilingualism, 35% agreed that French, Arabic, English, and Tamazight would better allow them to live and prosper in Algeria while 32% excluded Tamazight from their choice. More specifically, 30% of native speakers of Derja excluded Tamazight from their choice against 1% in Tamazight native speakers.

We can also relate the work of Dendane (2007) on attitudes towards language variation in Tlemcen Speech Community. The main goal of his research was to describe attitudes towards two high-status languages, Arabic and French, and two varieties of Arabic,

all coexisting in the same community. Conversely to other Algerian researchers, Dendane used an indirect approach in his study of language attitudes; he inspired his work with the matched-guised technique used by Lambert in 1960. Indeed, he collected his data from young students aged between 18 and 23 using types of speech tape-recorded by a speaker in the 4 varieties, and handing a questionnaire after the listening part. The results related to speech behavior showed a preference for the use of the rural form of Arabic by older persons as opposed to young adults. Moreover, women were more conservative to the vernacular whatever the setting is. Concerning attitudes, Dendane concluded that although their positive attitudes towards the Tlemcen's Arabic, native male speakers are ashamed of using it in constrained settings. Nevertheless, some of them stick to it despite their negative comments.

2.3.16 Conclusion

Language attitudes have been approached from a behaviorist view and a mentalist view. However, this study will approach attitudes according to the mentalist view trying to measure them from the respondents' inferences and not from their behavior. Moreover, a direct approach to measure language attitude will be used since most of the language attitude research in the Algerian context has been using this approach.

3 Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Selection of the sample

Since this research is investigating attitudes of Kabyle students towards languages of Algeria, a sample of Kabyle students is suitable to answer the research questions. The sample was selected using a random sampling technique which consisted of sending randomly the questionnaire to different Kabyle students found available in social media across the regions of Greater and Lesser Kabylia. A total of 81 students agreed to answer the questionnaire.

3.2 Characteristics of the sample

Kabyle students have most of the characteristics that the Kabyle Community has. They are more likely to be multilingual and therefore can represent the multilingual speech community. They also come from different regions of the Kabyle community, either from Lesser Kabylia or Greater Kabylia. Moreover, the age range of students can best represent the Algerian population which is constituted by a high rate of young people and this can be seen by the average age of the Algerian population which is 29 according to ONS data (Office National des Statistiques, 2019).

3.3 Attitude questionnaire

An 88-item questionnaire was used to collect data. It contained 3 sections: 1-students' background questions, 2- three attitudinal scales with four questions, 3-three language use scales. The questionnaire was first designed in English than translated into French and analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics 26.

Questions 1, 2, 3 of section one and statements 1, 2,4,5,6 (of which section) were taken from the questionnaire used by Belmihoub (2012) in his investigation of language attitudes. The remaining questions were taken from a language attitude survey made by

AIATSIS (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies) in their studies of indigenous languages (Second National Indigenous National Survey, 2014).

For the purpose of measuring attitudes towards the three intertwining languages in the Kabyle community, a scale of 14 statements for each language has been employed. For each of the three attitudinal scales, the first 12 questions are the same, but the last 2 statements are different. The agreement scale ranges from Strongly Agree up to Strongly Disagree. For considerations of analysis, each category is assigned a number as follows: Strongly Agree=1, Agree=2, Unsure= 3, Disagree=4, strongly Disagree=5. For data analysis, we will be using parametric tools such as the mean and standard deviation; each statement will be analyzed individually and then computed to have the overall score.

Each scale is accompanied by one or two open-ended questions in order to have more clarifications about participants' answers and to better understand their attitudes. The responses will be analyzed qualitatively using thematic analysis. The data will be organized, coded, and then put into categories of themes that will be reported.

3.4 Language use scale

The scales will permit us to determine the frequency of use of the three languages and relate it to language attitudes to find out whether they are compatible or divergent. The three scales contained the same 11-items which all point towards a specific setting where the language is likely to be used. Respondents had to choose the frequency of their language use from always to never. The data will be analyzed quantitatively, in the same manner as the language attitude scales were analyzed. The ranges were assigned numbers as the following: always=1, often=2, sometimes=3, rarely=4, never=5. Ultimately, the relationship between language attitudes and language use will be determined by using the Pearson product-moment correlation.

4 Chapter 4 Data analysis

4.1 Student's backgrounds

A series of questions related to students' backgrounds were asked to get information about the sample and made sure it fits the required conditions to fulfill the aim of this research.

1) What is your age?

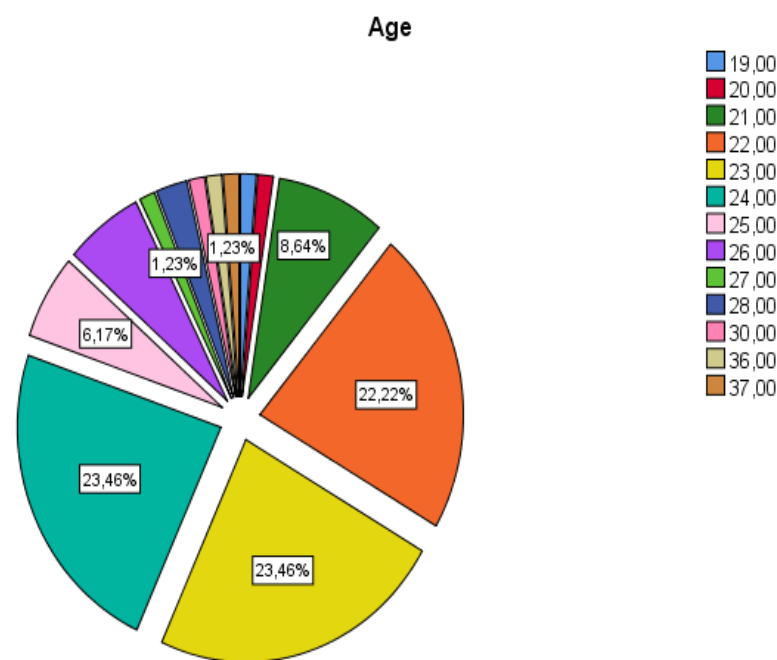


Figure 1

Age is an important variable that identifies which portion of the population we are targeting. The survey results show that participants' age range varies from 19 to 37. As displayed in the chart, 77.8% of the participants are aged 21 to 24; thus representing the majority of the sample. The remaining 22.2% are aged 19 to 37. The aforementioned division is plausible since the sample of the present study is made of students; thus young adults.

2) What is your gender?

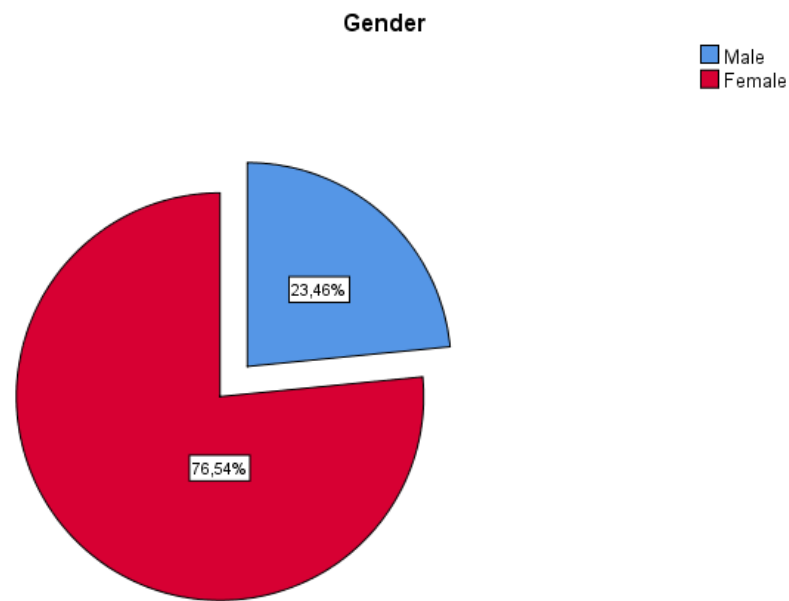


Figure 2

Similar to age, gender tends also to identify which category of the population was treated i.e. whether our sample is made up of males or females. Most of the respondents were females i.e. 76% while males who responded to the survey questionnaire represent a small portion that constitutes merely 23% of the answers. This might be due to the fact that women are more interested in languages than men and are more willing to fill in questionnaires.

3) What is your higher degree in Education?

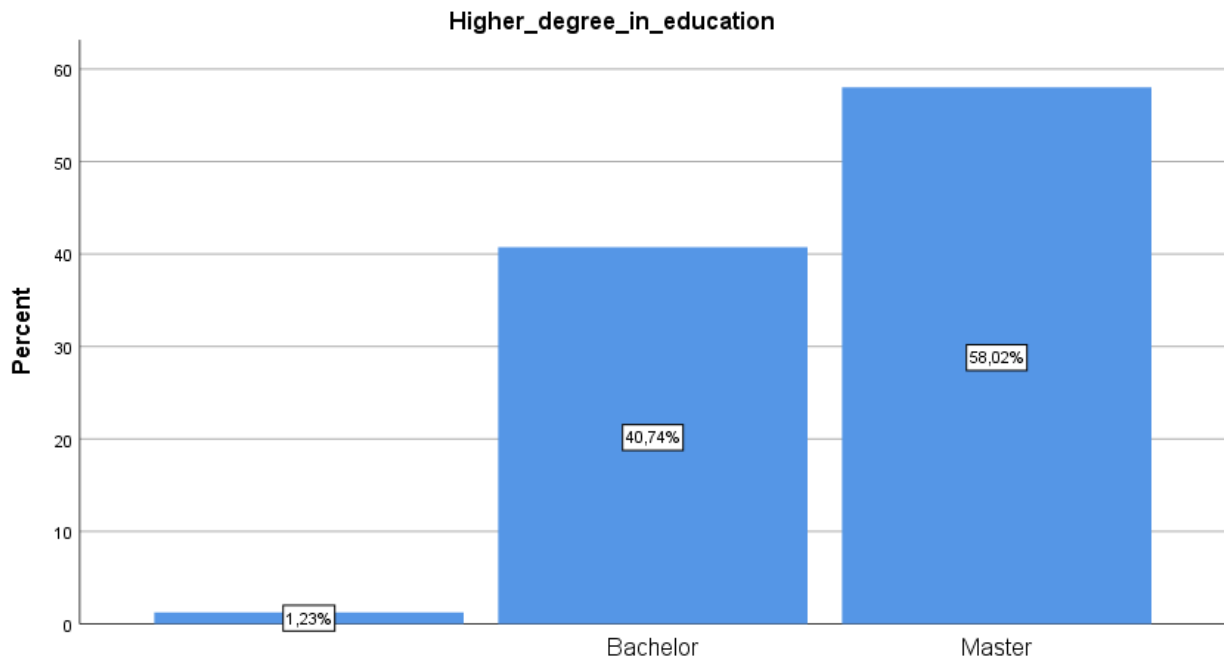


Figure 3

The educational degree reflects the level of instruction attained by a person. In this perspective, we assume that an instructed person has a better understanding of the subject investigated and can answer questions coherently; they are also easily accessed online in the times of the corona pandemic. Participants were thus categorized into university-level degrees they currently reached. Results have shown that 58% of the respondents hold a master's degree while 40 %are BA holders. Only 1% of the respondents did not mention their higher degree for unknown reasons.

4) **Where do you currently live?**

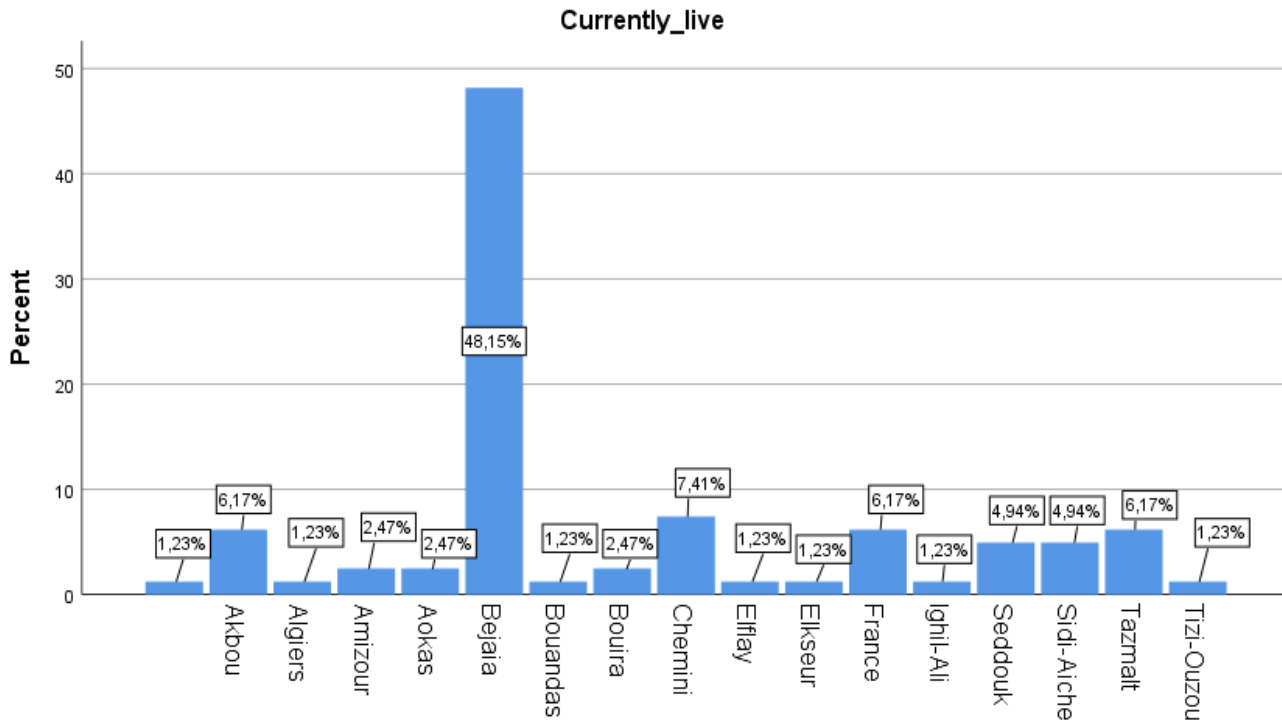


Figure 4

To have a representative sample, we have sought to include a variety of participants in terms of regional affiliation. Accordingly, respondents to the survey questionnaire belong to both Greater and Lesser Kabylia. Most of the respondents belong to Bejaia city center covering 48% of the responses. However, we assume that the respondents have not specified the region and usually use Béjaia to refer to some peripheral regions. Nevertheless, the rest of the participants have clearly specified their residency; respondents from many areas such as Chemini (7%), Tazamalt (6%), and Akbou (6%) have taken part in the survey. Noteworthy, 6% of Kabyle students who settled in France were also taken into consideration as representatives of the Kabyle Diaspora.

5) What languages do you use to speak, read, and/or write?

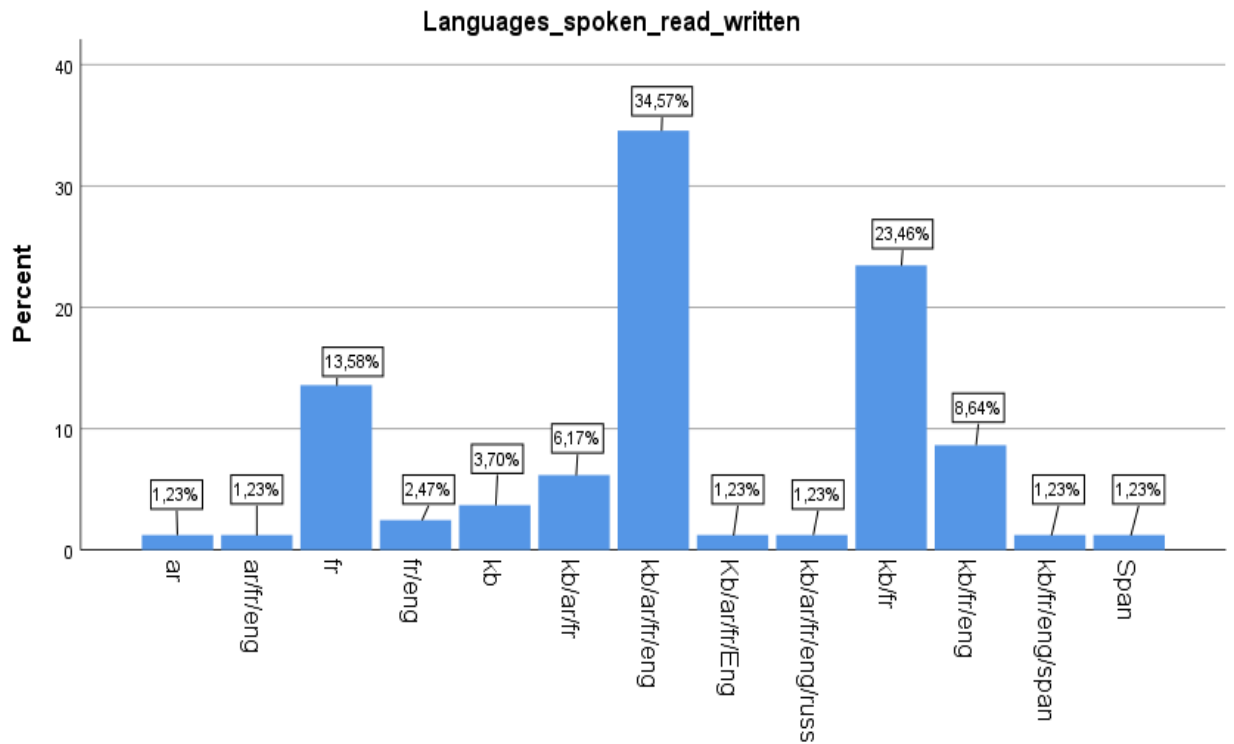


Figure 5

This question is aimed at determining the languages that our participants master and employ in diverse contexts. Most of our respondents showed a mastery of various languages. We can therefore assert that this sample is multilingual. The combination of all of Kabyle, Arabic, French, and English are the languages that are mostly used by 30% of the respondents, followed by the Kabyle and French in the second position by 23%.

6) What was the first language that you learned as a child? You may list more than one

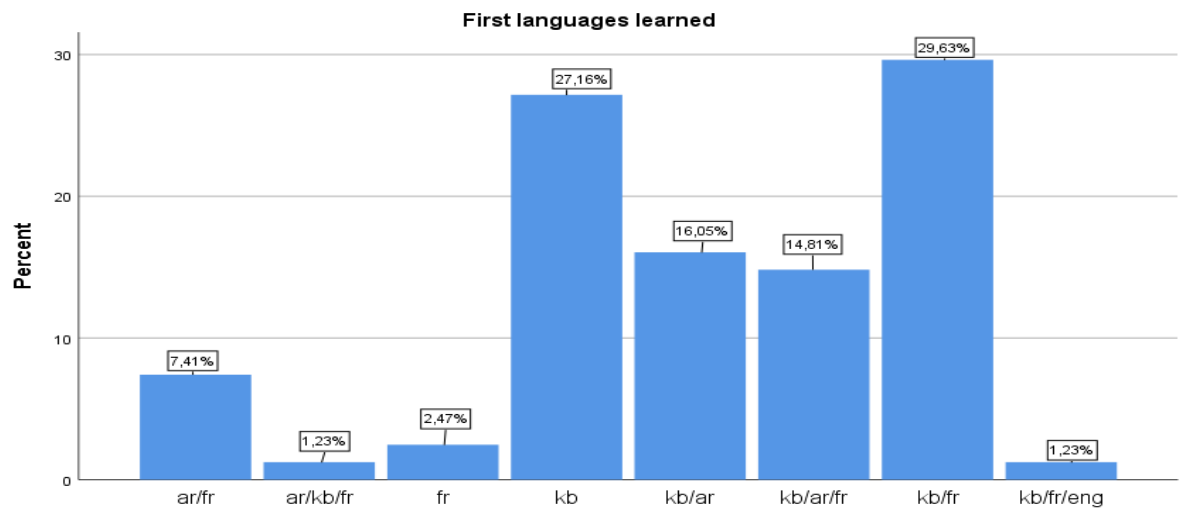


Figure 6

As it is previously asserted, we are treating a multilingual sample. The first language learned during childhood is important in the sense that it reveals the language that has been acquired naturally, given the societal context. The results are unanimous as Kabyle is present in nearly all cases, often combined with the French language for 29% of the respondents. However, 27% of the respondents maintained that Kabyle was the only language learned without any combination. This means that other languages must have been learned voluntarily.

