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**A CROSS-GENERATIONAL STUDY OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC
BEHAVIOUR AMONG ALGERIAN IMMIGRANTS IN FRANCE**

*Thesis submitted to the Department of English in candidacy for the degree
of Doctorate in Language Studies*

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Ikram MERZOUK

Dedication

To my loving family, my in-laws and friends, your support and constant encouragement fuelled my determination to bring this thesis to a close.

To my husband and children Sammy and Kenza, thank you for your love and support and for genuinely believing in me.

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Abstract

Language contact phenomena among minority groups, particularly in immigration contexts, have long been a central subject in sociolinguistics. Research in this area examines how languages interact, influence each other, and evolve when communities come into contact with dominant linguistic environments. Immigrants often face complex challenges as they integrate into the host society, navigating linguistic, social, and cultural adaptation. This study investigates the language behaviour of Algerian immigrants in France, focusing on its impact at both individual and social levels. It explores how these individuals negotiate between their cultural origins and the society they reside in, and how this affects identity formation and relationships within the family. The research specifically examines the maintenance, shift, and intergenerational transmission of Algerian Arabic across three generations. Its objectives are: first, to compare the use of code-switching across generations while examining language choice and dominance; second, to analyse how proficiency in Algerian Arabic evolves, identifying early signs of attrition; and third, to determine the social factors that influence the maintenance or shift of the heritage language. In order to achieve these aims, the study relied on a mixed-methods approach, combining a case study with a survey study. A total of 291 participants from three generations responded to an online questionnaire, took part in semi-structured interviews, and provided recorded samples of spontaneous conversations. The results, analysed qualitatively and quantitatively, revealed a gradual decline in Algerian Arabic proficiency and intergenerational transmission. This shift started in the second generation and was most pronounced among third-generation speakers, who manifested minimal use of code-switching and showed signs of attrition in vocabulary, phonetics, and comprehension. Among the social factors examined, the age of immigration, age of first exposure to Algerian Arabic, and frequency of language use were the most influential in shaping the maintenance, shift, and transmission of the heritage language.

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List of Abbreviations & Acronyms

CA: Classical Arabic

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

AA: Algerian Arabic

ESA: Educational Spoken Arabic

Fr: French

H: High

L: Low

VSO: Verb Subject Object

SVO : Subject Verb Object

HL: Heritage language

HLM: Heritage language Maintenance

CS : Code-Switching

CM : Code-Mixing

EU : European Union

ML : Matrix Language

EL : Embedded Language

L1 : First Language

L2: Second Language

L3: Third Language

TOT: Tip-of-the-Tongue

ELCO: Enseignements des langues et cultures d'origines

GIDS: Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

GS: Generational Status

List of Phonetic Symbols

Table 1: list of Arabic letters and their IPA transcription

Arabic Letters	Transcription (IPA)	Arabic Letters	Transcription (IPA)
ء	[ʔ]	ط	[tˤ]
ب	[b]	ظ	[ðˤ]
ت	[t]	ع	[ʕ]
ث	[θ]	غ	[ɣ]
ج	[dʒ]	ف	[f]
ح	[ħ]	ق	[q]
خ	[x]	ك	[g]
د	[d]	ك	[k]
ذ	[ð]	ل	[l]
ر	[r]	م	[m]
ز	[z]	ن	[n]
س	[s]	هـ	[h]
ش	[ʃ]	و	[w]
ص	[sˤ]	ي	[j]
ض	[dˤ]		

Table 2. List of vowels with examples

Vowels	Examples	Diphthongs	Examples
/i:/	sheep	/ie/	here
/ɪ/	ship	/ei/	wait
/ʊ/	good	/ʊə/	tourist
/u:/	shoot	/ɔi/	boy
/e/	bed	/əʊ/	show
/ə/	teacher	/eə/	hair
/ɜ:/	girl	/ai/	my
/ɔ:/	door	/aʊ/	cow
/æ/	Cat		
/ʌ/	Cup		
/ɑ:/	Heart		
ɒ	Clock		

Table 3: List of Arabic letters and their transcription in this paper

Arabic Letters	Transcription used	Motives of use
ج	[ʒ]	Used interchangeably depending on the accent of the participant and how it sounds to the researcher
ج د	[dʒ]	
ت	[ts]	Used to differentiate it from the French /t/

General Introduction

Language is the most powerful tool that the human being possesses. It allows people to exist and co-exist in a society, communicating and exchanging ideas, emotions and thoughts, building relationships and social connections. In the globalization era, language has become the key for mutual understanding between individuals from different parts of the world with different cultures and beliefs. It is thus fundamental to study the relationship between this human faculty and the social environment in which it is used. However, due to multiple factors, human beings have a tendency to migrate from one location to another, often generating a conflicting contact between different languages.

Among the most influential social factors on language is geographical location. This is due to the influence that different languages can have on each other when they come into contact. Such sustained interaction results in a set of linguistic phenomena that range from simple bilingualism or multilingualism, borrowing or code-switching, to more complex ones like pidginization or the appearance of new forms of languages. In the context of immigration, the most challenging linguistic outcomes of language contact are language attrition, shift and death.

It is a matter of fact that immigration can be the source of valuable personal enrichment at different levels, like the economic, the cultural and the educational. However, immigrants upon arrival can rapidly be exposed to certain linguistic and cultural adaptation issues within the receiving country. Indeed, when these individuals migrate from their country of origin to a new one, they generally undergo an acculturation process. Each migrant is going to adapt to the new society either by submitting to the pressure of the dominant language and culture, or by maintaining one's language and culture of origin, resisting the new ones. Some migrants may accept both cultures and languages, while others may completely separate from both. This identity negotiation can seriously threaten the maintenance

and preservation of heritage language (hereafter HL) use and its transmission across generations.

Algeria represents one of the most diverse linguistic and sociolinguistic contexts. The rich history of the country, from the multiple colonization periods it went through and the several cultural influences that it experienced, made it a particularly interesting research landscape. However, the French colonization was definitely the starting point of the whole multilingual complexity and the linguistic and identity tensions that are part of the reality that the Algerian community lives. The colonization period (1830–1962) was so long and substantial that the effects it had on the Algerian people were significant and long-lasting.

Years after the Algerian independence, French maintained its status as the language of modernity and prestige used in higher education, administrations and science, dividing the population into the group of the elites who master French and the others with less or no proficiency in this language. Meanwhile, the Algerian government applied the Arabization policy, claiming the Algerian identity and Islamic religion. However, despite the partial success of this movement, Algerian Arabic, significantly influenced by the French language, remained the mother tongue and the first language of most of the Algerian population, along with Tamazight representing the mother tongue of some Berber communities in the country.

Among the most significant impacts of the Algerian French colonization period is the immigration movement from Algeria to France that it created. The flow started in the late 19th and early 20th centuries but became particularly important during the invasion era and after the independence in 1962. In search of more valuable educational and economic opportunities, in addition to family reunifications, Algerians maintained the displacement from their original country to France, encouraged by the French government with the various facilities it offered. Nevertheless, their adaptation within the French society was, and is still, associated with various challenges, as their relationship with the French has always been and remained conflictual.

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2023) and le Défenseur des droits (2020) both claim the various forms of discrimination and social inequalities the Algerian immigrants in France are confronted with. They assert that because of their names, skin colour or accents in the dominant language, this community of people is often disadvantaged in different life domains and has fewer opportunities because of the prejudice they are faced with. In addition, these immigrants are confronted with issues at the level of their identity formation, being constantly torn between their feeling of belonging and at the same time non-belonging to two different cultures, the French and the Algerian. These challenges initiate a sense of exclusion from the French society and create a feeling of marginalization, which hinders their adaptation process within that new society.

Identity issues and adaptation challenges are manifested in various ways and in different aspects of the immigrants' lives, and language behaviour represents the focal point of this research. For most Algerian citizens, the non-Berber communities, the mother tongue is Algerian Arabic (Darija), which is basically a mixture between Arabic and some French adapted or non-adapted words and expressions. In addition, switching between Arabic and French represents a common linguistic behaviour of the majority of the Algerian population, driven by practical needs and long-established speaking habits. Nevertheless, the dialect remains the dominant code used in a large number of contexts and domains. However, the situation becomes particularly interesting and complex when those Algerian speakers move from their original country to France, where they are compelled to negotiate both their language choice and identity to ensure a successful integration.

In the context of Algerian immigration in France, and as far as language is concerned, two important features are crucial to take into account. First, the fact that the Algerian population's mother tongue is heavily influenced by the French language and culture, and then that the French language remains the language of the coloniser, towards which a large number of Algerians hold negative attitudes due to the colonization historical events they share. This is why it seemed relevant to

explore how the community of Algerian immigrants in France behaves linguistically in a context where the dominant language is French and the stigmatized language is their mother tongue, and how these individuals act towards the pressure of the French community to adapt to the French norms and the consequences it may have on the preservation of their language of origin and culture across the different generations. However, it is important to acknowledge as well that other Algerians view French more positively, as it represents access to education, science and social advancement, and continues to serve as a key vehicle for upward mobility and intellectual engagement.

Understanding how the language of origin of the Algerian immigrant community evolves through time and across generations in the French context represents the main concern of this investigation. Similar to all immigrants' minority groups, it is particularly important that Algerians are given the chance to preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage while developing proficiency and adapting to the host language and culture. This is the reason why this investigation aims at highlighting the natural change that occurs to Algerian Arabic in a migrant context across generations. In addition, it attempts at examining the generational differences in language choice, use and acculturation strategies. Ultimately, the present research seeks to understand the motives behind immigrants' choice to maintain or shift from their language of origin, and uncover the reasons behind the effective transmission of that language among some immigrants while attrition is manifested in the language of others.

This sociolinguistic research relies on natural and authentic material in the French context, focusing on the linguistic features and practices characterizing it, and on the views, personal opinions and attitudes of a large sample population to reach the three specific objectives of this study:

- 1- To depict the differences in terms of code-switching use at the intergenerational level
- 2- To examine the attrition signs that may occur in the speech of those immigrants at the level of their language of origin

- 3- To identify the social factors that have an impact on the maintenance or shift from the HL.

The linguistic adaptation of the Algerian immigrant community in France has long been a subject of many debates. The fact that these individuals from first to next generations still struggle with linguistic, identity and belonging issues is specifically alarming. This investigation tries to highlight the dangers of this language contact in the immigration context on the preservation of the linguistic and cultural heritage, first at the intragenerational level, that is at each individual's level, then at the intergenerational level, that is maintaining its transmission and continuity from one generation of immigrants to the other. By doing so, it hopes to achieve the aforementioned objectives by answering the following research questions:

- 1- How does code-switching use vary across the three different generations in those families of Algerian immigrants in France?
- 2- At which level does attrition appear in the language of origin of the different generations of immigrants?
- 3- What are the factors that influence language-of-origin maintenance or shift among the community of Algerian immigrants in France?

In this line, a range of hypotheses can come out as an attempt to bring answers to these research questions. These will be either confirmed or rejected later on based on the results obtained by the end of this research, thanks to the collection of the necessary data with suitable research instruments and their process of analysis and interpretation. It is then suggested that:

H1:

- The first-generation are Algerian Arabic dominant; they code-switch at both the inter-sentential and intra-sentential levels for non-compensatory reasons;
- The-second generation are more French dominant; they code-switch more at the intra-sentential level for non-compensatory reasons;
- The third-generation are French dominant; they code-switch more at the intra-sentential level for compensatory reasons.

H2:

- The first and the second generations manifest attrition at the lexical level;
- The third-generation manifests attrition at both the lexical and the phonetic level.

H3:

- The factors that influence language maintenance or shift of the language of origin are generational status, age and frequency of contact with that language.

In addition to the sociolinguistic and migration research contributions that the results of this investigation on the language-of-origin use, maintenance and transmission across the generations of Algerian immigrants in France might provide, it will also bring insights into various domains like cultural adaptation, identity formation and social integration. Indeed, language, culture and identity being closely interrelated, the loss of immigrants' original language may generate a loss at the level of cultural traditions, values and religion, and gradually reduce the sense of belonging to the same community of the older generations. This may again create a gap at the intergenerational communication level and initiate a feeling of isolation or even segregation. This highlights the importance of the preservation of the language(s) of origin and their cross-generational transmission.

This research captures how the Algerian immigrants in France community try to balance between Algerian Arabic and French and both their heritage and host cultures and identities. It shows how the different generations of immigrants struggle to maintain their origins and roots and how some submit to the pressure of the dominant society. At the linguistic level, it examines how language evolves through time and across the generations. In situations where attrition is manifested, it will determine the linguistic features that are first impacted by it. Moreover, the research attempts to explore how language contact in the context of Algerian immigration affects their Algerian Arabic–French code-switching and their language dominance and proficiency in both languages. At the sociolinguistic level, it tries to determine the social factors that are responsible for HL preservation and the extent and speed at which the shift might occur at the inter- and intra-generational levels.

Since this research represents a cross-generational sociolinguistic investigation in the context of immigration, the ultimate goal is to realize a comparison at the generational level in terms of the sociolinguistic behaviour of the concerned sample population of immigrants. Thus, this research paper includes the participation of a total of 291 individuals among the Algerian immigrants in France speech community, following non-random sampling methods. Each of these participants is either part of the first generation, the second or the third. The research relies on a mixed-method approach combining the results of both quantitative and qualitative data collected based on a triangulation method.

The first part of this investigation follows a micro-approach. Two research instruments were selected to collect data at both the individual and the family group levels. The first instrument was in the form of some free-conversation recordings of five families of immigrants, each composed of three members from the three different generations. The aim is to collect authentic material that captures a realistic conversation and intergenerational exchange, first to determine the language choice of each individual in the family context, evaluate fluency in the language of origin, then to compare between each generation's code-switching use, attempting to depict the presence of any attrition signs at the level of that language, and finally to examine their HLM or shift and its transmission across the generations. The second instrument is a semi-structured interview that is conducted with 9 participants selected according to specific age groups and generational status. While the main goal behind this choice is to obtain personal opinions and views about their own proficiency in Algerian Arabic, frequency of use, attrition signs and the importance they give to the maintenance and transmission of their language of origin, the secondary goal is to examine the impact of age on these linguistic phenomena.

On the other hand, the second part of the research represents a survey study which follows rather a macro-approach, considering the participation of 265 Algerian immigrants in France. The aim is to reach a higher number of people from that community, first to attempt a generalisation of the results and then to find a relationship between different social factors and their impact on HL use,

maintenance and transmission across the generations. These participants are reached via a social network group and are asked to answer the online questionnaire designed for these objectives.

This research paper progresses into five chapters. The two primary chapters address theoretical concepts related to the theme of this study; the three others deal with the practical investigation design, collection and data analysis. The first chapter is devoted to the concept of immigration, identity and culture. It dives into details about the history of the Algerian emigration to France to set the context and the setting of this research. Then it tries to portray the challenges that Algerian immigrants face regarding their identity formation and cultural integration in their receiving country, that is France.

The second chapter, on the other hand, is dedicated to the sociolinguistic part of the research. First, it discusses language use in Algeria, delving into both the linguistic and the sociolinguistic situation in the country. Then, it shifts to the various language contact phenomena that can result from the process of immigration, including bilingualism, diglossia, borrowing or code-switching. The chapter proceeds with theoretical considerations about the key concepts of this investigation, including language choice, language transfer, language maintenance or shift and language attrition, while briefly addressing the concept of language death as well.

The third chapter outlines the research context and the methodological framework of the study. It presents the Algerian immigrants in France as one speech community and refers to their HL acquisition, attitudes and intergenerational transmission across generations. Then it proceeds with a holistic presentation of this research process, including all of the philosophy, approach, methodology, strategies used and the time horizon. Then it exposes the procedures and techniques used for data collection and analysis in addition to the research instruments used for data collection.

At last, chapters four and five display the analysis of the three research instruments used for data collection. The fourth chapter exposes the results obtained from a micro-analysis realised at the individual and the family group levels through the use of the free-conversation recordings and the semi-structured interview. The fifth is more concerned with the macro-analysis realised at a more general level, taking into consideration the participation of a broader community with the use of an online questionnaire. It is followed by a correlational analysis between level of proficiency in Algerian Arabic and some social variables like the educational level or age of immigration. The chapter is concluded with an interpretation and a discussion of the general findings of this research.

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Cultural Identity and Social Integration
in the Immigration Context

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1.1. Introduction

This research paper explores the sociolinguistic behaviour of Algerian immigrants in France. Therefore, the theoretical framework starts with the following chapter, which presents the historical background of Algerian emigration, highlighting its scope and its multiple consequences on different domains such as the political, social, economic, and linguistic. It is crucial to discuss the history of Algerian immigration in France specifically, with an overview of the period of French colonization, to provide insightful information on the impact France has had on Algerian society. In addition, culture and identity are often the most affected aspects of any immigrant. For this reason, it seemed relevant to discuss both concepts in relation to the community of Algerian immigrants in France. The last part of the chapter includes an overview of the integration process of Algerian immigrants in France and the different cultural and identity challenges they may face within their receiving country.

1.2 Migration

Scholars in various fields of study have shown a keen interest in the concept of migration. Roughly speaking, migration can be defined as the movement of a population or an individual from one place to another for a certain period of time and for several well-defined reasons. Yet, Clarke (1965, p.123) claimed that “there is no unanimity over the meaning of migration” which highlights the importance of considering the different perspectives of the several researchers related to this concept for a deeper understanding.

1.2.1. Definition of Migration

Migration is a term used to encompass all kinds of population movements from one place to another regardless of the distance between them or the nature of the stay which could be permanent or temporary. However, a number of scholars presented various definitions to this concept from different perspectives. Trewartha (1969, p.136) for example, on his definition, focused on three factors: distance, human will and the change in permanent residence. He explained that migration

typically results in a permanent relocation. He yet agrees with the restriction of his definition that excludes some other types of migration and migrants.

Lee (1970, p.290) stated that: “migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence”. He emphasized a distinction between what he called migration and the other different population movements like moving from one apartment to another or nomadic lifestyles. The parameters that are taken into account are: the distance between to the places, the will of the migrant and the nature of the mobility (external or internal). The same viewpoint was shared by Zelinsky (1971, p. 219-225) who highlights that not all types of spatial mobility are regarded as migration. As an example, he regards the movement of students between their college and home as being rather circulation than migration.

Eisenstadt (1953, p.167-180) was the first researcher to highlight the societal aspect of migration. In his opinion, individuals who move from one place to another will naturally experience a change in the society they live in. It implies that migrants would leave behind one social life to voluntarily embrace a new one.

For further clarification, the United Nations (1970) proposed to distinguish between migrants according to the length of stay in the new place. It was suggested that permanent migrants are individuals who spend more than one year in another country for professional reasons, and temporary migrants are people who stay less than one year. Most importantly, both types must go under the condition of receiving “a pay from sources within the country he/she enters” (Sinha, 2005, p. 405). Those migrants who do not apply to these conditions are rather regarded as either a refugees, displaced or transferred persons (Sinha, 2005, p. 405). However, this definition does not take into consideration both internal and external migrations.

Shrivastava (1983, p.137,144) considered migration as the movement from the place of birth to another place for a permanent or semi-permanent residence. This definition is simple but excludes numerous aspects of migration.

It is important to distinguish between Migration and circulation. Newman and Matzke (1984, p.156-162) explained that migration involves a permanent

change of residence while circulation refers to the semi-permanent movement from one place to another without changing the place of residence though they both fall under the broader word of population mobility. In addition, they challenged the notion that a one-year stay in a place determines whether someone is a permanent or semi-permanent migrant. According to this viewpoint, people like Gypsies in Eastern Europe who continually move from one place to another and rarely settle during a whole year in one region, should not be considered as migrants.

The two other criteria they mentioned are the migrants' intentions which is according to them challenging to analyse and the distance crossed which should be related to political boundaries. As long as the people do not cross the political boundary, they are not called migrants. Yet, there are exceptional situations where this theory is not applicable. For example, it would be inaccurate to call a migrant a person who acquires multiple residences in multiple states while being affiliated in different administrative units.

Consequently, both scholars concluded that definition to migration should be situational taking into consideration the different circumstances of each case. Attempting the generalisation of one definition over multiple situations would lead to a misunderstanding of this concept.

Many other scholars provided other different definitions to the concept of migration, but most of them miss some important clarifications. Chandna (1998, p.86) for example stated that migration depended on physical and social movement from one place to another but failed to precise the length of stay, the reason of migration and other parameters. Kammeyer and Ginn (1988, p.108-109) defined migration according to the willingness of the migrant to settle for a considerable period of time but forget to precise some important parameters like distance the extent of the importance of political boundaries and length of stay. Darsky (1978, p.49) defined migration as a movement between territories without mentioning any other important criteria. Rubenstein (1990, p.75) again regarded migration as a permanent move from one place to another but failed to consider the distance between the two places and to the length of stay in the new location.

The United States Census Bureau agreed on a five-year criterion to categorize people as migrants meaning that people who spend at least five consecutive years in a new location are considered as a migrant. Yet, this time scale is not universally applicable. In India for example, they consider a person as a migrant even when the length of stay is less than one year.

Considering the various definitions provided above, it is clear that the meaning of migration is still controversial and depends on different perspectives. Yet, all definitions meet on the idea that some important parameters should be taken into consideration when explaining migration. These were summarised by (Sinha 2005, p. 407) in six points: “1/ Residential change, 2/ Distance travelled, 3/ Place of birth, 4/Kind of boundary crossed, 5/ Intention of stay, 6/ Length of time spent in the new place or residence area”. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there is currently no universally accepted definition to the concept of migration. This latter, thus, should be situationally defined depending on the different circumstances of each individual and situation.

1.2.2 Parameters of Classification

For further understanding, it is of paramount importance to consider the various migration parameters that help in its classification. Scholars hold different viewpoints concerning these specific criteria, which adds to the complexity of this concept. For this reason, it is important to present some of these parameters according to different perspectives.

The first parameter commonly used to classify migration is political boundaries. It considers whether the movement involves a change in the state or country of residence. In this regard, two types of migration are identified: internal (national) and external (international) migration. While the former refers to the movement from one place to another within the same state or country, the latter refers to the movement from one international border to another. The terms used for the first category are “in-migrant” and “out-migrant,” and the terms used for the second category are “immigrant” and “emigrant.” Sinha (2005, p.409) summarises

this as follows: “migration can be known as village to village, Block to Block, district to district, state to state (within the nation under the category of national migration), and from country to country and from continent to continent under the category of international migration.”

The second criterion to consider is the length of time a person spends in the receiving location. There are two types of migration under this criterion: permanent and semi-permanent migration. There is a one-year reference time scale that most scholars agree on to distinguish migrants from non-migrants, but others suggest longer periods as a reference, which may go up to five years. At the other extreme, some scholars accept a shorter period, considering one year as being already too long. Nevertheless, despite this disagreement over this criterion, there is an obvious consensus on its applicability to both national and international migration.

The third parameter involves the distance between the migrant’s place of origin and the new location. Although measuring this distance may be important, basing the distinction between migrants and non-migrants on this single criterion is difficult. People can still undergo a migration process even if the distance is short. An example would be migrants who move from the French city of Strasbourg to the German city of Kehl. For this reason, this parameter should be combined with other parameters to classify migration effectively.

The next criterion in question is the spatial approach referring to the geographical place from which and to which a person migrates. It considers four levels of migration: the local level, which means the movement between urban and rural areas; the regional level, meaning “the boundary of geographical regions such as plain region, plateau region, mountainous region, coastal region, the Ganga plain region or any other region is taken into consideration” (Sinha, 2005, p.409); the national level, meaning the movement between states; and the international level, meaning movement between nations and countries.

The willingness of the migrant constitutes the last criterion of migration. It is important to question the reasons behind people’s migrations, as some may move

voluntarily while others may be compelled to do so. The voluntary intention of migrating is generally triggered by the need to find new objectives elsewhere. Forced migration is instead triggered by political causes or impossible or unacceptable living conditions in the place of origin. Migrants belonging to the first group are also called innovative migrants because they aspire for change and a new life, while the others are considered conservative migrants because most of them were forced to move but tend to preserve their living habits from their home country.

These parameters stated above are only part of the numerous parameters existing in the theoretical framework pertaining to the classification of migration. While it is important to emphasize migration types, the factors that lead to this human mobility hold greater significance.

1.2.3 Leading Factors to Migration

Migration is undeniably one of the most important and impactful decisions that one can take. It is a decision that is generally made after serious consideration of the different leading factors coming from both the place of origin and the destination of the migrant. One of the most famous models that explains the different drivers of the migration choice is the model proposed by Black et al. It identifies five significant factors: political, demographic, economic, social, and environmental (Neumann et al., 2015; Foresight, 2011; Black et al., 2011).

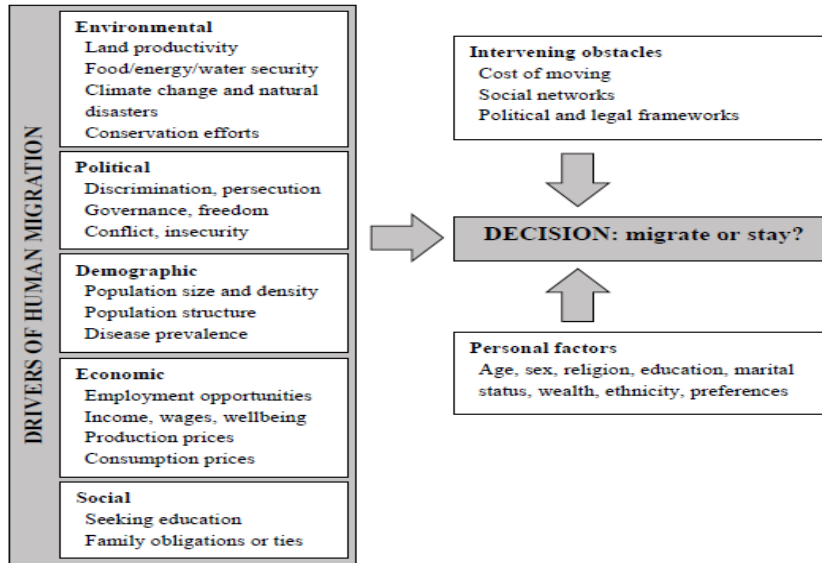


Figure 1. Drivers of human migration (Adopted from: Neumann et al., 2015; Foresight, 2011; Black, et al., 2011).

Figure 1. 1 Factors that lead to migration (Kallio 2016, p. 7)

This figure illustrates the five factors that lead to migration and how they influence the individual’s decision. The first driver is the environment; it encompasses land productivity and security in food, energy, and water. In addition, climate conditions or seeking a climate change may motivate one to move as well. Finally, individuals can flee eventual natural disasters or environmental challenges encountered in their homeland. The second factor leading to migration is political. Countries that experience discrimination or persecution are much more subject to real conflicts between the government and its people. Consequently, the feeling of insecurity and the search for freedom may influence individuals’ choices to migrate across political boundaries.

Another significant factor is demographic. Indeed, population problems can be the reason why a person may decide to move from one place to another. The problem can be in the density of population, its structure, or, as the figure shows, disease prevalence.

Economic considerations can be a serious driver of migration. Indeed, people may search for new job opportunities, higher wages, and thus, better living

conditions. The receiving country may offer favourable production and consumption prices, which may be tempting.

Last but not least, social factors are also influential. Migration can be driven by a need to join a spouse or a family member who resides elsewhere. In addition, access to better education systems and higher educational performance can be attractive to people deciding to take the step.

All of these factors stated above collectively serve individuals in their migration decision-making. This decision, however, may be affected by some intervening obstacles, which are mainly personal, like: age, sex, religion, education, marital status, wealth, ethnicity, preferences, the cost of moving, social networks, and political or legal frameworks. Other obstacles include poverty, where people are unable to cover the cost of moving, in addition to the lack of sufficient reliable information about the migration process. These factors would hinder considerably their mobility prospects.

1.3 Immigrant Generations

Given the generational succession inherent in the human species, migration rarely stops at the individual level. Some scholars classify the individuals who first immigrate to a different country than the one they are born in as the first generation of immigrants. When these immigrants have children in the new country, they initiate “a new generation” of immigrants, as termed in sociology. This shift in generations generates some conflicts between parents and children as they manifest different adaptation strategies. The distinction between the different generations of immigrants at various levels makes studies on this domain both intriguing and significant.

1.3.1 Definition of Immigrant Generations

When studying migration, it is crucial to discuss the concept of “generation.” Broadly speaking, generation is what Schneider (2016) defined as “the relational

difference between parents and children (and grandparents/grandchildren etc.) as a universally relevant social categorisation in all cultures and societies” (p.2). It may have different meanings according to different schools of thought. Some view generation as a succession of individuals within the same family or genetically related (e.g., from grandparents to parents to children and so on). However, specialists who study human population statistics agree to use this term as a synonym for cohort when referring to all people born around the same time (Ryder 1965; Riley 1987).

In sociology and in studies related to individual migration, the term generation is used to distinguish between the individuals who first immigrated to a certain country, their descendants, and where they were born. This first immigrant is sometimes referred to as a first-generation immigrant; his first descendants are called second-generation immigrants, when the following descendants are the third generation, and so on. Research related to immigrant generations typically serves as pilot studies that compare those with an immigration background and those without. In language studies, they help in examining language contact between the language of origin and the host language and how the transmission of the HL across generations is accomplished. In addition, they contribute to preventing language attrition, language loss, and language death.

International migration can be the source of numerous changes that occur between both the home and destination countries as well as at the individual level. These transformations may occur at all levels of the person’s life, among them the cultural, social, and economic levels. However, the effects of these migration consequences differ between the first-generation immigrants and their descendants. That variation is due to the numerous social parameters that vary from one generation to another. They include the place of birth and the immigration background that goes with it, the length of time spent in both receiving and sending societies, and the extent of exposure to both societies.

In the context of language studies, international migration can have significant consequences on HLM. The problem lies in the process of HL

transmission from the first generation of immigrants to their next generations. Researchers face challenges in measuring the degree of language maintenance, attrition, or loss across generations, considering the infinite number of parameters that are different from one person to another and the rapidity in the evolution of language use.

An example highlighting this complexity is a longitudinal study conducted by Rumbaut (2004) on US children of immigrants. The researcher encountered a serious problem when analysing the data collected from 5,262 teenagers, most of whom were born in 1977 or 1978, coming from 77 different nationalities. The sample was meant to be split into two categories: foreign-born youths who immigrated to the US before the age of 12 and US-born youths who have at least one immigrant parent. Again, the first group of informants was evenly split by age at arrival: those who lived in the US for ten years or more and those who lived in the US for less than ten years. So, for these informants, the length of time spent in the US and the age at arrival was important due to the significant information it gives about their social development (Rumbaut 2004, pp. 1162–1163). Among them, there were many informants who had each of their parents born in different countries, which generated different results compared to those whose both parents were born in the same foreign country.

1.3.2 First Generation Immigrants

Despite the significant number of studies related to immigration, the meaning of “first-generation immigrant” remains a subject of controversy. According to some dictionaries, this concept refers to either persons born in the country where parents immigrated or to the first persons of a family holding the citizenship or permanent resident status. The United States government accepts both definitions as a reference to first-generation immigrants. However, the United States Census Bureau takes into consideration only the group of people born outside the United States as the referential meaning of first generation.

Although these definitions suggest that it is not an obligation for individuals to be born in the receiving country to be regarded as first-generation immigrants among their future family, human population specialists maintain that the first-generation term only applies to individuals born in that host country. Therefore, a clear and conventional meaning for this key concept remains elusive. Yet, in this present research, the term first-generation will be used to refer to that group of immigrants who were not necessarily born in France but at least hold French citizenship or a permanent residence card.

Among first-generation immigrants are those immigrants who are labelled as the half generation (1.5 generation). This term is attributed to those who moved to their receiving country before adolescence. They are called this because they can successfully assimilate into their new society, as their physical and psychological development is still in progress. In addition, they bring the culture, linguistic background, and identity from their home country.

One consequence of immigration before adulthood is the language barrier faced by adolescents. Often, adolescents arrive in the new society speaking their home language and then face the challenge of accommodating with the language of their receiving society. Moreover, most of them will develop dual identities and will identify with both the home culture and the culture of the receiving country almost similarly. However, studies have proven that individuals who immigrate before adulthood have fewer difficulties in integrating and assimilating into the new society compared to those who immigrated as adults.

Two other types of immigrants were introduced by Rumbaut (2004, p. 1167), naming them the 1.75 generation and 1.25 generation immigrants. The first group includes children who immigrated to a new society before the age of six. They are called so due to their close similarity with the experience of second-generation immigrants, as they are still in their first years of life and are unlikely to have any memory about their birthplace, its native language, or culture. In addition, as most of them have never been in school before their immigration, they have not acquired other skills in their home language, have no particular accent, and their socialisation

process will take place exclusively in their new society. The second group is similar to the half generation. It is a term that was coined to address immigrants who moved to the receiving country between the ages of 13 and 17 years old because their adaptation experience will be closer in similarity to the first generation of immigrants than to the second generation.

Although those terms were originally coined by Rumbaut (2004) to serve the needs of his research on adolescents who immigrated to the United States, other scholars have used them in other contexts, which expanded their meanings. For example, the half generation now includes foreign students who come for academic purposes and other unique individuals (Rojas, 2011).

As mentioned earlier, first-generation immigrants typically face many challenges when they first move to a new society. While they generally aspire for a better future and better life, they may encounter difficulties when facing a completely new environment. They may initially have problems in adjusting to the culture of the receiving country. Immigrants may remain attached to their home cultural values and thus find difficulties in assimilating with the new one, especially when their children adapt to it much more rapidly. This often triggers conflicts between both generations. Another obstacle they face is the language barrier. First-generation immigrants may struggle with their daily interactions because learning the local language may take time. Additionally, they may remain attached to their mother tongue and feel the need to transmit it to their children even when these are not interested, which again can be a source of conflicts between both generations. Last but not least, they may face financial problems, as immigration costs are often hard to handle. Sometimes, migrants are compelled to take multiple jobs to provide for their families and meet their needs, which may be unbearable for some.

1.3.3 Second Generation Immigrants

The second generation of immigrants follows the first generation of immigrants. Its definition is thus as ambiguous as that of first-generation

immigrants. The term can refer to two groups of immigrants: those who are born in the receiving country to foreign-born parents or at least one foreign-born parent, and those who are born in the receiving country to a first generation of immigrants born in the country.

In addition, the second generation of immigrants can be split into two groups. For some scholars and in some studies, this term was restricted to persons who are born in the local country. This is mostly used when the study requires well-defined and distinguishable categories of immigrants (cf. Groenewold and Lessard-Philips, 2012; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway, 2008, p. 2). While this definition is considered rigid, the second one includes in the group those children who emigrated with their parents before reaching school age. Immigrant children would technically be referred to as first-generation immigrants since they are not native-born, but because they respect some conditions, they are rather called second-generation immigrants. The conditions are as follows: 1/ having no or only few memories of their life before emigration; 2/ spending the first years of school in the local country; 3/ achieving the process of assimilation and socialisation exclusively in the local country with no interference of any aspect regarding the home country (Schneider, 2016, p. 03). This definition is used in qualitative studies when distinguishing between the different types of immigrants is not the main interest.

The term second-generation immigrant is subject to much criticism. Schneider explains that “The concept of ‘second generation’ implies that they are descendants of persons who migrated, but do not themselves have a migration experience” (Schneider, 2016, p. 02). In other words, a second-generation immigrant should not be called an immigrant at the outset because they are native-born. Only the parents should be referred to as immigrants. Another ambiguous situation is when parents and their children are considered as part of the same generation of immigrants, or when children of the same parents are part of different generation groups. An example would be parents immigrating with their adult children to a new country where all of them would be considered first-generation immigrants, or parents with an adult child giving birth to a second child after

immigration. In this situation, the first and second child would be first- and second-generation immigrants, respectively. Because of these particular situations that exist in multiple immigrant families, generation labelling is still under study by various scholars, as it is indeed confusing regarding immigration-related issues.

The second generation of immigrants, compared to the first generation, tends to have fewer issues adapting to the culture of the receiving country due to the limited contact they have with their culture of origin. Statistics have proven that a large number of second-generation immigrants achieve good academic results. While some perform well in school and then in higher education because of a necessity to provide for their families, others do so to attain objectives they may not have reached in their parents' country of origin. Consequently, second-generation immigrants benefit from better living conditions. As evidence, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that 42% of the second-generation immigrant population earns above \$50,000 compared to only 31% of the first generation. Tertiary education is definitely one of the reasons behind such achievements.

1.3.4 Subsequent Immigrant Generations

The third-generation immigrants refer to the direct descendants of second-generation immigrants. Depending on different viewpoints, this generation of immigrants can either have parents born to foreign-born parents or at least one foreign-born parent, or parents born to a first generation of immigrants born in the country.

Typically, third-generation immigrants are less influenced by their country of origin compared to first-generation immigrants. There are two main reasons that explain this fact. First, they usually have limited contact with their original country and with everything related to it. Second, they experience their assimilation and socialisation processes in the same country where their parents were born and raised. This is different for second-generation immigrants who may have parents that were foreign-born and can engage in the process of maintaining their HL, culture, and identity with their descendants.

In this line, the Pew Research Center (2017, p. 09) conducted a study on American immigration. The results revealed that while 50% of third-generation Latino immigrants do not have split-identity problems, they strongly and completely identify with American culture, compared to 35% of second-generation Latino immigrants who consider themselves Americans. It is important to note that what applies to the third generation of immigrants applies to all subsequent generations of immigrants as well.

1.4 History of Algerian Emigration

North Africa is considered one of the main sources of cultural and ethnic diversity that exists worldwide. Its strategic geographical location made it the centre for various cultural and commercial exchanges (Kassar et al., 2014, p. 02). This region has witnessed a significant flow of both influx and outflow of immigrants and emigrants throughout history. Most specifically, a large number of Maghrebians¹ who moved from North Africa emigrated to Europe.

1.4.1 North-African Emigration to Europe

Emigration from North Africa to Europe was first triggered by the colonial periods experienced in the Maghreb. North Africans immigrating in search of employment opportunities were attracted by the guest worker programmes proposed in Europe. The immigrants were concentrated in Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, and also in Canada and the USA. Data from the World Bank (2013) reveal that the immigration wave from North Africa started earlier than any other Maghrebian immigration flows. Statistics show that in the 1970s, more than 10% of Algerians left the country, including Europeans born in Algeria during colonisation. The flow has since decreased considerably to 3% of Algerian emigrants from the total population. In Tunisia, emigrants are estimated at 5% of the Tunisian population, while in Morocco, they represent around 8% to 10% of the total population.

¹ Maghrebians: here giving reference to people from Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria

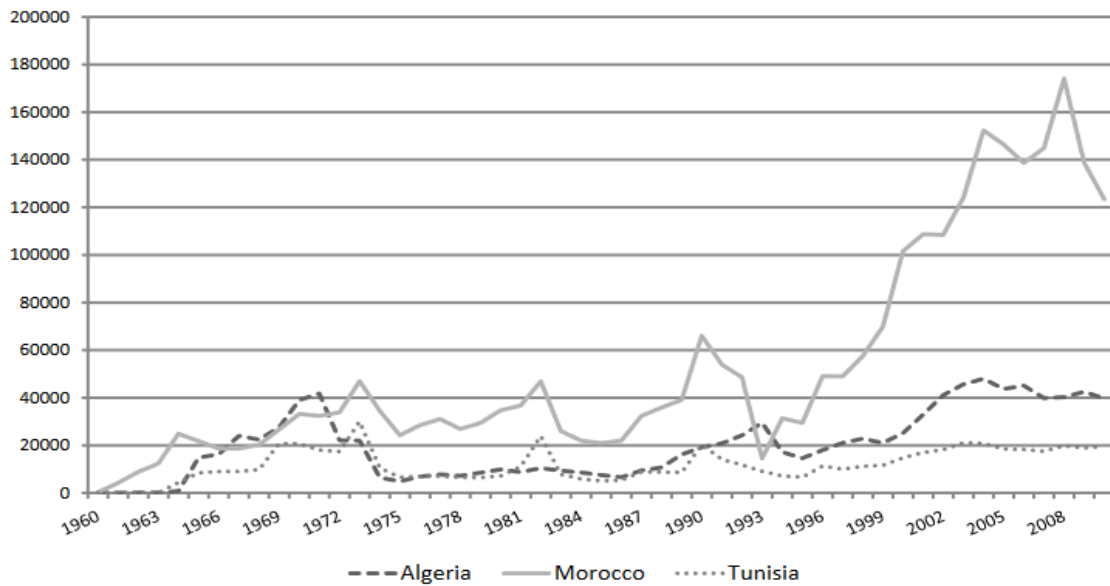


Figure 1.2 Maghrebian Emigration Between 1960–2010 (Natter, 2014, p.8)

Figure 1.6 reports data retrieved from the DEMIG C2C database (2014 version). It compares emigration in the three North African countries: Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. It shows that before the 1970s, emigration in these three countries **was** following the same trend. Other emigration flows that were correlated are Tunisian and Moroccan between 1970 and the 1990s, and Algerian and Tunisian emigration starting from the 1990s. The figure also reports that while Algerian and Tunisian emigration was increasing reasonably from the 20th century to become almost static, Moroccan emigration massively increased during that period, reaching around 180,000 emigrants in 2009.

It is of paramount importance to understand the reasons behind the growth or decline in the number of immigrants. At first, between the 1960s and 1970s, there was a mutual agreement between the Maghreb and Europe that encouraged labour migration to European countries like France, Germany, and the Netherlands. In 1973, the oil crisis altered this emigration process. At that time, familial reunification was the sole justification for emigrating. Algeria officially stopped promoting emigration, while Morocco and Tunisia, for economic reasons, remained favourable for emigration.

Finally, between the 1990s and 2010, the growth in the number of emigrants in the three countries, especially in Morocco, is explained by the significant rate of unemployment in the country coinciding with the opportunities offered by European countries. “Finally, generally higher levels of political freedom, education and mobility throughout the Maghreb contributed to increased migration opportunities” (Natter, 2014, p. 10). The latest data related to Maghrebian immigration presented by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2020) stipulate that around 1.7 million Algerians, 1.6 million Moroccans, and 529,759 Tunisians were settled in Western European countries in 2020.

1.4.2 Maghrebian Emigration to France

The term Maghreb refers to the western part of the Arab world, and more precisely the western and central parts of North Africa. It refers to the inhabitants of North Africa. It comprises Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania, in addition to Western Sahara. However, the term "Maghrebian" in immigration studies is generally used to refer to Moroccans, Algerians, and Tunisians, as immigrants from other countries of the Maghreb are less prevalent and are almost nonexistent in French statistics. This term is more precisely applied to second-generation immigrants that reside in France, although most of them are born and raised in that country and are fully integrated into French society. Despite this label, second-generation immigrants and subsequent generations are first and foremost French citizens.

The historical relationships between the Maghreb and France date back long before the nation-states were formed. However, important historical events marked the beginning of serious conflicts between these two parts of the world, namely in 732 AD, when Charles Martel, the Duke and Prince of the Franks, fought against Muslim Arabs coming from North Africa and Spain and prevented them from spreading Islam in Poitiers. In addition, the disagreement between Algeria and France over a payment for a delivery addressed to France intensified that existing conflict. In 1827, the Fly Whisk Incident offered the perfect pretext for French authorities to break off diplomatic relations and plan an invasion of Algeria.

Following this incident between Hussein Dey and the French Consul, the Kingdom of France decided to restore its dignity by invading Algeria. In 1830, they seized Algiers and settled there for over a century, imposing a French language policy on the Algerian population. Regarding Tunisia, the economic crisis that it experienced between 1859 and 1882 was followed by a Tunisian government completely unable to collect the necessary tax revenues aimed at modernising the country. This, in addition to the presence of the Italian community in Tunisia, which affected the social life of the country, led to French intervention through the signing of the Treaty of Bardo in 1881. It allowed France to establish a French protectorate over Tunisia that lasted until the Second World War. The French protectorate was then established in Morocco in 1912 when Sultan Abd al-Hafid signed the Treaty of Fes, but the French invasion had already started with Oujda and Casablanca in 1907. While the protectorate lasted until the dissolution of the treaty in 1956, its influence on the country persisted for much longer.

These different historical events between France, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, countries holding different cultures and civilisations, created not only a common political and economic history between the Maghreb and France but also a linguistic history between French and Arabic and different Berber languages. Consequently, immigration to France became a tempting option for Maghrebis, with the multiple appealing job opportunities it offered in addition to familiarity with its linguistic environment

Algerian emigration started after the first world war and continued during the Second World War. The first Maghrebians who settled in France were Algerians who participated in the defence of the French colony in the first world war to support financially their families in Algeria. Statistics show the presence of 2,4% of Algerian immigrants in France in 1921 compared to 3,2% in 1931. Most of them were single men who came with the French forces. The French colonisation accelerated migration movements especially in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

	1975		1982		1990		1999	
	Effectifs	%	Effectifs	%	Effectifs	%	Effectifs	%
Algériens	710 690	20,6	805 116	21,7	614 207	17,1	475 216	14,6
Marocains	260 025	7,6	441 308	11,9	572 652	15,8	506 305	15,5
Tunisiens	139 735	4,1	190 800	5,2	206 336	5,7	153 574	4,7
Total étrangers	3 442 415	100	3 714 200	100	3 596 602	100	3 258 539	100

Source : I.N.S.E.E. (recensement de la population – exploitation complémentaire.)

Table 1.1. Maghrebian immigration in France

Algerian emigration started after the First World War and continued during the Second World War. The first Maghrebians who settled in France were Algerians who participated in the defence of the French colony in the First World War to support their families financially in Algeria. Statistics show the presence of 2.4% of Algerian immigrants in France in 1921 compared to 3.2% in 1931. Most of them were single men who came with the French forces. The French colonisation accelerated migration movements, especially in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.

However, Algeria manifested the highest number of immigrants in France, including those who voluntarily chose to immigrate and those Pieds-noirs and Harkis who were completely excluded from their country of origin. The following table displays different statistics representing Maghrebian immigration in France in 1975, 1982, 1990, and 1999.

This table comes from table (B,03-1, page 72) in the French Statistical Yearbook and represents the official and authentic statistics of the different nationalities of immigrants present in France. It shows that statistics differ from one country to another, and the number of Tunisians in France remains insignificant compared to Algerians and Moroccans.

It should be noted that in 1974, immigration was suspended for some political reasons. However, the statistics indicate that the number of Algerian immigrants in France did not decrease as expected. In fact, while Algerians stopped being invited

to France via job opportunities, immigration continued due to the family reunification law. The law allowed single men who joined France for financial reasons to be reunited with their families in France. Thus, family reunification became the primary reason behind Algerian immigration in France.

1.4.3 Algerian Emigration to France

The French colonisation of Algeria marked the beginning of a completely new era for the Algerian population. This interminable and laborious period deeply affected the nation at different levels, such as economy, politics, language, and society. During that period, Algeria represented a source for multiple cultural and economic exchanges, becoming the centre of both emigration and immigration. It was reported that Algeria received more than one million European immigrants before 1960 (Lopez Garcia, 1996, p.242).

With Algerian independence and after the regulation of migration between France and Algeria, an important number of Algerian residents left the country. Most of them were “les Pieds Noirs,” the label known for Algerians who had sided with the French colonial authorities, betraying their country (Haas, 2006). Furthermore, Algeria faced a severe economic crisis at this period. Because of the French destruction of any source of employment during the colonisation era, the rate of unemployment was 45% (Samers, 1997, p.45). Consequently, under an agreement between France and Algeria, Algerian immigration to France was facilitated and encouraged by both countries and began to increase exponentially over time.

The immigrant population in France reached such a significant number that the government set up rules regarding immigration to limit the influx. Initially, in 1964, some medical controls were imposed on individuals wishing to immigrate to France, restricting the number of immigrants to twelve hundred persons. A few years later, new regulations were established obliging immigrants to acquire an official paper issued by the Algerian National Office for Labour while the number of workers was restricted by the French government. Between 1968 and 1971,

immigration was allowed for 35,000 individuals per year and then 25,000 between 1972 and 1973 (SOPEMI, 1973, p.5). Note that France was only one of several countries with which the Algerian government had signed migration agreements. Belgium and Germany offered tempting job opportunities to the Algerian population, becoming alternative destinations, especially for unemployed Algerians. Algerian immigrants also reached other countries like Italy, Spain, and Canada, but the rate of immigrants in France remained the highest and the most consequent.

Algeria considered France as a partial solution to its economic crisis. The recruitment agreements helped significantly in decreasing the rate of unemployment in the country. Consequently, after the crisis was overcome in 1971 with the multiple new job opportunities that emerged thanks to the nationalisation of Algeria's oil (Fargues, 2004, p.1360; Boukllia-Hassane et al., 2013), emigration to France was suspended by the Algerian government under President Houari Boumediene to manifest their financial independence (SOPEMI, 1974, p.5). Nevertheless, emigration to France was still allowed under specific conditions, such as family reunifications or for higher education studies (Collyer, 2003, p.3).

While President Houari Boumediene primarily aimed at reducing the rate of Algerian emigration to France, he also encouraged former emigrants to return to their country (Boukllia-Hassane, 2010, p.45). Although this attempt aimed at better results, the return of some emigrants in 1976 was still considered a huge success by the government and part of the "major objectives of the Socialist revolution" (Giubilario, 1997, p.4).

This period was followed by the global oil crisis in 1986. The Algerian economy, being mainly reliant on oil, was heavily impacted by this crisis. The rate of unemployment rose drastically to over twenty percent and remained at that level for nearly two decades (Boukllia-Hassane and Talahite, 2009, p.22). This again contributed to the revival of Algerian emigration, resulting in a considerable number of Algerians residing in France and Germany.

In the 1990s, Algeria witnessed the election of the “Front Islamique du Salut” (FIS), a political party that faced opposition. In the following year, the FIS was arrested by the military regarding its rules as unacceptable (Natter, 2014, p.13). This created a huge conflict between the pro-FIS (mainly radical Islamists) and the government, resulting in a civil war that lasted about ten years and claimed a considerable number of victims, estimated at 100,000 (Gasiorowski, 1992; Lopez Garcia and Berriane, 2004, p.454). This internal war had devastating consequences, mainly on innocent Algerians. Consequently, many were compelled to seek refuge in France and other countries, although the rate of emigration during that period remained reasonable compared to Moroccans’ and Tunisians’ statistics in the 1990s.

Other numbers related to the distribution of Algerians in France are represented in the following Figure 1.3. The statistics are divided into age groups: under 15 years, between 15 and 24 years, between 25 and 54 years, and finally, 55 years old or older.

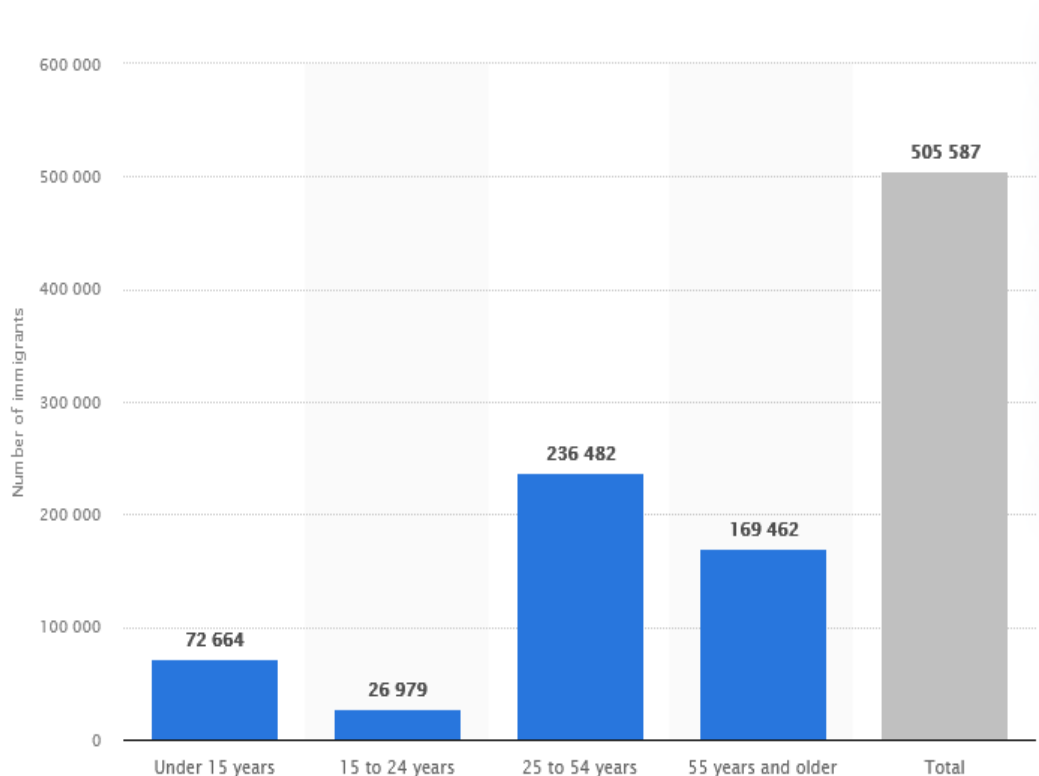


Figure 1.3 Number of Algerians Living in France by Age (Statista Research Department, 2021)

According to the above figure, the total number of Algerians living in France in 2016 was 505,785 immigrants. It shows that the number of immigrants for the group aged between 25 and 54 is the highest. This indicates that Algerian immigrants in France are mostly young individuals seeking job opportunities and better life conditions. The lowest numbers are registered in both the groups of immigrants aged between 15 and 24 years and under 15. This latter group includes children immigrants who were taken to France by their parents.

Algerian emigration to France never ceased and still continues to this day, albeit at different rates depending on the year and period. The reasons behind such decisions vary from one individual to another. Yet, it can be assumed that the preference for France as the ultimate destination for Algerians goes back to its proximity to Algeria. Most Algerians remain strongly attached to their home country because of the family they leave behind. Moreover, France allows for easier linguistic integration, as most Algerians are already familiar with the French language, using it as a second language in Algeria (although it is officially the first foreign language of the country). Further details concerning this topic will be discussed in Chapter Two.

1.5 Immigrants' Identity

Immigrants represent a significant part of the population around the world. Once immigration takes place, it is usually associated with challenges in terms of identity. First-generation immigrants and their children find difficulties adapting to a new society and culture with which they are often completely unfamiliar. Research concerning immigrants' identification with their national or ethnic groups, in addition to the different existing types of social groups, typically focuses on their feelings of belonging to both their original and target cultures simultaneously. It is important in the context of immigration to distinguish between personal identity and social identity and to explain the process of identity formation or (re)construction with its numerous challenges.

1.5.1 Definition of Identity

The concept of identity has always attracted intense interest from various disciplines. While its meaning and understanding might be taken for granted in popular discourse, academic definitions attributed to this term are varied, complex, and most frequently depend on the purpose behind the definition.

Identity, for example, is defined by Hogg and Abrams (1988) as “people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others” (1988, p.2). Another definition is given by Deng (1995), affirming that identity is “the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture” (1995, p.1). Jenkins (1996) asserts that identity “refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities” (1996, p.4). In 1989, Taylor provided his own point of view about the concept of identity. He said: “My identity is defined by the commitments and identifications which provide the frame or horizon within which I can try to determine from case to case what is good, or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what I endorse or oppose” (1989, p.27).

