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# Language attitudes in Algeria

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This article examines language attitudes among Algerian first and second year engineering students at an Algerian university. A sample of 101 participants responded to a 51-item questionnaire. The results of the questionnaire showed a strong preference of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), English, and French by native speakers of Algerian Arabic (Derja). Native speakers of Tamazight (a Berber language) preferred MSA, English, French, *and* Tamazight. Participants were divided on many questions regarding MSA and Tamazight. It was also found that respondents favored English as a useful vehicle of economic opportunity and knowledge transfer. An overwhelming majority of respondents viewed multilingualism in Algeria positively. Interestingly, both Derja and Tamazight native speakers unanimously rejected promoting Derja to an official political status, and they indicated support for the teaching of English and French in school. Possible motives behind the attitudes are discussed and implications are suggested.

**Keywords:** Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Derja (Algerian Arabic), English, French, Tamazight (Berber), language attitudes, Algeria

This study, which includes data from a survey questionnaire, sets itself the task of describing Algerians' attitudes toward the presence of English and other languages used in Algeria. Attitudes of first and second year Algerian engineering students at an institution of higher education are examined in an attempt to better understand attitudes toward the use of English for science and technology. In addition, relationships between English and other languages are described, along with relationships between language user groups (i.e., Derja and Tamazight native speakers). A widespread statement in Algeria is that promotion of English enables technology transfer from technologically advanced countries to Algeria and improves Algeria's access to international knowledge. In addition to reviewing previous literature on attitudes toward English and multilingualism in Algeria and similar contexts, choosing to survey a small population of Algerian engineering students puts such technology transfer claims to the test, identifying

students' attitudinal reactions to them. Highlighting the attitudes these students have toward English as a main language of instruction in higher education institutions for science and technology is deemed a pertinent exploratory endeavor, providing meaningful insight for future systematic research on English language attitudes in Algeria and their language policy implications. Despite the government's insistence that English should be the primary tool to help increase access to the latest scientific and technical knowledge, little scholarship discusses how the students who are asked to learn English to facilitate this access feel about it. This paper suggests that Algerian language policy makers could consider expanding the National Institute for Electrical and Electronic Engineering (IGEE) program, in which English has an instrumental function, to other universities, depending on student attitudes. Such a move could also be accompanied with a multilingual approach.

I first provide background on the study of language attitudes in Algeria and Morocco.<sup>1</sup> I then briefly present the survey questionnaire and participants' characteristics, including native language background, gender, and additional background information to contextualize the survey. The results of each survey item are then put forth. Finally, I discuss the results, offering a description of views toward English, multilingualism, language roles, and the suitability of a University of the Basque Country's Multilingual Program in Algeria. This description of language attitudes in Algeria through the questionnaire-based exploratory pilot study, previous research, and anecdotal observations is intended to contribute to establishing a comprehensive understanding of language attitudes in Algeria's complex multilingual context.

## Attitudes toward multilingualism and Arabization

According to Bentahila (1983), bilingualism is characteristic of most of the Maghreb region. For example, in neighboring Morocco, Berber-Moroccan Arabic bilingualism is widespread. Only children and the elderly who live in the desert or the mountains tend to be Tamazight monolinguals. Language shift has occurred at the expense of Tamazight toward dialectal Arabic, while rural areas are character-

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1. It is deemed useful to report findings of Bentahila's (1983) seminal Moroccan language attitudes study because it is usually cited in any important study of attitudes in the Maghreb, including Algeria. It is one of the first language attitude studies in the Maghreb. Reference is also briefly made to a study of English attitudes in Turkey because Turkey is a similar Muslim and multilingual context like Algeria.

ized by additive multilingualism in which Arabic<sup>2</sup> is learned as a second language. Moroccan Arabic and French bilingualism are also very common. Language users mix the two languages, and incorporate French words into their dialectal Arabic for prestige. Usually in cities, people use French a great deal. French is viewed as a language used to increase access to science and technology and to improve one's socioeconomic status, among other purposes. MSA and French bilingualism is prevalent in education and academia. Neither of these two languages is native to Moroccans, or to anyone else in the Maghreb, for that matter. A widely discussed aspect of bilingualism in the region is the low standard of proficiency in MSA and French. In fact, Bentahila (1983) preceded Miliani (2000) and multiple other language scholars in the Maghreb in humorously characterizing this phenomenon as “bilingual *illiteracy*.”

Bentahila (1983) extensively studied attitudes toward Arabic-French bilingualism in Morocco, a highly similar case of bilingualism to that present in Algeria. He found that although the majority of Moroccans use dialectal Moroccan Arabic (also known as Derija in Morocco), French language and culture remained strong after independence (p.10), and continued to serve as a medium of instruction and as a bridge to the West. In this regard, Gellner (1973) stated that, “I believe the impact of French culture in North Africa to be profound and permanent. In his [*sic*] heart, the North African knows not merely that God speaks Arabic, but also that modernity speaks French” (as cited in Bentahila, 1983, p.15). This quote clarifies how Moroccans associate Dialectal Arabic and French with different beliefs and values; Moroccans are bilingual and bicultural because they utilize the two languages in different communicative contexts (p. 49).

Various factors influence Moroccans' language choices, which I believe largely to apply to the Algerian context as well. A variety of surveys were conducted by Bentahila (1983) with a diverse range of Moroccan populations. The findings indicated that respondents were more likely to use French with doctors and employers. In addition, they preferred French media over Arabic media for a variety of reasons, including the notion that French material has a kind of intrinsic value. At the same time, Arabic content is justified by external and patriotic factors. Respondents were found to dislike code switching, a common linguistic practice in the Maghreb region. The author stated: “They feel that it is better to abandon Arabic and not speak it at all than mix it with French” (p. 114). This attitude is characteristic of Arabic-speaking countries, according to Bentahila (1983), who argued that Arabs “waste time” discussing how to use Arabic properly instead of simply using it (p. 139). The paradox is that, on the one hand, Arabs want to safe-

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2. The original author does not specify which type of Arabic, and when an author does not make that distinction, I assume that it is not relevant for the point the author is making.

guard *Classical* Arabic, thereby rejecting code switching and Moroccan Arabic, while at the same time they want to use it for *modern* scientific communication.<sup>3</sup>