7) **What is the language that you speak most often now? You may list more than one. ***

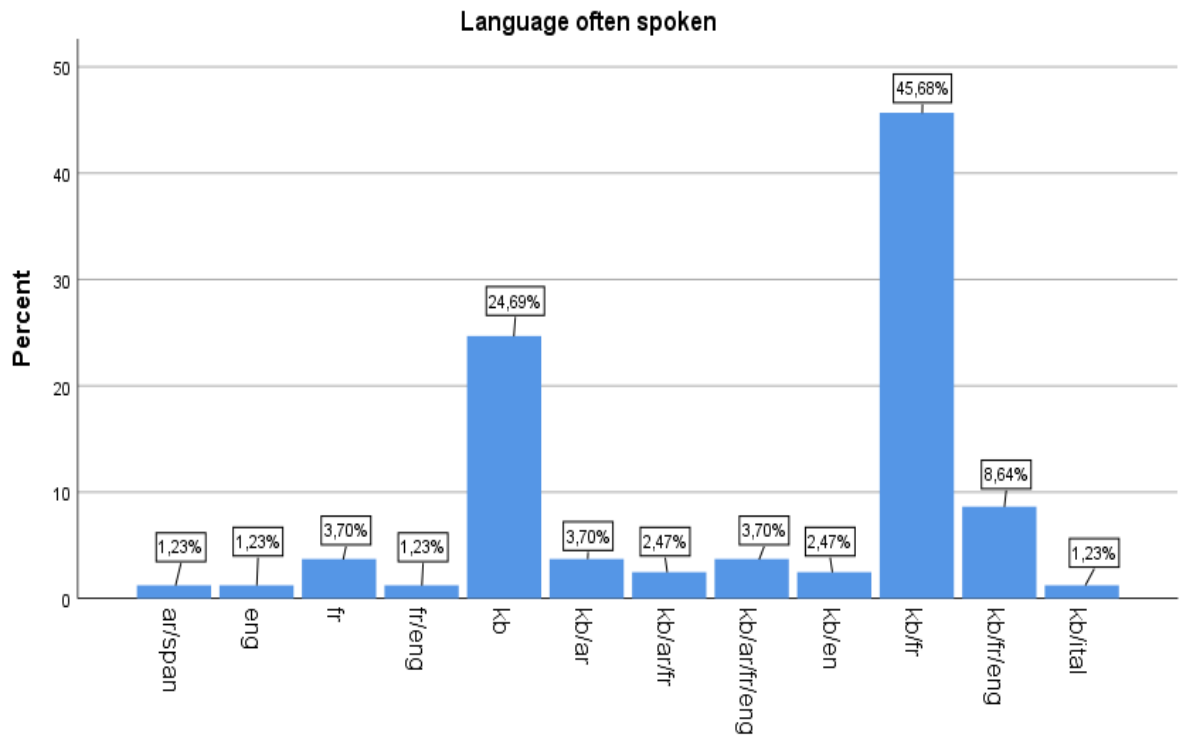


Figure 7

It is conceivable that the choice of the language you often use may reflect in some cases a preference. The data gathered shows that nearly half of the respondents (45%) used both the Kabyle and French language often. This demonstrates the significance of the French language for Kabyle people. Moreover, we can notice that the Kabyle variety is often spoken alone as claimed by 24% of the respondents, and in other cases paired with other languages.

**8) What language is most commonly used in your community now?
You may list more than one.**

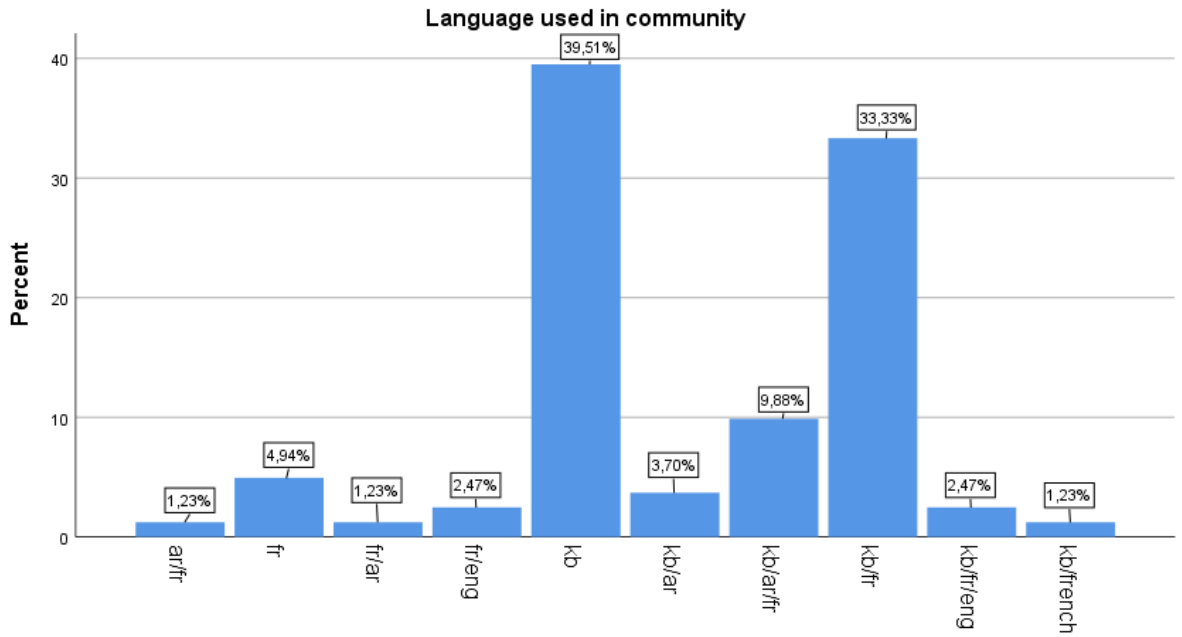


Figure 8

The Kabyle community is a multilingual area where many languages are at use. However, the native language is the dominant language being amongst 39% of the respondents paired alongside other languages; primarily French in 33% of cases. Nevertheless, the Arabic language is also used in the Kabyle community, often associated with other languages but rather in a smaller percentage compared to Kabyle and French.

4.2 Attitudes towards Kabyle Berber

1) I like hearing the Kabyle variety spoken

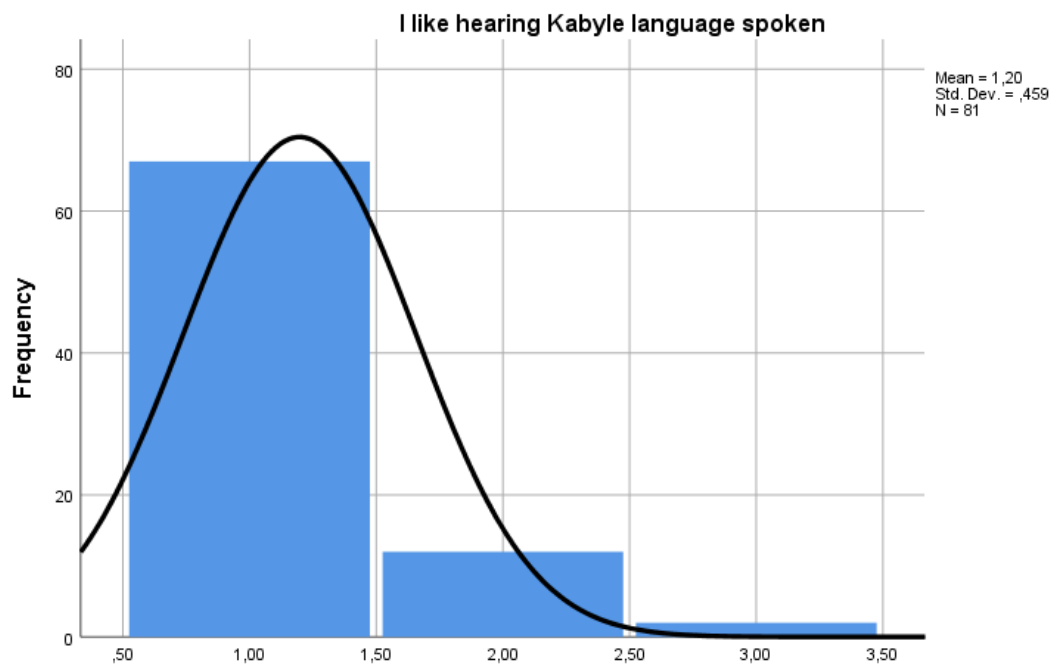


Figure 9

Perceptions of speakers of the language are crucial in shaping language use patterns. The results for this statement are represented by a mean value of 1.20 and the standard deviation is 0.45. So, most of the students strongly agree with the statement; most of them have approved that hearing Kabyle spoken is widely appreciated.

2) I like speaking the Kabyle variety

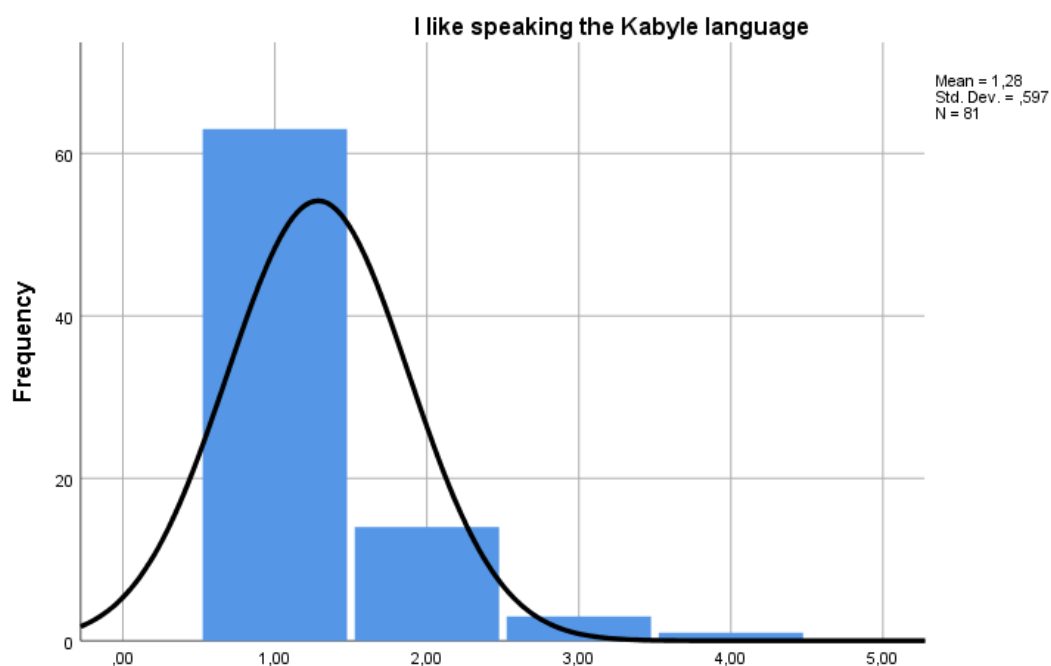


Figure 10

Similar to the first statement, the results are more or less the same for the second in that students are unanimous in their agreement about how much they like to speak the Kabyle language. This is demonstrated by a mean of 1.28 and a standard deviation of 0.59. Hence, students strongly agree on the statement with a low variation around the mean.

3) I am satisfied with my current ability to speak it



Figure 11

It is indeed quite interesting to see if the users of these languages are satisfied with their mastery of the native language. In this respect, the mean for this statement is 1.68 which is statistically aligned with the option 'Strongly Agree'. However, the standard deviation is 0.89 which is relatively low and thus demonstrates a small variation among the respondents.

4) I prefer to be taught in Tamazight at school

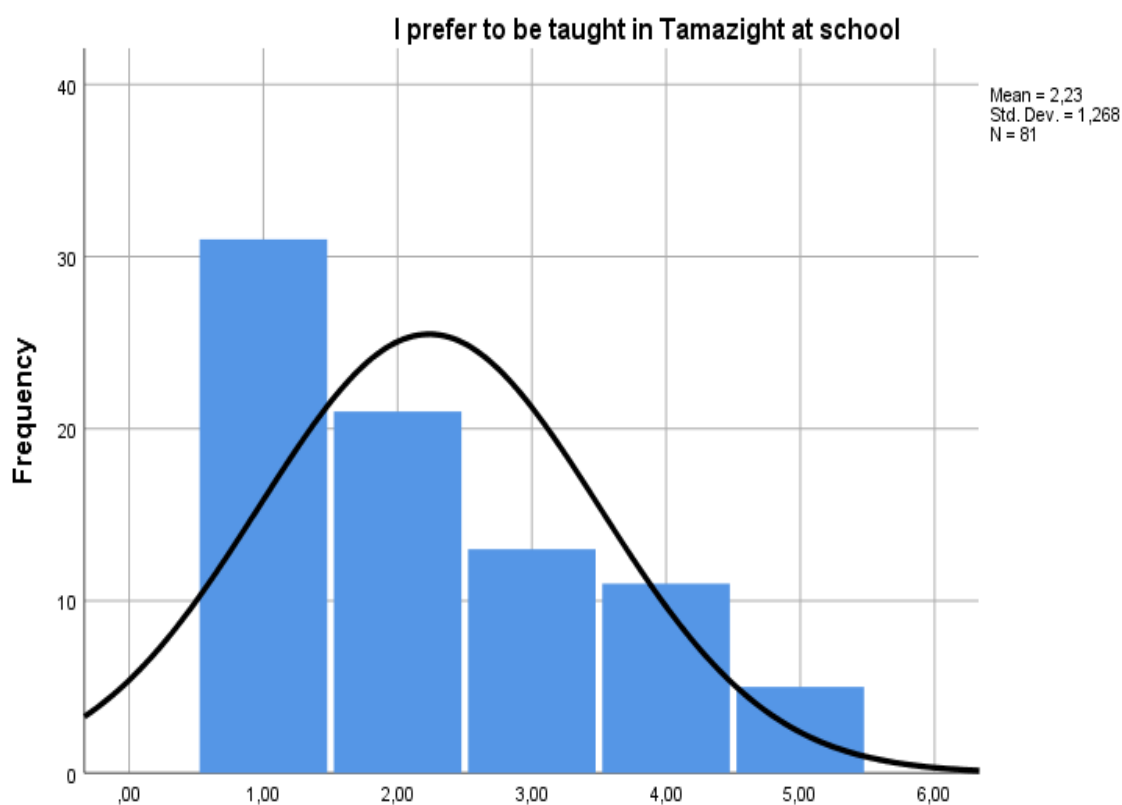


Figure 12

The preference over the language of instruction in schools differs between students. Although the mean is 2.23 which signifies an agreement over the statement, the standard deviation is high with a number of 1.26 and therefore a larger variability of answers.

5) **Other languages are more useful than the Kabyle variety**

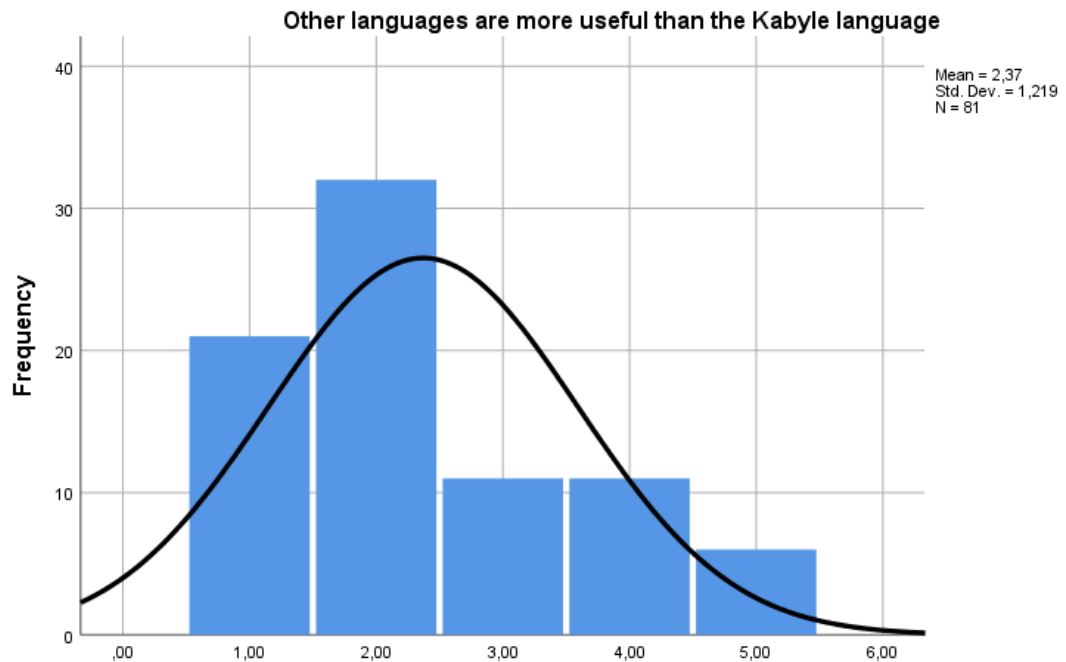


Figure 13

The perception towards the usefulness of the language is crucial as it may be a factor that might trigger attitudes. There is a similarity in terms of interpretation between this statement and the previous as it seems that the mean is 2.37, showing that the average number of students agree on the statement while a noticeable variety of answers exist with a high standard deviation of 1.21. This means that the idea of the usefulness of other languages is only accepted by the average students while many others think the opposite.

6) I would not mind marrying a Kabyle speaker

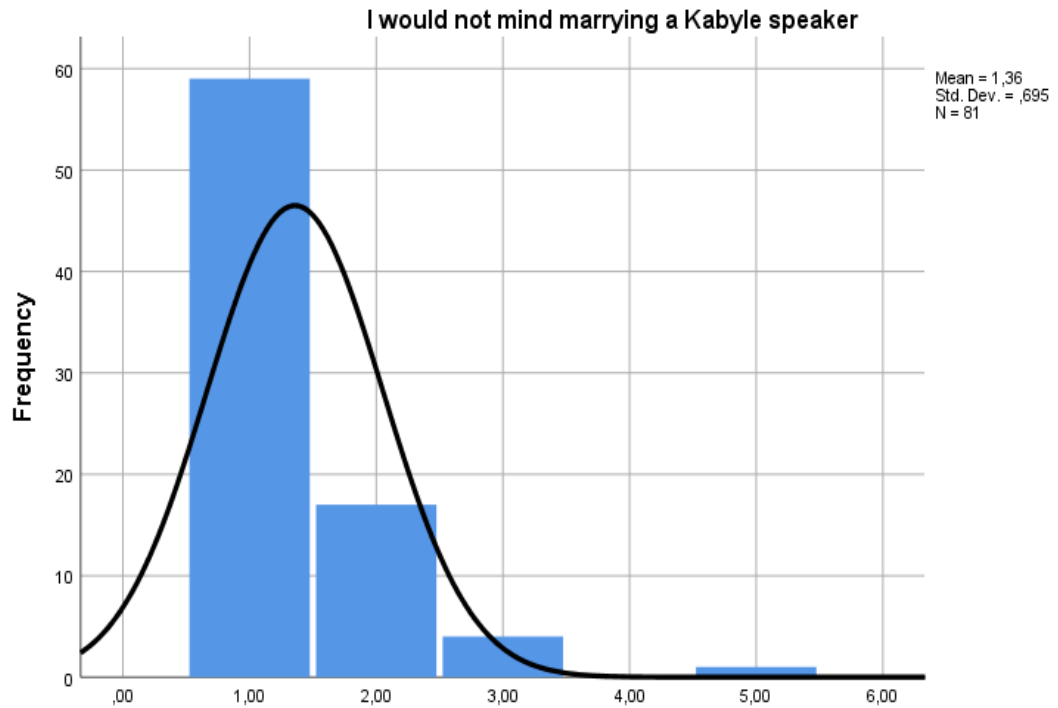


Figure 14

The aim of this statement is to evaluate whether the language of the speaker has any impact on social relationships. The answer of the respondents cumulated a mean of 1.36 which indicates a positive result towards the statement and strongly agreeing on it. The variability around the mean is low with a standard deviation of 0.69 as displayed by the histogram.

7) **It is important to me that I know and use Tamazight (herein the Kabyle Variety)**

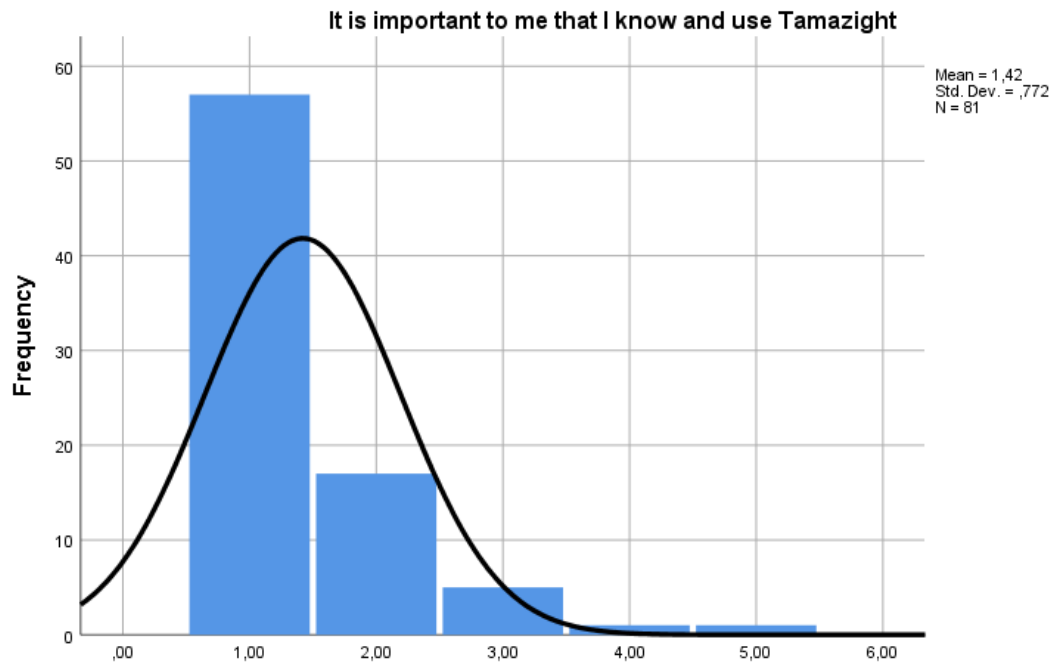


Figure 15

The feeling of considering the language important determines our stance and provides information to whether we appreciate the language or not. For this statement, the average students strongly agreed as a mean of 1.42 is registered. A low variation is visible with a standard deviation of 0.77.