The common notion that all the definitions mentioned and many others share is the sense of recognition. Broadly speaking, it can be deduced that identity is the way in which a person manifests who he/she is, what he/she likes, and to whom he/she belongs. It encompasses the attributes that a person possesses and that are proper to him/her.

Most frequently, when the concept of identity is discussed, it is directly associated with the idea that some elements must be discovered by a person or a group of people. For example, when an individual moves from one country to another, he/she might have to live in that society for a certain period until he/she feels fully part of it. Another example would be adolescents, or sometimes even adults, who generally go through an identity crisis, searching for who they really are and confronting some confusion about themselves. Yet, sometimes identity is also

linked to a sense of losing the self. In fact, individuals or groups might lose their identity at some point in life. For example, an immigrant who assimilates into the host country might lose his original identity, or a person might lose their identity when overwhelmed by celebrity and wealth.

Psychologically speaking, identity requires a certain continuity and sameness that develops over time. In other words, a person should maintain the same characteristics while evolving. Thus, scientists agree that identity is not static; it develops while maintaining a certain uniqueness in terms of the physical, psychological, and social characteristics of the individual or society. It can go through crises and conflicts over time but must be resolved in one way or another; otherwise, this is considered in psychology as a symptom of some psychological problems.

In social sciences, various types of identity can be noted, including racial, ethnic, group, social, religious, occupational, gender, and so forth. However, studies about identity start with a distinction between personal and social identities. While the former involves personal traits, opinions, and choices, the latter involves characteristics that a person shares with a group of people or the society to which he/she belongs.

1.5.2 Personal and Social Identity

The first question that comes to mind when the concept of personal identity is raised is: “Who am I?” The answer to this question generally involves characteristics of the self that are completely personal, like physical traits (e.g., skin color), personality traits, personal opinions and beliefs, and personal choices and decisions such as career or lifestyle.

Fearon said:

“Personal identity is a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person thinks distinguish her in socially relevant ways and that (a) the person takes a special pride in; (b) the person takes

no special pride in, but which so orient her behavior that she would be at a loss about how to act and what to do without them; or (c) the person feels she could not change even if she wanted to.” (Fearon, 1999, p.11)

For Fearon, the most important aspect when attempting a good definition of personal identity is understanding the related elements and why they are essential. Taylor (1989) gave a brief answer, affirming that what is important to a person is what makes up his identity. He then clarified that personal identity is a set of moral principles that serve as a guide for future actions (Fearon, 1999, p.21).

While Taylor’s definition explains personal identity according to his point of view, his explanation is restrictive. In fact, personal identity is not always linked to moral principles and commitments. It may also involve lifestyle choices and preferences, like the way a person dresses, speaks, or acts, and other personal manifestations that help distinguish the self from others and show the uniqueness of the individual apart from the society to which he/she belongs.

In this sense, an attempt at a definition can be made. Personal identity refers to the physical or moral characteristics proper to a person that, if changed, would result in a different person. Yet, this explanation is questionable, as it might not always be true. For example, if a person changes the way he/she dresses, speaks, or acts, this does not make him/her another person, and it does not change their personal identity.

To the question “Who are you?” might come numerous and completely different answers, depending on the individual. Most probably, the person will declare himself/herself as being part of different social groups depending on the context. In this case, personal identity can be defined as the social category most important to a person’s life, guiding his/her choices and shaping interactions with others. However, although this definition might be true, it is incomplete, as affiliation to a certain social group is not the only aspect of personal identity.

Another possible answer to the question is something related to physical or moral traits that are innate to the person. A definition of personal identity in this sense would be the aspects of a person over which he/she has no control and cannot change, such as country of origin. However, like the previous definition, this one is limited, neglecting voluntary and controllable personal aspects.

An attempt to formulate a global definition from the previous examples suggests that personal identity entails all personal characteristics proper to an individual: mainly physical attributes, moral principles, lifestyle choices, and membership in certain social groups (often multiple simultaneously). The person should be fully conscious of these attributes, which serve as a means to distinguish him/her from other individuals or groups.

Putting aside the question “Who am I?”, the question in concern is now: “Who do you belong to?” When an individual is asked this, the answers might include gender, community of birth or upbringing, religious orientation, political affiliations, and so forth. These groups define him/her. He/she does not only belong to these groups, but they are also a complete part of him/her. Thus, group membership is what defines his/her social identity.

This term has been defined numerous times by scholars. Tajfel (1978), for example, explained that social identity is: “That part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value or emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1978, p.63).

Another definition was provided by Herrigel (1993) who declared that: “By social identity, I mean the desire for group distinction, dignity, and place within historically specific discourses (or frames of understanding) about the character, structure, and boundaries of the polity and the economy” (Herrigel, 1993, p.371). Then Wendt (1994) said:

Social identities are sets of meanings that an actor attributes to itself while taking the perspective of others, that is, as a social object. ... [Social identities are] at

once cognitive schemas that enable an actor to determine 'who I am/we are' in a situation and positions in a social role structure of shared understandings and expectations" (Wendt, 1994, p. 395).

He thus explains that social identity is how an individual perceives himself/herself, not in relation to personal characteristics, but rather in relation to others around him/her. The person identifies with a certain group, or several social groups, instead of considering his/her own physical or moral traits.

After the Second World War, social psychology witnessed a shift of interest from personal identity to the study of intergroup relations. During the late 1960s, discussions and debates emerged around the "crisis of confidence," which was largely studied within intergroup contexts. From these debates arose the social identity theory, which is now one of the most influential theories in social psychology and in several other social disciplines. This theory focuses on the influence of social contexts and phenomena on intergroup relations and examines the relationship between group psychology and individual psychology. It comprises two major dimensions: the psychological and the socio-structural. The first addresses the idea that "people strive for a positive social identity," while the second "describes how people cope with a negative social identity" (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019, p.4).

The first aspect of social identity theory was explored by Tajfel in the early 1970s with his "minimal group paradigm." The experiment aimed to test the "minimal criteria for group formation and the minimal conditions for in-group favoritism" (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019, p.4). To achieve this, he selected a group of people and divided them into two groups based on their preference for either the painter Klee or Kandinsky. The members of both groups did not interact; all they knew was their membership in one of the two groups. They were then given a task to distribute a certain amount of money to participants of their choice. The results showed that each participant favored a member of their own group.

Tajfel later explained that once participants were assigned to a group, they began to identify with it. Furthermore, due to the lack of additional information about their group, they intuitively decided that showing favoritism toward members of their own group was the only way to express their identity and display positive group distinctiveness. Essentially, the favoritism exhibited by each group in this experiment provides strong evidence that people seek a positive social identity just as much as they seek a positive personal identity.

This statement can be understood through certain cognitive processes, as illustrated and explained in Figure 1.8. The first process is self-categorization. Social identity begins with an individual choosing the group to which they want to belong. For example, when an immigrant watches a football game between the team representing his host country and the team of his country of origin, he may either identify with one of these two groups or remain indifferent to both. Categorizing oneself into one of these groups constitutes the first step in the social identity process. This social categorization then triggers social comparison and differentiation between the existing groups, ultimately leading to the formation of the positive social identity that the individual seeks.

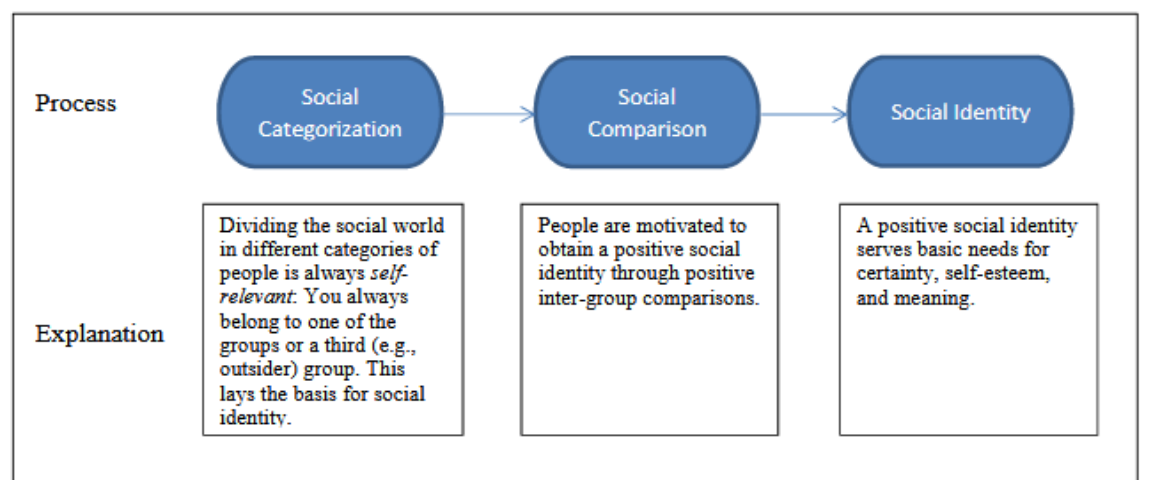


Figure 1.4. Social identity cognitive processes (Source: Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019, p.8)

In addition to the cognitive processes identified above, other components can be used to identify and measure an individual's social identity. Five of these

components are highlighted in Leach et al. (2008): solidarity, satisfaction, centrality, individual self-stereotyping, and in-group homogeneity. Examples of these components are presented in the following table.

Table 1.2. Items used to measure social identity (adapted from Leach et al, 2008, p.21)

Component	Example
Solidarity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I feel a bond with [In-group]. (Adapted from Cameron,2004; Doosje et al., 1998.) - I feel solidarity with [In-group]. - I feel committed to [In-group]. (Doosje et al., 1995)
Satisfaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I am glad to be [In-group]. (Adapted from Cameron,2004; Doosje et al., 1998;Luhtanen & Crocker,1992.) - I think that [In-group] have a lot to be proud of. (Elle-mers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999.) - It is pleasant to be [In-group]. (Doosje et al., 1998.) - Being [In-group] gives me a good feeling. (Adapted from Cameron, 2004; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992.)
Centrality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I often think about the fact that I am [In-group].(Adapted from Cameron, 2004.) - The fact that I am [In-group] is an important part of myidentity. (Adapted from Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992.) - Being [In-group] is an important part of how I see myself. (Adapted from Doosje et al.,1998;Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk,

	1999; Luhtanen & Crocker,1992.
Individual self-stereotyping	- I have a lot in common with the average [In-group] person. (Adapted from Spears et al., 1997.) - I am similar to the average [In-group] person. (Adapted from Doosje et al., 1995; Spears et al., 1997.)
In-group homogeneity	- [In-group] people have a lot in common with each other.(Adapted from Spears et al., 1997.) - [In-group] people are very similar to each other.(Adapted from Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk,1999; Spears et al., 1997.

The second issue of the theory is primarily social-structural in nature. In society, a sense of evaluation in terms of status and value has always been present. Some groups of people are conventionally considered higher class and are respected for that, such as doctors and scientists, while others are regarded as lower class. Following the principle of social identity theory, people strive for a positive social identity. Thus, while the former category of people will strive to protect the value of their group, the latter category will strive to elevate the value of their own group.

In another context, as an example, a group of immigrants in the host country might find themselves criticized for their particular accent. Their reaction may differ from one individual to another. They might try to join another group of people who give less importance to their accent, an action called “individual mobility.” They might also stand together to improve their accents so it is less noticeable or work collectively to improve the status of their group, which is called “collective action.” Finally, they might be “socially creative” and change their way of comparing themselves to other groups. In this sense, they can consider the fact that they can at least speak the language of the host country compared to those who cannot, or they

can even change their perspective and consider that they are, for example, funnier or less judgmental than others.

Social identity theory presents three variables that might influence the selection of one strategy over the others. These variables are: “permeability,” which refers to the possibility of changing group membership; “legitimacy,” which refers to whether the change from one status to another is acceptable; and “stability,” referring to whether the change from one status to another is possible (Ellemers, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Scheepers & Ellemers (2019) explained how these variables affect the choice of strategy used by the individual in the figure that follows.

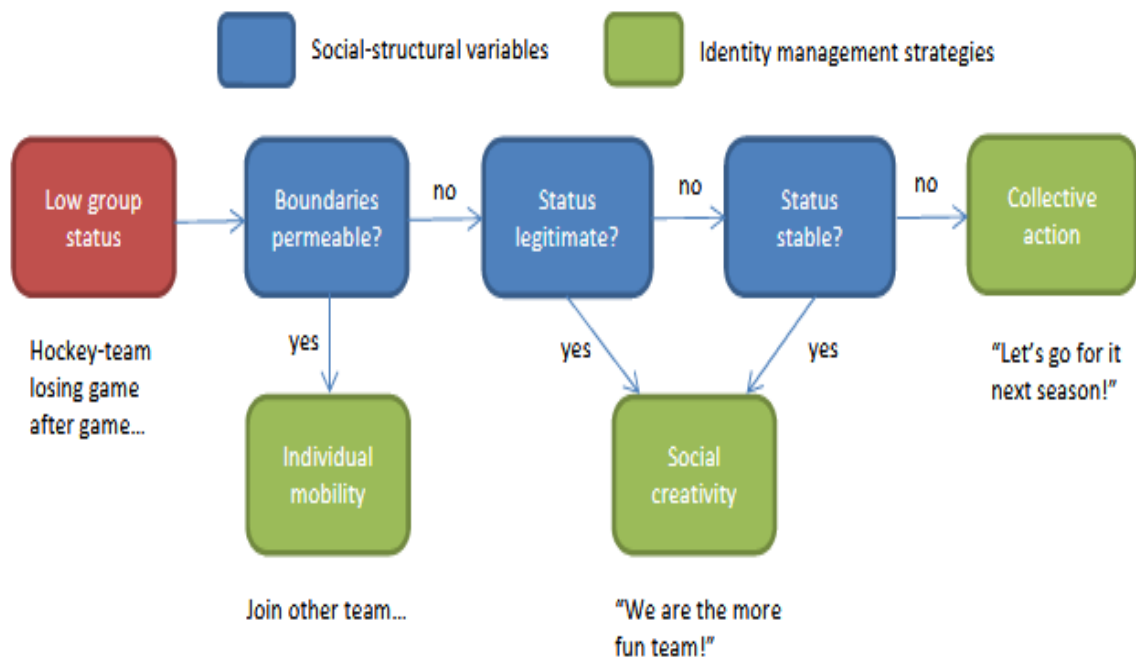


Figure 1.5. Social-structural variables responsible for social-identification strategy choice (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019, p.12)

He illustrated this with the example of a hockey team that loses game after game. He explained that if changing the team is possible, the individual will opt for mobility. If not, they will question the legitimacy and stability of the current status. If the status is legitimate and stable, the individual will engage in social creativity. If the status is unstable, the entire group may engage in collective action.

1.5.3 Ethnic and National Identity

Before discussing ethnic and national identity, it is relevant to define “ethnicity.” The concept first appeared in W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt’s book, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (1941), where it referred to an invisible line symbolizing membership to a social class, distinguishing it from others. During World War II, the term “ethnics” became common in the United States, referring to groups such as Jews, Italians, and Irish, who were considered inferior to the dominant group of largely British descent (Chakraborty & Ghosh, 2013, p.132).

Although ethnicity often concerns minority groups or sub-national units (Chapman et al., 1978) and refers to people who feel culturally different from others, dominant groups may also be considered “ethnics” (Devalle, 1992). Schermerhorn (1970) defined ethnic groups as minority groups within larger societies sharing a common history and culture, including kinship patterns, religion, language, nationality, and other significant elements. The *Webster’s Third International Dictionary* (1967) defines ethnicity as groups of people who share physical and moral characteristics, along with race, language, and culture, due to common origin and history.

Ethnicity varies depending on context. It may be used positively, negatively, or neutrally (Danda, 1999). Some scholars argue that ethnicity is subjective, as it is abstract and rooted in human feelings. However, it can also be objective, based on concrete attributes such as culture, appearance, and origin.

A distinction exists between ethnicity and ethnic group. Individuals’ identification with a particular ethnic group is called ethnicity or ethnic identity, while ethnic identity refers to the sense of membership in that group (Liebkind, 2001; Phinney, 1990). Ethnic identity encompasses self-identification, feelings of belonging, commitment to the group, shared values, and attitudes toward one’s ethnic group (Chakraborty & Ghosh, 2013, p.496).

In the context of immigration, ethnic identity refers to sub-groups within a larger nation that share common ancestry, culture, religion, language, kinship, and

place of origin (Chakraborty & Ghosh, 2013, p.496). Ethnic identity may be static and fixed (ascribed ethnicity) or may evolve over time depending on psychological, developmental, and contextual factors. Immigrants may question and reflect on their ethnic identity, a process that generally stabilizes by the end of adolescence (Phinney, 1989; Ferdman & Horenczyk, 2000).

Ethnic identity is closely related to national identity, which refers to a person's sense of belonging to a state or nation (Ashmore et al., 2001, p.74; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). National identity includes the relationship between citizens and their country's history, culture, traditions, values, and beliefs, fostering a sense of political and social belonging (He & Yan, 2008). Immigrants often carry a label representing their country of origin—for example, Chinese immigrants in the United States may be considered Chinese American. Some, however, may reject their origins and identify simply as American (Rumbaut, 1994; Waters, 1990).

Two related concepts are patriotism and chauvinism. Patriotism refers to positive feelings of pride and love toward one's nation, while chauvinism reflects extreme loyalty and superiority over others, often observed in war or colonization contexts (Petric, 2020, p.1).

The difference between ethnicity and nationality is that ethnicity relates to ancestry, language, and cultural traditions, while nationality is influenced by geographic location and refers to an individual's relationship with a state. In this sense, national identity may combine elements of ethnic identity and state membership.

According to Berry's two-dimensional model (1990, 1997), immigrants may seek to maintain the culture and identity of their country of origin while adopting those of the host country, creating an integrated identity. Others may adopt the host culture and reject their origin (assimilated identity), reject the host culture while maintaining their original identity (separated identity), or reject both (marginalized identity). Research shows that ethnic and national identities are distinct, and immigrants may display varying intensities of each.

1.5.4 Identity Process Theory

To understand the socio-psychological process of identity construction and change, Breakwell (1993, 2001) developed the Identity Process Theory. This theory explains three components: building a positive identity, coping with threats to identity, and defending it (Bardi et al., 2014). Identity is expressed through actions, constantly monitored and adapted when necessary. The theory posits that identity comprises both biological characteristics and personal and social identities, influenced by the social context.

Identity has two dimensions: content and value/affect. The content dimension includes personal and social characteristics, while the value/affect dimension reflects the positive or negative significance of these characteristics, which can change over time.

Identity Process Theory identifies two key psychological processes: accommodation/assimilation and evaluation. Accommodation refers to adjusting and maintaining one’s identity in response to new elements, while assimilation involves adopting new identities. Evaluation entails assessing the content of identity as positive or negative. Together, these processes control changes in identity content and value, ensuring its continuity and coherence.

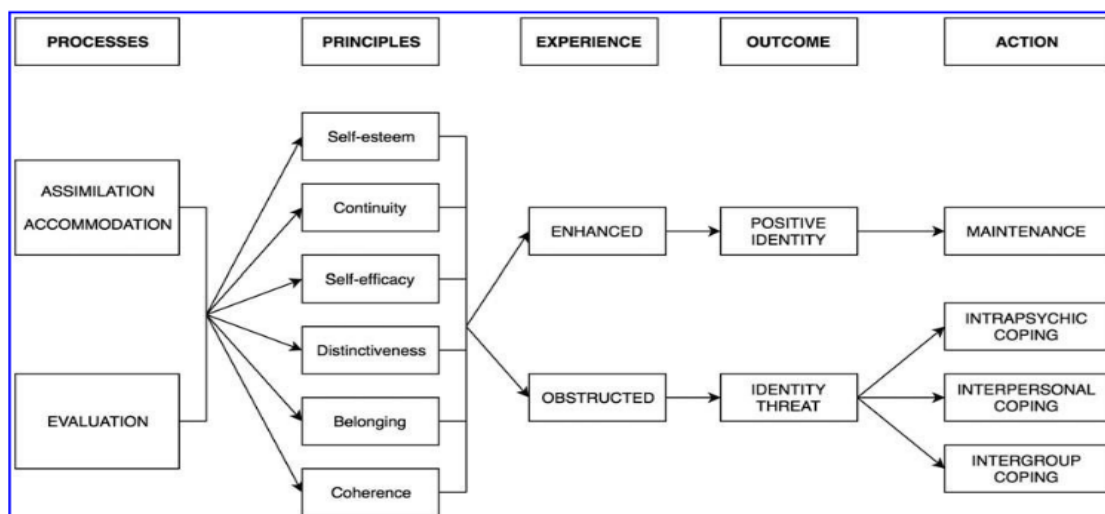


Figure 1.6. Identity Process Theory (From Jaspal, 2016) retrieved from Jaspal et al, 2019, p.247)

These processes, in turn, are guided by certain principles that are proper to each culture, each with its own level of intensity. In Western cultures, for example, these principles are: continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy (confidence and control of one's life), and self-esteem (personal and social value) (Bardi et al., 2014, p.356). Vignoles et al. (2002, 2006) add other motives he called: belonging and meaning (purpose in life). Finally, Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010) suggested one other identity motive called: psychological coherence (compatibility among one's identities). All these principles vary in importance according to different variables like time, situation, or even across the life-span (Breakwell, 1993). In some cultures, one principle might be more or less spread and exaggerated compared to the others. In addition, each principle may act differently in different cultures. What is agreed on is that the identity that satisfies the most of these principles is the identity that is at the centre of the identity structure (Vignoles et al., 2002; Vignoles et al., 2006).

If the processes in concern act in accordance with these principles, this will end up with the individual building a positive identity and maintaining it. If the opposite happens, a threat to identity will occur. In that situation, the individual is going to try to remove or change this threat through the use of some coping strategies: the intra-psychic, the interpersonal, and the intergroup strategy (Breakwell, 1993). The choice of which strategy is going to be used depends on different parameters like the type of threat that the individual is faced with, his cognitive and emotional capacities, and the social context (Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000, p.357).

In addition, the theory suggests that social representations play a major role in understanding identity structure processes. They represent what allows the individual to understand the functioning of the social world and what guides the different dimensions of identity (Breakwell, 2001b). Moreover, the personal and social responses to some social phenomena depend directly on the context of the social representation. For example, in Algeria, the historical representation of a woman driving a car creates different responses compared to the contemporary representation, which is now normal and common in society. Women are no longer

afraid of driving cars because it is nowadays completely accepted in Algerian society, which does not interfere with their sense of belonging to that society.

The identity process theory finally shows that the identity structure is composed of various identities that are intertwined, each having a different value in terms of centrality. This centrality represents the importance of identity, its affective evaluation, and the way this identity is shown in actions and interpersonal exchanges (Bardi et al., 2014, p.178). These three dimensions may differ from one another and may not align. It means that a person can be aware of the importance of a certain identity and have a positive judgement towards it but choose not to display it in his/her daily life (Vignoles, 2011).

1.5.5 Migration as a Threat to Identity

Migration is not automatically regarded as a threat to identity formation. It is considered an eventual threat to identity in the case where immigrants move from one social context to a completely different one to the point that the principles that guide the process of identity structure are altered and sometimes even disappear (Ethier and Deaux, 1994). It is generally thought that this threat is much more increased with refugees, whose migration is rather forced and triggered outside of personal choice. It is true that studies have identified numerous psychological pathologies that those forced migrants suffer from when they try to adapt to their new society. However, there are also a number of other researchers who proved that many refugees end up having a successful long-term adaptation (Beiser, 1994). On the other hand, no sufficient studies were made to prove whether voluntary immigration creates fewer psychological and adaptation problems or not (Kim, 1988).

The problem with this threat to identity does not lie in the fact that the immigrant will adopt a different identity when moving to the new society; it rather lies in the possibility of that identity being the complete opposite of the individual. From the model of acculturation designed by Berry, it was shown that the adaptation of the immigrant in the host country depends on how members of both the dominant

and non-dominant groups decide to acculturate (Berry, 1997). The threat will occur when the choices of both groups are different or are opposite.

There are a number of studies that have researched the way migrants cope with this identity structure threat. The identity process theory discussed in the title before, for example, shows that the individual will adopt a particular coping strategy to respond to the threat depending on the intensity of their identification and on other parameters. Other studies were mostly based on either ethnic or national identities (e.g., Verkuyten and Nekuee, 1999; Mummendey et al., 1999), which is extremely restrictive. In reality, Pittinsky et al. (1999) proved that the identity structure is a mixture of all the different identities of one individual, so one identity cannot be studied without reference to the others. In this line, Hedge (1998), in his study on identity, came up with the result that a change in ethnic identity will directly impact gender identity. All in all, the impact of migration is much more general than that; it not only affects the individual at a personal level and at the group level but also affects some other aspects of his life like beliefs, values, emotions, and relationships with others (Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000, p.359).

To conclude, little attention has been shown to numerous aspects of this identity threat, and much more investigation should be considered in this domain to gain a better understanding. For example, the Identity Process Theory, among other theories about identity, shows that there are two processes in identity structure and some principles or motivations that may or may not act in accordance, which leads to different responses. The confusing part is the classification of which principle is the most important and how individuals are going to be concerned with one principle more than another. In addition, another question may be asked: what are the different types of identity threats that exist and what is the nature of the relationship between them? Finally, while identity threat was studied a few times considering only one identity aspect each time, no study has yet taken into account various aspects at the same time.

1.5.6 Immigration and Identity

Immigration is regarded by most scholars as a profound, a “total” event (Mauss, 1966) as it inevitably involves the complete (re)construction of one’s identity. When immigrants move from one country to another, they experience massive changes in their social life. They most frequently lose their social status, their jobs, families, surroundings, routines, and so forth. La Barbera (2015, p.3) explained this in her statement: “In the receiving country, they find themselves without a history and without an image. Faced with an unknown universe of meanings, migrants feel lost, alone and without reference points.” The reality they are faced with is that no matter how much they try to integrate into the host society, they will hardly ever be an integral part of it and will always feel partly strangers to it. Some may even be subject to racism and/or discrimination.

The primary purpose of immigration, that is searching for better life conditions, sometimes turns out to be a completely different reality. In addition, homesickness and memory do not help in that situation, as they participate in idealizing the country of origin and amplify the wish to go back home. However, if the migrant does return to his/her country of origin, he/she will again be faced with the reality of it that actually led him/her to emigrate in the first place. Thus, the migrant will constantly live in between “idealization” and “disillusionment,” sometimes of the host country and sometimes of their country of origin, and consequently, their identity will stand in between. They will be stuck between their feeling to belong to both countries or societies and will hardly ever feel as a complete part of one of the two.

Moreover, in the immigration context, the meaning behind the concept of “home” is quite ambiguous. While home may seem to represent a geographical place, it is important to define which place is actually concerned. Does it refer to the country where the immigrant is born and grows up? To the country where the relatives live? Or does it refer to the country where the immigrant is now living and working? Although immigrants may feel they have different homes at the same time, belonging to a particular one was proved to be compulsory in their identity

reconstruction. Another crucial factor in identity formation and reconstruction is recognition.

It is a fact that to reach a self-representation, the existence of others is necessary (De Beauvoir, 1949). Yet, self-representation does not imply a complete separation between the self and the others, especially when these relationships are fluid. It rather goes through different processes and different levels of belonging or non-belonging to a particular social group or category, and this sense of belonging comes from “a complex process of appropriation and (re)interpretation of social boundaries that depends on whether those who are on the other side of the boundary may accept or reject the minority group” (La Barbera, 2015, p.4). In this sense, the self and the others are important components for those immigrants who are willing to assimilate within the larger social category.

Migrants in some countries are faced with discrimination in the labor market. For example, migrant women in some societies face much more difficulty finding a decent job because of their gender. This makes them aware that the country’s expectations may appear to be totally different from those of their original country and may lead to drastic changes in their behaviour while trying to achieve them one way or another. While it is widely known and proved that all migrants experience changes in their personalities at different levels and intensity, some may experience much more radical changes that may alter their feelings, strategies of self-representation, social interaction, and ability to imagine and create their own life paths (Nolin, 2006).

In addition to being stuck between two countries and two identities, immigrants face other problems that affect their identity (re)construction. It is true that most immigration movements are triggered by a search for better living conditions in terms of job opportunities, wages, and stability that are not offered in the country of origin. Despite the feelings of loneliness and disillusionment that immigrants may feel at the earliest moments after settlement, many of them obtain what they came in search for. However, political laws that concern immigration are generally particularly complex and harsh. Receiving countries often consider

immigration as an issue that will cause changes and problems for the government and make it lose power and control over time. Some countries strengthen migration policies to the extent that a huge number of migrants still never receive full citizenship rights from their host country. These procedures have a direct effect on identity formation and give birth to a certain social marginality that the immigrant will feel and results in social distance.

It is a fact that Europe is the continent where immigrants feel most discrimination and thus, they create minority groups that are frequently marginalized. The September 11th events strengthened this reality, as in this part of the world, the word “Migrant” was instantaneously replaced by the word “Muslim.” Muslim migrants in Europe started to be marginalized systematically because they represented a threat to the continent, or rather to the world. For them, Islamic principles did not match with a democratic, secular, and progressivist Europe (Erel, 2003). The interest was mostly given to Muslim women, who were regarded by the larger population as victims of their religion and their Islamic community, essentially because of their veils. This unfounded representation of veiled women started to spread through media all over the world and was especially believed in European countries. Media also spread the idea that the veil was concrete proof that Muslim women voluntarily do not want to integrate into their host societies. However, what was and is still true is that the veil Muslim women wear is generally a personal choice that represents an important component in their identity formation and (re)construction processes that they need to preserve.

Some scholars, like Mahmood (2005) and Ahmed (1992, 2011), explain that Muslim women, by preserving their veils, are actually performing or showing markers of their identity to be distinguished from the larger society (Klein et al., 2007; Hopkins and Greenwood, 2013). In fact, there are multiple signs that can trigger a distinction of one person from another or one group of people from another, for example, dressing style, language, certain living areas, and so forth. However, the way these identity markers are understood by other social groups plays a major role in how individuals cope with them. The veil, as a vivid example, is an identity

marker that is clearly misunderstood by the non-Muslim community, so it tends to be highly contested.

All in all, it can be concluded that all immigrant groups are searching for in their host society is to survive. For that, as Swann & Bossom (2008) explained, they are constantly in an identity negotiation to obtain the necessary nourishment for them to retain a steady identity, because basically, identity is not something they are going to have but rather something they are going to form and personally enact (Jenkins, 2008).

1.6 Immigrants and Acculturation

Migration is a movement that is followed by numerous consequences in the life of immigrants. It does not only involve a change in living space but also a change in the culture of that space. When the immigrant moves from one country to another, he is inevitably faced with new ideologies, values, and beliefs; he encounters new persons with new behaviours, languages, and sometimes even new religions and traditions. These changes may have a real impact on his personality and may create what is called culture shock or the process of acculturation.

Acculturation has been studied by numerous researchers who have developed multiple theories and definitions about this concept. Yet, the primary focus of many scholars remains on its different strategies, consequences, and how to ease this process for novel immigrants (Berry, 1992).

1.6.1 Definition of Acculturation

Acculturation first comes from the word *culture*: “An increasing number of researchers are recognizing the critical role of culture in shaping all psychological processes, including children’s cognitive and social development” (Birman and Addae, 2015, p.2). These concepts are part of the cultural process that varies according to cultural traditions and circumstances of different communities (Rogoff, 2003, p.434). The two processes responsible for the transmission of culture to children are enculturation and socialization (Berry & Georgas, 2009).

Socialization refers to “the dialectical process through which individuals exchange, adapt to, and internalize the norms, beliefs, behaviours, and values of a shared social group over the life course” (King, 2007, p.193). It starts from childhood and lasts until death. Through this process, a person deliberately acquires knowledge, language, values, skills, and habits of the society where he lives. These are important for the person to integrate into that society and to fully conform to its rules. Enculturation goes along the same lines as the socialization process but focuses more on the acquisition of cultural characteristics and is rather natural. It is the process by which a person assimilates the traditions, practices, and values of a certain culture. Mead defined it as the “process of learning a culture in all of its uniqueness and particularity” (1963, p.187).

These two processes together are in fact what shape the identity of individuals. They help children become the adults they will be and influence their future choices at all levels of life, such as whom they become friends with, whom they marry, which career they consider following, and so on. However, this natural process that an individual is supposed to go through is completely different from the actual immigrants’ experiences in reality. The problem lies in the fact that immigrants are faced with culture shock that does not allow the process of enculturation to function as it naturally should for local citizens. Immigrants are generally influenced by two different cultures and two different sets of values and beliefs. When they settle in a new country, they come with their home culture and need to cope with the new culture. In addition, the process of enculturation is much more complex when it comes to their children (second-generation immigrants). This is because they are born into this society, where they learn its cultural practices while simultaneously absorbing those of their parents at home. The process involved in deciding how to cope with two different cultures is called acculturation.

Gans (1999) defines acculturation as “the newcomers’ adoption of the culture, that is, the behaviour patterns or practices, values, rules, symbols, and so forth, of the host society (or rather an overly homogenized and reified conception of it)” (p. 162). This definition does not take into account what the individual does

with his or her home culture. Gibson (2001) clarifies that acculturation is what happens as changes due to contact that occurs between different individuals from different cultures. Of course, not every contact between different cultures will result in acculturation. This process is only related to individuals who live in a country other than the one in which they were originally born, like immigrants, refugees, or international students (Berry, 2006b).

Rothe et al. refer to acculturation as “the process that occurs when groups of individuals of different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, which changes the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (2010, p.681). They added that such a process will inevitably result in one of these two options: the individual will either accept the new culture and assimilate into it, adapt his own culture to conform to both the original and new cultures, or finally react in opposition to the new culture. Yet, this definition is said to neglect the existence of acculturation at the individual level, which does not completely reflect reality and is less useful for psychological studies about acculturation.

Acculturation is differently defined by various scholars of different disciplines. From a sociological and anthropological perspective, the concept refers to the process that immigrants go through to incorporate into their receiving society (Portes & Zhou, 1993). From a psychology point of view, scholars try to investigate the psychological consequences of acculturation on immigrants. What is important to consider is whether these individuals, when in contact with the new culture, engage in the process of maintaining their home culture and refusing this new culture, or, in contrast, choose to adopt the culture of the receiving country and drop their original culture. Another situation can occur: immigrants may refuse to opt for one culture and prefer instead to merge both cultures to create their own. Organista, Marin & Chun (2010, p.103) claimed that the inability of different disciplines to agree on one clear definition creates a sense of confusion in understanding the real meaning of this process called acculturation and hinders research in this domain.

1.6.2. Acculturation Models

The two models that are the most referred to when studying acculturation are the unidirectional model and the bidirectional model. The first studies that were done on acculturation were only putting focus on the target culture. For the authors of these studies, when individuals come in contact with a new culture, their only aim is to adapt to it. If they are unable to do so, they will inevitably have consequences like loneliness, anxiety, and tension (Kefeng Fu, 2015, p.125). This model is called the unidirectional model, which was first proposed by Gordon in 1964. According to this model, immigrants need to abandon their home culture to assimilate the new culture of their destination country, as if there was “a continuum where one pole is the immigrant home culture and the other is the host culture which can be adopted only at the cost of discarding the cultural heritage” (Bei Ju, 2015, p.669).

The particularity of this model is that it goes on a straight line into one direction, which is the target culture. This is also its biggest problem, which created many criticisms by other following scholars about it. The issue lies in the fact that the model does not take into consideration the original culture of immigrants. It rather functions on the idea that both the culture of origin and the culture of the immigrant country cannot be joined and should be kept separate. The immigrant, thus, cannot act differently than to drop his culture for the new one.

Because of the weaknesses found in the unidirectional model, scholars developed a new model that accounts for both the origin and target cultures of the immigrant. In this line, the model is referred to as the bidirectional model. The main idea of this model is that when an individual settles in a new country, he comes with a culture and faces another culture. He thus may choose to either maintain his origin culture or abandon it, but also may choose to either accept to adapt to the new culture or refuse to do it. Berry (1974, 1980) proposed his model, where he presented four strategies of acculturation that may help these individuals in their process of adaptation. These strategies are: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization and will be explained further in the chapter.

Although the bidirectional model developed the limitations of the first model by giving importance to both the cultures that immigrants hold, it also has its own limitations. In fact, the process of acculturation does not only occur at the level of the individual; it also should be explored at a larger scale. This model, thus, fails to give importance to the effects that the dominant groups can have on the immigrant groups (Bei Ju, 2015, p.670). Because of this limitation, the model was considered incomplete and needed to be corrected.

Bourhis et al. (1997) proposed the next model, called the interactive acculturation model. Obviously, in this framework, the effects of dominant groups on immigrant groups were clearly a subject of interest. However, as in the other models, this one is also considered by researchers as being incomplete. This time, the model is criticised for its lack of information about the effects of the origin culture of immigrants on their target culture. To sum up, it is better to say that no model is perfect. It is better to consider all models together when studying acculturation on minority groups or choose the more appropriate model that suits the topic of the research the most (Flannery et al., 2001).

Another interesting acculturation model was proposed by Kim (1977). While investigating the communication aspects of immigrants, she notices that these minority people sometimes have real difficulties in adapting to the new culture. Yet, for her, all immigrants, sooner or later, will surely adapt to the host culture with its values and norms but at different degrees. In addition, she added the notion of Intercultural Identity in 1992 to refer to the ability of the immigrant to adapt to the new culture and live within it, but at the same time maintaining his origin culture while learning from both. The particularity of Kim's model is that within the process of acculturation and this intercultural identity, communication is the fundamental tool to move from one culture to the other. She points her interest on mass media and interpersonal communication.

Kim's Communication Acculturation Model proposed the idea that immigrants need to develop interpersonal communication with residents of the host society to facilitate their acculturation process. In addition, they need to frequently

use mass media channels related to the country of immigration to receive a large amount of information about its culture, which will help facilitate acculturation. However, before all, language competence is the most important thing to develop and work on, because these two requirements cannot be achieved without it. Other points that Kim discussed are the necessity to work on the immigrant's motivation for acculturation, because this motivation can result in increasing the number of the occurring interpersonal communications and use of mass media. In addition, the receiving society should participate in the acculturation process of immigrants by creating opportunities for them to engage in interpersonal communications and by making mass media available for them.

Simply put, this model highlights the importance of communication (namely interpersonal communication and mass media) in facilitating the process of acculturation and intercultural identity, which can only be successfully achieved by increasing language competence, the individuals' motivation, and the accessibility to the communication channels. Kim claimed that studying acculturation only from the point of view of the immigrant is not enough. For her, it is also important to study this acculturation from the perception of the target society because the latter needs to participate in this process to validate or not the degree of the immigrant's integration. In addition, in the Communication Acculturation Model, in contrast to the other previous models, acculturation is considered "as an interactive, dynamic and continuous process and integrates the individuals' personal awareness" (Bei Ju, 2015, p.670). Acculturation is thus viewed as being tacit and experienced differently by each immigrant, but what is for sure is that each immigrant is responsible for his success or failure in adapting to the host culture or not, due to his degree of motivation to gain an intercultural identity.

1.6.3. Acculturation Strategies

In acculturation literature, there are various strategies that have been developed by numerous scholars. However, this research is going to emphasize solely on the strategies formulated by Berry (1992). Berry started by explaining the stages that an individual systematically goes through when he moves from one

country of residence to another in terms of acculturation. According to him, the immigrant first will try to fit within the new society by engaging in communication, whether it be at work, in the market, or in the street. Then, he will realise the difference that is clearly present between his own culture and the target culture, and that will sometimes be problematic for him. Finally, he will try to avoid these problems by making efforts to deal with this new culture of his residence country.

The acculturation strategies of Berry were developed necessarily to describe how immigrants individually adapt to their target culture when possessing another cultural background. They function on two bases: maintenance or neglect of the home culture, and adoption or rejection of the target culture. Berry aimed to measure the extent to which immigrants can maintain their own culture and assimilate into the new culture. In this line, four strategies were formulated: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation.

Figure 1.11 shows how Berry categorises these strategies. In fact, when the immigrant decides to maintain his home culture but at the same time accepts the host culture, the strategy is called integration. When he accepts the host country and decides to neglect his own culture, the strategy is called assimilation. When the individual, in contrast, maintains his home culture and completely rejects the host culture, the strategy for that is called separation. And finally, when he can no longer deal with both cultures, he is then using the strategy referred to as marginalisation.

Attitude towards the host culture	Attitude towards one's culture	
	Accept	Reject
Accept	Integration	Assimilation
Reject	Separation	Marginalization

Figure 1.7. Berry's Acculturation Strategies (Kefeng Fu, 2015, p.126)

Berry's and other studies on acculturation strategies have shown that the strategy that is generally preferred by immigrants is integration, followed by assimilation, separation, then marginalisation. In addition, they have shown that the best psychological results come from individuals who adopt the integration strategy (Okazaki et al., 2009). The strategy that is the most unfavourable, though, is marginalisation (Berry et al., 2006). Some researchers have criticized the model, noting that individuals may react differently depending on the context of their lives (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004). He may use one strategy when he is in private situations, like with family or friends, and use another one at work or at school. Moreover, other criticisms were about the unreliability of these strategies. Scholars claim that no generalisation can be drawn because not all individuals systematically choose one of these strategies (Kunst et al., 2013); the degree of adaptation can differ between individuals and even within the same individual over time. The choice of acculturation strategy and the extent of its use depend on different factors, whether they are personal, situational, or environmental (Zhou, 1997).

1.6.4 Generational Acculturation

It is a matter of fact that all immigrants experience acculturation differently. The process of acculturation goes differently for the various immigrant generations according to their age of immigration and their degree of contact with the home culture.

In fact, adult immigrants who are part of the first-generation immigrants have their own cultural background of their home country before moving to the new destination. This is why, when they come in contact with the new culture, the shock is more prominent. At first, they need to learn the language of the new society to integrate into it (Brown, 2000), which then will help them act as active members of that society. They often, naturally, search in that new society for other immigrants who share the same culture and the same values as theirs. The reason behind it is to keep that bond they have for their original culture in addition to the contact they maintain with their families and relatives in their home country. The process is

usually the same for 1.5-generation immigrants since they spent all their formative years in another culture than the target culture.

For children immigrants, though, the process of acculturation is experienced differently. Because these children are still in their first years of life, they are still going through their socialization and enculturation processes. As long as these processes are not done yet, children are still capable of completely forgetting about their home culture and fully assimilating the target culture. Certainly, the first culture remains present at home through parents and relatives, but acculturation is not as complex as it is for adult immigrants. Research in this domain remains extremely limited and underdeveloped to say anything further about it.

An important process of acculturation is language learning. For that, children immigrants have the ability to learn the second language (the target language) much more easily than adult immigrants do. Research has demonstrated that the best time to learn a new language is between the ages of 2 and 12 (Brown, 2000). So, for children immigrants who go to school, they will quickly learn the target language and become highly fluent in it in about two years post-immigration (Goldenberg, 2008). For children who are not of school age yet, they will naturally acquire the target language almost as the first language. When they attain school age, they will only improve their skills in that language. What is different from adults is that children do not have prior knowledge in the home language about everything. For example, they did not develop vocabulary for every single existing thing in their home language, so learning the vocabulary in the target language will be easily feasible. In contrast, “for adults second-language acquisition involves learning new words for concepts they already know” (Birman & Addae, 2015, p.132) because adult immigrants already have words for everything in their first language. This explains why the process of second-language learning is much more difficult for adults than it is for children. In addition, as far as the heritage language (HL) is concerned, children have difficulties maintaining it although its use may be present at home. They may understand the language and still use some basic words, but they

generally are not as fluent as first-generation (adults or adolescents) immigrants are (Pavlenko & Malt, 2011).

Because acculturation is different for first- and second-generation immigrants, some conflicts can occur between both generations. First, in terms of behaviour, first-generation adult immigrants may be attached to their home culture and refuse to accommodate some cultural behaviours that are said to be “normal” in the immigration country (like smoking for girls, getting tattoos, drinking alcohol, etc.). In contrast, adolescent immigrants may assimilate to the target culture and may start following these cultural behaviours. This may be the source of conflict between these adolescents and their parents. Then, in terms of identity, adult immigrants want their children to keep both identities, which may not be their wish when they grow up. This also can create tensions between both generations and result in some acculturation gaps.

The difference in acculturation can also place a certain responsibility on children immigrants to act as mediators for their parents. In some situations, they need to play the role of both language and culture translators when their parents do not understand the language or culture of the immigration country, whether it be in oral conversations or in written documents (Birman & Addae, 2015, p.137). This may be a burden for children to constantly need to assist their parents for such basic things, preventing them from their autonomy (Sy, 2006).

1.7. Immigrants Between Algerian and French Culture

It is conventional that any act of immigration is accompanied by cultural integration challenges. However, almost all researchers in sociology, demography, and linguistics agree on the cultural immigration that concerns the Maghrebians. These communities generally deploy efforts to completely integrate into the receiving country; linguistically, religiously, and economically. They become almost indistinguishable from the French people, having the same standards and belongings. They own similar cars, wear the same clothing styles, organise similar wedding celebrations, have a limited number of children, live in individual houses,

and have annual holidays in different destinations. It is true, thus, that nowadays, the same standards are now spread in Maghrebian countries. However, it should be noted that this integration, especially that of the Algerians in France, is not as easy as it seems to be. It is generally a long process marked with lots of challenges.

1.7.1 Cultural Integration of Algerian Immigrants in France

The integration process of the Algerian community in France became more challenging with the influx of the first-generation immigrants' children through the law of family reunification. While these children were not born in France, they received a full French education and went through their socialization process in France. However, there is a substantial difference between both generations in terms of their integration into French society. While the first generation of immigrants enjoyed successful occupational integration, their children, growing into adult immigrants, experienced a different reality.

Most of them were faced with unemployment or at least difficulties in finding job opportunities, in addition to various forms of inequalities in different domains of their lives. Most importantly, though, this group of immigrants was accused by the French government as being responsible for the degradation of the French language. The French authorities' conviction is that the change that is occurring in the traditional French language is due to the modifications that these youth of immigrants are making in it because of their refusal to adopt the language as it is.

The first public sign of these integration issues was revealed by the Beur movement. Back in 1983, a group of second-generation immigrants manifested against problems of inequality and racism, which marked the beginning of the French awareness and acknowledgment of their survival. Numerous political, cultural, and social organisations were involved in a wave of solidarity with these minority groups of immigrants. However, this successful period was shorter than assumed, as in the 1990s, racism against immigrants spread wider in the country. It was particularly intensified by some Islamic organisations that started the spread of

the Arabic language in different areas of the country, creating serious tensions with the French government and society.

The following indicator of the cultural integration challenges faced by immigrants is manifested by the different events related to the Islamic veil. In fact, this movement against racism represents the immigrants' claim for their rights as full French citizens and their need to be respected and accepted with their different identities, cultures, and religious beliefs and practices. The prohibition of wearing the Islamic veil in educational settings remains the major conflict that exists between the Islamic Algerian community in France and the French government, namely because for veiled women, the veil represents an integral part of their identity. Therefore, prohibiting veils in the educational sector and in most professional occupations seriously impacts or even questions their entire integration process, being systematically obliged to choose between their religion and their education and future professional career.

1.7.2 Relation of Algerian Immigrants with Their Home Country

It is a matter of fact that the relationship that is maintained between Algerian immigrants and their country of origin is experienced differently across generations. The problem concerns mostly the second-generation immigrants, regarding the fact that they struggle to identify with both their culture of origin and the French culture. Their identity often stands in between, generating significant identity issues.

While first-generation immigrants experience a total cultural shift from their home country to their country of immigration, a significant number of the second-generation immigrants, who are born and raised in France, often have issues being totally accepted by the French community and are neither acknowledged as French nor as Algerians. In France, these individuals are viewed as part of the Algerian immigrants' community, although being born in that country, having received a French education, and holding French nationality (Khellil, 1991, p.88-105). Simultaneously, in Algeria, the same individuals are not considered part of the Algerian community.

When some of the second-generation immigrants come to Algeria, for holidays or for a short period of time, they are subject to various types of insults and hear derogatory remarks directed at them. Girls are sometimes accused of being immoral or are designated with other pejorative words. Boys are sometimes labelled as “Hraka,” meaning “traitors” (referring to the French colonisation period), or referred to as « les émigrés » or even « les ébigré » (a word suggesting they are foolish). This harassment shows that, similar to their experiences in France, this community of people is often not fully accepted within the Algerian society.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that experiences characterized by this harshness and challenges remain few and are not widespread in the country. While some relationships between immigrants and their home country and society are difficult, lots of immigrant families report rather close ties with their relatives in Algeria and still come to their home country to visit their families and spend some time with them each summer holiday. Their experiences may be memorable for many of them. Regarding the cases where these people do not have opportunities to go to Algeria, there is still frequent contact between them and their families through phone conversations and social media to maintain strong relationships

1.7.3 Linguistic and Identity Issues

The sociolinguistic situation of Algerian immigrants in France is characterized in the form of defective bilingualism. On one hand, they can hardly master their language of origin (AA), which is highly stigmatized and underestimated. On the other hand, they adapt and personalize their use of French, incorporating elements from their own linguistic and cultural background, which they appear to embrace with pride. At the cultural level, the situation of these minority groups is quite similar, being stuck in a borderland between two distinct cultures.

On one hand, they are often strongly attached to their culture of origin. However, they can only identify with that culture to a certain extent due to its distance from the culture of their host country. Their culture of origin is often

perceived as being folkloric and reduced to some Islamic practices. On the other hand, they assimilate some of the French culture either intentionally or out of choice. Similarly, at the linguistic level, these immigrants are rapidly constrained to learn or to cope with two distinct languages used in two different contexts, that is, AA within the family and French in broader societal contexts such as school, work, and social interactions.

Most frequently, the second- and/or third-generation immigrants struggle to cope with this duality in terms of language and culture, generating significant issues at the level of their identity formation. As a consequence, they unconsciously split from their culture of origin, helping them shape their own identity associated with a new culture and language. The final goal is simply to live in harmony within French society. Nonetheless, this situation generated a totally different linguistic phenomenon that Darot named “la Francophonie du R.E.R.” It constitutes a mixture between the first generation’s French, which is qualified as “bad” or “poor,” and the new version of French created by the subsequent generations, which is qualified as “suburban French” or “Français de banlieue,” carrying patent negative connotations. Ultimately, all generations of immigrants stand in between two linguistic and cultural communities, where the first generation masters the language of origin and the subsequent ones, the language of the host country.

These linguistic issues raised above are particularly challenging for the second and third generations in terms of their full integration within French society and thus for the construction of a stable identity. One of the main drivers of this complexity is the different and various labels directed at these people by both the French and the Algerian communities, such as: Immigrants, Beurs, Rebeus. The reality is that they are rarely regarded as French, although being full French citizens.

The consequences of these identity issues are manifested in different ways. Some immigrants show a form of underperformance at school or even delinquency, while others show unique identity markers like Hip Hop music and dance, or some new linguistic versions of French like the “Verlan,” where syllables in French words are simply reversed (e.g., “Fou” becomes “ouf” (crazy), “chopper” becomes

“pécho” (to catch)). The musical variety called Rap has become the most symbolic way that immigrants use to express their identity crisis, using sad and meaningful words with no marked rhythm and no use of musical instruments that are often beyond their reach. While Verlan is used to enjoy the codification of words that may be unfamiliar and hardly understandable to the majority of French society, Rap was first used to transgress Poetry, which is regarded as the standard norm.

The identity markers used by the Algerian immigrant groups in France may be interpreted in multiple ways. However, in reality, they represent simple manifestations of the identity issues they face in French society. The French government has two options regarding this situation: it can either take these manifestations into consideration to ease and facilitate immigrants’ integration within the country, or it can study these markers and find out their origins to effectively eliminate them.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at providing a comprehensive understanding of the complex concept of migration, with its different aspects and from one generation to another, and discussing the historical context of Algerian emigration to France. In addition, it raises two major concepts in the context of immigration, namely identity and culture, in relation to language. The next rubric was dedicated to the key concept of identity. It started with a presentation of the different definitions of the term according to various perspectives. Then, it explained personal identity as opposed to social identity, and ethnic identity as opposed to national identity. After that, it was crucial to delve into the process of identity formation suggested by the identity process theory. Finally, it attempted to explain this significant concept in the immigration domain. The rubric that followed was devoted to the notion of culture. Similarly, it was initiated with explanations of the concept considering different scholars’ viewpoints. These were followed by some of the different theoretical frames that concern acculturation. Then it was important to present the different strategies that individuals undertake when they immigrate to a new place. The final point of this part of the chapter explained how acculturation is managed across the

different generations of immigrants. The concluding section treated the identity and cultural issues related to Algerian immigrants in France. First, it explored the way these people culturally integrated into French society. Then, it tried to portray the nature of the relationship that these immigrants maintained with their country of origin. The section ended with a presentation of the major linguistic and identity issues faced by Algerian immigrants in France.

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2.1 Introduction

In multilingual communities, or in the immigration context specifically, there is typically continuous contact between two or more languages. The consequences of this contact can manifest in various language phenomena and linguistic practices that can be voluntary or even instinctive and natural. The importance of these linguistic manifestations differs from simple bilingual speech to total linguistic hybridization, and from language choice to total language loss or language death.

This chapter starts with a brief overview of the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, emphasizing the status of the French language in the country. Then, it provides definitions of the most important language contact phenomena, namely bilingualism, diglossia, and borrowing. Then, code-switching is defined from sociolinguistic, socio-psychological, and linguistic approaches, followed by the discussion of some important factors that lead to code-switching. Bilingual speech is after that defined under the concept of linguistic hybridization. The following linguistic behaviours highlighted in this chapter are language choice, language maintenance, and shift, including definitions, factors, and the relationship between these concepts and the context of immigration. Finally, related to the same theme, the chapter includes a profound discussion about language attrition and language death, also called language genocide.

2.2 Language Use in Algeria

Algeria has been subject to numerous invasions by different civilizations and cultures, starting from the Phoenicians until the French occupation. Benrabah summarizes the complexity of its history as follows:

“Berbers came under the yoke of the Phoenicians who imposed their Carthaginian rule for about seven centuries, subsequently the Romans for about six centuries, the Vandals and the Romanized Byzantines for about a century each. The Islamo-Arabo-Berbers

dominated the region for about four centuries, the Turks for about three centuries, and the French, who brought Turkish domination to an end, for more than a century and a quarter. Spaniards occupied enclaves along the Mediterranean coast intermittently between 1505 and 1792.” (Benrabah, 2014, p. 43).

The Algerian population, being occupied by this significant number of colonies, was influenced mainly at the cultural and linguistic levels. For example, Algeria is known as a francophone country and is regarded as the country that was/is the most influenced by the French language and culture among the other Maghrebian countries. In addition, the prolonged presence of those powerful colonies in Algeria contributed to the spread of multilingualism in the country, where four main languages coexist at different rates and depending on different domains. These linguistic codes are: Berber with its varieties, Arabic with its varieties, French, and English. Consequently, Algeria became a complex sociolinguistic context where the official language is not the mother tongue, where the mother tongue consists of a combination of two languages, and where foreign languages play the role of second languages.