In Algeria, discussing Arabization prior to addressing attitudes toward English can facilitate the understanding of these attitudes. The policy of Arabization, promoting MSA and an Arab-Islamic Algerian identity, has influenced all facets of public life, including the educational, sociolinguistic, and sociopolitical landscape, and has been widely studied (Benchehida, 2001; Benrabah, 2002, 2004; Djite, 1992; Grandguillaume, 2002, 2004; Mostari, 2004; Sirles, 1999; Zoulikha, 2002). This policy was widely deemed a failure by most educational and language scholars because no account was taken of the sociolinguistic reality of the country. By sociolinguistic reality, I mean that (1) dialectal Arabic and Tamazight languages are the native languages of Algerians, both of which have been continually marginalized under Arabization; (2) French is still a dominant language in many domains of use, a situation that continues to be divisive; and (3) the real and natural bilingual situation described above has been continuously demeaned. Bentahila's (1983) survey supports findings by Benrabah (2007, as cited in Chemami 2011) in Algeria and by Ounali (1970) in Tunisia. All three surveys found that respondents reject complete Arabization and instead favor multilingualism. Although many of the respondents may support the *ideals* of Arabization, such as Arab nationalism and Islamic unity, they also understand all too well the advantages of French (Bentahila, 1983, p.158). Thus, there seems to be a large consensus that the policy of Arabization has failed in Algeria due to its failure to reconcile these realities. For example, according to Bentahila's study (1983), the diaglossic situation would have to be resolved before successful Arabization could be achieved and MSA could be a language of science, thus reconciling MSA with its local variety. As long as MSA is associated with Islam and Arab nationalism, and dialectal Arabic associated with ignorance rather than seen as a natural linguistic phenomenon, it is difficult to implement a successful Arabization policy (Bentahila's, 1983). It is worth noting, however, that successive education reforms since the early 2000s in Algeria reduced the impact of Arabization and favored multilingualism in general and English in particular (Benrabah, 2007).

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3. The distinction may not be clear in the literature; however, I refer to dialectal Algerian Arabic as *Derja* and standard Arabic as MSA. Also, I personally believe that classical Arabic terminology, as in Latin terminology, can be useful in modern scientific communication. That being said, communication can be more effective when young learners express themselves in a language they are comfortable using, such as a standardized local variety of Arabic.

## Background on attitudes toward English

In Morocco, a fairly recent survey of language attitudes (Marley, 2004) was conducted among teenagers and their teachers in public schools. Among the pupils, 67.9% of 156 participants viewed English as more useful than French in the world. At the same time, of 25 teachers, 60% believed that science and technology should be taught in French – though 68% recognized that English is more useful than French in the long run. In terms of teaching foreign languages English and French early, 68% felt no concerns over potentially impeding the acquisition of MSA. Finally, 36% of teachers believed that English and French should both be encouraged, while 24% stated that French should be the only language that should be encouraged. Similar to concerns raised by this exploratory pilot study, general language usefulness, and medium of instruction in science and technology were also discussed in Marley (2004).

Only a few studies have considered attitudes toward English versus other languages in Algeria, and these studies have rarely devoted a significant focus on English. For example, Benrabah (2007), in describing the language-in-education policy of Algeria since independence from France in 1962, focused on attitudes toward various languages, including English. Surveying secondary school students, he found that the majority (58.6%) prefer the combination of Arabic, English, and French as the most appropriate set of languages for upward social mobility. Respondents also supported the notion of additive multilingualism, i.e., adding English to Arabic and French rather than replacing French with English (p.244). After describing the larger context, Chemami (2011) presented results of a survey he conducted, showing that students learn French because, among other things, they have a desire to do so and it is easily acquired in Algeria. He explained the results by previous findings suggesting that French is, for example, useful in romantic contexts to overcome taboos (Benmesbah, 2003, p.13, as cited in Chemami, 2011). In terms of attitudes toward learning English in Algeria, Chemami (2011) stated that survey respondents in their first year of studying English in middle school prefer a diversification of writing activities and encouragement of reading to improve their English communication. In Turkey, with respect to attitudes toward English, learners seemed to view English as a tool for success rather than for identification with Westerners. Selvi (2011) described Turkey's unfavorable political opinion of the United States, but suggested that the power of the English language overshadows these opinions. Findings on attitudes toward English in Turkey, I believe, apply in the Algerian context as well, in that Algerians can have vitriolic attitudes toward American foreign policy while at the same time having positive attitudes toward the English language. This contradiction can be especially visible among Islamic conservatives who despise what

they view as American aggression on the Muslim world in Iraq but favor English over French. Chemami (2011) concluded by commending Algerian authorities for reconciling Algerians by working toward improving the status of Tamazight, and calls for a democratic plurilingual language policy that capitalizes on each language's capacity to fulfil a particular functional range.

### Attitudes toward English speakers

In terms of attitudes toward English speakers, what follows is an online post by an Algerian user of English that might suggest negative attitudes: “if they give me 1 million dollars [*sic*] and ask me to live in the usa i [*sic*] will refuse, devils [*sic*] country.” In response, a user declares: “The Usa [*sic*] is not a poor man's country, With [*sic*] a million dollars and a smart investing mind [*sic*] You'll do just fine Because [*sic*] let me remind you, the country you're living in currently Is [*sic*] no [*profanity used*] angel's den.” Interestingly, cursing in English is quite common even among English learners in such online contexts. Consistent with Kasztalska's (2014) findings, shame and pessimism about one's country seem prevalent in Algeria too, as seen in the response quoted here. The ambivalent attitudes of a general dislike of the US but in some specific respects admiring inner circle English native speakers' achievements is quite common in my interactions with fellow Algerians. For instance, when it comes to hateful attitudes toward English as an impact of the US Mid East policy, 13% perceive a relationship, 30% are neutral, and 33% disagree that US policy has anything to do with any hate toward English (Borni, 2017). While the anecdotal and survey-based observations in this paragraph are about the US, I could see them applying in other contexts. Typically, however, anyone who uses English in Algeria is either ridiculed for bad English or admired for being intellectually sophisticated. The ambivalent attitude is pervasive and arbitrary.