8) I feel that most people in my community are not interested in keeping Tamazight strong

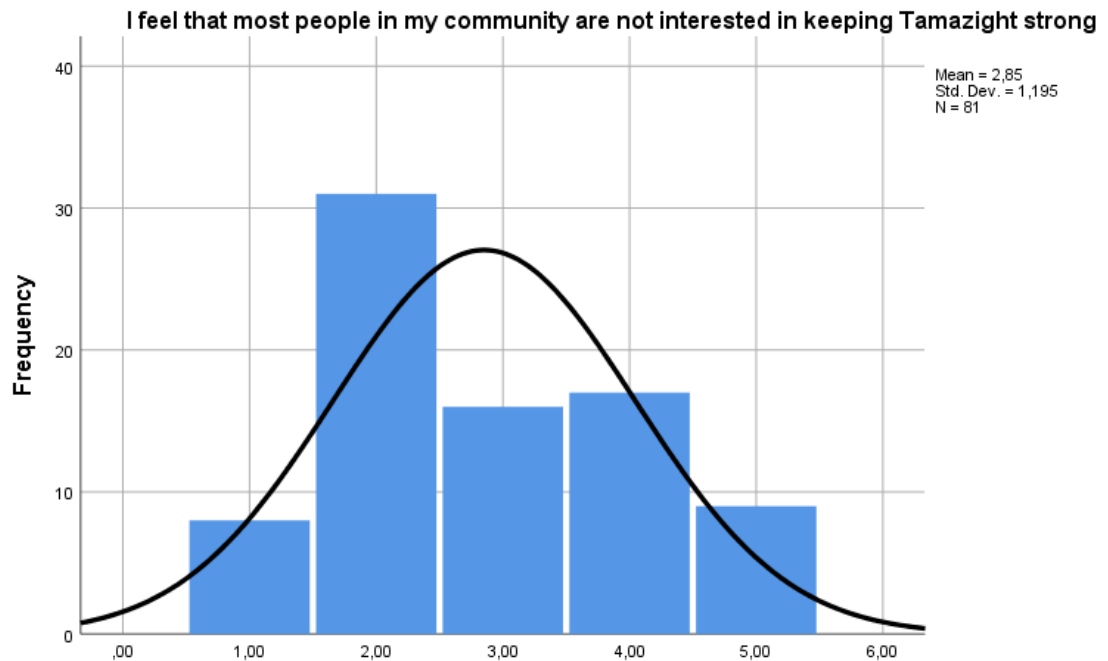


Figure 16

The result came quite surprisingly as we expected. Indeed, the average number of respondents agrees on the statement that some people are not interested in keeping their language strong which is represented by a mean of 2.85. However, the mean has almost reached 3 which signifies uncertainty with the statement and the standard deviation is high with a score of 1.19. Although we can conclude that the average student agreed on the statement, there is a substantial amount of responses that differ from the agreement.

9) **The use of Kabyle variety is a strong part of my identity as a Kabyle person**

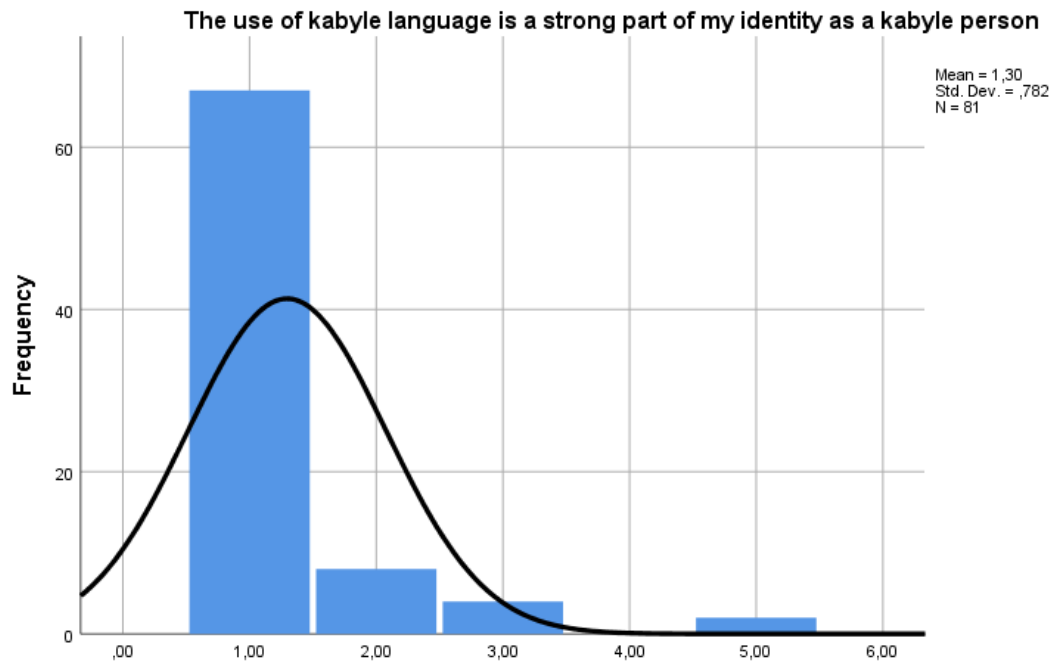


Figure 17

It is a straightforward statement to whether the Kabyle people consider their language as part of their identity. The responses were unanimous as the mean score is 1.30 displaying a strong agreement on the statement with a low variability represented in a 0.78 standard deviation.

10) It is important to me that my children learn and use Tamazight

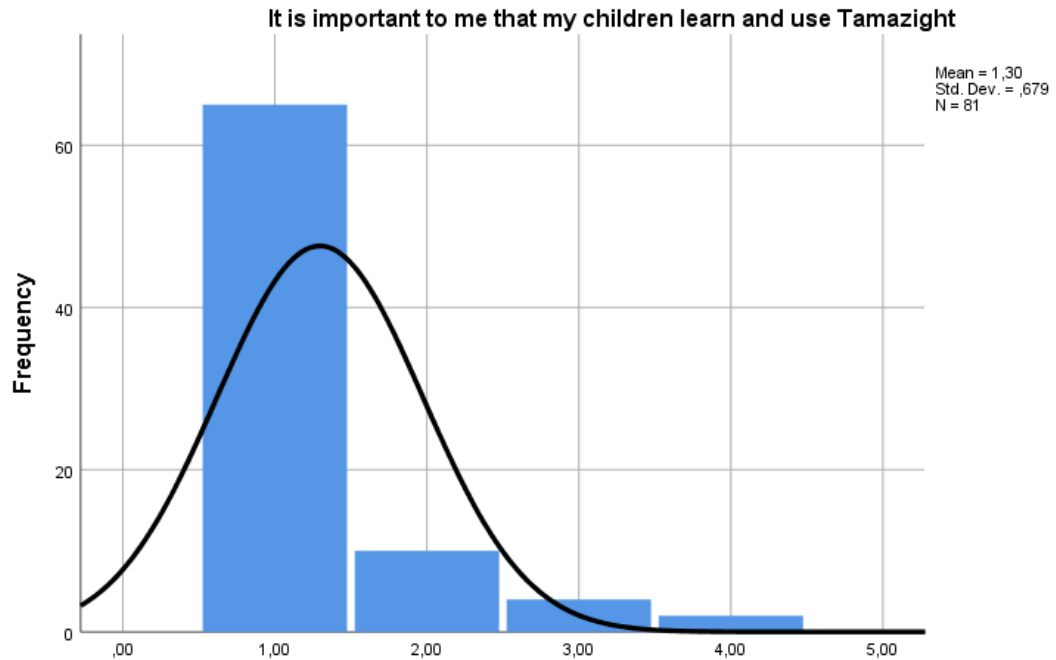


Figure 18

The learning and use of Tamazight by children is crucial because the survival of the language depends on it. Students strongly agree on the statement with a mean of 1.30. Moreover, the variability is low which is displayed in a standard deviation of 0.67.

11) **The use of Kabyle variety improves the wellbeing of Kabyle people**
[Wellbeing can be physical, mental or spiritual – you often feel good, strong or positive about yourself and your life]

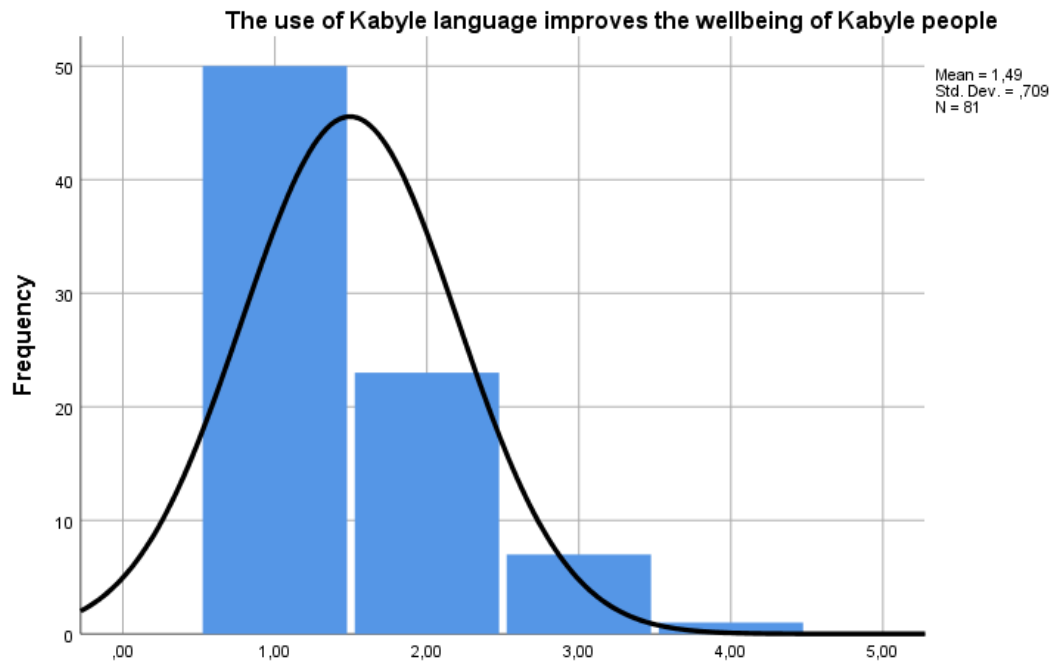


Figure 19

The contentment over the use of the language brings satisfaction to the user. A mean of 1.49 is calculated for this statement as it seems that the average respondents find that the Kabyle variety improves their wellbeing. A lower distribution can be noticed from the curve as the variability shown by the standard deviation is 0.70.

12) My culture can survive without Tamazight

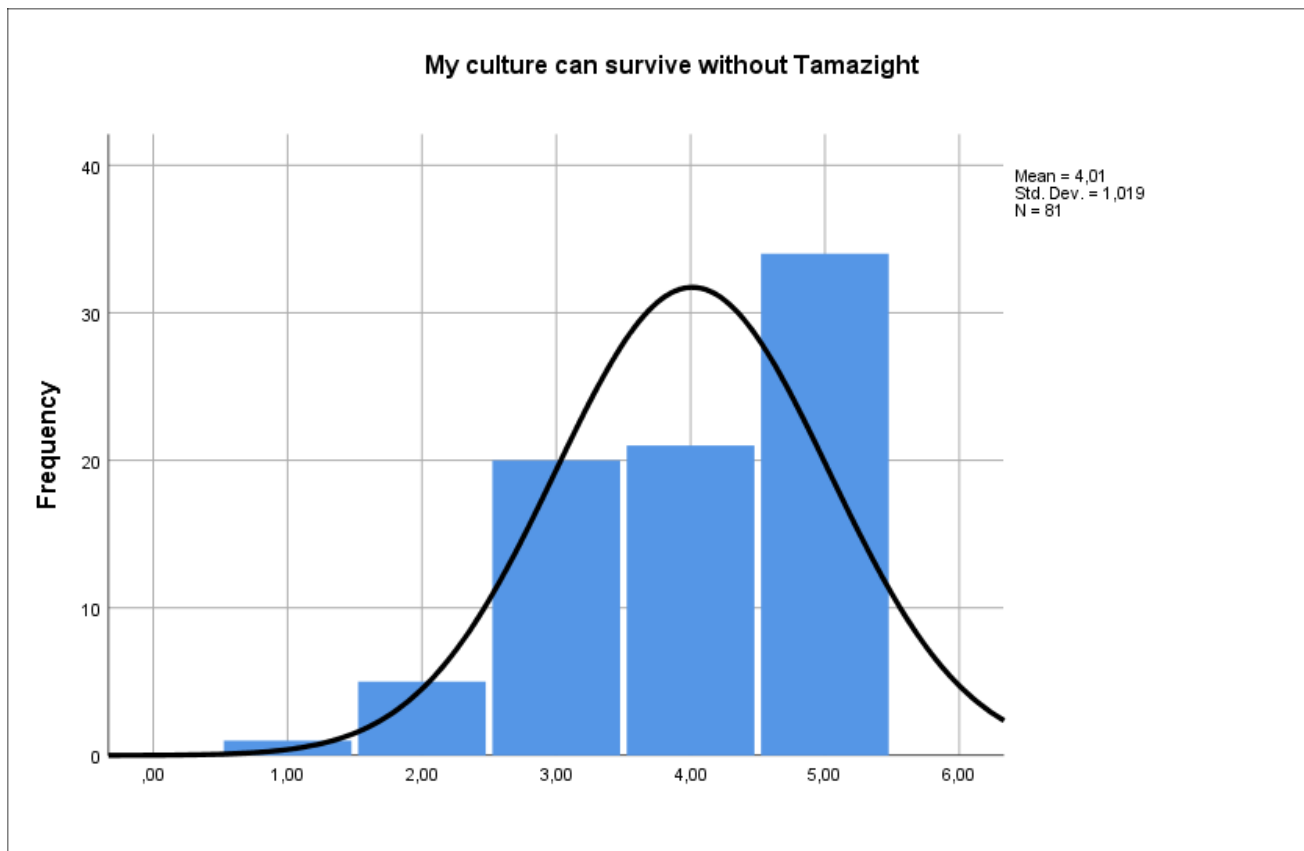


Figure 20

The survival of culture without language is doubtful. Most of the respondents adhere to the idea that without language, there will be no survival of the culture. The results display a mean of 4.01 which points out to a disagreement towards the statement with a high variability around the mean that reaches 1.01 of standard deviation. This means that the average number respondents agrees that there is no Berber culture without Tamazight but this idea is not shared by all students as we can see a greater number of other responses besides the agreement.

13) **There is too much support for Tamazight as a language**

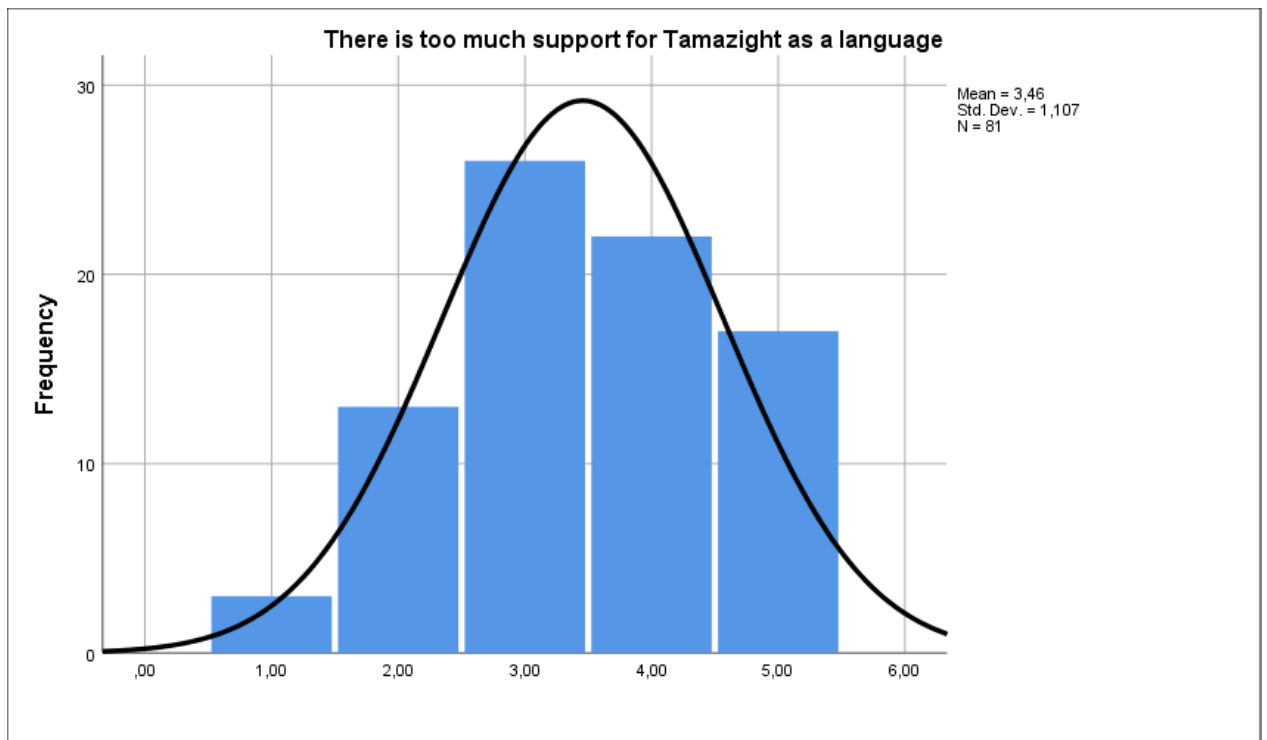


Figure 21

Language policies play a primary role in decision making about the language and students answer whether Tamazight has too much support. A mean of 3.46 is calculated and shows that the average students are unsure about the statement. However, large variability of answers around the mean is noticeable, represented by a standard deviation of 1.10.

14) I would like to be able to help other people learn it

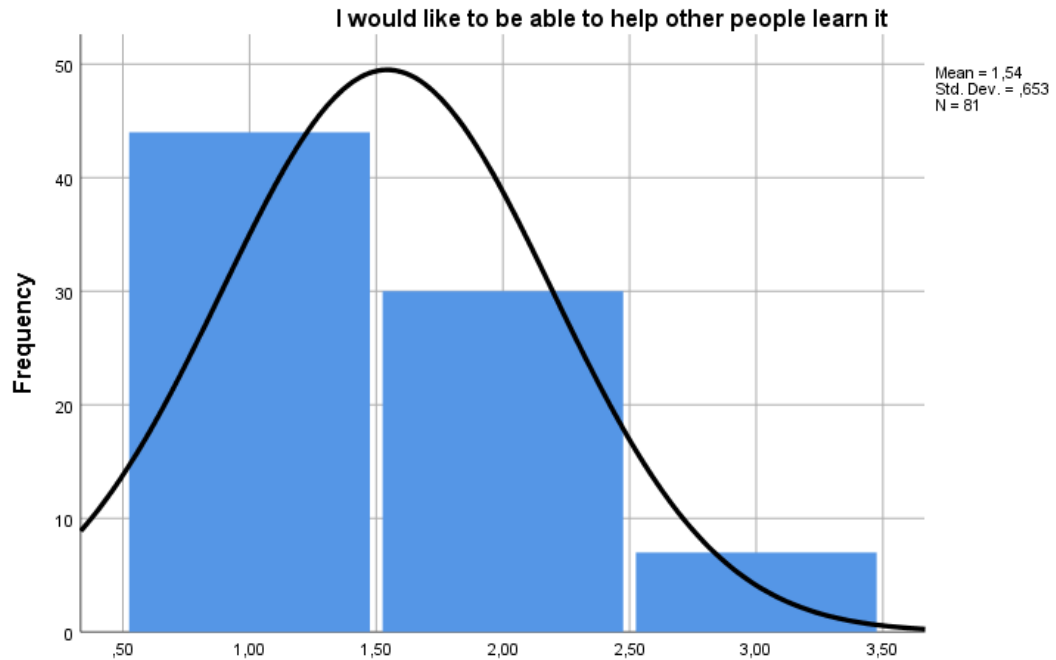


Figure 22

The willingness and commitment to share the language with other people is decisive to the survival of the language and its prosperity. The mean score for this statement is 1.54 which suggests that the average Kabyle students want to help others learn their language while a medium variation around the mean is displayed with a standard deviation of 0.65.

Conclusion

Kabyle people's attitudes towards their native language were measured using a 14 item Likert scale in which each statement was analyzed quantitatively. For the purpose of determining the overall attitudes of the Kabyle people towards Kabyle language, the variables are computed and the negatively phrased variables were recorded. The results are displayed in the table 1:

Table 1

Statistics

Kabyle Language Use Scale

N	Valid	81
	Missing	0
Mean		1,8651
Std. Deviation		,41296

The overall mean of this scale is 1.86 which proves strong agreement on the previous statements; we can thus conclude that attitudes of the Kabyle people towards their language are positive. To further emphasize the results, a general standard deviation was also calculated and displayed in the table with a value of 0.41. The number proves that there is no significant variability in answers and thus proves that the respondents were unanimous in their attitudes.