2.2.1 Linguistic Situation in Algeria

Since the earliest years of Algerian independence, Arabic became the only official language of the country and its use spread in different domains due to the Arabization policy established by the Algerian government. Its aim was to regain the Arabic and Islamic identity of Algerians after years of French colonisation. The Arabic language is now used in religious settings, in politics, media, and education. However, in 2002 “Tamazight was assigned the status of joint-official language” (Djennane, 2017, p. 10), while its use and status remain limited compared to the Arabic language. It is only used by a specific group of the Algerian population concentrated in particular areas of the country and is only taught in schools within these specific regions.

From an attempt to explain the different varieties of the Arabic language, the latter was divided into four types: Classical Arabic (hereafter CA), Modern Standard Arabic (hereafter MSA), Algerian Arabic (hereafter AA), and Educated Spoken Arabic (hereafter ESA). Each type of Arabic is used in a particular context depending on the purpose of the interaction. Simply put, CA is the language of Islam. It is used for religious ceremonies and for worship by approximately one billion Muslims for prayer and scholarly religious discourse (Houghton and Mifflin, 1994, p. 412). Despite the prestigious status that CA carries, it is no one's mother tongue because of the complexity of the language. Consequently, it went through several adaptations to create a new Arabic version called MSA that is more accessible to Arab people in terms of vocabulary, phonetic, and morphological structures.

A large number of Arabs do not differentiate between both languages and assume they represent the same language called « el Fusha ». The major differences between CA and MSA were adapted for practical reasons. Mary Catherine (1967, p. 3) identified three changes that were applied to Classical Arabic: 1/ Simplification of some syntactic structures, 2/ New technical terminology, 3/ Stylistic adaptations and translations from European languages. MSA is the real official language of the Algerian country. Saadi (1995, p. 450) said that MSA is: “that variety of Arabic that is found in contemporary books, newspapers, and magazines, and that is used orally in formal speeches, public lectures, and television”. It is thus the language shared by the whole Arab world.

After the Algerian independence, the Algerian government implemented the Arabization policy through which the use of MSA started to spread in all different domains. This law was meant to eliminate all the linguistic influence that the French left behind. Mokhtar declared in this sense that “such a policy is assumed to overcome linguistic regionalism and to open doors to a new era of linguistic stability, covering the different parts of Algeria” (2018, p. 137). However, despite all the efforts deployed to apply this policy, MSA remained the language of formality because in informal contexts, Algerian people speak another variety of

Arabic called colloquial Arabic or the Algerian dialect. Consequently, a conflict appeared between the two codes: one is used for writing and one for speaking. The real challenges were witnessed at school level when children at the early age of six were required to learn the basics and the rules of a language with which they were unfamiliar before. Additionally, MSA was the language of instruction and all the subjects were taught and learned in that language.

AA is the mother tongue of most Algerians. It is the variety of language used for oral communication in personal interactions and in informal contexts. It is different from MSA in many ways: phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, and at the lexical level.

The following table shows some examples of the differences that exist between MSA and AA at the phonological level.

Table 2.1. Phonological differences between MSA and AA

MSA	AA	English Translation
[kataba]	[ktəb]	He wrote
[daxala]	[dxəl]	He entered
[samiʕa]	[smaʕ]	He heard

At the phonological level, the major change that occurs is the omission of some MSA vowels. Yet, sometimes these vowels are replaced by the schwa in AA words. An example could be the verb [kataba], where the short [a] is reduced to the schwa [ə], to be pronounced as [ktəb].

Another aspect of the language where MSA and AA differ is morphology. Examples are reported in the following table.

Table 2.2. Morphological differences between MSA and AA

MSA	AA	English Translation
[aktubu]	[naktəb]	I write
[Kita :ba:n]	[Zu :ʒ ktu :ba]	Two books
[binta:n]	[Zu :ʒ bna :t]	Two girls

At the morphological level, AA is marked by the omission of case-ending inflections, in addition to the dual and feminine plural forms that change completely from MSA.

As far as the syntactic level is concerned, Mokhtar (2018, p.136) explained that both MSA and AA follow the VSO and SVO word order, but in AA the second order is much more used.

Table 2.3. Syntactic differences between MSA and AA

MSA	AA	English Translation
[ʔiʃtarat uxti kita:bun]	[xti ʃra:t kta:b]	My sister bought a book

Finally, at the lexical level, although there are many loanwords in MSA, AA is characterized by a high number of borrowings mostly from the French language. Some examples are highlighted in the following table.

Table 2.4. lexical differences between MSA and AA

MSA	AA	French word	English Translation
[ta:ouila]	[tabla]	Table	Table
[ħaqi:ba]	[vali:za] or [fali:za]	Valise	Suitcase

[miʕtaf]	[vi:sta] or [fi:sta]	Veste	Jacket
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These examples above show that AA includes a large number of both adapted and non-adapted French words. This suggests that AA contains a lot of French borrowings.

The last type of Arabic that exists in Algeria is what is called ESA or intermediate Arabic. Basically, it is the language that stands between MSA and colloquial Arabic (AA in Algeria). Bouhadiba said that “the phenomenon of varieties fusion in presence within the continuum as well as the Pan-Arabic communication worry gave birth to a new form of Arabic ‘al luya al wusta’ or intermediate Arabic” (1998, p.1). This type of Arabic is still yet to be developed due to its complexity and ambiguity. However, it can be defined as the Arabic that is used by all Arabs of different dialects in different parts of the world while having informal interactions. It is not the language that is used in education, religion or media, nor the language used in everyday interactions. It rather falls in between, including a mixture of elements from both MSA and colloquial Arabic.

French is another language that has an official status in Algeria. Officially, French is the first foreign language of the country. It is taught starting from the second year at the primary school level. It is considered as the language of science and health. It is also the language of instruction in higher education and is used as a second language in administration, media and politics. In reality, the status of French and its significance in the Algerian society extend beyond its official status. It is much more present and vivid in the speech of Algerians across almost all domains of their lives.

Similarly, English is gaining ground in the Algerians’ speech. For the past decades, this foreign language was taught to children starting from the

1st year of middle school until the Baccalaureate exam. After the reforms of 2022, English was introduced at primary education. In addition, Algeria proposes English studies at the university level in addition to the various private schools where English is taught as a foreign language. This language holds a prestigious status in scientific research as most scientific fields in Algeria require a moderate proficiency in English for the writing and publishing of scientific articles and academic papers. Although the Algerian government tried for the past few years to highlight the importance of replacing French with English considering it as the language of the future, the process surely takes time and effort and remains challenging for the whole population and especially for the educational sector.

2.2.2 Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria: Different Realities

While the linguistic situation in Algeria seems already particularly complex with the coexistence of so many language varieties within the same society, each used for well-determined situations and domains, the situation of language planning is much more compelling. In fact, there is a significant difference between official declarations by the Algerian government and the reality in terms of language use and status among the Algerian society. In fact, MSA is considered as the official language of the country, but its usage is restricted to formal interactions and settings. In addition, AA is the mother tongue of a large majority of Algerians, yet it occurs that this language variety is used in formal settings as well. The reason behind replacing the use of MSA with AA can be triggered by the wish of the speaker to avoid misunderstanding or to meet a special linguistic need. For example, teachers at different school levels sometimes prefer to switch from MSA to AA to provide further explanations and ensure better understanding from their pupils. Similarly, the Imam in the mosque sometimes switches to AA when he needs to attract the attention of his audience and to ensure the clarity of his

sermon. Finally, some high officials of the state may switch from time to time to AA when they address the population via the media.

Moreover, Tamazight is officially recognized as the second official language of the country. However, its usage among the Algerian society is not comparable to the use of MSA. Berber and its varieties are used only in particular parts of the country like in Tizi Ouzou, the Aures and some inhabitants of Blida. This variety is only taught in specific regions of the country and is only partially present in limited domains like in media. Another distinction between the official and the reality is the status of French within the Algerian society. While French is politically considered as the first foreign language of the country, in reality French serves as the second language for Algerian citizens. It is widely used in everyday speech, in media, in schools and administrations and even by high officials of the country, namely the President of the country and the ministers. Djennane declared that “French is a working language which echoes a covert official status” (2017, p.10). This denotes that despite the great impact and the change that the Arabization policy has brought to the country, French is still prevalent in the life of the Algerian population.

Finally, English is regarded as the second foreign language. However, its status and usage differ significantly from French in Algeria. English was mainly used for educational purposes or for scientific research. Yet, in the last few years, English started to gain ground in Algeria as many Algerians manifest their interest for this international language over French, regarded as the language of the colonizer. Consequently, English is now manifested in Algerians’ everyday interactions, in social media, in some advertisements or some Algerian manual instructions. In addition, this language is used in some professional domains like computer sciences or in major companies like Sonatrach (the company of gas and petrol), Mobilis (telecommunication

company), Algérie Télécom, where a minimum proficiency in English is required to allow for international development. Otherwise, the companies offer English courses and training to those employees who are interested. Moreover, in Algerian international flights for example, English is used by the flight members and safety instructions are administered in Arabic, French and English. However, despite all the efforts deployed by the Algerian government to encourage the spread of English in all the important domains, French, due to its historical influences, remains the dominant language and its replacement appears to be extremely challenging.

2.2.3 Status of French in Algeria

The history of French in Algeria started from the period of colonialism. One of the major aims of this colonisation was to spread the French language and culture in the whole country. The process started by imposing French in schools as the language of instruction to show the importance given by the French colony to both education and French literature. Gordon said: “When the Portuguese colonised, they built churches; when the British colonised, they built trade stations; when the French colonised, they built schools” (1962, p.6). However, the reality is that this policy primarily aimed at replacing Arabic with the French language to emphasize the dominance of the French colony in Algeria. Shortly later, this French dominance was indeed witnessed everywhere in the country. The same French educational system was implemented in Algerian schools and the same colonial system was applied in administrations using the language of the colonizers. The French language was even found in road signs and names of some cities and streets. Consequently, the use of the Arabic language became restricted to religious settings like in the mosques.

However, this French policy of spreading the learning and the use of French in the country was mainly addressed to the educated population. In fact, the country at that moment witnessed a high number of uneducated people who were mostly girls in rural areas. Consequently, there were still a high number of Algerians who did not understand or speak French. When Algeria gained its independence in 1962, the urge was to eradicate any sign of the French presence in Algeria and unify the Algerian population both politically and linguistically. The first step was to entirely replace the French language and regain the status and prestige of the Arabic language, especially in business, government and education. It was important for the government to have its own official language instead of a mere vernacular as a means of communication. With that policy, French was reduced to a foreign language and from the 1970s to the early 1990s, it was studied as a subject in schools starting from the fourth grade in primary schools. English was the second foreign language and it was taught to children starting from the eighth grade in middle schools.

In 1993, the Ministry of Education decided to introduce English in primary schools alongside French with the intention of replacing the French language in the future. Pupils in fourth grade had to choose between French and English. However, the results were different from the expectations; a vast majority of children chose to study French. As a consequence, the language being acquired in schools, Algeria is now the second largest francophone country in the world in terms of speakers. Benrabah noted that the Abassa Institute² found that “out of 8,325 young Algerians polled in 36 wilayas (provinces) in November 2004, 66% declared they spoke French and 15% English.” (2007, p.194) and according to Aitsiselmi and Marley’s report in

² Abassa Institute is the first private opinion polling institute in Algeria, established in 1989 by journalist and academic Mohamed Abassa. It is based in the Capital of Algiers and collaborates with experts in social and institutional communication.

2008, 72% of the Algerian population use French in their daily life. It can be attested that the Arabization policy was only a partial success. While Arabic was effectively introduced in domains where the use of French has considerably diminished, the number of francophones in Algeria has never been so high. In fact, it was after the independence that the status of French gained power in this part of the world. Education in primary, middle and secondary schools was administered in Arabic. In higher education, though, scientific fields are still using French as a means of instruction. French thus became the language of prestige and modernity, an important criterion to gain high value within the society and in the economic world.

The significance of French in Algeria is so evident that it is witnessed everywhere in the country like in institution names, shop names, road signs, administration papers, advertisements, media and social media, and labels of different products. Additionally, French represents a part of the Algerian mother tongue due to the number of French words it contains (adapted or non-adapted). Some Algerians consider it more prestigious and valuable to master French than the Arabic language while most of them continually switch between both languages.

2.3. Language Contact Phenomena

The Algerian population has been in continuous contact with various foreign languages and cultures at different periods of Algerian history. The presence of several languages and language varieties in one and the same speech community is what creates a perfect setting to investigate the contact, the conflict, and the tensions between languages. Consequently, Algeria became a setting with a particularly complex multilingual situation as numerous language contact phenomena started to be manifested in the country, like bilingualism, diglossia, borrowing, and code-switching.

2.3.1 Bilingualism

Bilingualism is a concept that has been covered an uncountable number of times in research literature. It has been defined so many times by so many researchers that attributing a simple definition to this term remains impossible. Basically, it could be suggested that the word bilingualism refers to the knowledge of two languages. However, the reality is much more complex than that.

Bilingualism tends to be defined according to different degrees. Its various definitions can be scaled on a continuum that has two ends representing the two extremes. Bloomfield's proposition (1933, p.56) is regarded as the highest end of the range. He attested that bilingualism is "the native-like control of two languages". At the other end of the continuum is Macnamara, who said that bilingualism is "anyone who possesses a minimal competence in only one of the four language skills (listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing) in a language other than his mother tongue" (Macnamara, 1967). These two propositions are generally the most quoted when referring to this concept, but there are many other definitions that are interesting to mention and consider. For example, Oestreicher defined a bilingual as a person with "complete mastery of two different languages without interference between the two linguistic processes" (1974, p.9), or Christopherson, who considers a bilingual "a person who knows two languages with approximately the same degree of perfection as unilingual speakers of those languages" (1948, p.4), or even Grosjean, who thinks a bilingual is one of "those people who need and use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" (2010, p.4).

From these different definitions, what can be noticed is that understanding bilingualism lacks some quantifiable measurement (Wang, 2018, p.15). This means that to regard a person as bilingual or not, it is important to measure what is meant by mastering a language, or what is meant by minimal competence. In addition, some criticism mentioned that these definitions lack consideration for other dimensions besides the linguistic one. Mohanty (1994, p.13) defined bilingualism taking into consideration its social-communicative aspect. He said: "bilingual persons or communities are those with an ability to meet the communicative

demands of the self and the society in their normal functioning in two or more languages in their interaction with the other speakers of any or all of these languages”. Yet this definition is again criticized for neglecting the linguistic aspect of bilingualism. Moreover, all these definitions, among others, did not give reference and importance to the degree of bilingualism that the person manifests. Finally, Baker (2001) attested that it was important to define a clear difference between language ability and language use because having the needed abilities and competence in a language does not necessarily mean that the person uses them. Or, on the contrary, using a language every day does not necessarily mean that the person masters the four skills perfectly.

However, before coming up with an accurate definition of this intricate concept of bilingualism, it is important to account for its two types: individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism. While the former concerns the competence of each individual alone, the latter concerns the whole speech community to which he belongs.

To classify the degree of bilingualism of each individual, it all depends on the criteria taken into consideration. There are various dimensions to individual bilingualism: age, context, order and consequences of acquisition, cognitive organization, degree of competence in both languages, functional ability, exogeneity, cultural identity, and the status of these languages. The following table displays the different types of bilingualism according to each dimension just mentioned.

Table 2.5. Dimensions and types of individual Bilingualism (adapted from wang, 2018, p.17)

Dimension	Types of bilingualism
Age of acquisition	A/ Early Bilingual B/ Late Bilingual C/ Simultaneous Bilingual D/ Sequential Bilingual E/ Consecutive Bilingual
Context of acquisition	A/ Primary Bilingual B/ Secondary Bilingual
Order and consequence of acquisition	A/ Additive Bilingual B/ Subtractive Bilingual
Cognitive organization	A/ Coordinate Bilingual B/ Compound Bilingual C/ Subordinate Bilingual
Degree of competence in L1 and L2	A/ Perfect Bilingual B/ Balanced Bilingual C/ Dominant Bilingual
Functional ability	A/ Passive Bilingual B/ Productive Bilingual
Cultural identity	A/ Bicultural Bilingual B/ Monocultural Bilingual C/ Acculturated Bilingual D/ Deculturated Bilingual
Social status of languages	A/ Elite Bilingual

A/ **Age of acquisition:** *Early bilingual* is a bilingual who learns L2 in his early childhood, and *late bilingual* is a bilingual who learns L2 later on in his life. *Simultaneous bilingual* is the bilingual who learns two languages at the same time, while *sequential* and *consecutive bilinguals* first learn L1, then L2.

B/ **Context of acquisition:** *Primary bilingual* refers to the person who involuntarily learns both L1 and L2 in a natural environment where both languages are spoken naturally in his living environment. In contrast, *secondary bilingual* **voluntarily** learns L2 through school or formal training.

C/ **Order and consequence of acquisition:** *Additive bilingual* is the individual who is able to use both languages after learning L2, and *subtractive bilingual* can lose L1 competence when learning L2.

D/ **Cognitive organization:** *Coordinative bilingual* refers to the person who learns two sets of concepts, each associated with one of the two languages he knows. *Subordinate bilingual* learns L2 linguistic codes **through** those of L1. *Compound bilingual* learns two linguistic codes that refer to one single concept.

E/ **Degree of competence in L1 and L2:** *Perfect bilingual* is a bilingual **who** has a native-like competence in both L1 and L2. *Balanced bilingual* has similar competencies in both L1 and L2, while *dominant bilingual* has a higher competence in one of the two languages.

F/ **Functional ability:** *Passive bilingual* is a bilingual **who** understands L2 but cannot use it perfectly, and *productive bilingual* understands both languages and is able to use the four skills in both languages perfectly.

G/ **Cultural identity:** *Bicultural bilingual* is a bilingual who identifies **with** both cultures of both languages he speaks. *Monocultural bilingual* does not identify with the L2 culture. *Acculturated bilingual* is the bilingual who abandons L1 culture to

identify with L2 culture. Finally, *deculturated bilingual* is someone who loses L1 culture but cannot identify with L2 culture either.

H/ Social status of languages: While *elite bilingual* is someone who learns L2 in an L1 context where he continues to live, *folk bilingual* learns L2 because it is the language of the country where he lives.

Bilingualism is the result of language contact between two or more languages. Note that in this research paper, bilingualism and multilingualism are used interchangeably. In terms of the leading factors that allow for bilingualism to exist, Myers-Scotton identifies two main ones: close proximity and displacement.

For her, people in their natural settings are put in one way or another into contact with other languages. In some situations, individuals feel obliged or feel the need to learn another ethnic group's language. She then details the conditions of close proximity as follows:

- “- Living in a bilingual nation, especially as a minority group member.
- Living in border areas between ethnic groups or nations.
- Living in a multi-ethnic urban area.
- Engaging in an occupation that involves many contacts with out-group members.
- Marrying outside one's ethnic group.
- Having a parent or grandparent outside one's ethnic group.”
(Myers-Scotton, 2007, p.46)

Regarding displacement, Myers-Scotton refers to the act of moving from one country to another or “a change in psychological outlook” (2007, p.45). It may include migration, wars and colonialism, national integration, educational needs, and many other leading factors.

In Algeria, as far as individual bilingualism is concerned, it is challenging to classify the type of bilingualism that characterizes the Algerian community. This is

due to various factors that change from one person to another and affect the competences of each individual. The level of education and the place of birth and residence are, for example, important factors that determine the competence of each bilingual. It is true that the number of bilinguals is higher in urban areas than in rural ones. In addition, people who live in the northern part of the country tend to be more bilingual than those who live in the southern part. However, if the idea is to classify the majority of Algerians, it could be suggested that Algerians are late, sequential, and secondary bilinguals, as they generally learn their mother tongue at home until the age of school, where they start learning MSA and French and other languages later on. Yet, there are many individuals who learn French at the same time as AA or Berber at home and can actually be considered early, simultaneous, and primary bilinguals.

The second type of bilingualism that should be taken into account is societal bilingualism. It refers to a particular nation where two or more languages are used and where a large number of the population is fluent. Mackey (1967) identifies two types of societal bilingualism: *de jure* bilingualism and *de facto* bilingualism. On one hand, *de jure* bilingualism describes a society where two or more languages are declared politically by the constitution as official languages. They are generally used almost equally in different domains like politics, schools, administrations, media, and many others. Examples of *de jure* multilingual communities would be Morocco, which has two official languages (Arabic and Berber), and South Africa, which has eleven official languages. On the other hand, *de facto* bilingualism exposes the reality that a community shows in terms of language use. In other words, some communities may have two official languages acknowledged, and in reality, other languages are used in those same communities with no official status.

In terms of the situation in Algeria, it is regarded as a *de jure* bilingual society in which two languages are official and declared by the national constitution: MSA and Tamazight. However, in reality, Algeria is rather a *de facto* multilingual speech community. Like in Canada, for example, although it has two official languages (French and English), many others are present and used in the Canadian society. In

Algeria, French is a language that is part of the speech of a large majority of the Algerian society, in addition to some English.

2.3.2 Diglossia

Diglossia is a language contact phenomenon that was first raised by Karl Krumbacher in 1902 but was first seriously examined by William Marçais in 1930 (Paulston & Tucker, 2003, p.343). This concept did not gain ground until it was mentioned by Ferguson in 1958. The latter defined diglossia as a linguistic phenomenon representing the existence of two varieties of the same language used in a society, each having its own function. An example in Algeria is that two varieties of Arabic exist (MSA and AA) side by side, each one used for a particular reason in a particular context.

Ferguson identified some features that define the diglossic condition in a society. The first feature is the **function** that these varieties represent, one variety being the high (H) variety and the other one being the low (L) variety, and their use differs according to the context. The table that follows shows the different situations where each of the (H) and (L) varieties is more appropriate to be used according to Ferguson.

Table 2.6. Situations where the High and Low varieties are used according to Ferguson

Situations with High Variety	Situations with Low Variety
Sermon in church or in mosque	Order to worker, servant and artisan
Talk in parliament, political speech	Personal letter
Lecture in University	Conversation with family and colleague
News Broadcast	Radio drama
Editorial in newspaper	Political cartoon comment

Poem	Folk Literature
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(Source: Ferguson in Fasold (1987 with modification))

The second feature of diglossia is prestige. For Ferguson, the (H) variety, in some communities, is regarded as prestigious and superior to the (L) variety, which is less valued and respected. In these areas, people tend to have negative attitudes towards the (L) variety despite its use in their daily life interactions.

The third feature taken into consideration is the literary heritage. Generally, the (H) variety is considered as the language of literature, although there are some authors who use the (L) variety.

The next feature of diglossia is acquisition. For Ferguson, the (H) variety is the language that is formally learnt at school with rules and grammar. However, the (L) variety is naturally acquired in the natural environment and is used daily with no restrictions or rules.

The feature that comes after that is standardization. While the (H) variety is usually the written language that has formal codification with grammar rules, pronunciation guidebooks, word-signification dictionaries and so on, the (L) variety has none of that; it is oral and unguided.

Stability is another criterion of diglossia. In diglossic speech communities, both the (H) and (L) varieties are usually stable for a significant period of time in terms of their existence and use. For this reason, many language features from the (H) variety can be witnessed in the (L) variety. However, features from the (L) variety can hardly be found in the (H) variety.

Finally, Ferguson stated that there are clear differences between the (H) and the (L) varieties in terms of grammar, lexicon and phonology. Although there are some common features in (L) and (H), there are numerous changes that occur in the (L) variety as well. For example, VSO in MSA can become SVO in AA, some words in MSA have different names in AA, and the phonology in AA is distinct from that of MSA.

Ferguson's model of diglossia was later on developed by other researchers and linguists. For this reason, his own definition of this language contact phenomenon came to be known as Classical Diglossia (Sayahi, 2014, p.6). While Ferguson took into consideration languages and their different dialects and language varieties, Fishman (1967) proposed another term called Extended Diglossia that took into account other languages. According to him, diglossia is not only about a language and its dialect, but it is also about the existence of two unrelated languages in one speech community, each used for a specific function. In Algeria, for example, MSA and French are both used side by side, each in a particular context. Fishman's definition of diglossia concerns mostly bilingual or multilingual communities where one or more languages are used. However, he shared the view that sometimes, diglossia can stand without bilingualism in situations where speech communities are politically or economically united and are culturally and socially separated. These never interact and never speak the language of the others (Fishman, 1967, p.33). He also attested that, similarly, bilingualism can stand without diglossia as well. This occurs in speech communities where two different languages exist side by side but only one language is used in most domains (as cited in Sayahi, 2014, p.7). Last but not least, Fishman noted an uncommon situation where there is the presence of neither diglossia nor bilingualism, but this is proper to monolingual societies that have no contact with other communities.

2.3.3 Borrowing

All languages around the world borrow words or even phrases from other languages for different reasons. This sociolinguistic concept thus refers to the loanwords that become an integral part of the recipient language. Hornby (2008, p.69) defines borrowing as "a word, a phrase, or an idea that sb [somebody] has taken from another person's work or from another language and is used on their own". It is to borrow words from one language and integrate them into the phonetic and grammatical system of the borrowing language (Gumperz, 1982). There are two types of borrowing: cultural borrowing and core borrowing. The former refers to the adoption of words or concepts that were unfamiliar to the

recipient language or culture. Myers-Scotton (2006) said, “cultural borrowings are words that fill gaps in the recipient language’s store of words because they stand for objects or concepts new to the language’s culture” (2006, p.212). Examples of cultural borrowing in Algeria would be words like pizza, jeans and cinema, internet and television.

The latter, though, represents the integration of words that already exist in the recipient language. According to Myers-Scotton (1993a, p.5), core borrowings “are taken into the language even though the recipient language already has lexemes of its own to encode the concepts or objects.” These items come either to replace the use of the already existing items in the recipient language or to coexist with them. For Myers-Scotton (2006), there are two reasons why speakers opt for core borrowings. They either use both languages at the same rate so that some words from one language come to interfere with the other language, or the prestige and dominant culture of the source language motivate the need to borrow words from it although equivalent concepts exist in the other language. Examples of core borrowing in Algeria would be words like [kuzina] for ‘cuisine’ or ‘kitchen’ instead of using the word [matbax], [vista] for veste or ‘jacket’ instead of saying [miʃtaf]. In the process of borrowing, some words may be adapted in terms of phonology and morphology to become indistinguishable from the main structure of the receiving language (Winford, 2003, p.46). In terms of phonological adaptation, and in the Algerian context, some words undergo consonant substitution due to the absence of the equivalent consonant in AA. For example, the [p] is sometimes replaced by the [b], the [v] by the [f], as in the word portable (mobile phone) pronounced [bortabl], or the word valise (suitcase) pronounced [faliza], yet some more educated Algerians pronounce the consonants as they are due to their frequent exposure to French. Some other words undergo vowel substitution. For example, the long vowel [u:] becomes [i:], and the long /eu/ becomes [ɔ:], as in the word chou-fleur (cauliflower), which becomes [ʃiflɔ:r]. Finally, in some other words, it is sometimes a whole syllable that is omitted, such as the word légaliser (legalise), which is pronounced in AA as [galizi].

In terms of morphological adaptation, nouns in AA are inflected for gender and number. For example, the word ‘professeur’ is abbreviated into [prɔf] and [prɔfa] for masculine and feminine respectively; the word télévision becomes [tilɛfiziuna:t] in the plural form; and the word camion (truck) becomes [kouamn] in broken plural. Finally, concerning verbs in AA, they take all tenses. For instance, the present in the first person singular of the verb “se connecter” is pronounced [nkɔnikti], in the past [kɔnikti] and in the future form [ɣadı nkɔnikti]. Moreover, borrowing has always been contrasted with the concept of code-switching (CS hereafter). Although there are a number of similarities that exist between these two language-contact phenomena, the differences between them are clearly defined by many well-known linguists. While some researchers consider CS and borrowing as part of the same diachronic continuum (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Thomason, 2003), others see them as two distinct processes (Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Poplack & Dion, 2012).

2.3.4 Code-Switching

CS is a language-contact phenomenon that mostly occurs in the speech of bilingual speakers. First, to explain the meaning of this term, it is important to define the word code. Gardner-Chloros explains that “code is understood as a neutral umbrella term for languages, dialects, styles/registers, etc.” (2009, p.11). Consequently, CS refers to the use of two different codes in one conversation. Gumperz defines this term as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (1982, p.59). Myers-Scotton (1993b, p.1) agrees, saying that CS is a set of “alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation.” While some scholars consider CS as only concerning languages, others state that it concerns the shift between languages or language varieties. In this paper, code will refer to AA and French, two different languages. Code switching in Algeria, thus, is the alternation of these two codes within the same interaction.

Moreover, another controversy concerning CS is in terms of structure. Some researchers see CS as the alternation of long sentences of different languages (Auer,

1995), while others consider the only insertion of one word of a different language in a long sentence as a CS instance. After numerous studies, the second occurrence started to be referred to as code mixing (CM), and this controversy gave birth to two distinct types of CS: one being the intersentential switching and the other being the intrasentential switching (Kachru, 1983; Singh, 1985; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980). Intrasentential switching, or CM, is the switching that occurs within one sentence, and intersentential occurs between different sentences. Then there is tag switching, which refers to the insertion of a tag of one language into another language. However, many scholars still disagree with the use of the term CS, considering the word “switching” as inappropriate to the real occurrence. Researchers like Muysken (2000) or Pfaff (1979) still consider CS as intrasentential only and are rather for the use of the term CM to refer to both intrasentential CS and borrowing.

In fact, at an early stage, CS was regarded as a sign of lack of competence in both languages. Researchers in this domain assumed that each person who switches between two languages is manifesting his/her lack of knowledge in one or both languages. In this vein, CS was regarded as a language deficit and was thus not given much attention and was not seen as a language phenomenon that was worth studying and investigating (Bloomfield, 1927, p.395).

However, these assumptions were rapidly changed into more positive ones with the studies of the psycholinguist Gumperz (1976, 1982), in addition to others like Auer (1998) or Myers-Scotton (1993). These recent studies claimed that CS is not a random linguistic behaviour produced by bilinguals. It is rather triggered by a set of sociolinguistic or psychological factors and circumstances that are proper to each speaker. Psychologically speaking, Clyne in his different studies has shown that bilinguals do not switch voluntarily. For him, this is related to the different cognitive processes that occur in the mind while producing language (Clyne, 2003).

2.3.4.1 Sociolinguistic Approach to CS

In terms of CS types, Bloom and Gumperz (1972) proposed two different ones. They first said that bilinguals tend to code switch according to the situation or

the context they are in and the person they are talking to. So, one language is used in a particular situation, and the other language is used in another one. They called this type of CS “situational CS” and said it is influenced by age, gender, social status, and educational background (Eyato, 2018, p.61). Then, they claimed that bilinguals also code switch when they need to achieve a special goal in a conversation, like making emphasis on a certain sentence or word, or when they need to make a request. In this situation, the alternation is called “metaphorical CS,” which was later adapted by Gumperz (1982) and became “conversational CS.” This type of CS has also been defined as the speaker’s attempt to give “a certain socially pre-determined ‘flavor’ to their discourse” (Esdahl, 2003, p.78). Consequently, this shows that in a conversation, the main concern of the speakers is the communicative effect that their speech will have on the listener. For that, they tend to convey metaphoric cues that explain how their messages should be interpreted (Gumperz, 1982, p.61). Gumperz introduced what he called “contextualization cues,” which are “the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood, and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows” (Gumperz, 1982, p.131).

In addition, Gumperz added the concepts of “we code” and “they code” on the basis of identity. While the former refers to the code used in a familiar context, like at home or within peer groups, implying solidarity, the latter is the code used with strangers and outsiders, implying power and authority (Gumperz, 1982, p.66). He then proposed some situations where bilinguals change codes to convey meaning (Gumperz, 1982, p.144):

1. **To appeal to the literate:** When the speaker changes the code to attract the attention of the listener or the audience.
2. **To appeal to the illiterate:** When the speaker changes the code to ensure the understanding of the listener.
3. **To convey precise meaning:** When the speaker code-switches to explain his utterance more clearly.

4. **To ease communication**, i.e., utilizing the shortest and easiest route: When the speaker avoids long sentences and long explanations, and chooses to make the least effort using the shortest and easiest words to convey his message.
5. **To negotiate with greater authority**: When the speaker tries to persuade or to impose his view on the listener.
6. **To capture attention**, i.e., stylistic, emphatic, emotional: When the speaker tries to capture the attention of the audience by raising his tone and increasing his rhythm.
7. **To emphasize a point**: When the speaker repeats the same sentence in the other code in order to insist and make an emphasis on his sentence.
8. **To communicate more effectively**: When the speaker feels that one code is more effective than the other.
9. **To identify with a particular group**: When the speaker changes the code to that of the group he wants to identify with.
10. **To close the status gap**: When the speaker is a stranger to the audience and wants to speak their language.
11. **To establish goodwill and support**: When the speaker wants to show kindness and maintain affinity with the listener.

2.3.4.2 Socio-psychological Approach to CS

After receiving a number of criticisms from different scholars, Myers-Scotton (1993) proposed new concepts regarding the reasons behind CS at both the cognitive and socio-psychological levels. She introduced the “**Markedness Model**,” which demonstrates that some instances of CS are ‘**unmarked**’ while others are ‘**marked**,’ depending on the situation. The figure below represents the Markedness Model.

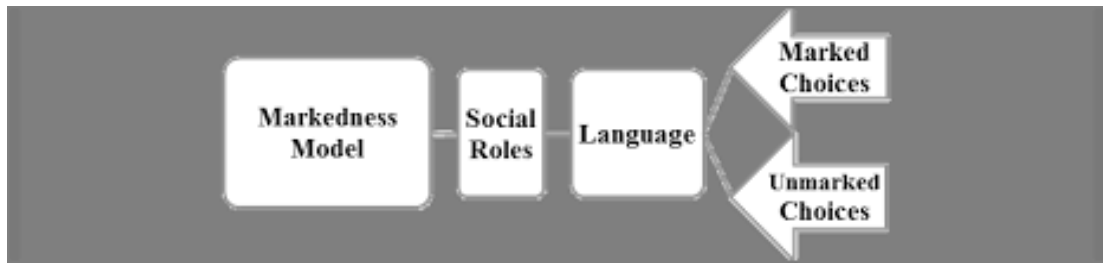


Figure 2.1. The Markedness Model (Muhammad et al, 2020, p.66)

In situations involving unmarked CS, the listener does not experience confusion when the speaker switches codes; the switch is expected and socially appropriate given the context. In contrast, marked CS is unexpected and may surprise or even confuse the listener. Myers-Scotton (1993) argued that speakers operate according to a set of social Rights and Obligations (RO) in interactions—originally studied in East Africa—which guide their code choice in each situation.

The model is based on the Negotiation Principle, which emphasizes the need to maintain effective communication while respecting the social relationship between speaker and listener. Accordingly, a speaker’s linguistic choice depends both on their personal motivations and on the negotiation of RO with the interlocutor.

Building on this, Myers-Scotton developed the model into the Rational Choice Model, which posits that a speaker’s rationality explains their CS behaviour. In other words, the decision to use one code over another is a personal, rational choice shaped by individual experience (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001, p.5).

When analysing CS in bilingual speech, it is important to distinguish marked from unmarked codes. Typically, the unmarked code is the one most frequently used within the speech community, whereas the marked code is less common. However, speakers may rationally choose to employ a marked code depending on the conversational goal or the social context (Myers-Scotton, 2002a, p.206; 2002, p.218).

2.3.4.3 Linguistic Approach to CS

Beyond sociolinguistic and socio-psychological approaches, CS has also been studied from a grammatical perspective, with several models investigating its syntactic rules and constraints.

Poplack (1980) proposed two key syntactic constraints: the Free Morpheme Constraint and the Equivalence Constraint. The Free Morpheme Constraint states that code switching is not random. Specifically, Poplack notes: “A code switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme” (Poplack, 1980, p.585). Examples from the Algerian contexts would be:

1. /enmarkew/ les absents /ljòm/ (we register the absences today)
2. /en utilizeh/ (I use it)

The second syntactic constraint proposed by Poplack is the Equivalence Constraint. This constraint states that code switching is allowed only when the grammars of both languages are respected. In other words, switching occurs at points where the surface structures of both languages align, without violating syntactic rules. For examples, in the Algerian context one may say:

1. Je suis sure que /kan jelʃab el/ ballon /ki ʃajtɔlah/ (I am sure he was playing football when they called him).

For example, in a bilingual sentence combining DA and French, the syntactic structures of both languages may be respected because French follows an SVO order, while DA allows both SVO and VSO. However, violations can occur. For example:

/frɔbts waħad la limonade karitsa fi bel abas/

Consider the following example: the adjective *karita* comes after the noun *la limonade*, whereas in French, the adjective typically precedes the noun. This shows that, despite bilinguals' general control over their code choice, interference from one language to another can still occur.

Poplack (1987) further distinguished between smooth and flagged CS. Smooth CS is “effortless and fluent” (Beaman & William, 2010) and does not involve inserting material from one language into the sentence of another (Poplack, 1993, p.282). Flagged CS, in contrast, is noticeable and often marked by repetitions or hesitations (Beaman & William, 2010).

Another constraint aimed at establishing universal syntactic rules for CS is the Functional Head Constraint (Belazi et al., 1994). This constraint states that a functional head—such as inflections, quantifiers, negations, determiners, and complementizers—cannot be switched with its complement unless the switch is grammatically compatible. As Belazi et al. explain: “The language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head” (Belazi et al., 1994, p.228).

Examples from the Algerian context can be found:

/hɔwa ma jconeseʃ/ (he doesn't know)

Pronoun. Negative form Verb Negative.form.

In this situation, the switch cannot occur because the negative form follows the AA grammatical rules and not the French that should rather be applied with the French verb (Connaitre). The sentence should have been as follows: ‘Hɔwa ma jaʃrefʃ’, or ‘hɔwa il ne connait pas’.

The Functional Head Constraint also applies to demonstratives and definite determiners when they co-occur. For example, in the Algerian context, *ce bæbɔ:r* illustrates this principle instead of *ce bateau* (this boat). At the plural level, many adapted French words in Algerian Arabic follow AA plural morphology rather than French plural forms. For example, *[tɔmatɪʃæt]* (from *tomate*) uses the AA plural bound morpheme *[-æ:t]* instead of the French *[-s]*. This rule is specific to French words that are phonologically, morphologically, and/or syntactically adapted into Algerian Arabic.. Other examples of French adapted words in their AA plural forms are found in the table below:

Table 2.7. Plural Form of French Adapted Words in AA (Benguedda, 2016, p.47)

French word	Transcription	Plural in fem. {-æt _s }	English gloss
Stylo	stilo	stilojæt _s	Pen
Bracelet	brasle	braslijæt _s	Bracelet
Loto	loto	lotojæt _s /lwata	Car
Manteau	māto	mātojæt _s	Coat
Tabouret	taboure	tabourijæt _s	Stool
Villa	vila	vilæt _s	Villa
Tableau	tablo	tablojæt _s	Board
Machine	maʃin	mæʃinæt _s	Machine
Pièce	pjæs	pjæsæt _s	Part (Engine)
Rideau	rido	ridojæt _s	Curtain
Calendrier	kalēdrije	kalēdrijæt _s	calendar
Tapis	tapi	tapijæt _s	Carpet
Marteau	marto	martojæt _s	Hammer

All the examples discussed above involve French words that have been adapted phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically to fit into the Arabic grammar system. In Algerian Arabic, these adapted words consistently take the bound morpheme [-æ:t] to indicate plural forms.

The final model discussed in this research is the Matrix Language (ML) Model, developed by Myers-Scotton, which provides a framework for understanding grammatical constraints in intrasentential code switching. According to this model, in an intrasentential CS, there is an unbalanced relationship between the two languages employed. The dominant language, which is most present in the utterance and contributes most of the morphemes and words, is called the Matrix Language (ML). The other language, contributing fewer elements, is referred to as the Embedded Language (EL).

Myers-Scotton further distinguishes two types of intrasentential CS based on the speaker's proficiency. When the speaker is proficient enough to produce a

complete utterance with sufficient grammatical structure in the ML, the CS is termed classical CS. In contrast, if the speaker is less proficient in the ML, the utterance is split between the structures of the ML and EL, producing what is called composite CS (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000, p.2).

The Matrix Language can be identified based on two principles: the Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle. In a mixed utterance, the ML provides the word order as well as the grammatical frame for the sentence. In the context of Algerian speech, Algerian Arabic (AA) functions as the Matrix Language. Therefore, in sentences containing both AA and French, AA determines the word order and grammatical structure, while French elements are embedded within this framework. The following example illustrates these two principles:

/Nroħ n-install-i/ les mise a jours /ntaʕ/ L'application /hadik/
pronoun verb pronoun verb les mises a jours de l'application cette.
(I will go to update that application)

In the following example, the word order is determined by Algerian Arabic (AA), as seen in the sentence where the AA demonstrative pronoun “*Hadik*” follows the French noun “*l'application*”. In French, the demonstrative pronoun normally precedes the noun. This illustrates that AA functions as the Matrix Language, providing the overall grammatical frame of the sentence. Furthermore, AA supplies most system morphemes in this utterance, including the verb inflections for the French verb stem “*installer*”, the definite article of the French noun “*mise à jour*”, and the demonstrative pronoun for the French noun phrase “*l'application*”.

The Blocking Hypothesis (Mugo & Ongo'nda, 2017, p.62) states that in a sentence composed of both Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL) elements, a blocking filter prevents any EL morpheme that is not congruent with the ML from being inserted. EL elements can only appear if they align with the

grammatical system of the ML. Complementing this, the Embedded Language Islands Hypothesis posits that if an EL element appears where it is not permitted, it is followed by other EL elements to form an embedded language island. These islands are composed of EL morphemes but still operate under the syntactic constraints of the ML. An example from Algerian speech illustrates this theory:

/Rani nexdem/ l'exercice.

This sentence could have been produced as “/rani nexdem/ le /tamri:n/”, but according to the embedded language islands hypothesis, the AA word /tamri:n/ cannot follow the French article *le*, maintaining congruence with the ML grammar.

It is important to note that Algerian Arabic itself is a mixed code, containing elements from both Arabic and French. This makes it challenging to distinguish the ML from the EL in some code-switching instances. Nevertheless, the Matrix Language Model provides a systematic framework for identifying which language dominates in a bilingual utterance and which acts as the embedded language. Applying this model, along with the other CS theories discussed above, will be instrumental in analyzing the code-switching patterns of the informants in this research.

2.3.4.4 AA/ French Code-Switching Linguistic Constraints

The switching between AA and French is not allowed in specific structural situations by the following linguistic constraints proposed by Bouamrane (2013):

1/ Switches to Arabic after French conditional conjunction are not allowed:

Je viens manger si /ntija etijbi/. (I will come to eat if it's you who cooks).

We rather say: je viens manger si c'est toi qui cuisines, or ‘/nzi nakul yil ijla tijbi ntija/’ or ‘/nzi nakul/ si c'est toi qui cuisines’.

2/ The relative pronoun must be in the same language as the rest of its clause:

Je n'ai pas besoin des gens qui /ma jebɣiwniʃ/. (I don't need people that don't love me).

We rather say : Je n'ai pas besoin des gens qui ne m'aiment pas / je n'ai pas besoin des gens /eli ma jebɣiwniʃ/, /ma nesħaqʃ enas eli ma jebɣiwniʃ/.

3/ Switches from Arabic wh-word to French are impossible if the word is followed by a verb,

/ʃkɔn/ a pris mes stylos ? (Who took my pens ?)

We rather say : /ʃkɔn rʃed/ mes stylos or Qui a pris mes stylos.

4/ Switches from a French wh-word to Arabic are impossible:

Qui /rʃed/ mes stylos ? ---- OÙ /raħna rajħin/ ? (Who took my pens ---- Where are we going?)

We rather say : /ʃkɔn rʃed/ mes stylos ? or Qui a pris mes stylos. ?----- OÙ vas-t-on ? or /win raħna rajħin/ ?.

5/ Switches between French clitic pronouns subject (je, tu, il, etc.) and Arabic verbs are impossible:

Je /ntijeb/. (I am cooking).

We say : Je cuisine ou /Rani ntijeb/

Il /lʃab/ (He played)

We say: Il a joué/ /howa lʃab/

6/ Switches between Arabic disjunctive pronouns (ana (I), nta (you), etc.) and French verbs are impossible:

/Hija/ venue. (She came)

We say: /Hija jat/ or Elle est venue.

/Ana/ lu/ (I have read).

We say: J'ai lu or /Ana 9rit/

7/ Switches between a French pronoun and an Arabic verb are impossible:

Moi /ktebt/ (I wrote)

We say: /Ana ktebt/ or j'ai écrit.

Lui /ʃreb/ (He drank)

We say: /huwa ʃreb/ or il a bu

8/ Switches between Arabic auxiliaries and French main verbs are impossible:

/Rani bayi/ dormir (I want to sleep)

We say: /Rani bayi nergud or Je veux dormir.

/Rak yadi/ mourir (you are going to die)

We say : /Rak yadi tmot/ or Tu vas mourir

9/ Switches between French auxiliaries and Arabic verbs are impossible:

Je veux /nergud/

We say : Je veux dormir or rani bayi nergud

Tu vas /tmout/

We say: Tu vas mourir/ Rak yadi tmot.

10/ Switches from prepositions in French to a noun phrase in Arabic are impossible:

Je vais m'inscrire dans /madrassa qorʔanija/ (I am going to subscribe in a quoranic school)

We say: Je vais m'inscrire dans une école coranique or je vais m'inscrire f

/madrassa qorʔanija /

11/ Switches from French determiners to Arabic nouns are impossible:

Un /ktab/ (a book)

We say: Un livre or /ktab/

Des /fmaʃ/ (candles)

We say: Des bougies or /fmaʃ/.

12/ Switches between verbs and object pronouns are impossible:

Je respecte /hija/ (I respect her)

We say: Je la respecte or /nqaderha/

Les /neʃri/ (I buy them)

We say: /neʃrihum or Je les achète

13/ Switches from Arabic noun phrases to French verb phrases are impossible:

/Had lxadma/ demande beaucoup d'efforts (This job requires lots of efforts.)

We say : /Had lxadma demandi/ beaucoup d'efforts or Ce travail demande
beaucoup d'efforts

/Edar hadija/ ne coute pas aussi cher. (This house is not that expensive).

We say : Cette maison ne coute pas aussi cher or /Edar hadija ma test9amch ɣalja/,
or /Edar hadija/ elle ne coute pas aussi cher.

These linguistic constraints demonstrate that code-switching is not random; rather, it follows specific rules that are consistently observed by Algerian bilinguals. In AA–French code-switching, the verb systems of both languages are never violated, even though such switching occurs frequently. Furthermore, these constraints show that the linguistic systems of Arabic and French are each fully preserved, with a clear distinction maintained between the grammatical constructions of AA and French.

2.3.4.5. Leading Factors to Code-Switching

Beyond the numerous theoretical models of code-switching, it is essential to examine the factors that prompt bilinguals to switch from one language to another. These factors can be social, linguistic, or psychological. Grosjean (1982) argued that bilinguals often code-switch when they lack vocabulary in the language they

initially use. Similarly, Spolsky (1998, p.49) noted that code-switching may occur in contexts where speakers acquire professional or technical vocabulary in one language without equivalents in the other. Religious terminology is another common trigger (e.g., *Imam, Allah, bismillah*). CS can also simplify communication: speakers may feel more comfortable expressing certain words or concepts in one language rather than another (Holmes, 2000).

Crystal (1987) proposed six sociolinguistic functions of metaphorical code-switching, including quoting, addressing a specific addressee, marking interjections, reiteration, message enhancement, and indicating personal involvement versus objectivity. Beyond this, bilinguals may code-switch to convey humor, affection, attitudes, approval, or disapproval, or to express varying degrees of formality and informality. Al-Khatib (2003) suggested that CS may indicate prestige, power, or social status, while Myers-Scotton (1998, p.19) argued that code choice can be strategic, aiming to maximize rewards from an interaction.

Bullock and Toribio (2009) categorized CS triggers into three types: independent factors of the speakers and conversational context, speaker-specific factors such as attitudes and perceptions, and conversation-specific factors. Attitudes toward CS significantly shape its use; some view it positively as a tool to express meaning and achieve communication goals, whereas others perceive it as a sign of linguistic deficiency (Coulmas, 2005, p.109).

Code-switching is also closely tied to identity. Gumperz (1982, p.39) argued that language differences primarily mark social identity and reflect established norms, while Gardner-Chloros (2009, p.5) emphasized that speakers choose codes to express group identity. Myers-Scotton (1988) similarly noted that code choice reflects identity selection. CS can therefore signify group solidarity and membership, with Fishman (1965) highlighting the significant influence of group affiliation on language choice.

2.3.5. Linguistic Hybridization

Linguistic hybridization is a natural phenomenon in multilingual societies, manifesting as the mixture of features from multiple languages within a single interaction. While some view this negatively, seeing it as deviant from official language norms, it is a widespread and pragmatic linguistic practice.

As previously noted, intersentential switching involves using different language codes across sentences in a conversation, whereas intrasentential switching or code-mixing occurs within a single sentence, incorporating morphemes, words, phrases, or other grammatical units from multiple languages (Gumperz, 1977; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008; Hill & Hill, 1980). Some scholars treat code-switching and code-mixing as distinct phenomena, while others regard them as manifestations of a broader, pragmatically unified practice—termed linguistic hybridization (Urciuoli, 1985; Gutierrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999). Related terms include code-crossing (Rampton, 1995) and polylinguaging (Jorgensen et al., 1999).

Several factors motivate linguistic hybridization. Takashi (1990) identified five drivers: filling lexical gaps, using technical terms from another language, avoiding embarrassing native words, signaling modernity or sophistication, and adopting accepted trade names. Li (1997) added economy—preferring shorter foreign words—and specificity, where one language provides a more precise or understandable term.

In immigration contexts, linguistic hybridization can express solidarity or distance among speech communities (Holmes, 2001, p.36), or reflect identity negotiation. Speakers may switch to their native language to assert cultural identity or to the host language to signal integration. Additionally, hybridization facilitates accommodation in the host society, promoting politeness and avoiding pragmatic misunderstandings (Yoon, 1966).

2.4. Language Choice

Language choice is a linguistic behavior studied across multiple fields, particularly in sociolinguistics. It refers to the decision that bilingual or multilingual individuals—or entire communities—make regarding which language to use in a given context. Fishman (1965) emphasized that understanding language choice requires considering who speaks a particular language, to whom, and in what context. He argued that language choice depends largely on social domains such as family, friends, religion, education, and government. Similarly, Spolsky (2009) suggested that individuals decide which language to speak based on personal judgment of what is most appropriate for a particular domain, interlocutor, or situation.

In the context of immigration, the family plays a pivotal role in both language maintenance and language shift. Families often influence the language choices of multiple generations, as the preceding generation typically determines the language used at home and sets an example for respecting the host or second language (Sabatier & Berry, 2008; Tokuhama-Espinosa, 2001 in Garcia, 2005). These parental decisions can significantly affect children's future social integration in the host society (Barkhuizen, 2006). While some parents are well-informed about the sociolinguistic implications of language choice, most rely on intuition or the experiences of other immigrants (Kasatkina, 2010).

Motivation is another key factor influencing language choice. Immigrants must be motivated to learn and use a language in specific domains. Gardner (2006) highlighted motivation as central to his socio-educational model, which analyses the psychological aspects of language choice. Other important factors include exposure to the host language, the immigrant's age at arrival (Chiswick et al., 2005), the length of residence, and the residential environment (Mesch, 2003). The younger the immigrant at the time of arrival, the easier it is to acquire the host language, whereas prolonged exposure increases familiarity with the host language while continued contact with the language of origin encourages its use.

Language choice can also be political. Host country policies can influence which languages are prioritized in education and employment (Kasatkina, 2010, p.56). For instance, Algerian immigrants in France receive education exclusively in French. To maintain Arabic, minority groups have established Islamic schools and continue using Arabic in community contexts. However, political measures protecting heritage languages remain limited, making preservation challenging.

The multi-agents' model offers a framework for understanding language choice across three levels: policy-makers, educators, and language users. Policy-makers decide which language to promote in government, education, and public media. Educators choose the language of instruction and interaction with students. Learners, including parents and children, decide which languages are worth learning and using. Competent language users ultimately select which language to use in everyday interactions, workplace communication, and written expression, often employing strategies such as code-switching, code-mixing, and intercultural identity negotiation.

2.5. Language Maintenance and Shift

The dynamic nature of human language leads to the continuous creation of new varieties. Across generations, lexical items, sentence structures, and semantic features undergo changes that reflect social and cultural evolution. Younger generations often adopt these changes as expressions of their own identity.

Language maintenance refers to the effective transmission of a language across generations. This requires consistent exposure to the language in various domains and a conscious choice to use it. Conversely, language shift occurs when these conditions are not met, resulting in a gradual replacement of one language by another.

Interest in language maintenance and shift has increased in recent centuries, particularly in the context of immigration. Early research in Germany on "Sprachinseln" (language islands) focused on small linguistic communities that

resisted language shift for several generations despite being surrounded by a different language (Wiesinger, 1983, p.901; Pauwels, 2016).

Studies on language maintenance and shift consider multiple parameters, including linguistic structures, discourse, interaction, language ideologies, sociological factors at micro and macro levels, and the relationship between individual identity and society (Tsitsipis, 1998). Indicators of language shift include the replacement of basic words, structural changes at lexical and syntactic levels, and sociocultural transformations. Efforts to recover lost words and structures, and to actively maintain the language across domains, are considered language maintenance.

Given the dynamic nature of language, language maintenance and shift are complex phenomena, challenging to define, identify, and explain comprehensively. They reflect the ongoing interaction between social context, individual choice, and linguistic evolution in multilingual communities.

2.5.1. Definition of Language Shift and Maintenance

Language shift primarily concerns minority languages that coexist with a more dominant language in a wider society. Holmes (1992, p.56) defined it as the replacement of a minority language by the language of the larger, more powerful society. He further emphasized that while minority groups may benefit from adopting the dominant language, the wider society generally has no incentive to adopt the minority language (Holmes, 2008, p.57). Similarly, Coulmas (2005, p.168) described language shift as a conscious and deliberate process, where individuals make personal decisions to adopt another language for reasons that may or may not be shared by their social group.

Gal (1979, p.1) defined language shift as a process in which “the habitual use of one language is being replaced by the habitual use of another” within bilingual towns, villages, or neighbourhoods. Over time, individuals or entire communities gradually abandon their language of origin in favour of a more dominant language, often resulting in the loss of the original language variety (Trudgill, 2002, p.138).

Scholars differ on the pace and extent of language shift. Some view it as a gradual change in language patterns, while others consider it a complete replacement of one language by another. Jendra (2010, p.140) argued that language shift can involve a full-scale language change, where a person deliberately adopts another language instead of their native one. Thomason (1988, p.100) suggested that shift is gradual and may unfold over several generations. Moreover, language shift can be partial or domain-specific, affecting certain areas of life while leaving others untouched (De Vries, 1992; Stoessel, 2002).

During language shift, individuals often pass through several stages of bilingualism without necessarily losing their mother tongue entirely. Initially, contact between languages may establish a stable bilingualism that persists across generations. As shift progresses, proficiency in the mother tongue may decline, leading to an intermediate stage of bilingualism where differences in native language skills become apparent within the same minority group (Trudgill, 2002, p.138; Fishman, 1985 in Stoessel, 2002, p.94).