### Survey participants

The pilot study I conducted on university students took place in the 2012/2013 academic year at M'hamed Bougara University. An estimated 27,500 students attended M'hamed Bougara University during the preceding 2011/2012 academic year. It is not clear how many of these 27,500 are Engineering and Electronics Engineering Institute (known by its French acronym IGEE) students. Seventy one percent of these students were in programs that underwent the Bologna Agreement-based Licence, Master, Doctorat (LMD) higher education reforms

(Université M'hamed Bougara Boumerdes, n.d.), including participants in this study. Forty-three of the participants were male, forty-four were female, and thirteen did not indicate their gender. Of the 100 participants who responded to a paper-based questionnaire, including a question regarding their native language(s), Arabic<sup>4</sup> was selected as the native language for 61 and Tamazight as the native language for 33 participants (Table 1). The remainder identified Arabic/French, Chaouia (i.e., a variety of Tamazight), Arabic/Tamazight, or French/Tamazight as their native languages. In this article, given the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, English is assumed to be a fourth language for native Derja speakers and a fifth language for native Tamazight speakers. French is a third or fourth language, Derja is a first or second language, MSA is usually a second language, and in most cases Tamazight is a first language.<sup>5</sup>

**Table 1.** Students' self-reported native language and the frequency of students who speak each language(s) spoken natively

First language	Frequency
Arabic <sup>a</sup>	61
Tamazight	33
Tamazight and Arabic	2
Arabic and French	1
Arabic and Tamazight	1
Chaouia (Berber variety)	1
French and Tamazight	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

a Arabic is loosely used here because the survey item is not intended to elicit attitudes toward the language. Generally speaking, Algerians use Derjs (the lower Arabic variety) in everyday life and MSA in formal settings like education, the media, and government.

4. Normally the distinction is again not important here. My understanding is that respondents understood Derja, but they also have proficiency in MSA since it is the official language of the country and used in formal education, media, and government circles.

5. Items 8 and 9 in Part 3 were discarded because of inconsistent answers, participant questions about the exact meaning of the word "worth" in item 9, and the confusion because of the negative "not" in item 8 during data collection. Answers to items 11–13 in Part 4 were also not reported because answers were inconsistent and the word "worthwhile" seemed confusing to participants during data collection. The very last item in the survey asks students if they think English would allow them to study in a foreign country, but they might have only thought of Western countries. As far as I know, the term 'foreign,' ('étranger' in French or 'el kharej' in Arabic) is highly associated with a better life in Western countries. Such measures as omitting inconsistent items were, thus, taken to ensure that only survey items that work the way they are intended are included in the study.

## Methodology

The questionnaire for the attitude survey drew from those designed by Baker (as cited in Lasagabaster, 2003, p. 588), Lasagabaster (2003), and Benrabah (2007). Their questionnaires were modified to suit the population of this study by adding, deleting, and rewording items. Part I focused on gathering demographic and personal information. Part II explicitly addressed attitudes toward multilingualism. Part III compared various statements across five different languages. Part IV gathered data on attitudes toward languages in relation to their importance in the job market, official status, and use in science and technology. Participants rated items on a Likert scale, from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). NAND refers to neither agree nor disagree.

Participants were given 15 minutes to complete the paper questionnaire. Data collection was performed in the morning with sophomores and in the afternoon for freshmen. Data was collected during required lectures. The 51-item questionnaire was filled out by 56 sophomores and 45 freshmen. It was distributed in first and second year students' English language classrooms. The data was then entered into Microsoft Excel and imported to SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) for statistical analysis. Space was provided in the questionnaire for further commentary, and participants wrote brief statements, some of which are shared here to shed further light on the results. Previous literature and my own anecdotal interpretations are also provided to supplement understanding of percentages and frequencies reported in tables and figures.

## Summary of survey results

### Language(s) that should be taught

Table 2 shows that 87.5% of native Tamazight speakers agreed/strongly agreed that French should be taught to all pupils in Algeria. English was even more strongly favored, with 93.5% of participants agreeing or strongly agreeing that English should be taught to all pupils. As far as local languages were concerned, 71.9% answered that Tamazight should be taught to all pupils, while fewer than 10% indicated that Derja (Algerian Arabic) should be taught. Twenty-nine percent neither agreed nor disagreed regarding MSA, and 38.7% agreed that it should be taught (Table 2).

Derja native speakers, however, had a different perspective. While an overwhelming majority of Tamazight respondents largely concurred that English should be taught to all pupils, only 55.4% and 57.3% of Derja native speakers

**Table 2.** Tamazight natives<sup>6</sup> favorability on whether each of the five languages should be taught to all pupils in Algeria

First language	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	NAND	Agree	Strongly Agree
Derja	40.6%	37.5%	12.5%	9.4%	0.0%
MSA	6.5%	16.1%	29.0%	38.7%	9.7%
Tamazight	6.3%	6.3%	15.6%	21.9%	50.0%
French	3.1%	6.3%	3.1%	53.1%	34.4%
English	0.0%	3.2%	3.2%	41.9%	51.6%

agreed or strongly agreed that English and French, respectively, should be taught (Table 3). This was still a majority, but these numbers were significantly weaker than the overwhelming majority of Tamazight native speakers who favored the teaching of French to all. Though not a majority, a relatively large percentage of some 29.6% of native Derja speakers would like Tamazight to be taught to all.

**Table 3.** Derja natives' favorability on whether each of the five major languages should be taught to all pupils

First language	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	NAND	Agree	Strongly Agree
Derja	28.1%	21.1%	31.6%	15.8%	3.5%
MSA	3.4%	8.6%	12.1%	34.5%	41.4%
Tamazight	29.6%	14.8%	25.9%	18.5%	11.1%
French	7.3%	20.0%	5.5%	40.0%	27.3%
English	14.0%	14.7%	15.8%	26.3%	29.1%

## Language and employment

While English and French were deemed necessary for finding a job in Algeria's economy, MSA did not enjoy the same position. Indeed, 89.6% of respondents agreed/strongly agreed that French was necessary for finding a job, and 70.6% agreed or strongly agreed that English was necessary. MSA, however, was thought to be necessary only by a mere 25% (Table 4).

## Language usefulness

Concerning language usefulness, the majority of native Derja speakers strongly agreed that no language was more useful than English. Before elaborating on the

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6. Table 1 includes the number of native speakers of each language or combination of languages.

**Table 4.** Agreement on the necessity of English, French, and/or MSA for employment<sup>7</sup> in Algeria

Language	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	NAND	Agree	Strongly Agree
MSA	26.1%	26.1%	22.8%	17.4%	7.6%
French	1.0%	4.2%	5.2%	45.8%	43.8%
English	2.2%	12.0%	15.2%	41.3%	29.3%

results in support of this claim, I would like to point out that the term “usefulness” was not defined for participants. The survey question did not specify *in what sense* English was useful, but answers to it did reflect generally less favorable attitudes toward local languages and French, and a more positive attitude toward English.