4.3 Attitudes towards Arabic

1) I like hearing Arabic language spoken

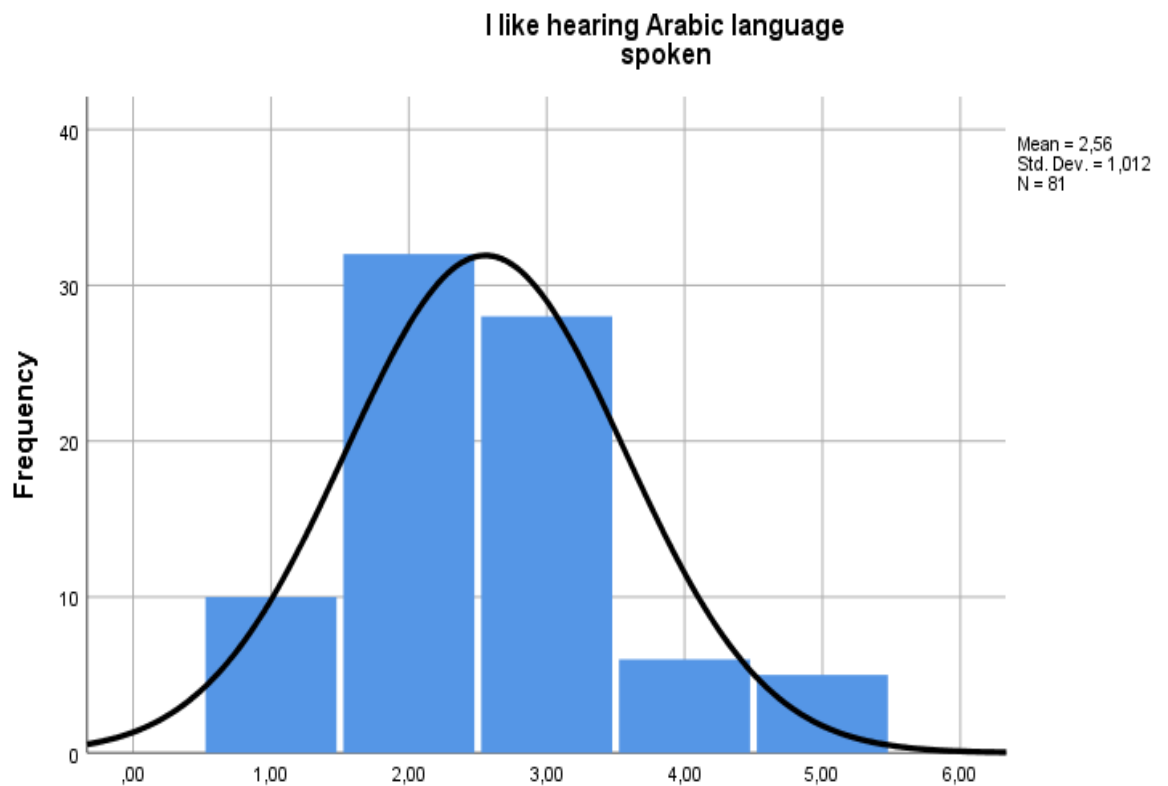


Figure 23

Students' responses to whether they like hearing Arabic language spoken are diverse. The mean response for the statement is 2.56 which indicate that they agree with the statement but they are closer to uncertainty. A large variability can also be noted with a standard deviation of 1.01 which can be considered as high and thus can deduce a less strong mean.

2) I like speaking Arabic language

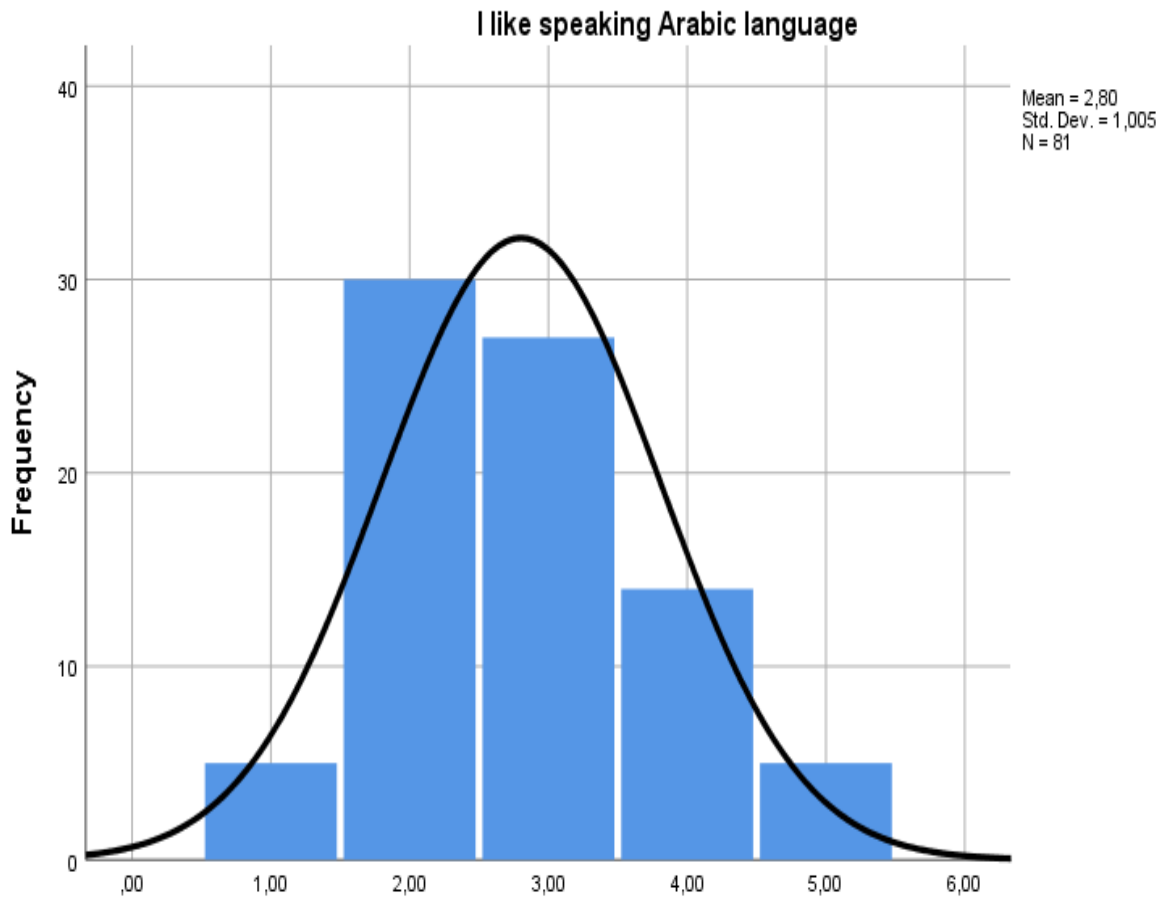


Figure 24

The production of the Arabic language is quite similar in terms of results to its reception. Actually, the mean score for this statement is 2.80 indicating an agreement towards the statement but it is again close to uncertainty. The variability of responses around the mean are diverse as a high standard deviation of 1.00 is clearly represented in the histogram. Therefore, the agreement on the statement is not strongly opposed by other views.

3) I am satisfied with my current ability to speak it

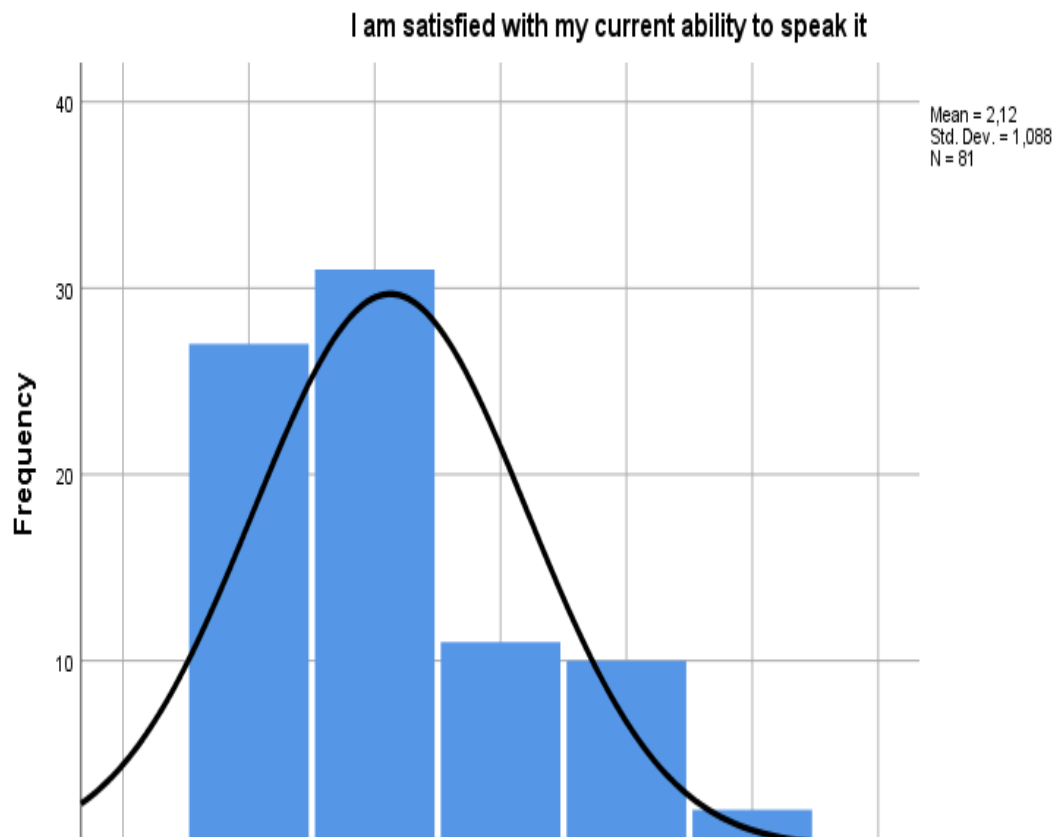


Figure 25

The satisfaction towards the production of this non-native language is impressive as most of the students declare that they agree with the statement with a mean of 2.12. Nevertheless, responses around the mean varied considerably as shown by standard deviation that reaches 1.08 which points towards a less strong agreement.

4) I prefer to be taught in Arabic at school

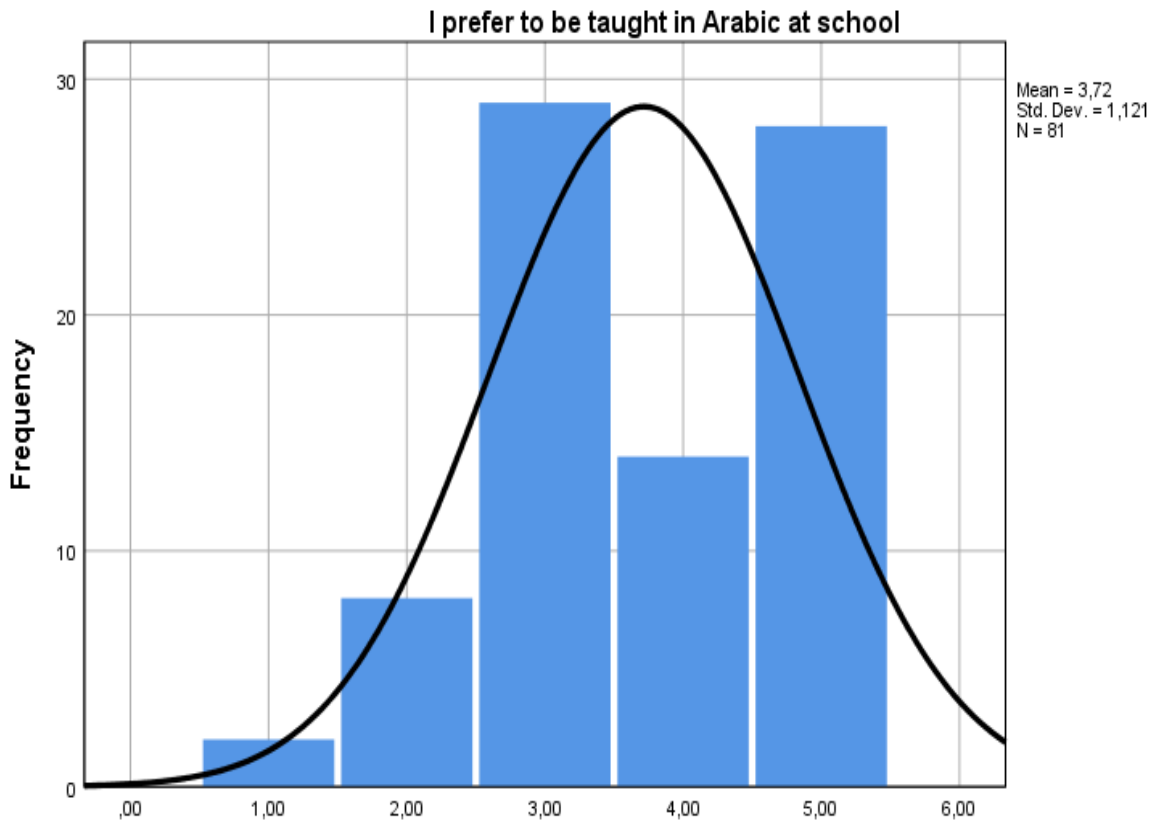


Figure 26

The use of Arabic as a tool for instructions in schools is not widely supported. A mean score equivalent to 3.72 shows that the respondents were unsure about the statement; this uncertainty is close to a disagreement. Moreover, the responses were varied with a standard deviation that reached 1.12, and that indicates mostly disagreements over the statement.

5) Other languages are more useful than Arabic language

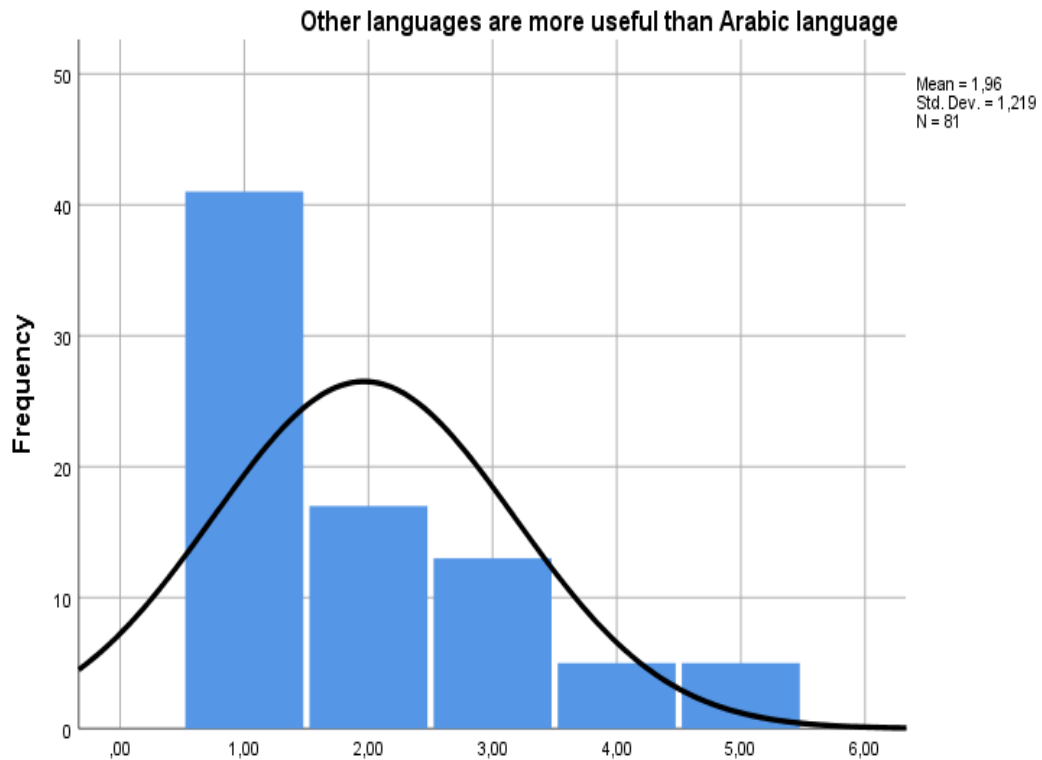


Figure 27

The results for this statement show that the average numbers of students claim that other languages are more useful than Arabic; this is demonstrated by a mean score of 1.96. The agreement on the statement is not unanimous as a large variability of answers is registered and is represented by a standard deviation of 1.21. This means that the agreement on the statement is not shared by all students, and thus makes the agreement not so strong.

6) I would not mind marrying an Arab speaker

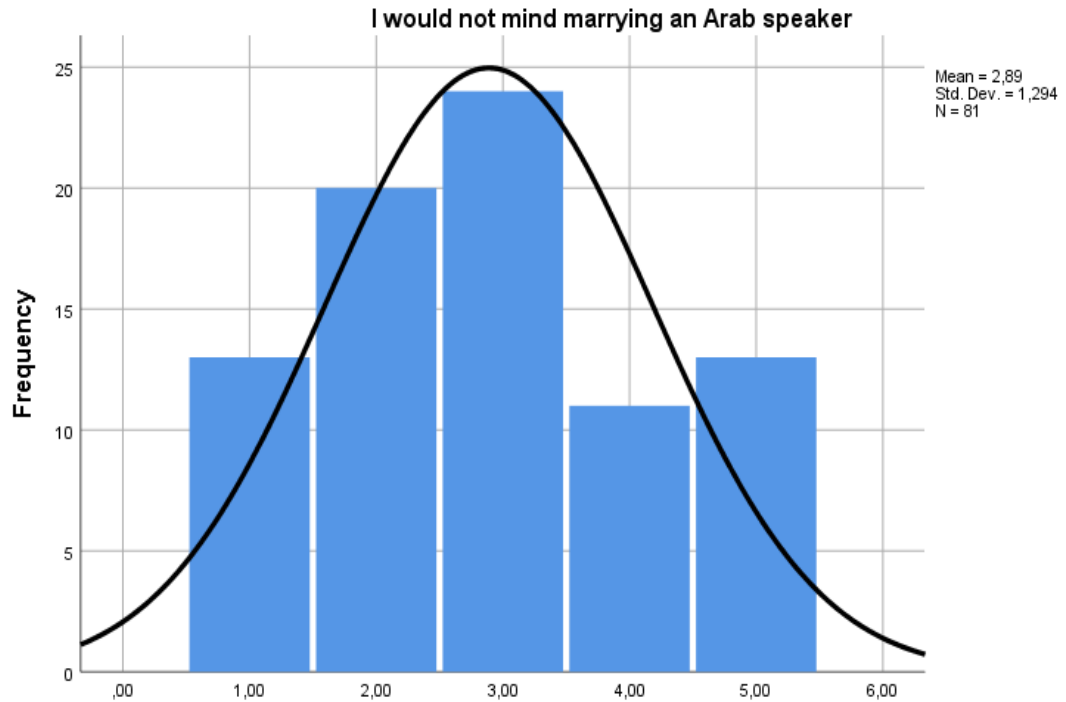


Figure 28

The idea of marrying a person speaking Arabic doesn't seem to bother some students and this is reflected in the mean score of 2.89, but the value is very close to uncertainty. Besides, the variability is large around the mean represented by a standard deviation of 1.29 and this shows that the statement varied among other students. This variability concerns strong agreements and disagreements which makes the agreement over the statement weaker.

7) It is important to me that I know and use Arabic

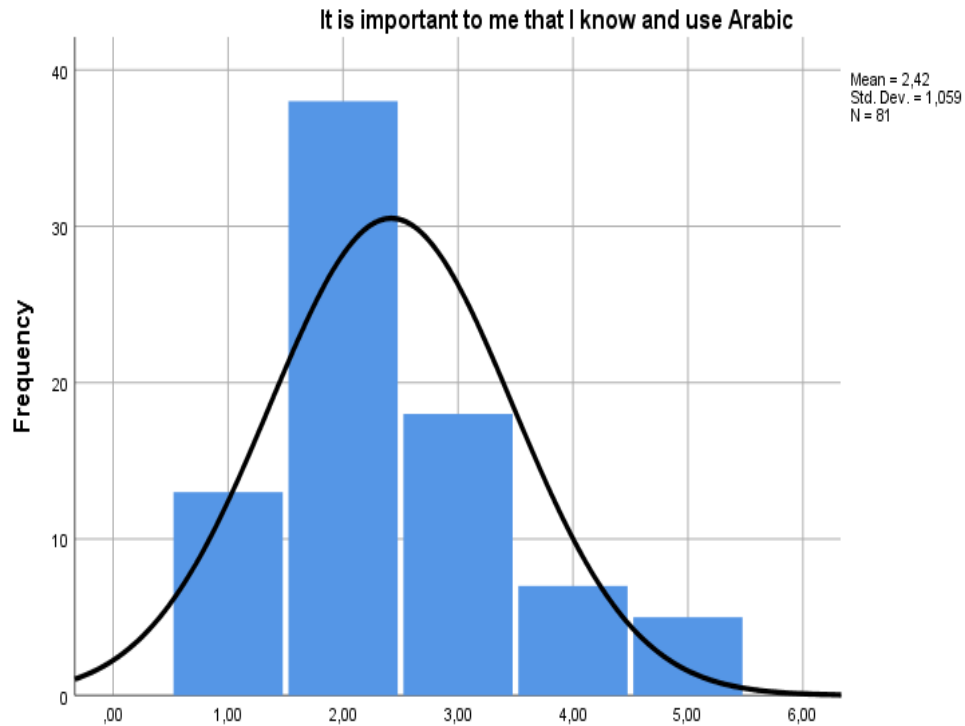


Figure 29

The importance of knowing and using the Arabic language among Kabyle people is considerable. Indeed, the mean response for the statement is 2.42 which asserts that they agree and thus have a positive stance towards it. However, the standard deviation calculated is 1.05 which suggests there is a high variability of answers around the mean. This demonstrates that there are a great number of other people who possess different views concerning the statement.