Clyne (2003, p.20) suggested that any change in language use, whether at the individual or community level, indicates language shift. Changes in language choice, dominance, use in specific domains, or proficiency in the mother tongue all fall within the scope of this process. Among immigrant communities, language shift is often observed from the second or third generation, with younger members being more likely to adopt the majority language. Researchers sometimes refer to this phenomenon as “young people’s language” (Shmidt, 1985).

In contrast, language maintenance refers to the voluntary and conscious transmission of a language across generations, despite constant contact with a dominant language. Benrabah (2004, p.59) described it as the continuous use of the mother tongue regardless of social or cultural pressures. Hornberger (2012) emphasized that preserving a minority language requires its sustained use, even in competition with a socially or politically dominant language. Baker (2011, p.72) further defined language maintenance as “relative language stability in the number

and distribution of its speakers, its proficient usage by children and adults, and its retention in specific domains (e.g., home, school, religion).”

To prevent language shift, minority communities must actively maintain their language through consistent usage (Fishman, 1966, p.426; Fasold, 1984, p.213; Holmes, 2002, p.86). Ferguson (1981, p.530) defined language maintenance as “the preservation of the use of a language by a speech community under conditions where there is a possibility of shift to another language.” Fishman (1991) highlighted the crucial role of intergenerational transmission, noting that the survival of a minority language depends on its continuous and effective transmission to younger generations. If this process is interrupted or weakened, language shift becomes inevitable.

2.5.2. Factors Leading to Language Shift and Maintenance

Understanding language shift and maintenance requires examining the factors that influence these processes. Some communities transmit their language of origin more effectively than others, while some shift more readily. Numerous factors contribute to whether a minority language is maintained or gradually replaced.

Family is widely regarded as the most influential factor. Pauwels (2008) emphasized that the quality of intergenerational transmission forms the foundation for a language’s preservation. Clyne and Kipp (1999) argued that without consistent use at home, a language cannot survive in other domains. Parents and grandparents are therefore critical in using the mother tongue at home and, for educated families, in reading to children in that language (Fillmore, 2000; Clyne, 1982). Family size also matters: larger families tend to maintain the language more effectively, whereas smaller families have a higher likelihood of language shift (Pauwels, 2005). Furthermore, attitudes of the dominant group toward minority languages can significantly impact language survival. Favourable attitudes increase the chances of preservation (Pauwels, 2016).

Age and length of residence are also crucial. Teenagers are generally more prone to language shift than adult immigrants. A longitudinal study by Wass (as cited in Guardado, 2012) found that German teenagers living in Australia lost some proficiency in German over two decades. Language shift occurs gradually over extended periods, and according to Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis, and Finnis (2005), individuals typically pass through stages: stable bilingualism, evident signs of language shift, and eventual loss of the mother tongue. While individual experiences vary, complete shift often spans three generations.

Social media and community networks can either support or hinder language maintenance. Stoessel (2002) argued that minority language speakers who interact regularly with community members online or offline are more likely to preserve their language.

Identity plays a key role. Ryan (1979) suggested that a sense of belonging and loyalty to one's community, coupled with a strong emotional attachment to the language and culture, promotes maintenance. However, Fishman (1971) argued that language maintenance does not necessarily rely on group identity alone.

Holmes (2001, p.58-62) proposed five additional factors influencing language shift:

1. **Social factors** – Pressure from the majority group encourages adoption of the dominant language.
2. **Economic factors** – Minority language speakers may shift to access better employment and higher social status.
3. **Political factors** – Policies or societal norms can favor the dominant language, reducing minority language use.
4. **Demographic factors** – Minority populations within larger communities may be more susceptible to shift.
5. **Attitudes and values** – Positive attitudes toward the mother tongue increase efforts for its preservation.

It is important to note that these factors operate at both individual and community levels and are often interrelated. A single factor rarely explains language shift or maintenance; rather, multiple factors interact in complex ways (Mesthrie et al., 2009).

2.5.3. Features of Communities Undergoing Language Maintenance or Shift

Communities that successfully maintain their language tend to be well-defined and stable. They can be monolingual or multilingual, with consistent language practices in certain domains (Matthews, 1983, p.2). For example, immigrants may use the host country's language at work but preserve their mother tongue at home.

In contrast, communities experiencing language shift often exhibit unstable linguistic situations, especially when two languages are used in overlapping domains (Matthews, 1983, p.3). Individuals who acquire both oral and written forms of their mother tongue are more likely to maintain it abroad, while those with only oral knowledge tend to shift more easily. Fishman (1971) noted that the oral form is typically the last component of a language to undergo shift.

A well-known model describing intergenerational language shift is the three-generation model of linguistic assimilation, also called the Anglicization model. Introduced by Fishman (1972, 1980), Veltman (1983, 1990), and Stevens (1985, 1992) in studies of U.S. immigrants, the model follows this trajectory:

1. First generation – Immigrants maintain their mother tongue at home while learning the dominant language for social integration.
2. Second generation – Raised bilingual, they increasingly prefer the majority language even in family contexts.
3. Third generation – Typically monolingual in the majority language, with limited knowledge of the ancestral language.

This model suggests that the third generation is most likely to experience complete language shift, while the first and second generations maintain varying levels of the mother tongue.

One of the objectives of the present research is to examine whether the Anglicization model applies to Algerian immigrants in France, and to what extent language maintenance persists across generations.

2.5.4. Empirical Studies Related to Language Maintenance and Shift

Language maintenance and language shift have been studied from different perspectives and for different objectives. Fishman (1964), for example, analyzed these two language phenomena when dealing with the consequences of language contact and multilingualism. He explained in one of his studies that when two communities that speak different languages come into contact, the consequence will manifest in language use (1964, p.33). He then asserted that this change, which occurs at both the linguistic and cultural level, is “inevitable” and natural (1989, p.67).

Dweik (1988) conducted research on immigrants from Yemen in Lackawanna, New York, aiming to test their loyalty towards their language of origin. The 50 respondents who answered the questionnaire showed that efforts were made to maintain their language, mainly thanks to their Islamic religion. In 2000, he repeated the same study on the Chechens of Jordan. This time, 100 respondents answered both a questionnaire and interviews. The researcher concluded that these minority groups were loyal to their ethnic language even after 100 years of residing outside their country of origin.

Roberts (1999) explored the processes of language maintenance and shift in three immigrant communities in New Zealand: the Gujarati, Dutch, and Samoan communities. After the administration of a questionnaire and interviews, it was discovered that although some members of those communities made efforts to maintain their ethnic languages, all three minority groups were indeed shifting to the language of the majority group at completely different degrees. The research

ended with recommendations to the government to support the heritage language maintenance (HLM) of the different minority groups in the country.

Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) investigated language maintenance among second-generation Chinese immigrants in Australia, testing the reliability of the family factor. The sample included 40 members of the community aged between 9 and 12 who answered a questionnaire. The results confirmed the hypothesis that the closer the children are to their family members, the easier it is to maintain the ethnic language. The researchers added that family closeness can act as support for children to learn a second language without losing their mother tongue.

Another significant study was conducted by Nofal (2011) among Indians in Yemen. A questionnaire was proposed to 100 respondents, but only 86 completed it. The results revealed that the ethnic language was slightly maintained, as most of the sample remained proficient in both listening and speaking, thanks to the continuous use of the language at home with family members.

Jagodic (2011) examined the preservation of the Slovenian language in Italy. Using several interviews with two groups of immigrants—one belonging to the first generation aged between 35 and 36 years, and the other to the second generation aged 16 to 20 years—it was revealed that the Slovenian language was still strongly maintained by the Slovenian minority, especially in social domains.

Al-Obaidi (2013) explored the sociolinguistic behaviour of Chaldo-Assyrians in Baghdad. The study included 135 participants who answered interviews and a questionnaire and participated in a community profile. It was discovered that this minority group used both their ethnic language, Neo-Aramaic, and Arabic in different domains. Factors that contributed to language preservation included home use, religion, and positive attitudes towards their heritage language.

Khadidja (2013) conducted research in Algeria on the Kabyle minority group of Oran. She discovered that these individuals maintained loyalty to both their language and culture despite the influence of the majority group speaking Algerian Arabic.

Regarding language shift, Dweik (1992) conducted research in Buffalo, New York, testing the maintenance or shift of Arabic in Lebanese minority groups. Using a questionnaire with 53 participants, along with interviews, observations, and a community profile, it was revealed that Lebanese people in Buffalo had completely shifted to English and that Arabic “seemed to have died in their homes and communities” (p.177).

Al-Khatib (2001) investigated language shift among Armenians in Jordan. The results showed that the use of Armenian, their language of origin, began to be replaced by Arabic in many social domains. Although complete language shift had not yet occurred, the process was clearly engaged. In 2010, he and Al-Ali repeated similar research on the Kurds of Jordan. The sample included 100 participants who had immigrated between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Data from questionnaires, interviews, and observations revealed a progressive loss of their ethnic language as Arabic increasingly replaced it.

Dashti (2004) explored the use of Farsi among Kuwaiti Ajams. Through observation, ethnographic recordings, and analysis of social networks, it was found that Farsi was almost non-existent in the speech of the community. Most participants had shifted to Arabic due to factors such as migration, religion, and intermarriage. Dashti concluded that it would likely take only one or two more generations for Farsi to be completely lost in Kuwait.

Potowski (2004) investigated Spanish in Chicago among Latino Americans. The sample included 800 respondents from colleges and high schools who answered a questionnaire. The results showed that students frequently used Spanish with their parents or other adult family members but preferred English with peers of the same age or younger. This indicates that a language shift process had begun but remained limited, aided by positive attitudes toward the heritage language and continued contact within the community.

Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) conducted research on two generations of 18 Chinese immigrant families in Philadelphia, examining attitudes toward their

mother tongue. The investigation reported that the first generation valued heritage language maintenance and its transmission to their children, whereas the second generation preferred shifting to English.

Habtoor (2012) studied the use of Tigrinya among Eritrean teenage immigrants in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. With the participation of 64 respondents completing a questionnaire, the results revealed two indicators of language shift: reduced proficiency in Tigrinya across all four skills and a significant replacement of Tigrinya by Arabic in daily use.

Finally, Michel, Titzmann, and Silbereisen (2012) conducted longitudinal research on adolescent first-generation Russian immigrants in Germany. The study aimed to examine the effects of contact with the German population, motivation to speak German, and linguistic adaptation on language use. The results indicated that these adolescents used German more frequently than expected, largely because they identified strongly with German society.

Collectively, these studies illustrate that language maintenance and shift are influenced by complex factors, including family, social networks, community cohesion, motivation, and attitudes toward the heritage language. They also highlight the critical role of intergenerational transmission in determining whether a minority language survives or gradually shifts toward the dominant language.

2.5.5. Intergenerational Heritage Language Transmission

As mentioned earlier, one of the most important factors that help in heritage language (HL) transmission is the use of this language at home between family members. However, research in the immigration context has shown that this factor alone is not sufficient to maintain the use of the HL among younger generations (Fishman, 1965; Pauwels, 2005; Soehl, 2016). This is because children and adolescents are constantly exposed to the second language (L2), especially in the educational sector. Parents begin engaging in HL transmission from the earliest years of a child's life, so by preschool age, the child may already have acquired sufficient knowledge of the language. Nevertheless, while the use of the first

language (L1) may be consistent at home, parents are often the only source of L1 input (Heller, 1994).

Consequently, over the years, maintaining the use of the HL may become more challenging as it becomes a minority language for the second-generation immigrant. Children may find it more appealing or easier to use L2, or they may feel the need to identify with the wider society through the use of the dominant language. Additionally, the first-born child can introduce L2 from school and peers into the home environment, and subsequent siblings may be exposed to this language at an earlier age, which can accelerate language shift even before formal schooling begins (Shin, 2002).

To facilitate HL maintenance and make intergenerational transmission more effective, researchers have proposed the implementation of a family language policy, which consists of planned and consistent language use within bilingual or multilingual households. Studies have shown that for bilingual or multilingual parents, it is difficult to retain the use of the language of origin inside the family unless a language policy is applied. With such a policy, the shift to L2 can be prevented, delayed, or limited to a certain degree. Various strategies may be employed by parents to maintain HL use, but two have been found to be particularly effective and have received considerable attention from researchers.

The first strategy is the One Parent One Language (OPOL) approach, where each parent uses only one language in interaction with the child. However, according to King et al. (2008) and Guardado (2016), a limitation of this approach is that the child may interact more frequently with one parent than the other, which can hinder learning and maintaining the language assigned to the less-interacted parent. The second strategy consists of using solely the language of origin at home. This approach, while promising in theory, also has limitations in practice.

In reality, the application of family language policy models often faces challenges in vivid contexts. Parents and grandparents may attempt to preserve the HL using different means and strategies, yet the policies are frequently negotiated

and not consistently applied. These limitations have led researchers to question the effectiveness of family language policies in minority communities for HL transmission. Nevertheless, the role of HL maintenance has been shown to be important for building strong parent-child relationships (Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). Furthermore, parents and children who are fluent in different languages may experience altered family cohesion and attachment (Cho & Krashen, 1998; Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Consequently, supporting the transmission of heritage languages within minority families remains critical.

Fishman (1991) developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) to emphasize the importance of intergenerational transmission for HL maintenance. He argued that such transmission depends on parental decisions regarding their linguistic behaviour and the institutions they engage with during the process. The contexts in which parents choose to use the language of origin create social norms for their children, as children associate the language with specific domains, interlocutors, and locations. If these norms are not established, there is a high likelihood of language shift. The fewer the contexts in which the language of origin is used, the fewer its speakers will be. Fishman provided a taxonomy that explains the different stages through which a minority language can progress, from being fully used by the entire community to being abandoned entirely (Fishman, 1991, p.87–111).

Table 2.8. The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (adapted from Fishman 1991)

Stage 8	Minority language is used by isolated speakers
Stage 7	Minority language is used by socially integrated speakers beyond child-bearing age
Stage 6	Intergenerational language transmission of the minority language assisted by institutional support

Stage 5	Minority language literacy efforts in the community
Stage 4	Minority language is used in lower education
Stage 3	Minority language is used in lower work sphere
Stage 2	Minority language is used in lower government services and mass media
Stage 1	Minority language is used on higher level of government and media

The model is focused more on the stages of the disruption of the heritage language (HL). Fishman (1991) explains that stage 1 represents a language that is used in multiple important domains such as education, work, mass media, and government at a nationwide level. In stage 2, its use becomes limited to local and regional mass media and lower government services. Stage 3 reduces the language use to local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders. In stage 4, literacy in the language is transmitted through education, while in stage 5, the language is used orally by different generations and is effectively used in written form within the community. Stage 6 represents the HL being transmitted orally to all generations and being learned as children's first language. Stage 7 shows the language being used effectively by the child-bearing generation but with its transmission to the next generation stopped. Finally, stage 8 represents the language being used only by the grandparent generation before its complete loss. However, the scale can also be read from bottom to top to illustrate how a shifting HL can be maintained or revived from stage 8 to stage 1.

According to Fishman, a significant number of minority languages attempt to survive at stage 6 of the scale (1991, p.92). Speakers often find it challenging to elevate the language's status to higher stages or even to stage 4, which represents a major step in HL maintenance. Establishing formal education in minority languages is extremely complex, but in many countries, volunteers in some institutions offer courses in heritage languages for children after school hours. Despite challenges such as teaching quality, teachers, and materials, these courses provide children from immigrant families with a shared context where the HL is used and learned,

and where the heritage culture is collectively experienced (García, Zakharia & Otcu, 2012; Lytra & Martin, 2010; Bryant & Mascitelli, 2016). The aim is to increase interest in heritage language learning among teenagers and adult immigrants, as these groups often show less engagement with maintaining or learning the HL due to other parallel commitments (Willoughby, 2016b).

2.6. Language Attrition

Language attrition, before gaining attention in linguistics, was primarily regarded as a consequence of pathological disorders such as aphasia or language disorders caused by tumours, strokes, or head trauma (Yagmur, 2004; cited in Jamshidiha & Marefat, 2006, p.17). Later, language attrition as a linguistic phenomenon began to be discussed by scholars like Haugen (1938) and Weinreich (1953). It was not until the “Loss of Language Skills” conference held at the University of Pennsylvania in 1980 that language attrition became recognized as a separate field of study. While the conference focused on L2 attrition, it also highlighted that attrition is broader, can occur at different levels, and can have multiple causes. Consequently, language attrition began to be viewed from a non-pathological perspective, as a linguistic behaviour of some bilinguals involving loss of proficiency due to non-use or lack of contact with a language (Anderson, 1999; Kaufman & Aronoff, 1991; Turian & Altenberg, 1991; cited in Jamshidiha & Marefat, 2006).

Early contributions to the field were mostly theoretical and methodological, discussing how language loss should be approached (Andersen, 1982; Clark, 1982). More recent studies, however, have provided insights into the origins, reasons, contexts, and factors affecting language attrition. Van Els (1986) identified four situations in which language loss is manifested, a framework still considered valid (Schmid, 2004). The first context is the loss of L1 in an L1 environment, which may occur naturally with aging or due to pathology. The second context involves L1 loss in an L2 environment, such as among immigrants losing their mother tongue due to

continuous contact with the host language. The third context addresses L2 loss in an L1 environment, referring to foreign languages lost after learning another language. The fourth context concerns L2 loss in an L2 environment, mainly among aging individuals losing proficiency naturally. The second context, concerning L1 loss in an L2 environment, is the focus of the present research, examining the reduction of Algerian Arabic proficiency among immigrants in France. In this text, “loss” and “attrition” are used interchangeably to refer to this linguistic phenomenon.

2.6.1. Definition of Language Attrition

Before defining language attrition, it is important to explain the term “attrition.” According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2023), attrition is “the action or process of reducing or being reduced in number, size, or quantity; gradual reduction or loss.” Language attrition, therefore, can be defined as the gradual reduction or complete loss in the use of a language. Freed, in his book *The Loss of Language Skills*, provided a detailed definition:

Broadly defined, language attrition may refer to the loss of any language or any portion of a language by an individual or a speech community. It may refer to the declining use of mother tongue skills by those in bilingual situations or among ethnic minorities in language contact situations where one language, for political or social reasons, comes to replace another. Language attrition also refers to the deterioration of language skills in neurologically impaired patients and to the decline of certain types of language usage by the elderly (Freed, 1982).

This definition highlights three key points. First, language attrition can occur naturally, with a second language replacing the mother tongue, or pathologically. Second, attrition can manifest at the individual level or intergenerationally. Finally, it emphasizes the different contexts in which attrition occurs, as previously outlined in Van Els’ taxonomy. Based on this, the term “attrition” is used to describe any reduction or deterioration in language proficiency, while “loss” denotes the final stage when complete mastery is lost.

De Bot (2001) distinguished three related concepts: “loss” refers to any relevant change in a language, “attrition” is an intragenerational phenomenon at the individual level, and “shift” is intergenerational and broader. While early definitions emphasized lack of L1 use as the principal reason for loss, subsequent studies have shown that some speakers retain perfect mastery despite prolonged non-use (De Bot & Clyne, 1994; Jaspaert & Kroon, 1989; Schmid, 2002). Barbara Köpke (2001) found that other factors, such as the intensity of contact with L2, significantly influence L1 competence in immigrant contexts. Thus, L1 attrition does not occur universally among immigrants learning a second language.

Other scholars have offered detailed definitions. Seliger & Vago (1991) described language attrition as “the disintegration or attrition of the structure of a first language (L1) in contact situations with a second language (L2)... Attrition phenomena develop in bilingual individuals as well as bilingual societies, in both indigenous and immigrant communities” (p.3). Clyne (1986, p.2002) and Yagmur (2004, p.136) emphasized the gradual nature of attrition, noting that one language is replaced by another only slowly.

Although these definitions provide an accurate explanation to this linguistic phenomenon, they miss numerous significant parameters related to it. Indeed, the final stage of the change occurring in a language is solely one aspect of language attrition, it is thus fundamental to examine the factors responsible for its manifestation in addition to the different contexts where it occurs and the level of the degree of the language development and change.

2.6.2. Language Attrition Theoretical System

Language attrition has attracted the attention of several researchers. Over the past three decades, many theoretical models have been developed to explain this linguistic phenomenon. While some of them were more effective than others, all provided insight into this field of study. Nevertheless, further research on language attrition would be both interesting and helpful, particularly to allow for generalizations in the immigration context.

The first theoretical model to be discussed is the Jakobson Regression Hypothesis. It was proposed by Ribot in 1880 and later supported by Freed. The theory is named after a famous linguist who was the first to consider language attrition from a non-pathological perspective in his phonological studies in the 1950s. The theory suggests that the language attrition process is the exact opposite of language acquisition. It is based on the idea that later-acquired knowledge is the first to be lost, whereas the earliest knowledge registered in the brain can last indefinitely, summarized in the principle “first in, last out.” However, this model has been highly criticized, first for its lack of empirical evidence and second because some studies testing the theory produced results that did not align with its basic premise.

Another model in language attrition research is the Threshold Hypothesis. This theory proposes that the knowledge that lasts longer is the knowledge that is best learned, or “best in, last out.” According to this model, there is a direct relationship between the quality of language acquisition and the level of language attrition. The term “threshold” is used to measure the level of language learning. The better a language is learned, the higher the threshold, and the higher this level, the stronger the language is registered in the mind, allowing it to resist attrition more effectively.

The following model addresses the distinction between attrition and forgetting, a dichotomy discussed by numerous linguists and psychologists. The Retrieval Failure Hypothesis, developed by Weltens (1989), explains that forgetting and attrition are different, though both involve difficulty in retrieving acquired knowledge. In forgetting, the individual may simply need a triggering element to recall the information, whereas in attrition, the information cannot be completely retrieved. This hypothesis has been criticized because many scholars consider knowledge attrition to be only temporary but extremely difficult to access.

Another perspective in language attrition is the Interference Theory. This theory suggests that second or foreign language learning can be significantly influenced by knowledge of the first language. Similarities between the acquired

and learned language can facilitate maintenance, while differences can interfere with learning and trigger attrition. For example, lexical attrition occurs when a word in one language replaces its equivalent in another due to interference at the lexical level, where the memory of the frequently used word interferes with the memory of the less used one.

Universal Grammar and the parameter-setting framework have also provided insights into language attrition. They explain that attrition first affects marked linguistic elements compared to unmarked ones, especially when frequently used in grammar (Sharwood, 1989). Additionally, two other perspectives can be highlighted. The first is a psycholinguistic approach addressing language accessibility, considering social variables such as age, length of stay in the host country, language attitudes, and intensity of L1 contact (Hulsen, 2000; Köpke, 1999; Montrul, 2002). The second is a linguistic perspective examining changes at different language levels—lexis, morphology, syntax, and semantics—resulting from intense contact with another language (Bolonyai, 1999; Gross, 2000; Thomason, 1997; Vago, 1991).

2.6.3. Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Attrition

This research paper deals with the sociolinguistic behaviour of the Algerian community in France. Their language attrition is investigated based mainly on the linguistic model. AA is impacted at different levels due to the intense contact with the French language. In language contact situations, the attrition is often linked to various social factors that determine the degrees of the change occurring in languages. The following factors are only those judged to be relevant to the present study.

The most prominent factor considered in language attrition studies is Age. The procedure is typically to investigate attrition in the language of children, adults, and elderly people. Studies related to each of these three groups often show different results due to the different stages of language development they represent. Children are generally those who manifest the highest level of attrition (Köpke and Schmid,

2004) because the second language will represent their key for learning at school, for socialization, and for creating a social environment. Consequently, they will learn the language rapidly, leading to a progressive loss of first language skills (Bolonyai, 1999; Harres, 1989; Kaufmann, 2001; Seliger & Vago, 1991).

Language attrition within the group of adults aged between 20 and 60 years old was subject to a larger number of investigations because of the accessibility of the participants. Most of the recorded results show only a moderate attrition in the first language of adults (de Bot, Gommans and Rossing, 1991; Köpke, 1999; MacKay, Connor, Albert and Obler, 2002; Waas, 1993). However, research exploring attrition within the group of elderly people who are 65 years old and older has reported a severe decrease in language proficiency, especially in lexical retrieval. The reason behind it is assumed to be the time since their immigration, which is often significant (De Bot & Clyne, 1994; Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Waas, 1993).

Time since immigration is another factor affecting language attrition. This factor is strongly linked to the Age of the immigrants, as older immigrants are more likely to have spent longer in the target country. After a certain period of time spent in an environment where immigrants' L1 is not the dominant language, researchers have proved that changes occur systematically in their mother tongue, especially at the level of lexis, proverbs, and idiomatic expressions (Waas, 1993). Some scholars determined that immigrants need to spend from 5 to 10 years in the new country for a possible manifestation of attrition in their language of origin (in Schmid, 2002; de Bot & Clyne, 1994). However, it was proved that attrition in someone's mother tongue occurs only partially, and some knowledge in that language can never be lost regardless of the number of years spent in an L2 environment (Schmid, 2002).

Another related factor that has a great influence on language attrition is the amount of contact immigrants maintain with their language(s) of origin. This contact could be through oral or written conversations, watching or reading documents or news in that language, or even travelling to the country of origin. Studies related to this factor reported the difficulty of quantifying it differently than based on what is

reported by the immigrants themselves (de Bot et al., 1991; Köpke, 1999). This factor is often associated with the frequency of L1 usage, as being simply exposed to the language without using it is rare. Some researchers questioned the reliability of the impact of the amount of contact with L1 on its attrition, such as Jaspaert & Kroon (1989), whose investigation results showed no sign of L1 attrition although extremely limited contact with the L1 environment and culture was confirmed.

One of the main important factors in language attrition studies is attitudes towards L1 and L2. Studies have proved that immigrants tend to use L2 instead of L1 because of the attitudes they have towards the language, the prestige it holds, and the doors it opens for economic and social opportunities (Corvalan, 1991; Harres, 1989; Waas, 1993). This L2 frequency of use implies a decrease in the L1 frequency of use, which then impacts L1 proficiency. On the other hand, if attitudes towards L2 are negative due to discrimination or persecution on the part of the target society, the use of L2 will be significantly diminished or even completely abandoned, which will reinforce the maintenance of the HL and culture. This was proved by Schmid (2002) with the German Jewish community in Anglophone countries, who deliberately refused to use the English language.

Last but not least, the educational level of immigrants in their mother tongue plays a significant role in language attrition. This factor is so complex to measure that studies investigating it are limited compared to the other factors mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, two significant investigations on this factor can be mentioned. The study of Jaspaert & Kroon (1989) discussed the effects of the level of education on the language of Italian immigrants in the Netherlands, and the results showed that this factor was significant in text editing and vocabulary tests. Then, the study of Yagmur (1997) on Turkish immigrants in Australia proved the impact of education level on verbal fluency. Research in language attrition from this particular perspective should be given much more attention due to the interesting insight it could provide.

2.6.4. Linguistic Aspects Affected by Language Attrition

Language attrition is often discussed in the context of immigration where the exposure to L1 is relatively limited. It occurs at different linguistic aspects of a language, namely phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax. However, studies have proved that some linguistic components are more subject to attrition than others (Schmid, 2002; Waas, 1993; Yağmur, 1997). It was particularly suggested that the main reason behind attrition is the decrease in the frequency of L1 usage, so the linguistic elements that are less frequently used by immigrants are those that are more likely to be lost (Köpke & Nespoulous, 2001).

Phonetic attrition refers to the changes recorded at the level of the native language speech of bilinguals while learning a second language or another dialect at the adult age. Research into this type of attrition aims at exploring any change manifested at the level of pronunciation. Although some studies have shown that L2 acquisition is associated with temporary changes in the L1 phonetic system, most studies in this domain aim at investigating long-term changes of immigrants learning L2 in an L2 environment or adults acquiring a new dialect. More interesting results come from longitudinal investigations that can explain the reasons behind this phonetic attrition and how these phonetic changes develop through time. The significance of phonetic attrition lies in the fact that phonetics is the basis of any language learning process. L1 is learnt starting from the acquisition of sounds before the formation of phonemes, words, and sentences (Polka & Werker, 1994; Stager & Werker, 1997). Hence, a change at the level of language phones announces attrition at the entire language system (Sancier & Fowler, 1997).

While phonetics refers to the study of speech sounds as physical entities focusing on their realization, articulation, and their perception, phonology is centred on the organization and the function of these speech sounds in a language. Although these two disciplines are extremely related, they treat completely different aspects of these speech sounds. In terms of attrition, phonetic changes imply a change in the way sounds are articulated in terms of stress, intonation, pitch, and other acoustic characteristics. Phonological changes, on the other hand, refer to the alterations in

the organization of speech sounds. In addition, phonological attrition is usually linked to phonetic attrition while phonetic attrition can be isolated from any phonological change.

The distinction between phonetic attrition studies and phonological attrition is important because the scope of research and the significance of the results are different. The numerous investigations previously conducted at the level of phonetics indicate the changes recorded at the level of the realization of the different sounds in a language (de Leeuw, 2014; de Leeuw, Mennen, & Scobbie, 2012, 2013; de Leeuw et al., 2010; de Leeuw et al., forthcoming; Ulbrich & Ordin, 2014). The other studies investigating the phonological aspects of a language aim at revealing the function of these sounds in the language and how they are organized (De Leeuw, Tusha, & Schmid, 2017).

Morphology is another linguistic aspect that can be affected by language attrition. It refers to the “grammatical subsystem of the language that deals with the linguistic resources for word (or lexeme) formation and variations in the realizations of words/lexemes according to grammatical context” (Yoon, 2019, p.8). The processes used for word formation are derivational affixation, compounding, and derivation. Because the grammatical context comes from syntax and is closely related to inflectional morphology, syntax and morphology are sometimes used interchangeably by some scholars (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Embick & Noyer, 2007). However, it is important to note that linguists and most scholars in the language domain regard syntax and morphology as two distinct systems that deal with different processes. Morphological attrition can be recorded in specific processes like “morphophonemic levelling, morphological simplification, including omission of required morphology in obligatory contexts, paradigmatic reduction, simplification/reduction of suffixal allomorphy, regularization of irregular forms, and the replacement of synthetic forms for analytic/periphrastic forms” (Yoon, 2019, p.1).

Despite the difference that exists between languages in terms of their morphological system, all of them are subject to attrition at the level of inflections

and derivations. Although inflections and derivations are similar processes, both implying the formation of a new word, inflections consider the syntactic structure of the language to check if the word formed aligns with it. Consequently, attrition often occurs at the level of inflections more than in derivations. Both processes undergo morphological omission, simplification, and suppletion that manifest in language attrition in all different morphological systems at different degrees depending on the type of morphological system of each language. Research in morphological attrition has proved that the morphological system of a native language is so embedded in the brain of adults that they can hardly experience attrition at that level. Keijzer (2007) explains that forgetting how to conjugate verbs and how to express gender, case marking, and case endings is unlikely to happen. However, the case is different for individuals who immigrate early and whose native language tends to be the language of their new environment. Consequently, the significance of Age in the extent of attrition at the level of morphological systems can surely be highlighted.

Syntactical attrition is the gradual change and then loss that occurs at the level of the grammatical system of a language. It occurs in language contact situations, or as a consequence of cultural or social shifts. An example would be a VSO language which becomes a SVO language through time and along various generations. It is suggested that syntactic changes involve a full lexical item becoming a grammatical marker, as it occurred with the verb 'Go' in English, which became a marker for expressing the future (Hopper and Traugott, 1993; Traugott and Heine, 1991a). There are various models that attempted to explain how syntactic attrition evolves through time.

The model selected is the one of Roberts (1993b), who suggests that syntactic change goes through different "steps". According to this theory, the first step would be the recurrence of a certain syntactic structure but triggering no particular change at the level of the grammatical system of that language. The second step marks the beginning of the change. As a construction starts to be used frequently, this recurrence makes it become more familiar than the initial one among language

users. Consequently, the new generation will adopt the new structure of that familiar construction. When the child utters a sentence, there would be a use of the new adopted structure regardless of the context. The grammatical system will have to adapt to the new structure used by a deduction of a new parameter setting. This will later on lead to a change in the structure of various related constructions to accommodate the inferred setting. For instance, in the history of French, the 15th century marked a recurrence in the use of the pattern Adverb-XP-Verb, which over several years caused the adoption of the SVO structure with the verb being second (Roberts, 1993b, p.148) along with the disappearance of the former constructions.

The linguistic aspect that is most affected by language attrition is lexis. Most research conducted on language attrition recorded a change or loss at the lexical level. This was explained by the suggestion that words are less embedded in the brain of individuals than the morphosyntactic structures of a language, for example (Hutz, 2004). Two significant reasons behind attrition in this domain were determined: first, an issue in word retrieval from memory, and second, an intense influence of L2 knowledge on L1 competence and proficiency (Köpke, 2002; Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991). In addition, it was proved that the more an L1 word is similar to its equivalent in L2, and the more the L2 word is used, the higher is the influence on the maintenance or attrition of this word (Andersen, 1982 in De Bot & Weltens, 1991, p.44).

In language contact situations and in immigration contexts, several studies have reported the recurrence in lexical borrowings and transfers from the L2 system to the L1, which often replace the use of the L1 equivalents (Brons-Albert, 1994; De Bot & Clyne, 1992). Moreover, the difficulties in word retrieval were also significantly investigated, and the results show that older migrants were more concerned with this issue (Hulsen, 2000; Jarvis, 2003; Kaufman, 1998; Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Waas, 1997; Yağmur, 1997). To fill in the gaps it may create in their speech and to convey the intended meaning, they use some strategies like employing words or expressions that are supposedly inappropriate in particular contexts. Some longitudinal studies investigated lexical loss over a long period of time and

discovered that most changes were at the morphosyntactic level compared to the relatively unchanged proficiency at the lexical level. Longitudinal studies are considerably limited due to time and money constraints, in addition to the possible reimmigration of the informants or their mortality along the research process.

2.6.5. Code-Switching as a Compensatory Strategy

Research in the domain of code-switching highlights the distinction between balanced and unbalanced bilingualism. Although some of the earliest studies regarded this language contact phenomenon as a random shift between languages due to proficiency in multiple languages (Lance, 1975), other researchers, like Weinreich (1968), distinguished between appropriate and inappropriate code-switching in bilingual speech, stating that “The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to the appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic, etc.), but not in unchanged speech situations, and certainly not within a single sentence” (1968, p.73).

Troike (2005, p.77) emphasizes the inherent nature of code-switching, claiming that this skill is characteristic of highly balanced bilinguals who are fluent in both languages and use it according to specific grammatical rules. Poplack (1980) proposed syntactic constraints on code-switching and, in her study of adults in a New York Puerto Rican community, found that bilingual fluency determines both the frequency and level of code-switching. She argued that balanced bilinguals frequently switch at the intrasentential level, whereas unbalanced bilinguals switch primarily at the intersentential level. Subsequent studies sought to distinguish between the code-switching of fluent and non-fluent bilinguals, noting that the latter often use it as a compensatory strategy, which can be regarded as a manifestation of language attrition or loss.

Psychological research supports the view that information is never entirely lost once it is stored in long-term memory (Ashcraft, 1998). Productive skills in a language are more susceptible to attrition than receptive skills, suggesting that access to information may become difficult rather than entirely lost. For instance, Olshtain & Barzilay (1991) noted that while nouns may be rapidly attrited, their

meanings are harder to lose. Speakers often experience “tip-of-the-tongue” (TOT) phenomena, feeling they know a word but being unable to recall it.

Studies have identified features common in bilingual speech when retrieval is difficult, including pauses, hesitations, self-corrections, TOT states, and repeated attempts at retrieval (Amerlaan, 1996; Pavlenko, 2003; Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991). To compensate for missing elements, speakers may employ strategies such as code-switching, message abandonment, message reduction, circumlocution, literal translation, approximation, use of all-purpose words, word coinage, mumbling, foreignizing, and mime (Dörnyei & Scott, 1995).

Therefore, in non-fluent bilinguals, code-switching often occurs when linguistic elements are infrequently used and difficult to access. Turian & Altenberg (1991) noted similarities between code-switching in L1 attriters and L2 learners, who rely on similar compensatory strategies. Lindsay (2006, p.5) described a continuum from the highly skilled switching of balanced bilinguals to the switching of bilinguals with limited proficiency exhibiting language attrition, to the L2 learner’s “translinguistic wording” (Ludi, 2003).

Thus, code-switching can result from either high proficiency in both languages or as a compensatory strategy for incomplete knowledge due to attrition or incomplete language learning. Despite numerous studies, distinguishing the underlying motivation behind code-switching—whether as a skill, a manifestation of attrition, or a contributor to attrition—remains challenging. Nevertheless, all bilinguals exhibit some degree of knowledge gaps in their languages (Ludi, 2003, p.178).

2.7 Linguistic Transfer

The concept of linguistic transfer was first discussed by Weinreich (1953) as “linguistic interference” or “cross-linguistic influence” (Sharwood & Kellerman, 1986), depending on context, consequences, and purpose. It was initially noted in L2 learning studies, where L1 elements could interfere with L2 acquisition (Gass & Selinker, 1992; Ivanov, 1990; Ringbom, 1987). Later research highlighted the

potential for newly learned languages to influence previously acquired ones (Cenoz, Hufeisen, & Jessner, 2001), leading to L1 change or attrition (Yang, 2000; Py, 1986; Sharwood Smith, 1989). In immigration contexts, bilinguals often possess two linguistic systems in competition, and attrition occurs when one language transfers elements to the other (Bates & MacWhinney, 1987; Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Kohnert et al., 1999; Seliger & Vago, 1991).

Research shows that the most prominent interference from L2 to L1 occurs at the lexical level, known as “retroactive interference” (Ammerlaan, 1996; Köpke & Nespoulous, 2001; Schaufeli, 1992). When learning a new language (L2), newly acquired elements can interfere with L1 proficiency. Isurin & McDonald (2001) demonstrated this by teaching participants lexical items in L2 and L3, showing significant interference and L2 word attrition comparable to L1 attrition in children of immigrants (Isurin, 2000).

Transfer can also occur at the morphological level. When languages differ morphologically, L2 interference may lead speakers to simplify, abandon, or replace morphemes in L1, making its structure more like L2 (Andersen, 1982, p.109). For instance, nominal inflections for grammatical gender may be lost under the influence of a language lacking gender marking (Ecke, 2004, p.336). Although syntactic interference is less common, prolonged influence can result in structural changes, as seen in Larmouth’s (1974) study on Finnish under English influence, which led to reduced word-order variation. Syntactic transfer often occurs at the intergenerational level, particularly in language shift or endangerment contexts.

Linguistic transfer is conventionally regarded as a key factor in language attrition, but further research is needed to answer remaining questions: Are languages with similar systems more prone to interference? Which linguistic levels are most affected, and to what degree? In multilingual contexts, which language is likely to influence others? How do proficiency and exposure levels affect transfer? Is interference stable over time?

2.8 Language Death

Language death refers to the complete disappearance of a language. Romaine (1989, p.380) states that “a language dies when it no longer has any speakers.” This is the final stage of shift and attrition, marked by decreasing proficiency until no one can speak or use the language. A language is considered dead when it ceases to be transmitted intergenerationally, and children no longer learn it as a mother tongue.

Language death can occur gradually or suddenly. Sudden death may result from the extinction of the speech community due to genocide or biological causes such as pandemics. Gradual death occurs through language shift, where speakers progressively adopt another language, leading to the complete loss of competence in the original language. Attempts to revitalize dead languages, such as Hebrew in Israel, demonstrate that no language can be fully restored in its original, authentic form.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter examined some of the most challenging sociolinguistic outcomes of migration. It began with an overview of Algeria’s linguistic and sociolinguistic situation, highlighting the status of French. The subsequent section explored language contact phenomena, including bilingualism, diglossia, and borrowing, with a focus on code-switching as a key aspect of this research. The chapter then examined language maintenance and shift, presenting factors influencing these processes and relevant empirical studies, followed by the importance of intergenerational heritage language transmission. The final sections addressed language attrition, discussing theoretical frameworks, sociolinguistic determinants, affected linguistic levels, and code-switching as a compensatory strategy. The chapter concluded with an analysis of linguistic transfer and its effects on language.

Chapter Three: Methodological Framework

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3.1. Introduction

While the first and second chapters presented key theoretical concepts relevant to this research, this third chapter introduces the practical component of the study. It details the planning and execution of the investigation, including all steps undertaken to obtain the intended results.

The chapter begins with an introductory section presenting the Algerian community in France as a speech community, highlighting some linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of their lives. This is followed by an overview of the research process, including the approaches, methodologies, and strategies employed by the researcher. Subsequently, the chapter explains the techniques and procedures used for data analysis, along with a presentation of the sample population, the setting, and the research instruments utilized throughout the investigation.

3.2. Algerian Immigrants in France as a Speech Community

It is essential to provide a clear understanding of the concept of “speech community” before exploring the Algerian immigrants’ speech community in France. This term has consistently been a central focus in ethnographic studies of communication and is particularly significant in sociolinguistics. Discussed from different perspectives, the concept is complex and resists a single, conventional definition.

In general linguistics, a speech community refers to “all the people who speak a single language and thus share notions of what is the same or different in phonology or grammar” (Zhan, 2013, p.1327). This includes individuals who may not have direct contact but share the use of the same language. From a sociolinguistic perspective, interaction among community members is crucial, and members share more than just a language—they share linguistic norms, practices, and social meanings. Definitions vary from the simplest to the most elaborate.

Lyons (1970) provided a straightforward definition: a speech community is a group of people who share a given language or dialect. Fishman (1971) expanded

this by introducing a pragmatic dimension, asserting that a speech community consists of people who share a language variety and the norms governing its appropriate use. Labov (1972b, p.120) defined it as “participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt evaluative behaviour and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation invariant across usage levels,” emphasizing social perception over mere linguistic production.

Gumperz (1971) noted that a community may be monolingual or multilingual, but interaction among members is essential. Hymes (1986) emphasized communicative competence, distinguishing between communities that share rules for constructing and interpreting speech and those that share rules for interpreting at least one linguistic variety. Kerswill (1994) described a speech community as a group of people who share multiple languages or varieties and understand the sociolinguistic variables specific to their community.

This research focuses on the linguistic behaviour of Algerian immigrants in France. According to the definitions above, an Algerian immigrant may belong to two speech communities simultaneously: the Algerian immigrants’ community and the French speech community, sharing the use of French and the norms of its use with the French population. However, this study concentrates specifically on the Algerian immigrants’ speech community.

Within this community, there is noticeable variation in first language usage across generations, particularly between those born in Algeria and those born in France. While AA is the mother tongue of the first generation, subsequent generations often consider French as their mother tongue and use AA as a second language.

It is important to note that, despite generational differences, members of this community maintain mutual intelligibility. Interactions are generally smooth and cohesive, with shared norms of language use. Based on this, for the purposes of this study, all first, second, and third-generation Algerian immigrants can be considered part of the same speech community.

3.2.1. Language Acquisition Settings

At an early stage of development, children acquire language naturally and instinctively. Even before they fully understand its meaning or adhere to grammar rules, they begin imitating sounds and words they hear around them. Through imitation and mimicry, children learn how to construct and produce full sentences that convey their intended meanings. Formal language learning in educational institutions or other structured settings generally begins around the age of 5 or 6.

In Algeria, most children acquire their mother tongue, Algerian Arabic (AA), during their first years, as it is the predominant language spoken in most households. Although some families speak Berber or one of its varieties, this research focuses solely on AA speakers. In some cases, children acquire French and AA simultaneously if both languages are spoken fluently at home by parents or older siblings. When they enter preschool, usually around 5 or 6 years old, they begin learning Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as the primary language of instruction, while French is introduced two years later.

The first generation of immigrants arriving in France as adults are often bilingual, having acquired or learned French at an early age. Consequently, most subsequent generations instinctively acquire both French and AA from birth. For children whose parents are less fluent in French, they acquire AA at home from parents or grandparents and French through formal schooling, as it is the official language of Algeria. Second- and third-generation immigrants often develop a unique form of bilingualism, with some considering both languages as mother tongues. AA and French are present from an early age in the social environment of these immigrants, contributing jointly to their socialisation process.

3.2.1.1. Family

Early home experiences are fundamental to children's language learning and overall development (Berstein, 1970, p.6; Brown, 1980, p.58; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989, p.143). The family naturally serves as the first environment in which children acquire language and forms the foundation for socialisation. Therefore, family is an

important context for studying language proficiency in immigrant communities (Chiswick et al., 2005a). Research in immigration contexts shows that adult immigrants, especially women in the initial years of migration, spend significant time in family environments, highlighting the family's role in language learning, second language acquisition, and social integration (Hann, 2017, p.30).

Within the Algerian immigrant speech community, both AA and French are primarily transmitted at home alongside educational exposure. The family context plays a critical role in linguistic development and behaviour, creating potential differences in linguistic phenomena across generations.

Immigrants often balance maintaining contact with their families, languages, and cultures while integrating into the host society (Hartnell, 2006; Becker, 2011). In the Algerian context, this balance directly affects proficiency in AA and French, depending on the frequency of family interaction and the extent of integration into French society.

3.2.1.2. Schools

Schools represent the second major context for language acquisition, providing structured, formal learning that often cannot be matched at home. In the Algerian immigrant community, children typically begin schooling around 5 or 6 years old, learning academic French as the language of instruction. Socialisation in schools occurs within a French context, enhancing their proficiency and influencing linguistic behaviour. This is particularly relevant for generations who have received their entire education in France.

Beyond French schools, some immigrant families aim to maintain Algerian and Arabic culture, either for personal reasons or to ensure cultural transmission. Two main types of schools support this goal: official language schools and religious schools, usually located in mosques. The Arabic taught in these settings is primarily MSA or classical Arabic, with objectives that are more religious than communicative. These schools provide a secondary formal context for language

acquisition and contribute to socialisation, particularly in HLM (low-income housing) communities.

However, attitudes toward Arabic schools vary. Children often feel obliged by their parents to attend, gradually discontinuing attendance as they grow older. Some recognise the value of learning Arabic only later in life.

3.2.1.3. Mass Media

Another influential tool in language acquisition is mass media. Beyond interactions with parents and family, children are exposed to language through various media, especially screen media (Christakis, 2009). Christakis (2009) reported that 90% of children routinely watch television programs. Similarly, a study by the Kaiser Family Foundation (2010) found that children and young adults aged 8 to 18 spend an average of 7 hours and 38 minutes per day engaging with entertainment media (Rideout et al., 2010). These studies, among many others, indicate that media has become a significant component of children's lives, rivalling the family environment in its influence on language acquisition.

The role of media in language learning highlights its power and cultural significance. Despite negative perceptions regarding its effects on academic performance, media provides children with opportunities to be exposed to any language they wish to learn.

In the context of immigration, media offers similar benefits for adolescents and adults. On one hand, it allows immigrants to familiarize themselves with the host language and culture through television, radio, and social media. On the other hand, it can serve as a tool to maintain contact with their heritage language and culture, helping individuals reconnect with their origins after periods of limited exposure.

Within the Algerian immigrant community, similar practices are observed. Community members use television and radio to access programs in both French and Arabic, reflecting their dual desire to integrate into French society while

maintaining a connection to their cultural roots. Many also maintain close contact with relatives in Algeria through social media platforms.

These contexts collectively shape the linguistic repertoire of the community. Nevertheless, the family environment remains the most influential factor in determining both linguistic competence and behaviour, underscoring the importance of studying this factor at the generational level in an immigration context.

3.2.2. Sociolinguistic behaviour of Algerian Immigrants in France

Bilinguals regularly use two languages and often switch between them in daily interactions. Like many immigrant communities, Algerian immigrants in France are exposed to at least two languages from an early age. Their sociolinguistic behaviours have frequently been scrutinized, sometimes stigmatized, by media, politicians, and scholars. Despite the limited research on this community, they are often perceived as a threat to the French language. However, such negative portrayals may overlook the fact that their linguistic practices reflect a natural identity negotiation common to immigrant communities worldwide.

The unique patterns in their speech emerge from continuous cultural and linguistic evolution. Algerian immigrants introduce Algerian words into French speech and frequently switch between AA and French. These behaviours differ markedly from those of the French community, whose focus is on maintaining the French language.

The motivations behind these linguistic behaviours are multifaceted, including psychological, social, and linguistic factors. AA, often associated with Islam, may influence language maintenance, while the French environment shapes daily interaction and speech patterns. Historically, dual identities among Algerian immigrants reflect centuries of linguistic and cultural interactions between France and Algeria.

Thus, contact between genetically unrelated languages can lead to intergenerational variations in speech. Many second- and third-generation

immigrants regard AA as their mother tongue, even though their speech diverges from that of their parents. These individuals often exhibit complex and distinctive linguistic behaviours, reflecting tension between heritage identity and social reality.

3.2.3. Language Transmission across Generations

Linguistic transmission across generations significantly influences the language behaviours adopted by immigrants. It is essential to consider the migration experience and parental background.

During early waves of immigration from Algeria to France, many immigrants were uneducated or unprepared for migration, with limited knowledge of French language and culture. Their primary resource was their Algerian dialect and identity. Consequently, families predominantly used AA at home, transmitting it as the mother tongue. At the linguistic level, parents relied on French educational institutions and the host environment to provide children with the tools needed for social integration. Transmission of French sometimes occurred through the eldest child to younger siblings. However, migration experiences varied, and generalizations should be avoided.

Some first-generation immigrants had received classical education in Algeria, and valued heritage language transmission. Second-generation children were often enrolled in Arabic schools at a young age or encouraged to speak AA and MSA at home to maintain Algerian identity.

However, not all families prioritise heritage language transmission. While some parents are less committed, most immigrants across generations retain basic proficiency in AA and Arabic, either through home use or contact with relatives. Visiting Algeria is also an opportunity for cultural and linguistic transmission, fostering attachment to their homeland.

For French, children who immigrated at a young age receive schooling in French, generally achieving fluency and daily use. Adults immigrating later may have limited proficiency, which may or may not improve over time. Generally, both

French and Arabic are used daily within the Algerian immigrant community, although levels of mastery vary between individuals.

Transmission of French is closely linked to parents' education and socio-economic status. Upper-class families typically expose children to French at home, fostering early fluency (Moussaoui, 2009, p.36-37). Middle-class families often use both languages, with French remaining dominant. Lower-class families prioritize the heritage language while still desiring French fluency, emphasizing heritage preservation alongside integration.

3.2.4. Status of Arabic in France

The French government has questioned the importance of teaching immigrants' languages of origin to facilitate their integration into French society and address underperformance in schools. Similar to Labov's suggestion to incorporate African-American Vernacular English in schools to achieve comparable goals, France decided to introduce languages of origin as second languages. The issue of teaching native languages has long been raised by immigrant-sending countries (especially Maghrebian countries) within France as the host country. After numerous agreements were signed, the French government realized that these teaching sessions often had political and religious aims rather than the intended linguistic and pedagogical objectives. Consequently, the teaching of these languages became a governmental concern, leading to the implementation of new pedagogical methods and techniques aimed at controlling class content.

Interestingly, despite the significant number of immigrants in France and the Arabization policies implemented in Algeria after independence, Algeria remains the country least concerned with promoting Arabization among its immigrants in France. The Maghrebian countries—Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria—signed agreements with the French government to initiate foreign language and culture teaching programs (ELCO: Enseignements des langues et cultures d'origines) in 1974, 1975, and 1982, respectively. However, these programs soon became problematic for the French government due to the selection of teachers, who were

primarily chosen by foreign countries to deliver Islamic courses, perceived as a threat to the secular norms of the state.

As a result, Arabic became largely associated with religion, and the Algerian dialect was considered a derivative variety. Both codes were only partially accepted by the French community, which strongly adhered to Western values and the French educational system. Moreover, school underachievement began to be associated with children of immigrant parents and their supposed lack of integration, contributing to the emergence of a unique vernacular within this community. Consequently, these programs were largely dismissed, and the French government regained control over the teaching of languages of origin, introducing new pedagogical tools under the supervision of the national education system.

The introduction of languages of origin as second languages was unproblematic for languages like Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, but it became challenging for diglossic languages like Arabic. Among the different varieties of Arabic (Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and Algerian Arabic), the French government had to select which variety to teach. Ultimately, the highest variety—MSA—was chosen as the language of instruction due to its standardized grammar, which was easier to teach.

Algerian Arabic is considered the second most widely spoken language in France and is used by many French celebrities of Maghrebian descent, such as the comic actor Djamel Debbouze, whose popularity is partly due to scripts in Algerian Arabic. Despite its cultural role, 45 out of 96 departments in France do not provide access to special institutions teaching Arabic. In the capital, among 111 lower secondary schools³, only 3 offer Arabic classes. Similarly, among 8 upper secondary schools⁴, only 1 provides limited Arabic classes, often on Saturdays or Wednesday evenings. Statistics show that only 6,000 students have access to Arabic at the secondary level, compared to 15,000 studying Chinese, 14,000 learning Russian,

³ Lower secondary schools are what is called in France Collèges

⁴ Upper secondary schools are what is called in France Lycées

and 12,000 learning Portuguese (Talon, 2012). In France, the most taught second languages remain Spanish, German, Italian, and Russian.

This situation is paradoxical: while teaching Arabic in primary and secondary schools is often viewed as politically sensitive, the language enjoys increasing prestige at the university level and among elites, many of whom have little connection to the Arab world. Over the past decade, student enrolment in Arabic and Middle Eastern culture courses has steadily increased. However, Arabic is still largely associated with Islam, as the language of the Quran, which reinforces the perceived link between language and religion. Specialists in Arabic language and culture strive to emphasize that Arabic has a rich history predating Islam and should be distinguished from the religion itself. Although some high-ranking officials have advocated for broader Arabic instruction in France, no significant initiatives have been implemented.

For the Algerian immigrant community, learning Arabic represents an opportunity to preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage. Nevertheless, many immigrants feel caught between French language and culture, Arabic language and culture, and the Algerian dialect and cultural practices of their parents and grandparents. In practice, most immigrants, like Algerians in general, rarely use MSA daily except for religious purposes. Consequently, they aim not only to learn Arabic but also to maintain the Algerian dialect and culture, ensuring the preservation of their heritage and honouring their origins.

3.3 Research Process

Research in any field requires careful organization and planning on the part of the researchers. Before engaging in a scientific investigation, it is crucial to anticipate a detailed framework outlining the research process. While formulating research questions and defining the objectives of the study represent the first and most important steps in the design, researchers also need to establish the subsequent stages that the practical research will follow.

To ensure an effective research design, several models have been developed across different research domains. In the social sciences specifically, the research onion has proven to be one of the most reliable models for constructing “a firm basis for development of coherent and justifiable research design” (Melnikovas, 2018, p. 30). Other scholars, such as Raithatha (2017), have confirmed the effectiveness of the research onion in creating a well-structured, step-by-step design suitable for various fields of investigation.

The research onion model was developed by Saunders et al. (2016) and encompasses a set of theoretical concepts that form the core of an effective research design. According to this model, the main layers of the onion begin with identifying the research philosophy, followed by defining the appropriate approach(es), selecting the research method(s), choosing the strategy(ies), and determining the time horizon. These layers provide the foundation for selecting the appropriate techniques and procedures for data collection and analysis.