Regarding local languages, it was noticeable in Table 4 that MSA was perceived as being most useful, just under English, followed by Derja (the lower Arabic variety) French, and finally Tamazight, which was perceived as the least useful. With respect to French, 55.8% of Derja native speakers agreed that there were more useful languages, while 48.1% of Tamazight native speakers did so (Table 4). This finding reflects the official status that the high variety of Arabic enjoys thanks to institutional support by the government and religious leaders, who portray it as essential to unity among Arabic speaking countries and to the Islamic world. Although Derja was looked down upon, it was still deemed by its native speakers to be more useful than Tamazight, which was regarded as less favorable.

A majority of 81.2% and 77.4% of native Tamazight speakers agreed/strongly agreed that there were more useful languages than Derja and MSA respectively. They were, however, divided when it came to their native language, English, and French. Compared to Derja speakers, Tamazight speakers were divided on whether there were languages more useful than English. While a mere 17.3% of Derja native speakers could think of a language more useful than English in some context, 33.4% of Tamazight native speakers concurred that there were more useful languages than English.

### Attitudes toward multilingualism

When participants were asked which language(s) would best allow them to live and prosper both in Algeria and the rest of the world (Table 5), 35.4% of respondents chose Arabic, Tamazight, English, and French as the best choices. However,

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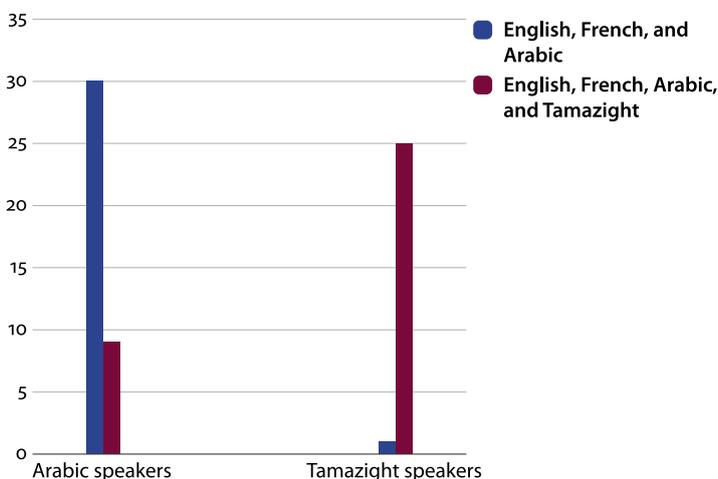
7. Native language background was deemed unnecessary for the purpose of this particular question.

a substantial 32.3% excluded Tamazight in their choice and chose only Arabic, English, and French.

**Table 5.** Best language(s) to live and prosper in Algeria and the rest of the world among all participants

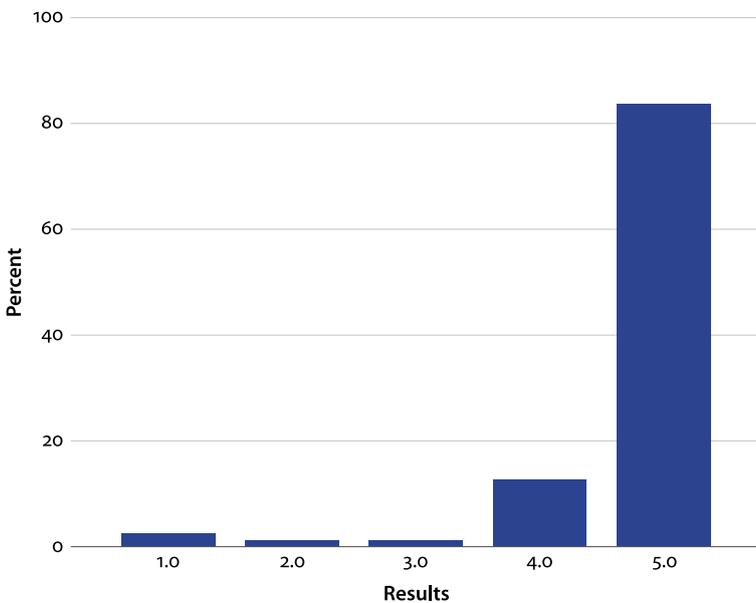
Combination of language(s) choice	Frequency	Percentage
English, French, Arabic, and Tamazight	35	35.4%
English, French, and Arabic	32	32.3%
English and Arabic	10	10.1%
French only	1	1.0%
French and Tamazight	1	1.0%
Other	9	9.1%

Figure 1 shows that native language background played a role in the above choices. When the results were analyzed based on native language background, 30% of native speakers of Derja were found to have excluded Tamazight, thereby choosing Arabic, English and French only. A mere 1% of native speakers of Tamazight chose the Tamazight-excluding combination of Arabic, English, and French only. Twenty-five percent of native speakers of Tamazight chose Arabic, English, French, *and* Tamazight, compared to just 9% of Arabic native speakers who chose this Tamazight-inclusive option.



**Figure 1.** Arabic and Tamazight native speakers' choice of best language(s) to live and prosper

Participants seemed to strongly favor multilingualism. Figure 2 shows the percentage of students who strongly agreed that several languages should exist in Algeria. The term “existence” used in the survey referred to the presence of many languages. While number 1.0 on the Likert scale in the X axis (Results) of the figure below showed that only a tiny fraction of respondents agreed that the existence of many languages would be a handicap, number 5.0 on the same axis referred to a strong agreement that the existence of many languages in Algeria would indeed be an advantage. Specifically, 80% of respondents strongly agreed that the existence of several languages in Algeria would be an advantage for this country. Although the survey did not specify what the advantage was, my interpretation of the item was to suggest a general view toward multilingualism.



**Figure 2.** Favorability toward the existence of several languages in Algeria being an advantage for this country, on a Likert scale

### Access to scientific and technical knowledge

The students surveyed seemed unanimously aware of the sociolinguistic reality that English is essential for access to scientific and technical knowledge (Table 6). They seemed to agree with statements by government officials to promote English. All except 4.3% agreed with the importance of English for knowledge acquisition. This result might come as a blow to Francophones, who have increasingly attacked the government for allegedly promoting English to displace French. Perhaps both

Francophone and government versions are correct. It seemed that, regardless of reasons for the promotion of English, respondents viewed English as essential for their academic endeavors and knowledge acquisition.

**Table 6.** English is an essential language to have access to science and technology

Result	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	1.0	1.1%
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	3.0	3.2%
Agree	23.0	24.2%
Strongly Agree	68.0	71.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>95.0</b>	<b>100%</b>

Although French currently dominates as a language of instruction in Algerian higher education institutions in science and technology fields (Benrabah, 2007), respondents in this study seemed to favor the unique way affairs are run in their own English medium institution. That is, they seemed to favor English as a main language of instruction in scientific and technical institutions, which had already been the case at IGEE. Sixty-one percent of respondents in this study strongly agreed and twenty-four percent agreed that English should be a medium of instruction in higher education programs of scientific and technical nature (Table 7).