8) I feel that most people in my community are not interested in keeping Arabic strong

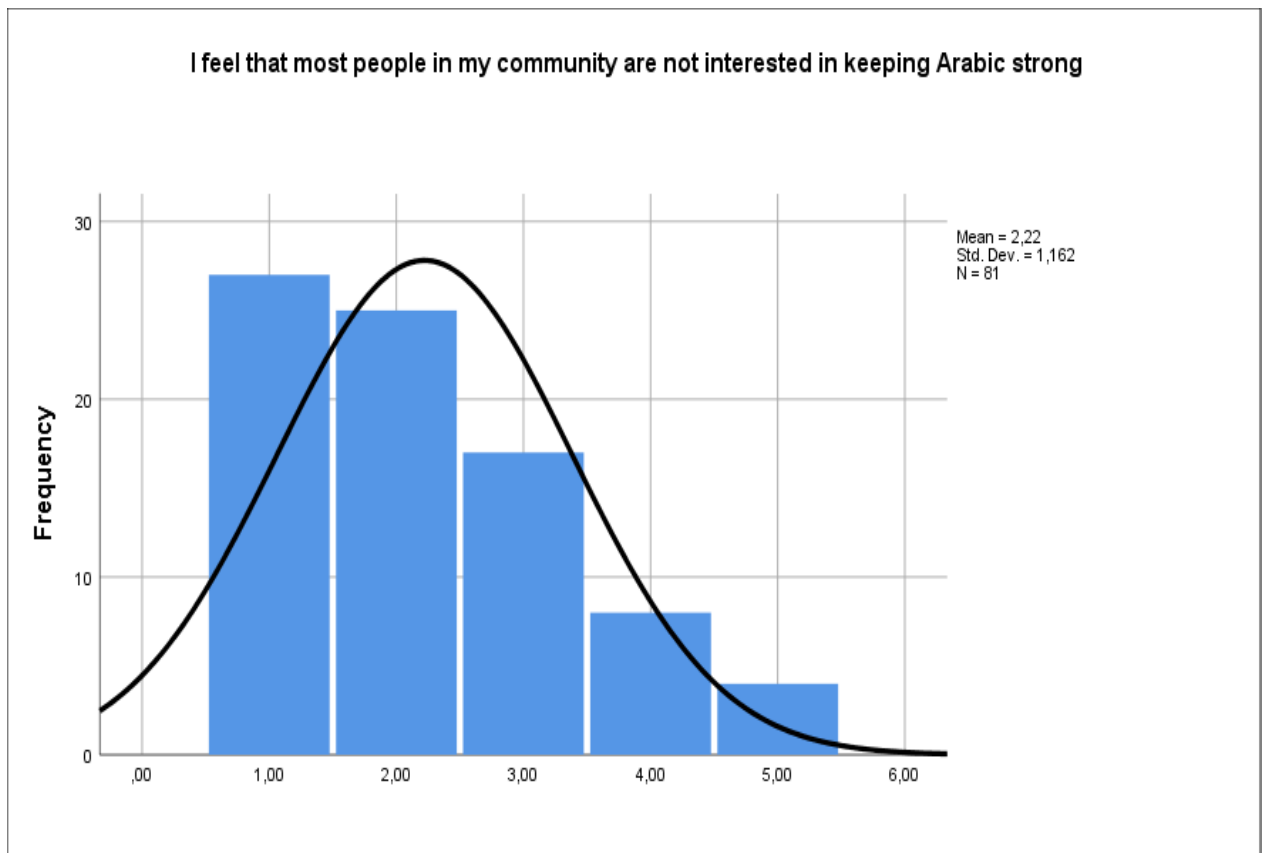


Figure 30

The mean response for the statement considering that Kabyle people are not interested in keeping Arabic strong proved to be true. The score of the mean is 2.22 which reflects an agreement towards the statement; it is however accompanied with variability of answers represented by a high standard deviation of 1.16 which makes the agreement not unanimous as there are different responses behind it.

9) The use of Arabic language is a strong part of my identity as an Algerian person

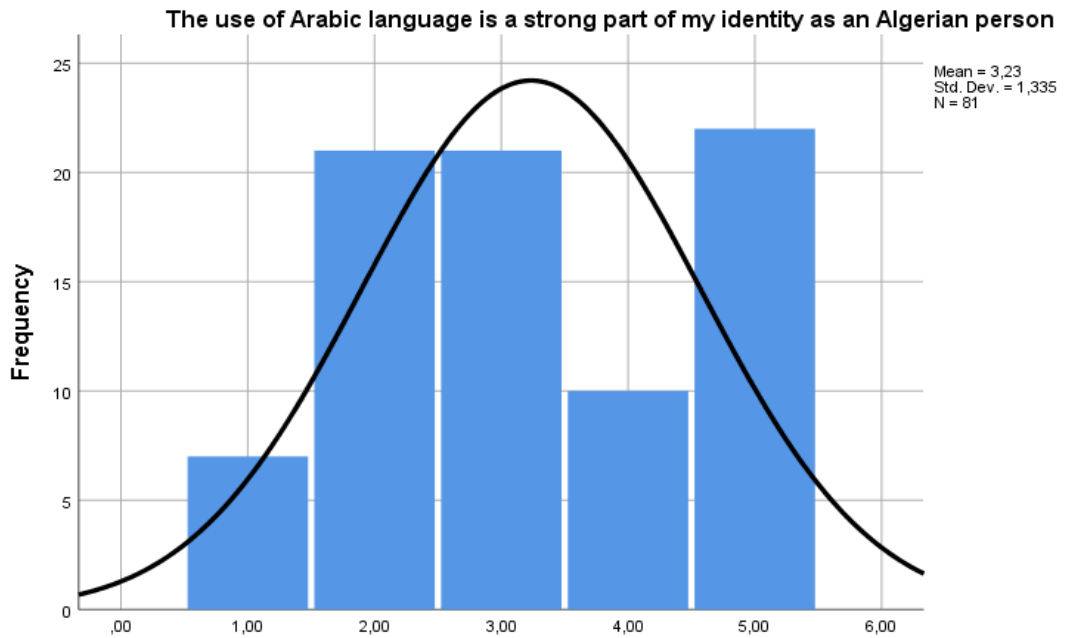


Figure 31

The matter discussed here is whether Arabic is part of the identity of Kabyle people. In fact, the mean response for this statement is 3.23 demonstrating that the average number of students is uncertain about it. However, a large variability is noticeable through the standard deviation of 1.33 which shows a varied distribution of responses among students and therefore some agreements and disagreements amongst other respondents.

10) It is important to me that my children learn and use Arabic

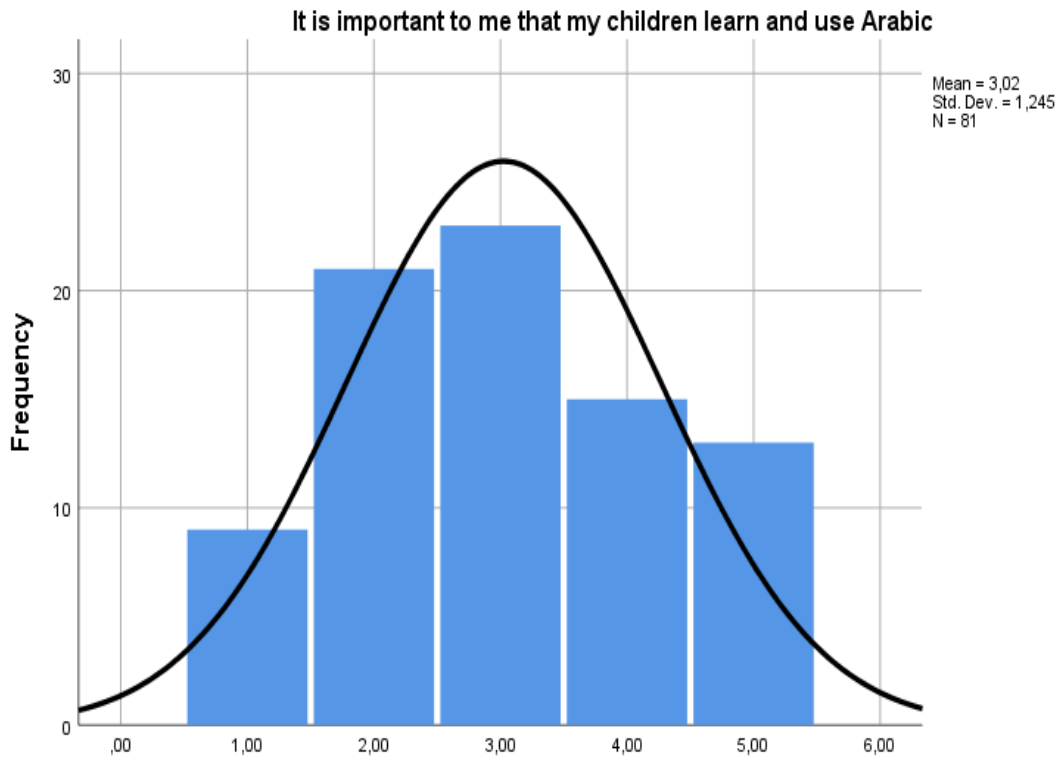


Figure 32

The idea of transmitting the Arabic language to future generations of Kabyle people seems to be uncertain for the average number of students. Indeed, the calculated mean for this statement is 3.02 which indicates uncertainty and reluctance. However, we can see that other responses besides uncertainty are present and which are represented by a high standard deviation of 1.24. These other responses include agreements and disagreements.

11) The use of Arabic language improves the wellbeing of Algerian people
[Wellbeing can be physical, mental or spiritual – you often feel good, strong or positive about yourself and your life]

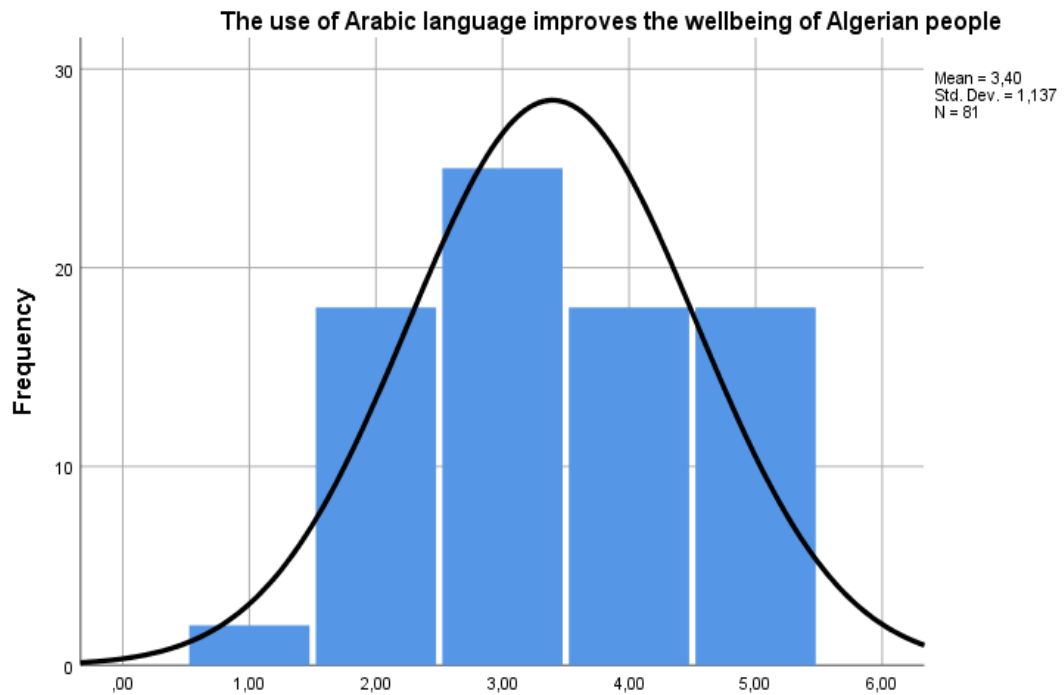


Figure 33

The relationship between language use (Arabic) and the wellbeing of Kabyle people doesn't seem obvious as the average number of students are unsure about the statement and displayed in a mean of 3.40. Moreover, a high variation in responses is being registered with a standard deviation of 1.13 which points mainly to disagreements on the statements.

12) My culture can survive without the Arabic language

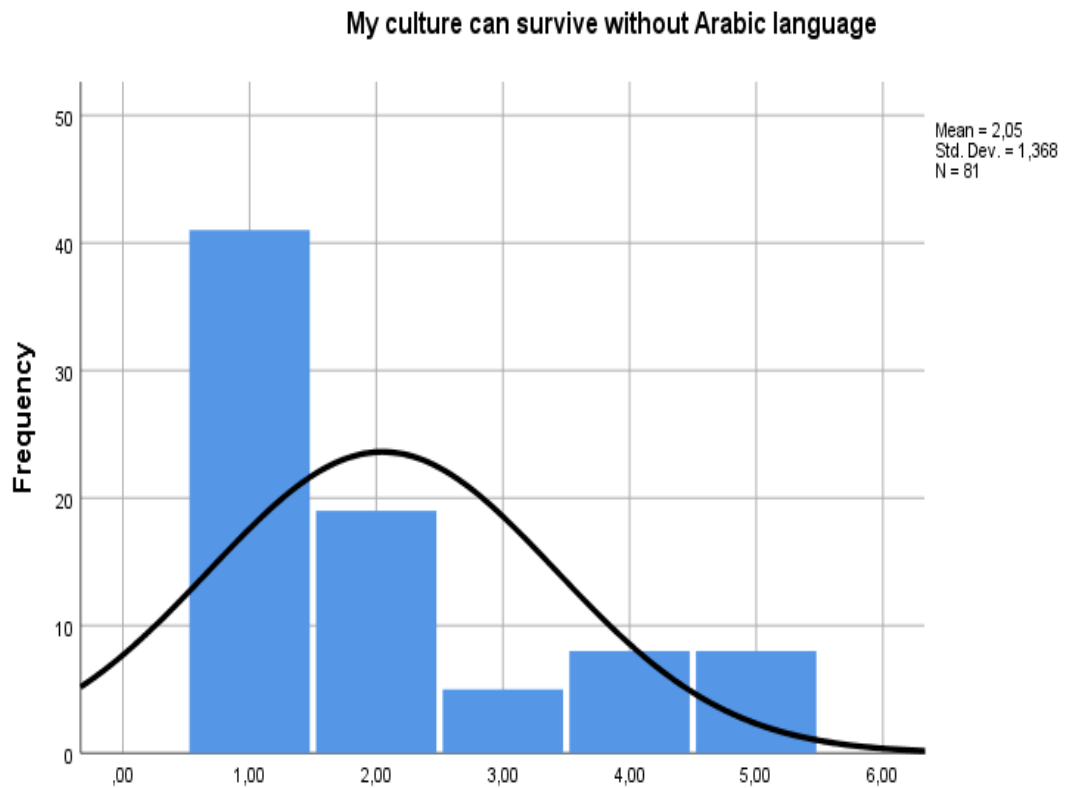


Figure 34

The average number of students thinks that the Arabic language is not an essential part of the Berber culture and therefore can be omitted without threatening the survival of the culture. More precisely, the mean for this statement is 2.05; however, a high variation in the distribution of answers also exists with a standard deviation of 1.36. That is to say, other responses besides the agreement are present which are mainly represented by strong agreements.

13) Arabic has been widely used in Algeria even at the expense of Berber

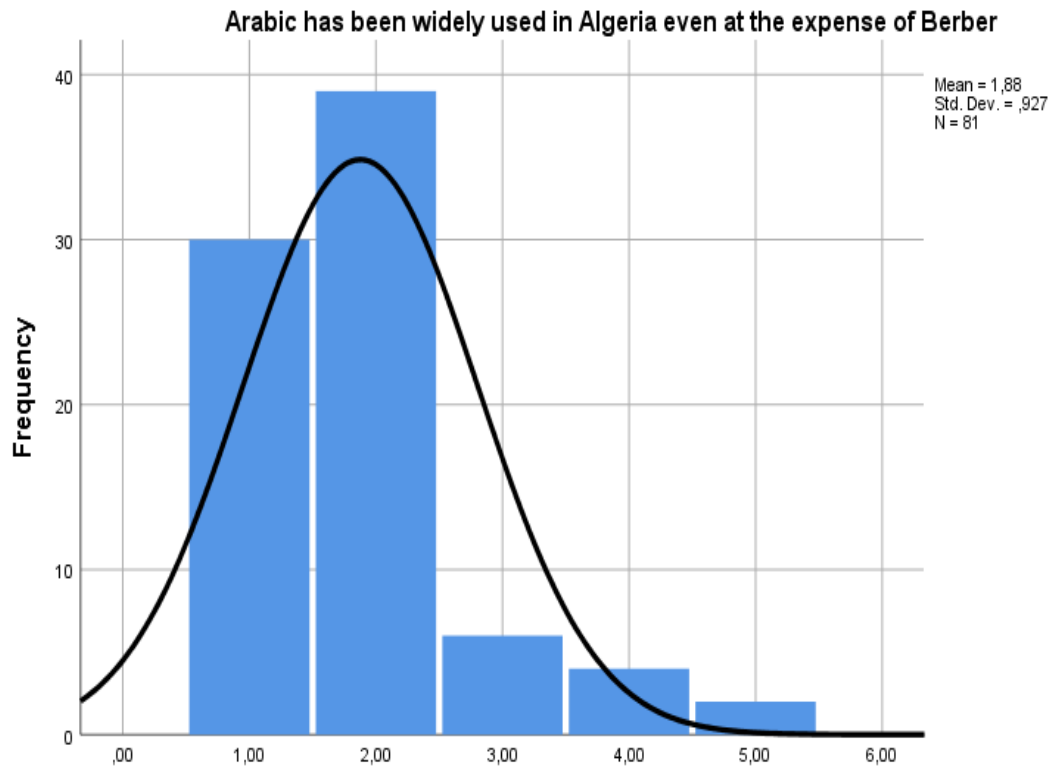


Figure 35

The statement to whether Arabic has been widely used in Algeria at the expense of Berber seems to be true for the students. The mean calculated is 1.88 and thus showing that the average number of student strongly agree with the statement. Moreover, the variation and distribution of answers around the mean are low with a standard deviation of 0.92. This means that the strong agreement over the statement is shared by most of the respondents and there is only a small opposition to it.

14) I feel that most people in my community are not interested in using both Standard and colloquial Arabic

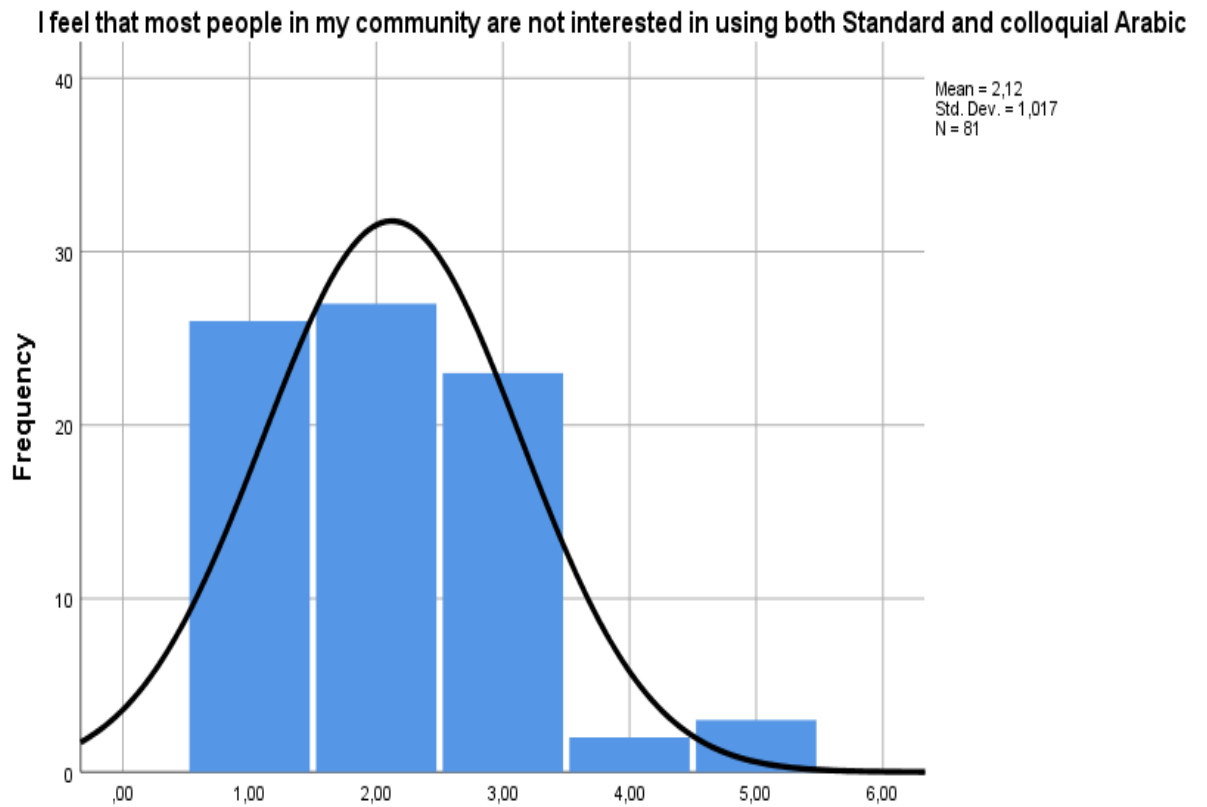


Figure 36

The feeling that other people are not interested in using both Standard and Colloquial Arabic is confirmed by the average number of students and demonstrated in a mean of 2.12. Although students agree on the statement, there is still variation in answers around the mean represented by a standard deviation of 1.01, mainly strong agreements and uncertainty.