The following figure illustrates the six layers of the research onion:

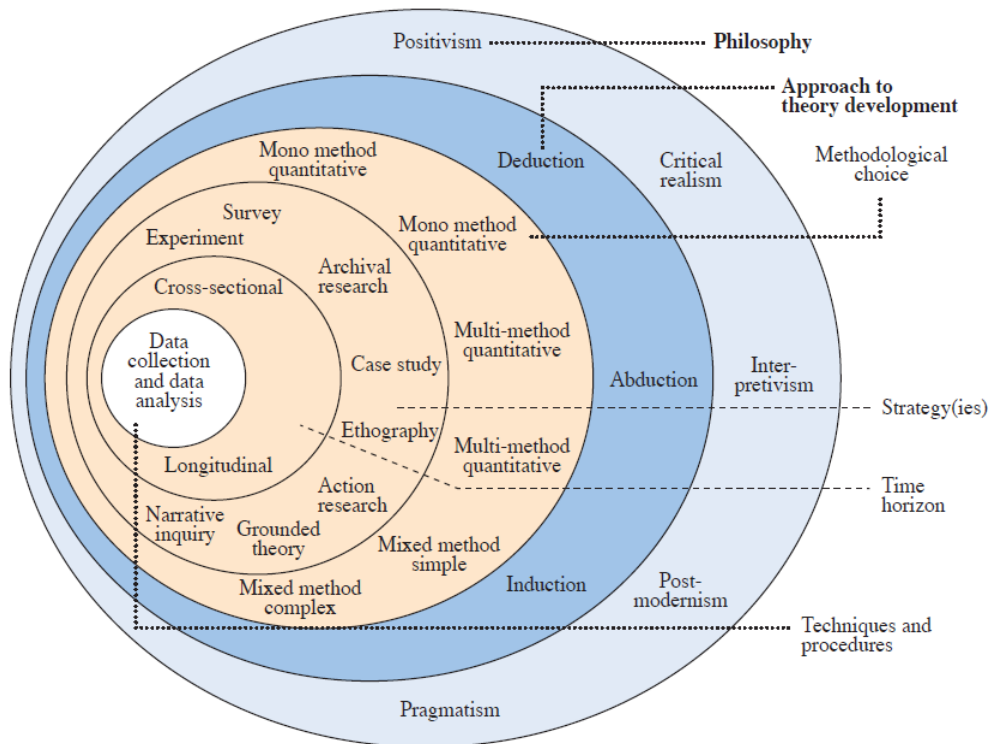


Figure 3.1. Research Onion Model (Saunders et al., 2016, p.124)

3.3.1 Research Philosophy

Philosophy is the foundation of science. Initially, philosophy focused on answering general questions about life and interpreting these answers personally. Science, in turn, provided more precise explanations for specific aspects of life. While philosophers rely on reasoning, scientists employ experimentation. Science emerged as a response to humans' constant questioning of existence and the pursuit of truth. Since then, scientific investigations have been guided by three universal principles: ontology, epistemology, and axiology.

Any scientific investigation requires the selection of an appropriate research philosophy, which guides the overall design of the study, including beliefs, assumptions, strategies, and methods (Saunders et al., 2012). The chosen paradigm provides insights into the researcher's philosophical perspective and the phenomenon under study. Additionally, it enables the researcher to reflect on the research, evaluate its value, and make informed decisions. The ultimate aim is to structure a coherent research process and obtain reliable and valid results.

There are several research philosophies. The research onion identifies five main ones: positivism, critical realism, interpretivism, post-modernism, and pragmatism.

This study is grounded in pragmatism, a philosophy that emphasizes the nature of experiences rather than the nature of reality. According to Morgan (2014a, p. 26-27), pragmatism is guided by three key beliefs:

1. "Actions cannot be separated from the situations and contexts in which they occur."
2. "Actions are linked to consequences in ways that are open to change."
3. "Actions depend on worldviews, which are socially shared sets of beliefs."

Pragmatism acknowledges an objective reality distinct from human experience, but understanding that reality is inseparable from human experiences. Since pragmatism allows multiple interpretations of reality, research under this paradigm

is flexible in design. It reconciles positivism and interpretivism, encompassing a plurality of methods rather than being exclusive. Researchers can use the approaches, methodologies, and techniques most appropriate to their research problem, with the aim of obtaining meaningful insights.

The choice of pragmatism for this study is justified for several reasons. First, the research follows a mixed-methods design, requiring both qualitative and quantitative data to ensure the reliability of results. Second, although efforts were made to maximize objectivity, the researcher's involvement and the collection of participants' perspectives introduce an element of subjectivity. Therefore, this research combines both objective and subjective elements. Importantly, pragmatism provided the researcher the freedom to select the most suitable approach, which in this case is deductive. Additionally, multiple strategies, including case studies and surveys, were employed. Finally, a combination of research tools—audio recordings, interviews, and an online questionnaire—was used to collect the necessary data.

3.3.2 Research Approach

Scientific research can generally follow one of three approaches: deductive, inductive, or abductive.

The deductive approach follows a top-down process, moving from general concepts to specific observations. The researcher begins by reviewing the work and theories of other scholars. From these established theories, a hypothesis about the research problem is formulated. This hypothesis is then tested to be either confirmed or rejected. The deductive process can be summarized in the following figure:



Figure 3.2 Process of Deductive Research

The inductive research approach is a bottom-up method, in which the researcher moves from specific observations to broader generalizations. This approach is typically used when literature on the subject is scarce or non-existent, as there is no established theory to test. In inductive research, the process begins with data collection and analysis. Based on the patterns and insights revealed in the findings, a theory is then formulated. The process of inductive research is illustrated in the following figure.

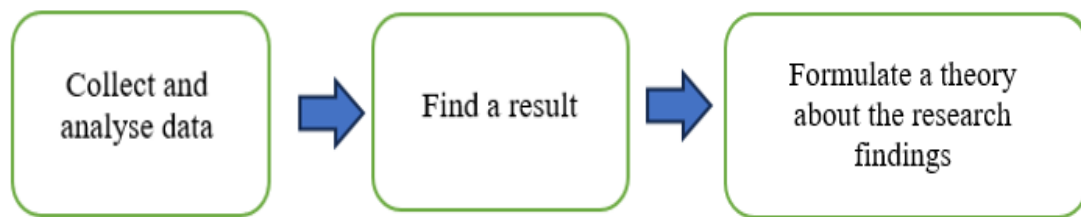


Figure 3.3 Process of Inductive Research

The researcher adopts a deductive approach in this study, primarily because the research is initiated with a set of hypotheses to be tested, and additionally due to the several advantages this approach offers. First, following the deductive approach allows the researcher to benefit from a rich body of literature and a large number of sources related to the subject under study. Moreover, this approach enables the investigation of causal relationships between events and variables, which aligns with the objectives of this research. In terms of the research process, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analysed. Finally, the deductive approach often permits the generalization of research findings.

3.3.3. Research Methodology

Scientific research can adopt different designs, typically qualitative, quantitative, or mixed-methods. For this study, the mixed-methods design was selected. This design involves the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data within the same research process. It is particularly useful when one method alone cannot provide a meaningful and comprehensive answer to the research question, thereby strengthening the reliability and validity of the results. Mixed-methods

designs are commonly applied in behavioural and social sciences, utilizing both qualitative and quantitative research tools, and offer significant advantages in terms of efficiency and insight.

Mixed-method research is appealing for several reasons. First, it combines the strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods, providing both rich descriptive data and reliable statistical evidence. Additionally, it is flexible, allowing the researcher to adapt the design as needed and consider issues from multiple perspectives. It can incorporate both inductive and deductive approaches, allowing theory generation and hypothesis testing within the same study (Jogulu & Pansiri, 2011). Furthermore, it enables the collection of participants' opinions and views alongside quantitative data. Finally, mixed-methods research is particularly suited to addressing complex issues that are difficult to examine using a single method.

However, this design also presents limitations. It is time-consuming and labour-intensive, and data from different sources may sometimes produce contradictory results, which may require further investigation. Therefore, mixed-methods research must be conducted carefully to avoid bias and confusion.

Given the behavioural and complex nature of this study, a mixed-methods design was deemed most suitable. The aim was to provide comprehensive insights into language maintenance, language shift, and language attrition within the context of Algerian immigration in France, considering multiple perspectives. Relying solely on either qualitative or quantitative methods would not have yielded sufficiently robust results; combining both methods ensured complementary strengths, enhancing the value and reliability of the findings.

This research employed triangulation, a mixed-methods strategy that uses multiple data sources, theoretical perspectives, methodologies, and sometimes multiple researchers to address a research problem. In this study, data were collected and analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively from different samples using various research tools. The selection of triangulation was motivated by three

objectives: 1) ensure the reliability of results, 2) minimize bias, and 3) obtain a holistic and deeper understanding of the phenomena under study.

3.3.4. Research Strategy

Choosing an appropriate research strategy is crucial as it forms the foundation of the entire research plan. A well-selected strategy enables the researcher to organize objectives clearly, outline the steps required to achieve them, reduce confusion, ensure high-quality work, and save time.

Within both qualitative and quantitative designs, multiple research strategies exist, depending on the research topic, purpose, and nature of the research questions. The figure below illustrates some of the most common strategies used in social sciences. While experiments and surveys are primarily employed to collect quantitative data, other strategies are more frequently applied in qualitative research. Nevertheless, these strategies can be combined across methodologies to complement each other.

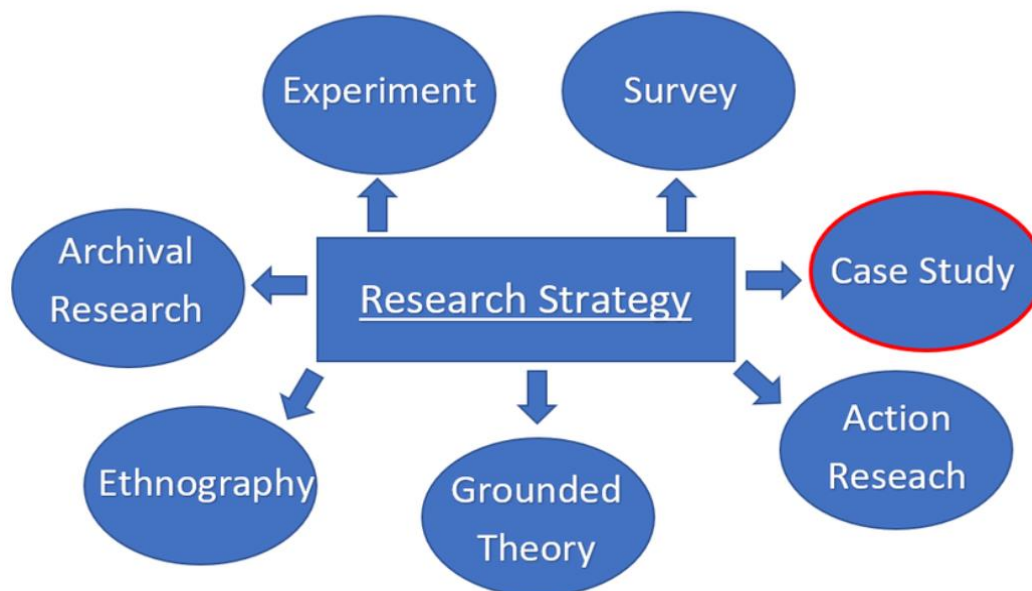


Figure 3.4 Types of research strategies. Source: Adopted from Saunders et al., (2009)

Regarding the present research, which primarily follows a mixed-methods design, two strategies were employed: the first is a case study, and the second is a survey. The latter, being more quantitative in nature, allows for the examination of relationships between certain linguistic phenomena and specific social variables.

A case study is a research method that can be both qualitative and quantitative, focusing on a particular phenomenon within a specific case, which can later inform broader theoretical conclusions. In this research, each family selected represents a unique case whose speech is analysed independently. The results are then compared to identify patterns and draw potential conclusions. This study also exhibits characteristics of ethnography, a qualitative method that collects data in natural settings. Ethnography aims to describe how people naturally behave, speak, act, or perceive their environment, often using qualitative tools such as real-time observations, conversations, video recordings, photography, diary analysis, interviews, and more. Data can be collected in participants' homes, workplaces, or social settings, whether alone or with family and friends.

While the main objective of this research is to capture and understand the sociolinguistic behaviour of the Algerian immigrant minority group through conversation recordings and interviews, the researcher had no direct in-person contact with participants and intervened only virtually in the data collection process. These objectives align with the fundamentals of ethnography; however, given the procedures employed, the study leans more closely toward the characteristics of a case study.

The second strategy is primarily quantitative, involving a survey. Surveys allow researchers to collect various types of data from a large sample population efficiently. They are generally inexpensive, easy to prepare, administer, and analyse, with numerous software tools available to facilitate the presentation of results in the form of figures, graphs, or tables. Surveys can take several forms, including face-to-face interviews, telephone surveys, panel surveys, focus groups, and online surveys. This research relied primarily on online surveys due to the inaccessibility of the sample population located in France, while paper surveys were used for

participants who were accessible to the researcher. The main purpose of this strategy is to examine the relationship between social variables and language use among Algerian immigrants within the French context and culture.

3.3.5. Time Horizon

The next layer of the research onion is the time horizon, which refers to the duration over which the research is conducted. Time horizons can be either cross-sectional or longitudinal, depending on the type of research, the research questions, and the study objectives. The difference between cross-sectional and longitudinal studies is illustrated in the following figure.

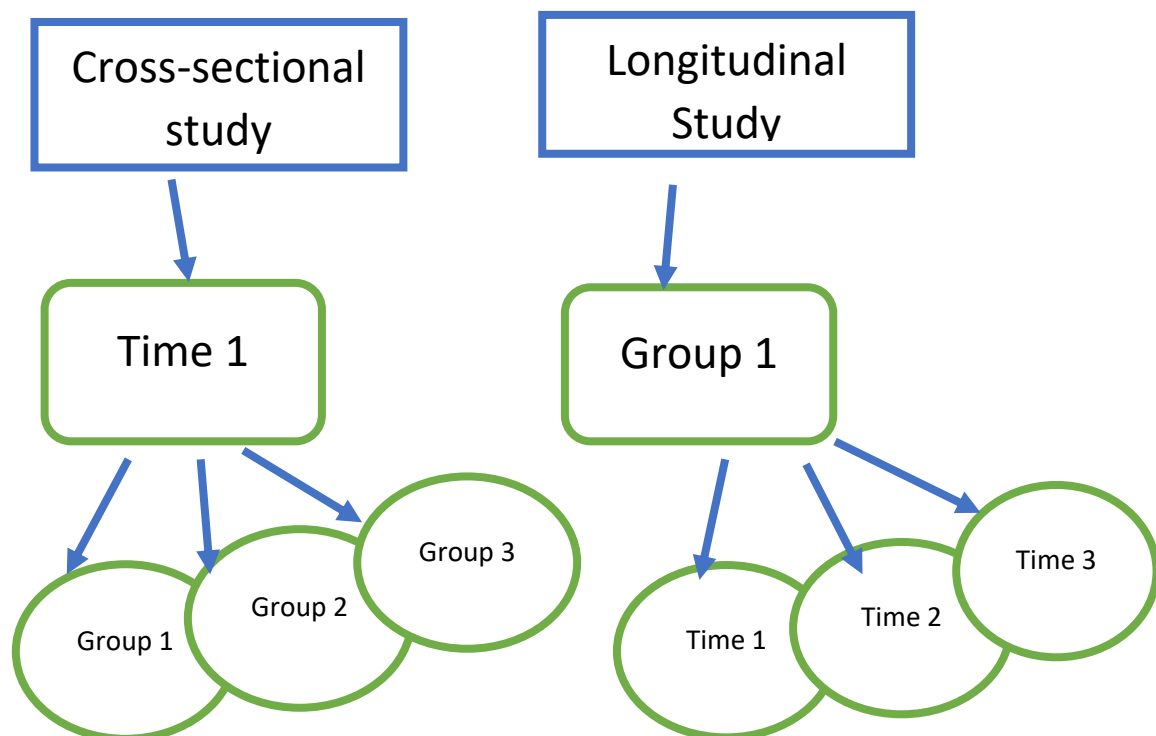


Figure 3.5. Cross-sectional study VS Longitudinal Study

On one hand, cross-sectional research involves the collection of data from a group of people, or from multiple groups, at a single point in time. It is commonly used in the social sciences. This type of research allows for the exploration of relationships between dependent and independent variables. Researchers can

investigate how one independent variable affects one or more dependent variables, or consider multiple variables simultaneously.

Cross-sectional studies have several advantages. They are generally inexpensive and do not require a long period to conduct. Additionally, data can be collected from a large sample population, which strengthens the reliability of the research and allows for potential generalization of the results. Moreover, this type of research is typically conducted for observational purposes, enabling other researchers to examine the same factors or variables using different sample populations. However, cross-sectional research has limitations: researchers cannot draw conclusions about cause-and-effect relationships because data are collected at only one point in time.

On the other hand, longitudinal research involves the collection of data from the same group of people over an extended period. The study may last weeks, months, or even years, allowing researchers to observe changes in the selected variables over time. Longitudinal research is commonly used in medical studies to track the development of diseases or evaluate the effectiveness of treatments, but it is also employed in the social sciences and other fields.

Unlike cross-sectional studies, longitudinal research can identify cause-and-effect relationships because it tracks changes in real time. Consequently, the results are often more valid and reliable. However, longitudinal studies are expensive, time-consuming, and require the cooperation of participants who agree to be followed over long periods, which may be difficult to secure. These challenges can significantly affect the research process and outcomes.

Although a longitudinal study would have provided valuable insights into the evolution of speech across generations of Algerian immigrants in France, it was impractical due to time constraints, high costs, and global restrictions imposed during the COVID-19 pandemic, which made this population largely inaccessible. Therefore, this research adopts a cross-sectional design aimed at investigating

linguistic phenomena across three generations of immigrants, considering various social and demographic variables.

3.4. Techniques and Procedures

This layer represents the final stage in the research onion model proposed by Saunders et al. (2016). It encompasses all techniques and procedures used in the research process. This section presents the two approaches employed in this study: the micro approach and the macro approach. For each approach, the data collection steps, including sample selection, setting, and procedures related to the research instruments, are described.

3.4.1. Micro Approach

The Algerian immigrant community in France is characterized by cultural and linguistic diversity, providing a rich ground for sociolinguistic inquiry. Within this community, individuals face varying challenges related to identity formation or reconstruction, cultural and linguistic adaptation, and the transmission and preservation of heritage. These processes influence the evolution of the language of origin (the Algerian dialect), which undergoes modifications and adaptations linked to intergenerational relationships and strategies for identity and cultural negotiation.

Among the sociolinguistic outcomes observable within this community are language maintenance, language shift, and language attrition. Language maintenance refers to efforts to preserve the use of the heritage language (HL) and ensure its transmission across generations. Language shift involves the gradual replacement of the HL by a more dominant language, often that of the majority group. Language attrition occurs at the individual level and represents the gradual loss of proficiency in the HL due to insufficient exposure.

The micro approach examines language maintenance and shift at the intergenerational level, providing insights into how the HL is used and transmitted. It also includes an intragenerational analysis to capture significant changes in

language features. This approach is implemented through a case study using two instruments: free-conversation recordings and semi-structured interviews. These tools collect both qualitative and quantitative data to analyse language contact phenomena and compare their manifestations across different generations.

3.4.1.1. Sample Population

In research, the population refers to the entire group of people under study, whereas a sample is a smaller group selected from the population. When it is impossible to access every member of the population—a common scenario—the researcher must select a representative sample to draw accurate and precise conclusions. Sampling methods are generally classified into probability and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling involves random selection, whereas non-probability sampling relies on non-random selection methods.

This study aims to provide insights into the sociolinguistic practices of Algerian immigrants in France. Due to the large population, geographical dispersion, and restrictions imposed during the COVID-19 pandemic (including lockdowns, travel limitations, and restricted social contact), the population was largely inaccessible. Consequently, a non-random sampling method was adopted.

Non-random sampling involves selecting participants based on specific criteria relevant to the research. Common types include:

1. **Convenience sampling** – selecting participants who are most accessible and available to the researcher.
2. **Quota sampling** – the researcher identifies a specific number of participants meeting predetermined criteria and selects them randomly.
3. **Self-selection sampling** – participants volunteer to join the study.
4. **Snowball sampling** – used for hard-to-reach populations; one participant refers the researcher to others who may participate.

For the micro approach, convenience sampling was used. The COVID-19 pandemic rendered the Algerian immigrant community largely inaccessible, and even through social media, potential participants were often unwilling to participate. Therefore, the researcher selected participants from her circle of family, friends, and acquaintances who were willing and available.

The selected participants were divided into three groups—generation 1, generation 2, and generation 3—forming a stratified sample based on generational status (Hereafter, GS). In the free-conversation recordings, stratification was based on GS, while in interviews, both age and generation were considered.

3.4.1.2 Research Instruments and Data Collection Process

This research employs a mixed-methods methodology, collecting both qualitative and quantitative data to ensure the reliability of the results. The micro-level section primarily focuses on collecting qualitative data regarding the dynamics of language maintenance, language shift, and language attrition at both the intragenerational and intergenerational levels within the Algerian immigrant community in France. Additionally, it incorporates some quantitative data, such as the frequency of code-switching (CS) used by participants.

Two primary qualitative research instruments were employed: free-conversation recordings and semi-structured interviews. The data collection process for each instrument is explained below.

3.4.1.2.1 Free-Conversation Recordings

Free-conversation recordings are a widely used research instrument in sociolinguistics. They aim to capture naturalistic, unprepared speech arising from spontaneous, unstructured interactions. This method is particularly valuable as it provides insight into various aspects of participant speech, including language use,

variation, change, adaptation, contact phenomena, and intergenerational transmission, as well as identity formation and discourse patterns.

Numerous sociolinguistic studies demonstrate the value of free-conversation recordings. For instance, Fought (2006) conducted a study on Hispanic adolescents in Albuquerque, New Mexico, using free-conversation recordings to capture natural speech and explore the relationship between language use and ethnic identity maintenance. Her findings revealed that participants included English features in their Spanish speech and employed strategies to negotiate their identity, such as code-switching and language choice. Similarly, Zentella (1997) examined Puerto Rican bilingual children in New York City to investigate how immigration influenced their speech and identity. Using a combination of free-conversation recordings and participant observation, she was able to identify linguistic strategies such as code-switching and code-mixing, and she drew conclusions about the relationship between language use and identity formation. Additionally, García (2009) studied various immigrant communities in the United States, using free-conversation recordings as the primary data collection tool. This research provided insights into language shift among minority groups, revealing the influence of intergenerational differences on heritage language maintenance, personal identity, and intergenerational conflicts.

The main advantage of using free-conversation recordings in this research is that they allow for the analysis of intergenerational heritage language transmission and/or shift among Algerian immigrants in France through spontaneous and unscripted interactions. All recordings were collected in naturalistic settings, such as participants' homes, to ensure comfort and capture authentic speech. Free-conversations typically cover a wide range of topics and employ diverse lexical items and sentence structures, enabling the examination of potential language attrition across different generations.

a/ Participants

The free-conversation recordings involved five families from the Algerian immigrant community in France. Each family included three participants, one from the first generation, one from the second generation, and one from the third generation. The following table presents the general profile of the participants involved in this research instrument.

Table 3.1 General profile of the participants in the free-conversation recordings

	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3
Generation	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
Status in the family	Grand-parent	Parent	Child
Place of birth	Algeria	France	France
Language of origin	Algerian dialect		
Age of immigration	18 and more	X	X
Educational Level	Secondary education minimum		

As reported in Table 3.1, the participants exhibited characteristics specific to the generation to which they belong. The first group represents the first generation of immigrants. Each of the five participants in this group is a parent to one participant in the second group and a grandparent to one participant in the third group. All were born in various regions of Algeria. The sample was limited to individuals whose heritage language is Algerian Arabic (AA), as the inclusion of Tamazight speakers would not meet the objectives of this research. Additionally, participants were selected based on the criteria of having immigrated to France as adults and having completed at least a secondary education to ensure a basic proficiency in French.

These criteria facilitate meaningful comparisons between the three generations and enhance the coherence and reliability of the results.

To collect detailed data on each individual's profile, an information sheet was sent to the five families. The sheets were returned to the researcher with information on participants' names, ages, places of birth and residence, year of immigration for the first generation, frequency of use of Algerian Arabic and French (always, sometimes, rarely, or never), and self-assessed proficiency in both languages (good, average, or poor). During the analysis stage, some clarifications were required regarding certain responses, prompting brief exchanges between the researcher and participants via social media to obtain the necessary details. To preserve anonymity and protect privacy, pseudonyms were used for all participants.

The First Family:

The first family consists of Fatima, the grandmother; Amina, the mother; and Amel, the daughter. Fatima was born in 1956 in the Wilaya of Ain-Temouchent, Algeria. She married an Algerian man residing in France and immigrated to Paris in 1976 at the age of 20, following the family reunification law. Amina was born in 1977 in Paris and is the mother of Amel, who is currently 18 years old. Regarding their linguistic profiles, Fatima uses both Algerian Arabic and French daily and considers herself proficient in both languages. Amina reports using Algerian Arabic only occasionally, depending on context or topic, while French is her dominant language, in which she is highly proficient. Amel, in contrast, uses Algerian Arabic only rarely, typically when prompted by a family member, and relies on French for daily interactions in all contexts. She rates her proficiency in Algerian Arabic as average but demonstrates fluency in French. Table 3.2 summarizes the biography and linguistic profiles of this first family.

Table 3.2. Biography and Linguistic profile of the first family of participants

Names of participants	Fatima	Amina	Amel
Age	68	47	18
Place of birth	Ain Temouchent	Paris	Paris
Place of residence	Paris	Paris	Paris
Year of immigration	1976	X	X
Frequency of AA use	Always	Sometimes	Sometimes
Frequency of French use	Always	Always	Always
Proficiency in AA	Good	Good	Average
Proficiency in French	Good	Good	Good

The Second family:

The second family consisted of Faiza (71 years old), Bouchra (37 years old), and Maroua (5 years old). Faiza was born in 1963 in Maghnia and joined her husband, who had already immigrated, in Lyon at the age of 25. Bouchra was born in 1989 and later moved to Paris with her husband at the age of 34, where Maroua was born three years later. Regarding their language use, Faiza reported that Algerian Arabic (AA) is her dominant language, which she uses at home and with family members. However, she switches to French depending on the context or the interlocutor. Bouchra described herself as French-dominant, using AA only occasionally, primarily with her mother. Similarly, Maroua uses AA rarely and demonstrates a clear dominance in French. All three participants have good proficiency in French, while only Faiza and Bouchra maintain a strong command of their heritage language, AA.

Table 3.3 Biography and Linguistic profile of the second family of participants

Name of participants	Faiza	Bouchra	Maroua
Age	71	37	07
Place of birth	Maghnia	Lyon	Lyon
Place of residence	Lyon	Paris	Paris
Year of immigration	1988	X	X
Frequency of AA use	Always	Sometimes	Rarely
Frequency of French use	Always	Always	Always
Proficiency in AA	Good	Good	Bad
Proficiency in French	Good	Good	Good

The Third Family:

The participants of the third family included Houria, Kamila, Maram, Ferial, and Wassim. Houria, a first-generation immigrant, was born in 1949 in Tlemcen and immigrated to France, specifically Strasbourg, in 1979. Her daughter Kamila, a second-generation immigrant, was born in 1983 in the same region. Years later, Kamila married in Perpignan and gave birth to three children: Maram in 2012, Ferial in 2014, and Wassim in 2018. Houria and Kamila both reported using Algerian Arabic (AA) and French daily and stated that they have good proficiency in both languages. Kamila, however, admitted that she needs to make greater efforts to transmit AA to her children. Among her children, the eldest, Maram, appears to be more proficient in AA compared to Ferial and Wassim. The following table (Table 4.4) summarizes the biography and linguistic profile of this family.

Table 3.4 Biography and Linguistic profile of the third family of participants

Name of Participants	Houria	Kamila	Maram	Ferial	Wassil
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Age	75	41	12	10	6
Place of birth	Tlemcen	Strasbourg	Perpignan	Perpignan	Perpignan
Place of residence	Strasbourg	Perpignan	Perpignan	Perpignan	Perpignan
Year of immigration	1979	X	X	X	X
Frequency of AA use	Always	Always	Sometimes	Sometimes	Rarely
Frequency of French use	Always	Always	Always	Always	Always
Proficiency in AA	Good	Good	Average	Average	Bad
Proficiency in French	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good

The Fourth Family:

The fourth family consists of Mohamed (62 years old), Souad (37 years old), and Naila (16 years old). Mohamed was born in 1962 in the Wilaya of Oran and immigrated to France at the age of 19. A few years later, he married an Algerian woman who joined him in Marseille. Their daughter, Souad, was born in 1987 in Marseille, where she was raised. She married at the age of 20 and gave birth to Naila a year later. Regarding their linguistic profile, Mohamed reported being proficient in both French and Algerian Arabic (AA) and using both languages daily. Souad and Naila, however, indicated lower proficiency in AA compared to Mohamed, as they do not use it as frequently as they would like. French, on the other hand, is their dominant language, used fluently across all contexts and domains.

Table 3.5 Biography and Linguistic profile of the fourth family of participants

Name of participants	Mohamed	Souad	Naila
Age	62	37	16
Place of birth	Oran	Marseille	Marseille
Place of residence	Marseille	Marseille	Marseille
Year of immigration	1981	X	X
Frequency of AA use	Always	Sometimes	Sometimes
Frequency of French use	Always	Always	Always
Proficiency in AA	Good	Average	Average
Proficiency in French	Good	Good	Good

The Fifth Family:

The fifth family consists of Nabila (62 years old), Sarah (35 years old), and Yacine (7 years old). Nabila was born in 1962 in Algiers and immigrated to France, specifically Paris, at the age of 18. A few years later, she married an Algerian man, with whom she had her daughter, Sarah. Sarah was born in 1989 in Paris, where she grew up. She married at the age of 27 and gave birth to her son, Yacine, a year later. In terms of their linguistic profile, Nabila reported being proficient in both French and Algerian Arabic (AA) and using both languages daily. Sarah, however, indicated that she is less proficient in AA and uses it only occasionally, with French being her dominant language. Finally, Yacine, representing the third generation, reported rarely using AA and having very limited proficiency in the language.

Table 3.6 Biography and Linguistic profile of the fifth family of participants

Name of participants	Nabila	Sarah	Yacine
-----------------------------	--------	-------	--------

Age	62	35	7
Place of Birth	Algiers	Paris	Paris
Place of residence	Paris	Paris	Paris
Year of immigration	1980	X	X
Frequency of AA use	Always	Sometimes	Rarely
Frequency of French use	Always	Always	Always
Proficiency in AA	Good	Average	Bad
Proficiency in French	Good	Good	Good

b/ Setting

In sociolinguistic research, selecting an appropriate setting for data collection is crucial to ensure the authenticity of the results. When the primary aim is to examine how people speak and behave linguistically, regardless of context, free-conversation recordings are often the preferred method. Participants in this study were free to choose the setting where they felt most comfortable, and all selected their homes. It is important to note that at the time of data collection, people were confined to their houses due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which limited alternative settings where three family members could meet to record their conversations.

In the context of immigration and the cross-generational focus of this study, the home setting holds particular significance. Recording conversations in participants' own homes, where they feel familiar and comfortable, provides particularly valuable insights. Certain linguistic behaviours and variations are more likely to emerge in natural and spontaneous speech. At home, participants are relaxed and more likely to engage in open, unstructured conversations, which aligns perfectly with the needs of this research.

Therefore, despite the global restrictions, choosing participants' homes as the setting for data collection was deliberately motivated by both practical and

methodological considerations. The familial environment represents a rich source of information about intragenerational attrition and intergenerational maintenance, transmission, or shift of the heritage language. This approach is supported by Deprez (1999), who notes that sociolinguistic studies focusing on families have become increasingly favored in recent decades, as they allow for better recording conditions and more authentic material for analysis.

c/ Process

Due to COVID-19 restrictions, the process of recording free-conversations deviated from the initial plan. Originally, the researcher intended to record a larger number of conversations between different families, with her presence guiding the discussions, reducing pauses, and ensuring spontaneity and reliability.

Given the constraints, the researcher instead asked one member of each family to record the conversation independently using a smartphone application and to send the recordings via email. Participants were asked for consent to be recorded and to participate anonymously. For some, consent was obtained only after recording, in order to maximize naturalness and reduce timidity, laughter, or bias.

The researcher provided specific instructions: conversations should be spontaneous and natural, with no imposed language or topic, involve all three generations of the family, and last at least ten minutes. While conversations could have been longer and more productive, gaining participation was already challenging. The total length of all recordings was 13 hours, 19 minutes, and 7 seconds.

The following table summarizes the characteristics of the five recorded conversations:

Table 3.7 Conversation Analysis Process

Conversations	Setting	Duration of the recording	Participants	Themes of the conversation
Conversation 1	At home in the Kitchen	15'39	Fatima/Amina/Amel	The end of the year celebrations
Conversation 2	At home in the living room	10'43	Faiza/ Bouchra/Maroua	The corona virus situation
Conversation 3	At home in the living room	13'01	Houria/Kamila/Maram/Ferial/Wassim	children's days at school
Conversation 4	At home in the living room	20'03	Mohammed/Souad/Naila	Playing a charade game
Conversation 5	At home in the living room	19'45	Nabila/Sarah/Yacine	Random topics

3.4.1.2.2 Semi-Structured Interview

According to Ary et al. (2010, p.438), interviews are one of the most common research instruments used in qualitative studies, typically employed to gather data about people's opinions, beliefs, and feelings in various situations. Corbetta (2003, p.269) distinguishes three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured. In a structured interview, the researcher follows a predetermined set of questions that the respondent must answer. A semi-structured interview is similar but allows for flexibility, enabling the researcher to make modifications or add questions during the session. In contrast, an unstructured interview centers on a specific theme, allowing the respondent to speak freely with minimal interruption.

In this research, two types of interviews were conducted. The first was a structured interview with the family members who participated in the free-conversation recordings. Its purpose was to collect detailed information about their biographies and linguistic profiles, providing richer contextual understanding to support more concrete results.

The second interview was semi-structured and involved a group of nine immigrants, with three participants representing each generational group. The main objective was to examine participants' language choices, their attitudes toward Algerian Arabic (AA), and how the language is transmitted across three generations. Crucially, this research tool allowed the study of age as a factor and its influence on the maintenance or shift of the heritage language (AA).

This semi-structured interview aimed to discover whether and how different generations of immigrants preserve their language of origin and transmit it to their descendants. Participants were asked about their language use in various contexts and their self-assessed proficiency in AA compared to French. They were also questioned about any signs of language attrition and the reasons behind their code-switching (CS), specifically whether instances of CS reflect competence in both languages or function as compensatory strategies to bridge linguistic gaps. The data obtained were first analysed within each generational group and subsequently compared across generations and age groups.

a/ Participants

The interview included nine participants in total, three from each generation. The first-generation group comprised participants 1, 2, and 3, aged over 45, between 18 and 45, and under 18 years old, respectively. The second-generation participants, referred to as participants 4, 5, and 6, and the third-generation participants, referred to as participants 7, 8, and 9, were similarly distributed to reflect the age ranges and GS within the sample.

Table 3.8. Interview participants according to age groups and generation status

Generation/ age group	Group 1 (+45)	Group 2 (18 and 45)	Group 3 (less than 18)
Generation 1	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3
Generation 2	Participant 4	Participant 5	Participant 6
Generation 3	Participant 7	Participant 8	Participant 9

b/ Setting

The collection of data through interviews posed particular challenges due to the restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, which made direct contact with participants infeasible. Consequently, the interviews were conducted online via WhatsApp, allowing each participant to choose a setting in which they felt most comfortable. Most participants responded from their living rooms, some from their private rooms, and one participant chose to sit in her car to avoid surrounding noise. Thanks to technological advancements, this online approach enabled the successful completion of the interviews and yielded valuable data.

c/ Process

Once participants were comfortably settled in their chosen locations, the researcher requested oral consent for participation before beginning the interview. The session started with questions about their GS and age to ensure they met the study’s criteria. Following this, participants were asked a series of predetermined questions. French was used as the primary language to avoid misunderstandings, reduce anxiety, and minimize fear of judgment, although participants were free to respond in whichever language they felt most comfortable with. This approach aimed to maximize spontaneity and obtain authentic, truthful responses.

The semi-structured interview comprised eight questions addressing multiple objectives. Participants were first asked about their language fluency and language

choice in various contexts, such as at home, at school, or in the workplace. They were then asked to assess their proficiency in Algerian Arabic (AA) and whether they felt they fully understood and could communicate effectively in their language of origin. Participants were further asked to identify any signs of attrition in AA, specifying whether difficulties appeared in vocabulary, pronunciation, sentence formation, or other linguistic aspects. The focus then shifted to the importance participants attached to maintaining AA across generations, including the efforts they currently make or plan to make to preserve the language. Finally, participants were questioned about their frequency of contact with other Algerian immigrants in France, providing insight into their identification with Algerian culture and their sense of solidarity with the community.

3.4.1.3 Social Variables Examined in the Study

Two social variables were considered in this first part of the research: GS and age. GS was the primary variable used in analysing the conversation recordings, while both variables were examined in the semi-structured interviews.

GS aimed to determine differences among the three generations of immigrants in terms of language choice, proficiency in AA, and patterns of code-switching (CS). Age was analysed to evaluate whether, independently of GS, it was related to language choice, competence, and the maintenance or shift of the HL (AA), as well as the occurrence of attrition over time. The sample included three age groups: participants over 45 years old, participants between 18 and 45, and participants under 18 years old.

3.4.1.4 Linguistic Features under Study

This research examined three main linguistic features: phonetic attrition, lexical attrition, and syntactic attrition.

a/ Phonetic attrition included frequent mispronunciations such as

- the Algerian /q/ shifting to a /k/ sound, as in “kan jkoli : mol nija jerbaħ” (instead of /jqoli/)

- the Algerian /ts/ shifting to the French /t/, as in “bsaħtek maman” (instead of /bsaħtsek/)
- the Algerian /h/ becoming the French silent /h/, as in “wala je te jure” (instead of /walah/).

b/ Lexical attrition referred to participants’ reported difficulties with vocabulary in AA, often leading them to substitute French words to compensate for gaps in their heritage language.

c/ Syntactic attrition described challenges in sentence formation resulting from both the loss of vocabulary in AA and the interference of French syntactic structures and expressions with those of the language of origin.

3.4.2 Macro Approach

The second part of this research relied on a survey strategy, which is considered a macro approach due to its ability to reach a larger sample population. The main aim was first to investigate the relationship between certain social variables and heritage language maintenance (HLM) or shift, and then to explore the potential generalization of the results. The analysis was conducted at both intragenerational and intergenerational levels, although the focus was primarily intragenerational, complementing the micro approach.

3.4.2.1 Sample

Initially, the investigation was designed to use a probability sampling method to ensure objectivity and randomness in data collection. However, due to the inaccessibility of the target population during the COVID-19 pandemic, the study design shifted to an online survey, which was posted in several social media groups gathering large numbers of Algerian immigrants in France. This method constitutes a non-probability sampling technique called self-selection sampling, as participation was determined by the participants’ own decision to respond to the survey.

A key inclusion criterion for participants was that they must have spent at least one year in France. Responses from participants who did not meet this requirement were excluded, which corresponds to purposive sampling. After filtering the eligible surveys, participants were grouped according to their GS into three categories: generation 1, generation 2, and generation 3. This stratification constitutes a non-random, stratified sampling method.

3.4.2.2 Research Instruments and Data Collection Process

The macro approach relied primarily on quantitative analysis, using a questionnaire designed specifically to explore factors affecting HLM or language shift. The questionnaire aimed to identify correlations between social factors and levels of proficiency in Algerian Arabic (AA), while also providing qualitative data about participants' attitudes, opinions, and experiences in various domains.

3.4.2.2.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaires are widely used in survey research as they allow data collection from a large number of participants while aligning closely with the study's objectives. In this research, both paper-based and online questionnaires were employed to maximize reach, although the online questionnaire ultimately proved most effective due to the practical challenges encountered.

While online questionnaires have limitations, including the lack of immediate clarification, reduced personal interaction, and potential uncertainty about the identity of respondents, they offered significant advantages for this study. They were cost-effective, time-efficient, and provided access to the Algerian immigrant community in France, which would have been otherwise difficult to reach. The online format also simplified distribution and data analysis processes.

The questionnaire combined different types of questions, including close-ended, open-ended, multiple-choice, and Likert scale questions. This design enabled the collection of comprehensive data that could be analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Additionally, the questionnaire was kept concise to minimize

completion time, thereby increasing the likelihood of participants providing complete, accurate, and reliable responses.

a/ Participants

The survey included a total of 265 participants, comprising 185 women and 80 men. Among the respondents, 212 individuals belonged to the first generation of immigrants, 35 were part of the second generation, and the remaining 18 respondents were third-generation immigrants. The participants were then divided into three age groups: the first group consisted of 40 individuals over 45 years old, the second group included 212 individuals aged between 18 and 45, and the third group was composed of 13 participants under 18 years old. It was observed that the majority of the sample belonged to the first generation of immigrants, while the dominant age group was the second.

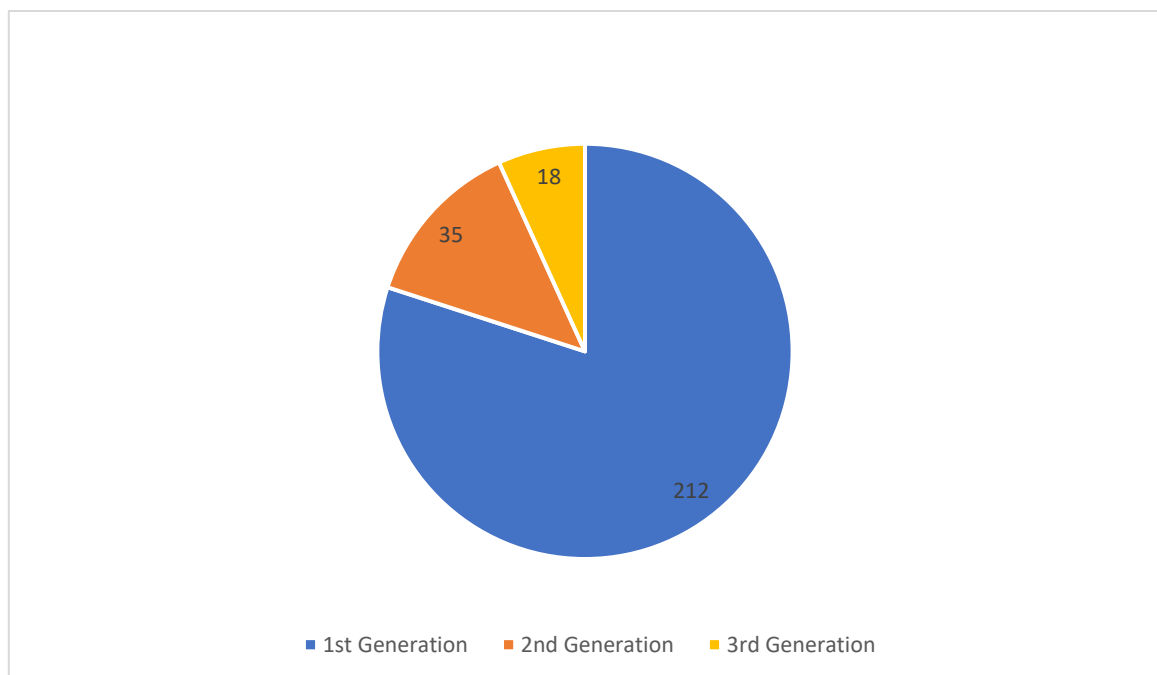


Figure 3.7. Number of participants according to GS

It can be observed from the graph that 212 of the respondents belong to the first generation of immigrants, most of whom migrated between the ages of 18 and 45. Among them, only 13 reported having immigrated before adulthood. The

motivations behind their migration varied: some moved to complete their studies in France, others found appealing job opportunities, while the rest immigrated for family reunification or in search of better living conditions.

Regarding the rest of the sample, 35 individuals are part of the second generation of immigrants, with parents born in Algeria, and 18 are third-generation immigrants whose grandparents were born in Algeria.

Table 3.9 presents the distribution of participants according to the predefined age groups. Within the first generation, the sample included three participants over 45 years old, 187 participants between 18 and 45 years old, and 22 participants under 18 years old. For the second generation, the sample consisted of two participants over 45 years old, 17 between 18 and 45 years old, and 16 under 18 years old. Finally, the third-generation group had the smallest number of participants: eight over 45 years old, eight between 18 and 45 years old, and only two under 18 years old.

Table 3.9. Age ranges concerning each Generation of immigrants

Generation	Group 1 (+45)	Group 2 (18-45)	Group 3 (less than 18)	Total
Generation 1	3	187	22	212
Generation 2	2	17	16	35
Generation 3	8	8	2	18
Total	13	212	40	265

b/ Setting

The researcher opted for an online questionnaire to reach the largest possible number of individuals within the Algerian community in France. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, access to the target population was limited. Nevertheless, technological tools allowed data collection to remain feasible and manageable despite the distance. The questionnaire was designed using Google Forms,

combining close-ended and open-ended questions. The online form was then posted in various Facebook groups that included large numbers of Algerian immigrants in France and further shared by members in sub-groups or via private messages to friends and relatives within the community.

Collecting a sufficient number of respondents through online posts alone proved challenging and extremely time-consuming. Therefore, a paper version of the questionnaire was later prepared for distribution to some immigrants who returned to Algeria after the lifting of Covid-19 restrictions. However, reaching a considerable number of cooperative participants in Algeria was difficult. Consequently, most of the rejected questionnaires originated from the paper version, which often contained incomplete or incoherent responses.

c/ Process

The questionnaire was structured into several sections, each with a specific theme and purpose. The first section collected basic demographic information, including gender, age, country of birth, educational level, and GS. Following the initial analysis of the 280 distributed questionnaires, 15 were rejected due to incomplete, unclear, or incoherent answers. Additionally, some questionnaires were completed by first-generation immigrants who had spent less than a year in France, which did not meet the study's requirements and would not provide reliable insights, particularly regarding first language attrition.

Participants were then asked about the age range during which they immigrated to France. Based on this information, they were separated into three groups. The first group included individuals who immigrated before the age of 18, totaling 13 participants. The second group consisted of 199 participants who immigrated as adults, between 18 and 45 years old. The final group included second- and third-generation immigrants who did not personally immigrate to France but were descended from at least one parent or grandparent who did, totaling 53 participants.

Table 3.10. First generation participants according to age of immigration

Age of immigration	Less than 18	Between 18 and 45	2 nd and 3 rd generation
Number of participants	13	199	53

Next, it was relevant to examine the educational level of each participant in the sample to assess its potential effect on the attrition, maintenance, or intergenerational transmission of AA. The responses indicated that the majority of participants had attained a university-level education, totaling 208 individuals. Only 20 respondents reported completing secondary school, while 37 others were still in middle school. Overall, it can be concluded that the sample was highly educated.

The following table presents the educational level of participants according to their GS. Among the first-generation immigrants in the sample, 21 had completed middle school, 14 had attained secondary school, and 177 held a university degree. For the second-generation participants, 14 had a middle school level, 5 had completed secondary school, and 16 had achieved a university-level education. Finally, within the third-generation group, 2 participants had middle school-level education, 1 had completed secondary school, and 15 held a university degree.

Table 3.11. Educational Level according to GS

Generation	Primary	Middle	Secondary	University	Total
Generation 1	0	21	14	177	212
Generation 2	0	0	17	18	35
Generation 3	0	2	1	15	18
Total	0	23	32	210	265

The table indicates that 79.2% of the sample population is highly educated, including 66.8% from the first generation, 6.8% from the second generation, and 5.6% from the third generation of immigrants. It is also notable that 83% of the first-generation participants, 51% of the second-generation participants, and 83% of the third-generation participants hold a university degree. Overall, 8.1% of the sample has a middle school education, and 12.1% have a secondary school level.

The next section of the questionnaire aimed to examine the status of AA among these immigrants, asking whether they considered it their mother tongue, first language, second language, or even a foreign language. Participants were then asked about the age of their first exposure to both AA and French to explore the relationship between early exposure and the level of competence developed in their language of origin. This led to the following section, which focused on the participants' self-assessed proficiency in AA, including comprehension, fluency, and their ability to translate between AA and French.

The fourth section addressed language choice and frequency of use. Participants were asked which language they used most often with family, neighbors, friends, or colleagues, across different contexts such as home, school, work, and public spaces, as well as which language they felt most comfortable using.

The following section explored participants' exposure to AA in daily life, including how often they visit Algeria, maintain virtual contact with relatives, and engage with Algerian media such as music and television. The goal was to assess the extent to which such exposure might influence their competence in AA.

Next, participants were questioned about their identity and the culture with which they most strongly identify. This was important to determine the type of acculturation strategy adopted by different generations in France—whether they maintained their Algerian identity while rejecting French culture, embraced French culture while rejecting their Algerian identity, accepted both, or rejected both. These results were then compared with their proficiency in AA to examine potential correlations.

Finally, the questionnaire addressed the maintenance, shift, and attrition of the heritage language (AA). Participants were asked about the importance they place on preserving AA for themselves, within their families, and across the Algerian community in France. They were also questioned about the efforts they make to maintain the language and their willingness to transmit this linguistic heritage to future generations.

3.4.2.3 Social Variables Examined in the Study

This research instrument was primarily designed to examine the relationship between participants' competence in AA and a set of social variables:

1. Generational status: As a cross-generational study, the primary aim was to compare results across generations. This allowed for intergenerational comparisons of language use and attitudes toward AA.

2. Age of immigration: This variable was included to determine whether immigrating before or after adulthood affects the level of competence developed in AA, as well as its maintenance and intergenerational transmission.

3. Educational level: Previous studies have shown that education can significantly influence the maintenance or shift of a heritage language. This study explored whether preserving a high level of proficiency in AA and transmitting it across generations is associated with educational attainment (middle school, secondary school, or higher education).

4. Age of first exposure to AA: The age at which participants first encountered AA—before or after school age—was considered crucial, as early socialization is a determining factor in language acquisition and competence. This variable was examined to see its effect on language maintenance and transmission.

5. Frequency of AA use: Language choice plays a central role in proficiency development. The study measured how often participants used AA across different contexts and with various interlocutors to assess both intra-generational maintenance and the potential for intergenerational transmission.

6. Identity and culture: Language use in an immigrant context is closely tied to cultural identity. Immigrants may use their heritage language to assert their identity or adopt the host country's language to integrate. In the Algerian context, this study tested whether AA maintenance and transmission are linked to participants' sense of cultural pride and solidarity with the Algerian community.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter presented the fieldwork and methodological framework of the study, providing detailed information on how the research was designed, implemented, and carried out to collect the necessary data for analysis and interpretation. The first section focused on Algerian immigrants in France as a distinct speech community. It highlighted the various settings in which language is acquired, with particular emphasis on the family environment, which was identified as the most significant factor in language acquisition and transmission. This was followed by an exploration of the sociolinguistic behaviours of this community and the ways in which language is transmitted across generations, representing the core of this research. The section concluded with an overview of perceptions regarding the Arabic language in France and its sociolinguistic status in the country.

The second section outlined the research process, beginning with the underlying research philosophy, followed by the methodology, approaches, and strategies employed, and concluding with the time horizon on which the study was based. Finally, the chapter detailed the techniques and procedures used in data collection and analysis. Both the micro and macro approaches were presented, with reference to all materials and procedures employed to obtain authentic data for the practical component of this research.

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Data Analysis from a Micro-Approach

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4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of data collected using two primary research instruments: the free-conversation recordings and the semi-structured interviews. Selected extracts from the transcriptions of these recordings are used to support the analysis. The chapter begins with a detailed examination of each conversation, analysing the speech of individual participants. General conclusions drawn from the five conversations are then presented.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the analysis of the semi-structured interviews. This section is organized according to the three generational groups of immigrants. The chapter concludes with an overall discussion that integrates all the findings obtained from the analysis of this research instrument.

4.2. Analysis of the Free-Conversation Recordings

In analysing these recordings, each participant in every conversation is considered separately. The study first examines the words and sentences used, identifying the dominant language in each interaction. An analysis of code-switching (CS) is then conducted for each participant. Finally, an intergenerational comparison is presented within each conversation before considering potential generalizations of the findings.

4.2.1. Conversation 1

The first conversation took place in the living room of Fatima's house. She was visited by her daughter, Amina, and her granddaughter, Amel, and they engaged in a natural, spontaneous discussion about preparations for the end-of-year celebrations. Analysis of this conversation focused on language choice, proficiency, and code-switching, considering the number of words and conversational turns used in both Algerian Arabic (AA) and French.

Fatima's speech was predominantly in AA, using 121 words in AA compared to 88 words in French. Amina, on the other hand, predominantly used French, with 751 out of 778 words in French, demonstrating her dominance in this language. Amel also showed a strong French dominance, using only 8 words in AA versus 692 in French. Overall, Amina produced the largest number of words (778), while the total word count for the three participants was 1,687.

Regarding conversational turns, Fatima produced 23 monolingual utterances (12 in AA and 11 in French) and 12 mixed turns involving code-switching between French and AA. Amina did not produce any monolingual utterances in AA but used 45 monolingual French utterances, with 15 instances of code-switching. Amel produced only two utterances in AA compared to 53 in French, and she code-switched six times during the conversation.

Table 4.1. Number of words used in conversation 1

	Fatima		Amina		Amel		Total	
AA words	121	7%	27	1,6%	8	0,4%	156	9%
Fr words	88	5,5%	751	44,5%	692	41%	1531	91%
Total	209	12,1%	778	46,1%	700	41,4%	1687	100%

Table 4.2. Number of Conversation turns in conversation 1

	Fatima		Amina		Amel		Total	
AA sentences	12	7,7%	0	0%	2	1,4%	14	9,1%
Fr sentences	11	7%	45	28,8%	53	34%	109	69,8%
CS	12	7,7%	15	9,6%	6	3,8%	33	21,1%
Total	35	22,4%	60	38,4%	61	39,2%	156	100%

Statistics indicate that French was the dominant language in terms of words, accounting for 91% of the total words used in this conversation, compared to 9% in Algerian Arabic (AA). Fatima used the highest proportion of AA words at 7%,

followed by Amina at 1.6%, and Amel at 0.4%. Conversely, Amina used the most French words (44.4%), followed by Amel (41%) and Fatima (5.5%). Considering overall word production, Amina contributed the largest share at 46.1%, followed by Amel at 41.4% and Fatima at 12.1%.

Regarding conversation turns, Amel took the highest proportion at 39.2%, followed closely by Amina at 38.4%, and Fatima at 22.4%. French was the most frequently used language during turns, comprising 69.8% of all utterances, followed by mixed utterances at 21.1%, and AA monolingual utterances at 9.1%. Within AA utterances, Fatima produced the majority at 7.7%, followed by Amel at 0.4%, while Amina did not produce any. For French turns, Amel led with 34%, followed by Amina at 28.8%, and Fatima at 7%. In terms of code-switching (CS) between French and AA, Amina exhibited the highest frequency at 9.6%, followed by Fatima at 7.7%, and Amel at 3.8%. Overall, French was also the dominant language in terms of conversation turns.

