Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

Language Maintenance and Language Shift among Algerian Arabic Speakers in France

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STATEMENT

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of Modern Philology and Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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Language Maintenance and Language Shift among Algerian Arabic Speakers in France

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of language maintenance and shift among the Algerian community residing in France. Drawing on cross-generational comparisons, this study aims to examine whether the Algerian community in France is maintaining its Arabic or shifting towards the majority language, French. It relies on a mixed methods approach that includes a large-scale questionnaire (N=344) and semi-structured interviews (N=20). The questionnaires explore participants' Arabic and French language proficiency, patterns of language use across multiple domains, and attitudes towards Arabic and French. The interviews are designed to expand on the data gathered through questionnaires, while also providing a means to explore the causes of language maintenance and shift and shed light on immigrants' experiences and challenges to transform and maintain their heritage language.

Questionnaire data analysed for this dissertation indicates that a possible shift from Arabic to French is taking place among second- and third-generation Algerians in France, which aligns with Fishman's predictive model of language shift (1972b). This is evident in their self-reported language proficiency and their language use in different domains. Compared to first-generation participants, second- and third-generation participants have a significantly lower level of Arabic proficiency, especially in literacy. The results have also revealed a generational decline in the use of Arabic across most domains. Arabic, however, appears to be the most frequently used language for all three generations in the religion domain. While both the second and third generations maintain positive attitudes towards Arabic, they seem to use more French than Arabic even in the family domain. The study revealed a complex relationship between three important aspects of language maintenance, namely, Arabic language proficiency, language use across multiple domains and attitudes towards Arabic. Key predictors contributing to Arabic language maintenance or shift include language use at home, language use at the mosque, partner nationality, visiting Algeria, attitudes towards both Arabic and French, and Arabic and French proficiency. In line with results from the questionnaire, the interviews indicate an intergenerational language shift of Arabic among Algerians in France. The interviews further highlighted the contributing factors behind Algerians' language shift which are, according to the participants themselves, related to their exposure to French prior to migration, a lack of exposure to Arabic, and experiences of being stigmatized, discriminated against, and marginalized. The interviews have also provided rich data regarding issues of identity, struggles of integration, and efforts of heritage language transmission among the Algerian community in France.

This dissertation makes a valuable contribution to the study of language maintenance and shift by filling an important research gap on Algerians in France, a group that has prior knowledge of French and received very limited scholarly notice despite its significant size. Most of the study's findings align with previous research on immigrant minority groups in different European contexts. However, the study reveals an interesting dynamic whereby continuous positive attitudes towards Arabic across generations do not translate into active efforts to use it, even at home where the heritage language usually dominates. The shift towards using French in the home domain among the Algerian youth in France could be attributed to their parents' proficiency of the majority language, which severely reduces the contact using the heritage language. These nuanced patterns provide a more complex and detailed understanding of how language shift takes place in this specific context.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA	Colloquial Arabic
ELCat	Endangered Languages Catalogue
INSEE	Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques
LMLS	Language Maintenance and Language Shift
LOR	Length of Residence
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of the Problem

"France is the paradigmatic case for strong ideology and management", highlights Spolsky (2004: 63) in his discussion about the preservation of the French identity over the centuries. Indeed, the promotion and acceptance of the "one state, one nation, one language" principle has been pervasive among the majority of the French populace since the 17th century (Judge, 2000). Nevertheless, minority languages have demonstrated resilience despite these overarching principles (Spolsky, 2004). When it comes to immigrant minorities, long-term language contact is likely to affect or reshape the language use, choice and practices of bilingual speakers who are constantly exposed to the language of the new environment. As such, it will most probably lead to various linguistic outcomes, including language maintenance and shift (LMLS). The majority of LMLS studies describe situations in which speakers of Language A move to a country where Language B is spoken by the majority of the population, and, due to the interaction of several factors (such as frequency of language use and attitudes), speakers of Language A will move on the LMLS continuum (see Hyltenstam & Stroud, 1996). However, cases where speakers of Language A had already gained experience with the culture and language of the new environment before moving to the country are rarely discussed.

The Algerian community in France constitutes an excellent example given their prior knowledge of and familiarity with the French language before moving to France. This is largely attributed to the prominent status that the French language occupies in Algerian society, which is the byproduct of 132 years of colonial presence in the country (Blanchard, 2018). France's colonial past in Algeria created much more than just the usual historical footprints; rather, it profoundly reshaped the linguistic and cultural situation of the country, leaving a lasting impact which persists until today. Despite securing independence in 1962, following a long and drawn-out war that cost over a million of Algerian lives, Algeria was never able to completely detach itself from the French language (Queffélec et al., 2002). On the contrary, French continued to dominate critical sectors such as the media, administration, and education. This is largely due to the long-lasting policies established by the colonial administration which mainly sought to eradicate the presence of Arabic and place French as the primary medium of instruction in Algeria (Turin, 1971). The linguistic legacy left by the French occupation proved to be substantial given that the language preserved its prominent position even in the face of the Arabization movement seeking to replace it with Arabic in official domains (Bouherar &

Ghafsi, 2021). While the movement succeeded in establishing a stronghold for Arabic in many official domains, it failed to eliminate the deeply-rooted presence of the French language in Algerian society. According to Rossillon (1995), 49% of Algerians in 1993 were considered to be francophones. Data from the Abassa institute suggest that by 2004 the proportion had increased to 66% (see Maïche, 2004). Benrabah (2007) argues from a statistical point of view that Algeria is the second largest French-speaking country in the world.

In recent decades, the English language has been gaining favour among the Algerian youth. Globalisation as well as the advent of the internet and mobile-based technologies facilitated access to online English content and learning platforms, which increased interest in the language (Rahmani, 2021). In response, the Algerian government has initiated reforms to promote English as the country's first foreign language instead of French. As of 2022, pupils in Algeria begin learning English from the primary level of education, putting it on an equal footing with the French language (Imerzoukene, 2023). Despite these recent changes, the French language still holds an important position in the country. In a study investigating the attitudes of university students and teachers of English towards the status of the French language in Algeria, Bouarfa and Benketaf (2022) maintain that French continues to occupy many important official and public domains despite the linguistic changes in the country.

French colonisation of Algeria also resulted in numerous south-to-north migrations over the past century. From the first waves in the early twentieth century, driven by labour shortages in World Wars I and II, to post independent migration surges, the Algerian community in France had risen to millions, forming the largest immigrant group in the country, and one of the largest in continental Europe (Beblawi & Luciani, 1987; Blanchard, 2018). Nowadays in France, numerous generations of Algerians can be found. Given the aforementioned prominent status of French in Algeria, first-generation Algerians in France arrive with a good proficiency in the majority language, which may serve to facilitate their integration into the French society and diminish the role of Arabic in their daily lives. In fact, this pre-existing linguistic competence may place them on a path towards L1 attrition, which in turn exerts a negative influence on heritage language transmission to subsequent generations (Schmid & Köpke, 2007). Furthermore, France's strict assimilationist policy, which centres around prioritizing French while excluding all other languages in every sphere of life may only exacerbate the status of immigrant minority languages in the country. In light of this, France constitutes a strong context for an accelerated shift towards French (Queffélec et al., 2002). This situation raises various concerns regarding the long-term preservation of Arabic among the Algerian community in France. The question arises whether the Algerian community maintains its

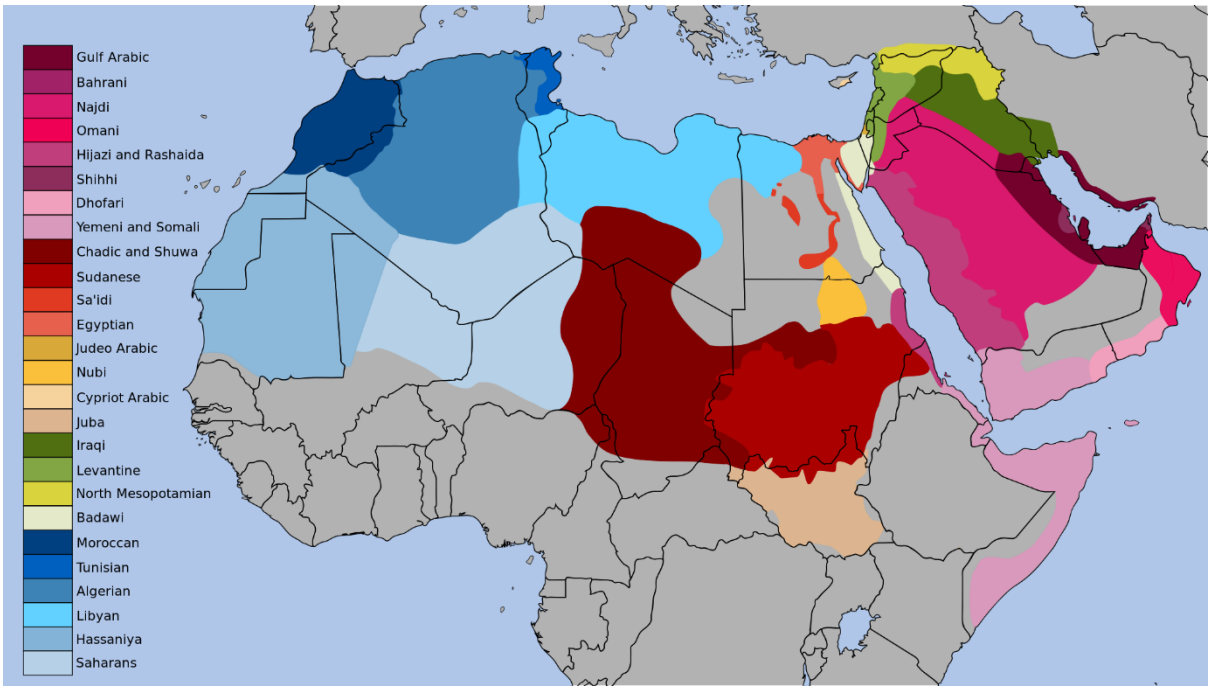
heritage language despite the strict language policies imposed by France, or whether Algerian immigrants' pre-existing knowledge of French accelerates a language shift towards the majority language.

1.2. The Arabic language

Arabic is one the most widely spoken languages in the world, with an estimated 410 million native speakers across 44 countries (Eberhard et al., 2025). The language holds an official or co-official status in 25 countries, including Algeria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, where it underpins the critical sectors of media broadcasting, administrative systems, and educational programs (Versteegh, 2014). Furthermore, Arabic serves as the second language for millions due to its religious significance to Muslims (Al Shlowiy, 2022). As the language of the Quran, it occupies a central place in Islamic practice and theology, motivating a large population of non-native speakers to learn it for religious purposes (Naska, 2017).

In the Arab world, two different varieties of the Arabic language are spoken, a high variety (Modern Standard Arabic) used for formal purposes such as governmental documentation, journalism, academic writing and judicial proceedings, and a low variety (Colloquial Arabic) used for informal purposes of daily and interpersonal communication (Albirini, 2016). This linguistic phenomenon whereby two functionally distinct varieties of a single language coexist within a speech community is known as *diglossia* (Ferguson, 1959). Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is generally a standardized iteration of Classical Arabic (the language of the Holy Quran), and it provides a unifying linguistic code across Arabophone countries. It is usually not learned until the advent of formal schooling in Arab nations (Albirini, 2016). Colloquial Arabic (CA) lacks the standardization and codification of MSA and exists primarily as an oral language amongst its speakers. However, it is the dominant mother tongue, acquired naturally from birth without formal academic instruction (Habash et al., 2007). CA shows significant regional variation, with each Arab country having its own colloquial version of the language, such as Algerian Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, and Syrian Arabic (Watson, 2007). Although these dialects constitute varieties of the same language, they are by no means identical (Habash, 2010). For instance, Algerian Arabic differs from Tunisian Arabic or Moroccan Arabic despite the geographical, historical, and cultural similarities between the three countries. Figure 1 represents a map showing all the Arabic language dialects across the Arab world.

Figure 1. Arabic language dialects (based on Fisher, 2015)



Standard Arabic in Algeria is strongly associated with literacy and religious practices and is usually learned in formal education as well as in Quranic schools (Djennane, 2014). Although other languages such as Tamazight and Chaoui are also used in certain areas of the country, Algerian Arabic dominates day-to-day interactions by a large margin and represents the native tongue for more than 35 million Algerians who acquire it since birth (Eberhard et al., 2025). Algerian Arabic is not solely derived from Arabic but rather evolved under the influence of other languages as well (Jovičić, 2024). Algerian Arabic integrates lexical and syntactic elements from French (e.g., *cuisine* (كوزينة) – "kitchen"; *facture* (فاكتورة) – "bill"; and *électricité* (تريسيتي) – "electricity"), Turkish (e.g., *kağit* (كاغط) – "paper"; *bayilik* (بايليك) – "provincial Rule"), Spanish (e.g., *babor* (بابور) – "ship"; *barraca* (بَرَّاكة) – "hut"), and Tamazight (e.g., ⵜⴰⵖⴰⵏⴰⵏⵜ (تاغنانت) – "stubbornness") languages. These influences were the result of historical events such as Arab and Berber contact following the Islamic conquests in the 7th century, Muslim migrations to north Africa fleeing the Spanish Inquisition, Spanish occupation of certain Algerian coastal cities, Ottoman rule over the region, and French colonialism (Guella, 2013). It is important to note that in this study, 'Arabic' is used to refer to both the dialect (Algerian Arabic) and the standard language (Standard Arabic). When asking participants about their oral skills in the Arabic language, answers would be relevant to the dialect. However, when asking about their literacy skills, it becomes a matter of Standard Arabic.

1.3. Aims of the study

Situations of language contact vary from one context to another, making each case a unique example. Therefore, conducting research into maintenance and shift will no doubt vary depending on the specific minority group being studied, which will contribute to a deeper understanding of the phenomena. There is a clear shortage of sociolinguistic research on the Algerian community in France, particularly in relation to language maintenance and shift. Existing studies are extremely limited in number and scope. No study has examined this community through a detailed comparison between multiple generations using a mixed method approach. Drawing on questionnaire and interview data, this study aims to explore the language situation of the Algerian community in France. It particularly aims to investigate the extent to which Arabic is being maintained among Algerian group members, and to assess whether it is successfully transmitted from generation to generation by comparing language proficiency, use, and attitudes across three generations of Algerians. In case of a shift away from Arabic, this study aims to identify the reasons behind this shift, and attempts to raise the Algerian community's awareness about the current language situation and the challenges that may threaten the preservation of their heritage language in the future.

1.4. Research Questions

The present study has one main research question:

- To what extent Algerians in France maintain their mother tongue or shift to the majority language?

In order to answer the above research question, the following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. Is there a difference between first-, second- and third-generation Algerians in France in their Arabic and French proficiency levels, Arabic and French language use, and attitudes towards Arabic and French?
2. What is the relationship between heritage language proficiency, use, and attitudes?
3. Which factors contribute to the maintenance (or shift) of Arabic among Algerians in France?

The theoretical motivation underlying these research questions is to assess the applicability of established models of language maintenance and shift (e.g., Fishman's predictive model of language shift, 1972b) to the case of the Algerian community in France. By comparing three generations of Algerians in France, the present study seeks to investigate whether and when

the shift towards French takes place and to examine the various factors that may influence Arabic language maintenance (or shift). Ultimately, these research questions, allow for exploring new perspectives in a unique context, namely Algerians in France, which may enrich existing literature on language maintenance and shift.

1.5. Hypotheses

In the light of the above research concerns and existing literature on language maintenance and shift among immigrant communities (see e.g., Baker, 2011; Clyne, 2005; Dagamseh, 2020; Dweik et al., 2014; Fishman, 1964; 1972a; 1991; Holmes, 2013; Sevinç, 2016), the following hypotheses are proposed:

1. The Algerian community in France will display heritage language shift towards the French language, especially among second- and third-generation bilinguals.
2. First-generation bilinguals will have higher and better Arabic proficiency level than second- and third-generation bilinguals.
3. Compared to second- and third-generation bilinguals, first-generation bilinguals are more likely to use Arabic, though their heritage language use will be limited to specific contexts (e.g., family).
4. First-generation bilinguals will have stronger positive attitudes towards Arabic than second- and third-generation bilinguals.
5. Participants from different generations will exhibit positive attitudes towards the majority language, French, as it plays an important role in facilitating their social and economic integration into the host country.
6. Different sociolinguistic and demographic factors will significantly predict Arabic language proficiency, language use in the family and friendship domains, and attitudes towards Arabic among the Algerian community in France across three generations.

1.6. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation investigates language maintenance and shift among the Algerian minority group in France. It consists of six chapters. The present chapter is a general introduction to the topic of research in which the research problem, aims, questions and hypotheses are outlined. Chapter 2 includes the theoretical background in line with the research topic. It covers the history of Algerian immigration to France, provides a brief introduction to the study of language maintenance and shift, and discusses key concepts related to the area. The chapter also describes the process of language shift across generations, presents the most relevant

theories and approaches in the field, and looks into major factors affecting minority groups' language maintenance or shift with an overview of studies focusing on these factors and their interconnectedness. Chapter 3 presents the research methodology upon which the analysis is based. It provides a detailed description of the chosen research approach, of data collection procedures, and of participants. The research instruments were then presented in detail, along with elaborating on the strategies used to analyse both quantitative and qualitative data. The last section of the chapter addresses the research ethics by which participants' rights and well-being are protected, i.e., participation in the study is voluntary, informed, confidential for all subjects. Chapter 4 reports the results of the questionnaire survey and interview data in detail. Chapter 5 then summarizes, discusses, and provides possible explanations for the results in line with the objectives set for the study. Finally, the concluding chapter, chapter 6, provides a comprehensive summary for key findings, highlights the study limitations, and recommends suggestions and directions for conducting future research in similar contexts.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter two presents a comprehensive review of the existing literature on language maintenance and shift, with a particular focus on the Algerian minority group in France. It starts by exploring the history of Algerian immigration to France, laying the ground for understanding the sociolinguistic context that may drive the language use and choice of the Algerian community there. Following this, the field of research is briefly introduced and different key conceptual definitions for *language maintenance* and *language shift* are provided. Furthermore, key developed theories and models of language maintenance and shift are discussed. The chapter ends by describing the process of language shift among generations and summarizing the key factors that are said to contribute to either language maintenance or shift with an overview of studies focusing on these factors at the macro level.

2.1. Algerian immigration to France

The Algerian-French ties are shaped by deep political, social, historical, and cultural complexities, rooted in France's colonisation of Algeria that lasted for more than 130 years (for an overview see Halil, 2021; Hattab, 2013; Khalfoune, 2018). Prior to French occupation, the two countries shared economic and political interests due to their geographic position as doorways to apposing continents in the Mediterranean Sea (Naylor, 2000). Strangely enough, it was this very geographical proximity that drove a political and historical wedge between the two countries over the last few centuries. The French colonial conquest of Algeria in 1830 ushered a new age of European colonisation of African countries and paved the way for massive south-to-north migratory waves that have profoundly contributed to the diverse and multicultural society that is present in metropolitan France nowadays (Ginio & Sessions, 2016; Sourdel, 1994).

2.1.1. Waves of migration

The migration of Algerians to France stands as one of the largest mass departures of a cohort of people from one country to another in the 20th and the 21st centuries (Cohen, 2017). This migration process spans over a century, in numerous waves, and was influenced by a variety of events and circumstances (see Stora, 1992).

2.1.1.1. The first wave[1]: From the late 19th century to the end of WWII (1871-1945)

Historical records registering the Algerian presence in France go as far back as 1871, but the numbers remained minimal due to restrictions on travel imposed by the colonial governor general of Algeria (Trebous, 1970). The onset of major Algerian immigration to France began shortly before the outbreak of the WWI (Meynier, 1981; 2015). In 1913, the French government established free movement of Algerians, especially workers to be *used* in hard labour. With the war in 1914, the marshalling of millions of French men to fight against the central forces left a massive void in the labour force and gave further prominence to the previously mentioned free movement to replenish workers (Horne, 1985). Moreover, the then unprecedented loss of life in the war required the mandatory conscription of additional soldiers from the colonies to fight in the French army. According to Meynier and Meynier (2011), colonial Algeria supplied France with a total of 120,000 workers and approximately 175,000 soldiers during WWI.

The end of the war saw a massive return of workers and soldiers who survived the fighting to Algeria (Ramadhan, 2021). However, due to the colossal casualties among the French as well as the industrialists' efforts for reconstruction, Algerian labour was of essence again, and the workers' migration continued to be relevant (Huber, 1931). Algerian workers represented an excellent choice for various reasons. Most of them were impoverished peasants who arrived from a hard and industrious background, seeking a better economic and social status. As such, they were hardworking, docile, obedient, and infinitely cheaper than European labour (Meynier & Meynier, 2011). Moreover, due to decades of French occupation, their command of the French language was vastly superior to that of other labour forces from other countries, such as Poland and Italy. In 1924 alone, over 71,000 Algerian workers were imported to France (Ageron, 1968).

Migration continued in the years preceding the Second World War, albeit not as potent on account of the European economic crash in 1931. The number of registered Algerian immigrant workers in France dropped from 65,000 to 32,000 in 1932 (Belloula, 1965). In WWII, labour migration grounded into a complete halt due to the Nazi occupation of France. Similar to WWI, Algerians were conscripted to the French army towards the end of the war. Over 135,000 Algerians fought for the liberation of France, of which nearly 20,000 died (see Koehler-Derrick

[1] The early stages of Algerian immigration to France were characterized by a cyclical pattern, with men migrating for work and eventually returning back home (Blanchard, 2008).

& Lee, 2023). Algerian soldiers constituted most of the first army which was used as a human shield in the vanguard against axis forces in Northern Italy in 1943 and Southern France in 1944 (Horne, 1996). And so, by the end of WWII, a real Algerian immigrant community had been established in France, yet statistics failed to account for them due to their specific status being neither French nor foreign. Instead, they were described by the French authorities as 'travailleurs originaire d'Algérie' (workers originating from Algeria).[2]

2.1.1.2. The second wave: From 1945 to 1973 (Les Trente Glorieuses)

During the *Trente Glorieuses* ("the glorious thirty"), a three decades period of massive industrialization and rebuild following the WWII, immigration of Algerians to France resumed since the need for labourers increased (Augarde, 1970). As no restrictions were put on south-to-north migration, hundreds of thousands of Algerians opted to seek job opportunities in France. According to official statistics published by INSEE (*Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques)*, the number of Algerians increased massively from a mere 22,000 in 1947 to over 220,000 by the beginning of the Algerian war of independence.

The migration movement during this period was not slowed down by the outbreak of Algeria's war for independence in 1954 (MacMaster, 1997). Rather, it increased as Algerians were fleeing the violence and destruction caused by the conflict between Algerian guerrilla fighters and the French army. Although France issued a number of restrictions limiting the migration of Algerians during the war of independence, it is stipulated, based on the statistics revealed by INSEE, that the number reached 350,000 by the end of the war, which constitutes the highest upsurge during the *Trente Glorieuses*. Moreover, the Evian agreements (*Les accords d'Evian*) signed in 1962 paved the way for the movement and settlement of millions of Algerians in the following decades (Adler, 1977). Surprisingly enough, Algeria's independence did not see the end of labour migration, with Algerians increasingly flocking to France, reaching 550,000 immigrants in 1968, and 800,000 in 1972 (Stora, 2005).

It should be noted that since 1883, France adopted a *Francization* policy (also Frenchification) within its colonies in which French was the operating language in the educational system, administration, and public life (see Benrabah, 2013; Kadri, 2021; Rouabah, 2022). Unlike other colonies such as Senegal and Tunisia where the French colonial policy involved the imposition of the French language and culture, Algeria was perceived as an

[2] See L'immigration algérienne en France | Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration (histoire-immigration.fr)

integral part of France, and for that a complete assimilation of the population was in order (Stora, 2000). While French colonisation succeeded in integrating French as an official language in Algeria, it failed in eradicating all other non-French languages. Arabic, Tamazight and other regional dialects continued to survive nonetheless. As a result, Algerian immigrants remained committed to their native languages despite their proficiency in French (Meynier & Meynier, 2011). Such preservation can be attributed to the deeply entrenched Algerian and Islamic identities which survived decades of colonisation (Chami, 2009). Moreover, the formation of the Algerian Association of Muslim Scholars by Abdel-Hamid Ibn Badis in 1931 led to a fierce opposition to the French efforts of assimilation and contributed to the restoration of Classical Arabic to education before the Algerian war of independence (Morsly, 1988).

2.1.1.3. The third wave: From 1973 to the present day

In 1973, Algeria officially suspended travels to France over acts of racist violence against Algerian migrants in Marseille, but other reasons contributed to this change of policy (Meynier & Meynier, 2011). The Algerian president, Houari Boumediene, launched a movement of *Arabization* and return to Islamic values, and sought to put an end to the haemorrhage of Algerian youthful labour force to France (Harbi, 1992). This decision led to the signing of the *Franco-Algerian Agreement* in 1968, marking the end of the free movement between the two countries due to the newly applied restrictions.

Even though Algerian labour immigrants during the *Trente Glorieuses* went to France in search of a more favourable economic situation, they were not allowed to bring family members, and many of them eventually returned to Algeria to invest the assets they accumulated abroad (Blanchard, 2018). This prevented Algerians from settling down in France for over half a century. As was later delineated in the *Franco-Algerian Agreement*, family reunifications were sanctioned, and Algerian migrants could finally settle in France (Cohen, 2014). This gave way to the second and third generations of Algerian origin who, as opposed to their parents and grandparents respectively, were born and raised in France.

The Franco-Algerian agreement was rectified several times, the last of which was in 2007, and while immigration to France diminished in the previous decades following the agreement, it is still far from negligible. In accordance with recent statistics provided by the French Ministry of the Interior and Overseas Territories (see Ministère de L'Intérieur et Des Outre-Mer, 2023), at least 25,000 Algerians have been granted residence permits in France each year since 2010.

2.1.2. Numerical uncertainty: Nationality and illegal immigration

Great controversy surrounds the number of Algerian migrants in France. According to available data from 2019, Statistica places the number of Algerian-born immigrants in France around 530,000, yet these figures are contradicted by other statistical parties. For instance, l'obsirvatoire de l'immigration et de la démographie (2023) claimed that France is home to at least 2.6 million Algerian immigrants, including 846,000 Algerian-born immigrants (only Algerian nationals were counted). The French authorities often refrain from providing precise figures, which adds further ambiguity to the matter. In a visit to the University of Tlemcen, Algeria, in 2015, Bernard Emié, the then French ambassador in Algeria, declared that the number of people with Algerian ties in France approaches 7 million,[3] while referring to the close societal, cultural and economic ties the two countries share. Such inconsistencies can be attributed to two main factors: nationality and illegal immigration.

Considering the various generations of Algerian immigrants as well as the multicultural and multiracial status of the French society, it is extremely challenging to ascertain precise numbers regarding Algerian presence in France. Hundreds of thousands of French nationals still identify as Algerians (Kubera, 2021). Some of them are either long-term Algerian residents in France or French-born children and grandchildren of Algerian immigrants. Moreover, given the cultural and religious ties of the Algerian community in France, many novice immigrants, especially men, tend to marry second- or third-generation Algerians who are French citizens since birth which further complicates the situation as it blurs generational boundaries (for more information, see Collet & Santelli, 2012). When one adds that to the fact that marital relationships may include other Maghreb, Arab, and African immigrant communities in the country, in addition to the French themselves, providing a number to immigrants with Algerian ties becomes a futile undertaking. The other roadblock in providing precise numbers of Algerians in France relates to the phenomenon of illegal immigration across the Mediterranean Sea. *Harraga*[4] (or "those who burn" in English) is the term given to Algerian illegal migrants to European countries (see Souiah, 2012; 2014; Kime, 2020). The phenomenon can be traced back to the early 2000s when Algerian men between the ages of 20 and 40, hard beset by a

[3] 7 millions de Franco-Algériens | L'Expressiondz.com

[4] The word *harraga* (plural of *harag*) is used to refer to the group of people who are trying to leave their country without documents. In Algerian-Arabic, we use the verb يحرق, y'hrag (i.e., to burn) in different contexts that can hold figurative meanings. For example, we say 'hragli dami' (i.e., burned my blood), meaning that someone made me really angry. Similarly, we say 'h'rag', meaning that someone burned the borders to reach Europe. Those who engage in such an activity do not *burn* the links to their home land. On the contrary, they are more likely to keep being attached to the people and the place where they originally grew up.

bleak economic reality following the Algerian civil war in the 1990s, and increasingly frustrated by the numerous limitations put on visas to European countries, started taking clandestine trips on motorboats (Abdelmalek & Lamara, 2023). Thousands of Algerians take this trip across the sea every year. While many of these travels end in catastrophe, some arrive in Europe and end up in France eventually (Hattabi & Mezaini, 2022). The illegal status of harragas makes it impossible to ascertain the number of Algerians in France as many roam over French cities, evading detection, and blending into the immigrant community.

2.1.3. Identity and attitudes

Similar to the complex ties between Algeria and France, Algerian immigrants' identity and attitudes towards France, its culture and language are tangled and multilayered. In the face of social and financial hardship, France with its geographical proximity, large Algerian immigrant community, and robust economy constitutes an ideal destination for the Algerian youth (Blanchard, 2018). As such, hundreds of thousands of visa demands are filed each year to the French consulate, while many avoid such a process entirely and risk death in open sea as illegal immigrants to arrive at the "promised land" (Meynier & Meynier, 2011). At this stage, a phenomenon of glorification occurs in which France is looked at with vehement veneration and exaltation as an advanced civilisation worthy of admiration and respect.

On the other hand, the public memory of the Algerian society remains strong as decades-long of oppression and war crimes stand witness of France's brutality and violence in Algeria. Following controversial statements from the French president Emanuel Macron in a meeting with eighteen young people of Algerian origin at the Elysée in 2021, describing Algeria's historical narration as based on a discourse of hatred towards France (see Kessous, 2021), the Algerian Presidency issued a formal statement:

> "Following the unrefuted statements attributed by many French sources to the President of the French Republic, Algeria expresses its categorical rejection of the unacceptable interference in its internal affairs, as stated in these statements, which carry within them an unacceptable attack on the memory of 5,630,000 martyrs." (2021: para. 1)

For over 130 years, Algerians saw their lands taken to serve as a food basket to France while they starved, their property confiscated, their homes brought down at the first sign of complaint, their women desecrated, and their sons conscripted to fight foreign wars against their will (Litim, 2022). During WWII, France promised Algerians independence if they fight in the

French army to liberate the country from Nazi occupation (Miad, 2023). On the 8th of May 1945, Victory Day in Europe over the Nazis, Algerians took to the streets demanding independence as promised by France after their contribution to the war. What followed was a massacre in which over 50,000 Algerians were brutally killed in the space of a few days, which fanned the flame for the subsequent war of independence.