Conclusion

We analyzed and described each statement individually to have a precise insight into their attitudes. However, in order to have an overall view and see whether it is positive or negative, the negatively phrased variables were recorded and computed with other variables to have a general mean for this scale. The results are shown in the table below:

Table 2

Statistics

Arabic Language Use Scale

N	Valid	81
	Missing	0
Mean		3,2804
Std. Deviation		,57916

According to the calculated mean of this scale, we can conclude that Kabyle people have indecisive attitudes towards the Arabic language as reflected in a mean of 3.28 and thus rejecting the assumption that we have set before. This is even reinforced by a medium standard deviation in which we assume in this case that there is not a high variation in attitudes among the respondents.

4.4 Attitudes towards French

1) I like hearing French language spoken



Figure 37

Perceptions towards the French language among Kabyle people are believed to be positive in the sense that most participants strongly agree on the statements. This is proven shown by a mean of 1.64 which is accompanied by a low standard deviation of 0.81 signifying a small distribution of answers, mainly represented by an agreement.

2) I like speaking French language



Figure 38

It is surprising to see that the result of the previous statement and the result of this statement are exactly the same. This can be interpreted that the perception and production of the French language are seen in the same manner and both being positive. The mean score of 1.64 and the standard deviation of 0.81 point out to a strong agreement on the statement and to a low variation of answers around the mean. In this case, the agreement is stronger with little opposition.

3) I am satisfied with my current ability to speak it

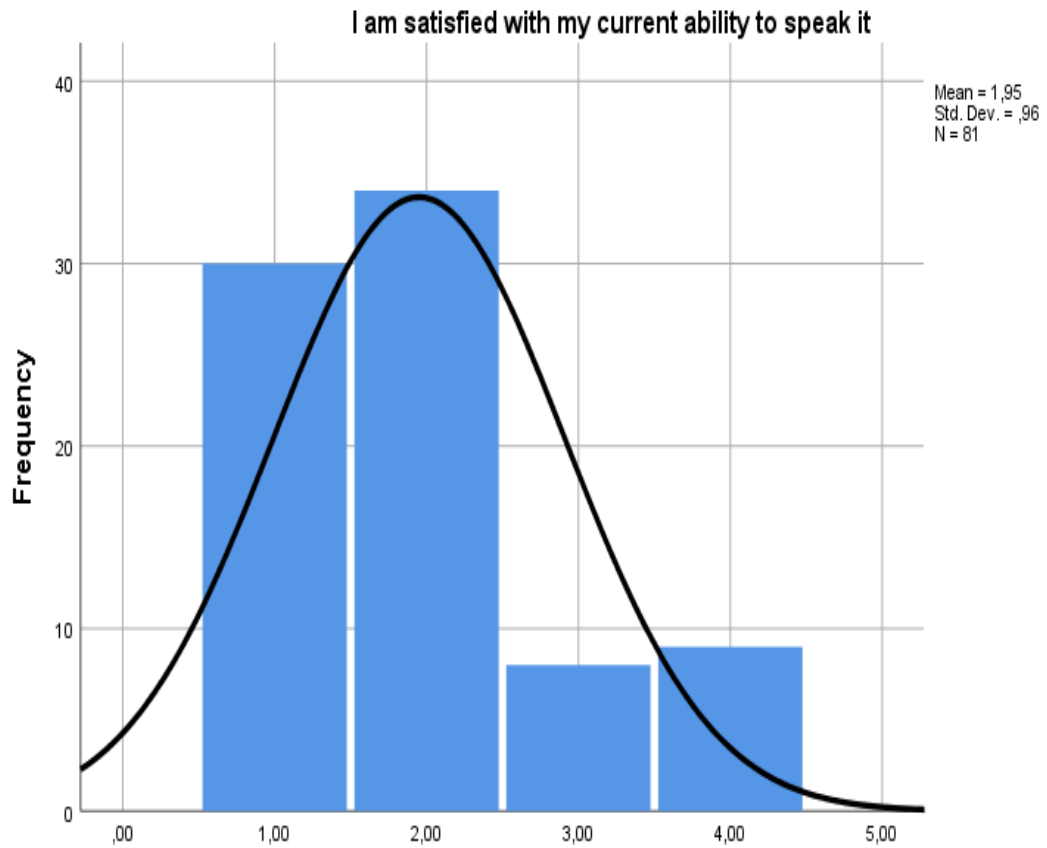


Figure 39

The French language seems to be well mastered by the average number of students who strongly agree that they are satisfied with their ability to speak French. This is represented by a mean score 1.95 and a standard deviation attaining 0.96 which shows a low variation and thus a less strong opposition to the agreement.

4) I prefer to be taught in French at school

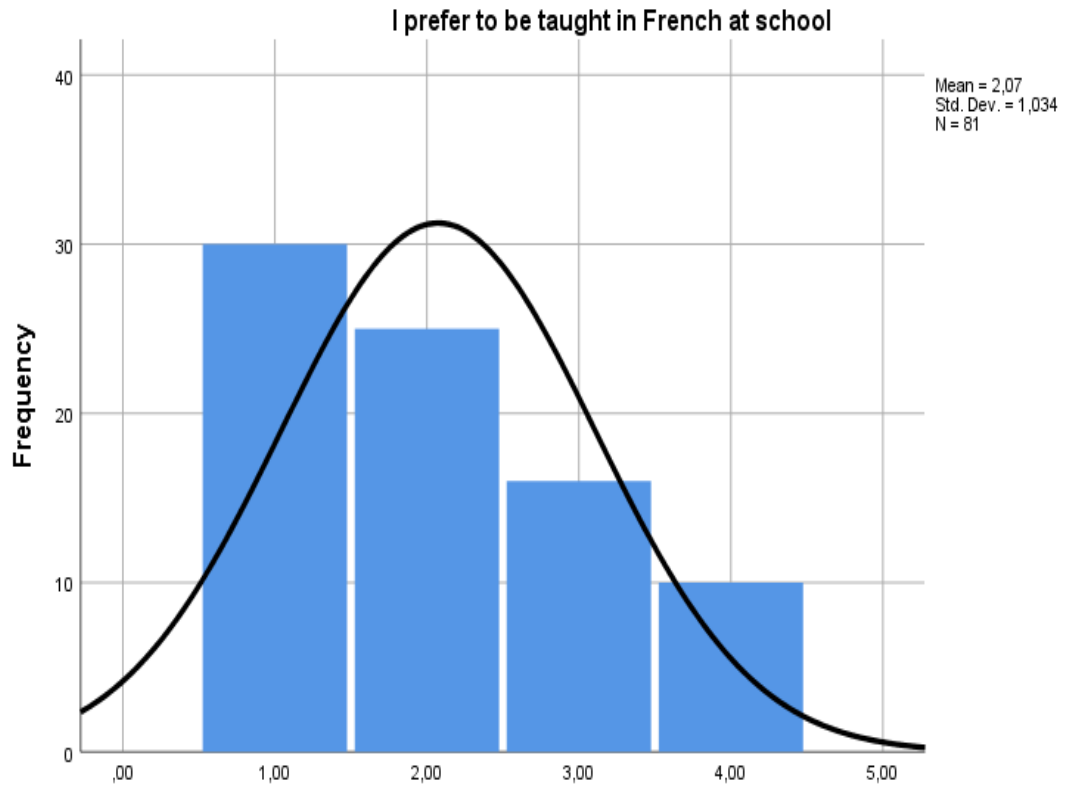


Figure 40

French as a language of instruction is well-favored by the average number of students, compared to Tamazight and Arabic. A mean score of 2.07 shows that students agree on the statement, but responses vary considerably with high a standard deviation of 1.034. This means that there a considerable number of responses besides the mean which are in opposition to the agreement.

5) Other languages are more useful than French language

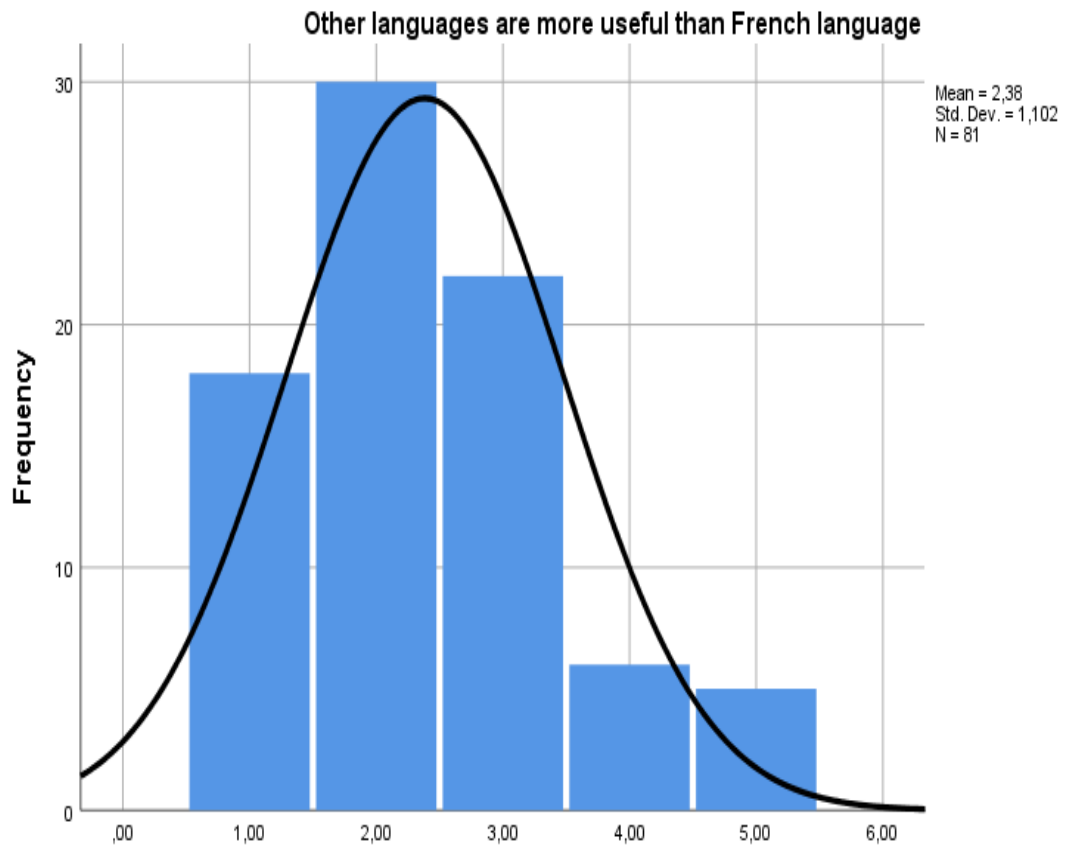


Figure 41

The mean for this statement is 2.38 signifying an agreement and taking a stance that other languages are more useful than the French language. However, not everyone thinks that way as there is variation in responses represented by a standard deviation of 1.10, mainly uncertainty.

6) I would not mind marrying a French speaker

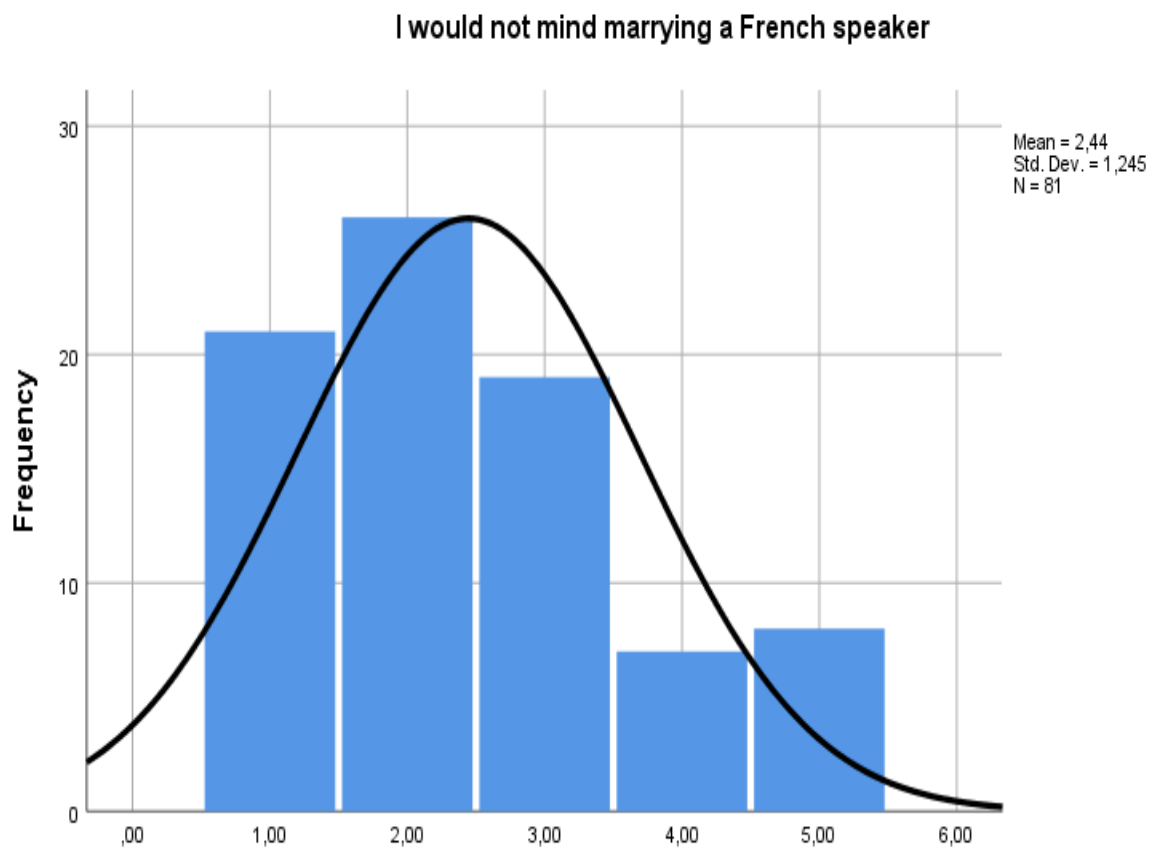


Figure 42

Language doesn't seem to have a strong impact on social relationships when it comes to marriage with French speakers. The average number of students agrees with the statement and this is represented by a mean of 2.44. However, a high variation is to be found with a standard deviation of 1.24 which concerns mainly strong agreement and uncertainty.

7) It is important to me that I know and use French

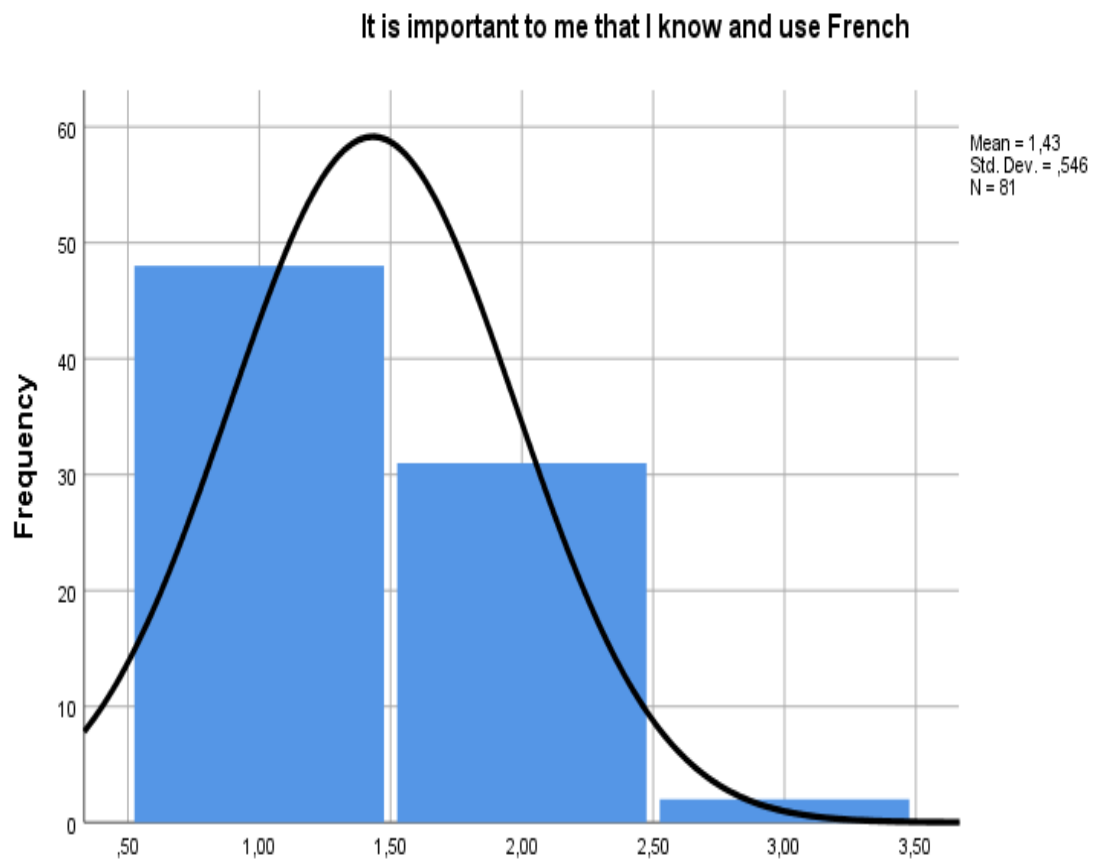


Figure 43

Kabyle people value the French language significantly. Participants strongly agree about the statement. This is what the mean score of 1.43 demonstrates, a fact which is emphasized by a low standard deviation of 0.54 and which shows a small variation in responses and thus a stronger agreement.

8) I feel that most people in my community are not interested in keeping French strong



Figure 44

The average number of students seems to be uncertain to whether their communities are interested in keeping French strong or not. This is demonstrated by a mean score equal to 3.05 but has a large variability around that mean with a high standard deviation of 1.08 which consists mainly of disagreements.

9) The use of French language is a strong part of my identity as Algerian person

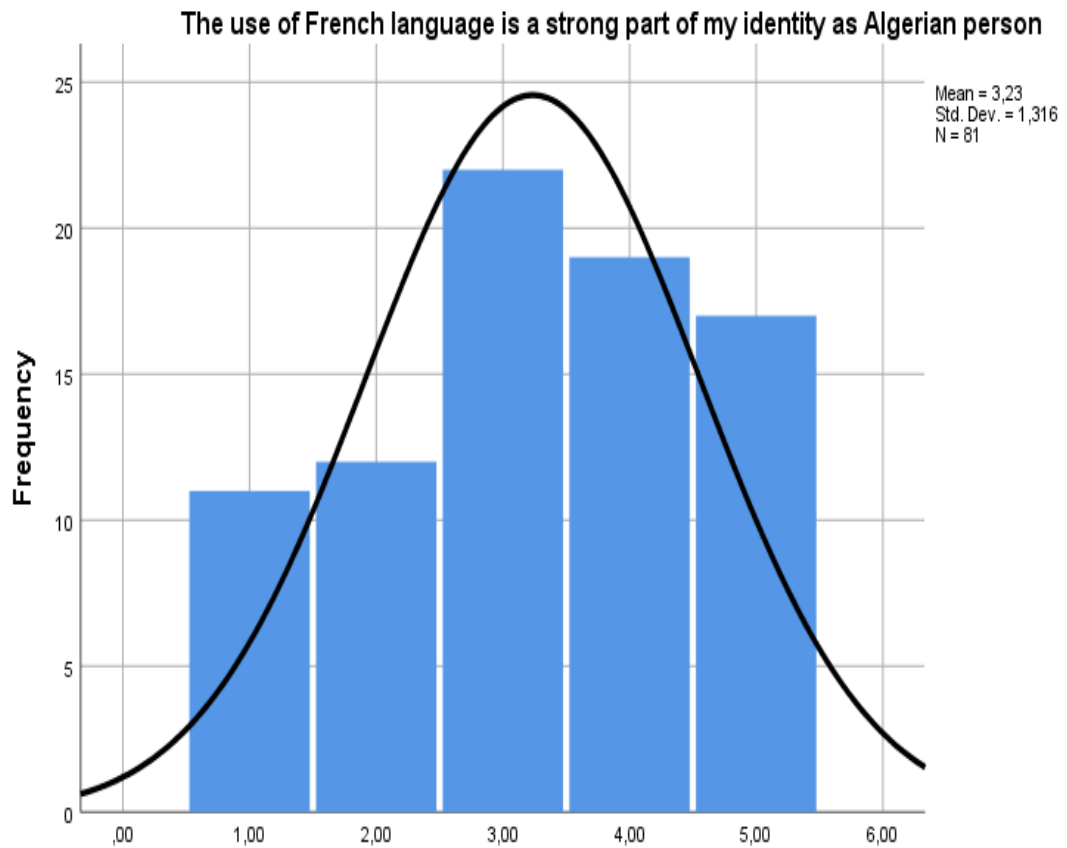


Figure 45

Considering the French language as part of the Algerian identity is not explicitly rejected by the average number of students as they express uncertainty with a mean response of 3.23. We can, however, see a high standard deviation of 1.13 signifying variation of answers around the mean, and this variation is mostly represented by a disagreement.