Analysis of CS patterns revealed distinct behaviours across generations. Fatima, the first-generation participant, was the only one to employ inter-sentential CS while also using multiple forms of intra-sentential CS: 13 isolated words, 1 phrase, and 13 clauses in a different language than the matrix language. Amina, the second-generation participant, did not use inter-sentential CS but frequently inserted words, phrases, and clauses within sentences (11 isolated words, 3 phrases, and 3 clauses). Amel, the third-generation participant, primarily used tag switching (8 instances) and produced one instance of intra-sentential CS in the form of a phrase.

These results suggest that, in this conversation, French was clearly the dominant language, with code-switching patterns reflecting generational differences in language use and proficiency.

Table 4.3. Number of CS used in conversation 1

	Fatima	Amina	Amel	Total
Inter	1	0	0	1
Tag	13	11	8	32
Intra phrase	1	3	1	5
Intra clause	2	3	0	5
Total	17	17	9	43

4.2.1.1. Fatima

While analysing Fatima’s conversation turns, it was observed that she employed different types of code-switching (CS). She used tag-switching, where a French tag was followed by a full sentence in AA. Extract 1 illustrates this, showing that Fatima used the French tag “*bien sûr*” (meaning “of course”) instead of the AA equivalent /*bajna*/, and then continued with a sentence in AA. Within the same sentence, she also used the word /*kedu*/, which represents a borrowing from the French word *cadeau* (“present”) that was phonologically adapted into AA. Extract 2 provides another example of tag-switching, in which Fatima employed the French word “*oui*” instead of any equivalent in AA.

Extract 1:

Fatima: bien-sure, /*kul waħad wel kedu ntaħah*/

Of course, everyone gets his own present.

Extract 2:

Fatima: oui, /*ma kanf*/

Yes, there is not.

Moreover, Fatima used inter-sentential code-switching (CS) once in this conversation, starting her turn with a sentence in French and then continuing with a full sentence in AA. This instance is presented in Extract 3.

Extract 3:

Fatima : Ah tu parles des légumes ! /kona ndirɔ el batata mqaʃra syira hakda/

Oh you're speaking about vegetables! We were making potatoes finely cut this way.

To determine the participants' proficiency in AA, the analysis of mixed utterances between AA and French was conducted using the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993). According to the model, in intra-sentential CS, a dominant language—the Matrix Language (ML)—provides the grammatical structure of the sentence, while a secondary language—the Embedded Language (EL)—is inserted within it. When the speaker is proficient in the ML, classical CS occurs, producing fully grammatical sentences. Otherwise, composite CS arises, with sentence structure divided between the ML and EL.

Fatima used intra-sentential CS multiple times in her interactions. Extracts 4 and 5 illustrate examples from the conversation. In Extract 4, AA is the matrix language, providing the sentence structure (VSO word order), while a single French word, *gigot* (“leg of meat”), is embedded. In Extract 5, Fatima alternates between AA and French within the same sentence. Here, AA remains the ML, and French morphemes (prepositions, adverbs, adjectives) function as EL, constrained by AA grammar. The adapted borrowing /tramasihom/ from the French verb *ramasser* (“to gather”) demonstrates morphological and phonological adaptation to AA.

Extract 4:

Fatima: /ma taʃaqlif ʃla/ gigot ? (Don't you remember the leg of meat?)

AA negation form+ verb+ S+ AA negation form + AA preposition + Fr Object

Extract 5:

Fatima : oui /maʃi meʃrijen, tramasihom w txelihom/ deux ou trois jours /w taʃtehɔm etʃam, jʒiw/ très bon. (Yes, they are not bought, and it can be eaten, you gather them then let them for two or three days and you give them some couscous).

Fr Proposition+ AA negative form+ AA adjective, AA verb+ Fr Adverb+ AA verb+ AA object, + AA verb + Fr adjective.

Overall, although Fatima's interventions were shorter and less frequent than Amina's and Amel's, her matrix language appears to be AA. This is evident from the dominance of AA in word count and conversation turns, as well as her intra-sentential CS following the MLF model. She demonstrates proficiency in AA, producing classical CS with full grammatical sentences. Her CS appears natural and spontaneous, not triggered by gaps in either language. However, she made mostly unmarked language choices without adapting to interlocutor or topic. Fatima can therefore be considered a dominant bilingual, proficient in both languages but showing AA dominance and limited adaptability to French in context.

4.2.1.2 Amina

Amina was the participant who code-switched the most in this conversation, adapting her language depending on her interlocutor. She primarily spoke French to her daughter, Amel, while switching to AA when addressing her mother, Fatima. She frequently used metaphorical CS, as shown in Extract 6, where she first speaks AA to Fatima and then reformulates in French to Amel.

Extract 6:

Amina : la soupe (laugh) ah la buche la buche, j'adore la buche. /nefriha/ ou je la fais ?

The soup. Oh the Yule log cake, the Yule log cake, I love Yule log cake. Should I buy it or make it?

Fatima : /diriha diriha/

Make it make it.

Amel : buche pâtissière ?

Pastry log ?

Amina : oui buche pâtissière, je la fais ou on l'achète ?

Yes, pastry log, should I make it or should we buy it?

Extracts 7 and 8 show similar adjustments: Amina switches from French to AA when speaking to her mother, either for clarification or emphasis, raising questions about Fatima's French comprehension.

Extract 7:

Amina : bon c'est bon tu as fait le menu, /derti/ le menu ?

So, have you finished preparing the menu, have you prepared the menu?

Fatima: /mazal/

Not yet.

Extract 8:

Amina: Ah oui tu en as vu a Temouchent ? /ʃeftihom/ ?

Oh have you seen some of them in Temouchent? Have you seen them ?

Fatima: oui /kajen/ mais /fi/ Alger /mafī fi tmɔʃent/.

Yes, they exist but in Algiers not in Temouchent.

Similarly, Amina used inter-sentential CS, switching languages at sentence boundaries to attract her mother's attention (Extract 9) or emphasize meaning (Extracts 10–11).

Extract 9:

Amina : Ah /bentek raha zaja/, tu vas me faire quoi à manger alors ?

So, your daughter is coming, what meal are you going to prepare for her?

In other examples of inter-sentential code-switching, it could be determined that Amina made some marked choices in terms of the linguistic code she used. For example, in extract 10, she starts her sentence speaking in French then abruptly switches to AA probably to emphasize on her sentence attracting the attention of

her mother. However, in extract 11, the shift from French to AA adds a humorous tone suggesting that her mother needs to eat more than she does.

Extract 10 :

Amina : Mais si il existe, tu as vu comme les sapins sont vides dehors bin le 24 y aura des cadeaux partout donc tu vas voir, /dɔk jʒi/.

Yes he exists, have you seen how Christmas trees are empty outside, the 24th there will be presents everywhere you will see, he will come.

Extract 11:

Amina: de toutes façon on fait ce qu'on fait, /nti ma takli walɔ/

Anyways, no matter what we do, you will not eat anything.

In terms of Amina's Intra-sentential code-switching use, they all appeared at word level. She made use of AA single word inclusions in French utterances multiple times in this conversation. Extract 12, 13, and 14 show how the words /ʁʁa/ (diner), /djaf/ (guests) and /kaɲlɔʁa/ (black women) are employed within French sentences.

Extract 12:

Amina: Voilà, vous mangez tôt le /ʁʁa/ des diabétiques.

Voila, you eat early the dinner of diabetics.

Extract 13:

Amina : C'est comme ça que tu fais aux /djaf/ ?

This is how you treat your guests?

Extract 14 :

Amina : oui une poupée noire quand je l'ai vu j'ai crié c'est une /kaɲlɔʁa/ !

Yes, a black doll, when I saw it I screamed, it's black!

According to the MLF model, Amina's matrix language is French, with AA functioning as the embedded language. Embedded islands occur as single words or

phrases, following French syntax (Extracts 15–16). Notably, French articles are consistently used before AA words, demonstrating the integration of AA lexemes while affirming Algerian cultural identity (Extracts 17–18).

Extract 15:

Amina: /hadu/ c'est des /bebɔʃ/ du jardin /taʃ bera/ de mon jardin, ils sont bons ?
ça se mange ? (these are snails from the garden of the outside of my garden, are they good? Are they edible?)

AA Demonstratif pronouns+ Fr indefinite demonstrative pronoun+ Fr article+ AA noun+ Fr prep and Noun complement+ AA possessive noun+ AA noun + Fr demonstrative pronoun+ Fr possessif pronoun+ Fr noun.

Extract 16:

Amina : oui le /bebɔʃ/ d'ici n'est pas /hlal/

Yes, the snails in here are not allowed to be eaten in the Islamic religion.

What is particularly noteworthy is Amina's consistent use of French articles before introducing AA words within her sentences. For instance, in Examples 17 and 18, the AA word /tʃam/ is preceded by the French article *du*, and the word /hlal/ appears after the French article *le* along with the negative marker *pas*. A similar pattern is observed in Examples 13 and 14, where /djaf/ is preceded by *aux* and /kaħlɔʃa/ by *une*. Even though French equivalents exist for these words, Amina's choice to insert AA lexemes serves as an affirmation of her Algerian cultural identity, highlighting the cultural connotation embedded in these words.

Extract 17 :

Amina : de la semoule c'est du /tʃam/

Semoulina is couscous

Extract 18 :

Amina : oui bin 20ans en arrière le pas /hlal/ ils ne savaient pas ce que c'était les français

Of course, 20 years ago, French people did not know about the notion of not halal.

The analysis of Amina's speech indicates that she is proficient in both French and AA. However, French appears to be her dominant language, as evidenced by the higher number of words and monolingual sentences she produced in French compared to AA. Examination of her mixed utterances using the Matrix Frame Model confirms that French serves as her matrix language, with intra-sentential code-switching instances being French-dominant, incorporating single AA words or short phrases. Nevertheless, Amina actively maintains her use of AA and adapts her language from French to AA when interacting with her mother, whose first language is AA.

4.2.1.3. Amel

Amel was the most verbally active participant in the conversation. Her speech shows a clear dominance of French in terms of both the number of words and monolingual conversation turns. She produced only six mixed utterances, all of which were intra-sentential code-switches. In these instances, she inserted single AA words within predominantly French sentences. For example, in Extract 19, Amel used the AA word /h̥lel/, which could arguably be considered an established borrowing if pronounced according to the French form "halal," given its integration into French vocabulary over the years. In Extract 20, she used /esukti/, seemingly repeating it after her grandmother. In both examples, French functions as the matrix language, while the embedded islands consist of isolated AA words.

Extract 19:

Amel: Y avait pas du /h̥lel/ avant.

There was no Halal before.

Extract 20:

Amel: Mais pourquoi tu me dis /esukti/, la Noël c'est le 24.

But why are you telling me to shut up, Christmas is on the 24th.

While the majority of Amel's interventions were in French, which represents her unmarked code choice, the analysis also revealed instances of marked choices

for two specific reasons. In Extracts 21 and 22, Amel switches from French to AA to ask for the equivalent words of “escargots” and /saħter/ in AA and French, respectively. In Extracts 23 and 24, she switches to AA words to express cultural identity, using /dʒedi/ instead of “grand-père” and /ħlel/ instead of “halal.”.

Extract 21:

Amel: c'est quoi /saħter/ ?

What is Thym ?

Extract 22 :

Amel : Tata elle a dit qu'elle ramenait des huitres et des escargots. On dit /bebɔʃ/ c'est ça ?

Tata said she was going to bring oysters and snails. We say snails, don't we?

Extract 23:

Amel: Mais tu m'avait dit que /dʒedi/ il allait à Barbès, tu m'avais dit qu'il achetait pas du côté de chez vous.

But you told me that grandpa was going to Barbès, you told me that he was not buying nearby your house.

Amel : oui maintenant y en a partout, tu trouves de tout du /ħlel/ et du pas /ħlel/

Yes, nowadays you can find it everywhere, you find from everything, Halal and not Halal.

While Amel did not produce any full sentences in AA, she included AA words in her speech only when asking for their French equivalents, clarifying their meaning, or repeating words she had heard. This indicates that her dominant language is clearly French. She can be considered a passive bilingual, as she seems to understand her mother and grandmother when they use AA but is unable to actively use it, except through the inclusion of AA tags as a sign of solidarity and to assert membership in the same community.

Overall, both AA and French were used in this conversation. Fatima primarily used AA and mixed sentences dominated by AA, whereas Amina and Amel mostly used French, including occasional AA words or phrases. In terms of language proficiency, Fatima is highly proficient in AA, using it naturally and spontaneously, confirming that she has maintained it as her mother tongue and first language over the years.

Amina, the only participant able to adapt her language to her interlocutor—speaking French to her daughter and shifting to AA when addressing her mother—demonstrated proficiency in AA. However, her limited use of monolingual AA turns and the dominance of French in her mixed utterances indicate that French is her matrix language, and AA is maintained only in specific contexts or with specific interlocutors.

Amel's proficiency in AA is limited, as she shows no signs of fluency, despite understanding the language. The conversation as a whole illustrates that the shift from AA to French begins with Amina, even though her mother maintains AA. The transition from the heritage language to the host language is pronounced, with Amel showing clear indications of a partial shift, marked by extremely restricted use of AA, particularly in sentence formation and vocabulary range.

4.2.2. Conversation 2

The second conversation took place at Faiza's house, where Bouchra and her daughter Maroua came to visit. The main topic of discussion was the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic and its worldwide impact. Quantitative analysis of the words used in French and AA, as well as the conversation turns in French, AA, and mixed utterances, helped determine the language choice of each participant and the dominant language of the conversation. Analysis of the mixed utterances further provided insights into their proficiency in AA.

The quantitative results revealed that Faiza used 156 words in AA compared to 126 words in French, indicating a dominance of AA in her speech. Bouchra, on the other hand, predominantly used French, with 703 words in French versus only 17 in AA. Maroua used 186 words in French and only 1 word in AA. In terms of total words, Bouchra contributed the most with 720 out of 1189 words spoken in the conversation. These results suggest that Faiza’s dominant language is AA, whereas Bouchra and Maroua are French-dominant speakers.

Regarding conversation turns, Faiza mainly employed mixed turns, producing 15 sentences that included code-switching, alongside 12 turns in AA and 9 turns in French. Bouchra predominantly used French turns and produced 14 mixed turns, but did not use any full AA turns. Maroua intervened 32 times in French, only once in AA, and did not engage in code-switching at all. Overall, Bouchra took the most turns (57), followed by Faiza (36), and Maroua (33), for a total of 126 turns in the conversation.

Table 4.4. Number of words used in conversation 2

	Faiza		Bouchra		Maroua		Total	
AA words	156	13,1%	17	1,4%	1	0,1%	174	14,6%
Fr words	126	10,6%	703	59,2%	186	15,6%	1015	85,4%
Total	282	23,7%	720	60,6%	187	15,7%	1189	100%

Table 4.5. Number of Conversation turns in conversation 2

	Faiza		Bouchra		Maroua		Total	
AA sentences	12	9,5%	0	0%	1	0,8%	13	10,3%
Fr sentences	9	7,1%	43	34,1%	32	25,4%	84	66,6%
CS	15	12%	14	11,1%	0	0%	29	23,1%
Total	36	28,6%	57	45,2%	33	26,2%	126	100%

Statistics revealed that the dominant language in terms of words in this conversation was French, with 85.4% of words used in French compared to 14.6% in AA. Faiza was the participant who used the highest percentage of AA words at 13.1%, followed by Bouchra at 1.4%, and Maroua at 0.1%. On the other hand, Bouchra used the highest percentage of French words, estimated at 59.2%, followed by Maroua at 15.6%, and Faiza at 10.6%. Moreover, 60.6% of the words in this conversation were produced by Bouchra, 23.7% by Faiza, and the remaining 15.7% by Maroua.

Regarding conversation turns, the highest percentage was in French, estimated at 66.6%, compared to mixed turns at 23.1% and AA turns at 10.3%. Faiza was the participant who took most turns in AA at 9.5%, followed by Maroua at 0.8%, while Bouchra did not take any AA turns. Bouchra, however, took the most turns in French at 34.1%, followed by Maroua at 25.4% and Faiza at 7.1%. The participant who intervened most using mixed utterances was Faiza at 12%, followed by Bouchra at 11.1%, whereas Maroua did not use any code-switching. Overall, Bouchra took the most turns in the conversation at 45.2%, followed by Faiza at 28.6% and Maroua at 26.2%.

All in all, from the quantitative analysis of words and turn-taking, it can be concluded that Faiza's language choice included both AA and French, as she mostly intervened in mixed utterances and showed no significant difference between the number of AA and French words she used. Bouchra, on the other hand, was clearly dominant in French in both words and conversation turns. Despite using some mixed utterances, her lack of any monolingual AA turns confirms that her language choice during this conversation was French. Finally, Maroua's language choice was clearly French, as most of her words and turns were in French. She did not use any mixed sentences and intervened in AA only once, repeating the cultural word /inʃalah/ after her mother.

In terms of code-switching, Faiza switched languages between sentences twice during this conversation, while also employing intra-sentential CS several times: 12 instances in the form of isolated words, 5 instances in the form of phrases,

and 4 instances in the form of clauses. Bouchra, in turn, used two inter-sentential CS instances, 11 tag-switches, and 3 intra-sentential CS in the form of clauses. Finally, Maroua code-switched only once in the conversation, with the insertion of an isolated AA word within a French sentence.

Table 4.6. Number of CS used in conversation 2

	Faiza	Bouchra	Maroua	Total
Inter	2	2	0	4
Tag	12	11	1	24
Intra phrase	5	0	0	5
Intra clause	4	3	0	7
Total	23	16	1	40

4.2.2.1. Faiza

The analysis of Faiza's linguistic behaviour in this conversation revealed the use of different types of code-switching (CS). First, many instances of tag-switching were detected in her mixed turns. Most of the tags were in French and included within AA utterances (extracts 1 and 2). On a few occasions, the switch occurred from AA to French when the tag was cultural or religious, as in the word /inʃalah/ (extract 3).

Extract 1:

Faiza : Oui, /saji rahi tban/.

Yes, it's fine It is visible.

Extract 2 :

Faiza: attend attend, /nʒiblek el kursi w telfi baj etʃofi/

Wait wait, I'll bring you a chair so you can stand on it and see better.

Extract 3 :

Faiza : /enʃalah/ ma chérie oui ça va aller.

If Allah wills darling yes it's going to be ok.

Faiza made use of inter-sentential code-switching multiple times during the conversation. The switches occurred both from French to AA sentences and from AA sentences to French ones. In the first example, presented in extract 4, Faiza clearly switched to emphasize her sentence and express sadness about her daughter and grand-daughter leaving so soon. Extract 5 shows another instance of code-switching in a form of repetition from French to AA, highlighting the fact that her grandson is sick. Finally, in extract 6, Faiza switched from French to AA to give her opinion about a situation. These cases of inter-sentential CS demonstrate that Faiza feels comfortable moving between languages and seems to express her opinions and feelings naturally in both.

Extract 4:

Faiza: La prochaine fois, vous resterez plus longtemps j'espère, /ma ʃbaʃtkomf gaʃ/

I hope next time you will stay longer; I did not get enough of you at all.

Extract 5 :

Faiza : Bin oui parce qu'il est fatigué hun. /rah mrid meskin lazem jenʃas/

Yes, because he is tired. He is sick poor him; he needs to sleep.

Extract 6:

Faiza: Maroua /rahi zahja/, c'est bien.

Maroua is joyful, it's nice.

The last type of CS detected in Faiza's mixed turns is intra-sentential code-switching. In most cases, AA served as the matrix language, while French functioned as the embedded language. For example, in extract 7, the entire grammatical framework of the sentence is provided by AA, with some embedded French islands such as *l'après-midi*, *la couture*, *la télé*, and *les informations* (meaning "the afternoon," "sewing," "television," and "news," respectively). Similarly, in extract 8, the matrix language is AA, while the embedded islands in French include both a word and a phrase (*après, une vraie jeune fille*), meaning "later" and "a real young lady."

Extract 7:

Faiza: /anaja/ l'après-midi /nrijaħ f edar endir ſwija/ la couture /wela netferez/ la télé /nſuſ/ les informations /balak jzibolna ezdid ſla had el ham/.

Personally, on the afternoon, I stay at home to do some sewing or watch television, I watch news, maybe they will bring us something new about this pandemic.

Extract 8:

Faiza : après /tetſalem etijeb kima gaſ lebnat etweli/ une vraie jeune fille.

Later, she will learn to cook like all girls and she will be a real young lady.

However, there are other examples where the matrix language is French and the embedded language is AA. For instance, extract 9 shows a sentence that is grammatically and syntactically constructed in French but includes three embedded AA islands in the form of two conjunctions and a verb (/ijla/, /wela/, /rahi teħ/), meaning “if,” “or,” and “is falling,” respectively. A similar situation occurs in extract 10, where French provides the grammatical framework as the dominant language, and AA functions as the secondary language. The AA islands (/saji/, /rani f dar/, /rani neprofiti/, /nsom kuł jum/) follow AA structure but are embedded within a French frame. Notably, within this sentence, Faiza included a case of adapted borrowing, /neprofiti/, meaning “I take advantage of,” derived from the French verb *profiter*.

Extract 9:

Faiza: Je sais pas /ijla/ c'est la lumière /wela/ c'est la neige /rahi teħ/

I don't know if it's the light or it's the snow that is falling.

Extract 10:

Faiza : moi je sors le matin et après /saji rani fe dar rani neprofiti nsom kuł jum/

Personally, I go out in the morning then I stay at home, an opportunity to fast every day.

Taking this code-switching analysis into consideration, it can be stated that Faiza used three types of code-switching within a single conversation. The reasons behind such practice were multiple and varied, but all served to demonstrate her bilingual competence. For Faiza, code-switching represented a bilingual strategy

rather than a compensatory one. In addition, the examination of her intra-sentential code-switching using the Matrix Frame model showed that she did not maintain a single matrix language throughout the conversation. Instead, her nearly equal proficiency in both French and AA was evident. For these reasons, it can be concluded that Faiza comes closest to balanced bilingualism, using both French and AA spontaneously and at almost the same rate.

4.2.2.2. Bouchra

Bouchra is the second-generation immigrant represented in this conversation. Analysis of her mixed sentences revealed the use of both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching. However, the factors motivating her practice differ from those of her mother, and she is less natural and spontaneous when switching codes from French to AA.

First, it was determined that Bouchra uses AA only when interacting with her mother. She never switches codes when speaking to her daughter. In her two inter-sentential occurrences, she once asked a question first in AA and then repeated it in French (extract 11), and once used a culturally significant sentence (extract 12). In these cases, Bouchra appears to be claiming her Algerian identity and demonstrating solidarity with her mother through her use of AA.

Extract 11 :

Bouchra : /alah jfamikom jmiy/. Mais attention y aura le couvre-feu a 18h vous à lyon, faut pas oublier.

May Allah heal you all. However, pay attention to the curfew in Lyon which is at 6pm, you don't have to forget.

Extract 12 :

Bouchra; /nregdah/ ? Hun, je le fais dormir ?

Should I put him to sleep?

In addition, various observations were made regarding her use of intra-sentential code-switching. While Bouchra switched multiple times between French and AA

within sentences, the sole reason behind this language choice appears to be cultural. In the majority of sentences where she switched from French, an insertion of a cultural word or phrase in AA was observed. Extracts 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 exemplify these cases, with the inserted words /*ḥamdōlah*/, /*Infalah*/, /*alah yaleb*/, /*bsaḥtek*/, /*alah jetqabel menik*/, and /*ftor*/ meaning, respectively: “All praise is due to Allah,” “If Allah wills,” “Allah beats all,” “May this bring you health,” “May Allah accept your efforts,” and “lunch time” (or, in this context, the time when one breaks the fast).

Extract 13 :

Bouchra : oué et regarde il est 18h et il fait déjà nuit. Chez nous /*ḥamdōlah*/ y a pas de couvre-feu, et Marouati restera des fois jusqu’à 18h à l’école.

Yeah and look it is 6pm and it is already dark outside. In our city, all praise is due to Allah there is no curfew and Marouati will sometimes stay at school until 6pm.

Extract 14 :

Bouchra : toi aussi maman j’espère que ça ira mieux /*infalah*/

You as well, Mom. I hope you will feel better if Allah wills.

Extract 15 :

Bouchra : /*infalah*/, maman. On aurait aimé rester plus longtemps tu sais mais /*alah yaleb*/

If Allah wills mom. We would have loved to stay longer you know, but Allah beats all.

Extract 16 :

Bouchra : /*bsaḥtek*/ maman, /*alah jetqabel menik*/

May this bring you health mom, may Allah accept your efforts.

Extract 17:

Bouchra : oui c’est vrai c’est bien, tu manges quoi généralement a l’heure du /*ftor*/ ?

Yes, it’s true it’s nice, what do you often eat at the time of breaking the fast?

Other cases that were detected showed the inclusion of words that could be considered cultural borrowings, which are frequently used within the French language but retain their AA connotation. Examples include /*meskin*/, /*ḥabibi*/, and

/ħobi/, meaning “poor or pitiful,” “my beloved,” and “my love,” respectively, as shown in extracts 18, 19, and 20. Finally, the last two intra-sentential CS cases were noted to emphasize her words and attract the attention of her mother, particularly in situations involving serious issues such as her daughter’s lack of attention and the Covid-19 restrictions. These are illustrated in extracts 21 and 22.

Extract 18 :

Bouchra : oué Imrane est fatigué il est malade le pauvre. Et oui /meskin/.

Yes, Imrane is tired he is sick poor him. Oh yes poor him.

Extract 19 :

Bouchra : oh /ħabibi/ il est fatigué mon cœur, coucou allé va chez Mami va.

Oh my beloved, he is tired by love, hello go to Mami go.

Extract 20 :

Bouchra : elle est dans la chambre, allez vasy je t’attend /ħobi/

It is in the room, come on go I am waiting for you my love.

Extract 21 :

Bouchra : en plus c’est bien ça peu développer son imagination et tout c’est bien. La maitresse elle m’a dit Maroua est très intelligente mais /tyis bezaf/.

In addition, it’s good it’s can develop her imagination and all it’s nice. Her teacher told me Maroua is very smart but she has a lack of attention.

Extract 22 :

Bouchra : oui je sais, j’ai trouvé plein de jeux intéressants sur Amazon sof qu’avec le covid /kolef ħbes/.

Yes, I know I found a lot of interesting games in Amazon however, with the Covid situation, everything is blocked.

Other observations from the analysis of Bouchra’s intra-sentential CS instances indicate that, first, her dominant and matrix language is French, while her secondary and embedded language is AA. In fact, all her sentences are mostly in French and follow a French grammatical structure but include some AA embedded islands in the form of single words or phrases. Second, all her AA insertions occur when Bouchra addresses her mother; she never uses any AA element when

interacting with her daughter. Finally, it appears that all of this participant's code-switching is purposeful and rarely spontaneous.

In conclusion, Bouchra can be considered a dominant bilingual. Quantitative analysis of the number of words and conversation turns in both languages demonstrates a clear dominance of French. Qualitative analysis of her mixed utterances shows that the majority of AA words and phrases Bouchra uses are cultural and directed only to her mother. When interacting with her daughter, she communicates exclusively in French. This clearly reflects a stronger competence in French and more limited proficiency in AA. While Bouchra seems to have perfect comprehension of AA, her use of this code is particularly restricted throughout the conversation. Therefore, it can be said that this participant shows signs of a language shift from AA to French, although this trend can only be confirmed through analysis of her daughter's language use.

4.2.2.3. Maroua

Maroua represents the third generation in this family of participants. While a single short conversation cannot fully represent her language use, it provides a glimpse into it. Throughout the conversation, the only language Maroua used was French. She spoke French when interacting with both her mother and grandmother, and she did not adapt her language either to her interlocutor or to the topic of discussion. Extract 23 shows the only instance in which Maroua used an AA word, /infalah/, which she merely repeated after her mother.

Extract 23:

Bouchra : Ouiii / infalah/ elle viendra

Yes if Allah will, she will come.

Maroua : /infalah/.

Additionally, it was observed that, on several occasions during this conversation, Bouchra had to translate her mother's AA sentences for Maroua so that she could understand her grandmother's messages and respond appropriately. This is illustrated in extracts 24, 25, and 26.

Extract 24:

Faiza: Dès que tu achètes la cuisine rose, /refdi tsawer w baṣtihomli nṣofek/

Whenever you buy the pink kitchen, take pictures and send them to me so as I can see you.

Bouchra : Bien sûr qu'on enverra les photos à Mami.

Of course we will send pictures to mami.

Maroua : Oui je dirais à maman de te les envoyer parce que moi j'ai pas de téléphone.

Yes, I will tell mom to send them to you as I don't have a phone myself.

Extract 25 :

Bouchra : tu veux voir qui d'autre demain Maroua ?

Who do you want to see as well tomorrow Maroua?

Maroua : Maya et Mariana

Maya and Mariana

Faiza: /ḵon hado/ Maya et Mariana ?

Who is these Maya and Mariana?

Bouchra : c'est qui c'est tes copines de l'école ?

Who are they? your school friends?

Extract 26 :

Maroua : je vois rien

I can't see anything.

Faiza: Attend attend. /nḵiblek el kursi w telṣi baṣ tḵoḵfi/

Wait. I will bring you a chair so you can stand on it and see better.

Bouchra : attend on va te mettre une chaise.

Wait, we will bring you a chair.

Interestingly, at one point in the conversation, Faiza asked Maroua if she knew how to sing “Happy Birthday” in AA, and Maroua clearly replied that she did not (extract 27). This further supports the assumption that Maroua can hardly understand her heritage language and struggles to produce even simple sentences in it.

Extract 27:

Bouchra : oui on va chanter ça. Et en anglais on dit comment ?

Yes, we're going to sing that. And how do we say in English?

Maroua: happy birthday to you

Faiza : et en Arabe?

And in Arabic?

Bouchra : comment on dit joyeux anniversaire en Arabe Maroua ?

How do we say "Joyeux anniversaire" in Arabic Maroua?

Maroua : je sais pas

I don't know.

From these observations, it can be concluded that Maroua cannot be considered bilingual. She demonstrates clear dominance in French, both in terms of the number of words and the number of sentences she produced, and she did not employ any code-switching—neither as a bilingual strategy nor as a compensatory mechanism. While she speaks exclusively in French throughout the conversation, she shows marked difficulties in comprehending and producing her heritage language. This suggests a total language shift from AA to French on her part and confirms the partial shift observed in Bouchra, her mother. These findings also indicate that, despite Faiza's fluent mastery and daily use of AA with her daughter, the intergenerational transmission of the language was disrupted and effectively ceased by the second generation.

4.2.3. Conversation 3:

The third conversation took place between Houria, representing the first-generation immigrant; Kamila, the second-generation immigrant; and Maram, Ferial, and Wassim, representing the third-generation immigrants. The children were discussing their day at school with their mother and grandmother while having dinner. What is interesting about the analysis of this conversation is, first, to compare the fluency of the different generations in both AA and French, and second,

to highlight the differences that occur at this level between three siblings belonging to the same generation of immigrants.

From the analysis of the words used in this conversation, it was determined that Houria used mostly AA words, with 91 compared to 34 words in French. Kamila, on the other hand, used 108 words in AA and a total of 361 words in French. Concerning the third-generation immigrants, Maram used only 47 words in AA compared to 434 words in French; Ferial similarly used only 6 words in AA compared to 157 words in French; and finally, Wassim employed 3 words in AA while using 65 in French. The total number of words in AA in the entire conversation was 255, while the total number of French words was estimated at 1056.

The next table shows the number of conversation turns in AA, French, and mixed sentences. Firstly, Houria used 7 sentences in AA, only one in French, and 11 sentences using CS. Secondly, Kamila produced only 2 sentences in AA compared to a similar number of turns in French and in CS. Then, Maram used mostly French sentences, estimated at 17, compared to 9 mixed sentences and only one in AA. Ferial's turns were mostly in French, with only one mixed sentence and 2 sentences in AA. Finally, Wassim used no code-switching, only three sentences in AA, and 12 others in full French. The total number of sentences in AA was 15, in French 65, and the number of mixed sentences was estimated at 40. This conversation counted a total of 120 turns.

Table 4.7. Number of words used in conversation 3

	Houria	Kamila	Maram	Ferial	Wassim	Total
AA words	91	108	47	6	3	255
Stats	7%	8,3%	3,6%	0,5%	0,2%	19,6%
Fr words	34	361	434	157	65	1051
Stats	2,6%	27,6%	33,2%	12%	5%	80,4%
Total	125	469	481	163	68	1306
Stats	9,6%	35,9%	36,8%	12,5%	5,2%	100%

Table 4.8. Number of Conversation turns in conversation 3

	Houria	Kamila	Maram	Ferial	Wassim	Total
AA sentences	7	2	1	2	3	15
Stats	5,8%	1,7%	0,8%	1,7%	2,5%	12,5%
Fr sentences	1	19	17	16	12	65
Stats	0,8%	15,8%	14,3%	13,3%	10%	54,2%
CS	11	19	9	1	0	40
Stats	9,2%	15,8%	7,5%	0,8%	0%	33,3%
Total	19	40	27	19	15	120
Stats	15,8%	33,3%	22,6%	15,8%	12,5%	100%

Statistics in the table above show that Houria employed mostly AA words at 7%, while the majority of the words used by Kamila were French at 27.6%. Concerning Maram, Ferial, and Wassim, the three of them used mostly French words at percentages of 33.2%, 12%, and 5%, compared to AA words at 3.6%, 0.5%, and 0.2% respectively. In addition, it can be noted that Maram was the participant who used the most words in this conversation, while Wassim was the one who used the fewest. Finally, the analysis shows that the percentage of words used in AA was estimated at 19.6%, compared to French words, which were elevated at 80.4%. This demonstrates that the dominant language in terms of word choice in this conversation is French.

Regarding the following table, the results showed that Kamila was the participant who took the most conversation turns, with a percentage of 33.3%, mostly in French and mixed sentences. Maram follows with 22.6%, mostly in French. Ferial and Houria took a similar number of turns, estimated at 15.8%, but Houria mostly code-switched, while Ferial employed mostly full sentences in French. Finally, Wassim was the participant who took the fewest turns in this conversation, with a percentage of 12.5%. It can be determined that the highest

percentage of conversation turns in this conversation was in French at 54.2%, while the lowest was in AA at 12.5%. These statistics reveal that the dominant language in terms of sentences and conversation turns in this third conversation is French.

The results of the analysis of these four tables concerning language choice and conversation turn-taking can be summarized in the following notes:

1. Houria appeared to be AA dominant, as in terms of words she used mostly AA words, and in terms of sentences and turn-taking, she mostly used mixed sentences and a limited number of full French sentences.
2. Kamila is French dominant, although she used a considerable number of AA words. She mostly intervened in the conversation using French sentences or CS, while the number of full sentences in AA was comparatively low.
3. Maram was clearly French dominant due to the number of French words she used in the conversation and the number of French conversation turns she took. Maram is the third-generation immigrant of this family who masters AA the most, as she shows a significant rate of AA words and CS use compared to her brother and sister.
4. Ferial is French dominant as well, considering the difference she shows between her use of French words and sentences, which is considerably high, and her use of AA, which is comparatively limited.
5. Wassim is the youngest sibling. Although his participation in the conversation was extremely limited, it can be determined that he was French dominant, as his use of French words was comparatively higher than his use of AA words. While most of his turn-takings were in French, those in AA were only isolated words that he mostly repeated after the other participants in the conversation, such as *hamdoullah* and *mahboul*.

Regarding the use of CS, it was determined that Houria employed mostly intra-sentential CS, with 18 cases in the form of isolated words and 1 in the form of a phrase. Similarly, Kamila did not code-switch at the inter-sentential level but did

so various times at the intra-sentential level. During the conversation, she inserted 22 isolated words in a different language than the dominant language of each sentence, 7 phrases, and 8 clauses. Maram, as the first representative of the third generation of this family, showed mainly intra-sentential CS: 8 times in the form of words, 4 times in the form of phrases, and twice in the form of clauses. Ferial, the second child, employed 3 tag-switchings, while Wassim, the youngest, did not use any form of CS.

Table 4.9 Number of CS used in conversation 3

	Houria	Kamila	Maram	Ferial	Wassim	Total
Inter	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tag	18	22	8	3	0	51
Intra phrase	1	7	4	0	0	12
Intra clause	0	8	2	0	0	10
Total	19	37	14	3	0	73

4.2.3.1. Houria

A deeper analysis of the exchange between these participants helped depict the linguistic strategies that each one of them employed and how AA is used, maintained, and transmitted from the first generation to the third. Houria, representing the first-generation immigrant in this conversation, presented a natural and fluent use of AA, with a few insertions of French words, phrases, and tags, forming mostly mixed sentences, with AA being the matrix language and French the embedded one. Extracts 1, 2, and 3 are examples that illustrate such intra-sentential and tag-switching strategies.

Extract 1:

Houria : Biensur, /zatek bnina ʕil kima nhabha/, merci.

Of course, it was good just as I like it, thank you.

Extract 2 :

Houria : /feweto gaʕ/ la journée /w ntoma edirɔ fi/ l'escalade ?

Did you spend all your day climbing?

Extract 3 :

Houria : Tu sais /ʃkɔn ʃajetlek gbila f tirifon wela/ non ?

Do you know who called you earlier on the phone or not?

4.2.3.2. Kamila

The second-generation immigrant in this conversation is Kamila, and the analysis of her interventions showed that she is the participant who switches most naturally from AA to French and from French to AA, just as a native speaker of AA would do. She uses both AA and French equally with all of her interlocutors in this conversation, showing no particular dominance of one language over the other. Her utterances contained several intra-sentential and tag-switching cases, sometimes with AA representing the matrix language and other times representing the embedded language instead. The best examples illustrating the first and second situations are presented in Extracts 4 and 5 respectively.

Extract 4 :

Kamila: Non /mafɪ ma kanʃ kajen leblas ma kanʃ kajen/ un autre groupe mardi donc /ʃa darɔ/ ils ont demandé aux parents si /ʃandhom/ des enfants /madabihom jdirɔ/ l'anglais donc /kajen eli/ ils ont proposé mercredi /w kajen eli/ ils ont proposé mardi ,donc /ki ʃafɔ/ le calcul /ntaʃ/ les élèves /w ʃafɔ eli ʃandhom/ un nombre bien précis euh ils ont créé un groupe du coup /ʃandek/ trois séances /tsiji ejla ʃajbek wala ma ʃajbekʃ/ si tu te sens bien ou pas /ew menbaʃda tdisidi/ si tu veux en faire ou pas.

No, it was not a problem of place, there was no other group available on Tuesday so what they did is asking parents if they had children that were interested in studying English so there were some who suggested Wednesday and others who suggested Tuesday so when they calculated the number of pupils and found they had a well-defined number they created a new group. So, you have three sessions where you see if you like it or not if you feel good or not and then you decide if you want to stay in it or not.

Extract 5 :

Kamila : Ah oué /yedwa taʃarfi kif ediri/, euh tu vas chez la PVS, tu demandes le programme si y a un bus à 16h /tedoxli fle bus jla ma kanʃ/ tu m'envoie un message tu me dit maman pas de bus, tu m'envoies juste ça, tu essayes de me l'envoyer entre midi et midi 02 si tu trouves l'occasion.

Oh yes, you know how you're going to do tomorrow, you go to the principal you ask for the bus schedule to check if there is one available at 4pm you take that bus, if there is no one available, you send me a message you tell me mom there is no bus, you send me just that, you try to send it to me between midnight and midnight past two if you get the chance.

4.2.3.3. Maram

The speech analysis of the first participant representing the third-generation immigrant in this conversation was carried out directly afterward. Maram demonstrated the use of some intra-sentential and tag-switching cases, as illustrated in Extracts 6 and 7, where in each instance the matrix language is French and the embedded language is AA.

Extract 6 :

Maram : Maman j'aime la science physique mais j'aime pas la prof /ma tfahamnach yaja w yil tejkel/ elle est là que pour nous humilier

Mum, I love science and physics but I don't like the teacher because she does not explain very well she talk non-sense she is only there to embarrass us.

Extract 7 :

Maram : Oui parce que en fait maman ce qui est bien /f/ la classe, /f/ la classe en fait c'est pas chacun a ses compétences donc chacun fait ces exercices non, c'est on fait une leçon et celui qui comprend pas bin il comprend chez lui et celui qui comprend bin il écoute quand même, comme ça c'est mieux parce que /ana/ vu que /nefham yaja/ l'anglais bin du coup c'est mieux je vais pas perdre du temps là-bas à apprendre des trucs que je connais déjà.

Yes because actually mom something which is good in class is that it does not work with the system of each one has his own competences so each one do his own exercises no, it's actually a lecture and the person who does not understand very well, he will understand it at home and the person who understands better, well he listens anyway. This way is better because personally, as I understand English very well then, it's better because I will not waste my time there learning things I already know.

4.2.3.4. Ferial

Ferial, on the other hand, representing the second participant of the third generation, showed a clear dominance of French over AA when compared to her sister. The only mixed sentence she uttered is presented in Extract 8, where the matrix language is clearly French, with some AA embedded islands within the sentence. Ferial used AA a few other times, but only in the form of isolated words or common phrases such as *gouli wellah!* meaning “swear to God!”.

Extract 8:

Ferial : Est-ce que /fel/ collège /jdiru/ les potions /haka/ et tout ?

In college, do they do potions and stuff like that?

The concluding points concerning this third conversation are, first, that this family is composed of Houria, who seems to have maintained the use of AA and is probably even AA dominant. Most importantly, this first-generation representative successfully transmitted her language of origin to the following generation. Kamila, the second-generation immigrant, appears to master the use of both AA and French at almost the same rate, as she switches from one to the other as fluently and naturally as possible. Just like her mother, it can be stated that Kamila succeeded in transmitting AA to Maram, her first daughter. While the latter manifested the use of a limited number of AA words, she was still able to produce a considerable number of mixed sentences, switching many times from AA to French and from French to AA.

However, the situation seems to differ as far as Ferial and Wassim are concerned. The second child, as well as the third, show a significant difference in terms of competence in AA and in the frequency of its use compared to their eldest sister. It can be suggested that this major decrease can be considered a manifestation of a possible HL shift and a failure at the level of its transmission.

4.2.4. Conversation 4:

The fourth conversation occurred between Mohammed, Souad, and Naila—grandfather, mother, and daughter. Naila was playing a charade game in the living room with her grandfather while Souad, her mother, was cooking dinner. This conversation was shorter than the others, as the participants did not feel comfortable enough to engage in a natural and spontaneous exchange due to the tape-recording. Nonetheless, the analysis of the collected corpus was still extremely helpful for the purpose of this research.

From the recording obtained, it could be determined that Mohammed, representing the first-generation immigrant, used 139 words in AA compared to 104 in French. Similarly, Souad, representing the second generation, employed more AA words than French ones, with 131 as opposed to 102. On the other hand, Naila, the third-generation immigrant of the family, used a higher number of words in French—315—than in AA—86. The total number of words used in AA was estimated at 356, and in French 521, and Naila was the participant who used the highest number of words in this conversation.

In terms of conversation turns, the analysis of the results showed that Mohammed used mostly mixed sentences (23) compared to 10 AA sentences and only 4 French sentences. Souad, on the other hand, used mostly AA sentences (14) compared to 13 mixed sentences and 4 in French. Finally, Naila used CS 26 times in this conversation compared to 16 sentences in French and 3 in AA. The total number of turns was 113, with 62 being in the form of mixed-language sentences, 27 in AA, and 24 in French. It was also determined that Naila was the participant who took the most turns in the conversation, while her mother took the fewest.

Table 4.10. Number of words used in conversation 4.

	Mohammed		Souad		Naila		Total	
AA words	139	15,8%	131	15%	86	9,8%	356	40,6%
Fr words	104	11,9%	102	11,6%	315	35,9%	521	59,4%
Total	243	27,7%	233	26,6%	401	45,7%	877	100%

Table 4.11. Number of Conversation turns in conversation 4

	Mohammed		Souad		Naila		Total	
AA sentences	10	8,8%	14	12,4%	3	2,7%	27	23,9%
Fr sentences	4	3,5%	4	3,5%	16	14,2%	24	21,2%
CS	23	20,4%	13	11,5%	26	23%	62	54,9%
Total	37	32,7%	31	27,4%	45	39,9%	113	100%

Statistics showed that, in terms of word choice, Mohammed and Souad were AA dominant at 15.8% and 15% compared to 11.9% and 11.6% in French, respectively. However, the third-generation immigrant manifested a significant difference between the number of AA and French words she used in the conversation. In contrast with her mother and grandfather, 35.9% of the words she used were French, while only 9.8% of them were AA. It can be concluded that the dominant language of this conversation, in terms of language choice, is French at 59.4%, a rate that is highly influenced by Naila, who represented the participant that used the most words in the conversation at 45.7%, compared to Mohammed at 27.7% and Souad at 26.6%.

In terms of turn-taking in this conversation, Mohammed used mostly CS, and 20.4% of his sentences were mixed between AA and French. On the other hand, the majority of Souad's conversation turns were in AA at 12.4%. Naila, the third-generation participant, used CS at 23%, French sentences at 14.2%, and AA sentences at 2.7%. In addition, Naila was the participant who took the most turns in this conversation at 39.9%, followed by Mohammed at 32.7% and finally Souad at 27.4%. Moreover, in this conversation, mixed sentences were used at the highest rate, representing 54.9%, compared to 21.2% in French sentences and 23.9% in AA sentences.

From the analysis of the different results of this conversation concerning word choice and turn-taking, it could be suggested that, broadly speaking, this family is neither French dominant nor AA dominant. Its members rather use a mixed version of both languages. While Mohammed and Souad seemed to be AA dominant in terms of word choice, they used a considerable number of mixed sentences in their turn-taking. On the other hand, Naila seemed to be French dominant in her word choice, but during her conversation turns, she manifested a higher rate of mixed sentences that included a significant use of AA.

Concerning the use of CS, it was revealed that Mohammed inserted 18 tags of a different language than the dominant language of each of his sentences, along with 4 phrases and 3 clauses. However, he did not manifest any use of inter-

sentential CS in the conversation. Similarly, Souad did not code-switch at the inter-sentential level; instead, she used tag-switching 5 times, intra-sentential CS 9 times in the form of phrases, and 3 times in the form of clauses. Finally, Naila code-switched at the inter-sentential level once in the conversation, while she code-switched within sentences with the insertion of 17 tags, 6 phrases, and 3 clauses.

Table 4.12. Number of CS used in conversation 4

	Mohammed	Souad	Naila	Total
Inter	0	0	1	1
Tag	18	5	17	40
Intra phrase	4	9	6	19
Intra clause	3	3	3	9
Total	25	17	27	69

4.2.4.1. Mohammed

The analysis of Mohammed's speech revealed the use of various types of borrowing. For example, in Extract 1, Mohammed employs the French word *dictionnaire* (dictionary), which is considered a case of borrowing. While an equivalent word exists in AA, the speaker opted to use the French word, adapted phonologically to AA by pronouncing it with an 'r' instead of a 'ɣ'. Another example of borrowing is the word *couscous*, presented in Extract 2. Instead of employing the word *t3am*, which is commonly used among Algerians, Mohammed opted for its French equivalent, *couscous*.

Extract 1:

Mohammed : /bəsah kajen f dictionér/

But it does exist in the dictionary.

Extract 2 :

Mohammed : /kima el couscous/.

Like the Couscous.

In addition, this participant manifested mostly one type of switching, namely intra-sentential code-switching, where AA serves as the matrix language and French as the embedded language. Among several examples, Extracts 3 and 4 were selected. In both sentences, the grammatical system is provided by AA, within which some French islands are embedded in the form of single words and phrases.

Extract 3 :

Mohammed : /ɣedoua diri/ l'equitation /wela/ c'est pas la peine.

Are you horse-riding tomorrow or there is no point you go?

Extract 4 :

Mohammed: /Wkan zina/ on les aime pas /nqolo balak/ , /besah/ vu que /nebyohom sur ma nqatɕɔf fihom/

Extract 5 below shows the same type of code-switching, with the French phrase *parce que* embedded within a sentence that is grammatically based in AA. In addition, this sentence presents an interesting case of adapted borrowing, where the French sentence *on ne zappe pas* is completely replaced and adapted morphologically and phonologically to the AA system, using the word *nzapohach* instead.

Extract 5 :

Mohammed : /ma nzapohaf/ ? Parce que /ki diriha nhar gaɕ jrɔh/

Shouldn't we skip it? Because when you do it, all the day is wasted.

4.2.4.2. Souad

Similar to the first participant in this conversation, Souad's speech was mostly composed of borrowings and intra-sentential code-switching within the various mixed sentences she used during the exchange. The most interesting cases of borrowing employed by this participant are presented in Extracts 6 and 7. These

examples show the use of the words /sirɔ/ and /tabla/, which are adapted phonologically from the French words *sirop* and *table*.

Extract 6:

Souad: J'espère /ma nensalhaʃ sirɔ ntaʃha/

Hopefully, I won't forget her sirop.

Extract 7 :

Souad : /eh walah/ c'est presque prêt/. /nhot ɣil tabla/

Yes I promise it's almost ready. I need just to set the table.

In terms of the mixed sentences that Souad used, they mostly included cases of intra-sentential code-switching, where AA is again the matrix language and French the embedded one. Extracts 8, 9, and 10 show how the French islands 'combien de lettres', 'la nature', 'enfin bien que en 5 minutes', and 'plusieurs sujets en même temps' are embedded in AA sentences in terms of their syntactic structure. These islands appear either as isolated words or as phrases.

Extract 8 :

Souad : /zaʃma jqolek/ combien de lettres /wela ma yqolʃ/

Like, they inform you about the number of lettres or they do not?

Extract 9 :

Souad : /hija raki ʃawsɪ ʃla/ la nature /wela wafʃ/

Are you searching for the nature or what?

Extract 10:

Souad : /ela baʃ ma tkunʃ lhadra haka/ enfin bien que en 5 minutes /nta teqder tahder f/ plusieurs sujets en même temps.

No, so the speech won't be like that. Well even though in 5 minutes you are totally able to speak in several subjects simultaneously.

4.2.4.3. Naila

Finally, the analysis of Naila's speech, the third-generation participant in this conversation, revealed slightly different results compared to the other two participants. First, it was observed that no cases of borrowing were detected throughout the entire exchange that Naila had with her grandfather and her mother, neither from AA to French nor from French to AA. In addition, she did not adapt any words from French to AA or vice versa. However, she did manifest the use of two types of code-switching. First, inter-sentential code-switching was detected only once during the conversation. Extract 11 shows that while Naila uses AA in the first sentence, she switches to French in the following sentence, which may indicate that she is fully capable of using complete sentences in both languages separately.

Extract 11:

Naila : /ela ela besaḥ hedi waḥdoxra/. Mon premier est un minuscule insecte qui cause des démangeaisons a la racine des cheveux.

No no but this is a different one. My first is a tiny bug that causes itching at the roots of the hair.

The second type of code-switching this participant used is intra-sentential code-switching. Although Mohammed and Souad repeatedly used this same type of CS, AA was each time considered their matrix language according to the syntactic structure of their sentences. Naila, however, shows that her matrix language is French, with AA islands embedded within the sentence. Extracts 12, 13, and 14 show how isolated words and phrases in AA, such as *nrazaʕ* (I revise), *ndir* (I do), and *ki ngulo* (when we say), are embedded in sentences structured in French.

Extract 12:

Naila : papa je sais que je dois /nrazaʕ/ mais j'ai trop envie /ndir/ l'équitation.

Dad I know that I have to revise but I really want to go horse-riding.

Extract 13:

Naila: Ah ravioli R A V I O L I /besaħ/ c'est pas vraiment un mot français /zaħma /

Oh ravioli R A V I O L I but this is not really a French word to be honest.

Extract 14:

Naila : Je sais mais /ki ngolo/ idéal c'est quand même un adjectif.

I know but when we say ideal it is still an adjective.

To conclude, the analysis of this conversation's corpus showed, first, that this family appears to be a balanced bilingual one, where both AA and French seem to have equal importance and status. The grandfather, the mother, and the granddaughter all use both codes at different rates during their exchange, with no particular sign of dominance of one language over the other. Second, it was observed that all three participants use and understand both languages perfectly, allowing the conversation to proceed smoothly and naturally.

It could also be determined that, although some language-compensatory strategies were used occasionally by Mohammed and Souad, the general analysis shows that none of these three participants manifest any visible signs of AA attrition, and consequently, no shift from AA to French was detected. Therefore, the transmission of the heritage language from the first generation to the second, and from the second to the third, appears to have been successful.

Nevertheless, the French dominance exhibited by Naila in terms of word choice could be considered a potential early manifestation of a language shift starting with this third generation, suggesting that the transmission of AA to her following generation may occur differently.

4.2.5. Conversation 5

The last conversation took place between Yacine, his mother Sarah, and his grandmother Nabila. The three participants were having dinner at Sarah's house and were discussing the events that occurred during the day. The results obtained from this conversation were particularly interesting, as a major difference between the

three generations was observed in terms of language choice and language dominance.

According to the analysis of the collected data, it was noted that Nabila, representing the first-generation immigrant, used 137 words in AA and 262 words in French. Sarah, the second-generation immigrant, used only 15 words in AA compared to 405 words in French. The third-generation participant, Yacine, on the other hand, used only French, with a total of 429 words, making him the participant who used the most words in this conversation. The total number of AA words was 152, while the total number of French words was 1,096.

Regarding conversation turns, the analysis of the corpus showed that Nabila spoke mostly using CS. Most of her turns consisted of mixed sentences, estimated at 26, compared to 5 sentences in AA and 7 in French. Sarah's turn-taking was mostly in French, as she used 39 sentences in this language, compared to 9 mixed sentences and none in AA. The last participant, Yacine, used only French sentences during all of his conversation turns, estimated at 40. The total number of turns in this conversation was 126, with Sarah taking the highest number of turns at 48, followed by Yacine at 40, and then Nabila at 38.

Table 4.13. Number of words used in conversation 5

	Nabila		Sarah		Yacine		Total	
AA words	137	11%	15	1,2%	0	0%	152	12,2%
Fr words	262	21%	405	32,4%	429	34,4%	1096	87,9%
Total	399	32%	420	33,6%	429	34,4%	1248	100%

Table 4.14. Number of Conversation turns in conversation 5

	Nabila		Sarah		Yacine		Total	
AA sentences	5	4%	0	0%	0	0%	5	4%
Fr sentences	7	5,5%	39	31%	40	31,8%	86	68,3%

CS	26	20,6%	9	7,1%	0	0%	35	27,7%
Total	38	30,1%	48	38,1%	40	31,8%	126	100%

Taking into consideration the statistics, it was determined that this conversation was French dominant in terms of word choice, as the percentage of French words used was estimated at 87.9% compared to AA words, which represented only 12.2% of the total number of words. Nabila seemed to be French dominant, as among the 32% of the words she used, 21% were in French and 11% in AA. Similarly, Sarah was French dominant, as most of the words she used were French. Finally, Yacine was undeniably French dominant, as he did not employ a single word in AA, unlike his mother and grandmother, who used many during the conversation.