Shrouded by media and denied by the French government, France also conducted various nuclear tests in the Algerian desert in the early 60s in the regions of Reggane, Béchar, and Tamanrasset (Bahamaoui et al., 2020; Tertrais, 2012). The bombs tested were four times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb dropped on Japan at the end of WWII (Rauf, 1995). Aside from the instantaneous destructive effects, the long-term outcomes of radiation were catastrophic for both human residents and the environment as it is reported that inhabitants of the aforementioned regions suffered from an elevated cancer rate, birth deformities, and miscarriages following what the French government falsely proclaimed as "safe tests" (Bahamaoui et al., 2020).

These examples are but a few of those that still live in the memory of Algerians and may feed much of the negative attitudes they harbour towards France, and while it is undeniable that many of the present generation attempt to move past these historical entanglements, such events constitute an inexhaustible energy source fuelling Algerian immigrants' pride of their Arabic and Islamic identity.

2.2. A brief introduction to language maintenance and shift

The study of language maintenance and language shift emerged as a separate field of enquiry in the mid-twentieth century and was, just like many other phenomena, considered to be the result of language-contact situations, especially those arising from migration (Pauwels, 2016). Joshua Fishman, together with other scholars from different disciplines, made significant contributions to the field of language maintenance and shift. However, Fishman's paper *Language maintenance and language shift as a field of enquiry. A definition of the field and suggestions for future development* (1964) has undoubtedly laid the groundwork for future scholarly investigations in the field. In his key text, Fishman mentioned that:

> "The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change (or stability) in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language use are in contact with each other. That languages (or

> language variants) SOMETIMES replace each other, among SOME speakers, particularly in CERTAIN types or domains of language behaviour, under SOME conditions of intergroup contact, has long aroused curiosity and comment. However, it is only in quite recent years that this topic has been recognized as a field of systematic inquiry among professional students of language behaviour." (Fishman, 1964: 35)

As mentioned earlier, the establishment of the field of language maintenance and shift was through the work of Joshua Fishman and many other influential scholars who shaped our understanding, in a way or another, of the field including Heinz Kloss, Einar Haugen, Uriel Weinreich and Charles Ferguson.

According to Clyne (2004), Heinz Kloss was an early pioneer in the field of language maintenance. In 1927, Kloss published an article in which he discussed some language-related issues among minority groups. However, his paper did not gain popularity among linguists as it was published in a journal dedicated to political science and history. Many years later, Heinz Kloss introduced his typology of some of the most influential factors of language maintenance and language shift in his paper "German-American language maintenance efforts" (1966) which continues to be one of the best resources scholars refer to in their discussion of the topic.

Einar Haugen and Uriel Weinreich are two other leading figures who contributed in shaping the field of language maintenance and shift. Both scholars began their careers as linguists focusing on the linguistic aspects found in immigrant language contact settings in the United States. Afterwards, they became highly intrigued by exploring the socio-cultural aspects of language contact phenomena including language maintenance and language shift (Pauwels, 2016). While, in his book, Weinreich (1953) briefly elaborated on two major socio-linguistic terms that are: language loyalty and language shift, Haugen (1953) dedicated a whole volume in which he examined factors behind the maintenance or shift of Norwegian in the United States.

Spolsky (2010) credits Charles Ferguson with possibly being one of the founding fathers of sociolinguistics. Ferguson is best known for his work on diglossia (1959) that has become "widely accepted by sociolinguists and sociologists of language" (Fishman, 1967). Fishman, for example, was interested in extending the scope of diglossia to include those linguistic situations where two or more historically distinct codes are used for different functions. Based on his extended version of the concept, Fishman identified the different scenarios in which a speech community may experience language shift. Charles Ferguson made influential

contributions to the field of language maintenance and shift through his later work on language planning and language change (see e.g., Ferguson, 1982; 1996), and many of his papers are still considered major reference points for scholars around the world.

Immigration is considered one main reason that leads people to speak different languages besides their mother tongue. While this has several positive aspects on a person's life, it has also some other serious negative aspects. The use of the host country's language, over time, will most likely lead to language change (Fishman, 1989). This is due to the challenges faced by most immigrants pertaining to preserving their heritage language, especially for younger generations (Borland, 2005; Pauwels, 2005; Pauwels, 2016).

For most immigrants, acquiring and using the host country's language is not a problem in itself, but the problem lies in the language policy imposed by the host country that forces them to completely abandon their minority language in favour of the majority language. Many immigrants find themselves in a situation where they are compelled to use the language of the host nation in all aspects of their lives and even at home, which is supposed to be a private and protected space for them to speak their own languages. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), this intense pressure may lead, sooner or later, to language change and shift towards the dominant language of the majority group. France, for example, is adopting a strict linguistic assimilationist policy which was basically designed to preserve French national unity through integrating immigrants into its mainstream society and culture. It is worth mentioning that with all the policy measures taken by the French republic in order to make it challenging for minority groups to maintain their languages, France's "one language – one nation" ideology might not be that successful given the diversity of the population and of languages (Flih & Bàtyi, 2021; Spolsky, 2011).

Besides language policy, a number of influential factors contribute to either the maintenance or shift of minority languages in migrant contexts including age of immigration, length of residence, educational level, language attitudes, institutional support, religion, geographical concentration and proximity, among many others. For most researchers, identifying the factors (or forces) behind language maintenance or shift is a key objective since it can provide an answer to: how can language shift be reversed? (Fishman, 1991). Following the same trend, I will focus, in my study, on understanding the factors that either contribute to language maintenance or shift among the Algerian community in France.

2.3. Definitions of language maintenance and shift

The phenomena of language maintenance and shift usually occur in communities where two or

more languages (or varieties) are in contact with one another, especially when there is a clear difference in power relations between the groups (i.e., minority and majority groups) who are using these languages (see Hyltenstam & Stroud, 1996). Language shift takes place when a community replaces its own language with a more dominant one (Mesthrie et al., 2000). It "is often associated with immigrant groups who take up the majority language of their new territory, leaving behind the language of their homeland" (Grenoble, 2021: 1). Many believe that Joshua Fishman had a significant impact on the spread of the term 'shift' in the 1960s. In fact, both Fishman's discussions of language shift (1964) and how to reverse language shift (1991) continue to be a source of influence on the field until the present day. According to Fasold (1984: 213), language shift is a societal issue whereby a group of speakers decide to abandon the use of one language for another language, very often the language of the larger community. This indicates that one language will lose its speakers for the other language who will end up winning more ground (see Fasold, 1992; Kamwangamalu, 2003; Slavik, 2001). It is important to keep in mind though that the idea of a speaker or a group of speakers abandoning their main language for another is typically the result of the pressure exerted by the host community and that of many other factors (see e.g., Archer, 1999; Atkinson, 2000; Bloom & Grenier, 1996; David, 2003; David & Naji, 2000; Gal, 1979; Milani, 2007; Mufwene, 2020; Tandefelt, 1992).

Fishman (1991) argues that language shift is highly expected in case of an unsuccessful intergenerational language transfer, with fewer and fewer users (i.e., speakers, writers, readers, and understanders) in every generation. The rate of the shift process can be either gradual or rapid. In most cases, it occurs gradually across generations. This means that the shift towards a new language will not be simultaneous but rather gradual across various functions and domains and therefore will only be noticeable in the long term by younger generations (see e.g., Buchheit, 1982; Johnson-Weiner, 1998; Moelleken, 1983). In some cases, however, language shift can happen relatively quickly within one or two generations of speakers. This type of shift is more likely to occur in migrant contexts (see e.g., Pauwels, 1985b; Sevinç, 2016; Tandefelt, 1988).

Hoffmann (1991) proposed the distinction between complete and incomplete language shift. Complete language shift involves the shifting away of a community from monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in another language. This means that only one language (the new language) will become the dominant in all spheres of usage. In contrast, in incomplete language shift, the community continues to use its native language alongside the new language, but only for specific purposes (e.g., religious purposes). According to Hoffmann (1991), the

shift from Cornish to English in Cornwall is an example of complete language shift, while the case of Wales, where a significant portion of the population speaks both Welsh and English, is a remarkable instance of incomplete language shift.

On the other hand, language maintenance reflects the ability of a speech community to keep the language they have always used in order to ensure its continuity (Hoffmann, 1991). Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) believe that the state of language maintenance involves stability in using a language in different domains as well as maintaining a good level of proficiency in that language. According to Jaspaert and Kroon (1993: 298), language use is "the more fundamental element in the gradual disappearance of a language". They maintain that speakers' lack of proficiency in their L1 may lead to limited use of that language in different domains and may result in the use of the other language (L2) instead. According to the authors, changes in speakers' patterns of language choice and use indicate language shift, while changes in language proficiency indicate language loss. Overall, both language use and language proficiency are essential for maintaining a language within a community (Fase et al., 1992).

For Ferguson and Heath (1980), language maintenance is generally used to describe a language-contact situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a whole speech community continue to use their own language despite external pressures that may support a shift to a more powerful language. It has to reflect a sense of maintaining the linguistic and cultural identity of an individual within a context of diversity while rejecting every idea in relation to either isolationism or assimilation (Jamai, 2008). Many scholars (e.g., Clyne, 2003) argue that heritage language maintenance is closely related to the degree to which an individual or a group continues to use their traditional language, particularly in a bilingual or multilingual area or among immigrant groups. Usually, the degree of usage indicates how regularly and actively a language is used in various contexts of daily life within a community which will most likely lead to its transmission across generations and eventually to its maintenance within a community. Most definitions of language maintenance do not address the issue of the degree of usage since it is often context-specific (Pauwels, 2016). Some languages can be maintained even with minimal use (in non-immigrant contexts), while others may require more active usage in the different domains (in immigrant contexts).

Language maintenance is often related to situations where an L1 continues to be used in some but not all contexts and among different generations of speakers (Pauwels, 2016). However, extreme cases of language maintenance may include situations where a community chooses to keep using its L1 in all spheres of life despite being a part of a larger community

that speaks another language, L2. Linguistic enclaves, or *Sprachinseln*, are considered one best example to explain such a case (see e.g., Kuhn, 1934; Schirmunski, 1928).

As a result of a plethora of language-contact situations, linguistic minorities often find themselves on a continuum that stretches from language maintenance to language shift. A minority group is said to lose its language when "it gradually shifts towards another language and adopts it totally" (Namei, 2012: 14).

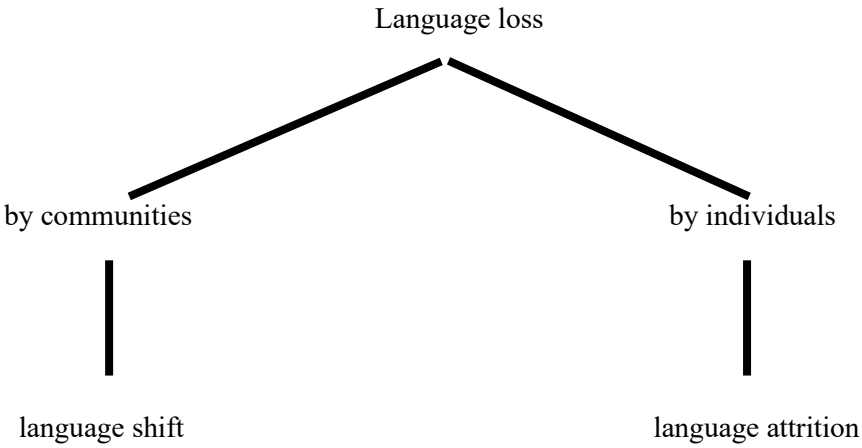
Language contact research in the second half of the twentieth century was almost all about investigating language change (i.e., functional aspects of change) in different communities. However, the possible change of individual language use was not, by any chance, considered important until the 1980s, when the term language attrition[5] was introduced by Lambert and Freed (1982) at a University of Pennsylvania conference. Soon after, there were several attempts in order to clarify the distinction between terms such as language loss, language shift and language attrition, which had previously been used interchangeably (Cohen, 1987; De Bot, 1996; Weltens & Cohen, 1989).

Some of the major distinctions made by researchers were generally based on (1) the function vs. form dimension, where the term 'shift' is used to describe the change in function and the term 'loss' (or attrition) is used to describe the change in the linguistic form; and (2) the community vs. individual dimension, where shift is usually used to refer to language change on a community level. Many researchers (e.g., Clyne, 1986) prefer to rely on the function-form dimension to draw the line between the aforementioned phenomena. For them, language shift may also occur in individual speakers. Other researchers, however, opt for the community-individual dimension and hence language shift can only be used to refer to reduced language use at the level of a community.

On the other hand, based on De Bot's proposal (2000), 'loss' should be a generic term. This implies that 'shift' and 'attrition' are two aspects of loss (see Figure 2), with shift indicating a decline in language use on the community level and attrition suggesting the total or partial loss of linguistic skills in healthy individuals. That way, it can be argued that language shift is an intergenerational process while language attrition is an intragenerational one (Yagmur, 2004).

[5] According to Schmid (2011), this term is often used to refer to the loss of some of the linguistic features of a language as a result of its declining use by speakers who changed their linguistic environment and language habits.

Figure 2. Language loss



Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) believe that the gradual loss of a language among a group of speakers can result in language shift that will eventually lead to language death. It might not be possible, but history has already recorded many instances of language death taking place around the world (e.g., the death of Australian Aboriginal and American Indian languages as was shown in the studies by Robins & Uhlenbeck, 1991 and Grenoble & Whaley, 1998). Crystal (2002) claims that at least one language dies every two weeks. ELCat's[6] new findings, however, suggest that, on average, one language dies every three months. That means the death of about 46% of the languages spoken nowadays by the end of this century.

A language usually dies when it no longer has any of its native or fluent speakers (Campbell, 1994; Romaine, 1989; Thomason, 2001). This can be due to globalization, invasion, colonization, repression, migration, resettlement, official language policies, etc. Other reasons for language death may include cases where an entire speech community suddenly ceases to use a particular language as a result of genocide, of disease, of natural disasters or any other tragic scenarios. It can be said then that except the rare cases of 'sudden death' (Campbell & Muntzel, 1989), the process of language death will most likely occur over a long span of time.

Language death is often considered irreversible. Once a language loses its native speakers and is not passed on to successive generations, it becomes extremely challenging to revive or restore it to its former vitality. However, efforts can be made by minority groups together with other bodies to preserve or at least slow down the decline of endangered languages before it is

[6] This acronym stands for the *Endangered Languages Catalogue*, a project initiated by University of Hawaii at Manoa and Eastern Michigan University in 2011. This catalogue provides accurate information on language status and vitality, raises people's awareness about the languages in danger of loss, and encourages efforts to avoid such loss.

too late. Revitalisation[7] schemes can work, according to Crystal (2002). These refer to all attempts made to revive, preserve and promote a language that is endangered or at risk of becoming extinct, usually through increasing speakers' proficiency and creating opportunities where that language can be used on a regular basis (Fishman, 2001). Revitalisation programs and maintenance programs should not be confused. Revitalisation programs focus on reversing language shift that has already taken place. On the other hand, maintenance programs aim to support communities in using their language, even in the face of external pressures from other languages (Grenoble, 2013).

The discussion over the rapid endangerment and death of many minority languages around the world met some success in raising peoples' awareness towards the issue. However, it did not contribute much to developing efficient revitalisation methods (Grenoble & Whaley, 2020). There is no one-size-fits-all answer to the question of which revitalisation method is the most effective in preventing language loss or extinction. The best method will vary depending on the target language and its state of loss (see Fishman, 1991; Lewis & Simon, 2010). Some languages may undergo complete language revival, like what happened with Hebrew, while other languages may just need to increase its usage again in order to reverse the decline such as that encountered in the case of Irish and Navajo. Moreover, while many support revitalization activities and work hardly to protect as many languages as possible (see Crystal, 2002; Harrison, 2007), there are others who stand against the implementation of such activities. One common argument is that most revitalisation programs do not have any hope in achieving the desired results and that language death is a natural process that should not receive much attention. In this regard, Mitchell (2010) states:

> "The extinction of an animal in a modern world is almost never because of natural selection, it is because of actions of man. The extinction of a language however still is natural selection. If it dies out it is because humans no longer need it to communicate. As long as they do, they will."

Another common argument was presented by Malik (2000) in one of his essays. He states that death is an inevitable fate for most languages and that minority language speakers are

[7] The terms 'revival' and 'revitalisation' are often used interchangeably, but some argue that a clear distinction should be made to cover different cases. Language revival is the process of bringing back a dead language into full use by re-establishing a new generation of active speakers (Shah & Brenzinger, 2018). Language revitalisation, by contrast, is the process of reversing language shift by implementing methods to support and strengthen language transmission (Fitzgerald, 2021; Hinton, 2001).

usually tempted to choose a more powerful and prestigious language granting them better opportunities and better quality of life in the modern world.

2.4. The three-generation language shift pattern

The concept of three-generation shift was proposed by Fishman as the standard predictive model for language evolution among various immigrant minorities (see Fishman, 1972b; 1980; Fishman et al., 1966; see also, Brenzinger, 1997; Edwards, 1984; Fase et al., 1992). Fishman (1989: 206) claims that "what begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within three generations or so, as the language of the crib as well". Based on Fishman's model, the first generation typically has a strong dominance of their primary language. They may be able to speak the majority language of the new country as well out of necessity, but they generally prefer to use their heritage language at home and sometimes in other domains too, with their friends or neighbours. The second generation (i.e., the children of the first generation) is typically bilingual, speaking both the heritage language and the majority language. However, this does not change the fact that many of them prefer to use the majority language even in their communication with their immigrant parents at home (Lopez, 1996). The third generation (i.e., the children of the second generation) has a strong command of the majority language, which is in this case their primary language. They grow up usually with very limited knowledge of the heritage language, and therefore, they only use the majority language in different contact situations. Fishman's model has been tested and validated among different populations including the French-American community in France (Varro, 1998), the Hispanic-American community in the USA (Ortman & Stevens, 2008), and the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands (Sevinç, 2016). Of course, exceptional cases exist where language shift may extend over five generations, as demonstrated by the Boers of Patagonia (for an overview see Szpiech et al., 2020).

The process of language shift can also be explained going back to Haugen's model that was proposed in 1953 (see Figure 3). Following this model, language shift is determined by community members' degree of proficiency in both their first and second languages (i.e., the minority and majority languages). It usually begins with monolingualism in the minority language (A) that is used to fulfil most of the community's functions. Over time, people become bilingual, with increasing use of the majority language which may affect their proficiency in the minority language. The final outcome then is a monolingual community that only speaks the majority language (B), marking the shift from exclusive use of Language A to Language B.

Figure 3. A language shift model (based on Haugen 1953)

Furthermore, the model implies that bilingualism is very dynamic and adaptable. Bilinguals are constantly negotiating their linguistic choices and therefore their language skills can change over time depending on many factors such as the context, exposure and personal preferences. Fishman (1972b) believes that minority members can maintain some level of stable bilingualism if there is a strict separation of domains between the two spoken languages. For example, a person who migrated to another country may still use his original language at home or with any other speaker who shares the same tongue while using a totally different language (the dominant language of the new country) at work or at school. McConvell (1985), on the other hand, contends that bilingualism can be maintained even without separation of language domains. In such case, the two languages coexist together without setting boundaries between when and where they should be used.

Indeed, the three-generation pattern provides a useful framework for understanding the process of language shift. However, it does not fully capture the complexity of the process (Tsunoda, 2005). There are many factors that can influence the speed and direction of language shift. Consequently, it can occur quickly, slowly, and in some cases, it does not occur at all. In the case of Algerian immigrants in France, I expect language shift to be rapid since many of them are already familiar with French due to the widespread use of this language in their homeland, Algeria.

2.5. Theories, models, and approaches to language maintenance and shift

Researchers have introduced a variety of theories, models and approaches to address the phenomena of language maintenance and shift within immigrant communities. The main purpose of these theoretical frameworks is to enhance our understanding of the factors influencing immigrants' language behaviour. In the following section, I will review some of these theories, models and approaches that have been widely used in most studies of language maintenance and shift.

2.5.1. Sociology of language

Introduced by Joshua Fishman (1964, 1965, 1972c, 1972d), this approach is based on the idea

that understanding the phenomena of language maintenance and shift can be more effectively accomplished through investigating the domains of language use. A domain is a social setting in which one or more languages can be used (e.g., family, friendship, religion, education, and employment). Language use across different domains is intricately shaped by the linguistic choices made by speakers in multilingual societies. Language choice, according to Fishman (1972a: 437), is far from being random. Instead, the "proper usage dictates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular topics". While factors such as topic, place, and interlocutor seem important, it is the domain that truly determines the choice of language (Dorian, 1981; Ehala, 2018; Gal, 1979; Haberland, 2005; Holmes, 2001).

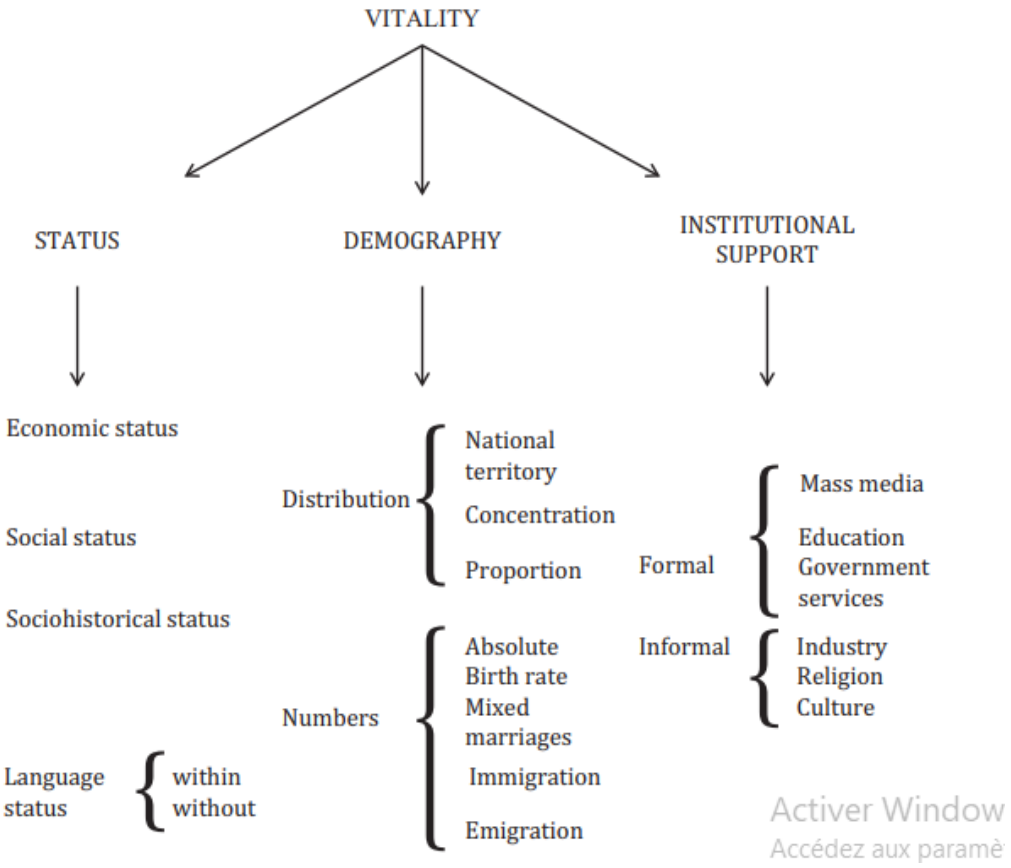
In immigrant contexts, domain analysis approach allows researchers to identify how much and in which domains the heritage language and the majority language are used, and helps them explore different language choice patterns across immigrant communities. Note that any reported decline in the use of the heritage language in particular domains (e.g., home domain) is considered a key indicator signalling the shift towards the majority language.

Despite its major contribution to the field of language maintenance and shift, the approach has received some criticism, with a major focus on the concept of "domain". Hatoss (2013: 127) says that this concept fails to capture the dynamic nature of language use in our modern world, where "localities are interconnected on multiple levels" and language use is changing by the minute. Hatoss argues for the use of another concept that provides an in-depth analysis of language use and suggested the term 'spaces/scales'.

2.5.2. Ethnolinguistic vitality theory

In 1977, Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor developed a theory for understanding the linguistic behaviour of an ethnolinguistic group by measuring its vitality. Ethnolinguistic vitality is what "makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles et al., 1977: 308). According to this theory, a group's low or high degree of vitality is influenced by a set of demographic, institutional support, and status factors (see Figure 4). Groups with low vitality will most likely go through linguistic assimilation and will most probably shift towards the majority language and culture, opposite to groups with high vitality who will most likely maintain their language and culture.

Figure 4. Factors affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (adapted from Giles et al. 1977: 309)



Demographic factors are the first objective indicators of a group's ethnolinguistic vitality. It is argued that groups who form large numbers in a certain area or territory and concentrate near each other have a much better opportunity to use and maintain their own language than those who are numerically weak and non-adjoining (see e.g., Al-khatib & Alzoubi, 2009; Kipp & Clyne, 2003; Othman, 2006). Besides, it was noticed that endogamous marriages contribute to higher rates of language maintenance among groups in multilingual contact situations (Davis & Starks, 2005).

Factors related to institutional support are also significant for language maintenance. Institutional support is tied to whether an ethnolinguistic group receives support from various institutions. It can include educational, cultural, religious, and governmental initiatives that aim to promote the continued use and vitality of a particular language. For example, in their study, Sawaie and Fishman (1985) highlighted the role of Arabic and Islamic schools in the U.S in Arabic language maintenance among immigrants' children. On the other hand, the absence of institutional support will most likely lead to language shift. The case of Assyrians in Iraq is one best example to illustrate such situation (see Tawalbeh, 2017).

As for the status factors, it has been shown that language maintenance is likely to occur when a minority group shares equal economic status with the dominant group (Paulston, 1994), when members of a minority group are socially accepted by members of the dominant group (Kuiper, 2005), or when a language is perceived as a 'core value' by its speakers (Smolicz, 1981), as will be considered later in this section.

In its primary version, the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality emphasised the role of the objective variables in shaping a group's vitality. Later, Bourhis et al. (1981), group members' subjective vitality perceptions may also be as important as the group's objective vitality. How group members actually perceive their own group.

The original version of the ethnolinguistic vitality theory has been subjected to significant criticism. As a result, Bourhis et al. (1981) came to realize that assessing the subjective vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is just as important as assessing its objective vitality. In fact, subjective assessment of vitality can perform better in determining the linguistic behaviour since "individuals often behave in response to their perceptions of reality rather than to objective vitality" (Man, 2006: 233).

In conclusion, despite facing criticism, the impact of the ethnolinguistic vitality theory on the field of language maintenance and shift remains undeniable. In fact, many research endeavours have embraced this theoretical framework in order to provide a relevant explanation for the linguistic behaviour of both immigrant and minority communities.

2.5.3. Core values theory

In 1981, Smolicz introduced the 'Core Values Theory', proposing that immigrant groups are defined by particular values essential to their culture. According to Smolicz, abandoning these values could potentially lead to the collapse of the society and the loss of its distinctive characteristics (Smolicz & Secombe, 1989). Note that core values may vary considerably among different groups, and that each group is capable of embracing multiple core values.

Testing the theory on different immigrant groups in Australia, Smolicz (1981), Smolicz and Secombe (1985; 1989) found that the groups who considered their language as a core value (e.g., Greeks, Poles, the Chinese) were more successful in maintaining that language compared to the groups who saw their language less important (e.g., Italians, Dutch). Such results, thus, "provide evidence of the link between language as core value and language maintenance and proves the predictive power of the core value theory" (Pauwels, 2016: 106).

While the main focus of this theory is on language and its impact on language maintenance, it extends beyond that to include other core values such as religion and identity. Indeed, most

ethnic groups rely on their language to ensure their existence and continuity. However, when these groups embrace other values beyond their language, their prospects for continuity become even greater. For example, Tawalbeh (2017) reported that religion tends to facilitate language maintenance among Iraqis of Wellington because they frequently use Arabic for religious purposes.

In general, all Arab Muslims identify themselves by their religion and language, which are two important values for practicing their rituals. In an immigrant context, Arabs are required to preserve their Arabic and teach it to their children in order to ensure the future of the language. I expect Algerians in France to regard Arabic as a fundamental element of their culture, displaying willingness to maintain it.

2.6. Factors affecting language maintenance and shift

Going back six decades, research on minority and immigrant communities has attempted to identify several factors that may influence the process of language maintenance and shift (David et al., 2009). Based on the existing literature, there are many demographic, social, cultural, historical, linguistic, and economic factors that are said to be highly relevant when investigating various cases of language maintenance and shift (see Conklin & Lourie, 1983; Edwards, 1997; Gal, 1979). These factors do not exist in isolation, but they rather interact, influencing each other as well as the maintenance or shift of the heritage language. In this study, the maintenance of the Arabic language can be significantly affected either positively or negatively by these factors.

2.6.1. Demographic factors

Demographic factors such as age at immigration, length of residence, size and residential patterns of immigrant minority group members, patterns of endogamy and exogamy, gender, generation, geographical proximity, and education have been found to strongly influence whether a minority language is maintained or lost.

2.6.1.1. Age at immigration

Age is said to be the most significant demographic factor in the maintenance or shift of immigrants' heritage languages. According to Ghoso (2007), the extent to which heritage group members may shift to the language of the new society relates deeply to how old they were when immigration first took place. Eckert (2017) divides age to three different stages, namely pre-pubescence (childhood), adolescence, and adulthood. In prepubescent years, immigrants'

linguistic proficiency is yet to be fully developed as their sojourn in the country of origin was insufficient for the L1 to be properly acquired in its entirety (Husband & Khan, 1982; Wong, 1988). Consequently, when they move to a foreign country where a different language is dominant, a shift is likely to occur. Luo and Wiseman's study (2000) on language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States indicates that those who arrive at an older age in life possess a better chance at preserving their heritage language than those who come at a younger age. In addition to the linguistic aspect, a cultural one must be considered. It is perceived that a society's ethno-cultural values tie strongly with its language. Prepubescent years serve, not only to strengthen members' linguistic proficiency, but also to deeply entrench particular identity markers. While examining a group of Hispanic migrants in California, USA, Rivera-Mills (2001) unveiled a negative correlation between acculturation and Spanish language proficiency and use. That is to say, the acculturation of immigrants into the mainstream society brought about a decrease in heritage language use. Child immigrants who have yet to fully develop an ethno-cultural identity are more prone to the influence of a new way of life, making proficiency in the heritage language more susceptible to change.

Adolescence represents a peculiar phase in the study of language maintenance and shift given its importance in setting-up adulthood as well as its sensitivity for linguistic change (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). Having reached teenage years living in their country of origin, it is presupposed that adolescent migrants possess an existing sense of ethno-cultural identity as well as adequate linguistic proficiency in the mother tongue. As such, adolescent newcomers are expected to maintain the heritage language in the new setting. Nonetheless, their early migratory onset, compared to adult arrivals, indicates a possibly prolonged length of residence in the host country, and leaves them prone to shift to the dominant language and culture (Moyer, 2008). In a study inspecting German speakers who arrived to Australia after the age of sixteen, Waas (1996) maintained that migration during adolescence allowed for an extended duration of stay, which resulted in a shift towards the host language (i.e., English).