10) It is important to me that my children learn and use French

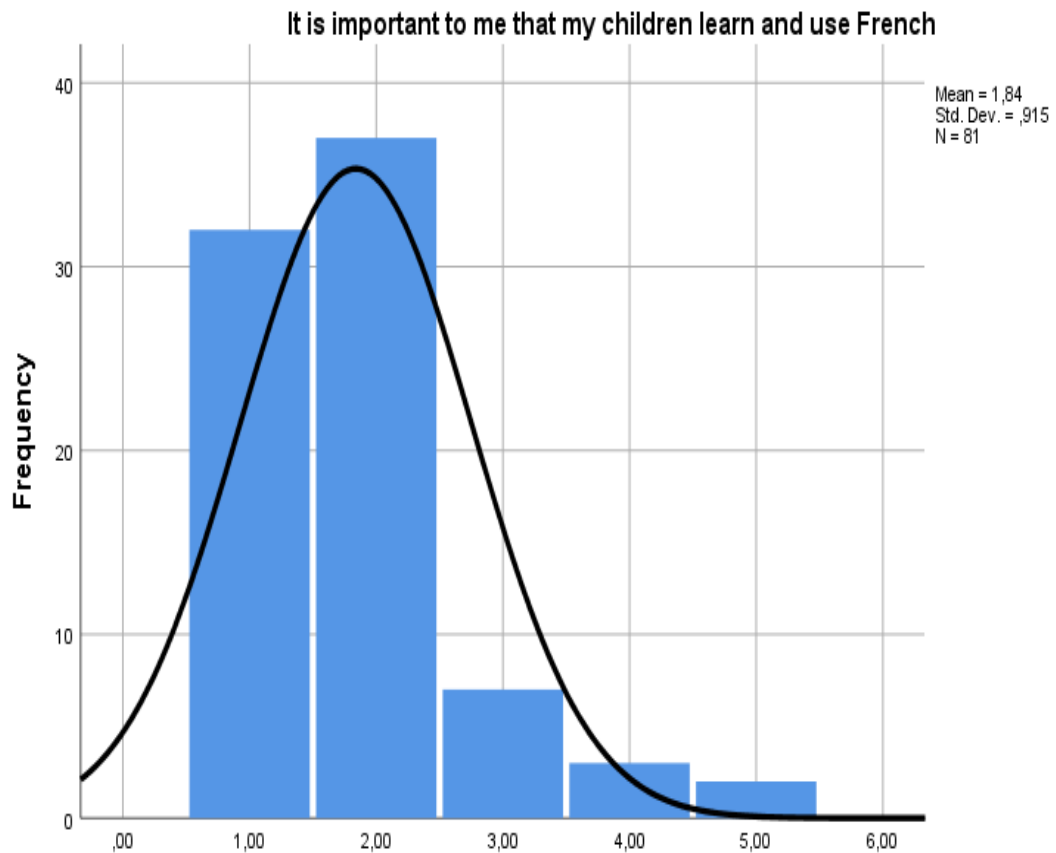


Figure 46

The transmission of the French language to future generations of Kabyle people is seen positively by the average number of students. Indeed, the mean for this statement is 1.84, which represents a strong agreement. Besides, the variations around the mean are low as it is shown by the standard deviation of 0.91; a fact which strengthens the mean and in this case the agreement.

11) The use of the French language improves the wellbeing of Algerian people
[Wellbeing can be physical, mental or spiritual – you often feel good, strong or positive about yourself and your life]

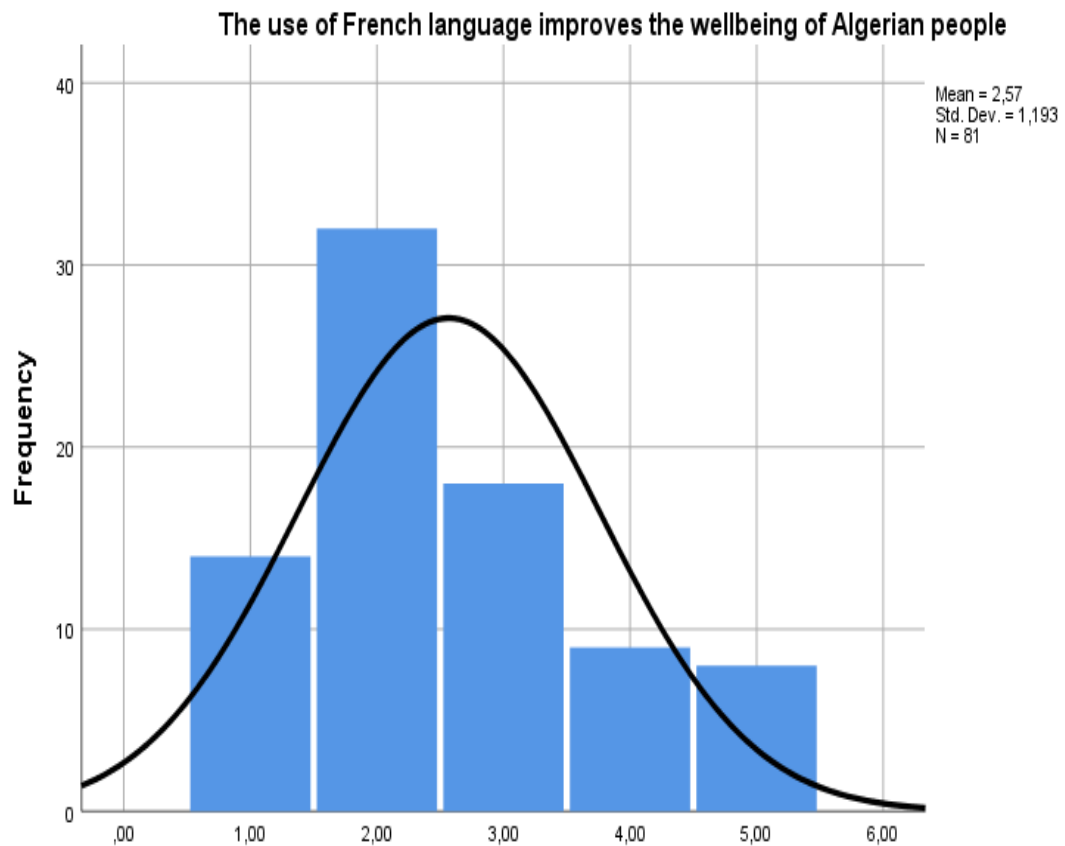


Figure 47

The average number of students agrees on the statement as shown in the mean of 2.57 and thus we can claim that the use of the French language has a positive effect on the wellbeing of the Algerian people. However, the high standard deviation of 1.19 reflects a variation of answers around the mean which relates to uncertainty and disagreements.

12) My culture can survive without French language

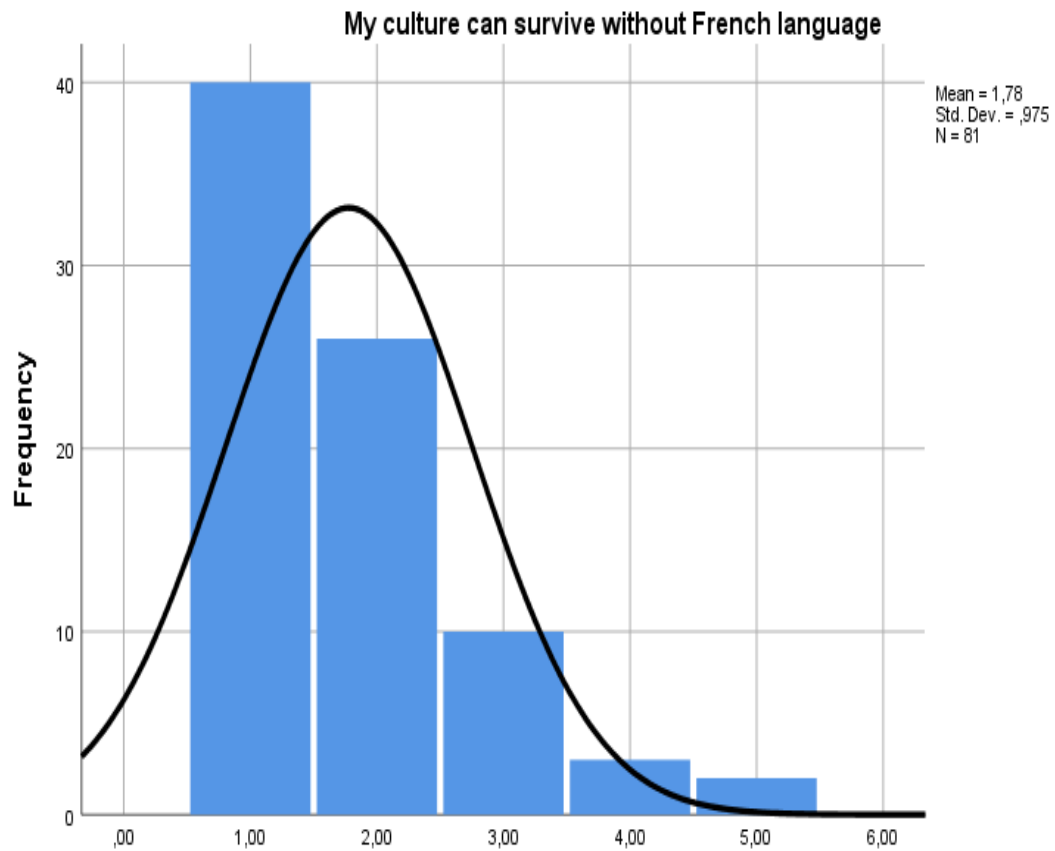


Figure 48

Although the average number of students was uncertain about the statement on whether the French language is part of the Algeria identity, they strongly agree that the Kabyle culture can survive without the French language. This is demonstrated with a mean of 1.78 and a standard deviation of 0.97 which shows a low variation and therefore strengthening the mean.

13) French has been widely used in Algeria even at the expense of Tamazight language

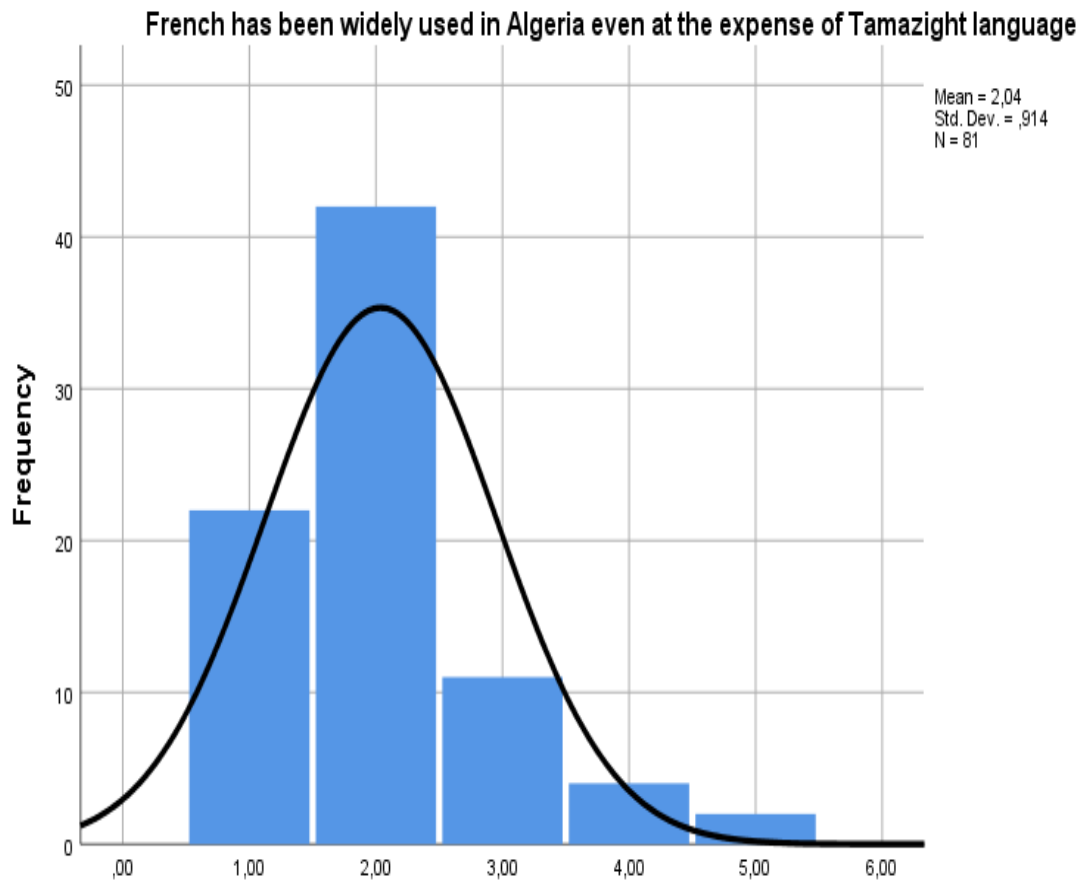


Figure 49

The idea that the French language is used at the expense of Tamazight seems to be true for the average number of students, complemented by low variations in responses. This is shown in a mean of 2.04 and a standard deviation of 0.91 which represents mainly strong agreements.

14) French should be the main language of instruction in higher education in science, technology, and medical fields

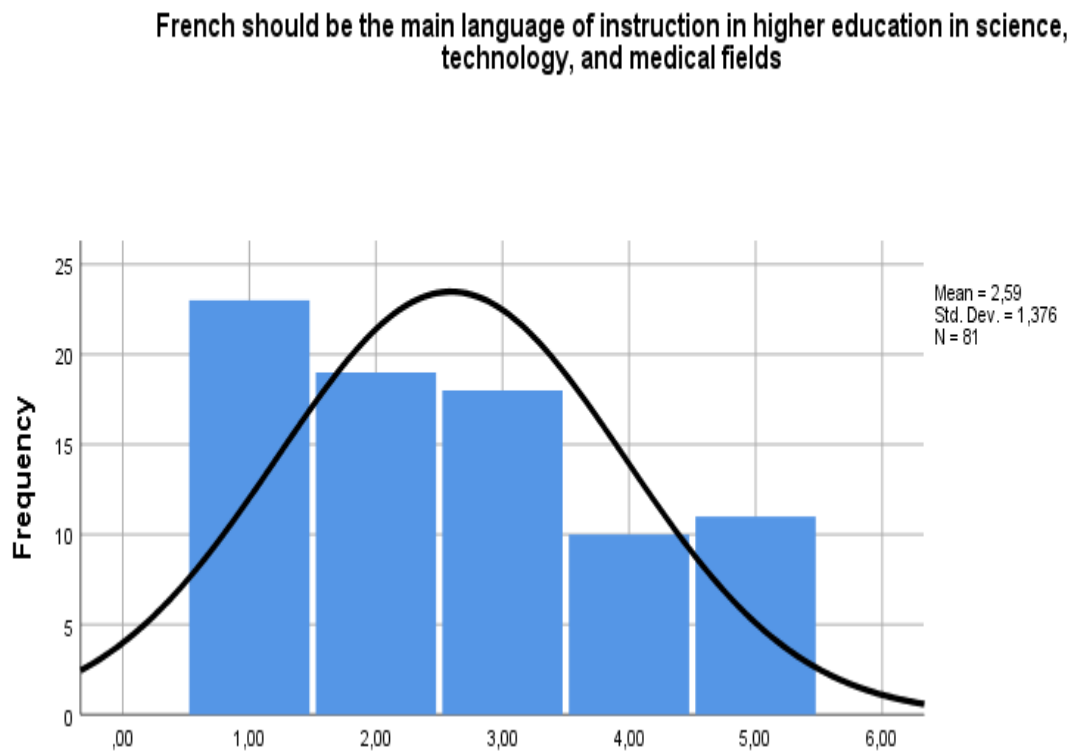


Figure 50

An agreement for this statement can be inferred from the mean of 2.59. This means that students agree on using French as a medium of instruction in higher education but this is opposed by other responses which are represented by high a standard deviation of 1.37.

Conclusion

The French language is at the center of interest of Kabyle people. Nevertheless, the overall attitude towards this language needs to be settled. Like previous scales, the negatively phrased variables were recorded and computed with other variables to have a general score. The results are shown in the following table:

Table 3

Statistics

French language attitude scale

N	Valid	81
	Missing	0
Mean		2,5938
Std. Deviation		,40104

The calculated mean for the computed variables of the French language scale is 2.59. This signifies a positive attitude towards this language with an attitude variation represented in a low standard deviation of 0.40.

4.5 Questions Analysis

For the purpose of getting in depth insights regarding their responses and accounting for the reasons behind these attitudes, a set of open-ended questions have been asked at the end of these scales. The data will be analyzed qualitatively using thematic analysis. The responses were firstly coded then classified into themes. These themes will be presented and explained, starting from the most recurrent one to the less.

Concerning the Berber language attitudes; two questions have been asked. The first seeks more clarifications on prior responses to statement number 10 “It is important to me that my children learn and use Tamazight”. The following is a qualitative account for the quantitative results introduced earlier:

1) My language, my identity, and my culture

Most of the respondents explained that Tamazight is their native language and a vital part of their identity and culture; it is thus fundamental for them to transmit the language to their children. The Berber language is certainly cherished by its users and inspires pride for them as they claimed. Moreover, Identity is strongly associated with their responses, most of the participants claim that by transmitting the language to their children they transmit their identity and maintain their origins. For them, who we were and who we are represent important building blocks for future generations; this is mostly defined by the transmission of the language. In addition to identity, they referred to culture as being crucial in our society and which is significantly conveyed in language. In sum, language is part of the culture and therefore language must be transmitted to future generations.

2. Preserve language, identity, and culture

The difference between the first set of responses is that in those ones respondents focused on the preservation side of language, identity, and culture. It seems that they strongly believe that the disappearance of the language may involve the disappearance of identity and culture. For them, it is important that their children learn and use Tamazight because of the role it plays in preserving the identity and culture and consequently avoiding language death, and disappearance of Berber identity and culture.

2) The Richness of language and culture

As some claimed, the transmission of the language will include the transmission of its cultural richness to future generations. They explained this by relating the moral stories transmitted from their grandparents, proverbs, and citations. This is true when we consider moral values and ways of conduct and organization being part of culture.

3) Heritage

In this case, some consider language as a heritage to be left for their children. They pointed out that their children should follow the same path as them and inherit their language.

4) The limitation of the language

Approximately 3 respondents out of 10 were against the transmission of the language to their children. They clearly asserted that other languages are more useful than the Tamazight language and the latter will not be of great use for them in their daily life; for instance, Tamazight is not used in administrations and other sectors.

The second question was formulated as follows: “What do you think helps to keep Tamazight and its varieties in use by people within a community?”

1) Communication

A large number of respondents focused on the importance of communication in order to keep Tamazight in use within communities. The use of the language for communication concerns many areas and domains of life, both spoken and written. Some respondents focused on the daily use of the language amongst Kabyle people by trying not to mix between different languages while others highlighted the need to use the language in administrations and the media.

2) Transmission

Other respondents claimed that the transmission of the language is important for its survival. Transmitting the language by all means is a necessary pursuit, this includes the teaching of Tamazight in schools and making sure that children acquire it in their childhood.

3) Love, pride, and willingness to preserve

It is evident that attachment to the language and culture is one of the factors that may keep the language in use in the community. And this could be done by raising awareness and spreading cultural values amongst communities.

Another pivotal factor that plays a great role in keeping the language in use is pride. Being proud of origins, identity and language are all inter-related and incite to firmly keep the language.

Love and pride give birth to a willingness to preserve the language. This willingness can be seen by some efforts as the work that leads to language preservations, mainly through written literature and codification.

The second scale was related to attitudes towards the Arabic language and which contained this question: “Please explain your answer to Question 13. Why do you think that way?” Question 13 was a statement on the questionnaire “Arabic has been widely used in Algeria even at the expense of Berber “.

1) Language policies

The majority of answers pointed towards language policy issues as being the reason behind the use of Arabic at the expense of Berber. The Arabic language was mainly represented by the Arabization policy which, they assert, made the learning of the Arabic language compulsory in Schools and has subsequently led to the neglecting of Tamazight. The Arabic language is also illustrated in its widespread use across different sectors of life such as administrations and the media. Moreover, being the only official and national language of the country for such a long period has strengthened its position compared to Tamazight.

2) A greater number of speakers

One of the reasons that might account for the domination of Arabic in Algeria is the larger population of its speakers compared to Tamazight. Respondents assume that power is held by the largest group of language speakers and other languages and dialects must conform to that language.

3) Religion

For some people, religion is at the center of this issue. Arabic is the language of the Quran and thus provides a reason for its superiority compared to other languages. In other words, the religious factor is one of the reasons behind the negligence of other languages.

The third scale concerned Attitudes towards the French language. Our open-ended question is related to statement 14”French should be the main language of instruction in higher education in science, technology, and medical fields”.

1) English is preferred

Referring back to the quantitative data, students almost agreed on the fact that French could be used as a teaching/learning medium at University. Surprisingly, the open-ended question has revealed that many respondents disagreed on the statement and preferred the use of English in Higher Education and scientific fields rather than French. English is an international language, and which witnesses the most scientific articles published compared to French.