Regarding turn-taking statistics, it was determined that the majority of the sentences used in this conversation were in French, at a rate of 68.3%, followed by mixed sentences at 27.7%, and finally AA sentences at only 4%. Sarah was the participant who took the most turns, at 38.1%, followed by Yacine at 31.8% and Nabila at 30.1%. In terms of language dominance, Nabila used mostly CS in her conversation turns, at 20.6%, compared to 5.5% in French and 4% in AA. Sarah and Yacine, on the other hand, appeared to be French dominant, as both used a high percentage of French sentences, at 31% and 31.8%, respectively. The difference that could be noted between the two participants is that Sarah was able to use some AA in her mixed sentences, while Yacine could only take turns fully in French.

All in all, it could be concluded from the previous quantitative analysis of language choice in terms of words and turn-taking that language dominance differs from one participant to another and from one generation to another. First, Nabila appeared to be proficient in both French and AA, as the difference between the number of words in French and in AA is insignificant, and the number of mixed sentences she used in her conversation turns is higher than her use of monolingual sentences. Sarah, the second-generation participant of this conversation, seemed to

be French dominant, although she employed a few words in AA and could switch from French to AA a few times during the conversation. Yacine, on the other hand, manifested French monolingual speech in terms of both words and sentences. Although this participant did not utter any word or sentence in AA, the following analysis of the corpus will determine his level of comprehension regarding this language.

Regarding the use of CS in this conversation, it was noted that Nabila code-switched at the inter-sentential level three times and at the intra-sentential level 36 times, with the insertion of 20 isolated words, 9 phrases, and 7 clauses. Sarah, on the other hand, used inter-sentential CS twice and intra-sentential CS seven times, inserting 5 tags and 2 phrases in a different language than the dominant one of each specific mixed sentence. Finally, Yacine did not use any CS in the conversation.

Table 4.15. Number of CS used in conversation 5

	Nabila	Sarah	Yacine	Total
Inter	3	2	0	5
Tag	20	5	0	25
Intra phrase	9	2	0	11
Intra clause	7	0	0	7
Total	39	9	0	48

4.2.5.1. Nabila

From the analysis of Nabila's speech, several points could be determined about her competence in AA and the way she maintains and transmits this code to both her daughter and grandson. At first, it was noticed that Nabila used several religious expressions in AA, such as *Allah Ghaleb* and *Rebbi ysahhal*, in Extracts 1 and 2, respectively.

Extract 1:

Nabila : /fi beli/ c'est pas du NAACL parce que j'ai remarqué déjà /sbaħ, dert/ 2 cuillères mais /walu/, /alah ɣaleb/ c'est pas de ma faute.

I think it's not Na CL because I already noticed this morning when I used two spoons of it but nothing. Allah beats everything, I'm not responsible.

Extract 2 :

Nabila: /rebi jkhelikum w jwefaḡom/. Tu sais, /lwaḡad eli jemfi f triq rebi w jdir lkhir fi ḡjatah/, sans méme /ma tedḡilah, rebi jsahalah fi koleḡ/

May God protect you and help you. You know, the person who walks in Allah's path and does good actions in his life, without any prayers addressed for his sake, God will facilitate everything for him.

In addition, multiple cases of borrowing were detected in her exchange with the other participants. For example, in Extract 3, the words *netwayo* and *ndebarassé* are both cases of adapted borrowing. These terms come from the French words *nettoyer* and *débarasser* but have been adapted phonologically and morphologically to AA and used as if they were AA words in the sentence. The same process was applied to the word *yrechaufewelhoun* in Extract 4, which originally derives from the French word *réchauffer*.

Extract 3:

Nabila : /lala xelina netwajo/ ensemble, /ana ndébayasé tabla/ on finira plus vite comme ça on va pouvoir sortir tout à l'heure.

No let us clean together, I clear the table so we finish quickly and we will be able to go out later on.

Extract 4 :

Nabila : /Huma jyeḡofewelhum/ leur repas là-bas ?

They reheat their lunch for them there?

Moreover, Nabila manifested the use of both types of code-switching: intra-sentential with tag-switching, and inter-sentential CS. Extracts 5, 6, and 7 illustrate how the participant switched from AA to French and then from French to AA multiple times within a single utterance effortlessly. What is particularly interesting is that each time Nabila uses a different matrix language and embedded language, as if there were a balance between the use of AA and French in each mixed sentence she produced. This further demonstrates her perfectly balanced bilingualism. On the

other hand, Extracts 8 and 9 show how Nabila inserted some French tags in AA sentences, such as *bin oui* and *c'est bon*.

Extract 5:

Nabila : oui la prochaine fois /xtari/ le NACL /ma tʃawdiʃ tɛfri hadaja/. /Fi/ le rayon /ntaʃ el melħ/ y a tellement de choix qu'il faut faire attention.

Yes, next time choose the NACL, don't buy this one another time. In the salt department there are so many options that you need to pay more attention.

Extract 6:

Nabila : /rah/ à la mode le sel rose /gaʃ enas rahi tɛfrih

The pink salt is à la mode everyone is buying it.

Extract 7 :

Nabila : Non c'est pas que je n'aime pas c'est que je n'ai plus faim, /tqahwina/ ça fait deux heures je n'ai pas encore tout digéré.

No it's not that I don't like it, I'm just full. We had our breakfast two hours ago I still haven't digested everything I ate.

Extract 8:

Nabila : Bin oui /hadak eli mwalfin bih/

Yes, that's the one we're used to.

Extract 9 :

Nabila:/Anaja/ c'est bon /jbaʃt ma naqderʃ enzið/

Personally, it's ok I'm full I cannot eat anything more.

At last, in terms of language choice, it was detected that Nabila adapted her code choice each time depending on her interlocutor. When she addressed Sarah, she generally spoke in AA. However, when she was addressing her grandson Yacine, she either chose to speak to him in French or initially spoke naturally in AA and then immediately switched the language, translating her AA sentence into French. Several examples could be provided to illustrate such inter-sentential switching in Extracts 10, 11, and 12. The use of this strategy with Yacine, and not with Sarah, suggests that Yacine has difficulties understanding AA, so Nabila feels the need to translate what she is saying into French.

Extract 10:

Nabila: /khalih jahkilna/. Vasy mon fils raconte

Let him tell us. Go ahead son, tell us.

Extract 11 :

Nabila : /raħlek/ le hoquet ? il est parti ?

Are your hiccups gone?

Extract 12 :

Nabila: /ħawes fi/ l'internet. Cherche.

Search in the internet. Search.

4.2.5.2. Sarah

Sarah, on the other hand, is mostly a French speaker. It was noticed during the analysis of her interventions in this conversation that she mostly uses French and only switched to AA a few times when addressing her mother. What is particularly interesting is that she uses French to respond even when Nabila asks her a question formulated in AA. This shows that French is the language that comes to her most naturally, even though she seems to perfectly understand AA. In addition, Extracts 13, 14, 15, and 16 show that the participant used a few words that are mostly religious or cultural in AA, such as *inshallah*, *wallah*, *bsahtek*, and *habibi*. Note that in the first two examples, Sarah dropped the use of the sound /h/, rendering it silent, which is considered a potential sign of attrition as well.

Extract 13:

Sarah : Oui, /ɪnfala/.

Yes, if God will.

Extract 14 :

Sarah: /wala/ je te jure

In the name of Allah, I swear to you.

Extract 15 :

Sarah : /bsahtek/ maman. Tu vas te reposer moi je vais ramasser

May this bring you health mom. Go lay down, I'll gather everything.

Extract 16 :

Sarah: tu n'as rien à faire là-bas /ħabibi/, tu t'ennuieras comme d'habitude.

You have nothing to do there darling, you will get bored as usual.

Other examples, notably Extracts 17, 18, and 19, could be considered to show how Sarah moved from French to AA within a single utterance, either using intra-sentential switching or by inserting an AA tag in a French sentence, such as the word *lala*. Then, the examples presented in Extracts 20 and 21 show how Sarah used inter-sentential CS: once as a translation of what she had said in French before, and once to repeat something that her father used to tell her in AA.

Extract 17 :

Sarah: (laugh) alors moi j'ai fait des ondulations toute la journée des colorations, des coupes, c'est très intéressant /lala/?

So personally I did some hair waving all day long, hair colorations, haircuts, interesting isn't it?

Extract 18 :

Sarah : La soupe /dzatek/ hajla/ maman

Your soup is delicious mom.

Extract 19 :

Sarah: Avec plaisir maman, /bla mzija/

It was my pleasure mom, no problem.

Extract 20 :

Sarah : Moi je préfère le sel de mer, c'est celui que j'ai l'habitude de prendre. /mwalfinah/

Personally, I prefer the sea salt. It's the one that I'm used to take, we are used to it.

Extract 21 :

Sarah : ah oui à chaque fois je me répète ce que papa me disait toujours. /Kan ykoli mül nija jerbaħ/.

Oh yes, I always remember what dad used to tell me. He used to tell me that a person with good intentions always triumphs.

At last, some miss pronunciation of the sounds (ts) and “q” were noticed in the words bsahtek jatek and ykoli which were pronounced like “psahtek”, “dzatek” and “jkoli” instead of ‘psahtsek”, “dzatsek” and “jqoli”. These could definitely be considered as signs of attrition at the level of the AA phonetics and could be regarded as the starting point of a shift from AA to French.

4.2.5.3. Yacine

The last participant of this conversation is Yacine, representing the third-generation immigrant. The most important observation that could be detected in his speech is that he did not utter a single word in AA. He expressed himself only in French and was, for the most part, addressed by both his mother and grandmother in French as well. This observation raises different questions about whether he understands AA and whether he is able to use his language of origin, even at a basic level. If the answer is yes, then why did both Nabila and Sarah choose to speak to him in French instead of AA, and why did he choose to speak entirely in French? If the answer is negative, then does it indicate a language shift, and does it result from an inadequate HL transmission process? What are the reasons behind this deficiency? Hopefully, these questions will be addressed later in this research using other research instruments.

Each participant in this family shows a different linguistic behavior. While the first-generation immigrant, Nabila, seems to be a balanced bilingual, using both French and AA as dominant languages—mostly in mixed sentences—she adapts her language according to her interlocutor and sometimes even to the topic of conversation. She clearly maintains her HL and shows no signs of attrition or shift. However, at the level of AA transmission to the next generation, signs of failure appear in the speech of her daughter, Sarah, mostly at the level of vocabulary and phonetics. This second-generation participant is clearly French dominant, although able to understand and produce some words and expressions in AA. Sarah has thus maintained the use of AA, but at a limited rate, and probably stopped its

transmission to her son Yacine, who, from the sample recorded, can hardly be considered bilingual, as he seems unable to produce any words in AA and his comprehension ability is seriously questionable.

4.3. Discussion of the Free-Conversation Recordings Results

The analysis of the recorded free, natural, and spontaneous conversations provided the researcher with valuable insights in terms of proficiency in the language of origin, its maintenance or shift, and its transmission across three generations of immigrants. Although most of the conversations are short and can capture only a small part of what reality might be, and despite the limited number of conversations collected for this research, they still allowed the researcher to build a conception of the status that AA has among the Algerian immigrant community in France, how they relate to it, and to compare the results of different exchanges that took place between three different generations within five different families that are part of the same speech community.

4.3.1. First-Generation Results

It was determined from the analysis of the results obtained from the five participants of the first generation of immigrants that all of them have maintained a perfect use of AA despite the number of years spent in France and regardless of their frequency of use. Some of them were considered balanced bilinguals, using both French and AA at almost the same rate, switching between the two languages as naturally as an AA native speaker could. Others seemed to be much more proficient in AA than in French, which is particularly interesting as their AA does not appear to be altered or influenced by the use of French, the official and dominant language of their host country. As might be expected, none of these participants showed any sign of attrition in their HL, and thus no particular sign of shift from AA to French was recorded. Finally, the natural and fluent use of their mother tongue with their family members surely contributed to the successful transmission of this language to the subsequent generation.

4.3.2. Second-Generation Results

The analysis concerning the second-generation group provided different results. While two of the participants appeared to be as fluent as their parents in their language of origin and maintained sufficient proficiency in it, the other three showed a clear dominance of French in terms of word choice and sentence formation. These three participants maintained an extremely limited use of AA, generally shifting from French to AA according to the topic of discussion (e.g., religion or AA traditions) or according to their interlocutors. In addition, they showed signs of lexical and phonetic attrition in their HL. This was detected in the mispronunciation of some AA sounds and the insertion of French words where their AA equivalents exist and could have been used instead. Signs of attrition are a clear indication of a language shift beginning to manifest at the level of AA, which will probably alter the transmission of this language to the next generation.

4.3.3. Third-Generation Results

For the third-generation participants, the results were closely related to those of their parents. Those whose parents maintained good mastery of AA appeared to have maintained the use of their language of origin as well, although they manifested some reduction in vocabulary. However, for those whose parents began showing signs of attrition, they had completely shifted from AA to French. They can hardly be considered bilingual, as they were unable to produce any word or sentence in AA, and in some situations, their comprehension was seriously questioned. This proves that the transmission process of the HL, at least for three participants, has completely stopped at this level.

In addition, the third conversation, which involved three siblings from the same generation, allowed for comparison between each of them. It was noticed that while the first child seemed to have maintained sufficient fluency in AA, the second and third children began to manifest signs of language shift, showing a clear decrease in the use of this language and a high dominance of French in their speech.

Finally, regarding the intergenerational comparison of CS use, it was concluded that first-generation participants manifested higher use of CS compared to second- and third-generation participants. It was also determined that tag-switching is the type of CS most used, while inter-sentential CS was the least used by all three generations. Concerning the first generation, all participants used CS for non-compensatory reasons, showing fluency in both AA and French. Second-generation participants, however, mostly used CS from AA to French as a compensatory strategy to fill linguistic gaps, while switching from French to AA occurred primarily for expressive reasons, such as culture or religion. Finally, third-generation participants largely used an extremely limited number of mixed sentences, especially where AA was the matrix language. However, for the two participants who did use CS with French as the dominant language, the cases were mostly in the form of insertions of AA tags and phrases that were religious, cultural, or simply repeated after someone else. Such instances can be considered a kind of compensatory CS, as most of these terms can hardly be replaced with a French equivalent, if one exists.

4.4. Analysis of the Semi-Structured Interview

The collection of data through the use of an interview was a challenging task, particularly with the Coronavirus situation, which did not allow for direct contact with the participants. For this reason, the interviews were conducted via online chats using the social network WhatsApp. Thanks to technological advancements, the interview process was feasible and provided the research with relevant and valuable results.

4.4.1. First-Generation Results

The first part of the interview was dedicated to the language choice of the participants. They were asked about the languages they spoke fluently and the language they used the most in different contexts: at home, with friends, at school, or at the workplace. The results show that all of participants 1, 2, and 3 are fluent in both AA and French. Additionally, all of them affirmed using mostly AA with

family members, while French was their dominant language in more formal contexts. In terms of their interactions with friends, participants 2 and 3 stated that they were obliged to use French, as most of their friends are French. Participant 1, however, declared having a few Algerian friends in France, but French was still the language used between them due to differences between their dialects. Such language variations also hinder comprehension between different family members.

Extract 1:

Participant 1: /lhaq nahder yaja bel řarbija wel franse/ mais c'est vrai que/ fe dar/ je préfère nahder b edariřa kter. ki noxrez bera saji neglebha franse/ puisque /ennas ma jefahmoř l řarbiya. Ana ma nekdebf ařlik/ j'ai pas beaucoup d'amis algériens /hna fi fransa/ mais même /köl wařad ew dariřtah besif ařlik tahder bel francé bař jefahmořk/.

Honestly, I speak fluently in both AA and French but I prefer speaking in AA at home. However, when I go out, I switch to French because people do not understand AA. I will be honest, I do not have many Algerian friends here in France but despite that, each Algerian has his own dialect, you feel obliged to speak in French to be understood.

Subsequently, the participants were asked to compare their proficiency in both AA and French. While participants 1 and 2 answered that they are more proficient in AA than in French, participant 3 stated that he has equal competence in both languages and is able to express himself fluently and naturally in both codes. In Extract 2, participant 1 explains that in AA, he does not feel the need to search for words or overthink what he is going to say, whereas in French he sometimes loses his words and frequently pauses to reformulate his sentences. The same applies to participant 2, who argued that speaking in AA comes more naturally to him and that he is more spontaneous when expressing himself in this language.

Extract 2 :

Participant 1: /edariřa třini sahla hakda ma noqřodř enxemem ki ndři nahdar/ alors que en Français j'ai des fois besoin de chercher mes mots / w nebqa nbε :ge/.

The Algerian dialect is easy for me, I don't have to think about what I am going to say while in French I sometimes need to search for words.

Participant 2: / Ana ki nahder b edarija/ je suis spontané /mwalef nahder biha/ mais /bel franse/ c'est plus compliqué.

Personally, when I use AA I am spontaneous because I am used to speak in this language but it's more complicated in French.

Participant 3: /ana nahder ble/ deux langues j'ai pas de problème.
/Nmetrizehom fi zouz/

Personally, I do not have any problem in speaking in both languages. I master them both equally.

The next question explored their use of the CS strategy. The participants were asked whether they frequently switch codes within a single conversation and the reasons behind this practice. All three participants confirmed that they code-switch all the time. In addition, they all agreed that this practice occurs out of habit because they are used to it. Participant 2, however, added that sometimes he feels obliged to switch codes when the listener has difficulty understanding his meaning or when the conversation is taking place in public spaces. In such situations, he code-switches to accommodate the French people around him.

Extract 3 :

Participant 2: oui tout le temps. ħna gaŕ/ les algériens nfoto mel ŕarbija lel franse normal/ Mais /kajen/ aussi les situations /eli tkun bera mŕ lyafɪ w gaŕ/ tu es obligé /tweli tahder bel fransé/ par respect.

Yes, all the time. We as Algerians we naturally switch from Arabic to French. But there are other situations where you are outside with people around you, you feel obliged to switch to French to respect the others.

Subsequently, the participants were questioned about their level of proficiency in AA. They were asked whether they are able to hold an entire conversation in AA and demonstrate full understanding. All three participants

answered positively and stated that they have no problem speaking solely in AA, regardless of the topic. This answer led to the following question, which asked whether they noticed any signs of attrition in their HL. Naturally, they all affirmed that they do not notice any decline in their AA proficiency, neither in speaking nor in comprehension.

The following questions concerned HL transmission and maintenance. The participants were first asked whether they consider it important to preserve the use of AA and whether they make particular efforts to do so. Again, all three participants agreed and answered favorably. They claimed that simply using AA on a daily basis at home or with family members in Algeria helps preserve this linguistic heritage. Participant 1 explained that this language identifies all Algerian people and that losing this heritage would mean losing their own identity. Participant 2 confessed that he is proud of this linguistic heritage, which helps maintain the bond with his family in Algeria and preserves all nostalgic memories with them. Finally, participant 3 stated that AA is a cultural heritage that needs to be protected and maintained because it is part of his identity.

Extract 4:

Participant 1: Bien-sûr, c'est très important. J'essaye /nahder f dar yil b edariža surtout mša la famille fel blad. Šlabalek edariža/ c'est ce qui nous représente /ejla dijašna had lahdža ntašna ma nweluf des Algériens, xlas/.

Of course, it's very important. I try to speak only in AA especially with my family in Algeria. You know, AA is what represents us, if we lose our own dialect, we will not be Algerian anymore.

Participant 2: oui je trouve que c'est important parce que c'est ce qui nous permet de maintenir les liens /mša ħbabna fel blad/. Je ressens beaucoup de fierté envers cette langue parce que /biha šndi bezaf/ les souvenirs c'est pour ça /baqi nahder biha/ même ici en France parce que ça me représente.

Yes, it is important because that is what helps us maintain the bond with our family in Algeria. I am proud of this language because I have lots of memories with it and this is why I maintain its use even here in France. It represents me.

Participant 3 : oui, c'est très important parce que /hadak/ c'est notre héritage /esema besif ɣlina ngardiwah/ ça fait partie de notre identité.

Yes, it is very important because it is our heritage so we are obliged to preserve it. It is part of our identity.

After being questioned about their own maintenance of their HL, the participants were asked whether they find it important for their (future) descendants to preserve the use of AA and what efforts they deploy or would deploy to transmit this linguistic heritage. The answers differed from one participant to another. Participant 1 said that although he speaks to his children daily in AA and tries to return to Algeria for the holidays as much as possible, he never obliges them to use this language. He added that the most important thing for him is that they can understand him and communicate with each other.

Similarly, Participant 2 explained that he tries to use AA and travel with his children to Algeria as much as possible so they can maintain their Algerian culture and identity. However, he argues that he prefers his children to maintain the use of Fusha (MSA) rather than AA because of the Islamic religion and practices he wants them to preserve. For this reason, he enrolled them in Arabic schools where they teach Arabic and the Quran.

Finally, Participant 3 was the only one who considered it important to transmit this heritage to his future children, claiming that it helps maintain strong relationships with their family in Algeria. However, he confessed that it will not be a simple task, as France is not favorable to the preservation of minority languages of origin, so the efforts would be limited to personal practice at home.

Extract 5:

Participant 1: Bien-sûre /madabija wladi jgardiw dariza kima qotlek/
c'est notre identité, /dima nahder mɣahom biha edithom ɣhal men xetra

lel blad baf jaʃarfu/ leurs origines mais après je peux pas les obliger /hadija/ c'est leur vies /huma/ ils font leur propres choix. L'essentiel /jefahmoni ew nefhamhom w xlas/

Of course, I wish for my children to maintain the use of AA as I told you earlier, it is our identity. I always speak to them in this language and I travelled with them several times to Algeria so they could know their origins. However, I can't oblige them, it's their own lives and they have to make their own choices. The most important thing is that they are able to understand me and I am able to understand them.

Participant 2: /nahder mʃahom nedihom lel blad/ mais /saraħa/ je fais plus d'efforts /bah jgardiw lʃarbjya el fuʃħa luɣat el qorʔan bch yʃedw fi dinhom/

I speak to them in AA, I travel with them to Algeria, but honestly, I make more efforts for them to preserve the standard Arabic, the language of the holy book, so they stay attached to their religion.

Participant 3 : Bien-sûre /nʃalah nebqa netkelem m3ahoum yil b edariza baf jetʔalmoha w ma jensawħaf/ parce que c'est très important pour moi qu'ils gardent de bons liens avec la famille en Algérie. Malheureusement la France /ma tsaʃedʃ xlas fi had/ les choses, /nta w qfaztek/.

Of course, Inshallah I will speak to them only in AA so they can learn it and not forget it because it is very important to me that my children keep strong relationships with the family in Algeria. Unfortunately, the French country does not help in these situations. You have to be smart.

The last question aimed to find out whether the participants have an Algerian community in France with whom they frequently meet and interact, and which language they use with its different members. Participants 1, 2, and 3 answered similarly. They said they had some family members and acquaintances in the region where they lived but were not particularly close to them. They claimed that when they happened to speak with them, they generally used AA with those who shared the same regional dialect and French with those who did not, in order to avoid misunderstandings.

Extract 6:

Participant 1: /kajen fi h̄bab ew/ la famille /hnaja besaħ qlil win netlaq̄.
nahder m̄ṣah̄om bel ṣarbija/ normal mais /kajen eli ma jahadroḥ kifna
tesema/ des fois /n evitu/ on préfère parler en français.

We have some friends and family members here but we rarely meet. I speak to them in AA but there are many who do not speak the same dialect as us so sometimes we avoid using this language. We rather prefer to speak in French.

4.4.2. Second-Generation Results

The results of the first question revealed that Participant 5 claims fluency in both AA and French, while Participants 4 and 6 explained that they are fluent in French but can also express themselves in AA. In terms of their language choice in the home context, all three participants stated that they use both AA and French, depending on the topic or the family member they are speaking to. At school or at the workplace, the participants said they were obliged to use French, as it is the language of the country. Finally, regarding their dominant language when interacting with friends, all of them answered that they speak in French, since all their friends are French speakers, even the Algerian ones

.Extract 1:

Participant 4: Je parle couramment français mais je sais parler arabe aussi. A la maison /nahadro ṣarbija mais anaja/ je suis plus à l'aise en français. Pour le travail, je parlais en français bien-sûre et avec mes amis c'est plus français vu que la plupart ne parlent que Français.

I speak fluently in French but I can speak Arabic too. At home, we speak in Arabic but personally, I feel more at ease using French. At work, I used to speak in French of course and with my friends I speak more French since most of them speak only in French.

Participant 5 : Je parle bien français et arabe. A la maison j'essaye de parler /b edaridza/ mais c vrai que souvent je me retrouve à parler en français, au fait ça dépend du sujet et avec qui je parle. Au travail évidemment je parle en français on est en France, et avec mes amis je parle aussi français parce que la majorité de mes amis sont français. J'ai aussi d'autres amis maghrébins mais on se comprend mieux en français.

I speak fluently in both French and Arabic. At home I try to speak in AA but it is true that I often find myself speaking in French instead. In fact, it depends on the topic and the person to whom I am speaking. At work obviously I speak in French we're in France and with my friends I speak in French because the majority of my friends are French. I have some other Maghrebian friends but we understand each other better in French.

Participant 6 : Je parle couramment français mais à la maison, mon père nous oblige à parler arabe donc ça va je m'en sors assez bien. Par contre avec mes frères et sœurs on parle que français. A l'école je parle français and avec mes amis aussi.

I speak fluently in French but at home, my father obliges us to speak in Arabic so I can deal with it very well. However, with my brothers and sisters we speak only in French. At school we speak in French and with my friends we speak French as well.

we speak in French and with my friends we speak French as well.

In terms of comparison between their proficiency in both AA and French, participant 4 and 6 answered they felt more competent in French than in AA while participant 5 said he was competent in both at the same rate. Participant 4 explained that he was more at ease when he speaks in French. Participant 5 claimed that he could express himself with no difficulty using both languages. Finally, participant 6 confessed being more spontaneous when he speaks in French and that he is less natural in AA..

Extract 2:

Participant 4 : non en français je suis plus à l'aise qu'en Arabe, je maitrise mieux ce que je dis.

No, I feel more comfortable in French than in Arabic. I master more what I am saying.

Participant 5 : /ana nahder bel ġarbija wela bel franse lija yi kifkif/, je peux parler avec les deux langues sans problème.

Personally, speaking in AA or in French is the same thing for me, I can use both with no problem.

Participant 6 : j'ai plus de compétence en français c'est sûr. Quand je parle en français je suis plus naturel et plus spontané que quand je parle en Arabe.

I have more competence in French, for sure. When I speak in French, I am more naturel and more spontaneous compared to when I speak in Arabic.

The next question concerned the occurrence of code-switching in their speech and the reasons behind it. In response, Participant 4 stated that he often switches codes, especially when speaking with family members, because sometimes it feels more appropriate to use one language rather than the other. Participant 5 explained that it is natural for him to switch from AA to French and vice versa, as this is the way his family communicates at home. Finally, Participant 6 said that he only switches codes in particular situations, especially when he feels obliged to speak in AA.

Extract 3:

Participant 4: oui je change souvent de langue quand je parle a ma famille parce que des fois /kajen/ des sujets obligé /tahder fihom bel ġarbija/. Y a aussi des mots qui viennent plus naturellement en Arabe et aussi /kajen/ des membres de ma famille qui comprennent pas trop le français donc je leur parle /be daiža baj jefahmoni/.

Yes, I frequently change the code when I am speaking to my family because there are some topics that need to be discussed in Arabic. There are also some words that come more naturally in Arabic and also there are some family members who do not understand French very well, so I speak to them in AA so they can understand me.

Participant 5 : oui bien sûr comme tous les algériens, j'ai l'habitude de parler comme ça un mot en français un mot en arabe parce qu'à la maison mes parents parlaient comme ça.

Yes of course, like all the Algerians. I am used to speak this way, one word in French and another in Arabic because my parents used to speak this way with us at home.

Participant 6 : je change de langue généralement que quand je parle à mon père en darija ou quand je parle à ma famille au bled pour qu'ils me comprennent mieux.

I switch codes only when I speak in AA with my father or with some of family members in Algeria so they can understand me better.

The following question concerned their ability to speak and understand a conversation conducted entirely in AA. Participant 5 answered positively to this question, while the other two were more hesitant. They felt more confident about their ability to understand what was being said to them than about their ability to hold an entire conversation in AA. Participant 4 ultimately stated that he believes he could manage a conversation using only AA, but Participant 6 did not provide a convincing answer.

Regarding attrition in their language of origin, Participant 4 reported that he sometimes has difficulty finding words and formulating full sentences without switching directly to French. He added that, compared to his parents and family, there are many idiomatic expressions in AA that he does not know and cannot understand. Participant 5 stated that he does not notice any decline in his AA competence compared to his parents, so he perceives no sign of deterioration. Participant 6, however, was the only one to mention a decline in pronunciation; he explained that he finds it difficult to produce the sound /ħ/ and noted that his AA vocabulary is reduced and limited.

Extract 4:

Participant 4: des fois je dois réfléchir avant de parler en arabe parce que je perd mes mots alors qu'en français je parle spontanément c'est ça la

différence. Aussi des fois je commence ma phrase en /dariza/ puis je me retrouve a parler en français /bla ma naɕba.

Sometimes, I need to think before I speak in Arabic because I lose my words while in French I speak spontaneously, that's the difference. Also, sometimes I start my sentence in AA then I find myself speaking in French without realizing.

Participant 5 : non non je pense pas, je trouve pas que je parle différemment.

No, I don't think so. I don't think I speak differently.

Participant 6 : c'est vrai que y a énormément de mots en arabe qui me viennent pas naturellement, pour ma prononciation je pense pas qu'elle soit différente sauf peut-être pour le /ha/, ma famille me fait souvent la remarque comme quoi je la prononce pas comme il faut.

It is true that there are many words in Arabic that do not come naturally to my mind. For my pronunciation, I don't think it is different except maybe for the sound /h/, my family often notices that I do not pronounce it as it should be.

In terms of HLM, the participants were asked about their opinion regarding the preservation of AA use. Participants 4 and 5 responded that AA is part of the cultural heritage transmitted by their parents and that it is the language of their families in Algeria, so they consider it important to preserve its use. They stated that they maintain contact with the language through their parents and family in Algeria, which helps them not to forget how to use it. However, Participant 6 appeared more reluctant in his response. He acknowledged that he respects the fact that AA is his language of origin and the language of his roots, but he confessed that he considers it more important to use French or English, as AA may not particularly serve his interests in the future.

Extract 5:

Participant 4: Oui c'est important parce que ça fait partie de la culture de nos parents qu'il nous ont transmis, donc oui.

Yes, it is important because it is part of our parents' culture that they transmitted to us, so yes.

Participant 5: bien-sûr, /el ʕarbija/ c'est la langue que nous a transmis nos parents, obligé de la garder.

Of course, the Arabic is the language that our parents transmitted to us, we are obliged to maintain it.

Participant 6: c'est sûrement important oui vu que c'est ma langue d'héritage mais honnêtement j' préfère faire des efforts pour apprendre d'autres langues qui me serviront plus tard.

It is probably important, yes, because it is my HL, but honestly, I prefer making efforts to learn other languages that will serve me more in the future.

As a next step, the participants were asked whether they consider it important to pursue the transmission of this linguistic heritage to their (future) descendants. In response, Participant 4 claimed that he did his best to transmit this language to his children by using it as much as possible at home and by taking them to Algeria a few times. However, considering that he feels more at ease using French rather than AA, and because he married a French woman, his children have only limited competence in this language.

Concerning Participant 5, he appeared determined to transmit this linguistic heritage to his only child, explaining that he speaks with him in AA as much as possible and allows him to spend time at his grandparents' house, where AA is used fluently and spontaneously. He is committed to preserving his Algerian culture and identity and passing it on to his child and future children.

Finally, Participant 6 explained that the transmission of this language to his future children will occur naturally, as they will spend time with his own family, who speak AA naturally. However, he personally will not make additional efforts to teach it. He did underline, though, that, as his parents made an effort to teach him some Fusha to practice Islamic prayers, he intends to insist on that with his children because it is the language of the religion he wants them to adopt.

Extract 6:

Participant 4: /walahi/ j'ai fait de mon mieux pour que mes enfants maîtrisent un peu l'arabe, j'essayais de leur parler le plus possible /b edariza/, je les emmenais souvent au bled pendant l'été. Mais c'est vrai que quand moi-même je m'exprime plus en Français et que ma femme est française, mes enfants ne parlent pas très bien arabe.

Honestly, I did my best for my children to learn Arabic, I tried to speak to them in AA as much as possible, I took them several times to Algeria during summer holidays. However, it is true that when myself I speak more in French and the fact that my wife is French, my children do not speak well in Arabic.

Participant 5: Bin oui c'est très important pour moi d'ailleurs je parle à mon fils tt le temps en arabe pour qu'il s'habitue même si il est encore petit et je le laisse très souvent chez mes parents qui parlent l'arabe couramment comme ça il s'imprégnera plus facilement par cette culture.

Of course it is very important for me. By the way, I always speak to my son in AA so he gets used to it although he is still young. In addition, He frequently stays in his grand-parents who speak fluently in AA, this way he will identify more easily with this culture.

Participant 6 : mes enfants seront exposés à l'arabe coûte que coûte par ma famille qui parle arabe couramment mais c'est vrai que je me sens pas de faire des efforts monstres pour qu'ils puissent parler eux aussi en darija. Par contre j'insisterais pour qu'ils puissent apprendre l /ḡarabija el fuṣṣa/ pour qu'ils puissent lire le coran et faire leurs prières.

My children will be naturally exposed to AA through my family who speaks in AA fluently but it is true that I don't feel like making considerable efforts so they can speak in AA. Nevertheless, I will insist on them to learn MSA so they can read the Quran and do their Islamic prayers.

The final question examined the participants' group membership and whether they were surrounded by an Algerian community where they live. The three participants replied that, although they knew some Algerian immigrants who reside

nearby, they do not have direct contact with most of them. They added that they did not feel a particular need to be surrounded by such a community. However, Participants 4 and 5 said that, with other Algerians, they try to adapt to the language of the conversation: they reply in AA when their interlocutors initiate a conversation in AA and reply in French when they are addressed in French. Participant 6 stated that most of his surroundings are French, and even the few Algerian immigrants he knows speak mostly in French.

4.4.3. Third-Generation Results

The answers to the first question showed that Participant 7 is fluent in French and can speak in AA, while Participants 8 and 9 reported being fluent only in French. All of them said they mostly use French at home, although they have daily contact with AA through their parents, grandparents, or other family members. Participants 7 and 8 use French at their workplace, and Participant 9 uses it at school. Finally, all of them reported using French with their friends, who are mostly French speakers.

Extract 1:

Participant 7: Je parle couramment en Français mais je parle aussi Arabe. A la maison je parle plus français même si je suis très entourée par l'arabe par ma famille. Au travail j'ai toujours parlé français et avec mes amis aussi vu qu'ils parlent tous français.

I speak French fluently but I also speak in Arabic. At home, I use mostly French although I am surrounded by the AA through my family. At my workplace I have always used French and with my friends as well since they all speak French.

Participant 9: la langue que je parle couramment c'est évidemment le français. Je l'utilise a la maison et à l'école et même avec mes copains.

The language that I speak fluently is obviously French. I use it at home, at school and even with my friends.

The second question asked the participants to compare their proficiency in both AA and French. Participants 7 and 8 reported being much more proficient in

French than in AA, but both specified that they could understand any speech in AA. Participant 9, however, stated that he was more fluent in French and added that this language was his mother tongue.

Extract 2:

Participant 8: je maitrise énormément mieux le français mais je peux très bien comprendre ce qu'on me dit en arabe.

I master a lot more the French language but I can understand AA very well.

Participant 9: C'est évident que je parle mieux en Français, c'est ma langue natale.

It's obvious that I speak better in French, it's my mother tongue.

Regarding code-switching at the conversational level, the answers differed from those of the first and second generations. Participant 7 stated that he only switches codes when speaking to some family members in Algeria, and then only to use a few words in Arabic that feel more appropriate. Participant 8 claimed that he does not switch codes regularly because he generally speaks French in all situations. Finally, participant 9 reported that he switches codes frequently, but only between French and English, using just a few words in AA when replying to an AA speaker.

Extract 3:

Participant 7: j'utilise généralement que le français sauf quand je parle a la famille au bled des fois j'utilise avec eux qqe mots en arabe pour qu'ils me comprennent mieux et parce que souvent ça passe mieux comme ça.

I generally use only French except when I speak to my family in Algeria sometimes, I use some words in Arabic so they can understand me better and because it is easier this way.

Participant 9 : oui je change souvent de langue plusieurs fois dans la conversation mais du français a l'anglais pas de l'arabe. Par contre,

quand quelqu'un me parle en Arabe, ça m'arrive d'employer qqe mots aussi pour lui répondre.

Yes, I often switch codes in one conversation but from French to English not from Arabic. However, when someone speaks to me in Arabic, I sometimes employ some Arabic words to reply.

Subsequently, the participants were asked whether they could hold a conversation entirely in AA, both in speaking and comprehension. All participants stated that they found it difficult to speak solely in AA throughout an entire conversation. However, participants 7 and 8 claimed that they could understand what their interlocutor was saying in AA. Participant 9 appeared more reluctant to respond to this part of the question.

To complement these answers, they were asked whether they noticed any obvious signs of attrition in AA. Participant 7 reported experiencing difficulties in remembering some words and expressions in AA, which sometimes makes it hard to form complete sentences in this language. Participant 8 stated that his AA is hardly comparable to that of his parents or grandparents. He explained that he struggles with pronunciation, despite regularly practicing Arabic sounds to avoid forgetting them, and that his vocabulary is extremely limited, which makes sentence formation particularly challenging. Finally, participant 9 provided an answer similar to participant 8, noting that attrition is evident in his pronunciation, vocabulary, and sentence formation.

Extract 4:

Participant 7: Des fois quand j'essaye de parler en daridza j'arrive pas à m'exprimer complètement parce que je n'arrive pas a trouver mes mots. Y a aussi bcp d'expression que j'ai apprend quand j'étais jeune mais que j'ai perdu avec le temps.

Sometimes when I try to speak in AA, I find difficulties to express myself completely because I cannot find my words. There are also my expressions that I learned when I was young that I lost through time.

Participant 8: bin quand je compare mon arabe a celui de mes parents ou grands-parents c'est vrai que ça na rien avoir. Moi y a beaucoup de mots que je ne connais pas et que même je n'arrive des fois pas à prononcer, ce qui fais quand je veux parler en darija je n'y arrive pas facilement.

Well, when I compare between my AA and that of my parents or grand-parents, it is true that there a big difference. Personally, there are many words that I don't know and others that I sometimes cannot even pronounce so when I want to speal in AA I can hardly do it.

The succeeding question focused on the importance of HLM according to their opinions. Participant 7 stated that he finds it important to at least understand and be able to respond in this language, which represents a valuable heritage received from his parents and grandparents. Participant 8 replied that AA will always be part of his identity, as it is the language of his grandparents and also the HL of his parents. Finally, participant 9 said that he loves this language because it is spoken by the people he loves, both in France and in Algeria, but he can hardly identify with it. The three of them do not seem to make significant efforts to actively maintain its use, instead relying on their exposure to the language to help preserve it.

Extract 5:

Participant 7: Je trouve ça bien que je puisse comprendre et répondre en arabe parce que cette langue fait partie de mes origines et c'est un héritage que je voudrais préserver.

I think it is good that I can understand and answer in AA because this language is part of my origins and it is a heritage that I would like to preserve.

Participant 8: l'arabe fera toujours parti de moi vu que c'est la langue de mes grands-parents et de mes parents donc oui c'est important pour moi.

Arabic will always be a part of me since it is the language of my grand-parents and parents so yes it is important for me.

Participant 9: Bien que j'adore cette langue parce que beaucoup de gens que j'aime l'utilisent mais elle ne me représente pas particulièrement.

Although I love this language because lots of people I love use it but it does not represent me personally.

This question was followed by another one examining their opinions about the transmission of this linguistic heritage to their descendants. Participant 7 stated that he considers it important for his children to maintain this heritage, but all of them answered that they would not make significant efforts to transmit it, beyond exposing their children to family members who use AA naturally. They consider it more important to teach them French, as it is the language they need in the country where they live. Participant 9 specified that he finds it more important to teach his future children's other languages he considers more valuable, such as English or Chinese.

Extract 6:

Participant 9: *Honnêtement, bien que ça fait partie de leurs héritage, je préfère que mes enfants maitrisent des langues plus importantes comme l'anglais ou le chinois, l'arabe dialectale ne va pas leur servir à grand-chose*

Honestly, despite AA being part of their heritage, I prefer that my children master more important languages like English or Chinese, AA will not be of much help for them.

The last question asked whether the participants have an Algerian community that they meet and interact with frequently. Participant 7 said he had some family members and acquaintances who recently moved to France and whom he meets occasionally. He added that although they tend to speak to him in AA, he generally replies in French because it comes naturally to him. Participant 8 replied that he had some colleagues and acquaintances of Algerian origin, but they all spoke French when together. Finally, participant 9 said he had Algerian friends at school, but they all interacted in French.

4.5. Discussion of the Semi-Structured Interviews Results

The analysis of the data collected through the semi-structured interviews with the nine participants across three generations of Algerian immigrants in France

provides valuable insights into language maintenance, attrition, and transmission. It is evident that significant differences exist in their attitudes toward AA, primarily along generational lines rather than age within a generation.

First-Generation

Participants in the first generation consistently reported fluency in AA and its use in daily life within their homes and with family members. French was used primarily in formal contexts, workplaces, or when interacting with French speakers. They emphasized that speaking in AA felt more natural and spontaneous. Code-switching between AA and French was frequent, habitual, and culturally ingrained. Despite this practice, all participants maintained full proficiency in AA without noticeable signs of attrition.

Regarding maintenance and transmission, all first-generation participants regarded AA as an integral part of their heritage and identity. The two older participants actively transmitted the language to their children through daily use at home and visits to Algeria, while the younger participant intended to continue this practice with future descendants. Participants also indicated that they did not require a surrounding Algerian community in France to maintain their language but adapted their language choice to signal solidarity when interacting with other Algerians.

Overall, regardless of age, first-generation immigrants maintain strong identification with Algerian culture and consistently use AA whenever possible. They show no signs of attrition and value transmitting this heritage to their descendants, despite recognizing that it may not be practically useful in their children's future personal or professional lives.

Second-Generation

The second-generation participants presented a more varied linguistic profile. While all three used both AA and French in daily interactions, they were generally more fluent in French. At home, both languages were used, but French dominated in other contexts. Only one participant reported full proficiency in AA without any

attrition, whereas the other two showed hesitancy, noting attrition in vocabulary, pronunciation, sentence formation, and some idiomatic expressions.

Attitudes toward language maintenance also varied. One participant prioritized French over AA, focusing on improving his performance in the dominant language, though he still valued and respected AA. Transmission to the next generation appeared less systematic and motivated compared to the first generation. For example, one participant emphasized the importance of teaching Fusha (MSA) for religious purposes rather than AA.

Age within this generation did not show a consistent impact on language choice, maintenance, or transmission. Instead, other sociolinguistic factors, such as exposure to AA, sibling position, or the parent's age at immigration, appeared more influential. Overall, identification with Algerian culture diminished in this generation, along with a noticeable decrease in AA proficiency and motivation to maintain the language.

Third-Generation

Participants in the third generation were generally fluent only in French, though two reported understanding AA to some extent. At home, French predominated, but they had regular exposure to AA through family members. French was also the dominant language at school, workplace, and with friends. Code-switching was rare and typically limited to inserting a few AA words to show solidarity or ensure understanding when speaking with an AA speaker.

Regarding AA proficiency, participants reported difficulties in speaking full conversations in AA, although comprehension remained relatively better for two participants. They identified attrition signs in pronunciation, vocabulary, idiomatic expressions, and sentence formation. Despite this, all participants acknowledged the cultural value of AA and considered it important that their children maintain exposure to the language. However, unlike the older generations, they reported minimal personal effort in transmitting AA, relying mainly on natural exposure

through family. One younger participant prioritized teaching other languages, such as English or Chinese, over AA.

Across the third generation, a clear decline in AA proficiency is evident, with younger participants showing more pronounced attrition and weaker identification with the language. Nevertheless, pride in Algerian heritage remains, and participants recognize the value of maintaining exposure to AA for familial and cultural connections.

Generational Comparisons

The data reveal a clear generational shift in AA use and maintenance. While first-generation immigrants remain fluent, natural, and committed to transmitting their linguistic heritage, second-generation participants show mixed proficiency and less systematic transmission. Third-generation participants largely use French, exhibit attrition in AA, and rely primarily on incidental exposure rather than active preservation efforts.

Code-switching practices also evolve across generations. First-generation participants switch codes habitually, second-generation participants use it either situationally or as a compensatory strategy, and third-generation participants rarely switch codes, typically inserting isolated AA words in predominantly French speech.

Despite this shift, all generations express pride in their Algerian origins and value AA as a cultural heritage. The degree of motivation and effort in maintenance and transmission diminishes progressively from the first to the third generation. Age within a generation appears less influential than the GS itself, with factors such as exposure to AA, parental practices, sibling position, and attitudes toward the language playing a more decisive role.

Overall, the findings highlight a gradual decline in AA use and proficiency across generations, accompanied by a reduction in motivation and effort to maintain

the heritage language, suggesting that GS is the primary determinant of HL maintenance and shift among Algerian immigrants in France.

4.6. Conclusion

This fourth chapter presented the process of analysing the data collected through the free-conversation recordings and the semi-structured interviews. Following the transcription of the recordings, the researcher conducted a detailed analysis of each participant's speech from both research instruments to address the pre-determined research questions. The first part of the chapter focused on the analysis of the free-conversation recordings. This section highlighted linguistic dominance in terms of word choice and sentence structures, as well as the types of code-switching used by participants from the three generations of immigrants studied. Each participant's speech was further examined in terms of language proficiency, code-switching behaviour, and signs of heritage language attrition, shift, or maintenance. The second part of the chapter centered on the semi-structured interviews. This instrument was used to collect data on the participants' use and proficiency in their language of origin, as well as to explore potential relationships between age, GS and the maintenance or shift of their ancestral language. In conclusion, both sections provided general findings derived from the analyses conducted with these two research instruments, emphasizing the differences observed across the generations of immigrants included in the study.

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Data analysis from a Macro-approach

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5.1. Introduction

This final chapter presents the analysis of the data collected through the last research instrument employed in this study: the online questionnaire. It provides a detailed overview of all the questions posed to the participants, the objectives behind each question, and the results obtained from their responses. The questionnaire was organized into different sections, each representing a specific theme related to the use, maintenance, or shift of the heritage language (HL). The results were analysed primarily in relation to the main social variable of this research, namely GS. Additionally, data from particular social variables, such as the age of first exposure to Algerian Arabic (AA) and the frequency of its use, were also examined to evaluate their impact on the proficiency acquired or developed in AA and, consequently, on its preservation across generations.

5.2. Analysis of the Questionnaire

The first set of questions focused on the age at which participants immigrated to France. Based on their responses, participants were divided into three groups. The first group included individuals who immigrated between birth and 18 years of age, comprising 13 participants. The second group consisted of 199 participants who immigrated as adults, between 18 and 45 years old. The third group encompassed all second- and third-generation immigrants who had not personally immigrated to France but were descended from at least one parent or grandparent who had. This group comprised 53 participants.

Table 5.1. Groups of participants according to age of immigration

Age of immigration	Between 0 and 18	Between 18 and 45	2 nd and 3 rd generation
Number of participants	13	199	53

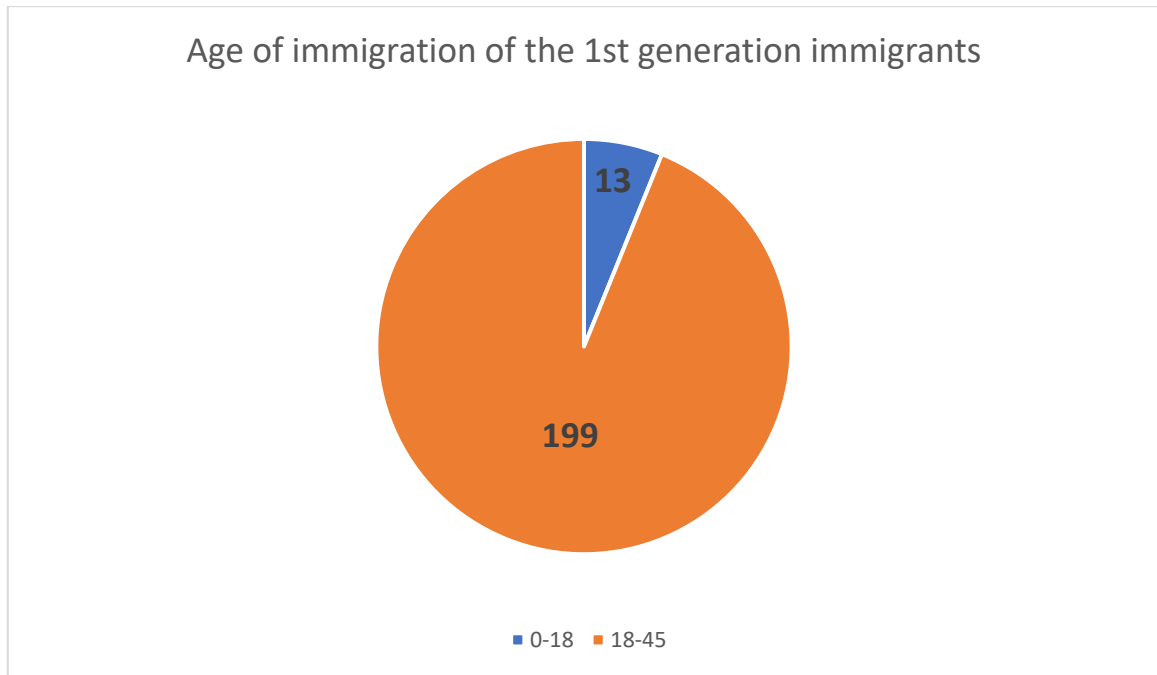


Figure 5.1. Age of immigration of first-generation immigrants

As a next step, it was considered relevant to examine the educational level of each individual in the selected sample to determine its potential effect on attrition, maintenance, or transmission of AA across generations. The responses showed that the majority of the sample had attained a university education (208 participants). Only 20 respondents reported completing secondary school, while 37 others were still in middle school. Overall, it can be concluded that the large majority of the sample is well-educated.

The following Table 5.2 presents the educational level of participants according to their GS. Among the first-generation immigrants in the sample, 21 participants had completed middle school, 14 had reached secondary school, and the remaining 177 held a university degree. Within the second-generation group, 14 individuals had a middle school education, 5 had completed secondary school, and 16 had attained university-level education. Finally, in the third-generation group, 2 participants were in or had completed middle school, 1 had a secondary school education, and 5 had obtained a university degree.

Table 5.2. Educational Level according to GS

Generation	Primary	Middle	Secondary	University	Total
Generation 1	0	21	14	177	212
Generation 2	0	0	17	18	35
Generation 3	0	2	1	15	18
Total	0	23	32	210	265

The findings show that 79.2% of the sample population is highly educated, including 66.8% from the first generation, 6.8% from the second generation, and 5.6% from the third generation of immigrants. In addition, it is noteworthy that 83% of the first-generation participants have a university-level education, compared to 51% of the second-generation participants and 83% of the third-generation participants. The sample also included 8.1% of individuals with a middle school education and 12.1% with a secondary school education.

5.2.1. Rubric 1: Heritage Language Acquisition

Q1: Which language do you consider as your mother tongue?

Participants were asked to indicate which language they consider their mother tongue. Among the 265 responses collected, 40 identified French as their mother tongue, while the remaining participants indicated AA. Table 5.3 presents these responses according to GS.

In the first-generation immigrant group, all 212 participants declared AA as their mother tongue. The second-generation group showed more variation: 12 participants reported AA as their mother tongue, while 23 selected French. Among the third-generation participants, 17 considered French as their mother tongue, while only one participant disagreed.

Table 5.3. Language considered as Mother Tongue

Generation	AA	French	Total
Generation 1	212	0	212
Generation 2	12	23	35
Generation 3	1	17	18
Total	225	40	265

The results of this table indicate that the language considered as one's mother tongue does not solely depend on the country of birth. It is true that all participants in the first-generation group defined AA as their mother tongue, which can be linked to their country of birth being Algeria, where AA is the primary language. However, the table also shows that 34.3% of the second-generation participants and 5.6% of the third-generation participants—who were all born in France—still consider AA as their mother tongue. This suggests that these individuals likely received their heritage cultural and linguistic background from preceding generations.

Q2: Which language(s) did you acquire before the age of school?

Participants were then asked about the language or languages they acquired before reaching school age. The answers revealed that 80 respondents acquired AA before school, 53 acquired French, and the remaining participants reported acquiring both languages simultaneously. This suggests that some AA speakers did not acquire the language from birth but rather learned it a few years later.

Table 5.4 Language acquired before school

Generation	AA	French	Both	Total
Generation 1	80	29	103	212
Generation 2	0	7	28	35
Generation 3	0	17	1	18
Total	80	53	132	265

This can be explained by the results recorded according to GS. Among the first-generation participants, 80 of them reported that the language they acquired before school was AA, while 29 others indicated French, and the remaining 103 participants reported acquiring both French and AA. In the second-generation group, none of the participants reported acquiring AA only before school. Instead, 7 participants acquired French before school, while the remaining 28 acquired both languages simultaneously. Finally, among the third-generation participants, 17 acquired French before school, and only one acquired both French and AA.

It is noteworthy that while 212 participants from the first generation consider AA as their mother tongue, 29 of them did not acquire any AA before school age. Additionally, the results show that 80% of second-generation immigrants received some AA exposure before school, compared to only 5.5% of third-generation participants.

5.2.2. Rubric 2: Level of Proficiency in Heritage Language

Q3: How do you consider your level of competence in AA?

The next question asked participants to evaluate their own level of proficiency in AA by choosing one of three options: good, average, or bad. The

responses indicated that 172 individuals reported having a good level in AA, 79 reported an average level, and 14 participants reported a relatively poor level.

When analysed according to GS, the results are as follows. Among first-generation immigrants, 169 individuals rated their AA proficiency as good, while 43 rated it as average. In the second-generation group, only 3 participants rated their level as good, 30 rated it as average, and the remaining 2 considered their level relatively poor. Finally, in the third-generation group, 12 participants rated their level as poor, while only 6 considered it average.

Table 5.5 Level of Competence in AA

Generation	Good	Average	Bad	Total
Generation 1	169	43	0	212
Generation 2	3	30	2	35
Generation 3	0	6	12	18
Total	172	79	14	265

There are a few interesting points in these results. First, the fact that 183 participants from the first generation reported acquiring AA before school age, yet only 92.3% of them consider their level in AA as good, may indicate a certain degree of deficiency in the heritage language. Second, the observation that 7 participants from the second-generation group and 6 from the third-generation group, all of whom did not acquire AA before school age, still reported having an average to good level in the language suggests that these individuals likely made conscious efforts to learn AA after school age. Finally, it is noteworthy that 66.6% of the third-generation participants claimed to have a poor level in AA, while none considered their proficiency satisfactory. This clearly reflects a failure in the transmission of the heritage language across generations.