Admittedly, adult migrants are less likely to exhibit excessive signs of language shift. Unlike their prepubescent or even adolescent counterparts, adults arrive with a full proficiency of the first language and a robust set of cultural values and beliefs (Pauwels, 2016). As such, they are less susceptible to any linguistic and/or cultural challenges imposed on them by their new environment. Nonetheless, several studies captured a clear shift towards the majority language by various groups of migrants, emphasising the influence of other factors, such as the length or residence (Dweik, 1980; Tawalbeh, 2017).

2.6.1.2. Length of Residence

The length of residence (LOR) in the host country was also found to be important in the process of LMLS. Some previous studies (e.g., Kouritzin, 1999) suggest that language shift does not occur abruptly but takes time. In other words, those who have been in the host country for a long period of time will most likely express themselves in the majority language, which eventually can lead to language attrition. Some researchers (e.g., Bergmann et al., 2016; Schoofs, 2013) have argued that longer LOR is associated negatively with L1 and positively with L2 proficiency. For example, in a study conducted on Palestinian and Jordanian immigrants in New Zealand, it was revealed that those who had been in New Zealand for less than 10 years were more proficient in Arabic than those who had been in New Zealand for more than 10 years (Dagamseh, 2020). However, Schmid (2002), in her pioneering study on first language attrition among German Jews in Anglophone countries, found that although many respondents spent decades away from their home country, their German proficiency remains largely intact. Such a result has been confirmed repeatedly in the field of language attrition research (e.g., Gnitiev & Bátyi, 2022). This underplays the role that LOR occupies, especially if immigration transpires after the first language has been fully acquired (for an overview, see Bylund, 2019).

2.6.1.3. Size and geographical concentration of immigrant communities

In migrant contexts, the size of a community is thought-out to be an important factor in the maintenance or shift of a first language (see Atkinson, 2000; Clyne 2005; Fishman, 1991). When large numbers of immigrants from the same cultural and linguistic background live in close-knit groups abroad, they stand a better chance at preserving their cultural traditions, social norms, values, and language in the face of assimilation efforts of the majority group. In a study investigating language shift among Maltese migrants in Australia, results showed that the lowest rates of shift to English transpired in places with larger numbers of Maltese speakers (Holmes, 2001). Moreover, Holmes (2013) maintains that Chinese migrants living within Chinatowns are more likely to maintain their language than those residing in other areas in the U.S. According to Lee (2013), the geographical concentration of a heritage community expands the domains in which the first language is used, leading to improved levels of proficiency. Larger and more concentrated immigrant communities usually hold positive attitudes towards their heritage language and culture (Sanchez-Castro & Gil, 2009). Not only that, Hoxhaj and

Zuccotti (2020) maintain that a higher concentration of immigrants is associated with more positive attitudes towards them, mitigating the effects of stigmatization and allowing for more acceptance and diversity. Despite the forgoing, the influence of communal size on the maintenance or shift of migrants' first language remains inconclusive. Clyne (1985) affirms that in spite of the large concentration of Dutch immigrants in Australia, they exhibit a higher rate of shift to English compared to other ethnic groups. Moreover, a study probing Algerian languages in France and the USA suggests that the concentration of Algerian immigrants who speak the same mother tongue is not necessarily indicative of a lower shift to the French language (Arfi, 2008). The study attributes such inconsistency to the fact that most Algerian immigrants already possess a decent command of French language prior to their arrival in the country due to its status as the first foreign language in Algeria, and an instrument of instruction in higher education.

2.6.1.4. Gender

The dynamic interplay between gender and language has been a subject of great interest among linguists for decades. Unlike generation or age whose impact on language maintenance and shift is highly predictable across diverse immigrant communities, gender represents a more nuanced factor (Abdelhadi, 2018). Numerous studies indicate a higher rate of heritage language use amongst women (De Vries, 1994; Stevens, 1985). This could be attributed to the societal position of women as caregivers who promote heritage language use at the domestic level (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013). Women's jurisdiction is mainly related to cultural traditions, which usually delineate gender roles. Gender differences tend to diminish by the coming of the second generation as both genders receive similar access to the majority language due to formal schooling (Pauwels, 2016). Herein, the majority language becomes the primary medium of communication in the new society.

In contrast to the prevalent trend of women maintaining the heritage language, research suggest that the opposite is equally possible under certain circumstances. Several Studies (e.g., Cavanaugh, 2006; Holmquist, 1985; Solé, 1978) revealed that women can downplay the role of the heritage language to break free of restrictive gender roles imposed on them by the heritage culture. This trend is prominent in immigrant communities where the status of women is inferior to that of the majority culture (Callan et al., 1983). Such behaviour undermines the maintenance of the heritage language and hastens the shift towards the dominant one in the following generations.

Prestige and stigma are also said to play an important role in language choice for women.

Research indicates that women on average produce linguistic forms that are closer to the standard form of the language, while men produce forms of lower prestige (Labov, 1990). In accordance with that, the status and prestige of a heritage language will either serve to preserve it or undermine its presence altogether (Trudgill, 1972).

2.6.1.5. Endogamy and Exogamy

Marriage patterns among immigrant minority groups can also affect the maintenance or shift of a group's heritage language (Clyne, 2005). Marriage in this context can be endogamous (i.e., intra-ethnic) taking place between members of the same group, or exogamous (i.e., inter-ethnic), in which migrants marry from outside their heritage community. Holmes (2013: 65) believes that "Marriage to a majority group member is the quickest way of ensuring the shift to the majority group language for the children". In this regard, exogamous marriages to members of the majority group are perceived to be detrimental to the maintenance of the heritage language, given that they result in monolingual children who only speak the majority language (Baker, 2011).

In a study investigating the linguistic effects of endogamous and exogamous marriages on Dutch migrants in Australia, Pauwels (1985a) revealed that marrying outside the Dutch group led to a whopping 50% decrease in heritage language use by Dutch-born partners and their children. Similar results were found regarding the effects of exogamy on language shift among different immigrant groups (see e.g., Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Pütz, 1991). Although the aforementioned arguments lend massive credence to the usual trend that exogamy is a major contributor to language shift, Pauwels (2016) maintains that it might also be of a positive influence if children are raised bilingually under the practice of 'one parent, one language'.

On the other hand, Endogamous marriages appear to support the preservation of migrants' community language. The influence of endogamy on language maintenance was confirmed in a study by Yagmur and Akinci (2003). The results from their study indicate that high rates of intra-group marriages, especially between Turkish people born in France and those born in Turkey, result in maintaining Turkish in the domestic domain among their children since they acquire Turkish as their first language.

2.6.1.6. Generation

In spite of various disagreements regarding its categorizations, generation variable is fundamental in determining the maintenance or shift of the heritage language among migrant groups (David, 2002). Previous research suggests that later generations of immigrants (from

the second generation onwards) exhibit more signs of shift to the majority language than their first-generation counterparts (see e.g., Clyne, 1982; Gardner-Chloros et al., 2005; Sevinç, 2016; Shabtaev et al., 2022; Slavik, 2001). It is believed that first-generation bilinguals are largely reliant upon the heritage language that they acquired and spoke since birth. As such, their acquisition of the majority language and assimilation to the host culture tend to take a longer period of time (Pauwels, 2016). On the contrary, later generations, having been born and raised in the new environment, are more exposed to the majority language which they often use at school as well as to form social ties with the community in which they reside (Tannenbaum, 2003). Consequently, the majority language starts to occupy the place of the heritage language, and a shift is likely to occur across generations of immigrants.

2.6.1.7. Geographical Proximity

Geographical proximity between the host country and immigrants' homeland denotes an essential factor in the preservation or decline of the heritage language (Jamai, 2008). Although it is not necessarily the case in every situation, the closer the host country is to migrants' homeland, the more visits will be expected, and the longer the cultural and linguistic ties will persist. When investigating the influence of short visits to the homeland on a group of bilingual children of Greek heritage in Canada and USA, Chondrogianni and Daskalaki (2023) found that such trips, however brief, exert benefit to both vocabulary as well as discourse-conditioned subject placement. Moreover, various studies suggest that travels to the homeland serve to boost migrants' ties with their ancestral roots, improve their attitudes towards their culture of origin, and even reverse heritage language decline (see e.g., Huang et al., 2015; Ruting, 2012; Montrul, 2016).

2.6.1.8. Education

Immigrants' educational level may play an instrumental role in the maintenance or shift of the heritage language (Kloss, 1966). When immigrants move to an entirely different country, their educational knowledge may serve as a cultural anchor which keeps them conscious about the importance of their origin, leading to the maintenance of the heritage language. In a study inspecting the maintenance and transmission of Egyptian Arabic among Egyptian immigrants in Durham, UK, Gomaa (2011) found that well educated parents are more likely to be aware of the importance of their Arabic and Islamic heritage, which greatly contributes to the preservation and transmission of the L1 to the following generations. Be that as it may, education may also have a disadvantageous effect on the maintenance of migrants' first

language. For example, Arfi (2008) in her study exploring the dynamics of languages of the Algerian diaspora in the United States and France indicates that due to the important status that the French language assumes within the Algerian society and its educational system, Algerian immigrants in France are more inclined to shift away from speaking Arabic than those residing in the United States.

The education system of the majority language is also found to have an influential role on minority languages' maintenance or shift (see Baker, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1983). Usually, the education system of a country is subject to the national policy of that particular country. If the national policy states that education must be conducted in the majority language and does not support bilingual education, immigrant children may struggle to preserve their L1.

2.6.2. Domains of language use

The domains in which a heritage language is used offer great premise on how well that language is maintained by its speakers (Fishman, 1991). These domains may include the family domain, the friendship domain, the religious domain, in addition to many others (Hatoss, 2013). For a long time, studies on language maintenance and shift tended to overlook domains such as media, sports, neighbourhood, clubs and organisations that, according to recent research, proved to be highly significant in many cases (Aipolo & Holmes, 1990; Dweik et al., 2014). Language domains are found to be very important and useful, not only for preserving minority languages, but also for reversing the effect of any shift that may have already transpired (Holmes, 2013).

The maintenance of a minority language is more effective when it is actively used by a group of speakers in a variety of domains because this will increase the likelihood of its preservation over time. Fishman (1991) highlights the connection between the frequency of language use in various domains and proficiency, suggesting that without active use, proficiency declines, making the heritage language less attractive for subsequent generations. In this study I focused on six domains (Home, friendship, religion, school, work, clubs and organisations), and investigated their effects on language maintenance and shift among the Algerian minority group in France.

Home denotes the most private and crucial of domains in the maintenance or shift of heritage languages (Eisenchlas & Schalley, 2017). As the epicentre of familial dynamics as well as children's initial sanctuary and school, home allows for the possibility of heritage language preservation and transmission. It is at home that first-generation parents introduce their children to the world through communication in a particular language (Tawalbeh, 2017). If that

language is determined to be the heritage language, children will acquire much more than a mere means of communication. By introducing children to their linguistic heritage, parents also transmit a plethora of religious beliefs and cultural values. According to Fishman (1991: 398), contact between children and parents in the heritage language stands at "the heart of the entire intergenerational transmission pursuit". The role of home is further emphasised by children's external contact in the majority language with their friends and colleagues at school. Parents therefore may constitute the only source of communication in the heritage language as well as the sole line of defence against a shift to the majority language (Park & Sarkar, 2007). Note that the absence of the heritage language at home entails its absence from other public and social domains as well (Clyne & Kipp, 1999). If so, its use and presence will ubiquitously be exterminated for members of the second generation.

The friendship domain is another domain in which the heritage language can be used by immigrant group members. Unlike the home domain, patterns of heritage language use are more difficult to be identified in the friendship domain (Pauwels, 2016). Heritage language use in this context is influenced by the type of friendship network accessible to members of a minority group (see Hulsen et al., 2002; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007). If speakers succeeded to construct networks that include members of the host group, they will most likely shift to the majority language for their friendship interactions. The use of the heritage language in this domain is a common feature of the first generation (usually older members of the group) who prefer having networks within their ethnic group. In contrast, younger generations are more inclined towards establishing contact and ties with different members from different linguistic backgrounds. Younger generations seem to use a considerable amount of code-switching or code-mixing during their interactions with same ethnicity friendship groups (see Winter & Pauwels, 2006), while, in mixed ethnicity groups, they solely rely on using the majority language with the incorporation of some words from the heritage language on occasion (see e.g., Auer, 2003; Rampton, 1995; Vermeij, 2004).

Similar to the previously mentioned domains, the religious domain has attracted wide attention by researchers in the field of language maintenance and shift. The religious domain is the domain in which immigrants are supposed to worship using their heritage languages. If an immigrant group continues using their heritage language when practising their religion, they would have more opportunities for language maintenance. Otherwise, adopting the majority language may accelerate language shift. Pauwels (1980; 1983) found that despite Dutch-Australians reporting a significant shift to English even among first-generation group members, they continued to use Dutch while engaging in their religious practices. This was also the case

for Indonesian- Christians living in Australia, as was observed by Woods (2004) and for different Arabic-speaking groups in Sweden, as was reported by Winsa (1999).

If immigrants are free to use their heritage languages at home, with friends, and during prayers, they are often required to use the majority language in the workplace context. Clyne (1994) observed this particular pattern among immigrants of different linguistic backgrounds in several Australian workplaces. According to Clyne, using English in the work domain serves as a lingua franca between workers. Exceptions can be found though, especially in situations when a group of people of the same ethnicity dominates the workplace (see e.g., Goldstein, 1997) or when immigrants own private businesses such as shops, restaurants, and which usually attract clients from the same ethnicity and therefore the use of the heritage language will most likely take place.

Education is another domain where bilinguals, especially second- and third-generation bilinguals, engage in constant interaction with members of the majority group. On the one hand, the earlier school exposure to the majority language plays a crucial role in fostering the successful integration of immigrants into the host country. One the other hand, it encourages immigrants not to use their community language which may contribute in a rapid language shift. Nevertheless, migrant communities tend to counteract the influence of formal schooling on children's heritage language by instigating grass-root initiatives, such as the establishment of heritage schools and the scheduling of religious courses, where the L1 is used as the main medium of instruction (Nordstrom, 2020). In fact, there is evidence that these schools help with heritage language maintenance especially with regard to literacy (see e.g., Clyne, 1991; Fishman, 1980; Peyton et al., 2001).

Finally, clubs and organisations can provide an additional context where the heritage language can be used by a group of speakers who share similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In fact, the presence of the heritage language in such context not only helps to maintain the language but also preserves cultural identity and strengthens a sense of belonging among members of the group (Ibe, 2020).

Studies examining individual's patterns of language use in the context of migration usually find that the first generation is successful at maintaining its heritage language in the private spheres (family and friendship). This is not always the case for second- and third-generation bilinguals who prefer majority language use in different situations, even in those where it is not required, increasing the likelihood of language shift. Sevinç's study (2016) of language maintenance and shift among three generations of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands suggests a possible language shift starting from the third generation. The data revealed an

increased use of Dutch among third-generation bilinguals in all domains (home, friends, school, work, media, and cognitive activities) in comparison to first- and second-generation bilinguals who at least maintained Turkish language use at home and with their friends.

2.6.3. Language attitudes

Positive and negative attitudes towards both the heritage and the majority language can also influence the maintenance or shift of a language. If minority group members hold positive attitudes towards their heritage language, they are more likely to preserve that language and pass it to future generations (Holmes, 2001). On the other hand, the negative attitudes of a group may lead to language shift, with immigrants adopting the dominant language of the host country (Isphording, 2015).

In fact, many studies have found speakers' positive attitudes to be very effective for heritage language maintenance. An example of that is the case of the Armenian immigrant community in Jordan. In that respect, Al-Nahar (2009) found that the Armenians had very positive attitudes about their language which was a source of great pride for them. Such attitudes were the driving force to adhere not only to their traditions and values, but also to their linguistic roots, which undoubtedly fuelled their language maintenance efforts. In a similar study investigating language maintenance among the Arabic community in Vancouver, Canada, Dweik et al. (2014) found that the Muslim speakers had positive attitudes towards Arabic, the language of the Noble Quran, and this has supported their efforts to maintain it.

It is worth mentioning that although positive attitudes constitute a driving force for heritage language maintenance, they do not always translate into practices against shifting to the dominant language (Flih, 2024). Surveys of attitudes immigrants hold towards their heritage language often reveal positive attitudes even when high rates of language shift are recorded (Pauwels, 1980). This is because participants' responses generally convey support for the maintenance of their language and its transmission across generations. However, when commitment questions are asked in order to figure out what they do to keep that language active, responses sound less promising (Bennett, 1990).

While having positive attitudes towards the heritage language mostly proved beneficial for its maintenance, negative attitudes can downplay its status and steer migrants towards the dominant language (Bradley & Bradley, 2014). The case of Hungarian immigrants in Oberwart, Austria signifies an important example in which the heritage language was deemed to be of a lower social and economic status by its own speakers, which brought about a rapid shift to the dominant language in the following generation (Gal, 1979). Negative attitudes usually serve as

a catalyst for improving proficiency in the dominant language at the expense of the heritage language, leading to language shift. Kuncha and Bathula (2020) investigated in their study the role of attitudes in language maintenance and shift among the Telugu-speaking community in New Zealand. They found that speakers' negative attitudes towards Telugu coupled with a firmly positive view of dominant language are contributing to an increasing proficiency in the English language and a shift away from the mother tongue.

2.6.4. Religion

The importance of religion to language maintenance has been widely recognised in the literature (see e.g., Baker, 2011; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Fishman & Garcia, 2010; Winsa, 1999). When a group of people share the same religion, it means they share the same set of beliefs and values regarding a philosophy of life. This would promote a sense of unity that can positively affect language maintenance. According to Spolsky (2003), some religions have a special, strong connection to a specific language. For instance, Islam is closely linked to the Arabic language since it is the language of the Holy Quran, the actual word of God. Consequently, Arabic holds a better chance for continuity even in the context of migration.

In a study inspecting the maintenance of Arabic among Yemenites and Lebanese immigrants in New York, USA, Dweik (1980) indicates that religious affiliation exerts a significant influence upon the preservation of the L1. Muslim Yemenite in the study exhibited more religious attachment than their Christian Lebanese counterparts, which contributed to the maintenance of Arabic within the former group. This could also be attributed to the fact that, unlike Christian scripture and provocations which can be conducted in various languages, Islam and Arabic denote two sides of the same coin. To be Muslim is to possess at the very least some command of the Arabic language. The Quran, the five daily prayers, as well as the weekly sermons on Fridays must be conducted mainly in Arabic, which keeps the language potent and relevant even in immigrant contexts (see Cooper, 1989; Gomaa, 2011; Spolsky, 2003).

Notwithstanding, religion does not always contribute to heritage language maintenance. For example, di Lucca et al. (2008) studied language socialisation and language shift among Moroccan adolescents in Italy and found a high rate of shift towards the dominant language in spite of their religious affiliation to the Islam. This was generally attributed to the more positive attitudes towards the Italian language and culture, according to the researchers.

2.6.5. Historical factors

Certain historical conflicts and events have an influential role on language maintenance and

shift since they may shape immigrants' linguistic choices and attitudes towards their mother tongue. It can have either a maintenance or a shift effect, depending on the historical context and the minority group in question. Past struggles, especially with the host country, usually leave a lasting impact upon immigrants' heritage language and identity. Following the end of the Second World War, lingering tensions in the United States drove German immigrants to adopt the host language and culture in fear of discrimination (Tolzmann, 2000). This showcases how historical conflicts sometimes serve as a catalyst for linguistic change within immigrant communities. Contrarily, such conflicts may have an entirely opposite impact evoking feelings of pride and affiliation to the immigrant minority group and invoking resistance to any cultural or linguistic assimilation to the majority group. France's colonial past in Algeria is a clear example of such past struggles. Algerian immigrants in France carry the weight of over a century of colonial history in which the host country committed various crimes and sought to wipe out Algerian language, culture and identity (Blanchard, 2018). As such, Algerian immigrants in France wrestle with navigating their need for social integration and economic stability on the one hand and their feelings of pride and loyalty to their heritage language and culture on the other.

2.6.6. Code-switching

Code-switching has been given many definitions, reflecting the various theoretical perspectives from which it is viewed. It can generally be described as the practice of alternating between two or more languages or linguistic varieties by two or more interlocutors within a single conversation, sentence, or interaction (Hoffmann, 1991; Myers-Scotton, 1993). In immigrant contexts where linguistic adaptation and identity negotiation are prevalent, code-switching reflects much more than just the communicative needs of immigrants; but also extends into the sociocultural dynamics underpinning their integration into the new society as well as the maintenance of their cultural and linguistic heritage (Gumperz, 1982). Although code-switching is not in any way the sole reason behind language shift, it can be viewed as a critical step in its direction, with the dominant language gradually supplanting the heritage one.

Various studies underscored the significance of code-switching being one of the causes of the gradual shift of a particular language. For example, Wei's study (1994) on language choice and shift among Chinese immigrants in Britain demonstrates how second-generation Cantonese-English speakers engaged in code-switching which often preceded an almost total shift to the English language. David (1996), in her study of language maintenance and shift among the Sindhi community in Malaysia, also highlights the role of code-switching in the

process of language shift among different generations of this group. The data shows that the majority of respondents tend to codeswitch between English and Sindhi, which affected their language choice and use over generations.

Code-switching does not always indicate language shift. Instead, it can be a means towards preserving one's language in a bi/multilingual setting. In her research on Scottish Gaelic speakers in East Sutherland, Dorian (1981) argues that code-switching outcomes depend upon the circumstances in which such a practice takes place. She affirms that in communities with strong cultural pride and institutional support, code-switching and language maintenance can coexist, working as a tool for a bilingual identity, rather than a sign of language shift. David (1996) emphasises that the role of code-switching in language shift is determined by the context in which it occurs i.e., when code-switching takes place, who makes use of it, and the reasons behind such habit. Code-switching can be perceived as a indicator of language shift when it is triggered by imperfect knowledge in the heritage language or when it serves to conceal deficiencies in it. Considering the above, it is imperative to view code-switching as a dynamic factor which transpires in different ways and leads to different outcomes depending on the context of its occurrence, which at times serves as a stepping stone towards language shift, while in others, it may even support language maintenance.

2.6.7. Language Proficiency

Language proficiency also exerts an influence over the maintenance of heritage languages in migrant communities. Upon migration, newcomers encounter a society in which their heritage language holds little value, while a foreign language is dominant in every sphere of influence (Fishman, 1989). In order to achieve integration, ensure access to education, and secure job opportunities, immigrants often work on enhancing their proficiency in the dominant language (Blake et al., 2017; Goldfeld et al., 2014). This effort, however, runs the risk of accelerating the shift away from the heritage language and towards the majority language, particularly among second- and third-generation bilinguals who would prioritize the latter for socioeconomic reasons and identity alignment with the host culture (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). In a study investigating language proficiency, use and maintenance among people with Vietnamese heritage in Australia, McLeod et al. (2019) maintain that participants' high proficiency in Vietnamese was paramount, not only for the retention of their cultural ties with the homeland, but also for pushing back against a total shift to the dominant language and striking a multilingual balance. Shin and Jung (2018) examine language maintenance and shift among Korean immigrants in Australia and reveal a higher likelihood of shift towards English

for immigrants who work in occupations requiring a high English proficiency.

Research suggests that immigrant families which prioritize teaching and improving their children's proficiency in the heritage language are less likely to undergo a shift to the majority language (Park & Sarkar, 2007). On the contrary, the high proficiency level in the majority language serves to undermine the transmission of the heritage language to subsequent generations (Hurtado & Vega, 2004). Despite familial efforts to improve children's heritage proficiency, minority children are fully immersed in the majority language in educational settings which affects both their heritage language proficiency and use over time (Nordstrom, 2020). As such, the role of heritage community initiatives and heritage language schools are critical in promoting heritage language proficiency, and by extension, heritage language maintenance (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014). Overall, language proficiency functions both as a driver as well as a consequence of language shift dynamics. Balancing the need for integration with the maintenance of heritage language and identity necessitates strategic interventions at the family, community, and state levels.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes a description of the methodology and research approach employed to explore language maintenance and shift among the Algerian minority group in France. Given the migration history and the strict language policies implemented by France, which promote assimilation of immigrants into the mainstream society, it becomes challenging for the immigrant minorities to preserve their heritage languages, especially over successive generations. This study aims to investigate whether Algerian-Arabic is maintained within the Algerian immigrant community in France or a shift to French has already taken place. To achieve this, a mixed-methods approach was adopted, combining both quantitative data from questionnaires and qualitative insights from interviews. Questionnaires are useful tools to reach a large and diverse participant sample which adds to the ecological validity of the results (Dewaele, 2018) and helps to find tendencies in the target population. Interviews on the other hand contribute to the understanding and interpretation of the quantitative data. This chapter starts with the outline of the research design, describing the rationale behind the selection of data collection instruments, followed by a presentation of these instruments, and finally concludes with a reflection on some ethical considerations.

3.1. Justification of the research approach and design

Previous studies investigating questions of language maintenance or language shift have used different methodological approaches for collecting data. While some researchers opted for using the quantitative approach, where numerical data is analysed and hypotheses are tested through statistical analysis (e.g., Aipolo & Holmes, 1990; Farisiyah & Zamzani, 2018; Michnowicz et al., 2023), others preferred using the qualitative approach to explore deeper insights and detailed experiences (see Barkhuizen, 2013; Kim & Starks, 2005; Lee, 2013). In many other cases, researchers used both the quantitative and the qualitative approaches in tandem allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the research problem by integrating different types of data collection methods (e.g., Flih, 2024; Wang, 2017; Yuliana & Yanti, 2023).

Quantitative methods of data collection include surveys and experiments in which the researcher, according to Dörnyei (2007: 31), is able "to explore questions in an 'objective manner'" through the numerical analysis of data. In fact, questionnaires are one of the most common quantitative methods that are widely used to examine different forms of social

behaviour and practices (Pauwels, 2016). Questionnaires are considered as the most suitable data-gathering tool for macro-scale research projects since they allow the researcher to collect answers from a large and diverse population in a structured and efficient manner (Holmes & Hazen, 2013). They are time-efficient, flexible, and can be distributed through various channels (online, in-person, or by mail), which often leads to higher response rates and ensures a wider reach (Dewaele, 2018). Besides, the anonymity option provided by questionnaires helps respondents increase their confidence in providing accurate and honest answers without the fear of being judged (Kang & Hwang, 2023). Questionnaires, however, also come with disadvantages. For instance, they may fail to uncover the actual reasons behind a social phenomenon as they are restricted to closed questions. Another major disadvantage often mentioned in the literature is that the sample is self-selective, especially in online questionnaires. The advantages and disadvantages of questionnaires are discussed at great length in the literature (see Dörnyei, 2003, 2007; Dörnyei & Dewaele, 2022; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Wei & Moyer, 2008). Building on the advantages and addressing some of the major disadvantages, questionnaires were used in this study, for collecting language maintenance and language shift data, and were analysed quantitatively afterwards.

On the other hand, qualitative data collection methods are based on non-numerical data and may include interviews, journals, narratives, and observations, among many others. In fact, the qualitative approach is used with the purpose of making sense of all possible meanings surrounding various phenomena (Dörnyei, 2007). It allows researchers to hear the voice of those who have been marginalized in the society and enables participants to openly share their thoughts, perspectives, and experiences concerning different societal issues (Liamputtong, 2013). According to Lew et al. (2018), over two-thirds of qualitative research in applied linguistics used interviews. Indeed, interviews are very effective in providing deep insights into participants' experiences and can foster a trusting environment for a valuable and rich conversation to take place (Kothari, 2004). Additionally, interviews offer the interviewees with the opportunity to think about the appropriate answer that would best serve the interviewer and meets his research objectives (Prior, 2018). In fact, while the qualitative approach can be time-consuming as it involves in-depth data collection and detailed analysis, it provides rich and complex data. For all the reasons mentioned above, using interviews in the present research is ideal for eliciting natural speech data that often provide more detailed insights from within participants' own point of reference. I opted for the semi-structured interview since this type is the most popular in applied linguistic research because it generally offers a compromise between the structured and the unstructured interviews (Dörnyei, 2007). On the one hand, the

researcher follows a set of guiding questions (which is a main characteristic of structured interviews) and on the other hand, the interviewee is encouraged to share his/her thoughts, attitudes and experiences regarding the issues raised without being rushed or interrupted (which is a main characteristic of unstructured interviews).

The use of a mixed-methods approach is appropriate in response to the nature of the present study which requires both quantitative data, to explore patterns of language maintenance among the Algerian minority group in France, and qualitative data, to provide detailed information about the influential factors of language maintenance or shift and shed light on immigrant attitudes, experiences, and challenges to maintain their heritage language (Kendall, 2008). This approach is well known for its numerous strengths and pragmatism since it successfully combines the objectivity of quantitative research and the subjectivity of qualitative research (for more information see Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Dörnyei, 2007; Johnson & Christensen, 2012), which may enable researchers to gain a deeper understanding of the gathered-data, and provide them with the opportunity to obtain more reliable data (Bulsara, 2015).

3.2. Instruments

In order to answer the research questions stated in chapter one, I used both the questionnaire and the interview as primary tools for collecting the data. Each instrument will be described in detail in the following sub-sections.

3.2.1. Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this study was designed to collect quantitative data and most of the items are considered fundamental in the field of language maintenance and shift and are, therefore, adapted from similar studies (see for example, Bichani, 2015; Dagamseh, 2020; Hudyma, 2012) addressing different minorities in various contexts. However, several other items were either deleted or developed by the researcher in order to suit the specific characteristics of the Algerian community in France. In fact, questions were added, deleted, or modified, to a great extent, based on the obtained suggestions, notes, and recommendations from a small sample who were asked to fill the draft version of the questionnaire for the purpose of improving its clarity to all respondents. For example, one of the participants suggested to provide a definition for ‘code-switching’ in the last section of the questionnaire since it is a technical term that may need further explanation.

The questionnaire was originally divided into five main sections with a total of 77 items

(see Appendix A.1, A.2, and A.3 for the English, Arabic and French version): demographic information, language proficiency, language use in different domains, language attitudes and code-switching. Although the code-switching section may provide valuable data, I did not include it in the analysis. My focus was rather limited to the sections that aligned most closely with the main goals of my study (language proficiency, language use, and attitudes). Almost all items in the questionnaire were close-ended. The use of open-ended items was kept to a minimum because most participants either tend to skip such type of questions or offer irrelevant answers (Rasinger, 2013). Most of the items in the questionnaire are Likert-scale items.

The first section of the questionnaire is designed to collect participants' background information and includes a variety of questions divided into three main categories:

- **General questions:** these are designed for all participants regardless of the generation they belong to. The questions are related to participants' age, gender, nationality, place of birth, educational level, profession, marital status, generation, etc.

- **Questions for the first generation:** these questions are exclusively designed for participants from the first generation. Some of these questions are related to participants' age at immigration, length of residence, the languages they speak, among other things.