**Table 7.** Should English be the main language of instruction in higher education in science and technology fields?

Result	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	2	2.1%
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	8	8.5%
Agree	23	24.5%
Strongly Agree	58	61.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

### Enriching cultural knowledge

To illustrate attitudes towards English, Table 8 demonstrates how English is favorably believed to enrich Algerian students' cultural knowledge even more than the local languages (Derja and Tamazight), Modern Standard Arabic, and French. In fact, 88.9% of respondents agree or strongly agree that English enriches their cultural knowledge, Derja, the native language of the majority of respondents,

comes in second with 76.3%, French comes in third with 75.9%, MSA comes in fourth with 65.2%, and finally only 34% of survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed that Tamazight enriches their cultural knowledge. The low number for Tamazight comes as no surprise since the majority of respondents are native Derja speakers, and Tamazight has suffered decades of propaganda characterizing it as an ancient and useless language of the past. The majority of Tamazight native speakers highly regard their native language.

**Table 8.** Tamazight, Derja (i.e. Algerian Arabic), MSA, French, English enriches my cultural knowledge

First language	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	NAND	Agree	Strongly Agree
Tamazight	28.90%	25.60%	11.10%	24.40%	10.00%
Derja	4.10%	7.20%	12.40%	45.40%	30.90%
MSA	8.70%	8.70%	17.40%	38.00%	27.20%
French	7.70%	5.50%	11.00%	42.90%	33.00%
English	2.20%	4.40%	4.40%	36.70%	52.20%

## Discussion of survey results

### Official language status: An indicator of mixed attitudes

Despite traditionally resisting multilingualism, the government has recently adopted Tamazight as an official language of the government. In the past, Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika reacted to demands for making Tamazight an official language by saying that no country in the world had two official languages (El Watan, 2005). Even though this claim was factually wrong, its greater significance was the extent to which it reflected a hostile attitude toward multilingualism. This attitude appears to have recently changed if the new 2016 Constitution is any indication of the reality of the situation (Semmar, 2016). In that document, the government made Tamazight an *official* language instead of the national language status it held for a little over a decade, thereby paving the path for promoting multilingualism in various domains.

When explicitly asked about attitudes toward multilingualism, Algerians tend to value multilingualism as an ideal to aim for. However, when it comes to more specific questions about each language, such as the question pertaining to a language's official status, various motives could be behind excluding certain languages. The multilingual sociolinguistic reality of the country does not seem to be accounted for, for there are negative attitudes toward Derja, Tamazight, MSA, and French, albeit in each case for different reasons. For example, survey

respondents rejected any recognition of Derja as an official language alongside Tamazight and MSA. This rejection is paradoxical given the respondents' ideal sense of the benefits of the existence of several languages in the country (Figure 2). When it came to more specific questions, respondents displayed conflicting attitudes about multilingualism. Indeed, 41.9% strongly disagreed and 26.9% disagreed that, for whichever reason, the combination of these three languages (Derja, MSA, and Tamazight) should *together* be recognized (Belmihoub, 2015).

It is extremely puzzling that Derja native speaker respondents reject the official recognition and promotion of Derja, the language that is natively spoken by the majority, alongside official languages MSA and Tamazight. Although Tamazight speakers, for example, did strongly favor the official recognition of their native language and Derja speakers did favor the recognition of MSA, adding Derja to this combination swayed the result in the other direction: rejection of the official status of Derja, which is used in everyday life. An explanation for the rejection of Derja might be the widespread notion that it is only a dialect and not a language. Tamazight speakers can also be more likely to reject Derja since it can be seen as a competitor to their language. Despite this rejection, multilingual programs in higher education are still a possibility. If attitudes shift in the future, it is possible that Derja, English, French, MSA, and Tamazight could all be involved as needed in official communication in higher education in science and technology.

### Best languages to be taught: English and French are the only constant factor

Since some Tamazight native speakers largely agreed or expressed no opinion regarding the teaching of MSA to all, it could be concluded that they might be torn between the official status of MSA and their perception of it as a threat to Tamazight. Their responses, thus, showed that they understand the importance of learning MSA for socioeconomic advancement and participation in public life, while they may wish it were not favored over Tamazight.

It came as no surprise that native speakers of Tamazight had more favorable attitudes toward French than Derja native speakers did. It has historically been the case that many Tamazight speakers appropriated French and used it to fight colonialism and enhance their interests, while Derja native speakers rejected French and still to this day associate the language with its colonial past (Benrabah, 1999).

It is, however, surprising that English received such modest favorability among native Derja speakers. It is likely that native Tamazight speakers favor English more strongly than Derja speakers because it is another Western language that, along with French, helps them differentiate themselves from the Arab identity widely believed to be Algeria's only identity. It is also possible that favoring

English in schools was a way to reject MSA, the dominant language that many speakers of Kabyle (a Tamazight variety) in my experience find hard to learn. Rote learning, a focus on ancient texts and grammar, and a lack of motivation to learn a language perceived to be oppressive might contribute to learning difficulties.

In response, Derja native speakers may have preferred to protect MSA in K-12 over English. While both Derja and Tamazight native speakers agreed that English is an important language in general, native Derja speakers might perceive this language as a replacement for French, but not MSA. Indeed, this is what one native Arabic speaker said: "I like English, I hope it would be the second language after Arabic in Algeria instead of Franche [*sic*]." In addition to the sociopolitical motives for the above attitudes, the local socioeconomic context in Algeria might explain that French is preferred to be taught to all pupils. French is still widely required in Algeria for the majority of private sector jobs. While Derja speakers instrumentalize English as a tool to show their loathing of French and solidarity with fellow English speaking Muslims, these advantages of favoring English do not seem to outweigh those of learning MSA in public school.

As Table 2 shows, both English and French received stronger favorability among the participants. This is in stark contrast to Derja, Tamazight, and MSA. The majority of Tamazight speakers are not in favor of Derja being taught to all pupils in Algeria. Striking was the Derja native speakers' either neutral or unfavorable attitude toward the teaching of their own native language, as shown in Table 3. At least, an encouraging 9% of respondents defied mainstream views and supported the teaching of Derja to all. This might be due to the characterization of their variety of Arabic (Derja) as 'impure' because of frequent code-switching between French and Derja. It could also be due to the idea that written MSA is the only 'pure' language, and the attitude that MSA helps keep the Arab world united (Marley, 2004, pp. 28–30).