2) Language of science

However, for others, French is still a good choice as a language of instruction in Higher Education and scientific fields because of it being a language that has more research articles published compared to Arabic. It enables them to access scientific knowledge more than other languages existing in Algeria.

3) Rich and easy language

French is a very rich language in terms of vocabulary, scientific words, and meanings. This is due to the fact that scientific words are originally Latin which facilitates comprehension.

4) A widespread language

Respondents explained that French will permit any student to go and study in French-speaking countries, as it is spoken as a second language in many countries.

4.6 Language use scales

The scales will be described using the same statistical tools as the language attitude scales. However, the mean and standard deviation will be summed up in a table and all variables will be analyzed simultaneously. Eventually, the variable will be computed to have an overall score of the language use.

4.6.1 Kabyle language use scale

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Community Center	81	1,5309	,70863
At my home	81	1,3086	,75236
At the shop	80	1,6375	,91740
At other family members' homes	81	1,4321	,83574
At friend's home	81	1,5185	,77639
At work	78	2,2308	1,10398
At school	81	2,4568	1,47521
During ceremonies	80	1,8875	1,05535
At community meetings	81	2,1852	1,13039
Watching TV programs	81	3,3086	1,25142
Listening Reading newspapers	81	3,4568	1,29469

The use of the Kabyle language among Kabyle people is significant in most cases. In this respect, we can see from the table that the means relative to six settings (Community center, at my home; at the shop, at other family members home, at friend's home, during ceremonies) are more than 1 and below 2. This suggests that they use their language always in these circumstances. The variability of answers is low as shown by the standard deviations, except for their use during ceremonies which is high represented by a number of 1.05.

As for other settings, the rate of use obtained a smaller frequency compared to the first ones. These settings (At work, at school, at community meetings) obtained means of more than 2 but less than 3; this signifies that the language is often used. Nevertheless, the variability of answers is high with standard deviations reaching 1 and above. This means that the mean scores are not unanimous and thus the frequency of use is not shared by a large number of respondents.

However, two settings have marked a less frequent use of the Kabyle language; these are ‘watching TV programs’ and ‘Listening/Reading newspapers’. This is shown by the two means of 3.30 and 3.35 which points out that respondents sometimes use their language in these settings.

4.6.2 Arabic language use scale

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Community Center	81	3,7531	1,05512
At my home	81	4,1728	1,18100
At the shop	81	4,0370	,98036
At other family members’ homes	81	4,0123	1,12354
At friend’s home	81	4,1111	1,06066
At work	79	3,9873	1,05604
At school	81	3,7778	1,19373
Duringceremonies	80	4,1000	,94935
At community meetings	81	4,1111	,86603
Watching Tv programs	81	3,4321	1,09474
Listening Reading newspapers	81	3,4321	1,08326

The Arabic language seems to be in use by the Kabyle community but not as much as their native language. It is sometimes used in the following settings: community center, at work, at school, watching TV programs, and Listening/Reading newspapers. This is

demonstrated by the mean score values reaching 3 and more, but the variability of responses is high because of the standard deviations that range from 1 and above.

The remaining settings (During ceremonies, at community meetings, at my home, at the shop, at other family members' homes, at friend's home) witness a lesser use of the Arabic language. This is represented by means reaching 4 and above signifying a rare use of the Arabic language, followed by low and high standard deviations which point towards a larger and a lesser variability in their answers. Low standard deviations settings include at the shop, during ceremonies, at community meetings and the ones with high standard deviation include at other family members' homes, at friend's home, at my home.

4.6.3 French language use scale

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Community Center	81	2,3704	1,03010
At my home	81	2,8395	1,10065
At the shop	81	2,9012	1,03205
At other family members' homes	81	3,0123	1,07812
At friend's home	81	2,9259	1,12670
At work	79	2,4937	1,11945
At school	81	2,0617	1,06473
Duringceremonies	81	2,8889	1,10680
At community meetings	81	2,8148	1,14139
Watching Tv programs	81	1,7037	,87242
Listening Reading newspapers	81	1,6914	,88941

There seems to be a frequent use of the French language among Kabyle people. When it comes to Media (watching TV programs and Listening/Reading newspapers), French is

always used and this is shown by the two mean scores of 1.70 and 1.69 and with lower standard deviations of 0.87 and 0.88.

Other settings (community center, at my home, at the shop, at friend’s home, at work, at school, during ceremonies, at community meetings) all proved to be favorable places for the use of the French language. The mean scores 2 and above point toward a frequent use of the language; a fact which is contested by high standard deviations reaching 1 and above. There is, however, an exception for the setting ‘at other family members’ home’ which reaches a mean of 3.01 and which signifies a rare and infrequent use of the French language.

4.6.4 Conclusion

It is necessary to rank the three languages according to their frequency of use in order to have a clear distinction between them. To achieve that purpose, the mean scores of each scale will be computed and the overall mean (of each scale) will determine their frequency use.

The table below shows the mean scores of the three scales and their standard deviations:

Table 7

		Statistics		
		Kabyle language use scale	Arabic language use scale	French language use scale
N	Valid	81	81	81
	Missing	0	0	0
Mean		2,0861	3,8996	2,5201
Std. Deviation		,64059	,79538	,81118

Based on the table above, the two languages that are often used by Kabyle people are their native language (Kabyle) and the French language. Nevertheless, one of them outranks the other. Clearly, the Kabyle variety is top-ranked by a mean score value 2.08 and the lowest standard deviation represented by 0.64 whereas the French language stands in the second position with a mean score of 2.52 and a standard deviation of 0.81. They are then followed by the Arabic language which occupies the third and last position in the frequency of use with a mean score value of 3.89 and a standard deviation of 0.79. This signifies that the Arabic language is sometimes used with a lower variability of responses compared to French.

4.7 The Relationship between Language attitudes and language use

To determine the relationship between language attitudes and language use, a Pearson product-moment correlation will be used to analyze the relationship between the variables. The calculations are made by IBM SPSS.

4.7.1 Kabyle Berber

Table 8 : Correlation between Attitudes and Use of the Kabyle Berber

		Kabyle language attitude scale	Kabyle language use scale
Kabyle language attitude scale	Pearson Correlation	1	,451**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	81	81
Kabyle language use scale	Pearson Correlation	,451**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	81	81

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The result of the correlation between the Kabyle language attitude scale and the Kabyle language use scale came as the following: $r(79) = .45, p < .001$.

The $r = .45$ signifies a positive medium association between the two variables. This means that the increase in positive attitudes leads to an increase in the use of the language. Moreover, the $p < .001$ shows this result is highly significant and therefore very unlikely to have occurred by chance.

4.7.2 Arabic

Table 9: Correlation between Attitudes and Use of the Arabic Language

		Correlations	
		Arabic language attitude scale	Arabic language use scale
Arabic language attitude scale	Pearson Correlation	1	,547**
	Sig. (2- tailed)		,000
	N	81	81
Aarabic language use scale	Pearson Correlation	,547**	1
	Sig. (2- tailed)	,000	
	N	81	81

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The correlation between Arabic language attitude scale and the Arabic language use scale resulted as follows: $r(79) = .54, p < .001$.

There is a positive large association between the two variables as demonstrated by the $r = .54$. That is to say, the higher the positive attitudes are, the greater will be the use of the language. The result is also supported by a P-value which is $p < .001$ and proves that the result is highly significant.

4.7.3 French

Table 10 : Correlation between Attitudes and Use of the French language

		Correlations	
		French language attitude scale	French language use scale
French language attitude scale	Pearson Correlation	1	,490**
	Sig. (2- tailed)		,000
	N	81	81
French language use scale	Pearson Correlation	,490**	1
	Sig. (2- tailed)	,000	
	N	81	81

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Ultimately, the result of the correlation between French language attitude scale and French language use scale are as follows: $r(79) = .49$, $p < .001$.

The $r = .49$ for this association shows a positive medium association between the two variables. It means that if attitudes increase, the use of the language will also increase. Besides, this result is highly significant as represented by the $p < .001$ and thus can deduce that the result is unlikely to have occurred by chance.

4.7.4 Conclusion

The previous results proved that language attitudes and language use are interrelated. The more positive attitudes there are, the more usage of the language there will be. It is also true in the other sense, the less positive attitude there are, the less usage of the language will be.

5 Discussion

Attitudes towards languages are crucial in the Algerian context since many languages exist and struggle to have a better position. It is even more important when we consider that language attitudes and language use are related as found in the results.

1) Language attitudes and language use

Kabyle Berber is a variety that enjoys a prestigious position amongst the Kabyle community; this can be seen by the overt positive attitudes displayed by its speakers and the high rate of its use. This shows that the more positive the attitudes are the most frequent use of the language it will be. This is mainly the case for French as the results showed positive attitudes, and this is confirmed by an average use of this language which is almost as high as the Kabyle language. Nevertheless, two settings witnessed an infrequent use of the Kabyle language and they are “watching TV programs” and “Listening/reading Newspapers”. These two settings are related to media, and in this case, an insufficient use of the language demonstrates either a smaller amount of Kabyle media or a lesser interest of the Kabyle people to it. This underlines the need to put more effort into providing accessible and quality content information (or programs) in Tamazight.

However, the Arabic language is less valued by Kabyle people when compared to Tamazight and French. That is to say, the average people have fairly indecisive attitudes towards it. Therefore, the frequency of use for Arabic is also lesser to the other two languages. The reasons that account for these attitudes will be discussed in the upcoming subtitles.

2) Social attachment, identity, and culture

Although Kabyle students seem to find that other languages could be more useful than Kabyle, they are also socially attached to it. Admitting the usefulness of other languages over

their native one is a sincere answer, and shows the reliability of their responses. The social attachment is noticeable in the allusions they attach to the language as being part of their identity. The strong agreement on the statement referring to the fact that their culture cannot survive without their mother tongue reinforces the social significance of this variety. At the practical level, participants want to commit themselves to ensure the continuity of their variety; they have thus shown their ultimate concern vis-à-vis its successiveness and transmission through generations. What supports these attitudes is the belief that the language is a fundamental part of their identity, culture and they obviously need to preserve it. Altogether, the aforementioned constitute the ideological underpinnings behind their attitudes. However, recent studies in the Algerian context on the teaching of Tamazight did not confirm the expectations of Kabyle people; there are still large proportions of Arab speakers who did not want Tamazight to be taught. This is due to the negative beliefs that are common among Arabic speakers about the need to learn Tamazight and their perception of Tamazight, i.e., they see it as just dialects with no written literature.

On the other hand, social relationships between Arab speakers and Kabyles are not affected, a fact which is approved by their agreement on the statement “I would not mind marrying an Arab speaker”. Conversely, this was not the case previously where our ancestors were more conservators. This change might be due to the development of morals and opinions over the years, and evolve towards open-minded thoughts. However, there is uncertainty among Kabyle people to whether Arabic is part of their identity and the majority of them agree that the Berber culture can survive without it. In this case, Arabic is seen as an important language in the Algerian context but not essential to the survival or even to the profile of the Berber culture and identity.

Concerning the French language, the respondents consider themselves having an acceptable mastery of the French language and they are satisfied with their current ability to

speak it. Moreover, they would prefer it to be the medium of instruction in schools and higher education. However, when the respondents were asked to explain themselves concerning the use of French in higher education, many of them agreed but seem to go further and suggest English as a better means of instruction. This stems from the fact that English is an international language and most of the modern research is published in English. In this case, French is less valued than English but more valued than Tamazight and Arabic when it comes to instruction. This tends to suggest that eventually, French language might lose its position for English and to determine this more research should be done in this regard. Nevertheless, the French language is not considered as being part of the Algerian identity and the average participants of the study agreed that the Berber culture can survive without it. That is to say, it is seen merely as a useful foreign language.

3) Language policies

Political decisions seem to be the main concern of the Kabyle people. More precisely, they are unsure of whether Tamazight gets enough support from the government and this is related to language policies. The latest unsuccessful language policy decisions concerning the teaching of Tamazight and its attribution an official status may be the reason for this uncertainty. In addition to that, the belief that Arabic has been widely used at the expense of Berber has been approved by the respondents, pointing towards an awareness of the Arabization policy initiated by the government. For these reasons, future political decisions and language policy in relation to Tamazight should be more effective and obstacles to it thriving should be hindered. More elaborate cooperation between the government and the people over the production and application of language policy decisions seems plausible.

The language policy which is determined exclusively by the government plays the main role behind the Arabic language attitudes. That is to say, the use of Arabic at the

expense of Tamazight in the Algerian society is a common belief in the Kabyle community and this could be at the origin of so many negative attitudes towards the Arabic language, even though the cause does not lie in the language but in those who took decisions on favoring one language over another. Moreover, the power held currently by the Arabic language is not only caused by Arabization but also by several factors such as the number of speakers and religion as well. That is to say, when confronted with a superior number of people speaking a different language, the minority people conform to the conveniences of the other group. In addition to that, the fact that Arabic is the language of the Quran convinces people that no other language is more important than Arabic. Nevertheless, despite the greater number of speakers and the factor of religion, Kabyle people are still keeping firm on their language.

The French language is also believed to be used at the expense of Berber and this idea is mainly correct. This can be seen in the position it holds currently in the Algerian context, mainly in administrations. Although the Arabization policy aimed at promoting the Arabic language at the expense of others, it has mainly succeeded to marginalize Tamazight but not French. This can be explained by the fact that French was deeply rooted in the Algerian society after its independence. Another reason that accounts for the resistance of the French language is the support provided by the post-independence elites who were initially instructed in French.

6 General Conclusion

By analyzing the language attitudes of Kabyle students and pointing out to the concern of the Kabyle community to language issues, current and possibly future issues could be resolved. Therefore, this paper aimed mainly at identifying and describing attitudes towards the three languages that are at interplay in the Algerian context and more specifically in the Kabyle community.

For a better understanding of the Kabyle community and current issues surrounding the context, brief insights have been provided in each chapter with relevant terms and outcomes. Moreover, attitudes to languages were also incorporated in the study for further understanding of the topic and pave the way for the investigation. A direct approach was used to measure attitudinal data gathered by the questionnaire and which was analyzed using a mixed method.

The results showed that the average number of Kabyle students had positive attitudes towards their native language (Kabyle Berber) and French. Therefore, the assumptions made about these two language proved to be true. The positive attitudes for their language seem to arise from their willingness to preserve it since the struggle it has faced with the language policies designed by the government. For the French language, the positive attitudes stem possibly from its usefulness as a language of instruction and as a widespread language. However, the average number of students did neither positively rate the Arabic language nor negatively. It is viewed as a foreign language with a greater number of speakers. In this case, the assumption made for the attitudes of this language is not proven. The absence of positive attitudes towards Arabic could be due to some ideologies related to Arabization and the neglect of Tamazight. Ultimately, language attitudes and language use proved to be positively interrelated. That is to say, the more positive language attitudes are the most frequent the use

of the language will be. This shows the significance of attitudes since they are related the language use.

From the previous findings, we can conclude that the main concern of the Kabyle speech community is the preservation of their language and its transmission for future generations. It is also evident that they are concerned with the language policy decisions issued by the government mainly the Arabization policy which threatens the existence of Tamazight. To avoid negative attitudes towards Arabic, Tamazight should be given the same privileges.

7 Implications

Based on the conclusions, the government decisions concerning language policies in Algeria should be dealt with great care. New policies need to take place so that the national languages could be treated equally and work for the development of Tamazight. This could be done through the teaching of Tamazight at all levels of education and in all regions of Algeria. Besides, documents in administrations should be translated to Tamazight and provide a choice for people to withdraw documents in their native language.

To understand the implication of these findings further research needs to be conducted on the language attitudes of Kabyle people and should address specifically language maintenance and preservation since it is one of their concerns. Furthermore, English, viewed as the ideal language of instruction for most of the respondents, is a possible language that can take a seat in the Algerian multilingual context, and thus more studies need to be carried out on this topic.

8 Recommendations for future research

1. Thematic recommendations

- Given the multidimensional nature of attitudes and the pervasiveness of language attitudes, ideology and stereotypes, one similar study treating the Attitudes of Arab speaking people towards Berber and French is significant in the Algerian context.
- It is highly recommended to investigate the influence of social factors namely age and educational level on language attitudes and language use.
- Future research should pay a firm attention to language policies, their underpinnings and their future prospects in light of the current linguistic situation and the prevalent language attitudes.
- A linguistic survey on the current status quo of the French language in the community at large and in education in particular seems a necessary pursuit i.e. English may have a word to say amongst this linguistic situation especially in higher education.

2. Methodological recommendations

- The present study has employed an exploratory/correlational research design; the same topic could be treated using a discourse perspective towards language attitudes.
- Due to the particular circumstances imposed by the Covid 19, the present study focused only on students; another study that covers the whole Kabyle community is highly recommended.
- The present study has adopted a direct approach towards the study of language attitudes, the same topic could be reproduced using an indirect approach i.e. the match guised technique.

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10 Appendices

Appendix 1 Language attitude survey-questionnaire

This is a student questionnaire aiming at investigating language attitudes among Kabyle community. I would be very grateful if you could answer the questions. Your answers will be treated confidentially and will only serve as interpretations for the research questions.

Section 1 Please answer the following questions

- 1. What is your age?
.....
- 2. What is your gender?
.....
- 3. What is your higher degree in education?
.....
- 4. Where do you currently live?
.....
- 5. What languages do you use to speak, read, and/or write?
.....
- 6. What was the first language that you learned as a child? You may list more than one
.....
- 7. What is the language that you speak most often now? You may list more than one.
.....
- 8. What language is most commonly used in your community now? You may list more than one.
.....

Section 2 Please, indicate at what extent you agree or disagree with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer. Please be as honest as possible.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I like hearing Kabyle language spoken					
2. I like speaking the Kabyle language					
3. I am satisfied with my current ability to speak it					
4. I prefer to be taught in Tamazight at school					
5. Other languages are more useful than the Kabyle language					
6. I would not mind marrying a Kabyle speaker					
7. It is important to me that I know and use Tamazight (herein the Kabyle Variety)					
8. I feel that most people in my community are not interested in keeping Tamazight strong					
9. The use of kabyle language is a strong part of my identity as a kabyle person.					
10. It is important to me that my children learn and use Tamazight					
11. The use of Kabyle language improves the wellbeing of Kabyle people [Wellbeing can be physical, mental or spiritual – you often feel good, strong or positive about yourself and your life					
Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
12. My culture can survive without Tamazight					
13. There is too much support for Tamazight as a language					
14. I would like to be able to help other people learn it					

1. Please explain your answer to Question 10. Why do you feel that way?

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. What do you think helps to keep the Berber language and its varieties in use by people within a community?

.....

.....

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Please, indicate at what extent you agree or disagree with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer. Please be as honest as possible.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I like hearing Arabic language spoken					
2. I like speaking Arabic language					
3. I am satisfied with my current ability to speak it					
4. I prefer to be taught in Arabic at school					
5. Other languages are more useful than Arabic language					
6. I would not mind marrying an Arab speaker					
Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
7. It is important to me that I know and use Arabic					
8. I feel that most people in my community are not interested in keeping Arabic strong					
9. The use of Arabic language is a strong part of my identity as an Algerian person.					

10. It is important to me that my children learn and use Arabic					
11. The use of Arabic language improves the wellbeing of Algerian people [Wellbeing can be physical, mental or spiritual – you often feel good, strong or positive about yourself and your life					
12. My culture can survive without Arabic language					
13. Arabic has been widely used in Algeria even at the expense of Berber					
14. I feel that most people in my community are not interested in using both Standard and colloquial Arabic					

1. Please explain your answer to Question 14. Why do you think that way?

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Please, indicate at what extent you agree or disagree with the statement. There is no right or wrong answer. Please be as honest as possible.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I like hearing French language spoken					
2. I like speaking French language					
3. I am satisfied with my current ability to speak it					
4. I prefer to be taught in French					

in school					
5. Other languages are more useful than French language					
6. I would not mind marrying a French speaker					
7. It is important to me that I know and use French					
8. I feel that most people in my community are not interested in keeping French strong					
9. The use of French language is a strong part of my identity as an Algerian person					
10. It is important to me that my children learn and use French					
11. The use of French language improves the wellbeing of Algerian people [Wellbeing can be physical, mental or spiritual – you often feel good, strong or positive about yourself and your life					
Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
12. My culture can survive without French language					
13. French has been widely used in Algeria even at the expense of Tamazight language					
14. French should be the main language of instruction in higher education in science, technology, and medical fields					

1. Please explain your answer to Question 14. Why do you think that way?

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Section 3 Please, indicate at what extent you use the language. There is no right or wrong answer. Please be as honest as possible

Kabyle language use scale

Context	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	never
Community Center					
At my home					
At the shop					
At other Family members home					
At friend's home					
At work					
At school					
During ceremonies					
At community meetings					
Watching TV programs					
Listening Reading newspapers					

Arabic Language use scale

Context Always Often Sometimes Rarely never

**Community
Center**

**At my
home**

At the shop

**At other
Family
members
home**

**At friend's
home**

At work

At school

**During
ceremonies**

**At
community
meetings**

**Watching
TV
programs**

**Listening
Reading
newspapers**

French language use scale

Context	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	never
Community Center					
At my home					
At the shop					
At other Family members home					
At friend's home					
At work					
At school					
During ceremonies					
At community meetings					
Watching TV programs					
Listening Reading newspapers					

Thank you!