- **Questions for the second and third generations:** these questions are exclusively designed for second- and third-generation participants. The questions address whether participants are taking any heritage language classes, if they visit their country of origin, and which culture they feel most connected to, etc.

Such questions are very important in LMLS research because they give the researcher the opportunity to identify the variables that contribute to language maintenance or shift.

In the second section, participants were asked to report on their degree of proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing skills in both Arabic and French languages. Participants' level of proficiency was measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (poor) to 5 (excellent). It is important to note that heritage language proficiency often leads to its consistent use across different contexts (e.g., at home and with other community members), which may indicate its maintenance (Al-Khatib, 2001).

The third section was designed to explore participants' language use patterns (i.e., what language, Arabic or French, participants preferred to use when communicating with different

people in different settings) in various domains. In this section, participants were asked to choose a value on a five-point Likert scale – ranging from 1 (only Arabic) to 5 (only French) – for the amount of language use in six domains: family, friends, mosque, work, school[8], clubs and organizations. Many researchers (e.g., Holmes et al., 1993) have stressed the importance of investigating both the heritage and the dominant language use among immigrant minorities in different domains since it can help identify whether, or not, a language shift is taking place.

The fourth section of the questionnaire was designed to elicit information about participants' attitudes towards the Arabic and French languages. It is made up of 7 Arabic-focused items and 7 French-focused items. Each item is expected to add to our understanding of the participants' views towards the importance of maintaining their heritage language (or the dominant language) and culture. The answers for this section were measured on a five-point Likert scale (from 1 being 'strongly disagree' to 5 being 'strongly agree'), which allowed respondents to indicate their views on maintaining their heritage language. It is important to mention that the Likert scale scores were reversed for the statements with negative wording to minimize response biases. This indicates that the higher the score, the weaker the agreement with the statement would be. For instance, a statement like 'Knowing French is much more important than knowing Arabic to have a job in France' holds a negative meaning that targets negative attitudes towards Arabic and thus, the scoring needs to be reversed to become: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = not sure, 4 = disagree, 5 = strongly disagree.

The quality of a questionnaire can be determined by both its reliability and validity. The former is in fact a general term "for dependability, consistency and replicability over time, over instruments, and over groups of respondents" (Cohen et al., 2018: 268), while the latter is concerned with whether a particular instrument measures what it claims to measure.

In order to check the reliability of the questionnaire used in this study, the researcher opted for Cronbach's Alpha (Cronbach, 1951). This statistical procedure is widely used in applied research because it can "provide a measure of the internal consistency of a test or a scale" (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011: 53). Internal consistency shows the degree of interrelatedness between the items in a scale. Considering that the Alpha coefficient (α) represents a value ranging between 0 and 1, the more the items are correlated to each other, the closer Alpha gets to 1. De Vellis (2012) maintains that an ideal Cronbach Alpha should be above 0.7. Based on all what have been said above, the Cronbach's Alpha scores for the language proficiency,

[8] In this study, the 'school domain' refers to second- and third-generation Algerians' experiences in heritage language education settings, such as Arabic weekend schools.

language use, and language attitudes scales range between 0.76, which is moderate, and 0.97 indicating excellent reliability and internal consistency (see Table 1).

Table 1. Reliability scores of the language proficiency, language use, and language attitudes scales

Scale		Number of items	Cronbach's Alpha
Language proficiency	Arabic	4	0.94
	French	4	0.97
Language use in domains		17	0.94
Language attitudes	Arabic	7	0.78
	French	7	0.76

3.2.2. Interview

Given that my research is more quantitatively focused, semi-structured interviews were used in order to validate and expand on the findings obtained from the questionnaires (see Appendix B.1, B.2 for the English and Arabic version). By including more open-ended questions in the interview, the researcher is given the opportunity to dig deeper into specific areas that the questionnaire highlighted, thereby ensuring that the overall research findings are both thorough and reliable.

Before conducting the interviews, I prepared a set of key questions and topics to be covered during the interview. The number and type of questions varied depending on the generation each participant belonged to. For instance, first-generation participants were asked questions such as "did you speak any French before coming to France?" or "can you describe your French proficiency level before and after coming to France?". On the other hand, second- and third-generation participants were asked questions including "when and how did you learn Arabic? or "are there any rules at home you have to adhere to regarding speaking a language?". While I usually ask the same questions to all participants, I am not required to stick to a strict script. I can change the wording of questions and their order based on the flow of the conversation.

3.3. Participants

The target population in the present study was the Algerian community living in France. Participants were initially recruited through my personal network, basically some friends,

colleagues, and family members who were willing to answer the questionnaire and take part in the interview. Once a sufficient number had been reached, the snowballing sampling was adopted (Scott, 2000). This technique worked as follows: after filling out the questionnaire, the participant was asked to recommend others who might be interested in my research. These were then contacted and asked to recommend further participants for the study. Such process was repeated for the sake of reaching the largest possible number of participants (Lanza, 2008). In fact, snowballing was highly effective in my case because Algerians were distributed all over France, and through this method I was able to contact hard to reach participants. Besides, participants are likely to respond if they were recommended by someone they know. However, it was not enough to gather the desired number for the study, so I had to travel to France and look for participants myself.

The present research is based on data collected from 344 participants, 194 of whom are females whereas 150 are males. Participants were recruited from different cities across France. However, the majority were from Paris, Grenoble, and Marseille. Ninety-eight percent of the participants are Muslims. This is expected because Islam is the majority and state religion in Algeria. While the majority of participants were single (49.1%; N=169), 128 were married (37.2%). Besides, 23 were in a relationship, 18 were separated or divorced, and 6 were widowed. Among the group of couples, 45.1% had an Algerian spouse/partner, 26.3% had a Franco-Algerian[9] spouse/partner, and 21.8% had a French spouse/partner. The remaining 6.8% had a spouse or a partner from other nationalities (e.g., Turkish, Italian, Egyptian, etc.). Most participants (96.5%) confirmed that they are still in contact with their family, friends and relatives in Algeria, noting that Arabic is the language they often use to communicate with them. According to the questionnaire, participants were divided into three groups: first-generation (N=221), second-generation (N=79) and third-generation (N=44). Table 2 provides further detailed information regarding participants' gender, age, age at immigration, LOR, and educational level.

[9] In this study the expression 'Franco-Algerian refers to a second- or third-generation individual born in France to at least one parent of Algerian origin and hold dual nationality, French and Algerian.

Table 2. Participants' demographic information (N= 344)

	1st generation (n= 221)		2nd generation (n= 79)		3rd generation (n= 44)	
Gender (N)	Female	male	Female	Male	Female	male
	113	108	53	26	28	16
Age	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
(years)	36	14	29	13	20	5
Age at immigration (years)	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	25.3	8.3	–	–	–	–
LOR (years)	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	10.5	11.4	–	–	–	–
Education (%)						
Less than high school	21.3		16.5		6.8	
High school	17.6		45.6		52.3	
Vocational school	3.2		6.3		4.5	
Bachelor's	19		17.7		27.3	
Master's	34.4		13.9		9.1	
PhD	4.5					

Note: LOR= Length of residence, SD = Standard deviation

Interviews were conducted with 20 participants, including 12 females and 8 males who had previously completed the questionnaire. Most interviewees (N=9) belonged to the first generation. All of them were born in Algeria and then migrated to France for the purpose of study, work or marriage, and their age ranges between 26 and 58 years. Six interviewees were second generation, born and raised in France, with ages ranging from 19 to 49 years. The remaining 5 interviewees were third generation, also born and raised in France, and their age is between 17 and 25. Table 3 presents the demographic information for all interviewees.

Table 3. Interviewees' demographic information

	1st generation (n= 9)		2nd generation (n= 6)		3rd generation (n= 5)	
Country of birth (%)	ALG	FR	ALG	FR	ALG	FR
	100	–	–	100	–	100
Age (years)	Min	Max	Min	Max	Min	Max
	26	58	19	49	17	25
Gender (N)	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
	4	5	3	3	5	–

3.4. Procedures

The data for this study were collected at different times between November 2022 and March 2024. During this time, I travelled to various French cities (e.g., Paris, Grenoble, Nice, Lyon, and Marseille) to directly engage with participants. Most data were collected using a pen-and-paper questionnaire in a controlled environment and in the presence of the researcher. Usually, I began by introducing myself to participants, explained the main purpose of the study, then handed out the questionnaires. This approach ensured that the responses were both accurate and complete. Once participants handed the questionnaires back, I expressed my thanks and offered a follow-up oral interview on the topic, should they be interested, at a time and place of their choosing. In general, the data collection was successful in gathering a large number of participants. However, there were significant challenges that surrounded the process. It was time-consuming and highly expensive. Participants were often uncooperative, with many showing little to no interest in taking part in the oral interviews. Besides, finding second- and third-generation participants, as was set by the study, was particularly difficult.

3.4.1. Questionnaire

The questionnaire was first designed to be administered online via Google Forms. The intention was to capitalise on the large social media presence of Algerians in France. For instance, Facebook alone hosts a significant number of groups and pages geared towards hundreds of thousands of Algerian immigrants and their descendants residing across various French cities. Unfortunately, online responses were significantly less than what was initially anticipated. Despite the substantial numbers on social platforms, Algerians in France remained too hesitant and/or too distrustful to answer the questionnaire. As such, it became necessary to schedule several trips to France to collect the data in person. This way, the 'self-selection bias' was also addressed as I could approach participants (Dewaele, 2018).

The questionnaire was developed, by the researcher herself, in both Arabic and French given that these languages are the most commonly spoken among the Algerian community in France. As such, the participants were given the choice to respond to the questionnaire in either language, depending on their linguistic preference (only 44 participants chose to answer the Arabic version), and it took them approximately twenty minutes to complete. In order to ensure the questionnaire's comprehensibility as well as guarantee that technical words were properly translated, both versions were subjected to rigorous checking by specialists in the Arabic and

French languages.

3.4.2. Interview

For a well-organised, ethical, and effective interview, I followed Robson's (2002) recommendations on interviewing (see Table 4). At the beginning of each interview, I inform the participants that they will be recorded during the process, explain the reason behind the interview, and answer any questions on the part of the interviewees. Concerning the language of the interview, the researcher often posed questions in Arabic. In some cases, however, it was necessary to switch to French whenever interviewees encounter unfamiliar words or when their proficiency in Arabic is very limited. Participants were free to answer the interview questions in the language of their choice (Arabic, French, or maybe both), depending on which language they feel most comfortable and spontaneous using. The aim here was to set a safe climate, away from any anxiety or embarrassment which may arise from forcing them to answer in one particular language. This was especially the case for the second and third generations, whose Arabic proficiency was somehow lacking.

I started the interview session with simple, direct, and non-threatening questions like "when and how did you arrive in France?" that do not require much thought. This approach allows the interviewee to open up and feel more confident about his/her responses. Throughout the interview, I listened carefully to the interviewees' responses and adjusted the flow of questions accordingly. I also took the opportunity to explore any interesting, unexpected points raised by the interviewees themselves whenever I felt necessary. I tried my best to give the interviewees enough space to share their own views about each raised issue. I concluded the interview then by asking if they have anything to add, which was particularly effective since some interviewees felt more relaxed by the end and shared deeper thoughts and enriching experiences. In fact, the duration of the interview varied from one interviewee to another as some offered more comprehensive, in-depth responses, while others preferred to only provide concise answers. On average, most interviews lasted between 20 and 45 minutes. Moreover, the interview was conducted either online or through personal meetings in different settings including, the mosque, the public park, the cafeteria, or even at the interviewee's house.

Table 4. Robson's (2002) general advice for interviewers

- Listen more than you speak. Most interviewers talk too much. The interview is not a platform for the interviewer's personal experiences and opinions.
- Put questions in a straightforward, clear and non-threatening way. If people are confused or defensive, you will not get the information you seek.
- Eliminate cues which lead interviewees to respond in a particular way (for example, 'Are you against sin?'). Many interviewees will seek to please the interviewer by giving 'correct' responses.
- Enjoy it (or at least look as though you do). Don't give the message that you are bored or scared. Vary your voice and facial expression.

3.5. Ethical considerations

Participants, in the present study, were asked for their consent to process the gathered-data before answering the questionnaire. Its purpose was to inform participants about the study aims, procedures, and rights. For instance, it was made clear to all respondents that their participation is totally voluntary involving no risks, and that they have the right to withdraw anytime later if they ever changed their mind. Respondents were informed that their participation will involve two parts: filling out a questionnaire as well as participating in an interview, at their wish. They were also informed that their responses will be anonymized and securely stored in order to maintain confidentiality. Moreover, it was promised that the data will only be accessible to the researcher and her supervisor, and will be kept for at least 5 years before being destroyed to allow for further detailed analysis.

3.6. Data Analysis

After the data has been collected through both questionnaires and interviews, the data was prepared and analysed. In order to analyse the obtained data quantitatively, I used IBM SPSS Statistics 26. The questionnaire analysis followed different steps (for an overview, see Kumar, 2018; Pallant, 2016). First, I used the Microsoft Excel program to prepare the data for a smooth import to SPSS. The next step was defining the variables and entering coded data (i.e., the numerical values obtained from each respondent for each variable) into SPSS. Finally, the dataset was carefully checked for any errors to be corrected before starting the actual analysis. Interviews on the other hand were analysed using a hybrid approach to thematic analysis (see Section 3.6.2).

3.6.1. Quantitative data analysis

Descriptive statistics were basically used to summarize the data in terms of frequencies,

percentages, means, and standard deviations of different variables in order to explore participants' characteristics and compare between the three generations pertaining their Arabic and French proficiency levels, their language use across domains, and their attitudes towards Arabic and French.

In order to test normality, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests were performed to see whether the distribution of the data in question is significantly different from a typical normal distribution. If the significance value is greater than 0.05 ($p > .05$), it means that the data are probably normally distributed. However, if the significance value was less than 0.05 ($p < .05$), it indicates a deviation from normality, with 0.05 reflecting a 95% confidence interval for significance (see Field, 2013). Testing normality is an important step in determining which statistical tests (i.e., parametric or non-parametric statistical test) should be used to address the research questions. Usually, parametric tests are used when the data meets the assumptions about the distribution of the sample. If these assumptions are not met (notably non-normal distributed variables), non-parametric tests should be performed instead (Mishra et al., 2019).

The Kruskal-Wallis one way analysis of variance (Kruskal & Wallis, 1952) was used as a non-parametric equivalent to a one-way independent ANOVA in order to capture the differences, if any, between three groups of Algerian immigrants from three generations, pertaining to their language proficiency levels, language use and attitudes. If the significance value of the Kruskal-Wallis test is less than 0.05, this suggests that there are actual significant statistical differences between the mean ranks of all groups. A post hoc comparison test needs to be conducted then by using the Mann-Whitney U test (Mann & Whitney, 1947). It is a non-parametric counterpart to the independent t-test used to perform pairwise comparisons between groups. If, however, the significance value of the Kruskal-Wallis test is greater than 0.05, this indicates no significant differences between the groups which does not require performing any kind of post hoc tests.

On the other hand, a correlation analysis was used to help identify whether or not a relationship exists between three important aspects of language maintenance (i.e., Arabic language proficiency, language use in six domains and attitudes towards Arabic) as well as between these aspects and other extralinguistic variables. The correlation is to be presented with the Spearman's rank-order correlation (rho) non-parametric statistical test (Spearman, 1904). Spearman rho is particularly useful when certain assumptions of the Pearson's correlation are not met. Spearman's correlation coefficient r_s measures both the strength (weak, moderate or strong) and direction (negative or positive) of the relationship between two or more variables, and like Pearson's correlation coefficient r, it varies between -1 and 1, with 0

indicating no relationship at all (see Ali Abd Al-Hameed, 2022).

Multiple regression analyses were also conducted in order to identify the factors that significantly contributed to different aspects of Arabic language maintenance (i.e., proficiency, use, and attitudes) The assumptions were checked and met before carrying the analysis.

3.6.2. Qualitative data analysis

In order to analyse interview data, the researcher opted for a particular method called *hybrid thematic analysis* (Swain, 2018). It is a method that combines two different approaches in qualitative analysis: one where some of the codes are pre-known (i.e., can be predicted before starting the analysis based on the research questions of the study and the questions of the interview itself), and one where the codes are unknown and will be discovered and created later during the process. According to Swain (2018), the hybrid approach to thematic analysis works really well when conducting fewer than 30 interviews as it allows for carrying out the qualitative analysis in a manageable and less complicated way than using a computer software.

I initiated the analysis by reading through the interview transcripts to familiarise myself with the data and eliminate any ambiguity surrounding the context in which things were said. Next, I prepared a table in a Microsoft Word Document to record the codes and summarize participants' responses. Once the table was set up, I went through the transcripts again and kept searching for patterns of meaning in order to identify both the '*a priori'* (pre-known) and '*a posteriori'* (unknown) codes. As I continued to read through the transcripts and extract codes, I began to gather and summarize relevant information based on interviewees' answers to some of the questions asked during the interview. I added every information about their gender, generation, having a partner (or not), having children (or not) in the table to gain a full picture of each interviewee without having to go back to the transcripts every time. I also highlighted sections of text, and these will be used to support and illustrate the identified codes. Once I finished coding all interview data, I started grouping codes under broader headings, or what some researchers call *themes* (see e.g., Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006), in order to organize the data and make it easier to interpret before reporting the findings.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

This chapter presents the analyses of the data collected via the questionnaires and the interview described in Chapter 3. The results will be reported addressing each research question in turn. Having said that, quantitative data will be presented in the first section, followed by qualitative insights from participant interviews in the second. This chapter focuses only on providing a general description of the findings, with the discussion and interpretation left for the chapter that follows (Chapter 5).

4.1. Questionnaire results

In order to answer the main research question of this study, that is whether the Algerian immigrant community in France is maintaining its heritage language (i.e., Arabic) or if it is shifting to the majority language (i.e., French), the results will consider three supporting sub-questions, each of which will be focusing on different aspects of the study.

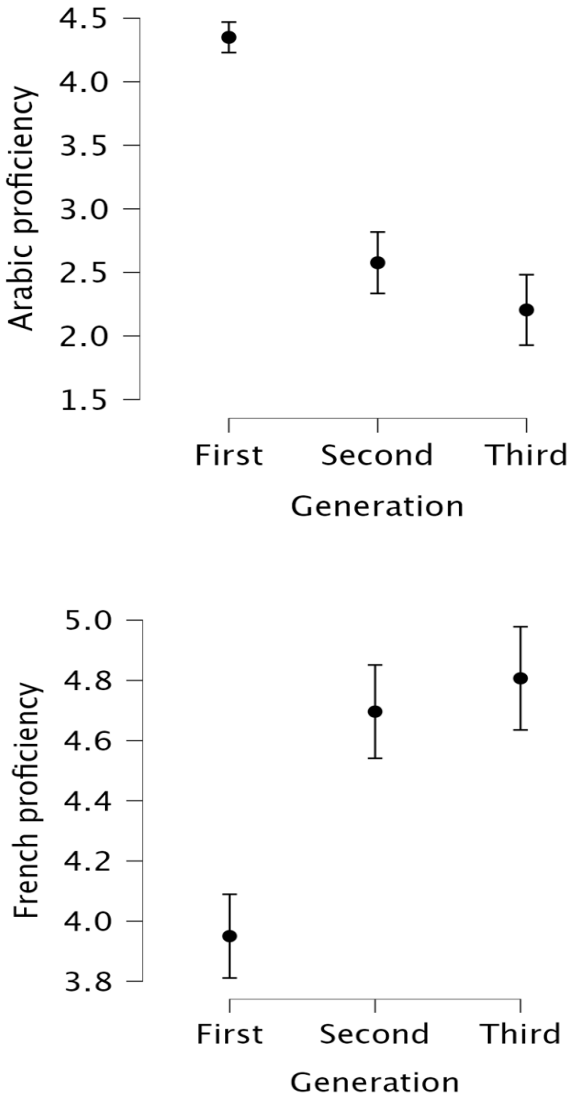
Sub-question 1: Is there a difference between first-, second-, and third-generation Algerians in France in their Arabic and French proficiency levels, Arabic and French language use, and attitudes towards Arabic and French?

4.1.1. Language proficiency across generations

This section outlines the proficiency level of 344 participants from three different generations in Arabic and French languages based on their self-assessments on a Likert scale from 1 (poor) to 5 (excellent). By analysing participants' proficiency levels in Arabic and French, it is possible to predict whether Arabic is maintained, with proficiency differences across generations being a strong indicator of a shift towards French.

While second- and third-generation participants have a lower proficiency in Arabic (M = 2.6; 2.2, respectively) than first-generation participants (M = 4.3), they reported higher proficiency with excellent scores in French (M = 4.7; 4.8, respectively) compared to first-generation participants (M = 3.9) (see Figure 5). This suggests that there is a significant decrease in the overall Arabic proficiency and a significant increase in the overall French proficiency from generation to generation. This, in turn, may suggest that a language shift is taking place.

Figure 5. Arabic and French language proficiency across generations



Results in Table 5 show that the significance level (i.e., the p-value) of Arabic proficiency for the three generations is less than .05 according to both Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests. Therefore, the data do not follow a normal distribution, which requires the use of non-parametric tests to answer this research question.

Table 5. Results of normal distribution test for Arabic language proficiency across generations

	Generation	Kolmogorov-Smirnov			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	Df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Arabic proficiency	1st gen.	.310	221	.000	.735	221	.000
	2nd gen.	.143	79	.000	.918	79	.000
	3rd gen.	.177	44	.001	.884	44	.000

Note 1: df = degree of freedom
Note 2. Sig. = significance value

Table 6 shows the same findings as the previous table. According to Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests, the significance level of French proficiency across generations is less than .05 suggesting that the data do not follow a normal distribution. Hence, the use of non-parametric tests to investigate proficiency differences is recommended.

Table 6. Results of normal distribution test for French language proficiency across generations

	Generation	Kolmogorov-Smirnov			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	Df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
French proficiency	1st gen.	.216	221	.000	.857	221	.000
	2nd gen.	.477	79	.000	.497	79	.000
	3rd gen.	.494	44	.000	.356	44	.000

Note 1: df = degree of freedom
Note 2: Sig. = significance value

A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to compare between the level of Arabic and French proficiency across three generations of Algerian immigrants. The results indicate a highly significant difference in the overall Arabic language proficiency ($\chi 2 = 155.56$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$) and French language proficiency ($\chi 2 = 60.83$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$) between the first-, second-, and third-generations. The differences in the mean rank of each generation are presented in the following Table (see Table 7).

Table 7. Results of the Kruskal-Wallis test for Arabic and French proficiency across generations

Generation	Arabic proficiency			French proficiency		
	N	Mean Rank	Sig.	N	Mean Rank	Sig.
1st gen.	221	220.73		221	143.94	
2nd gen.	79	94.03	.000	79	220.38	.000
3rd gen.	44	71.15		44	229.98	

Note 1: N = total sample size
Note 2: Sig. = significance value

Post hoc comparisons were conducted using the Mann-Whitney U test in order to exactly determine between which groups the difference lies. According to the results presented in Table 8, a highly significant difference is found between the first and the second generations ($U= 2186.50$, $p < .017$), and between the first and the third generations ($U= 746.50$, $p < .017$) in their Arabic proficiency level. Notably, there are no significant differences between the second and the third generations ($p > .017$).

Table 8. Results of the Mann-Whitney test for Arabic language proficiency

Generation	Mann-Whitney U	Sig.
1st gen. Vs 2nd gen.	2186.50	.000
2nd gen. Vs 3rd gen.	1394.00	.068
1st gen. Vs 3rd gen	746.50	.000

Note: Sig. = significance value

Similarly, the results in Table 9 show a highly significant difference between the first and the second generations ($U= 4853$, $p < .017$), and between the first and the third generations ($U= 2427$, $p < .017$) in their French proficiency level. Moreover, no significant differences are found between the second and the third generations ($p > .017$).

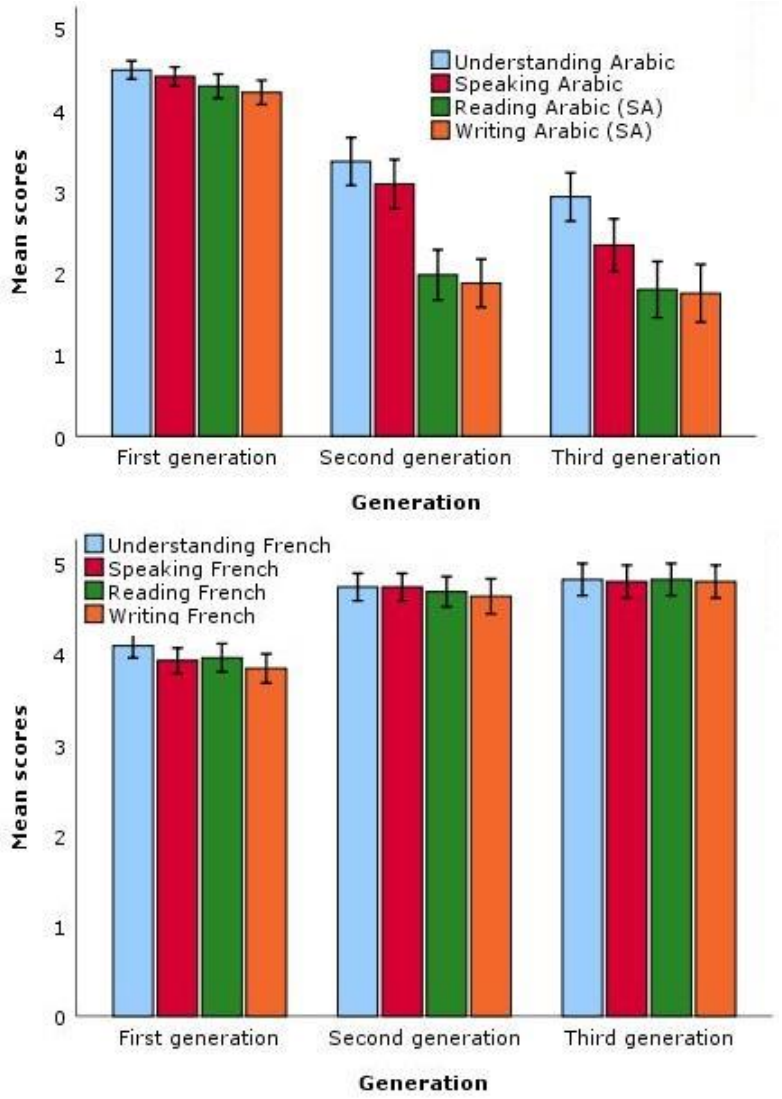
Table 9. Results of the Mann-Whitney test for French language proficiency

Generation	Mann-Whitney U	Sig.
1st gen. Vs 2nd gen.	4853	0.000
2nd gen. Vs 3rd gen.	1644	0.450
1st gen. Vs 3rd gen	2427	0.000

Note: Sig. = significance value

Figure 6 illustrates the differences in the self-reported proficiency levels in Arabic and French in the four skills among the three generation groups. First-generation participants reported no difficulties in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing Arabic compared to second- and third-generation participants who showed lower proficiency in the four skills, especially in their literacy skills (i.e., reading and writing). However, with regard to the French language skills, second- and third-generation participants reported themselves to be more proficient than first-generation participants. This does not mean that the first generation is lacking. In fact, they reported a very good level of French proficiency in the four language skills.

Figure 6. Self-reported Arabic and French proficiency in the four skills



4.1.2. Language use and choice across generations

Participants' language use will be investigated in this section, with a particular focus on the domains in which Arabic and French are used. Results on language use will be presented in five domains (i.e., home, friends, mosque, work, school) instead of six. The other domain (i.e., clubs and organizations) was excluded from the analysis due to a high rate of missing data. Table 10 presents the mean scores and standard deviations of language use among three generations of Algerian immigrants in France. With regard to language use at home, the data suggest that Arabic is mostly used by first-generation participants (M = 2.0). Second-generation participants seem to use both Arabic and French (M = 3.4) depending on whom they are speaking to in the family. Third-generation bilinguals seem to use French more frequently than both first- and second-generation participants (M = 4.2). Note that the amount of Arabic and French used at home can vary among first-, second- and third-generation participants based

on the composition, language background, preferences, and attitudes within the family.

The use of the heritage language in the friendship domain is most likely related to older speakers of the immigrant group (the first generation). Unlike second- and third-generation participants who reported using more French in their interaction with their friends (M = 3.9; 4.3), first-generation participants seem to mix both Arabic and French when communicating with their friends (M = 2.9).

With regard to language use in the mosque, it appears that Arabic is the mostly used language by the three generations (M = 2.1; 2.4; 2.4, respectively). These results suggest that the religious domain holds an important role in helping the Algerian minority group to maintain and appreciate their Arabic language by connecting them to the Islamic religion.

Results on language use across other domains show that all participants use a great deal of French in the workplace (M = 4.1; 4.6; 4.5) considering it is the required language for work in France. In schools dedicated to teaching Arabic to second- and third-generation Algerians, participants seem to use both Arabic and French in the process of learning (M = 3.4; 3.5).

Table 10. Self-reported overall language use across generations

	1st gen.		2nd gen.		3rd gen.	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Family	2.0	0.9	3.4	1.0	4.2	0.9
Friends	2.9	0.9	3.9	0.9	4.3	0.7
Mosque	2.1	0.7	2.4	0.9	2.4	0.7
Work	4.1	1.0	4.6	0.9	4.5	0.8
School	–	–	3.4	0.9	3.5	0.6

Note1: Range of language use: (1) only Arabic, (2) mostly Arabic, (3) Arabic and French, (4) mostly French, (5) only French.
Note 2: M = mean; SD = Standard deviation

Table 11 presents language use at home. First-generation participants seem to use a great deal of Arabic when speaking with their parents and siblings, and more Arabic than French with their spouses/partners and children. Note that 80.6 percent of first-generation participants are either married to, or in a relationship with an Algerian or a Franco-Algerian spouse/partner, and this explains the more frequent use of Arabic at home. Nevertheless, the use of Arabic seems to decrease among second- and third-generation bilinguals. Although they use both Arabic and French when talking to their parents, they reported using more French than Arabic, especially with their children, siblings, and spouses or partners. Considering that the home is a private domain where the heritage language is usually used, these results suggest a possible shift away from Arabic among both second- and third-generation participants, who prefer to

use French instead.

Table 11. Self-reported language use in the home/family domain

1. Home/family	1st gen.		2nd gen.		3rd gen.	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
With parents	1.5	0.8	2.8	1.3	2.6	1.7
With spouse/partner	2.4	1.1	3.7	1.2	3.4	0.9
With siblings	1.7	1.0	3.8	1.2	2.6	1.7
With children	2.7	1.2	4.0	0.9	3.4	0.9

According to the results presented in Table 12, it is evident that the three generations differ in their use of Arabic and French in the friendship domain. While first-generation participants admitted using more Arabic than French when communicating with their Algerian friends, the second and third generations predominantly use French. All generations seem to use French in the presence of non-Arabs. However, the amount of French used increases from generation to generation. Moreover, social media communication highlights an increased presence of French across generations. In comparison to the first generation, who prefer using both Arabic and French on social media, the second and third generations tend to favour French for digital communication. Overall, the findings reveal a gradual shift towards French among younger generations, namely the second and third generations, shaped by their social networks together with their desire to be socially integrated in the French-speaking environment.