As Table 2 indicates, native speakers of Tamazight are divided on whether MSA should be taught, whereas 75.9% of native speakers of Derja (i.e., the Derja variety) favor the teaching of MSA to all pupils. This number could perhaps be higher if not for the perception that MSA is difficult to learn. In fact, it is argued that Algeria's struggling educational system is due to the rejection of learners' native languages (Derja and Tamazight) in favor of MSA, the high variety of Arabic. Learners might find MSA is difficult to learn precisely because, unlike Derja and Tamazight, it is not a language used in daily life, apart from some media and other official communication.

## Language and employment: French and English dominate again

One wonders why respondents disagreed over the necessity of MSA to socio-economic success. This suggests that the policy of Arabization has so far not been able to establish a significant role for the language in the economy. In the eyes of the students surveyed, MSA might be associated with religion, K-12 education, or the humanities in higher education, but surely not economic opportunity, or science and technology either for that matter. It is also worth noticing that French was deemed more valuable in the job market, probably reflecting the present reality that most jobs in the private sector require French. Although job postings that require English have been on the rise, they have not been nearly as common as those demanding mastery of French.

## Language usefulness: No language more useful than English

As I have argued in the past (2015), this positive attitude toward English could be capitalized upon, promoting mutual understanding between speakers of various other languages and addressing language conflict by teaching English, and possibly by using a pedagogy informed by peace and conflict resolution studies. It is also worth noting that, although native speakers of Derja strongly favor the teaching of French to all pupils, they don't regard it to be as useful as MSA and English. I believe that the lack of colonial history of English in Algeria and English's international prestige appear to be some forces that drove the incontestably positive attitudes toward this language by native Derja speakers.

Despite overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward English overall, 56.6% of Tamazight native speakers suggested that English was not necessarily the most useful language. Algerian Arabic native speakers were not as divided since close to 70% did not see any language that could rival English. Derja native speakers have higher ethnolinguistic vitality, in that their language is stronger demographically than Tamazight and they perceive it to be highly supported institutionally. Thanks to this ethnolinguistic vitality, Derja native speakers may not feel threatened by English. However, speakers of Tamazight could be wary of stating that no language would be more useful than English because such a statement could further undermine the already weak state of Tamazight's ethnolinguistic vitality.

The divided attitude toward the usefulness of English among speakers of Tamazight might be in line with Lasagabaster's (2003) finding regarding Spain that native speakers of a minority language that has little ethnolinguistic vitality tend to be warier of powerful languages when compared to their native language in terms of usefulness, for example. The particular situation that Lasagabaster investigated was that of the Basque Country, autonomous community in northern

Spain, where the Basque language, spoken by a minority in Spain, is co-official with Spanish. The Basque, as he found, had negative attitudes toward English that may be grounded in their strong ethnolinguistic identity and, thus, the desire to protect their minority language from a language as powerful as English (pp. 589–592). The power of English is generally not a concern in Algeria, except when directly compared to a local language regarding usefulness. A case in point is when Tamazight speakers suggest that there are more useful languages than English in Algeria. Derja native speakers do not suggest as emphatically that there are more useful languages than English in Algeria because there is a less potent threat to their linguistic identity compared with Tamazight speakers.

### Attitudes toward multilingualism

When asked about their preferred languages, Tamazight was included by its native speakers but excluded by native Derja speakers (Figure 1). This finding could be explained by the constant characterization of Tamazight and its speakers as a threat to national unity by some government officials and Derja-speaking Algerians (Benrabah, 2007, p. 243). In my opinion, it could also be explained by the perception that MSA, one of the official languages, is necessary to the socio-economic prosperity of Tamazight speakers. Native Derja speakers did not feel compelled to include Tamazight on their choice of best languages since the government does not afford it the same status and is not as necessary to socio-economic prosperity as MSA and French are. The recent constitutional proposal by the government to make Tamazight an official language and expand its teaching to a national level, however, might in the long term alter perceptions and Derja native speakers might develop more positive attitudes toward Tamazight. Although not included in Figure 1, reported above, five respondents opted for English, French, and Tamazight as the best combination of languages to live and prosper in Algeria, thereby excluding MSA. These participants might be influenced by a strong sense of activism for Tamazight cultural and linguistic rights, seeing MSA as a threat to the promotion of Tamazight, thereby defying expectations and leaving out the majority's favorite language.

### Access to scientific and technical knowledge: The case for a multilingual program

The near unanimous agreement that English should be more prominent as a language of science and technology raises questions about the status of French. I argue that including English as a main language of instruction does not necessarily exclude French. A Multilingual Program such as the one at the University

of the Basque Country (UBC) might require effort and resources, but it could be worth that effort. Keeping French dominant while giving English more prominence to, for example, access more scientific and technical knowledge could not only contribute to the reduction of potential conflicts, but also ensure stability, continuity, and a foundation to build on. A sustainable initiative in which policy is grounded in student needs, goals, and aspirations is necessary if the sociolinguistic reality of Algeria is to be respected. Such a Multilingual Program could ensure students attitudes are taken into account without destabilizing the linguistic status quo in higher education. In order to better illustrate how such a Multilingual Program would work, a similar case in Spain is presented to help policy makers and curriculum designers in Algeria potentially implement a similar program.

In important respects, and before delving into a description of UBC's Multilingual Program shortly, a discussion of how the Algerian situation is similar to that of the Basque is provided. A comparison of the two contexts illustrates how Algerian student preferences and government statements in favor of English could become reality in an Algerian university and French-dominated sociolinguistic reality. Specifically, part of the reason I believe Algeria could learn from the Basque model, the autonomous Spanish region includes the Basque language, which seems to be equivalent to Kabyle, whose speakers have strong ethnolinguistic identity as well but still have a long way to go before achieving the same gains in terms of linguistic and cultural rights. Spanish, though not diglossic, would be analogous to Modern Standard Arabic, the official language, and French, the unrecognized official language in Algeria by default.