Table 12. Self-reported language use in the friendship domain

2. With friends	1st gen.		2nd gen.		3rd gen.	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
With Algerian Friends	2.6	1.0	3.8	1.0	3.9	0.8
Algerian Friends with you	2.6	0.9	3.8	1.0	3.9	0.7
Presence of non-Arabs	3.9	1.0	4.3	0.9	4.6	0.9
Social media	3.0	1.2	3.7	1.2	4.2	1.0

Results of language use in the religious domain (see Table 13) show that Arabic is the language used for praying by all three generations in the mosque. Furthermore, all participants agreed that the imam mostly uses Arabic during prayers and in order to deliver the Friday sermon. However, cross-generational differences emerged regarding participants' self-reported language use with Algerians in the mosque. Unlike first-generation participants who often use

Arabic to communicate with others in the mosque, second- and third-generation participants reported an increase use of French. We conclude that both Arabic and French are used in the religious domain, but Arabic seems to be the predominant language. Arabic is used to perform the different prayers since it is the language of Quran. Thus, Arabic is likely to be maintained in the domain of worship. As for French, it can only be used during sermons, educational classes, or special events, with the aim of explaining the religious concepts for anyone whose Arabic proficiency is lacking.

Table 13. Self-reported language use in the religious domain

3. Mosque	1st gen.		2nd gen.		3rd gen.	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Praying	1.2	0.5	1.4	1.0	1.3	0.8
Imam's language	2.6	0.9	2.6	1.0	2.6	0.8
Friday's sermon	2.7	0.8	2.8	0.9	2.6	0.8
With Algerians	2.3	1.1	3.2	1.1	3.6	1.2

Table 14 summarizes participants' self-reported language use across the domains of work (all generations) and school (second- and third-generation bilinguals). Not surprisingly, the work domain displayed the highest amount of French and lowest amount of Arabic use among the first, second, and third generations. This is quite usual since French is the official medium of communication at work. Both second- and third-generation participants reported using Arabic and French during learning the Arabic language, but more French than Arabic when communicating with their classmates.

Table 14. Self-reported language use in the domains of work, and school

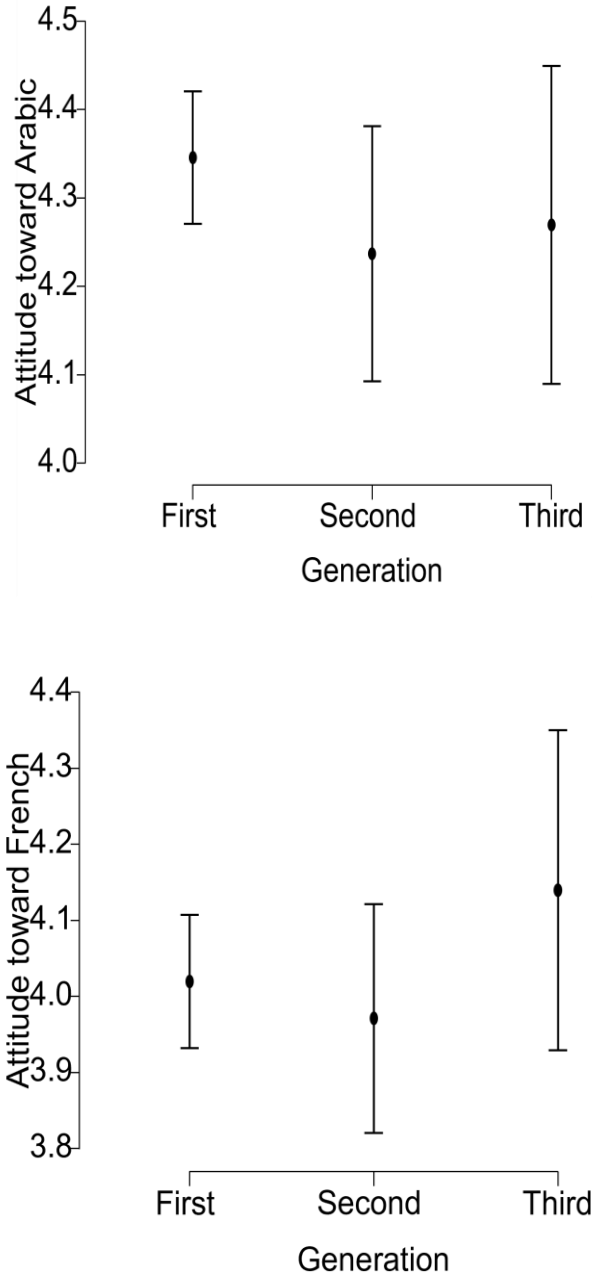
	1st gen.		2nd gen.		3rd gen.	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
4.Work						
At work	4.1	1.0	4.6	0.9	4.5	0.8
With colleagues	4.1	1.1	4.5	1.0	4.5	0.9
5.School						
The language used in teaching Arabic	-	-	3.1	1.0	3.0	0.6
With classmates	-	-	3.9	1.0	4.2	0.7

4.1.3. Language attitudes across generations

This section explores participants' attitudes towards both Arabic and French languages. Attitudes are measured on a five-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Usually, participants' positive attitudes towards the heritage language, particularly among younger generations, suggest active language maintenance, whereas participants' negative attitudes indicate language shift.

Surprisingly, all participants exhibited very positive attitudes towards the Arabic language (see Figure 7). Such attitudes were in no way restricted to the mere use of the language, but also included a strong desire for the cross-generational transmission of the linguistic and cultural heritage. While it is expected that first-generation participants display positive attitudes towards their mother tongue (M = 4.3), the second and third generations do not usually show such a persistent tendency towards Arabic (M = 4.2; 4.2, respectively). This offers an advantageous situation for a long-lasting maintenance of their heritage language. On a similar note, all participants from the first, second and third generations demonstrated positive attitudes towards the French language (M = 4; 4; 4.1, respectively). Being part of a community dominated by another language; participants evidently resort to using French for a variety of reasons. The French language for Algerians in France constitutes the key to a better integration into the French society, an instrument for higher academic achievement, as well as a means for additional work opportunities.

Figure 7. Self-reported language attitudes towards Arabic and French



Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests were conducted in order to assess the normal distribution of participants' attitudes towards Arabic. As can be seen from Table 15, the results show that the significance level of attitudes towards Arabic for the three generations is lower than .05. Based on these findings, we conclude that the data do not follow a normal distribution, which requires the use of non-parametric tests to conduct the comparison between the three generations regarding their attitudes towards their heritage language.

Table 15. Results of normal distribution test for participants' attitudes towards Arabic

	Generation	Kolmogorov-Smirnov			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	Df	Sig.	Statistic	Df	Sig.
Attitudes	1st gen.	.211	221	.000	.855	221	.000
towards	2nd gen.	.122	79	.005	.899	79	.000
Arabic	3rd gen.	.217	44	.000	.852	44	.000

Note 1: df = degree of freedom
Note 2: Sig. = significance value

Similar to the results observed in Table 15, the normality tests for the participants' attitudes towards French indicate that the significance level is less than .05 suggesting that the data do not follow a normal distribution (see Table 16). Therefore, the use of a non-parametric test is also recommended here to investigate differences in attitudes towards the French language across generations.

Table 16. Results of normal distribution test for participants' attitudes towards French

	Generation	Kolmogorov-Smirnov			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	Df	Sig.	Statistic	Df	Sig.
Attitudes	1st gen.	.090	221	.000	.942	221	.000
towards	2nd gen.	.143	79	.000	.916	79	.000
French	3rd gen.	.150	44	.015	.873	44	.000

Note 1: df = degree of freedom
Note 2: Sig. = significance value

A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to compare between three generations of Algerian immigrants in their attitudes towards Arabic and French. The test (see Table 17) shows no significant differences between the first-, second- and third-generation Algerians pertaining to their attitudes towards both Arabic ($\chi 2 = 2.22$, $df = 2$, $p > .05$) and French languages ($\chi 2 = 2.61$, $df = 2$, $p > .05$).

Table 17. Results of the Kruskal-Wallis test for participants' attitudes towards Arabic and French

Generation	Attitudes towards Arabic			Attitudes towards French		
	N	Mean Rank	Sig.	N	Mean Rank	Sig.
1st gen.	221	178.42		221	170.86	
2nd gen.	79	161.49	.330	79	165.01	.270
3rd gen.	44	162.55		44	194.19	

4.1.4. The Relationship between three aspects of language maintenance: Proficiency, use, and attitudes

Sub-question 2: What is the relationship between heritage language proficiency, use, and attitudes?

Bivariate correlational analysis was performed in order to examine whether a relationship exists between Arabic language proficiency, language use across various domains, and attitudes towards Arabic.

Based on the results shown in Table 18, it can be concluded that there is a highly significant, positive but weak correlation between Arabic language proficiency and participants' attitudes towards Arabic ($r = .313$; $p < .01$). Therefore, we can conclude that the more positive their attitudes are towards Arabic, the higher level of proficiency they maintain in that language.

Table 18. Correlation results between Arabic language proficiency and attitudes towards Arabic

	Attitudes towards Arabic	
Arabic language proficiency	Correlation coefficient (r)	Sig.
	.313**	.000

Moreover, the results shown in Table 19 reveal highly significant, negative, weak and moderate correlations between Arabic language proficiency and language use across most domains. Considering that the Arabic proficiency scale goes from 1 (poor) to 5 (excellent) and the language use scale goes from 1 (only Arabic) to 5 (only French), these results indicate that participants' Arabic proficiency tends to decrease as their use of French increases. There is a moderate and negative correlation between Arabic language proficiency and participants' language use at home ($r = -.582$, $p < .01$), with friends ($r = -.460$, $p < .01$), and at school ($r = -.429$, $p < .01$). Other negative correlations were found between participants' Arabic level of proficiency and their language use at the mosque ($r = -.272$, $p < .01$) and at work ($r = -.145$, $p < .05$); and while these are weak correlations, they remain highly significant nonetheless. Such results suggest that greater use of Arabic, particularly at home, with friends, and at school, is linked to higher proficiency in the language. Adversely, increased dependency on the French language is associated with lower proficiency in Arabic.

Table 19. Correlation results between Arabic language proficiency and language use in five domains.

	Arabic language proficiency	
Arabic language use	Correlation coefficient (r)	Sig.
Home	-.582**	.000
Friends	-.460**	.000
Mosque	-.272**	.000
School	-.429**	.024
Work	-.145**	.000

The correlation analysis, as presented in Table 20, also revealed weak negative correlations that were highly significant between participants' attitudes towards Arabic and their language use at home ($r = -.346$, $p < .01$), when communicating with friends ($r = -.283$, $p < .01$), at the mosque ($r = -.220$, $p < .01$), and at work ($r = -.204$, $p < .01$). This could be interpreted that the more positive individuals' attitudes towards Arabic are, the more inclined they are to use it. This is especially evident in the strongest correlations found at home ($\rho = -.346$, $p < .01$) as well as in interactions with friends ($r = -.283$, $p < .01$), highlighting the role of personal and social environments in the interplay of language attitudes towards Arabic and its usage. Although the correlations are still significant in the mosque ($r = -.220$, $p < .01$) and at work ($r = -.204$, $p = .01$), they are weaker, suggesting that other factors also hold influence in such domains. Overall, the findings emphasise the role that language attitudes play in informing language use, which is most pronounced in familial and social domains rather than formal or public ones.

Table 20. Correlation results between attitudes towards Arabic and language use in five domains

	Attitudes towards Arabic	
Language use	Correlation coefficient (r)	Sig.
Home	-.346**	.000
Friends	-.283**	.000
Mosque	-.220**	.000
School	-.046	.677
Work	-.204**	.001

4.1.5. Factors contributing to Arabic language maintenance (or shift)

Sub-question 3: Which factors contribute to the maintenance (or shift) of Arabic among Algerians in France?

To address the third sub-question, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to see which factors (e.g., gender, place of birth, education level, marital status, partner nationality, age at immigration, LOR, visiting Algeria, languages spoken in the neighbourhood) affect participants' L1 proficiency, their language choice and use across the family and friendship domains, and their attitudes towards L1. Given that some variables are generation-specific, I conducted separate regression analyses. This approach provided a more accurate understanding of the factors that have been claimed to affect heritage language maintenance positively or negatively within each generation.

4.1.5.1. Arabic language proficiency

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to assess whether gender, place of birth, education level, marital status, age at immigration, LOR, home language use, French language proficiency, and attitudes towards French predicted Arabic language proficiency among first-generation Algerians (N = 221). The results in Table 21 showed that together these predictors accounted for 49.8% of the variability in Arabic language proficiency. The predictive model was significant, $F(16, 200) = 12.379$, $p < .05$. Moreover, the results indicated that LOR, French proficiency level, home language use and marital status (specifically being single or having a partner) were significant variables affecting participants' Arabic language proficiency.

Table 21. Multiple regression analysis predicting Arabic language proficiency among first-generation participants

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients				
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.	F	Sig.	R^2
(Constant)	2.218	.576		<.001	12.379	<.001	.498
LOR	-.019	.006	-.243	<.001			
French proficiency	.477	.053	.553	<.001			
Home language use	-.282	.061	-.289	<.001			
Marital status (with partner)	-.816	.225		<.001			
Marital status (single)	-.546	.129		<.001			

For second- and third-generation participants (N=123), the multiple regression model including French language proficiency, language use at mosque, home language use, attitudes towards Arabic, education level, marital status, and the languages spoken in the neighbourhood produced R^2 = 54.1%. The predictive model was significant, F(14, 102) = 8.595, p < .05. The results in Table 22 showed that French language proficiency, language use at the family and religious domains, attitudes towards L1, education level (having a Master's degree), and marital status (being single) were significant predictors of Arabic language proficiency among the second and third generations.

Table 22. Multiple regression analysis predicting Arabic language proficiency among second- and third-generation participants

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients				
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.	F	Sig.	R^2
(Constant)	2.481	.098		<.001	8.595	<.001	.541
French proficiency	.550	.128	-.339	<.001			
Home language use	-.445	.084	-.431	<.001			
Language use at mosque	-.314	.095	-.247	0.001			
Attitudes towards Arabic	.498	.136	.286	<.001			
Marital status (single)	-.450	.167		.008			
Education (Master)	.676	.318		.036			

4.1.5.2. Language use at home

Another regression model was performed to explore whether Arabic language proficiency, French language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards French, gender, education, marital status and partner nationality predicted first-generation participants' language use at home. The model was significant, F(17, 70) = 6, p < .05, accounting for 49.4% of the variability in participants' language use at the family domain. The results in Table 23 showed that French language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, marital status (being separated), partner nationality and education level (having a PhD degree) were significant predictors of language use at home for the first generation.

Table 23. Multiple regression analysis predicting language use at home among first-generation participants

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients				
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.	F	Sig.	R^2
(Constant)	2.100	.093		<.001	6.000	<.001	.494
French proficiency	.389	.082	.477	<.001			
Attitudes towards L1	-.614	.176	-.310	<.001			
Marital status (separated)	1.514	.470	-.359	.002			
Partner nationality (French)	.559	.198		.006			
Education (PhD)	.610	.292		.027			

For the second and third generations, predictors were Arabic language proficiency, French language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards French, visiting Algeria, languages spoken in the neighbourhood, education and partner nationality. The predictive model is significant, $F(17, 27) = 6.910$, $p < .05$, and it explained 81.3% of variance in participants' language use at home. The results indicated that Arabic language proficiency, attitudes towards French, visiting Algeria, languages spoken in the neighbourhood, and education (having a high school degree) were significant predictors of participants' language use at home (see Table 24).

Table 24. Multiple regression analysis predicting language use at home among second-and third-generation participants

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients				
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.	F	Sig.	R^2
(Constant)	3.548	.149		<.001	6.910	<.001	.813
Arabic proficiency	-.570	.106	-.678	<.001			
Attitudes towards L2	-.272	.131	-.220	.048			
Visiting Algeria (3-5 times)	-.977	.462		.044			
Visiting Algeria (more than 5 times)	-1.889	.787		.024			
Languages spoken in the neighbourhood (Arabic and French)	-1.556	.646		.023			
Education (High school)	1.267	.479		.014			

4.1.5.3. Language use with friends

A regression model was conducted to examine which factors predict first-generation participants' language use in the friendship domain. The model included Arabic language proficiency, French language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards French, LOR, age at immigration, language use in the family domain, and education level as predictors. The overall model was significant, $F(12, 201) = 14.479$, $p < .05$, and explained 46.4% of the variance in participants' language use scores (see Table 25). Significant predictors included age at immigration, French language proficiency, language use at home and education level (having a PhD degree).

Table 25. Multiple regression analysis predicting language use with friends among first-generation participants

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients				
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.	F	Sig.	R^2
(Constant)	2.845	.060		<.001	14.479	<.001	.464
Age at immigration	-.019	.006	-.170	.004			
French proficiency	.216	.061	.258	<.001			
Home language use	.309	.061	.328	<.001			
Education (PhD)	.590	.245		.017			

A separate multiple regression was conducted for second- and third-generation participants using Arabic language proficiency, French language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards French, language use at home, neighbourhood, and education level as predictors of language use in the friendship domain. The model was also significant, $F(13, 107) = 8.135$, $p < .05$, and accounted for 49.7% of the variance. Among the predictors, attitudes towards French, language use at home, and neighbourhood were significant (see Table 26).

Table 26. Multiple regression analysis predicting language use with friends among second- and third-generation participants

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients				
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.	F	Sig.	R^2
(Constant)	4.024	.076		<.001	8.135	<.001	.497
Attitudes towards L2	.178	.086	.148	.007			
Home language use	.496	.080	.613	<.001			
Neighbourhood (mostly Arabs)	.791	.223		<.001			
Neighbourhood (Arabs & French)	.398	.173		.024			

4.1.5.4. Attitudes towards Arabic

A multiple regression was conducted with French language proficiency, Arabic language proficiency, attitudes towards French, language use at the family and religion domains, LOR,

age at immigration, gender, education level and marital status predicting first-generation attitudes towards Arabic. Overall, the results in Table 27 showed that the model was significant $F(18, 191) = 5.980$, $p < .05$, explaining 36% of variance in participants' attitudes towards Arabic. The results indicated that home language use, attitudes towards French, Arabic proficiency level and gender were significant predictors.

Table 27. Multiple regression analysis predicting attitudes towards Arabic among first-generation participants

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients				
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.	F	Sig.	R^2
(Constant)	4.405	.034		<.001	5.980	<.001	.360
Home language use	-.128	.041	-.234	.002			
Attitudes towards L2	.191	.046	.256	<.001			
Arabic proficiency	.126	.044	.229	.005			
Gender (male)	-.163	.065		.012			

The multiple regression analysis revealed that the predictive model of attitudes for the second and third generations was significant $F(16, 28) = 3.763$, $p < .05$. The different predictors including Arabic and French proficiency levels, attitudes towards French, language use at the family and religious domains, partner nationality, visiting Algerian, and education explained approximately 68% of the total variability in participants' attitudes towards Arabic. Among these variables, Arabic and French proficiency levels, attitudes towards French, and partner nationality were significant with Arabic proficiency showing the largest effect (see Table 28).

Table 28. Multiple regression analysis predicting attitudes towards Arabic among second- and third-generation participants

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients				
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.	F	Sig.	R^2
(Constant)	4.216	.109		<.001	3.763	<.001	.68.3
Arabic proficiency	.368	.115	.598	.003			
French proficiency	-.380	.157	-.390	.022			
Attitudes towards L2	.290	.120	.320	.022			
Partner nationality (Franco-Algerian)	.921	.260		.001			
Partner nationality (French)	.672	.252		.013			

In order to provide a comprehensive overview of the regression models presented throughout this chapter, a summary table has been included in the appendices (see Appendix E).

4.2. Interview results

4.2.1. Language choice and use

During the interview, most first-generation participants (8 out of 9) chose to answer the prompts in Arabic, incorporating numerous French words and expressions. This is quite common for Algerians given the fact that French borrowings are a common feature of the spoken Arabic varieties, not only in Algeria but throughout all Maghreb countries. Only one participant chose to respond exclusively in French, suggesting that his linguistic choices are generally determined by his prior experiences and personal background.

The majority of second-generation interviewees (4 out of 6) opted to speak in French. This choice can either be attributed to the fact that they feel more at ease using French or to a lack of proficiency in Arabic, given that some of them can understand the language far better than they can speak it. One second-generation participant stated the following:

[1] *Thanks to my wife, I understand Derja [Algerian dialect]. I do not understand everything of course, but it is okay for me. The problem is always when I try to respond in Derdja, I cannot and I do not feel comfortable speaking it. It is terrible.*

The other second-generation respondents chose to respond in Arabic. Despite being born and raised in a French-speaking environment, they explicitly stated that they face no difficulties when communicating using their heritage language. They further added that whenever addressed in Arabic, they would respond in Arabic.

As for the third generation, almost all participants (4 out of 5) chose to conduct the interview in the French language. Similar to their second-generation counterparts, third-generation respondents grew up speaking French and, as such, it is not surprising that the overwhelming majority of them would opt for it. A third-generation respondent asserted as follows:

[2] *... French is the easiest language for me. There's no doubt about it—it's the simplest.*

It is worth noting that the only third-generation interviewee who chose to respond in Arabic displayed a keen desire to use the heritage language despite her limited fluency.

The interviews conducted with Algerians in France provided valuable insights into their language use. The majority of participants maintained that their language choice primarily depends upon the person (i.e., interlocutor) they are interacting with as well as the situation in which such interactions occur. This highlights the importance of considering the different contexts of language use for immigrants, and how such contexts inform many of the linguistic decisions they make.

First-generation interviewees indicated that the partner's nationality impacts their use, as well as their children's use of the Arabic language. Participants who are married to French spouses reported highly frequent use of French at the expense of Arabic at home. A first-generation respondent explains the following:

[3] *I speak French at home because my wife is Franco-Algerian. With the children, I also use French - it's their mother language after all. I've tried speaking Arabic with them, but unfortunately, they don't understand it.*

The case is different, however, for those who are married to Algerian partners. Several first-generation interviewees asserted the use of a mixture of both Arabic and French with their partners rather than French alone which maintains the presence of Arabic at home.

The majority of interviewees across all generations reported using the French language both at work as well as in academic settings. Such a finding is supported by quantitative evidence from the questionnaire (see section 4.1.2) suggesting that language practices in professional and educational settings are largely shaped by the environment in which they take place. The

only exception was a first-generation interviewee who claimed using the Arabic language in the workplace because his coworkers were Arabs.

Social media and online activities constitute a particularly indicative domain of language use for immigrants. In the context of Algerian immigrants and their descendants in France, they represent a dynamic space where language choices reflect broader patterns of heritage language maintenance or shift. Such platforms not only facilitate access to information, daily news, and communication with family and friends across borders but also expose users to content in various languages, potentially reinforcing or eroding the use of Arabic. The interview data revealed differences among the three generations in their linguistic practices in the digital domain.

The majority of first-generation respondents confirm the use of Arabic on online platforms, particularly when browsing content, posting, commenting, and communicating with friends and family members in Algeria. This underscores the continual presence of Arabic in the lives of first-generation Algerians even after immigration to France where the French language controls most domains. A first-generation respondent states the following:

[4] *I use Arabic on social media and on the internet in general. I comment in Arabic, I read in Arabic, and I use Arabic to talk to my family in bled through Facebook.*

A noteworthy exception is a first-generation participant who sheds light on how such online platforms can be used to elevate his proficiency in the French language, which in turn helps with his integration in the host society. He asserts as follows:

[5] *If I'm texting, I try to use French words or phrases when I can. It helps me improve my proficiency in the French language. For me, if you want to advance in this society, you have to possess a good level in French. Texting in French helps me conduct administrative tasks, teach my children in school, and even avoid being scammed.*

Unlike their first-generation counterparts, most second- and third-generation respondents assert the use of French on social media. Arabic is largely absent as it is not a language the majority of them understand or speak. A third-generation participant clarifies as follows:

[6] *I'm only on Instagram, and the posts I see are mostly in French, sometimes in English. Occasionally I come across posts in Arabic, but honestly, I often don't understand them. And when I try to read them, I can't really read them properly because the vowels aren't written out. So, most of the time, what I actually read and understand is just French and English. That's*

it!

The interviewee alludes to the difficulties she usually encounters in reading Arabic on different online platforms, especially that Algerians are known for writing their dialect in Latin script to in most their posts and comments.

Although second- and third- generation Algerians do not frequently use the Arabic language on online platforms, they still report some exposure to it through browsing Arabic content. A third-generation respondent affirms the following:

[7] *When I had social media, I used to play videos in Arabic, but they were translated to French.*

While such passive engagement is admittedly less impactful than active language use, it still constitutes a meaningful form of exposure to Arabic which may have a positive influence on their Arabic language proficiency.

Although traditional forms of media such as television, radio, newspapers, and books are not as prevalent as they once were due to the advent of the internet, they remain an important resource for the heritage language and a link connecting immigrants to their culture of origin. Most first-generation interviewees indicated watching Algerian and Arab channels, but they also asserted occasionally engaging with French channels, books, and newspaper in order to stay informed of events in France and enhance their language skills.

For the majority of second- and third-generation interviewees, traditional forms of media are largely considered outdated, and as such, there is little to no engagement with them. Those who do, however, preferred consuming French content. Nonetheless, many interviewees across all generations expressed a vested interest in Algerian and Arab television channels during the holy month of Ramadan, which is explained by the following quote from a first-generation respondent:

[8] *In Ramadan, I watch a lot of Arab and Algerian television. I don't know why, but when Ramadan comes, we all start searching for TV channels, religious programs, imams, fatwas. During Ramadan, we all remember. It reminds us of our homeland.*

Despite opting for either French or Arabic in answering interviews prompts, the majority of respondents occasionally mix both languages, often within the same utterance. This code-switching occurred in different patterns depending on the participants' generation. First-generation participants who answered in Algerian Arabic sometimes included French words

and phrases. This is unsurprising since Algerian Arabic evolved over time to include numerous lexical items from the French language due to France's long colonial presence in the country. A first-generation interviewee explains as follows:

[9] *This [code-switching] is more of a habit. That's how we grew up talking back home in Algeria. We mix French words without even thinking. Like "الفرشيطة" instead of "fourchette". There are a lot of examples like this, and it all goes back to the past. This isn't something we chose. It's a legacy of French colonialism in Algeria.*

Although first-generation participants occasionally included French words within their utterances, their answers remained largely dominated by Arabic words and structures. An example of code-switching between Algerian Arabic and French among the first generation would be the following:

[10] …fi *les écoles internationales* kayn li y9ariw 3arbiya *mais* wladek lazm ydiro *concours* w lazm *déjà* ya3rfo l3arbiya bech yedkhloha.[10]

"… there are those who teach Arabic in international schools, but your children need to pass a test and they have to know how to speak Arabic to be accepted".

The analysis of participants' code-switching demonstrates an intergenerational reversal of this pattern. As mentioned earlier, the majority of second- and third-generation respondents chose to answer in French. While code-switching generally persisted in their speech, the pattern was reversed whereby French became the dominant form while Arabic featured occasionally. An example of code-switching among the second and third generations is presented as follows:

[11] Oui en français et quand ils sont chez *khwalhom* des fois en arabe, mais souvent en français.

"Yes in French, and when they are at their uncles', they sometimes speak in Arabic, but often in French".

It is worth noting that while some participants view code-switching to French as a natural phenomenon, citing historical and societal reasons for it, others perceive it as a symptom of the

[10] The Algerian Arabic words in this example are written in a style called Arabizi, which is a combination of Latin script and Arabic numerals. Most Arabic letters have equivalents in the Latin alphabet, but for those that do not have a direct equivalent, they are represented with numbers (e.g., "ع"=3 or ("ق"=9).

decline of Arabic proficiency among the Algerian community in France.

4.2.2. Language proficiency

For most first-generation Algerians, age of arrival to France does not necessarily mean age of exposure to the French language. Due to the prominent status that the French language enjoys in Algeria which makes it strongly present in educational and professional domains, many immigrants already had a solid knowledge of and a very decent level in the language before arriving in France. A first-generation interviewee highlights the extent to which the aforementioned situation helped elevate his French proficiency:

[12] *I have no problem with the French language. I'm able to do analysis, reports, and summaries, but I admit, I am more comfortable with Arabic.*

Members of the second and third generations are not naturally expected to have a good proficiency in Arabic, since French is their dominant language. While this is largely applicable to the majority of second- and third-generation interviewees in this study, there are cases in which participants possess a good proficiency in the heritage language. Furthermore, most second- and third-generation respondents, although unable to speak Arabic fluently, can generally understand Algerian Arabic because it is the native language of their parents or grandparents. They, however, encounter great difficulty when trying to decipher the standard form of Arabic, which they use almost exclusively for religious purposes. This is aptly described by a second-generation interviewee who expressed his frustration with the situation upon visiting Algeria as follows:

[13] *When I go to Algeria, and I see, for example, a sign, a billboard, or something written in Arabic, each time I am forced to stop, to ask my friend, to ask my people, 'What is this?' You see, sometimes, you receive mail in Arabic in Algeria, you receive letters, bills, things. Well, when I look at the mail, I feel like my great-grandfather who doesn't know how to read or write. I feel powerless, and as a man who lives in France, knows how to read French, English, Spanish, and somewhat involved in business, I usually manage things just fine, but when I go down [to Algeria], I feel powerless. It's something very serious for me.*

Some second- and third-generation interviewees claimed that their acquisition of Algerian Arabic was before the standard Arabic. A third-generation interviewee describes her experience as follows:

[14] *I've spoken Derja [Algerian Arabic] since I was little, because my mom often spoke on the phone with family when I was at home, so we almost only spoke Arabic. As for Fos'ha [Standard Arabic], I started learning it at the end of last year. I'm taking online classes, and now I've finished preparing for the Medina volume. Already I understand, it's fine, but I have trouble expressing myself. I've only been learning it since the end of 2023.*

The same interviewee touched upon a crucial point regarding her proficiency in Arabic:

[15] *I have never visited Algeria. I have cousins who often go to Bled. One of whom speaks Darija well, and another speaks Chaoui very, very well. Without a doubt, the fact that I've never been there plays a big role, actually. It plays a big role. That's for sure.*

As indicated in the previous excerpt, the interviewee perceives her lack of visits to Algeria as a crucial factor behind her inadequate proficiency in Arabic. Second- and third-generation children may be exposed to Arabic through contact with family and relatives in Algeria which can be very beneficial for improving their Arabic proficiency. Such contact not only provide valuable exposure to Arabic, but also serve to counteract the societal and academic pressures for a shift towards French. In response to a question about the linguistic benefit of visiting Algeria for his children, a first-generation interviewee remarked as follows:

[16] *Yes, of course it's beneficial. It's simple. In February, we stayed for two weeks. Those two weeks were the equivalent of a year of Arabic lessons. I was talking with my spouse, and we're going to take a sabbatical year. I'm going to take unpaid leave, and the same thing for my wife. A whole year, that is, from June to June of next year, and we will put our children in an Arabic school even if they don't understand anything. But it doesn't matter, they'll improve in a whole year there.*

While contact with relatives in Algeria is important, it is by no means always positive. At times, visits can worsen the situation for second- or third-generation children, accelerating the shift towards the dominant language. The following is an excerpt from an interview with a first-generation parent describing his children's experience:

[17] *Question: Which language do your children use when talking to their relatives in Algeria?*
Answer: French.
Question: So, they did not learn Arabic even when they were in contact with family in Algeria?
Answer: No, because my family in Algeria spoke to them in French since they knew they do not

understand Arabic.

4.2.3. Language attitudes

Concerning interviewees' attitudes towards Arabic, the results are congruent with findings from the questionnaire. Participants across different generations who took part in the interview voiced their positive attitudes towards their heritage language. For members of the first generation, Arabic not only denotes their native language and an essential means of communication with family and relatives at home, but also bears great cultural value and deeply correlates with their Algerian identity which is substantiated by a myriad of first-generation interviewees' statements. An interviewee mentioned the following:

[18] *I cannot live in a place where there are no Algerians or Maghrebis in general. I need to hear Arabic and talk about Algeria. I feel at home like that.*

This positive stance towards the heritage language drive much of the efforts among first-generation members who believe their children should maintain Arabic, especially standard form. A first-generation interviewee asserts the following:

[19] *We must preserve and protect our own language. Even though I said we speak in Derja [Algerian Arabic], we still need to read Arabic, understand Arabic, and write it properly. Speaking in dialect isn't the problem; it's just our everyday habit. I advise people, as I do myself, to teach their children Arabic [Standard Arabic] and pass on these foundations to them. After all, we are of Arab origins; we are Algerians.*

A first-generation interviewee theorized that if she had children, she would like them not only to learn Arabic, but also to memorise the Holy Quran, which further underscores the extremely positive attitudes that members of the first generation hold towards their native language.

Arabic remains significant for both the second and third generations given that it constitutes their fathers' and grandfathers' native language and a link to their historical and cultural roots. All of them exhibited a strong attachment to Islam, for which the Arabic language is absolutely imperative. A second-generation respondent affirms the following:

[20] *For me, nothing is better than Arabic. Why is nothing better than Arabic? Because it's the language of Paradise… Nothing is better for me.*

Echoing a similar sentiment, one interviewee highlights the importance of learning Arabic for

the second generation and calls for preserving the Algerian linguistic and cultural heritage:

[21] *Many immigrants don't feel French. No matter how hard they try, they'll never be seen as French. That's why parents and future parents must pass on the Arabic language, whether Darija or Fus'ha. It's almost a duty. We can't forget our roots, what our ancestors endured, or France's actions in Algeria. Never forget. This is very important. This is very, very important. But not everyone agrees. At the end, it's a personal choice.*

Interviewees also expressed awareness of the significant role that French occupies in their lives. First-generation Algerians recognise the importance of French in securing job opportunities, reaching academic milestones, as well as achieving social acceptance and integration. As such, their attitudes towards it are not negative, but rather one of awareness and positivity. A first-generation interviewee stated the following:

[22] *Now that we came to France, it is absolutely normal to speak French for work as well as for everything. Even back in Algeria, we did not speak Arabic fully as half of it was French and the other half Arabic. We kept doing that for years and it stayed with us.*

For the second and third generations, French assumes the primary position that Arabic occupied in the lives of their first-generation parents or grandparents. In that sense, their attitudes towards French may prove positive for more reasons than just occupational or academic. To quote the words of a second-generation interviewee on why the French language is important for him:

[23] *Because I was born here [in France], and because it's part of my everyday culture.*

Due to positive attitudes towards the heritage language and culture, many interviewees reported receiving scathing remarks or behaviours seeking to eradicate any presence of their heritage language. This is especially the case in workplaces or educational establishments wherein the French language is supremely powerful. One first-generation interviewee explains the following:

[24] *We'll let some French kid speak English and we'll all be admiring him. We'll look at him, and we'll say he's fluent. But when some little boy speaks Arabic, even if he's just five or six, teachers will look at him differently, because in their mind, speaking Arabic doesn't mean he's got a wealth of knowledge. No, it means he's not trained enough or intelligent enough to speak French. That's how twisted the values are here.*

Herein the interviewee claims that the French as well as France's institutions deliberately engineer an inferiority complex into Arab kids (including Algerians), so they grow up ashamed of being Arab. If true, this strategy would undoubtedly reflect negative attitudes towards Arabic, not only from a societal perspective, but also from a governmental one.

4.2.4. Integration and stigmatization

Integration denotes a complex and multifaceted process which impacts immigrants' social, cultural and linguistic adaptation to the new society. For Algerian immigrants in France, integration includes much more than just a quest for economic stability, but rather goes far and beyond to involve navigating languages, dealing with societal attitudes, coming to term with historical facts, and overcoming systemic barriers. Drawing on interview data, this theme encompasses how integration and discrimination intersect, highlighting interviewees' different challenges and experiences in preserving their heritage language while negotiating a place in the French society.

Upon arriving to France, Algerian immigrants encounter significant challenges in trying to reconcile their cultural background with the norms of the French society. These differences undoubtedly make adaptation difficult and hinder immigrants' integration. One first-generation participant asserts the following:

[25] *There is a huge difference in mentality between the Algerian society and the French one. I came to France at the age of 31, and I saw an entirely different mindset, and a different way of doing things. When you're here, you can't help but notice that this isn't your country of origin, but rather a different land.*

In addition to such differences, the interviewee continues on how the French society views Algerian immigrants, and how that view may fuel discriminatory actions:

[26] *Even if you lived long here, you'll always be considered as an outsider. If you don't believe me, go and ask members of the second and third generations. They are always considered as strangers. There is no way you will be fully accepted. You are not in your country, and even when you forget that, they remind you of it. It's a feeling.*

One first-generation interviewee tells the story of his child who was humiliated by one of his teachers for merely drawing an Algerian flag. The parent maintains his son's positive attitudes towards Arabic and the Algerian culture, which prompted him to draw an Algerian

flag when the teacher allowed them to freely sketch whatever they wanted. In consequence, the child was publicly shamed by the teacher in sight of his classmates and other teachers. According to the parent, his son's once positive attitudes towards Arabic dwindled in fear of stigmatization. Such incidents usually result in hastening a shift towards the French language and culture to avoid any unfavourable outcomes, whether academically, socially, or professionally.

Negative views may stem from erroneous stereotypes which associate the Arabic language with acts of violence. A first-generation interviewee argues that although Arabic is not prohibited by law, it is socially discouraged. The participant attributes such an adverse view to the media which created a conflation of ideas linking Arabic and Islam to terrorism. This association appears to also impact women in professional and academic settings for wearing Hijab. A third-generation participant stated the following:

[27] *In order to be accepted at school or at work, I will have to remove my hijab. It is a very very difficult situation, especially that I have to work to survive.*

Another interviewee (third generation) tells one of her experiences with Hijab. She asserted the following:

[28] *Not long ago, I took my driving test. I was wearing a hijab, which was loose, long, very full. I drove perfectly, zero mistakes, but I failed. The examiner's report claimed I made three errors, though I had made none. These might seem like small things, but when you add them up, they become overwhelming.*

The previous excerpt underscores a deep frustration with such experiences, leading even second- and third- generation respondents, who were born and raised in France, speak perfect French, and are effectively French citizens, to feel that they are unable to fully integrate.

Despite these challenges, some respondents provided alternative views, highlighting acceptance and illustrating how the cultural and linguistic differences faced by immigrants may actually serve as a means to social integration in the French society. One first-generation interviewee states the following:

[29] *I have been living here abroad for more than 23 years, and from my experiences, I can say that society here is tolerant. I haven't experienced an incident where I felt like a foreigner, be that as a student or even now. It is the man who crafts his own environment.*

In light of these views, it is important to note that although the French society possess a capacity for tolerance and acceptance, discriminatory incidents are woefully impactful on immigrants' integration and maintenance of their heritage language.

4.2.5. Identity and belonging

The interviews also revealed discrepancies in how different generations perceive both the heritage language in relation to their identity and belonging to the French society.

For the first generation, the Algerian identity is unnegotiable. They often perceive themselves as Algerians before all else despite the fact that some of them have been residing in France for decades. They show a strong attachment to Algerian culture and traditions even when they have to use the French language for practical purposes or when they are obliged to conform with French culture and norms. First-generation Algerians were born and raised in Algeria, and this drives and sustains much of this strong sentiment. This has been reported on numerous occasions throughout the interviews. For example, an older first-generation interviewee describes how he feels about his identity and language by saying the following:

[30] *We grew up in the embrace of the Arabic language. The Arabic language is our identity. Although we came to France and we spoke French, it was normal because it was for work. We remain after all Algerians.*

One interviewee expressed his need to live near Algerians and interact with them on a daily basis as it gives him a sense of belonging. He asserted the following:

[31] *Algerians are everywhere here in France. I need to be close to them. It makes me feel like I belong. It's necessary. At work, there are no Algerians, but when I finish working every day, I go to the cafeteria where there are Algerians, so I would drink coffee with them and talk.*

This strong sense of identity and belonging is also evident in the following excerpt by another interviewee:

[32] *Let's be truthful, we can't say we're completely comfortable here; this isn't our homeland. I come from a revolutionary family who fought in the Algerian War of Independence, but fate brought me here. It's impossible to feel belonging as you do in your own country…. when we hear the national anthem, we cry. Do you think France can make us forget our roots? No way.*

Second-generation Algerians in France constitute an interesting case. They are the children

of the first generation who often maintained a strong Algerian identity. At the same time, they are French nationals, born and/or raised in France, studied in French schools, and spoke French as a native language. This duality places them in a complex position, simultaneously identifying as both Algerian and French, yet often feeling neither fully Algerian nor fully French. This identity struggle was especially noticeable in the words of a second-generation participant who, during the course of the interview identified as French, then as Algerian. When asked about his identity, the interviewee at first said the following:

[33] *Well, I'm… Okay, fine. Honestly, I'm Muslim, alright? But in my identity, in my DNA, I feel French. Even if they don't like us, I'm not the one who's wrong here. I'll never be like them. For me, I belong to this land, you know? I'm part of this land. Why do I belong to this land? Because, look, you belong to a place the moment you're in its soil, when you die here, you get it? And my loved ones, they're buried here. My daughter is buried here. You see what I'm trying to say? That's it.*

The hesitations and pauses in the participant's statement underlies an emotional struggle to express his identity. On the one hand, he does not deny his Muslim affiliation which is an essential part of the Algerian identity, but on the other hand, he claims his French identity openly, showing pride and belonging to France. In a later statement, however, he projects a different view as follows:

[34] *I don't want my children to lose this [Algerian] identity, because it's in our genes, it's in our DNA, it's part of who we are. Whether we like it or not. My father came from Africa, from the Maghreb.*

The participant's use of "DNA" as a metaphor in both excerpts powerfully demonstrates the hybrid Algerian-French identity as well as the noticeable struggle of navigating them both. This duality may potentially at times accelerate a shift towards the French language among subsequent generations, but pride of the Algerian Muslim identity in other times may serve to support Arabic maintenance efforts. The participant eventually recognises the identity struggle by aptly describing the second generation of Algerians in France as "the lost generation". He explains as follows:

[35] *Our generation is the lost generation. That is to say, we are the generation stuck in between the two [identities]. Do you understand what I mean? This term, the lost generation, it means we are neither inclined towards the French culture, nor towards the Algerian culture.*

It is crucial to recognize the role of first-generation parents in shaping their second-generation children's identity. First-generation parents are suitably equipped to help their children navigate this dual struggle. One first-generation respondent shares his experience with his children who, although born and raised in France, feel more attached to Algeria by saying the following:

[36] *Up until now, they…, our oldest son is 13, they don't feel any connection to France. When they go to Algeria, they don't want to come back. They resist, they cry, they just don't want to come back. They feel more Algerian than French. In a few years, that might change, but for now, even though they don't speak Arabic fluently, when they're in Algeria, they feel at home. Although they were born here in France, they don't really have ties here.*

Generally, the aforementioned narratives highlight the complexity of hybrid identities, challenging monolithic notions of identity and belonging in multicultural and multilinguistic contexts.

It is claimed that third generation Algerians are less afflicted with the identity struggles than the previous generation as they perceive themselves as fully French. Born to second-generation parents, third-generation Algerians may generally seem to have achieved full assimilation into the French society, adhering to French culture and norms and speaking the French language as their mother tongue. Nonetheless, interview data analysis depicts a far more complex picture of an identity shaped by ties to their Algerian heritage as well as by the social realities of their environment. Although they are deeply integrated into the French society and culture, they still grapple with questions of identity and belonging. When asked about her identity, a third-generation interviewee stated the following:

[37] *Answer: Well… I'm French, but I'm Algerian too. When I'm here [France], people ask me, 'What is you origin?' I tell them I'm Algerian. But when I'm back in the homeland [Algeria], they ask me where I'm from, and I say from France. Got it?*
Question: Don't you feel lost like that?
Answer: Yes…it's like I'm lost at sea.

The respondent displays a fluid, context-dependent identity, which shifts between Algerian and French in order to cater to the social reality of her surroundings. She is French, but she cannot escape her heritage, nor her looks, and there will always be questions about her origin, despite living in France her entire life. Similarly, when she goes to Algeria, she also feels out

of place. Echoing the words of the aforementioned second-generation interviewee, she also struggles and feels 'lost'. The sea metaphor is fitting, given that from a geographical perspective, the Mediterranean Sea separates Algeria and France, leaving her stuck in between the two countries and the two identities.

The entirety of the interview, however, provides more context in which her narrative leans more towards integration into the French society. This is evidenced by the respondent's appreciation of the socioeconomic opportunities available in France as well as the quality of education, which showcases a realistic view of what both identities offer in terms of positives and negatives. Another third-generation respondent from Marseille provides a unique perspective on her identity. She explains as follows:

[38] *Here, I feel closer to Algerians. Because I don't really connect with the French culture in general. I don't see myself in it. So, for me, it's a bit unique, I see myself as Marseillaise. It's a bit tricky to explain, but… the difference is, in Marseille, it's a mindset, you know? It's not like other cities in France. It's totally different. People here are close-knit; they talk to each other. When you live in Marseille, it's a whole vibe, a way of being.*

Although the interviewee admits to feeling more associated with the Algerian culture, she considers herself a Marseillaise. Marseille hosts the largest concentration of Algerian immigrants in France and constitutes one of Europe's most culturally and linguistically diverse cities. The participant affirms that living in Marseille allows her to be close to Algerians, which provides a sense of belonging to her culture of origin. Moreover, her statement reflects the development of a localised identity, born out of the geographical concentration of immigrant communities such as that of Algerians as well as the French culture. This localised identity blends elements from various cultures and ideally depicts the struggle between integration and heritage. Moreover, it also highlights the role of linguistic and cultural enclaves in the maintenance of heritage languages.

Overall, interviews with third-generation respondents challenge the usual simplistic narratives which argue that later generation of immigrants eventually shift towards the majority culture, forfeiting their heritage identity in favour of a new one. In numerous interviews with participants, it is shown that Algerian immigrants, regardless of their generation, still uphold at the very least, a modicum of Algerian identity. A prevailing example is the celebration of the holy month of Ramadan in which interviewees express their feelings of nostalgia and belonging to the Algerian culture by enthusiastically following Algerian TV channels and

programs, and while such a collective act may not be very indicative, it showcases their lingering attachment to their religion, language, culture and identity.

4.2.6. Heritage language transmission

In a migrant context, attempts made to transmit and preserve the heritage language from one generation to another often mark the difference between language maintenance and shift. This theme tackles the efforts which immigrant families, the immigrant community, and the country of origin exert to transmit Arabic to members of the second and third generations.

The basis for heritage language transmission begins within the family. The majority of first-generation interviewees expressed on several occasions the importance of transmitting the Arabic language to their second-generation children. However, if such positive attitudes are not accompanied with tangible efforts on the part of parents, their children are likely to shift towards French. Although he expressed his strong intention to teach his children Arabic, one first-generation respondent makes little to no effort to teach them, citing time constraints as an excuse.

Nonetheless, great efforts are exerted on the part of many first-generation respondents in order to transmit the Arabic language to the next generation. A first-generation interviewee said the following:

[39] *We don't want our kids to lose their Arabic language. Normally on Sundays, I've got other things to do, but look, we're here from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. so our children can learn Arabic. All these efforts are for that.*

One interviewee emphasised that parents' efforts to transmit the heritage language can be hindered by schools in France. He explains that a negative association may develop regarding the use of Arabic by children since it is seen less valuable or less prestigious by the majority group. As a solution, that parent suggested regular visits to Algeria.

The Algerian Muslim immigrant community in France also play an active role in the transmission of Arabic to future generations. When asked about Arabic heritage schools in France, a first-generation respondent stated the following:

[40] *These schools are supported by the community…. They provide donations. We worked in a mosque before, and it was the community that participated and aided in building the schools, the Muslim community I mean.*

The Algerian government also participates in the efforts of Arabic language transmission by recruiting teachers from Algeria to teach immigrants' children. A first-generation interviewee affirmed the following:

[41] *Those who wish to teach their children Arabic can find 10 or 12 pupils of Algerian origin, bring them together, and go to school to ask for a teacher. The teacher is paid and supported by Algeria. They'll give them a classroom for teaching Arabic at school.*

It is evident from the interviews that efforts to transmit Arabic are undeniably present at the level of the family and communities. These efforts reflect a strong commitment to preserving both the linguistic and cultural heritage in the hope of achieving long-term language maintenance.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

Chapter 5 summarises and discusses the main findings of both questionnaires and interviews presented in the previous chapter in order to shed light on the main research question, that is whether the Algerian community in France is maintaining its L1 or shifting towards the majority language (L2). The main findings will be discussed in relation to previous research to understand how this study contributes to, challenges, or expand upon existing research in the area of heritage language maintenance and shift.

5.1. Discussion of questionnaire results

The first sub-question of this study addresses the differences between the first, second, and third generations pertaining to their Arabic and French proficiency levels, their language use across various domains and their attitudes towards Arabic and French. This allows for predicting whether or not the Arabic language is maintained across multiple generations of Algerian immigrants in France. Questionnaire data showed that the three generations of Algerian immigrants differ in their Arabic proficiency level and their language use across different domains. Compared to first-generation participants, second- and third-generation participants had a significantly lower level of Arabic proficiency. This can be due in part to second- and third-generation participants' self-reported low literacy skills in Arabic. The respondents affirmed having stronger skills in speaking and understanding, compared to reading or writing the language. This was also noticeable in the interviews in which second- and third-generation interviewees were far more inclined to speak the Algerian dialect than use any forms of standard Arabic. Previous studies (e.g., Alsahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006; Othman, 2011) indicate that the decline in heritage language literacy for second- and third-generation Algerians is usually attributed to their predominant use of the dialect acquired through interactions with their parents rather than engaging in formal instruction to improve their heritage language. Another possible reason contributing to second- and third-generation Algerians' declining proficiency in Arabic is France's strict assimilationist policy, which solely promotes French while excluding other minority languages. This can have an adverse effect on Algerians' heritage language proficiency due to the dominance of French in almost every sphere of life, rendering Arabic irrelevant.

The results also revealed a generational decline in the use of Arabic across most domains.

Compared to first-generation participants, the use of Arabic at home decreased among second- and third-generation participants. The use of Arabic for these generations is largely restricted to communication with their parents. Having been born and raised in France, later generations of Algerians may view French as more than just a useful language for garnering academic and professional opportunities, but also as an inherently important part of their identity. In the religion domain, Arabic appears to be the most frequently used language for all three generations. This result is consistent with previous findings of Gomaa (2011) and Tawalbeh (2017) who noted that religion plays a crucial role in the maintenance of Arabic among the Egyptian and Iraqi immigrant communities in the UK and New Zealand. This aligns with the core values theory, which argues that the heritage language is more likely to be maintained when it is closely linked to religion. Both Arabic and French are used by the second and third generations when studying the heritage language in weekend schools. The use of both languages is expected as most second- and third-generation Algerians lack basic skills in standard Arabic, and as such, using French becomes essential for instruction. Language use in other public domains (e.g., work) is largely dominated by French, whereas Arabic is rarely, if at all, used which may contribute to a rapid intergenerational shift to French. Overall, these findings indicate a gradual language shift is taking place from generation to generation as described by Fishman's predictive model of language shift (1972b). Most previous studies conducted in relation to language maintenance and shift, particularly in migration contexts (e.g., Michnowicz et al., 2023; Sevinç, 2016; Shabtaev et al., 2022) showed that language shift is inevitable and takes place within three generations.

Positive attitudes towards a heritage language are usually associated with its maintenance, while negative attitudes are often correlated with a shift to the dominant language. As such, inspecting participants' attitudes allows for gauging the possibility for either the maintenance or shift of the Arabic language among Algerian immigrants in France. Surprisingly, all three generations exhibited very positive attitudes towards the Arabic language, maintaining not only the importance of its use, but also the necessity of its transmission to later generations. This can be attributed to social and historical factors underlying Algerian identity. Algerians usually take immense pride in their history, religion, traditions, culture, identity, and origin, which keeps their attitudes positive towards the heritage language despite the passing of generations and the strong pressures of assimilation from the majority group. Usually, this bodes well for heritage language transmission and maintenance efforts. However, second- and third-generation Algerians' positive attitudes towards Arabic do not necessarily result in its frequent

use and maintenance, as they often rely on French in their daily lives. Similar results have been observed among Spanish-speakers in the United States (Potowski, 2004).

The second sub-question addressed the relationship between Arabic language proficiency, language use across different domains, and attitudes towards Arabic. Correlational analyses revealed a highly significant positive correlation between participants' Arabic proficiency and their attitudes towards Arabic, suggesting that the more their positive attitudes towards Arabic, the higher level of proficiency they maintain in that language. The analyses also revealed significant negative correlations between Arabic language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, and French language use across different domains including home, friends, mosque and heritage language schools. These findings highlight the idea that language choice is closely related to linguistic competence and emphasise the role of attitudes as a driver of language choice and use in non-official contexts. Overall, proficiency, use and attitudes seem to be closely linked, with each influencing the other in different ways.

The third sub-question of this study explored the factors that were claimed to predict Arabic language proficiency, Arabic language use in the family and friendship domains, and attitudes towards Arabic among three generations of Algerian immigrants in France (for an overview on regression analyses see Appendix E). As expected, the regression analyses revealed notable generational differences in the factors affecting Arabic language maintenance. While more time spent in France (LOR), less use of Arabic at home, being single or having a partner negatively affect first generation's Arabic proficiency, French proficiency seems to be positively associated with their Arabic proficiency. This may indicate that having a good proficiency level in the French language does not impact first-generation participants' Arabic language proficiency. In contrast, the results suggested a negative association between French proficiency and Arabic proficiency among second- and third-generation Algerians, which means the higher their French proficiency level, the lower their Arabic proficiency. Results also showed that more frequent use of Arabic at home significantly enhanced second- and third generation Algerians' Arabic proficiency, highlighting the family domain as a crucial context supporting heritage language maintenance. Besides, using Arabic in the religion domain emerged as a key predictor for this group, which again refers to the important role of religion in improving Arabic proficiency (Baker, 2011). Positive attitudes towards Arabic also predicted higher Arabic proficiency among the second and third generations, which emphasise the importance of positive attitudes in the process of language maintenance.

The predictive model of home language use for the first generation revealed that higher French proficiency and having a French partner are associated with greater use of French at

home. According to Holmes (2013), marrying someone from the majority group can significantly impact language use at home, particularly for children. On the other hand, positive attitudes towards Arabic are linked to more use of Arabic at home. The regression model predicting home language use among second- and third-generation participants revealed that the higher their proficiency in Arabic, the more likely they use Arabic at home. Positive attitudes towards French were associated with increased use of French. Frequency of visits to Algeria was another significant predictor: participants who visited the country three to five times a year or more than 5 times were much more likely to use Arabic at home compared to those who never visited Algeria. Moreover, those living in neighbourhoods where both Arabic and French are spoken were more likely to maintain Arabic language use at home.

Home language use was found to be the most significant predictor of immigrants' language use with friends. This indicated that participants who use French at home are more likely to use French with their friends. Attitudes towards French and neighbourhood were also significant predictors for second- and third-generation participants. Overall, positive attitudes towards French and French language use at home indicated the use of French in the friendship domain. The results also showed that second- and third-generation participants tend to use French even in neighbourhood dominated by Arabs.

The regression model predicting attitudes towards Arabic among the first generation suggested that the more they use French at home, the more negative their attitudes towards Arabic become and that higher Arabic proficiency is associated with more positive attitudes towards Arabic. For the second and third generations, key predictors indicated that: 1) higher Arabic proficiency is associated with positive attitudes towards Arabic, 2) higher proficiency in French is associated with negative attitudes towards Arabic, and 3) having a Franco-Algerian partner is associated with positive attitudes towards Arabic.

5.2. Discussion of interview results

Semi-structured interviews were employed to complement, crosscheck, and expand on the findings obtained from the questionnaire. The interviews provide more depth on the language proficiency, language use, and language attitudes of three generations of Algerians in France. Moreover, interviews data offered a wealth of information which revealed additional themes beyond the initial scope, such as issues of identity, struggles of integration, and the efforts of heritage language transmission. In line with results from the questionnaire, the interviews indicate an intergenerational language shift of Arabic among Algerian immigrants.

Interview data suggest a gradual decline in Arabic language proficiency from one generation to the next. Most second- and third-generation respondents demonstrated limited proficiency in Arabic and consistently struggled to express themselves in the language. As such the majority of them resorted to answering in French instead. This supports findings from the questionnaire whereby second- and third-generation participants reported a lower proficiency in Arabic (M = 2.6; 2.2, respectively) than their first-generation counterparts (M = 4.3). Multiple studies confirm similar results, suggesting a decline in heritage language proficiency among later generations of immigrants (Urzúa & Gómez, 2008; Sevinç, 2016). Nonetheless, second- and third-generation interviewees maintained having better comprehension despite their apparent difficulty with speaking standard Arabic, which highlights deficiencies with their literacy skills. Participants of the second and third generations attributed their low proficiency in Arabic to their lack of visits to Algeria. They argued that trips to Algeria where the heritage language is widely spoken would have provided them with the chance to practice and improve their proficiency.

Interview findings on participants' language use and choice indicate a decrease in Arabic use among the second and third generations in several domains, which aligns with results from the questionnaire. The interviewees maintained that language choice primarily depends upon the person as well as the context in which the conversation takes place, which showcases the multiple dimensions and domains in which languages can be used. In the home domain, the partner's nationality was found to be impactful. Interviewees married to non-Algerian spouses reported lower Arabic language use at home and with their children than participants married to Algerians. Furthermore, Algerian respondents married to different nationalities revealed negative outcomes concerning heritage language transmission to their children. These findings indicate that the likelihood of Arabic language maintenance decreases when one parent speaks a different language at home, affecting children's acquisition and use of the heritage language negatively.

The interviews also suggest that participants, regardless of the generation, use a great deal of French in the workplace, which is consistent with results from the questionnaire (M = 4.1; 4.6; 4.5 respectively). Accordingly, the constant and excessive use of French in the workplace may serve to push immigrants away from the heritage language and towards the majority language. The interviews also probed a significant domain of language use which was not quantitatively explored by the questionnaire. Media, whether traditional (e.g., TV, radio, magazines) or social (e.g., Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube), represent an important space where immigrants encounter and engage with language. Although preferences vary

across generations, with the second and third favouring social media and the first preferring traditional media, the results reveal a consistent pattern of a declining use of the Arabic language. Whereas the first generation favour the Arabic language, the second and third generations appear to be inclined towards the use of French, which may underscore the gradual shift to the majority language among later generations. Findings on respondents' online language practices align with previous research suggesting that later generations tend to interact more with online content in the dominant language rather than that of the heritage language (see Chen et al., 2018; Torsh, 2025). The second and third generations attribute their lack of interaction using the heritage language on social media to their limited proficiency and cite difficulties to write and read the dialect, especially that most posts and comments are written in Latin script. Nonetheless, all interviewees affirm exploring Algerian content during the holy month of Ramadan, which indicates a continued connection with the heritage language and the Algerian cultural and religious traditions through media consumption.

Interview data unveiled interesting findings about participants' codeswitching whereby the phenomenon occurred in different patterns depending on the participants' generation. While first-generation respondents used Arabic and occasionally included French words and phrases, the second and third generations primarily spoke French and sometimes incorporated Arabic into their speech. This reversal of patterns showcases a shift towards French among later generations and a decline of Arabic use. Shabtaev et al. (2021) found that changes in code-witching patterns can be indicative of a shift to the majority language, which aligns with the present results from the interview. Nevertheless, first-generation interviewees downplay the role of codeswitching to French, suggesting that the phenomenon is a legacy of French colonialism which became a habit in the Algerian society over time.

The interview data also covered participants' language attitudes. Participants across all generations appear to harbour positive attitudes towards the heritage language. For first-generation Algerians, Arabic denotes their native language and an indispensable link to their culture and identity. As such, Arabic holds an important place in their lives. Although the second and third generations may not possess as strong a link to Arabic as their parents and grandparents, they still show interest in learning and preserving the language of their ancestors given that it ties them back to their original culture and heritage. Attitudes towards French are also positive across all generations. Despite having a strong attachment to Arabic, first-generation Algerians recognize the value that French offers upon immigration. For them, French constitutes the key to economic stability, educational success, and social integration, and as such, it is not seen in opposition to the Arabic language, but rather as a useful tool in the

new environment. Although the aforementioned socioeconomic benefits also hold true for the second and third generations, the French language occupies an additional dimension for them. Born and raised in France, second- and third-generation interviewees reveal an emotional attachment to the French language, which also fuels their positive attitudes towards it.

In addition to the aforementioned three themes, the interviews unveiled valuable insights into the participants' struggles for integrations, experiences of stigmatization, feelings of identity and belonging as well as initiatives for heritage language transmission.

For immigrants, success in the new society can be synonymous with their degree of integration to it. Numerous interviewees reported great difficulty in trying to integrate into the French society, which impacts not only their economic stability, but also their heritage language. A large number of participants across all generations affirmed experiencing different forms of discrimination. For instance, many respondents report reoccurring incidents whereby the Arabic language is severely discouraged in public as well as in school, while women recount their experiences with hijab both professionally and academically. These incidents sometimes pressures immigrants to forcefully adopt the new culture and language in order to avoid stigmatization and achieve social integration, which hastens the shift towards the majority language.