UBC is a Basque-Spanish bilingual public university that hosted about 45,000 students in 2008/2009, 99% of whom were domestic. Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra (2011) examine the case of UBC's Multilingual Program, which, despite some temporary challenges, should be solidified, they argue. They begin by describing English medium instruction in higher education institutions, which is an artifact of the Bologna Process, Europe's response to international competition in higher education. The process included programs such as Erasmus, a popular exchange program that facilitates the mobility and exchange of scholars and students within European Union (EU) member states and between some EU members and North Africa. The authors maintain that, as part of this internationalization process, English medium instruction exists for three main reasons: "1) to attract international students 2) to prepare domestic students for the global labor

market; and 3) to raise the profile of the institution” (p. 347).<sup>8</sup> The UBC created the Multilingual Program (MP) to achieve the following goals:

To continue at tertiary level with the experimental trilingual [Basque, English, Spanish] program introduced by the Basque Government in primary and secondary schools; to improve local students’ proficiency in a foreign language, and to provide students with specialized language and access to references in the foreign language; to improve students’ work/career prospects; to facilitate the pursuit of postgraduate degrees abroad; and to attract international students and teachers. (p. 249)

Implemented in Algeria, the experimental program would be trilingual (MSA, English, and French) mostly, but could also be quintilingual (Arabic (MSA and Derja), Tamazight, English, and French) in Tamazight-speaking regions (e.g., Bejaia, parts of Bouira, and Tizi-Ouzou).

### Enriching cultural knowledge

The dominance of English as a source of cultural knowledge seems counterintuitive. Whereas local languages are not seen as sources of cultural knowledge compared to English, an awareness of the Algerian context reveals that this result may be explained by the local languages having been characterized as useless for decades. Not even MSA, being the language of the Qur’an, and the official language in the Constitution alongside Tamazight, comes ahead of English as a rich language culturally. Perhaps the association of English with a prestigious entertainment industry earns the language the status of a source of cultural knowledge. The Arab world’s relatively low cultural production (Benrabah 2013), such as literary and cinematic production, in contrast, is reflected in participants’ negative attitudes towards the potential of local languages for being a source of cultural knowledge. Another surprise is that French is considered more culturally enriching than MSA. Despite the characterization of French as a colonial language, it seems that the participants still find it culturally valuable. Due to the prestigious status of English, however, survey participants put it forth as the most culturally enriching language. It could be valuable in the future to follow up with participants on what they consider to be of cultural value from each

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8. The motivation for English as medium of instruction in Europe guided Algeria’s introduction of the above-mentioned LMD system to Algeria. LMD is a new higher education system Algeria implemented following Europe’s Bologna Process. It is deemed that the LMD framework for structuring university degrees allows Algerian degrees to be internationally recognized. The LMD enabled some Algerian students to participate in Erasmus.

of the languages and why it is that English and French, the foreign languages, dominate the local languages. This linguistic insecurity could stem from centuries of Arabization and deprecation of local languages. The recent promotion of Tamazight to the status of an official language could be a step in the right direction, valuing local languages alongside other languages like English.

## Conclusion

This study sheds light on some attitudes toward the major languages in Algeria's sociolinguistic landscape. Arabic (MSA and Derja), English, and French are Derja native speakers' preferred languages to live and prosper in Algeria and the rest of the world. Tamazight native speakers agree with these preferences, but also suggest that Tamazight is essential. English and to a lesser extent French are favored to be taught to all pupils in Algeria. To a much lesser extent, Standard Arabic is somewhat favored to be taught to all pupils too. Derja is ignored by both its native speakers and native speakers of Tamazight, with the latter group supporting the teaching of Tamazight for all. English is also thought to be a vehicle of economic opportunity and knowledge acquisition.

Given this situation, perhaps a multilingual program from kindergarten to higher education, addressing language conflicts and promoting linguistic diversity, is most sustainable. Through the teaching and learning of English, positive attitudes toward all languages could be embraced and promoted. Decision makers could use this exploratory study to engage in further research and potentially build consensus in their move to embrace English in Algeria's already complex multilingual landscape. One language that was consistently viewed positively throughout the survey by both Derja and Tamazight native speakers is English. Designing the survey to simultaneously account for attitudes toward every language in Algeria, including English, is intended to lend strength to the finding that English is the most consistently positively viewed language.

Clearly, participants have some conflicting attitudes about various languages depending on the functions of the language. These conflicting attitudes might be addressed at the macro and micro levels by both teachers and decision makers alike. In fact, one source of support may be the TESOL Peace Forum, which states that "language teaching and learning can cultivate essential intercultural and peace-building skills in the classroom and the greater community" (as cited in Friedrich, 2007, p. 81). In fact, a survey respondent commented in the open-ended question asking for comments, which was placed at the end of the questionnaire, maintaining that "all languages are important, so let us to [*sic*] learn more."

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## Appendix. Questionnaire: Language attitudes in Algeria

### Part I

Please provide answers to the following questions in order to help the researcher interpret your answers to the questionnaire:

- What is your native language(s)?
- What other languages do you use to speak, read, and/or write?
- What is your age?
- What is your gender?
- What is your major field of study?
- What Province (Wilaya) are you from?

### Part II

Out of the following 11 possibilities, what is the best choice of language(s) that could allow you to live and prosper in Algeria and the rest of the world? Circle ONE answer

1. English only
2. Arabic only
3. French only
4. Tamazight only
5. Arabic and Tamazight
6. French and Arabic
7. French and Tamazight
8. English and Arabic
9. English, French, and Arabic
10. English, French, Arabic, and Tamazight
11. Other (Please specific)

### Part III

Here are some statements about Derja. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

- SA = Strongly Agree (circle SA)
- A = Agree (circle A)
- NAND = Neither Agree Nor Disagree (circle NAND)
- D = Disagree (circle D)
- SD = Strongly Disagree (circle SD)

- |  | (5) | (4) | (3)  | (2) | (1) |
|--|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|
| 1. I like hearing Derja spoken                     | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 2. Derja should be taught to all pupils in Algeria | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 3. I like speaking Derja                           | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 4. Derja is a difficult language to learn          | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |

- |  |    |   |      |   |    |
|--|----|---|------|---|----|
| 5. Other languages are more useful to learn than Derja | SA | A | NAND | D | SD |
| 6. I prefer to be taught in Derja in school            | SA | A | NAND | D | SD |
| 7. Learning Derja enriches my cultural knowledge       | SA | A | NAND | D | SD |
| 8. I would not mind marrying a Derja speaker           | SA | A | NAND | D | SD |
| 9. Derja is a language worth learning                  | SA | A | NAND | D | SD |

Here are some statements about the Modern Standard Arabic language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

- SA = Strongly Agree (circle SA)  
 A = Agree (circle A)  
 NAND = Neither Agree Nor Disagree (circle NAND)  
 D = Disagree (circle D)  
 SD = Strongly Disagree (circle SD)