Results from the interviews shed light on the struggle of later generations with navigating their identity. Unlike first-generation participants who possess a strong attachment to the Algerian identity, second-generation participants struggle between their affiliation to the French society, and their sense of belonging to their culture of origin. An interviewee used the term "the lost generation" to portray the identity conflict that many second-generation Algerians experience whereby they are neither fully Algerian nor fully French. Interview discussions also indicate that third-generations respondents experience a similar struggle, which challenges the prevailing view suggesting that later generations fully assimilate into the dominant culture. This conflict may impact heritage language maintenance as feelings of attachment to the culture and identity of origin could motivate second- and third-generation Algerians to take action promoting the acquisition and use of Arabic.

Heritage language transmission efforts can be the defining line between maintenance and shift. The interviews show that although the majority of respondents hold positive attitudes towards the Arabic language, not all of them exert efforts to transmit it to the following generation. As such, having positive attitudes without proactive involvement into the process of heritage language transmission will yield adverse outcomes as reported by a number of participants whose children are unable to speak Arabic. Admittedly, many interviewees

affirmed going to great length to insure their children learning of the heritage language, which is largely fuelled by their unshakeable positive view of the Arabic language and the Islamic religion. The findings from the interviews align with well-established literature highlighting the role of parents' efforts in heritage language transmission as well as the impact of their positive attitudes on driving such efforts forward (King & Fogle, 2006; Alafifi, 2025).

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation is made up of six chapters. The first chapter is an introduction. The second Chapter includes the theoretical background in line with the research topic, with a focus on the various factors (demographic and sociolinguistic) that are claimed to influence the process of language maintenance and shift. The third chapter describes the methodology upon which the analysis is based. Chapter 4 reports the main quantitative and qualitative results. Chapter 5 then discusses the main findings in relation to previous research. Finally, chapter 6 provides a comprehensive summary for the main findings, highlights the study limitations, and recommends suggestions for conducting future research.

6.1. Summary

The present study investigated language maintenance and shift among the Algerian community residing in France. Drawing on cross-generational comparisons, this study aimed to answer whether the Algerian community in France is maintaining its L1 or shifting towards the majority language (L2). Questionnaire and interview data indicated that a possible shift from Arabic to French is taking place among second- and third-generation Algerians in France. This was evident in their self-reported language proficiency and their language use in different domains. While both second and third generations maintain positive attitudes towards Arabic, they seem to use more French than Arabic even in the family domain. The study revealed a complex relationship between Arabic language proficiency, language use across multiple domains, and attitudes towards Arabic. Key predictors contributing to Arabic language maintenance or shift include language use at home, language use at the mosque, partner nationality, visiting Algeria, attitudes towards both Arabic and French, Arabic and French proficiency. The interviews further highlighted the contributing factors behind immigrants' language shift which are related to: exposure to French prior migration, lack of exposure to Arabic, and experiences of stigmatization, discrimination and marginalization.

6.2. Limitations of the study

This study has a number of limitations that need to be considered when conducting future research. One of these limitations was the participants' reluctance to engage with the online questionnaire. Although time- and cost-effective, the online format may have incited feelings of mistrust and concern regarding participants' data privacy and anonymity. It was not also helpful that the questionnaire itself was lengthy and contained questions pertaining to their

demographic background, immigration to France, and cultural affiliation. Although the questions were standard, some immigrants felt discomfort sharing information on items they considered 'personal'. To address these concerns, it was necessary to conduct multiple trips to France. This proved to be more effective given that face-to-face interactions fostered more trust and positive interactions, which encouraged participation among Algerian immigrants and yielded more data.

While the fifth section of the questionnaire was designed to explore the phenomenon of code-switching and its potential role in the process of language shift among the Algerian community in France, the current data did not tackle this aspect quantitatively. Insights were instead drawn from interview data which did not capture enough detail to reach broader conclusions.

Another important limitation of this study was the small sample representing both second- and third-generation Algerians. Due to historical and demographic factors, the number of second- and especially third-generation Algerians in France is lower than that of their first-generation counterparts, which makes collecting data from these groups more challenging. Moreover, the use of the snowballing technique was not very effective since most first-generation participants shared the questionnaire with others form the same generation. Similarly, the interview sample was mostly restricted to the first generation which may have limited the depth of analysis regarding the linguistic practices, attitudes, and perspectives of younger generations.

6.3. Suggestions for future research

Drawing on some of the limitations of this study, future research dealing with the Algerian diaspora in France must consider reaching more second- and third-generation participants since language shift become more pronounced and easier to detect among later generations. Previous studies conducted on the loss of dialects or languages (e.g., Nor Hisham, 1994; Smolicz, 1983) found that code-switching was significant in promoting language shift. According to David (1996: 58), code-switching is a "step in the process of language shift". As such, investigating patterns of code-switching can add to the understanding of the whole picture as it can be one of the reasons behind the language maintenance or the gradual language shift among the Algerian community in France. While the findings of this study are based on Algerian immigrants' self-reports, future researchers must consider analysing their actual speech (through interviews, narratives, etc) in order to identify structural and functional features that reflect their linguistic practices which would enhance our understanding of language

maintenance and shift among such immigrant community. Given the linguistic diversity within the Algerian diaspora, future research should consider investigating Tamazight language maintenance and shift in France. This would offer a basis for comparative analysis between the two groups.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. 1 Questionnaire - English Version

As part of my research on language maintenance and shift among the Algerian community in France, I need to gather as many opinions on the topic as possible. Please, answer the questions accurately and objectively, and I pledge that the information you provide will be confidential. Thank you in advance for your participation!

Section 01: Background Information

1. Gender:

- ⬭ Male
- ⬭ Female

2. Age: .....
3. Place of birth

- ⬭ Algeria
- ⬭ France
- ⬭ Other

4. Place of current residence (in France): .....
5. Nationality

- ⬭ Algerian
- ⬭ French
- ⬭ Algerian and French
- ⬭ Other

6. Religion: .....
7. Educational level

- ⬭ Less than high school diploma
- ⬭ High school diploma
- ⬭ Vocational training certificate or diploma
- ⬭ Bachelor
- ⬭ Master
- ⬭ Doctorate

8. What is your current profession? ……..
9. If you are retired, could you please indicate your last profession before retirement?

   .....
10. What is your current marital status?

- ⬭ Married

- ◯ Separated/divorced
- ◯ Widow/widower
- ◯ With partner
- ◯ Single

11. If you have a spouse/partner, what is his/ her nationality? .....
12. Do you have children?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

13. Are you still in touch with friends and relatives in Algeria?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

14. What language or languages do you mostly use when talking to your relatives and friends in Algeria?

- ◯ Only French
- ◯ Both Arabic and French, but mostly French
- ◯ Both Arabic and French, without preference
- ◯ Both Arabic and French, but mostly Arabic
- ◯ Only Arabic

15. Are you a:

- ◯ 1st generation immigrant (you were born in Algeria then immigrated to France after the age of six)
- ◯ 2nd generation immigrant (you were either born in France to at least one Algerian parent, or you were born in Algeria then immigrated to France before the age of six)
- ◯ 3rd generation immigrant (you and your parents were born in France)

Questions for the first generation

16. How old were you when you arrived in France? .....
17. Have you pursued further education while living in France (this does not have to be language-related)?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

18. If yes, for how many years?.....
19. There is a reason behind every decision to migrate, what was yours? (e.g., work, marriage, studies, etc.) ……..
20. How long have you been living in France? ……..
21. Before coming to France, what language (s) did you speak? (you can choose more than one language)

- ◯ Standard Arabic

- ◯ Algerian Arabic
- ◯ Tamazight
- ◯ French
- ◯ English
- ◯ Other

22. Do you ever intend to move back to Algeria?

- ◯ Yes, I would eventually like to move back to Algeria
- ◯ No, I do not intend to ever return to the Algeria
- ◯ I have never really given it much thought

Questions for the second and third generations

23. Did you attend any arabic language classes? (in an educational environment, like a school or some similar institution)

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

24. If yes, then when was that (year) and for how many hours per week? ……

25. What language (or languages) did you learn professionally or at school?

……..

26. Do you usually visit Algeria?

- ❑ Never
- ❑ Seldom
- ❑ Regularly, 1-2 times a year
- ❑ Regularly, 3-5 times a year
- ❑ Regularly, over 5 times a year

27. If you have indicated that you have been visiting Algeria, could you please indicate the reason or reasons for such a visit were (you may tick more than one box here)?

- ◯ Because of urgent family matters (such as a wedding or a funeral)
- ◯ To visit without a particular reason
- ◯ For other reasons

28. Do you feel more at home with French or with Arabic culture?

- ◯ with French culture
- ◯ with both, but more with French culture
- ◯ with both cultures equally
- ◯ with both, but more with Arabic culture
- ◯ with Arabic culture

29. what is the population character in your neighbourhood

- ◯ Only French
- ◯ Mostly French
- ◯ Both Arabs and French

Mostly Arabs
Only Arabs

30. What is the language (or languages) used in your neighbourhood?

Only Arabic
Both Arabic and French
Only French

Section 02: Language Proficiency

Please indicate the suitable answer for you about your proficiency in Arabic (standard Arabic/ Algerian Arabic) and in French languages.

Items	Poor	Fair	Good	Very good	Excellent
1. When listening to a conversation in Arabic (SA/AA), I can understand what is said.					
2.I can have a conversation in Arabic (SA/AA)					
3.I can read Arabic (SA)					
4.I can write Arabic (SA)					
5.I can understand French					
6.I can read French					
7. I can write French					
8. I can have a conversation in French					

Section 03: Language Use Patterns in the Different Domains

Please indicate the suitable answer for you about the language you use in the following domains:

Domains	Questions	Only Arabic	Mostly Arabic	Arabic / French	Mostly French	Only French	N/A
	1.What language do you speak with your parents?						
	2.What language do you speak with your spouse/partner?						

Home	3.What language do you speak with your siblings?						
	4.If you have children, what language do you speak with your child/children?						
Friends	5.What language do you speak with your Algerian Arabic friends in France?						
	6.What language do your Algerian Arabic friends speak with you in France?						
	7.What language do you speak with your Algerian Arabic friends in the presence of foreign friends?						
	8.What language do you use when you text or message your friends?						
Mosque	9.What language do you use when praying?						
	10.What language does the Imam use in the place of worship?						
	11.In what language is the Friday sermon delivered?						
	12.What language do you use to speak with Algerian Arabic people in the Mosque?						
Work	13. What language do you use at work?						
	14. What language do you speak with your collegues at work?						
School	15. What language is used for teaching Arabic in week-end schools?						

	16. What language do you speak with your classmates in week-end schools?						
Club / organization	17. If you are a member in an Algerian club/ organization in France, what language do you speak?						

Section 04: Language Attitudes

Please indicate the suitable answer in your view about your attitudes towards Arabic and French. There are no right or wrong answers.

Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Arabic is a very important language to learn.					
2. Arabic is the language that I have to maintain for the whole of my life.					
3. It is necessary for Arabs to speak Arabic to maintain Arab identity.					
4. It is necessary to read and write Arabic.					
5. In order to be successful in my professional life, I have to improve my Arabic.					
6. It is important that my children (or future children) speak Arabic.					
7. Knowing French is more important for getting a job than knowing Arabic in France.					
8. It is necessary to speak French in France.					
9. I am proud to have/ to get French citizenship/permanent residence.					
10. It is important to me to understand the French culture (dress, food, traditions, and behaviours).					
11. In order to be successful in my professional life, I have to improve my French!					

12. It is necessary for me to speak French to have a French identity.					
13. I automatically use Arabic when in the company of Arabs.					
14. I automatically use French when in the company of French speakers.					

Section 05: Code-Switching Practices

In linguistics, code-switching is a phenomenon that happens when a speaker alternates between two or more languages in a single conversation, leading to the emergence of a hybrid language (for example, the inclusion of certain French words when speaking in Arabic- especially the dialect - or the inclusion of some Arabic words when speaking French).

1. Do you usually switch between Arabic and French?

- ⬭ No, never
- ⬭ Yes, sometimes
- ⬭ Yes, regularly

2. If yes, could you please indicate why:

.....

3. Which way of switching do you frequently use:

- ⬭ French to Arabic
- ⬭ Arabic to French

4. Do you think code-switching pollutes our mother tongue Arabic?

- ⬭ Yes
- ⬭ No

5. Please, justify your choice:

.....

6. What is the future of Arabic in France?

- ⬭ A new variety will emerge
- ⬭ Arabic will be maintained
- ⬭ Arabic will disappear

7. You have reached the end of the questionnaire, any comments or suggestions?
   .....

Appendix A. 2 Questionnaire -Arabic Version

في إطار بحث يهدف الى دراسة حول المحافظة والتحول اللغويين بين أفراد الجالية الجزائرية في فرنسا، أود جمع أكبر قدر ممكن من آرائكم حول الموضوع . أرجو منكم الإجابة عن الأسئلة الواردة بكل دقة و موضوعية، و أتعهد أن تكون المعلومات المقدمة من طرفكم محفوظة.

شكرا لكم مقدما على تعاونكم.

القسم 01: معلومات عامة

1. الجنس
   - ذكر
   - أنثى
2. العمر: .....
3. مكان الميلاد
   - الجزائر
   - فرنسا
   - مكان آخر
4. أين تقيم حاليا في فرنسا : .....
5. جنسيتك
   - جزائرية
   - جزائرية-فرنسية
   - فرنسية
   - أخرى
6. الديانة: .....
7. المستوى الدراسي
   - اقل من مستوى ثانوي
   - ثانوي
   - تكوين
   - ليسانس
   - ماستر
   - دكتوراه
8. المهنة: .....
9. إذا كنت متقاعدا، هل يمكنك تحديد (ذِكر) مهنتك قبل التقاعد؟

   .....
10. حالتك الاجتماعية:
    - متزوج (ة)

- منفصل (ة)/ مطلق (ة)
- أرمل (ة)
- مع شريك (ة)
- أعزب / عزباء

11. في حال إشارتك إلى أنك متزوج أو مع شريك، ما هي جنسية زوجك أو شريكك؟

.....

12. هل لديك أطفال؟

- نعم
- لا

13. هل لازلت على تواصل مع الأقارب و الأصدقاء في الجزائر ؟

- نعم
- لا

14. ما هي اللغة (أو اللغات) التي تستخدمها في الغالب للتواصل مع الأقارب و الأصدقاء في الجزائر ؟

- الفرنسية فقط
- كل من العربية و الفرنسية، و لكن في الغالب الفرنسية
- العربية و الفرنسية على حد سواء بدون تفضيل
- كل من العربية و الفرنسية، و لكن في الغالب العربية
- العربية فقط

15. هل أنت تمثل:

- الجيل الأول من المهاجرين (ولدت في الجزائر ثم هاجرت الى فرنسا بعد سن السادسة)
- الجيل الثاني من المهاجرين (اما ولدت بفرنسا او بالجزائر لكن هاجرت الى فرنسا قبل سن السادسة)
- الجيل الثالث من المهاجرين (أنت و والديك ولدتم في فرنسا)

أسئلة موجهة للجيل الأول

16. كم كان عمرك عندما هاجرت إلى فرنسا ؟.....

17. هل قمت بمواصلة الدراسة خلال تواجدك بفرنسا؟

- نعم
- لا

18. إذا أجبت عن السؤال السابق "بنعم "، كم المدة (بالسنوات) التي واصلت فيها الدراسة في فرنسا؟

.....

19. ما هو سبب هجرتك إلى فرنسا بالتحديد (عمل، زواج ، دراسة ...الخ)

.....

20. منذ متى و أنت تعيش في فرنسا؟ .....

21. ما هي اللغة (أو اللغات) التي كنت تتحدث بها قبل انتقالك لفرنسا؟ (يمكنك اختيار أكثر من لغة)

- العربية الفصحى
- العامية (الدارجة)
- الأمازيغية

- الفرنسية
- الإنجليزية
- لغات أخرى

22. هل تنوي العودة إلى الجزائر ؟

- نعم أود أن أعود إلى الجزائر في نهاية المطاف
- لا أنا لا أنوي العودة إلى الجزائر أبدا
- لم أفكر في الأمر حقيقة

أسئلة موجهة للجيل الثاني و الثالث

23. هل سبق لك أن التحقت بصفوف اللغة العربية (يجب أن يكون هذا في بيئة تعليمية مثل مدرسة أو مؤسسة مماثلة)

- نعم
- لا

24. إذا أجبت عن السؤال السابق ب "نعم"، متى كان ذلك و بمعدل كم ساعة أسبوعيا

.....

25. ما هي اللغة (أو اللغات) التي تعلمتها مهنيا أو في المدرسة بشكل عام؟

.....

26. كم مرة تزور الجزائر عادة؟

- أبدا (ولا مرة)
- نادرا
- دوريا مرة أو مرتين في السنة
- دوريا من ثلاث لخمس مرات في السنة
- دوريا أكثر من خمس مرات في السنة

27. إذا كنت قد أشرت سابقا لزيارتك الجزائر، فهل يمكنك توضيح سبب (أو أسباب) هذه الزيارة (يمكنك اختيار أكثر من إجابة)

- لاسباب شخصية أو العائلية
- للزيارة دون سبب معين
- لسبب آخر

28. هل تشعر بالارتياح أكثر مع الثقافة الفرنسية أو العربية ؟

- مع الثقافة الفرنسية
- مع كل منهما، و لكن أكثر مع الثقافة الفرنسية
- مع كل منهما بشكل متساوي
- مع كل منهما، و لكن أكثر مع الثقافة العربية
- مع الثقافة العربية

29. ما هو الطابع السكاني السائد في الحي الذي تعيش فيه ؟

- فرنسيون فقط
- أغلبية فرنسية
- عرب و فرنسيون بشكل متساوي

- أغلبية عربية
- عرب فقط

30. ما هي اللغة (أو اللغات) المستخدمة في الحي الذي تعيش فيه؟

- العربية فقط
- الفرنسية فقط
- العربية و الفرنسية على حد سواء

القسم 02: الكفاءة اللغوية

يرجى الإشارة إلى مهارتك اللغوية في اللغتين العربية (الفصحى/العامية) و الفرنسية.

العبارات	ضعيف	متوسط	جيد	جيد جدا	ممتاز
1. عند الاستماع لمحادثة باللغة العربية (الفصحى/العامية) أستطيع أن أفهم ما قيل					
2.أستطيع المحادثة باللغة العربية (الفصحى/العامية)					
3. أستطيع قراءة اللغة العربية					
4. أستطيع كتابة اللغة العربية					
5. أستطيع فهم اللغة الفرنسية					
6.أستطيع قراءة اللغة الفرنسية					
7. أستطيع كتابة اللغة الفرنسية					
8. أستطيع المحادثة باللغة الفرنسية					

القسم 03: أنماط و أماكن إستخدام اللغة

يرجى الإشارة إلى أنماط اللغة المستخدمة في المواضع التالية:

المكان	الأسئلة	العربية فقط	العربية غالبا	العربية و الفرنسية	الفرنسية غالبا	الفرنسية فقط	غير منطبق
المنزل	1. ماهي اللغة التي تتحدث بها مع والديك؟						
	2. هي اللغة التي تتحدث بها مع زوجتك زوجك ما شريكتك شريكك؟						
	3. ماهي اللغة التي تتحدث بها مع إخوانك؟						
	4. ماهي اللغة التي تتحدث بها مع أطفالك؟						
الأصدقاء	5. ما هي اللغة التي تتحدث بها مع أصدقائك الجزائريين في فرنسا؟						

	6. ما هي اللغة التي يتحدث بها أصدقائك الجزائريين معك في فرنسا؟						
	7. ماهي اللغة التي تتحدث بها مع أصدقائك الجزائريين في وجود أصدقاء غير عرب؟						
	8. ما هي اللغة التي تستخدمها عند مراسلتك عبر وسائل التواصل الإجتماعي مثلا لأصدقائك الجزائريين في فرنسا؟						
المسجد	9. ما هي اللغة التي تستخدمها في الصلاة؟						
	10. ما هي اللغة التي يستخدمها الإمام؟						
	11. ما هي اللغة التي تلقى بها خطبة الجمعة؟						
	12. ما هي اللغة التي تتحدث بها مع الجزائريين في المسجد ؟						
العمل	13. ما هي اللغة التي تستخدمها في العمل؟						
	14. ما هي اللغة التي تتحدث بها مع زملائك في العمل؟						
المدرسة الأسبوعية	15. ما هي اللغة المستخدمة في تدريس اللغة العربية في المدارس الأسبوعية في فرنسا						
	16. ما هي اللغة التي تتحدث بها مع زملائك الجزائريين في المدرسة الأسبوعية						
ناد/ منظمة	17. إذا كنت تشكل عضوا في ناد أو منظمة عربية في فرنسا فما هي اللغة التي تتحدث بها عادة؟						

القسم 04: الاتجاهات و المواقف اللغوية

يرجى الإشارة إلى موقفك اللغوي من اللغة العربية و الفرنسية من خلال العبارات التالية. لا توجد إجابة صحيحة أو خاطئة.

العبارات	أوافق بشدة	أوافق	غير متأكد	أوافق	لا أوافق بشدة
1. تعلم اللغة العربية أمر مهم					
2. يجب أن أحافظ على لغتي العربية لبقية حياتي					

3. تكلم العربية أمر مهم للعرب حفاظا على الهوية العربية					
4. من المهم تعلم القراءة و الكتابة باللغة بالعربية					
5. حتى أكون ناجحا في الحياة المهنية يجب أن أطور لغتي العربية					
6. من المهم أن يتعلم أطفالي أطفالي المستقبليين التحدث باللغة العربية					
7. معرفة اللغة الفرنسية أهم من اللغة العربية في فرنسا للحصول على عمل					
8. من الضروري التحدث بالفرنسية فرنسا					
9. أنا فخور لحصولي على الجنسية الإقامة الدائمة الفرنسية					
10. فهم الثقافة الفرنسية اللباس الطعام العادات السلوكيات الخ ، مهم بالنسبة لي					
11. حتى أكون ناجحا في الحياة المهنية يجب أن أطور لغتي الفرنسية					
12. من المهم إتقان اللغة الفرنسية حتى تكون لي هوية فرنسية					
13. عندما أكون بصحبة العرب أتكلم العربية بشكل عفوي					
14. عندما أكون بصحبة الفرنسيين أتكلم الفرنسية بشكل عفوي					

القسم 05: التناوب اللغوي

التناوب اللغوي هو ظاهرة يقوم فيها المتحدث بالتبديل بين لغتين أو أكثر و يكون ذلك في سياق محادثة واحدة مما يؤدي إلى تشكيل لغة هجينة مثل إدراج بعض الكلمات الفرنسية عند التحدث بالعربية العامية خاصة أو إدراج بعض الكلمات العربية عند التحدث بالفرنسية

1.هل تقوم عادة بالتبديل ما بين اللغتين فصحى أو دارجة و الفرنسية؟

- لا أبدا
- أحيانا
- نعم في كثير من الأحيان

2. حسب رأيك ما هي الأسباب التي تدفعك إلى التبديل بين اللغتين؟

.....
.....

3. ما هي الطريقة التي تتبعها عادة عند التبديل بين اللغتين العربية و الفرنسية؟

- التحدث بالفرنسية مع إدخال بعض الكلمات العربية
- التحدث بالعربية مع إدخال بعض الكلمات الفرنسية

4. هل تعتقد أن المزج اللغوي يعمل على تلويث اللغة العربية؟

- نعم
- لا

برر إجابتك

.....

5. ما هو مصير اللغة العربية في فرنسا؟

- ظهور متغير لغوي جديد
- ستبقى اللغة العربية محفوظة
- ستختفي اللغة العربية

6. لقد وصلت إلى نهاية هذا الاستبيان هل يوجد أي شيء تود اضافته؟

.....

Appendix A. 3 Questionnaire - French Version

Dans le cadre d'une étude sur le maintien de la language arabe chez la communauté algérienne en France, j'ai besoin de recueillir un maximum d'avis sur le sujet. Je vous demande de répondre aux questions reçues avec exactitude et objectivité. Vos réponses seront traitées de manière confidentielle.

Je vous remercie par avance pour votre participation.

Section 01: Informations générales

1. Sexe

- ⬭ Homme
- ⬭ Femme

2. Âge : …….

3. Lieu de naissance

- ⬭ Algérie
- ⬭ France
- ⬭ Autre

4. Lieu de résidence actuelle (en France) : ……

5. Nationalité

- ⬭ Algérienne
- ⬭ Franco-algérienne
- ⬭ Française
- ⬭ Autre

6. Religion : ……

7. Niveau scolaire

- ⬭ Primaire
- ⬭ Collège
- ⬭ Lycée
- ⬭ BTS, DUT ou équivalent (Bac+2)
- ⬭ Licence (Bac + 3)
- ⬭ Master (Bac + 5)
- ⬭ Doctorat (Bac+ 8)

8. Profession : ……...
9. Si vous êtes retraité, pouvez-vous indiquer votre profession avant la retraite ?
   ……

10. Quel est votre état civil ?

- ⬭ Marié
- ⬭ Séparé/divorcé
- ⬭ Veuf/veuve
- ⬭ En couple
- ⬭ Célibataire

11. Si vous êtes marié/en couple, quelle est la nationalité de votre conjoint ou partenaire ?
    ……....
12. Avez-vous des enfants ?

- ⬭ Oui
- ⬭ Non

13. Vous êtes encore en contact avec les amis et la famille en Algérie ?

- ⬭ Oui
- ⬭ Non

14. Quelle langue utilisée souvent pour contacter la famille et les amis en Algérie ?

- ⬭ Le français seulement
- ⬭ En arabe et en français, mais surtout en français
- ⬭ En arabe et en français de la même façon sans préférence
- ⬭ En arabe et en français, mais surtout en arabe
- ⬭ L'arabe seulement

15. Êtes-vous de

- ⬭ La première génération des émigrés (vous êtes né en Algérie mais vous avez immigré en France après l'âge de 6 ans)
- ⬭ La deuxième génération des émigrés (soit vous êtes né en France avec des parents d'origine algériennes, soit vous êtes né en Algérie mais vous avez par la suite immigré en France avant l'âge de 6)
- ⬭ La troisième génération des émigrés (vous et vos parents êtes nés en France)

Informations de base pour la première génération

16. A quel âge tu as émigré en France ? ……

17. Est-ce que tu as continué à suivre des études pendant ton séjour en France ?

- ⬭ Oui
- ⬭ Non

18. Si oui, pendant combien d'années ? ……..
19. Quelle est la cause de votre émigration en France (e.g., travail, mariage, études, etc.)
    ……
20. Depuis combien de temps vous êtes en France ? ……

21. Avant devenir en France, quelle langue parliez-vous ? (Vous pouvez choisir plusieurs réponses)

- ☐ Arabe standard
- ☐ Arabe populaire (Derja)
- ☐ Tamazight
- ☐ Français
- ☐ Anglais
- ☐ Autre

22. Tu comptes revenir en Algérie ?

- ⬭ Oui, je veux retourner en Algérie.
- ⬭ Non, je compte pas revenir en Algérie
- ⬭ Je pense pas en vérité

Informations de base pour la deuxième et troisième génération

23. Avez-vous suivi des cours d'arabe ? (dans une école ou un institut)

- ⬭ Oui
- ⬭ Non

24. Si oui, quand était-ce (l'année), et combien d'heures par semaine ?

…….

25. Quelle langue avez-vous apprise professionnellement ou à l'école ?

……..

26. Combien de fois tu visites L'Algérie ?

- ⬭ Jamais
- ⬭ Rarement
- ⬭ Régulièrement, 1 à 2 fois par an
- ⬭ Régulièrement, 3 à 5 fois par an
- ⬭ Régulièrement, plus de 5 fois par an

27. Si vous avez indiqué ta visite en Algérie, précise le motif

- ☐ Pour des raisons personnelles ou familiales
- ☐ Visite sans motif précis
- ☐ D’autres raisons

28. Avec quelle culture tu sens soulagé ?

- ⬭ Avec la culture française
- ⬭ Avec les deux, plus avec la culture française
- ⬭ Avec les deux cultures à égalité

- Avec les deux, plus avec la culture arabe
- Avec la culture arabe

29. Quel genre d'habitation dominé dans votre cité ?

- Français
- Majorité Français
- Arabe et Français
- Majorité Arabe
- Arabe

30. Quelle langue parlée dans votre cité ?

- Arabe seulement
- Arabe et français de la même façon
- Français seulement

Section 02 : Compétence linguistique

Veuillez indiquer la réponse qui vous convient concernant votre maîtrise de langue arabe (arabe standard/ arabe populaire) et français.

Phrases	Faible	Moyen	Bon	Très bon	Excellent
1. Quand j'entends un dialogue en arabe (standard/populaire), je peux comprendre ce qu'il dit.					
2. Je peux dialoguer en arabe (standard/populaire)					
3.Je peux lire en arabe (standard)					
4. Je peux écrire en arabe (standard)					
5. Je peux comprendre la langue française					
6. Je peux lire en français					
7. Je peux écrire en français					
8. Je peux dialoguer en français					

Section 03 : Modèles d'utilisation de la langue dans les différents domaines

Veuillez indiquer la réponse qui vous convient concernant la langue que vous utilisez dans les domaines suivants :

Domaines	Questions	L'arabe seulement	L'arabe souvent	Arabe/ Français	Français souvent	Français seulement	N/A
Famille	1.Quelle langue parles-tu avec tes parents ?						
	2.Quelle langue parles-tu avec votre conjoint ?						
	3. Quelle langue parles-tu avec tes frères ?						
	4.Quelle langue parles-tu avec tes enfants ?						
Amis	5.Quelle langue parles-tu avec tes amis algériens en France ?						
	6.Quelle langue parlent tes amis algériens avec vous en France ?						
	7.Quelle langue parles-tu avec tes amis algériens en présence d'autre amis non-arabe ?						
	8.Quelle langue utilisez-vous dans les réseaux sociaux pour contacter tes amis algériens						
Mosquée	9.Quelle langue utilisez-vous dans la prière ?						
	10. Quelle langue utilisée par l'imam ?						
	11.Quelle langue donnée pendant le sermon de vendredi ?						
	12.Quelle langue parles-tu dans la mosquée ?						
Travail	13. Quelle langue utilisez-vous dans le travail ?						

	14. Quelle langue parlez-vous avec vos collègues ?						
École	15. Quelle est la langue utilisée pour l'enseignement dans les écoles hebdomadaires (pour l'enseignement de l'arabe) en France ?						
	16. Quelle langue parlez-vous avec vos collègues à l'école hebdomadaire ?						
Club / organisation	17. Si vous êtes membre d'un club ou d'une organisation arabe en France, quelle langue parlez-vous ?						

Section 04 : Attitudes linguistiques

Veuillez indiquer la réponse qui convient à votre opinion sur votre attitude envers l'arabe et le français. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses.

Questions	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Pas sur	Pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
1. Apprendre la langue arabe c'est important.					
2. Je dois protéger ma langue arabe toute ma vie.					
3. Parler arabe c'est important pour garder mon identité arabe.					
4. C'est intéressant d'apprendre de lire et d'écrire en arabe.					
5. Pour réussir dans ma vie professionnelle, je dois améliorer mon arabe.					
6. C'est important que mes enfants (futur enfants) apprennent à parler l'arabe.					
7. La connaissance de la langue française est plus importante que celle de l'arabe pour voir un travail en France.					
8. C'est essentiel de parler français en France.					
9. Je suis fier d'obtenir la nationalité française et la residence permanente.					

10. Comprendre la culture française c'est important pour moi (vêtements, tradition et comportements).					
11. Pour réussir dans ma vie professionnelle, je dois améliorer mon français.					
12. C'est important d'avoir un bon français pour avoir une identité française.					
13. Quand je me trouve avec les arabes, je parle l'arabe spontanément.					
14. Quand je me trouve aves les français, je parle le français spontanément.					

Section 05 : L'alternance codique

L'alternance codique est un phénomène dans lequel le locuteur passe d'une langue à l'autre ou à plusieurs dans une conversation, ce qui conduit à la formation d'une langue hybride (par exemple, l'inclusion de certains mots français lorsqu'on parle en arabe - notamment en langage populaire - ou l'inclusion de certains mots arabes lorsqu'on parle en français).

1. Est-ce que tu fais le changement entre les deux langues l'arabe et le français ?

   ◯ Non, jamais
   ◯ Oui, parfois.
   ◯ Oui, régulièrement

2. À ton avis, quels sont les causes qui te poussent à changer entre deux langues ?
   ……

3. Quel moyen prends-tu quand tu changes entre les deux langues ?

   ◯ Parler en français en intégrant quelques mots arabes
   ◯ Parler en arabe en intégrant quelques mots français

4. Vous croyez que l 'alternance codique pollue l'arabe ?

   ◯ Oui
   ◯ Non

5. Veuillez justifier votre choix :
   ……

6. Quel est l'avenir de l'arabe en France ?

- ⬭ Une nouvelle variété va apparaître
- ⬭ L'arabe sera maintenu
- ⬭ L'arabe va disparaître

7. Vous êtes arrivé à la fin de ce questionnaire. Souhaitez-vous ajouter quelque chose ?
   ……

Appendix B. 1 Interview guide - English version

Questions for the first generation:

1- Can you tell me please when and how did you arrive in France?
2- How do you feel about life in France?
3- Do you prefer to live where Algerians are? Why?
4- How good is your French?
5- When did you learn French?
6- Did your level improved after coming to France?
7- What about your Arabic? I mean was it affected after coming to France?
8- Can you describe how Arabic and French languages are related to your identity?
9- Which language do you use the most in everyday life, and why?
10- Which language do you think is easier to use and to express yourself and your feelings in?
11- In which language do you prefer to read, and why?
12- Which language do you prefer to use on social media (chatting/posting/commenting), and why?
13- Do you prefer watching French or Arabic (Algerian) channels, and why?
14- Do you try to improve your children's Arabic? How? Why?
15- Do you think your children will use Arabic in the future?
16- What do you think about switching between languages?
17- In which situations you switch between Arabic and French?
18- Does the Algerian government support the use of Arabic among the Algerian community living in France (especially among the second and third generations)? How is that?
19- What do you have to say about the future of Arabic in France?
20- Tell me the way you feel when you are in Algeria for a visit?
21- What language do you use during your visit?
22- Do you have anything to add in relation to what we were discussing?

Questions for the second and third generations:

1- Can you tell me about yourself?
2- How do you feel about life in France?
3- Do you prefer to live where Algerians are? Why?
4- How good is your Arabic?
5- When and how did you learn Arabic?
6- Are you trying to improve your Arabic? in what ways?
7- Did you grow up speaking French, or only when you started school?
8- Which language do you think is easier to use and to express yourself and your feelings in? Why?
9- Can you describe how Arabic and French languages are related to your identity?
10- Which language do you use the most in everyday life, and why?

11- When do you speak Arabic then?
12- Are there any rules at home you have to obey regarding speaking a language?
13- In which language do you prefer to read, and why?
14- Which language do you prefer to use on social media (chatting/posting/commenting), and why?
15- Do you prefer watching French or Arabic (Algerian) channels, and why?
16- What do you think about switching between languages?
17- In which situations you switch between Arabic and French?
18- Does the Algerian government support the use of Arabic among the Algerian community living in France (especially among the second and third generations)? How is that?
19- What do you have to say about the future of Arabic in France?
20- Have you been visiting Algeria since childhood?
21- Tell me the way you feel when you are in Algeria for a visit?
22- Was your visit to Algeria helpful in improving your Arabic language skills?
23- What language do you use during your visit?
24- Given the chance, would you move back to Algeria?
25- Do you have anything to add in relation to what we were discussing?

Appendix B. 2 Interview guide - Arabic version

أسئلة للجيل الأول :

1- أخبرني متى و كيف كان قدومك إلى فرنسا ؟
2- كيف تشعر حيال الحياة في فرنسا؟
3- هل تفضل العيش اينما يتواجد الجزائريون بكثرة؟ لماذا؟
4- ما مدى إتقانك للغة الفرنسية؟
5- متى بدأت في تعلم اللغة الفرنسية؟
6- هل تحسن مستواك في اللغة الفرنسية بعد قدومك إلى فرنسا؟
7- ماذا عن لغتك العربية؟ هل تظن أنها قد تأثرت بعد قدومك لفرنسا؟
8- كيف ترتبط كل من اللغة العربية و الفرنسية بهويتك؟
9- ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها اكثر شيء في حياتك اليومية؟ لماذا؟
10- ما هي اللغة التي تظن أنها الأسهل للنحدث بشكل عام و للتعبير عن ما تشعر به؟
11- بأي لغة تفضل القراءة (جريدة مثلا أو رواية ما)؟
12- ما هي اللغة التي تفضل استعمالها على مواقع التواصل الإجتماعي (للتواصل/مشاركة محتوى/التعبير عن الرأي)؟ و لماذا؟
13- هل تفضل مشاهدة القنوات الجزائرية أو الفرنسية؟ لماذا؟
14- هل تحاول تحسين اللغة العربية لأطفالك؟ كيف تقوم بذلك؟ لماذا؟
15- هل تعتقد أن اولادك سيتعلمون العربية و يتحدثون بها في المستقبل؟
16- ما رأيك في ظاهرة التناوب اللغوي؟
17- ما هي المواقف حسب تجربتك التي تستدعي استعمال كل من العربية و الفرنسية في نفس الوقت؟
18- هل تقوم الحكومة الجزائرية بدعم الجالية الجزائرية بفرنسا لتعلم اللغة العربية خاصة بالنسبة للجيل الثاني و الثالث؟ كيف ذلك؟
19- ما رأيك في مستقبل اللغة العربية في فرنسا؟
20- أخبرني عن شعورك عندما تكون في الجزائر؟
21- ما هي اللغة التي تتحدث بها في الجزائر؟ لماذا؟
22- هل لديك أي شئ تود إضافته حول الموضوع؟

أسئلة للجيل الثاني و الثالث:

1- أخبرني من فضلك عن نفسك؟
2- كيف تشعر حيال الحياة في فرنسا؟
3- هل تفضل العيش اينما يتواجد الجزائريون بكثرة؟ لماذا؟
4- ما مدى إتقانك للغة العربية؟
5- متى و كيف تعلمت بدأت في تعلم العربية؟
6- هل أنت مهتم بتحسين لغتك العربية ؟ كيف تقوم بذلك؟
7- هل كنت تتحدث الفرنسية منذ الصغر أو حتى أصبحت في سن التمدرس؟
8- ما هي اللغة التي تظن أنها الأسهل للنحدث بشكل عام و للتعبير عن ما تشعر به؟
9- كيف ترتبط كل من اللغة العربية و الفرنسية بهويتك؟
10- ما هي اللغة التي تستعملها اكثر شيء في حياتك اليومية؟ لماذا؟
11- متى تتحدث العربية؟
12- هل هناك أي قوانين صارمة بخصوص اللغة التي يجب إستعمالها في المنزل؟

13- بأي لغة تفضل القراءة (جريدة مثلا أو رواية ما)؟
14- ما هي اللغة التي تفضل استعمالها على مواقع التواصل الإجتماعي (للتواصل/مشاركة محتوى/التعبير عن الرأي)؟ و لماذا؟
15- هل تفضل مشاهدة القنوات الجزائرية أو الفرنسية؟ لماذا؟
16- هل تحاول تحسين اللغة العربية لأطفالك؟ كيف تقوم بذلك؟ لماذا؟
17- ما رأيك في ظاهرة التناوب اللغوي؟
18- ما هي المواقف حسب تجربتك التي تستدعي استعمال كل من العربية و الفرنسية في نفس الوقت؟
19- هل تقوم الحكومة الجزائرية بدعم الجالية الجزائرية بفرنسا لتعلم اللغة العربية خاصة بالنسبة للجيل الثاني و الثالث؟ كيف ذلك؟
20- ما رأيك في مستقبل اللغة العربية في فرنسا؟
21- هل كنت تذهب في زيارة إلى الجزائر منذ الصغر؟
22- أخبرني عن شعورك عندما تكون في الجزائر؟
23- ما هي اللغة التي تتحدث بها في الجزائر؟ لماذا؟
24- هل كانت زيارتك للجزائر مفيدة في تحسين لغتك العربية بشكل عام؟
25- هل لديك أي شئ تود إضافته حول الموضوع؟

Appendix C. 1 Consent form - English version

Researcher: Zahia Flih, a PhD student at the Multilingualism Doctoral School within the Faculty of Modern Philology and Social Sciences at the University of Pannonia.

If you agree to participate in the research study, please put a tick next to each point and sign at the bottom. Thank you!

I confirm that I understand the purpose of this study, which is investigating language maintenance and shift in three generations of the Algerian immigrant community in France.	
I understand that I will not receive monetary payment for my participation.	
I understand that there are no anticipated risks from participation in this study.	
I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.	
I understand that I will remain anonymous and all my contributions to this study will be kept confidential.	
I understand that the data will be kept for at least 5 years after results are published and will be destroyed thereafter.	
I understand that I can request a brief overview of the findings.	
I understand that if I choose to withdraw, my data will be deleted immediately.	
I understand that the data will be securely stored and only accessed by the researcher and her supervisor.	
I understand that I will be offered a copy of this consent form.	

Participant's signature: _____ Date_____

Researcher's signature: _____ Date_____

Please be aware that in addition to the questionnaire, I will be conducting interviews in which you will answer some questions in relation to the topic of research. If you are interested in participating in that as well, you can contact the researcher at **zahia.flih@gmail.com**

Appendix C. 2 Consent form - French version

Chercheuse : Zahia Flih, doctorante à l'École doctorale de Multilinguisme au sein de la Faculté de Philologie Moderne et Sciences Sociales de l'Université de Pannonie.

Si vous êtes d'accord pour participer à cette étude, merci de bien vouloir cocher chaque case, puis signer au bas de la feuille. Merci!

Je confirme que je comprends le but de cette étude, qui est de s'intéresser à la préservation et au changement linguistique au sein de trois générations de la communauté immigrée algérienne en France.	
Je comprends que ma participation ne sera pas financièrement rémunérée.	
Je comprends qu'il n'y a aucun risque de participation à cette étude.	
Je comprends que ma participation à cette étude est volontaire, et que je suis libre de m'en retirer à tout moment et sans explication nécessaire.	
Je comprends que mon identité restera anonyme et que ma contribution à cette étude restera confidentielle.	
Je comprends que les données seront conservées pendant au moins 5 ans après la publication des résultats et seront détruites par la suite.	
Je comprends que je peux demander un bref compte-rendu des résultats obtenus.	
Je comprends que si je décide de me retirer, mes données seront immédiatement supprimées.	
Je comprends que mes données seront stockées de manière sécurisée et ne seront accessibles qu'à la chercheuse et à son superviseur.	
Je comprends que l'on me proposera une copie de ce formulaire de consentement.	

Signature du participant : _____ Date_____

Signature de la chercheuse : _____ Date_____

En plus du questionnaire, je réaliserai des entretiens au cours desquels vous répondrez à quelques questions en lien avec le sujet de recherche. Si vous êtes intéressé(e) à y participer également, vous pouvez me contacter à l'adresse suivante : zahia.flih@gmail.com

Appendix C. 3 Consent form - Arabic version

الباحثة :زهية فليح طالبة في مدرسة الدكتوراه متعددة اللغات بكلية العلوم الانسانية و الاجتماعية في جامعة بانونيا.

إن كنت توافق على المشاركة في هده الدراسة يرجى وضع علامة أمام كل عبارة في الجدول ثم التوقيع أدناه. شكرا لك.

أؤكد أنني أفهم الهدف من هدا البحث ألا و هو دراسة الحفاظ و التحول اللغوي للمجتمع الجزائري بفرنسا عبر ثلاث أجيال.	
أفهم أنني لن أتلقى أي مقابل مادي مقابل مشاركتي في هدا البحث.	
أفهم أنه لا توجد مخاطر متوقعة من المشاركة فيث هده الدراسة.	
أفهم أن مشاركتي في هده الدراسة طوعية و أنه يمكنني الانسحاب في أي وقت دون الحاجة لتقديم السبب.	
أفهم أنني سأظل مجهول الهوية و أن جميع مساهماتي في هده الدراسة ستبقى سرية.	
أفهم أن البيانات ستبقى محفوظة لمدة لا تقل عن 5 سنوات بعد نشر نتائج هدا البحث و أنه سيتم إتلافها بعد دلك.	
أفهم انه يمكن أن أطلب نسخة من نتائج هدا البحث.	
أفهم أنه في حالة الانسحاب من الدراسة سيتم حدف كل البيانات الخاصة بي فورا.	
أفهم انه سيتم الاحتفاظ بالبيانات بشكل آمن و لن يتم الوصول إليها إلا من طرف الباحثة و مشرفتها.	
أفهم أنه سيتم تقديم نسخة من نموذج الموافقة هدا لي.	

توقيع المشارك : _____ التاريخ : _____

توقيع الباحث : _____ التاريخ: _____

ليكن في علمكم انه بالإضافة إلى الإستبيان سيتم إجراء بعض المقابلات الشفهية أين سيتم طرح بعض الأسئلة حول الموضوع يرجى من الراغبين في المشاركة التواصل مع الباحثة من خلال البريد الإلكتروني التالي :
Zahia.flih@gmail.com

Appendix D. Original texts of the interview excerpts

[1] C’est grâce à ma femme que je comprends Derja. Je ne comprends pas tout bien sûr, mais ça me va. Le problème c’est toujours quand j’essaie de répondre en Derja. Je n’y arrive pas et je ne me sens pas à l’aise pour le parler. C’est terrible.

[2] …. Le français, c'est la langue la plus simple pour moi. Il n’y a pas de doute là-dessus, c'est la plus simple.

[3]

نحكي فرنسية مناه زوجتيfranco-algérienne. مع لولاد الفرنسية parce que راهي في اللخر اللغة تاع يماهم كيما يقولوها. نحكي معاهم j’ essaie de parler l’arabe بصح مساكن مايفهموش.

[4]

نهدر بالعربية ف les réseaux sociaux و في الانترنت يعني. نكومونتي بالعربية، نقرا بالعربية، نفيسبوكي مع la famille فلبلاد بالعربية.

[5]

Par exemple un texte ولا j’écrite des mots ou des phrases sa m’arrange en français باش نزيد les capacité تاعي انا Parce que par rapport à moi le société هنا نكون عندي niveau في مليح français Parce que j’avance. Parce que en français sa m’arrange fi l’administrative كي نحب نكتب ولا مع ولادي في l’école باش مايكلحونيش

[6]

Moi je suis que sur Instagram et les posts que je vois sont en français, des fois sont en anglais et des fois je tombe sur des posts en arabe et en fait, je ne comprends pas souvent. Et quand j'essaie de lire, je n'arrive pas à lire parce qu'il n'y a pas de voyelles en fait. Donc, la plupart du temps, ce que je lis et ce que je comprends, c'est en français et en anglais, c'est tout.

[7]

كي كنت عندي les réseaux sociaux كنت ندير فيديوات بالعربية بصح traduites en français

[8]

كي يوصل رمضان او نوليو نحوسو، منعرف كي يوصل رمضان الجزايريين لازم يتفرجو ندير قنوات العرب و الجزاير كي يوصل رمضان المسلسلات الدينية donc او لحق رمضان او بدينا نحوسو على الأئمة و الفتاوي. في رمضان نتفكرو..يفكرنا في البلاد.

[9]

هادي c’est l’habitude . حنا نضنا لقيناها هكا نحكو في الجزاير. ندخلو فرونسي مع عربية كما نقولو الفرشيطة ل fourchette. كاين امور بزاف هكا و هذي ترجع لبكري. هذي ماش حنا درناها. هذي مخلفات الاستعمار الفرنسي.

[10]

في *les écoles internationales* كاين لي يقريو العربية *mais* ولادك لازم يديرو *concours* و لازم *déjà* يعرفو العربية بش يدخلوها

[11]

Oui en français et quand ils sont chez *خوالهم* des fois en arabe, mais souvent en français

[12]

معنديش problème مع اللغة الفرنسية كيما يقولو.

Je fais des analyses, je fais des rapports, je fais des compte rendus, mais je suis plus à l'aise بالعربية

[13]

Quand je vais en Algérie, et je vois, par exemple, une idole, un panneau, un truc écrit en arabe, chaque fois je suis obligé de m'arrêter, de demander à mon pote, de demander à mes gens « c'est quoi ça »? Tu as vu, des fois, tu reçois des courriers en arabe, en Algérie, tu reçois des courriers, des factures, des machins, tu reçois des courriers. Ben, quand je regarde le courrier, je me sens comme mon arrière-grand-père qui ne sait pas lire et qui ne sait pas écrire. Je me sens impuissant. Et qu'un homme, qu'un homme, il vit en France, il sait lire le français, l'anglais, l'espagnol, je suis un peu dans les affaires. Je ne me débrouille pas trop mal, et je descends, et je me sens impuissant, c'est quelque chose de très grave pour moi.

[14]

Je parle derija depuis toute petite parce que maman parlait souvent par le téléphone avec la famille quand j'étais chez la famille donc on parle presque qu'en arabe finalement. Et l'arabe Fos'ha J'ai commencé à l'apprendre à la fin de l'année dernière. Je prends des cours en ligne Et là, j'ai fini la préparation de volume de Médine. Voilà. Et déjà, déjà, je comprends, ça va, mais j'ai du mal à m'exprimer, en fait. Donc, ça veut dire que des fois, je parle en français, mais je dis certainement en arabe. Mais ça dépend. Ça dépend. Et le Fos'ha, donc, j'apprends depuis fin 2023. Et voilà, c'est tout.

[15]

Je ne suis jamais allée au bled. J'ai des cousines qui vont souvent au bled. Elle parle bien darija et j'en ai une qui parle très bien Chaoui. Très très bien Chaoui. Voilà. Donc oui, sans aucun doute, le fait que je ne sois jamais allée, ça joue beaucoup en fait. Ça joue beaucoup. C'est une certitude.

[16]

Oui, bien sûr, bien sûr. C'est-à-dire, c'est simple, là, رحنا au mois de février, on est restés quinze jours. Puis quinze jours, c'est l'équivalent d'une année de cours d'arabes. Je parlais avec mon

copine, قلتلها on va prendre une année sabbatique. Moi, je vais prendre un congé sans solde. Madame, la même chose. نروحو نقعدو une année entière. c'est-à-dire نقعدو le mois de juin jusqu'à le mois de juin de l'année prochaine. Et on les mettrons dans une école d'arabe, même s'ils ne comprennent rien ce n'est pas grave, ils les remontent. عام كامل .

[17]

سؤال: وولادك كي يهبطو للجزائر واش يحكيو مع la famille لتم؟

جواب: الفرنسية

سؤال: كي قاعدين يهبطو ديما للجزاير، معاونتهمش هذي يحسنو من العربية تاعهم؟

جواب: معاونتهمش، انا تبانلي معاونتهمش parce que الجزاير كيما انا محسوب راهم علابالهم كي تهدري الفرونسي يهدرو معاك بالفرونسي donc هوما في البلاد يهدرو معاهم بالفرونسي

[18]

انا مانقدرش نروح لبلاصة مافيهاش les algériens ولا les maghrébins en général .

moi j'ai besoin d'entendre l'arabe, de parler l'arabe, de parler même على البلاد. Moi je me sens chez moi.

[19]

حبيت نقول فيما يخص اللغة لازمنا نحافظو، نحافظو على اللغة تاعنا malgré كيما قلت نحكيو بالدراجة لازم نقراو العربية و نفهمو العربية و نكتبوها وشوا نتكلمو الدارجة ماش مشكل راهي عادة برك. ننصح الناس كيما انا ينعتو لولادهم يعلموهم و ينعتولهم الاصول مناه رانا من اصول عربية. رانا جزايريين.

[20]

Pour moi, il n'y a pas mieux que l'arabe. Pourquoi il n'y a pas mieux que l'arabe ? Parce que c'est la langue du paradis…… Il n'y a pas mieux pour moi.

[21]

Mais je pense que certains immigrés ne se sentent pas français. Et je pense qu'ils auront beau vouloir faire tout ce qu'ils veulent, ils seront jamais considérés comme des Français, en fait. Donc je pense que c'est important pour les parents, et pour les futurs parents, de transmettre l'arabe. Que ce soit Darija ou le Fos'ha, c'est presque un devoir, en fait. Parce qu'on ne doit pas oublier d'où l'on vient, ce que nos ancêtres ont fait, ce que la France a fait à l'Algérie. Il ne faut pas l'oublier. C'est très, très important. C'est très, très important. Mais je ne pense pas que tout le monde pense pareil. Donc c'est mon avis personnel, voilà.

[22]

و كي جينا لفرنسا c’est tout à fait normal انو نتكلمو فرنسية من اجل العمل و كلش mais حتى المجتمع تاعنا الجزائري منتكلموش عربية la moitié en français la moitié en arabe donc on a gardé ça و هدا ça fait des et années et des années

[23]

Parce que je suis né là et parce que c'est dans ma culture de tous les jours.

[24]

On va laisser un petit français parle en anglais, et on va être un peu admiratif, نشوفو معاه on va dire, il parle bien. Mais il y a un gamin qui parle en arabe, on va lui montrer, le prof, même si il est petit, il a 5-6 ans, on va lui montrer بلي même si il parle en arabe, ce n'est pas parce qu'il a une richesse d'apprentissage, non, c'est parce qu'il n'est pas suffisamment formé ou intelligent pour parler en français. C'est un renversement des valeurs, comme ça.

[25]

كاين اختلاف كبير في la mentalité بين المجتمع تاعنا وهنا. كي جيت من البلاد كنت فايت 31 سنة في عمري و تشوف هنا عقلية وحدوخرا و حوايج يندارو d’autre façon . و مدامك هنا راح تحس ماكش في البلاد. Il faut dire ce qu’il est ماش بلادك، بلاد خلاف.

[26]

Même عشت بزاف هنا راح تبقى ديما غريب. حتى لو تحبي روحي سقسي تاع deuxième, troisième génération

Ce c’est un sentiment ils sont toujours considérés des étrangers . مكانش مايقبلوكش donc راكي ماكش في بلادك. و كي تنسايه يفكروك.7

[27]

في l’école لازم نحيو الحجاب و باش نلقاو un travaille C’est dure, c’est très très dure. . ياخي الدنيا لازم تخدم باش تعيش وc’est tout

[28]

Il n'y a pas longtemps, j'ai passé mon permis. Je portais un حجاب, donc il était large, il était grand, il était très ample. J'ai très bien conduit, je n'ai pas fait d'erreur, mais je ne l'ai pas eu. Et sur la feuille du permis, l'examinateur a écrit que j'avais fait trois fautes, sauf que je n’ai ai fait aucune. Donc c'est des petits détails en fait, mais quand on les regroupe, ça fait beaucoup.

[29]

Je vis ici à l'étranger depuis plus de 23 ans et par rapport à mes expériences, نقولك المجتمع هنايا étranger sois وين حسسوني بلي راني les étrangers sans problème. J’ai aucune expérience extra يتقبل pendant quand j’étais étudiant ولا actuellement الانسان هو لي يصنع المحيط تاعو . ولا في الخدمة

[30]

العربية هي انتماء . حنا كبرنا فالجزاير في حضن اللغة العربية. العربية هي l’identité تاعنا. جينا لفرنسا و نهدرو الفرونسي للخدمة normal بصح نبقاو جزايريين.

[31]

Les algérienneكاين partout لازم تكوني قريبة ليهم لازم باش تحسي روحك هكا تنتميmais هنا في فرنسا

في الخدمة مكاش الجزايريين بزاف بصح كي نخرج نروح للقهوة نلقى جزايريين نقعد معاهم نشرب قهوة و نقصر

[32]

هي منكذبوش منقدرش نقول راني مرتاح مناه مهيش بلادنا. رانا من عايلة ثورية جاهدت في حرب التحرير. راهو المكتوب جابنا هنا. مستحيل تحس روحك مرتاح كيما بلادك. ... حنا كي نسمعو النشيد الوطني نبكيو. دوكا حنا فرنسا هذي تخلينا ننساو اصلنا؟ لالا.

[33]

Ben, je suis... Bon, ok. En fait, je suis musulman, d'accord? Mais dans mon identité, dans mon ADN, je me sens français. Même s'ils ne nous aiment pas, c'est pas moi qui ai tort. Je ne serai jamais comme eux. Pour moi, je fais partie de cette terre. Tu vois? Je fais partie de cette terre. Pourquoi je fais partie de cette terre? Parce que déjà... Tu sais, tu fais partie d'une terre à partir du moment où tu es en terre, tu es mort ici, tu vois? Et moi, mes morts, ils sont enterrés ici. J'ai ma fille qui est enterrée ici. Tu vois ce que je veux te dire? Voilà quoi.

[34]

Je ne veux pas qu'ils perdent cette identité, parce que c'est dans notre génome, c'est dans notre ADN, ça fait partie de nous. Qu'on aime ça ou pas, mon père, il est venu de l'Afrique, il est venu du Maghreb.

[35]

Nous, notre génération, on est la génération gâchée, c'est-à-dire qu'on est la génération entre les deux. Tu comprends ce que je veux dire? Ce terme, c'est la génération gâchée. On n'est pas, si tu veux, on n'est pas plié ni vers la culture française ni vers la culture algérienne.

[36]

Jusqu'à maintenant parce qu'ils ont le plus âgé, un de 13 ans. هوما ils n'ont... Ils ne ressentent aucun sentiment d'appartenance avec la France. كي يروحو للبلاد. ils ne veulent pas revenir. ils résistent. يبكيو. Ils ne veulent pas. Ils se sentent plus algériens que français. Dans quelques années, ça va changer, mais en tout cas pour l'instant, même مايهدروش العربية couramment mais quand ils sont en Algérie, ils se sentent chez eux. Pourtant ils sont nés là ils n'ont pas de liens ici.

[37]

Réponse : Aaa bon… انا française, بصح جزايرية aussi. كي نكون هنا يقولولي tu de quelle origine? نقولهم je suis algérienne. بصح كي راني في البلاد يقولولي منين نقولهم من France. فهمتي ولا لا ?

Question : ما تحسيش روحك ضايعة هكدا

Réponse : si, كي شغل راني في la mer

[38]

Ici, je me sens plus proche des Algériens, parce que je n'ai pas beaucoup de liens avec la culture française en général. Je ne m'y reconnais pas. Donc moi par exemple, c'est un peu particulier, je me considère Marseillaise. C'est un peu compliqué à expliquer, mais...la différence... Parce qu'à Marseille, c'est un état d'esprit, tu sais, en fait, c'est pas comme dans les autres villes en France. Ça n'a rien à voir. C'est pas du tout pareil. Les gens, ils sont proches entre eux. Les gens, ils parlent entre eux. Et quand on habite à Marseille, c'est une ambiance, un état d'esprit, en fait.

[39]

On veut pas que nos enfants ils perdent de leur langue arabe. Le dimanche normalement j'ai d'autres choses à faire mais regarde on est là de 8 h jusqu'à 13 h c'est pour nos enfants apprennent l'arabe. Tous ces efforts c'est pour ça.

[40]

participer pour هذي يدعمها الشعب و الناس لي يروحو يصليو و يعاونو في سبيل الله. خدمنا في مسجد و الشعب لي une école . الشعب لي عاون باش دارو les écoles. الجالية المسلمة.

[41]

لي حابين يقريو ولادهم العربية يروحو l'école يتلمو 10ولا 12 تاع الجزاير مع بعضهم و يجيبولهم استاذ بدعم من الجزاير و يقراو في l'école يديرولهم قسم باش يعلمو فيهم العربية

Appendix E. Results of multiple regression

Table 29. Summary of the regression analyses

Model used	Generation	Predicted variability	Significant predictors
1- *Predictors*: gender, place of birth, education level, marital status, age at immigration, LOR, home language use, French language proficiency, and attitudes towards French.	1st	49.8%	LOR, French proficiency level, home language use and marital status (single, with partner).
2-*Predictors*: French language proficiency, language use at mosque, home language use, attitudes towards Arabic, education level, marital status, and the languages spoken in the neighbourhood *Outcome*: **Arabic proficiency**	2nd &3rd	54.1%	French proficiency, language use at the family and religious domains, attitudes towards L1, education level (having a Master's degree), and marital status (being single).
3. Predictors: Arabic language proficiency, French language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards French, gender, education, marital status and partner nationality	1st	49.4%	French language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, marital status (being separated), partner nationality and education level (having a PhD degree).
4. Predictors: Arabic language proficiency, French language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards French, visiting Algeria, languages spoken in the neighbourhood, education and partner nationality. *Outcome*: **Language use at home**	2nd & 3rd	81.3%	Arabic language proficiency, attitudes towards French, visiting Algeria, languages spoken in the neighbourhood, and education (having a high school degree).
5. Predictors: Arabic language proficiency, French language proficiency, attitudes towards	1st	46.4%	Age at immigration, French language proficiency, language use at home and

Arabic, attitudes towards French, LOR, age at immigration, language use in the family domain, and education level.			education level (having a PhD degree).
6. *Predictors:* Arabic language proficiency, French language proficiency, attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes towards French, language use at home, neighbourhood, and education level. *Outcome:* **Language use with friends**	2nd & 3rd	49.7%	Attitudes towards French, language use at home, and neighbourhood.
7. *Predictors:* French language proficiency, Arabic language proficiency, attitudes towards French, language use at the family and religion domains, LOR, age at immigration, gender, education level and marital status.	1st	36%	Home language use, attitudes towards French, Arabic proficiency level and gender (males).
8. *Predictors:* Arabic and French proficiency levels, attitudes towards French, language use at the family and religious domains, partner nationality, visiting Algerian, and education. *Outcome:* **Attitudes towards Arabic**	2nd & 3rd	68.3%	Arabic and French proficiency levels, attitudes towards French, and partner nationality (Franco-Algerian and French).