- |   |     |     |      |     |     |
|---|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|
|   | (5) | (4) | (3)  | (2) | (1) |
| 1. I like hearing Modern Standard Arabic spoken                         | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 2. Modern Standard Arabic should be taught to all pupils in Algeria     | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 3. I like speaking Modern Standard Arabic                               | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 4. Modern Standard Arabic is a difficult language to learn              | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 5. Other languages are more useful to learn than Modern Standard Arabic | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 6. I prefer to be taught in Modern Standard Arabic in school            | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 7. Learning Modern Standard Arabic enriches my cultural knowledge       | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 8. I would not mind marrying a Modern Standard Arabic speaker           | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |
| 9. Modern Standard Arabic is a language worth learning                  | SA  | A   | NAND | D   | SD  |

Here are some statements about the Tamazight language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

- SA = Strongly Agree (circle SA)  
 A = Agree (circle A)  
 NAND = Neither Agree Nor Disagree (circle NAND)  
 D = Disagree (circle D)  
 SD = Strongly Disagree (circle SD)

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
1. I like hearing Tamazight spoken	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
2. Tamazight should be taught to all pupils	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
3. I like speaking Tamazight	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
4. Tamazight is a difficult language to learn	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
5. Other languages are more useful to learn than Tamazight	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
6. I prefer to be taught in Tamazight in school	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
7. Learning Tamazight enriches my cultural knowledge	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
8. I would not mind marrying a Tamazight speaker	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
9. Tamazight is a language worth learning	SA	A	NAND	D	SD

Here are some statements about the French language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

- SA = Strongly Agree (circle SA)  
 A = Agree (circle A)  
 NAND = Neither Agree Nor Disagree (circle NAND)  
 D = Disagree (circle D)  
 SD = Strongly Disagree (circle SD)

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
1. I like hearing French spoken	SA	A	HAND	D	SD
2. French should be taught to all pupils in Algeria	SA	A	HAND	D	SD
3. I like speaking French	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
4. French is a difficult language to learn	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
5. There are more useful languages to learn than French	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
6. I prefer to be taught in French in school	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
7. Learning French enriches my cultural knowledge	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
8. I would not mind marrying a French speaker	SA	A	HAND	D	SD
9. French is a language worth learning	SA	A	NAND	D	SD

Here are some statements about the English language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

- SA = Strongly Agree (circle SA)  
 A = Agree (circle A)  
 NAND = Neither Agree Nor Disagree (circle NAND)  
 D = Disagree (circle D)  
 SD = Strongly Disagree (circle SD)

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
1. I like hearing English spoken	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
2. English should be taught to all pupils in Algeria	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
3. I like speaking English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
4. English is a difficult language to learn	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
5. There are more useful languages to learn than English	SA	A	HAND	D	SD
6. I prefer to be taught in English in school	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
7. Learning English enriches my cultural knowledge	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
8. I would not mind marrying an English speaker	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
9. English is a language worth learning	SA	A	NAND	D	SD

### Part IV

Here are some statements. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

12. SA = Strongly Agree	(circle SA)					
13. A = Agree	(circle A)					
14. NAND = Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(circle NAND)					
15. D = Disagree	(circle D)					
16. SD = Strongly Disagree	(circle SD)					
		(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
1. Today, it is an advantage to speak several languages	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
2. The existence of several languages in Algeria is an advantage for Algeria	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
3. Arabic-French bilingualism is an advantage when living in Algeria	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
4. I am for multilingualism in Algeria	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
5. Modern Standard Arabic is necessary for finding a job in Algeria	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
6. French is necessary for finding a job in Algeria	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
7. English is necessary for finding a job in Algeria	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
8. I think Tamazight should be recognized as an official language	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
9. I think Derja should be recognized as a national and official language in addition to Modern Standard Arabic and Tamazight	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
10. I think English is an essential language to have access to knowledge, science, and technology	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
11. I think it is more worthwhile to learn English than French	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
12. I think it is more worthwhile to learn French than English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	
13. I think both English and French are worth learning equally	SA	A	NAND	D	SD	

14. English should be the main language of instruction in higher education in science, technology, and medical fields SA A NAND D SD
15. English is important to get a job with a multinational oil company or study in a foreign country SA A NAND D SD

Please provide below any comments you might want to share about language attitudes in Algeria:

### *Les attitudes de langage en Algérie*

#### Abstrait

Cette étude examine les attitudes linguistiques d'étudiants ingénieurs algériens de première et deuxième année. Un échantillon de 101 participants ont répondu à un questionnaire de 51 questions. Afin de vivre et de prospérer en Algérie et le reste du monde, les résultats montrent une forte préférence de l'arabe moderne standard (AMS), anglais et français par des locuteurs natifs de l'arabe algérien (Derja). Les locuteurs natifs de Tamazight préfèrent AMS, anglais, français et tamazight. Les participants sont divisés sur de nombreuses questions concernant le AMS et Tamazight. On a également constaté que les personnes interrogées sont favorables vis-à-vis l'anglais comme véhicule utile d'opportunité économique et le transfert des connaissances. Une majorité écrasante voit positivement la présence de plusieurs langues en Algérie. Locuteurs natifs Derja et Tamazight rejettent unanimement la promotion de Derja à un statut politique officiel, et ils soutiennent l'enseignement de l'anglais et du français à l'école. Motivations possibles derrière les attitudes sont discutées et des implications sont proposées.

### *Lingvaj vidpunktoj en Algérie*

#### Resumo

La nuna artikolo ekzamenas lingvaj vidpunktojn inter alĝeriaj unuajaraj kaj duajaraj studentoj pri inĝenierado en alĝeria universitato. Samplo de 101 partoprenantoj respondis al 51-era demando. Se temas pri vivi kaj prosperi en Alĝerio kaj la cetero de la mondo, la rezultoj montris fortan preferon al Moderna Norma Araba (MSA), angla kaj franca lingvoj fare de denaskaj parolantoj de alĝeria araba (Derja). Denaskaj parolantoj de Tamazight preferis MSA, anglan, francan plus Tamazight. Partoprenantoj havis diversajn opiniojn pri multaj demandoj koncerne MSA kaj Tamazight. Oni eltrovis ankaŭ, ke respondantoj favoris la anglan kiel utilan perilon de ekonomia avantaĝo kaj sciotransigo. Grandega plimulto de respondantoj favore rilitis al multlingvismo en Alĝerio. Denaskaj parolantoj de Derja kaj Tamazight unuanime malakceptis promocion de Derja al oficiala politika statuso, kaj ili subtenis la lernejan instruadon de la angla kaj franca. La artikolo pridiskutas la eblajn motivojn malantaŭ la vidpunktoj kaj sugestas eblajn implicojn.

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## **Biographical notes**

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