Q4: Do you think you would understand anything that you hear in Algerian Arabic?

The next question focused on the participants' level of comprehension in AA. The results showed that 239 individuals felt confident in their ability to understand everything said in AA. In contrast, 26 participants admitted that they sometimes experience confusion and have difficulty understanding certain AA words and idiomatic expressions.

The table shows that all first-generation respondents expressed full confidence in their comprehension skills regarding their heritage language. Although the majority of second-generation participants reported being able to fully understand AA, 9 individuals were not confident in their comprehension. Finally, the results for the third-generation group were particularly notable, as most participants were pessimistic about their AA comprehension. Only one individual reported full comprehension, while all others did not feel confident in their understanding.

Table 5.6. AA Comprehension according to GS

Generation	Yes	No	Total
Generation 1	212	0	212
Generation 2	26	9	35
Generation 3	1	17	18
Total	239	26	265

Q5: Which kind of translation do you find the easiest?

The succeeding question investigated the participants' ability to translate between AA and French in both directions. Most respondents reported that they could translate both ways without any apparent difficulty. However, 23 individuals stated that they could only translate from AA to French, while 14 others said they could only translate from French to AA. Two respondents admitted that they felt incapable of translating in either direction.

Among the first-generation participants, all reported being fully capable of translating both from AA to French and from French to AA. The situation differed for the second- and third-generation groups. In the second-generation group, 13 participants indicated that they could easily translate both from AA to French and vice versa, while 14 reported that translating from French to AA was easier for them, and the remaining participants could do the opposite.

For the third-generation group, the majority agreed that translating from AA to French was more feasible than the reverse, while only one participant felt confident in translating both ways. Notably, this group included the only two individuals across all generations who felt they could not translate in either direction. Once again, these results suggest that competence in the heritage language decreases across generations.

Table 5.7. Translating from AA to Fr and vice versa according to GS

Generation	From AA to Fr	From Fr to AA	Both	None	Total
Generation 1	0	0	212	0	212
Generation 2	8	14	13	0	35
Generation 3	15	0	1	2	18
Total	23	14	226	2	265

5.2.3. Rubric 3: Frequency of Heritage Language Use

Q6: Which language do you use in these different life situations?

The questionnaire continued with a series of multiple-choice questions, offering the following options: AA, both but more AA than French, French, both but more French than AA, and both equally. Based on the overall responses, it was determined that in most life situations, the language predominantly used by the sample is French. Both languages are sometimes employed, but AA alone is rarely used and only by a small portion of the participants.

Table 5.8. Language choice of the whole sample population

Language	AA	+AA	Fr	+Fr	Both
1/ Langue use at a daily basis	0	27	13	93	132
2/ Language spoken fluently	0	27	40	53	145
3/ Home	27	106	13	27	92
4/ Algerian friends	40	145	13	0	67
5/ Neighbours	0	13	172	13	67
6/ Public spaces	0	13	185	0	67
7/ At work or school	0	13	198	27	27
8/ Comfortable language	0	80	40	27	118

First, the respondents were asked which language they used the most. The majority, 132 participants, indicated using both languages equally. The table above shows that 27 participants reported using both languages but mostly AA, while 93 used mostly French. Only 13 individuals from the sample declared using exclusively French on a daily basis. According to GS, most first-generation participants use both French and AA, with 22 using more AA and 79 using more French. Similarly, among the second-generation respondents, the majority reported using both languages, while 6 said they used more French, 5 more AA, and the remaining 3 used only French.

Finally, in the third-generation group, 10 participants reported using only French daily, while the rest indicated using both languages but with a French-dominant pattern.

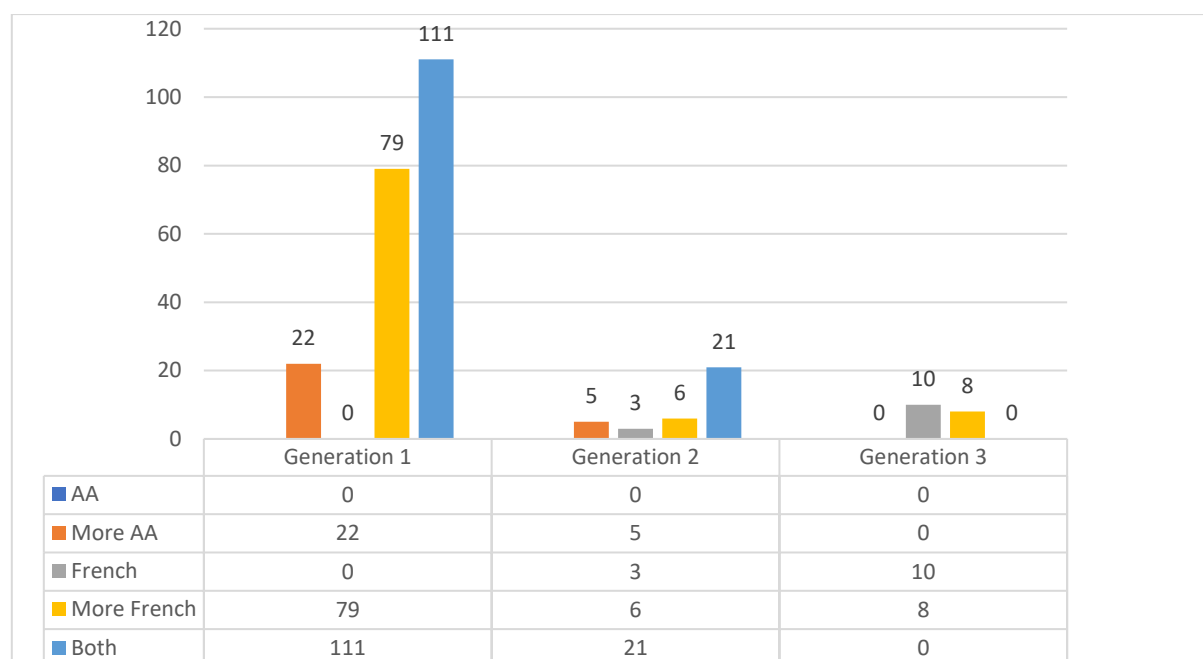


Figure 5.2. Language frequently used

In terms of frequency of use, it should be noted that most of the first-generation participants reported still using AA frequently, as none of them selected the ‘only French’ option. In addition, 52.3% of this group use both languages equally, 37.2% are French-dominant, and 8.3% remain AA-dominant. Among the second-generation participants, the majority maintain the use of AA at the same rate as French, although 8.5% of the group rarely use their language of origin in daily life situations. In contrast, third-generation participants showed a clear dominance of French, with over 55.5% of responses indicating minimal use of AA.

The next question examined participants’ dominant language in terms of competence. The results showed that 145 respondents consider themselves equally proficient in both languages, 27 master more AA, 53 master more French, and 40 individuals reported mastering only French. According to GS, Figure 5.2 illustrates that most first-generation participants are fluent in both AA and French, the second

generation is more fluent in French than in AA, and the majority of the third generation master only French.

Specifically, 136 participants in the first-generation group are fluent in both languages, compared to 37 who are more proficient in French, 27 who are more proficient in AA, and 12 who are fluent only in French. Among the second-generation participants, 14 are French-dominant, 9 are equally proficient in both languages, and 12 are fluent only in French. Finally, in the third-generation group, 16 participants are fluent only in French, while 2 consider themselves competent in both languages but are more fluent in French.

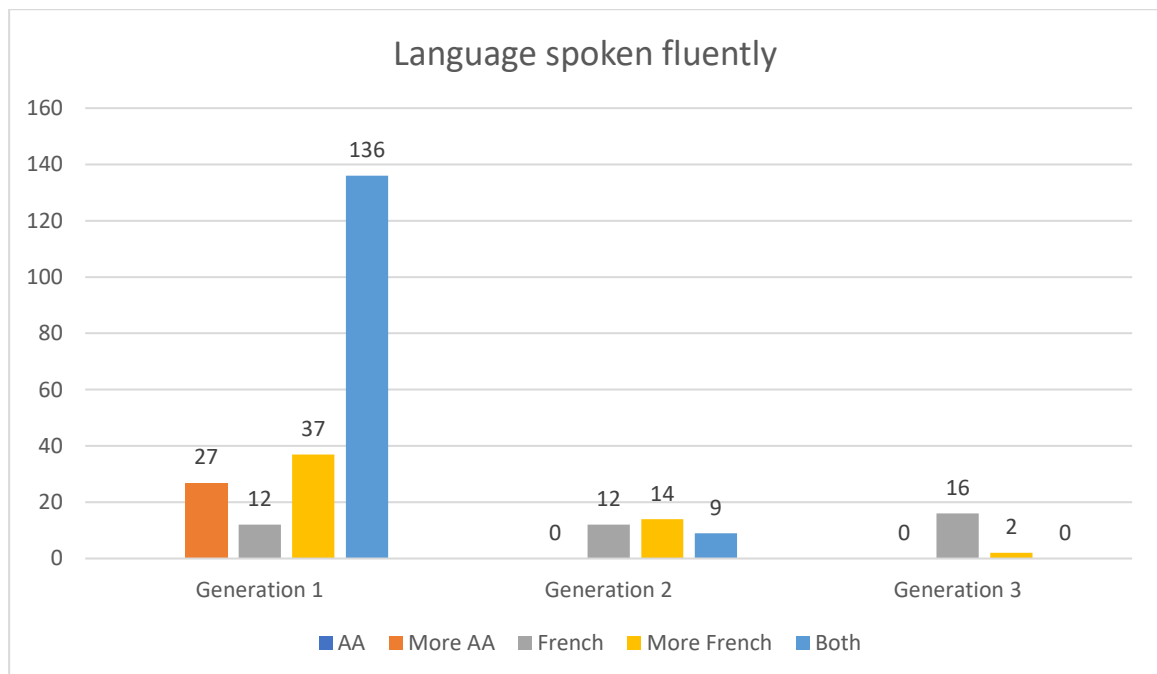


Figure 5.3. Language Spoken Fluently

It is interesting to note from the responses that while most first-generation participants still consider themselves balanced bilinguals, 5.7% indicated having lost any competence in AA. In the second-generation group, the dominance clearly shifts to French, with 34.4% of participants reporting little or no competence in AA. The third-generation results are even more striking in terms of HL shift, as none of the participants reported proficiency in AA. This suggests that French has become the dominant language for this generation, indicating that a language shift has either started or has already occurred.

Regarding language use at home, 27 participants reported using AA exclusively, 106 reported using both languages but favoring AA, and 27 indicated using more French. Additionally, 92 respondents reported using both languages equally at home, while 13 participants said they use only French. The data show that most first-generation participants primarily use AA at home, whereas second-generation participants predominantly use French. The third-generation participants, by contrast, mostly speak only French at home.

More specifically, 104 first-generation participants use mostly AA at home, 85 use both languages equally, and only 23 prefer using more French at home. Among the second-generation participants, 20 use mostly French, 2 use mostly AA, 6 use both languages, 3 use only French, and 2 use only AA. Finally, within the third-generation group, 10 participants reported using only French at home, 7 use both languages but mostly French, and only 1 reported using both AA and French equally.

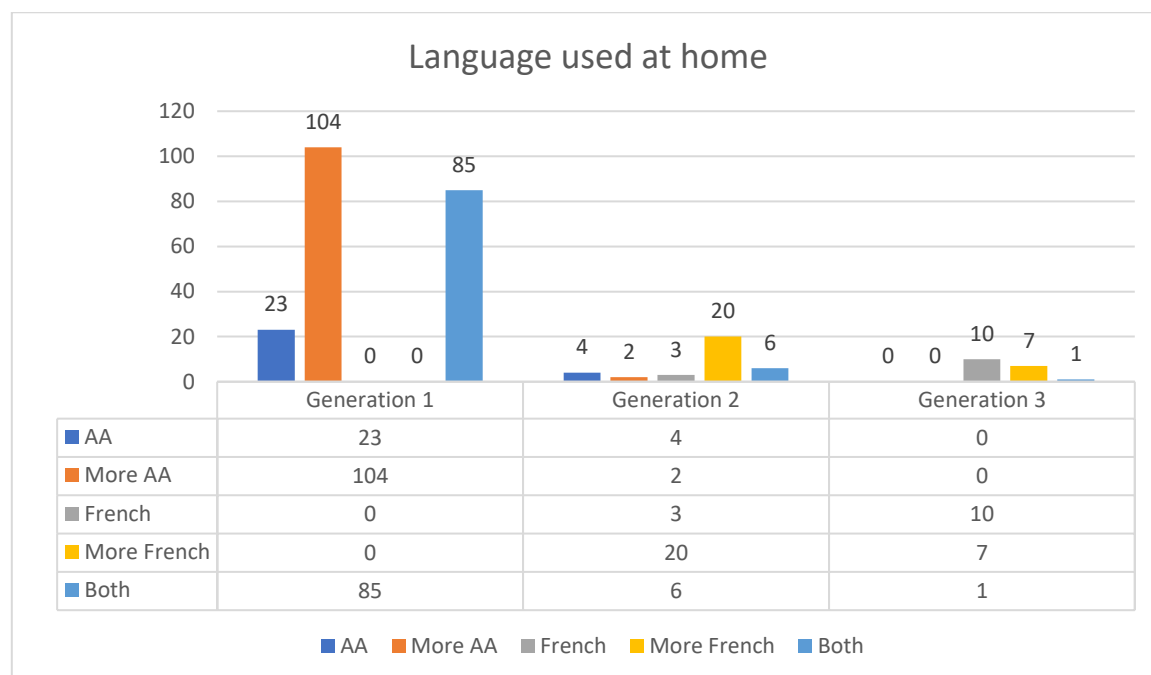


Figure 5.4. Language used at home

It appears that while AA remains the dominant language for first-generation participants, many of them still use both AA and French equally. In contrast, second-generation participants are predominantly French dominant. However, it is noteworthy that 34.3% of this group maintain the use of AA at home to varying degrees, with 11.4% avoiding French altogether, compared to 8.6% who do not use AA at all at home. Regarding the third-generation participants, only one individual seems to value their heritage language by using it equally with French at home, while the others predominantly use French or do not use AA at all.

Next, participants were asked about the language they use with their Algerian family members and friends. The results showed that 60 participants use AA exclusively, 145 use both languages but favour AA, 67 use both languages equally, and 13 use only French. Specifically with their families, 145 respondents reported using both languages but more AA, 80 use both equally, and 40 use more French than AA.

When analysed by GS, most first-generation participants use mostly AA with their Algerian friends, whereas second-generation participants tend to use both languages. The third-generation participants, however, communicate only in French with their Algerian relatives.

Figure 5.5 shows that among first-generation participants, 137 reported mostly using AA, 35 use only AA, and 40 use both languages with their Algerian family and friends. In the second-generation group, 24 participants use both languages equally, 6 use more AA, 4 use only AA, and 1 uses only French. For the third-generation participants, 12 reported using French exclusively, 3 use both languages, 2 are AA dominant, and 1 uses only AA.

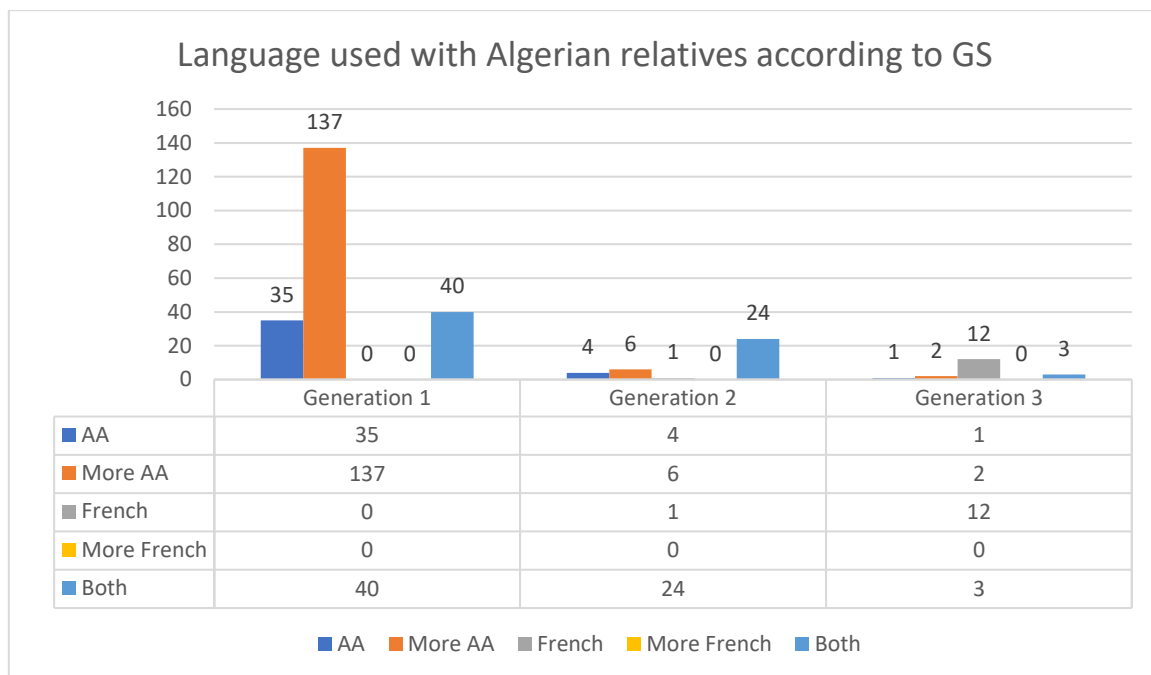


Figure 5.5. Language used with Algerian Family and Friends

Earlier in the questionnaire, 136 participants reported being equally competent in both AA and French. However, only 40 of them indicated using both languages when communicating with their Algerian relatives. This is particularly interesting, as it suggests that the remainder favor AA, with some even avoiding addressing their relatives in French. Such language adaptation could serve to prevent misunderstandings, reduce comprehension difficulties, or simply act as a means of expressing solidarity and asserting one’s cultural identity.

Similarly, the second-generation participants show that AA and French are generally used equally with their Algerian relatives, although a few give more importance to AA than French. This demonstrates that the linguistic adaptation observed in the first generation also occurs in the second generation. Regarding the third-generation participants, it was observed that efforts are made to use AA with Algerian relatives. At least five individuals in this group, despite having limited competence in AA and rarely using it at home, still manage to use it in this context.

When interacting with neighbours, the majority of the sample uses French. Specifically, 67 participants reported using both French and AA, 13 use more AA, and 13 use more French. Figure 5.6 shows that while French dominates across

generations, each group includes some variation. Among first-generation participants, 136 reported using French with their neighbours, 63 use both French and AA, and 13 use more AA than French. In the second generation, 24 participants use French, 1 uses both languages, and 10 rely mostly on French. Finally, in the third generation, 12 participants use French, 3 use both French and AA, and the remaining 3 prefer French over AA.

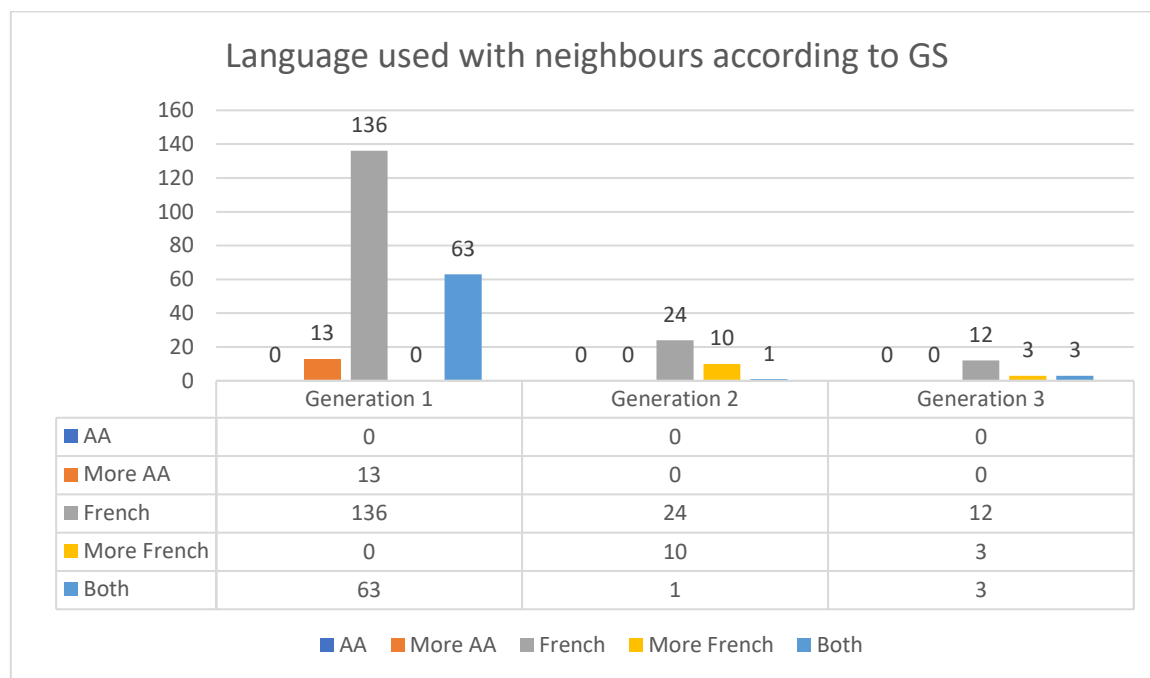


Figure 5.6. Language used with neighbours

The language used with neighbours likely depends on the neighbours themselves and the language they speak and understand, although French appears to be dominant across all three generations. Only a few first-generation participants reported using more AA than French, either because their neighbours are also AA speakers or because they feel less competent holding an entire conversation in French.

In public spaces, 67 respondents reported using both languages equally, 13 indicated using more AA than French, and the majority use only French. Figure 5.7 shows that among the first-generation participants, 140 individuals prefer using

French in public spaces, 61 use both AA and French, and only 11 tend to use more AA than French. In the second generation, 2 participants use more AA than French, 27 use only French, and 6 communicate in both languages. Finally, all participants from the third generation reported using only French in public spaces.

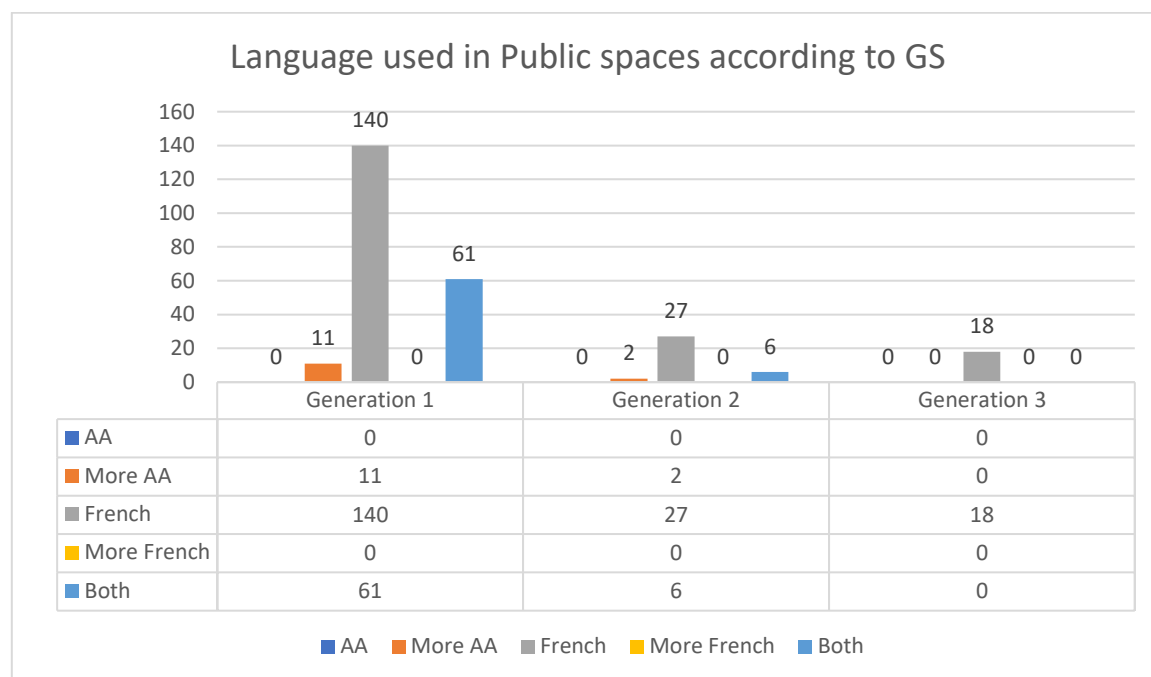


Figure 5.7. Language used in public spaces

While all third-generation participants use solely French in public spaces, 22.9% of the second-generation participants and 34% of the first-generation participants still use AA to varying degrees, publicly proclaiming their origins and their language of heritage. Interestingly, the large majority of the first- and second-generation participants do not use any AA in public spaces.

At school, university, or work, 198 respondents reported using only French, while 27 individuals indicated using both languages equally, 27 others use more French than AA, and 13 use more AA than French. The figure that follows shows that among the first-generation participants, 152 individuals use French at school or work, 25 use both languages equally, 23 use more French than AA, and 12 use more AA than French. For the second-generation participants, 30 reported using French

only, 2 use both languages equally, 2 use more French than AA, and 1 uses more AA than French. Finally, 16 participants from the third generation indicated using French at school or work, while only 2 reported using both languages but giving more preference to French over AA.

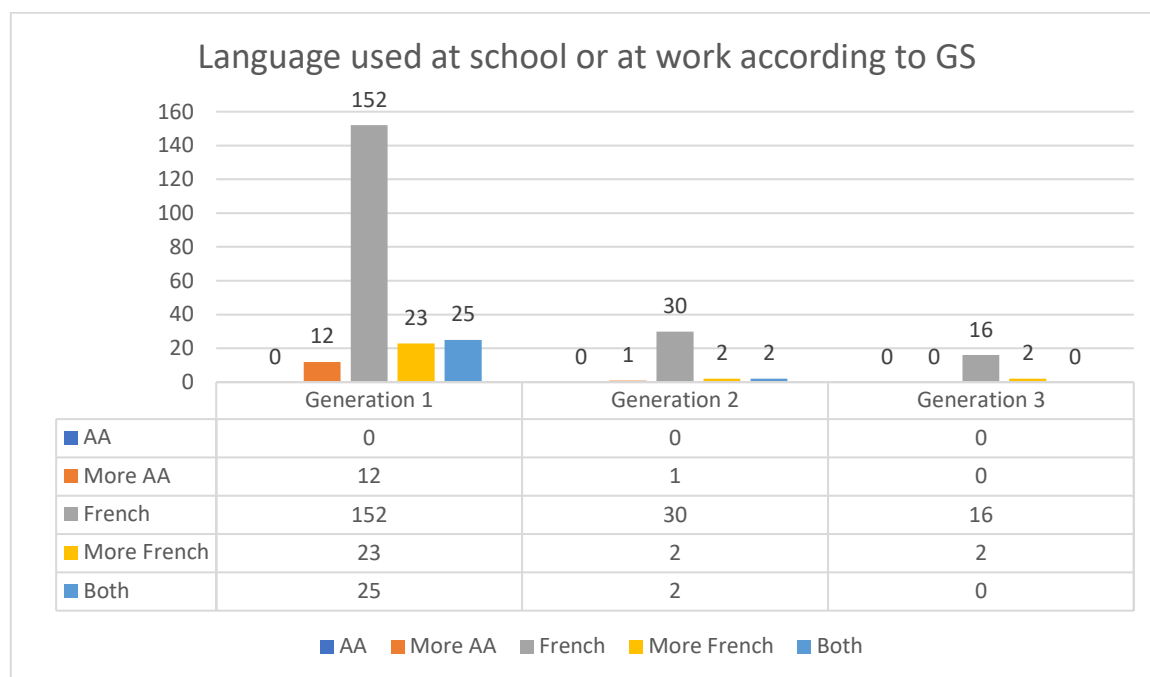


Figure 5.8. Language used at school or at work

Although most schools, universities, and workplaces are French institutions where French is the official language, 17.5% of first-generation participants and 8.6% of second-generation participants still use some AA, likely when interacting with Algerian peers and colleagues. On the other hand, all third-generation participants appear to be French dominant.

Finally, the last question concerned the language in which respondents felt most at ease. The majority indicated they felt comfortable using both languages, while 80 individuals felt more at ease in AA, 27 felt more comfortable in French, and 40 felt at ease only when speaking French.

According to the following figure, within the first-generation group, 101 participants reported feeling comfortable using both French and AA, 80 felt more at ease in AA, 15 more comfortable in French, and 16 only when using French. Among

the second-generation participants, 17 felt at ease with both French and AA, 9 felt more comfortable with French, and 9 did not feel at ease when using AA. Finally, the third-generation participants demonstrated noticeable discomfort with AA, showing that speaking this language is not natural for them. While 3 individuals felt more comfortable in French, the remaining 15 reported feeling at ease only when speaking French.

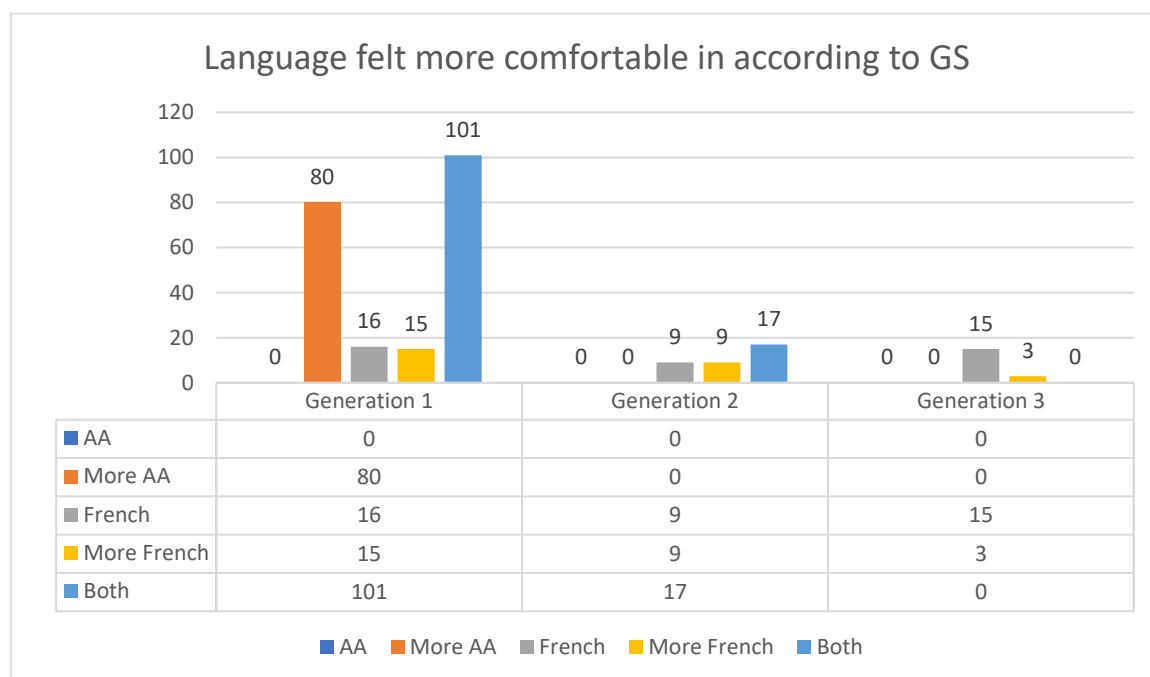


Figure 5.9. Language felt more comfortable

5.2.4. Rubric 4: Frequency of Contact with the Heritage Language

Q7: How frequently do you visit Algeria?

This rubric addressed the participants' contact with their language of origin. The first question asked about the frequency with which the respondents visit their country of origin. The answers revealed that 211 participants visit Algeria regularly to see their families. On the other hand, 27 respondents reported visiting rarely, usually for special events such as weddings or funerals. The remaining 27 individuals admitted that they have never visited their country of origin.

Considering the participants' GS, it was found that among the first-generation group, 189 regularly visit Algeria, 17 rarely go, and 6 have never been to the country since immigration. Among the second-generation participants (35 individuals), 20 visit Algeria regularly, 5 visit rarely, and 10 have never visited. Finally, in the third-generation group, a majority have never been to Algeria, including 11 individuals, while 5 visit rarely and only 2 travel regularly to Algeria.

Table 5.9. Frequency of visiting the country of origin

Generation	Never	Rarely	Regularly	Total
Generation 1	6	17	189	212
Generation 2	10	5	20	35
Generation 3	11	5	2	18
Total	27	27	211	265

Q8: At which frequency do you exchange with your relatives in Algeria?

The next question investigated the frequency with which the sample population maintains contact through social media with their families or friends in Algeria. While most of the respondents still communicate with their relatives residing in their country of origin, 159 of them answered that they are always in contact with them, and 79 answered that they regularly get in touch with them. However, the 27 informants admitted that they rarely speak with their families and friends in Algeria. Regarding the way the contact is maintained, they either exchange calls, messages, or communicate via social media. Findings revealed that while 154 participants from group 1 regularly contact their relatives in Algeria, 57

others answered that they only exchange with them occasionally. Among the total of 212 participants of the 1st generation group, only one declared keeping limited contact with his or her Algerian friends and family. Then, 3 participants out of 35 from the 2nd generation group declared being in regular contact with their relatives in Algeria, compared to 20 others who speak with them only occasionally, and the 12 individuals who rarely exchange with them. Finally, the 3rd generation group of participants answered, by majority, that they are rarely in contact with their families and relatives in Algeria, while 2 others speak with them occasionally, and only 2 others regularly exchange with them.

Table 5.10. Frequency of virtual contact with Algerian relatives

Generation	Regularly	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	Total
Generation 1	154	57	1	0	212
Generation 2	3	20	12	0	35
Generation 3	2	2	14	0	18
Total	159	79	27	0	265

The table shows that most of the Generation 1 participants keep in touch with their relatives in Algeria, and only one of them rarely does. Similarly, most of the 2nd generation participants still maintain contact with their families and friends in Algeria, but the number of those who regularly do is lower than the number of participants who answered that they rarely exchange with them. Generation 3 informants, though, mostly agree that they rarely maintain contact with their relatives in Algeria, while only 4 of them do. This shows that from one generation to the next, contact with their origins decreases.

5.2.5. Rubric 5: Culture and Identity

Q9: Which culture do you identify the most with?

The respondents were then asked to select the culture with which they identify the most. The results show that 40 individuals from the sample identify with both cultures equally, while all of the other 225 people identify more with the Algerian culture. Among the 1st generation participants, 209 persons have an Algerian cultural identity, and 3 others identify with both cultures equally. Regarding the second-generation group of participants, 16 individuals identify with the Algerian culture, while 19 others feel both Algerian and French at the same time. Finally, all of the third-generation participants answered that they identify with both cultures equally. It is important to note that none of the participants from the three generations deny their Algerian cultural identity, while 85% of the participants seem to reject any attachment to French culture, including 45.7% of the second-generation group, who were born and reside in France.

Table 5.11. Cultural Identity

Generation	More Algerian	More French	Both	Total
Generation 1	209	0	3	212
Generation 2	16	0	19	35
Generation 3	0	0	18	18
Total	225	0	40	265

Q10: Do you feel any kind of discomfort when using AA with Algerians residing in Algeria or in France?

The following questions aimed to investigate how comfortable the respondents are when they use AA. The answers showed that 199 of the sample stated they are comfortable enough to communicate in AA with people in Algeria, while 66 of them do not, because they tend to forget some Algerian words and expressions. Some of those having lost their accent confessed to feeling ashamed of the situation. Similarly, 199 respondents feel at ease while using AA with Algerian people who live in France, while 66 of them do not. They mentioned being worried about not being understood because of differences that may appear at the level of their accents or dialects.

According to the GS of these participants, 167 individuals from group 1 feel comfortable enough using AA with Algerian residents, while 145 others do not. The second group counted 28 participants who are comfortable, and only 7 who feel discomfort while exchanging in AA with members of this speech community. Finally, 4 individuals among the 3rd group feel comfortable in such situations, compared to the 14 participants who experience some embarrassment when they employ AA with Algerian people residing in Algeria.

Regarding their exchange with the Algerian community residing in France, 191 participants from the 1st generation immigrants group feel comfortable using AA, while 21 do not. Among the second group, 29 people are not at ease in such situations, compared to 6 others who said they are rarely embarrassed while using AA. Finally, in the 3rd generation group of immigrants, 16 people answered that they are embarrassed when they speak in AA with Algerians residing in France, while the remaining two participants are not.

Table 5.12. Feeling a discomfort when using AA with Algerians living in Algeria and France

	Generation 1		Generation 2		Generation 3	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

Feeling a discomfort while using AA with Algerians living in Algeria	145	167	7	28	14	4
Feeling a discomfort when using AA with Algerians living in France	21	191	29	6	16	2

While participants from generation 1 and 2 are, by majority, comfortable enough to use their language of origin with people in Algeria, the third-generation participants mostly declared feeling uncomfortable using AA to communicate with Algerians residing in Algeria. For the second statement, the results were different. While most of generation 1 do not feel uncomfortable using AA with Algerian people residing in France, most of generation 2 and 3 do not feel as confident. This shows that first-generation participants are the most confident in terms of their competence in AA compared to the 2nd and 3rd generations. This may be either because their fluency in their language of origin sounds more natural and spontaneous than that of the other groups of participants, or because they decided to proclaim their Algerian identity through the use of the Algerian code regardless of their level of proficiency in it.

Q11: Do you like watching Algerian shows and listening to Algerian songs?

Subsequently, it seemed relevant to question the sample population about some Algerian cultural aspects, such as their interests in Algerian movies and songs. It was discovered from the collected data that 159 of the participants like watching Algerian movies for the nostalgia they bring, especially during Ramadan, while the

rest of the sample does not, either because they do not appreciate them or because they do not find them interesting enough. Regarding songs, most of the sample answered favourably to the question. Most of them said they feel pride when they listen to Algerian songs and that they feel like they are part of their culture and identity, while some have good memories and feel nostalgic with this kind of music.

While 148 out of 212, 9 out of 35, and 2 out of 16 participants from the first-generation group, the second-generation group, and the third-generation group, respectively, answered that they do like watching Algerian shows, the remaining participants from all three groups did not show interest. Algerian songs, though, are much more popular within the Algerian immigrant community in France according to the results, especially for generations 1 and 2. It was revealed that 192 participants from the 1st generation like to listen to Algerian music, compared to only 20 individuals who do not. Similarly, the majority of the second-generation participants (27) appreciate Algerian songs, compared to only 8 individuals who do not. Finally, in the 3rd generation group, 12 individuals do not listen to Algerian songs, while the remaining 6 do.

Table 5.13. Watching Algerian shows and listening to Algerian music

	Generation 1		Generation 2		Generation 3	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Watching Algerian shows	148	64	9	26	2	16
Listening to Algerian songs	192	20	27	8	6	12

In general, the three generations of participants are much more interested in listening to Algerian songs than in watching Algerian shows. In addition, first-generation immigrants seem to appreciate both forms of entertainment much more than the two following generations, as in both statements the majority answered positively. However, while generation 2 participants, by majority, do not watch

Algerian shows, they do listen to Algerian songs. Regarding the third generation, the majority of the informants agree that they do not appreciate either option. Clearly, interest in Algerian entertainment decreases from one generation to the next.

5.2.6. Rubric 6: Heritage Language Maintenance or Shift

Q12: Do you feel a change in your competence in AA or a decrease in the frequency of its use over the years?

The respondents were then asked whether they felt a change or any sign of attrition in their language of origin. The collected data showed that most of the generation 1 participants answered negatively to this question. In fact, 54 of the participants said that their AA is affected by their daily use of French, and they sometimes tend to forget or misuse some of the Algerian words and expressions they used before. Some said that they have more difficulties pronouncing some Arabic sounds that they had no problem uttering before. This is probably due to the restricted use of AA outside the family domain in France.

Regarding generation 2 participants, 19 individuals from the sample confirmed experiencing some signs of attrition at the level of pronunciation and vocabulary, which makes sentence formation less evident for them. Finally, generation 3 respondents, by majority (15), answered affirmatively to this question. They all explained that they find it difficult to understand their family members when they speak to them in AA, and they tend to avoid speaking in this language because they mispronounce some sounds and forget some words, which makes it hard to form coherent sentences without instantly switching to French.

Table 5.14. Attrition signs

	Yes	No	Total
Generation 1	54	158	212
Generation 2	19	16	35
Generation 3	15	3	18

Total	88	177	265
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5.2.7. Rubric 7: Heritage Language Transmission

Q13: Which language do you use to communicate with your children?

The next question aimed to investigate how AA is transmitted from one generation to another. For this reason, the participants were divided into three groups: those who have no children, those who have children, and those who have children and grandchildren. First, the 138 informants who have children were asked which language they used to communicate with them, and the results were as follows: 34 of them used both languages equally, 14 used both but favored AA, 34 others used more French, 13 participants used only AA to communicate with their children, and the remaining 43 used only French.

In terms of generations, the results show that French is dominant in all three groups of participants. Generation 1 included 12 individuals who prefer using only AA with their children and 10 who use more AA than French. The group also included 35 parents who use only French and 27 others who use more French than AA. It seems that only 32 participants from this generation manage to balance the use of AA and French.

Additionally, generation 2 results revealed that among the 13 participants, 1 uses only AA, 3 use more AA than French, and 1 uses both AA and French equally when communicating with their children. In addition, 6 members of this group use more French than AA, and the remaining 2 do not use any AA with their children.

Finally, the last group of immigrants included only 9 participants. It was determined that most of them use solely French when speaking to their children, one uses some AA but is French-dominant, one uses both French and AA equally, and, lastly, only one participant in this group gives more privilege to the use of AA than French with his or her descendants.

Table 5.15. Language used with children

Generation	AA	More AA	French	More French	Both	Total
Generation 1	12	10	35	27	32	116
Generation 2	1	3	2	6	1	13
Generation 3	0	1	6	1	1	9
Total	13	14	43	34	34	138

Q14: Which language do your children use to communicate with you?

The respondents were later asked which language their children used to communicate with them, and the results were different. It was determined that 13 participants answered that their children used more AA, 32 others used more French, only 45 individuals replied that their children used both languages, and 48 others used only French.

Among generation 1 participants, 44 individuals reported that their children use both AA and French equally, 30 individuals use mostly French, 12 others use mostly AA, and the remaining 30 participants said their children use French as the only means of communication with their parents. The second-generation group of parents answered, by majority, that their children use French when speaking to them, while only three participants reported differently. Finally, the results for the last generation show that 8 parents said their children speak in French with them, and one answered that his or her children are mostly French-dominant but use some AA.

Table 5.16. Language used by children with their parents

Generation	AA	More AA	French	More French	Both	Total
Generation 1	0	12	30	30	44	116
Generation 2	0	1	10	1	1	13
Generation 3	0	0	8	1	0	9
Total	0	13	48	32	45	138

The following table shows that while 12 generation 1 parents use AA as the only language of communication with their children, none of their children use the same language with them. While 1 parent from generation 2 uses AA with their children, the children do not respond in the same way. Finally, while 1 parent from generation 3 uses more AA than French when exchanging with their children, these descendants respond either in French or with a French dominance.

Another point to highlight is that the percentages of parents who do not use AA with their children are 30%, 15%, and 66.7% for generations 1, 2, and 3, respectively. However, the percentages of children using only French with their parents are 25.9%, 76.9%, and 88.9% for generations 1, 2, and 3, respectively. This shows that while generation 1's children still try to resist the shift from AA to French, generation 2 and 3 children are no longer able to do so.

Table 5.17. Difference between the answers of Parents and children

	AA	More AA	French	More French	Both	Total
Generation 1	12	10	35	27	32	116
Their children	0	12	30	30	44	116

Generation 2	1	3	2	6	1	13
Their children	0	1	10	1	1	13
Generation 3	0	1	6	1	1	9
Their children	0	0	8	1	0	9

Q15: Which language do you use to communicate with your grandchildren?

Concerning the group of participants who have grandchildren, it included 38 persons from generations 1 and 2. They were asked which language they used to communicate with them, and it was discovered that the answers differed. While 26 of them answered that they use both languages, 2 said they used more AA, and 2 others used more French. Finally, only 2 individuals said they used only French with their grandchildren.

The table shows that most of the generation 1 grandparents use both French and AA with their grandchildren, while 7 individuals among them use more French than AA, 2 others use more AA than French, and the remaining 2 participants use only French to communicate with them. For the two participants who are part of the second generation of immigrants, one uses both languages, while the other is French-dominant when speaking with his own grandchildren.

Table 5.18. Language used with Grand-children according to GS

Generation	AA	More AA	French	More French	Both	Total
Generation 1	0	2	2	7	25	36
Generation 2	0	0	0	1	1	2
Total	0	2	2	8	26	38

Q16: Which language do your grand-children use to communicate with you?

Subsequently, the respondents were asked about the language that their grandchildren used to communicate with them, and the majority of the group answered that they either used only French (18) or more French than AA (17). The rest answered that they used both languages equally, and only one participant reported that their grandchildren used more AA than French.

Table 5.19 shows that among the 36 first-generation grandparents, 17 answered that their grandchildren are mostly French-dominant, one said they are AA-dominant, two others said their grandchildren exchange with them in both AA and French, and finally 16 persons from this group selected only French. Among the second-generation group of participants, both individuals answered that their grandchildren communicate with them using only French.

Table 5.19. Language grandchildren use with grandparents

Generation	AA	More AA	French	More French	Both	Total
Generation 1	0	1	16	17	2	36
Generation 2	0	0	2	0	0	2
Total	0	1	18	17	2	38

The following table shows the difference between the language used by the grandparents versus the language used by the grandchildren. It can be suggested that while first-generation grandparents are mostly AA-dominant, trying to use either both AA and French or giving more advantage to AA when exchanging with their grandchildren, these grandchildren are mostly French-dominant, either using French

as the dominant language while employing some AA or using it as the only language of communication, neglecting any use of AA.

Regarding second-generation grandparents, one of them attempts to use both French and AA equally, while the other uses some AA but is mostly dominant in French when exchanging with their grandchildren. However, both participants answered that their grandchildren respond in French only.

Table 5.20. Difference between answers of Grand-parents and Grand-children

	AA	More AA	French	More French	Both	Total
Generation 1	0	2	2	7	25	36
Their grand-children	0	1	16	17	2	36
Generation 2	0	0	0	1	1	2
Their grand-children	0	0	2	0	0	2

Q17: Do you encourage your descendants to speak in AA?

As a next step, both groups that have children and grandchildren were asked whether they encourage their descendants to use AA and how they proceed. The results demonstrated that 112 of them answered that they make efforts to maintain the use of AA among their children or grandchildren by encouraging them to speak in this language and by maintaining a constant and good relationship with their families in Algeria. They even try to make them watch Algerian movies and listen to Algerian songs to maintain contact with the language. The remaining 26 participants said they do not make particular efforts to encourage their descendants to maintain the use of their language of origin.

From the table below, most generation 1 participants seem to care about the transmission of AA to their descendants, while 21 individuals from that group do not give special importance to it. Similarly, 10 out of 13 participants from the

second-generation group deploy efforts to encourage their children or grandchildren to use AA along with French, while the remaining three do not. Finally, among the 9 informants of the third-generation group, 7 answered that they try to maintain the use of AA in their families, while the other two do not make purposeful efforts for that.

All in all, the results show that most immigrants, regardless of their GS, give importance to the maintenance of their HL within their own families, although the types of efforts and their intensity probably differ from one person to another and from one generation to the next.

Table 5.21. Encouraging descendants to use AA according to GS

Generation	Yes	No	Total
Generation 1	95	21	116
Generation 2	10	3	13
Generation 3	7	2	9
Total	112	26	138

Q18: Do you think it is important that the use of AA is maintained across generations within the community of Algerian immigrants in France?

Last but not least, the entire sample population was asked whether they find it important that Algerian immigrants maintain the use of AA, regardless of their GS. It was discovered that most of them answered positively to this question, while only 21 persons answered negatively. According to those who gave a positive answer, the use of the language of origin allows a person to manifest their belonging

to the same community as their parents and grandparents, it is part of their culture and identity, and it is key for maintaining relationships with their roots and families, in addition to their country of origin.

The results from a generational point of view show that while 204 out of 212 participants from generation 1 find it important to maintain the use of AA among the Algerian immigrant community in France, only 8 individuals from this group gave a negative answer. Among the 35 second-generation informants, 33 expressed a positive opinion regarding the preservation of AA, while the remaining 2 did not. Finally, the last group of participants, which included 18 third-generation immigrants, provided different answers. While 10 of them answered that they do not think it is important for the language of origin of parents or grandparents to be maintained across generations, the remaining 8 answered favorably to the importance of AA maintenance among the Algerian immigrant community.

The same conclusion as in the previous question applies: all generations, by majority, show their attachment to their HL and the importance of its preservation and use. However, the results indicate that the degree of these positive attitudes towards AA changes from one generation to the next and diminishes significantly in the third generation of immigrants.

Table 5.22. Importance given to the maintenance of AA among the Algerian immigrants' community in France

Generation	Yes	No	Total
Generation 1	204	8	212
Generation 2	33	2	35
Generation 3	8	10	18
Total	245	20	265

5.3. Correlational Analysis from the Results of the Questionnaire

Before introducing the correlational analysis between the level of proficiency in AA and other parameters, it is important to explain how this comparison was conducted. First, the process started with an analysis of the relationship between GS and the level of competence in AA. The research attempted to determine an approximate average level in AA by taking into consideration participants' answers to all of the following: their own judgments about their proficiency in AA, their comprehension skills, their fluency in the language, and their translation abilities between AA and French.

From these results, the questionnaires were split into two groups: one group including the informants who have a good mastery of AA, and the other group including those who have an average to poor mastery of AA. It was then determined that the generation 1 group includes 189 participants manifesting a good level in AA and 23 participants with an average to poor level. The second-generation group is composed of 13 participants with good proficiency in AA and 22 others with an average to poor level. Finally, 17 participants from the third-generation group show an average to poor level in AA, while only one of them demonstrates a good mastery of the language.

In sum, the results indicate that the highest percentage of participants with good proficiency in AA are part of generation 1, while the highest percentage of participants with average to poor proficiency are from generation 3. This suggests that there is a direct relationship between the GS of these immigrants and the level of competence in their language of origin, in the sense that the newer the generation, the less competence is acquired in AA.

Table 5.23 Level of proficiency in AA according to GS

	Good	Average to bad	TOTAL
Generation 1	189	23	212
Generation 2	13	22	35

Generation 3	1	17	18
TOTAL	203	62	265

Subsequently, an analysis of the different parameters was conducted in relation to the level of AA previously defined, and the results were presented in the following graphs. The parameters considered were: age of immigration, level of education, age of first exposure to AA, frequency of AA use, and, finally, culture and identity.

The aim of this correlational analysis is to identify which parameters influence the level of competence in AA and, thus, which factors are responsible for the preservation of AA within this community, preventing language shift or at least delaying it.

5.3.1. Relationship between Age of Immigration and Competence in AA

This correlational analysis was conducted considering the answers of participants from generation 1. It aimed to determine whether the age of immigration can have a direct impact on the level of competence in the language of origin. The group included 13 participants who immigrated before adulthood and 199 participants who immigrated after adulthood. Among the first group, 10 informants have an average level in AA, while only 3 have a good level.

The second group, however, included 13 participants manifesting an average level in AA, while 186 others are competent in their HL. While 77% of the participants who immigrated before adulthood developed an average to poor level in AA, only 6.5% of the participants who immigrated after adulthood developed the same level. These results show that immigrating before adulthood may have a significant impact on the level of competence that immigrants develop in their language of origin, and it is preferable to immigrate after adulthood to maximize the chances of preserving one's language of origin.

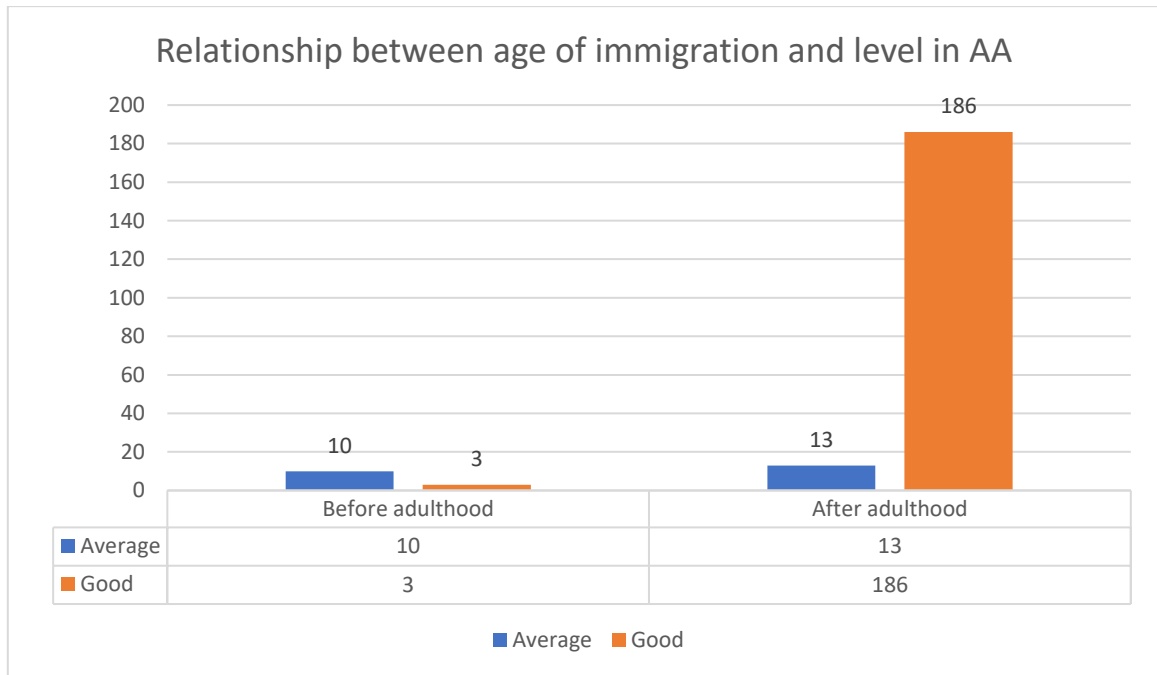


Figure 5.10. Relationship between age of immigration and competence in AA

5.3.2. Relationship between the Education level and Competence in AA

The previous analysis of the educational level of the participants according to their GS showed that generation 1 included 21 individuals with a middle school level, 14 with a secondary school level, and 177 individuals with a university level. Generation 2 included no participants with a middle school level, 17 participants with a secondary school level, and the remaining 18 individuals with a university level. Finally, 15 of the generation 3 participants have a university level, while one has a secondary school level and 2 others have a middle school level.

The analysis of the relationship between educational level and proficiency in AA showed that among the first-generation group, participants with middle school, secondary, and university levels are all, by majority, good in AA. Among the second-generation group, participants with a secondary school level are mostly average or poor in AA, while those with a university level are mostly good in AA. Finally, most generation 3 participants have an average to poor level in AA, regardless of their educational level.

From this analysis, it can be suggested that educational level does not appear to affect HL proficiency in this sample, and there is no cause-and-effect relationship between the two parameters in this specific situation.

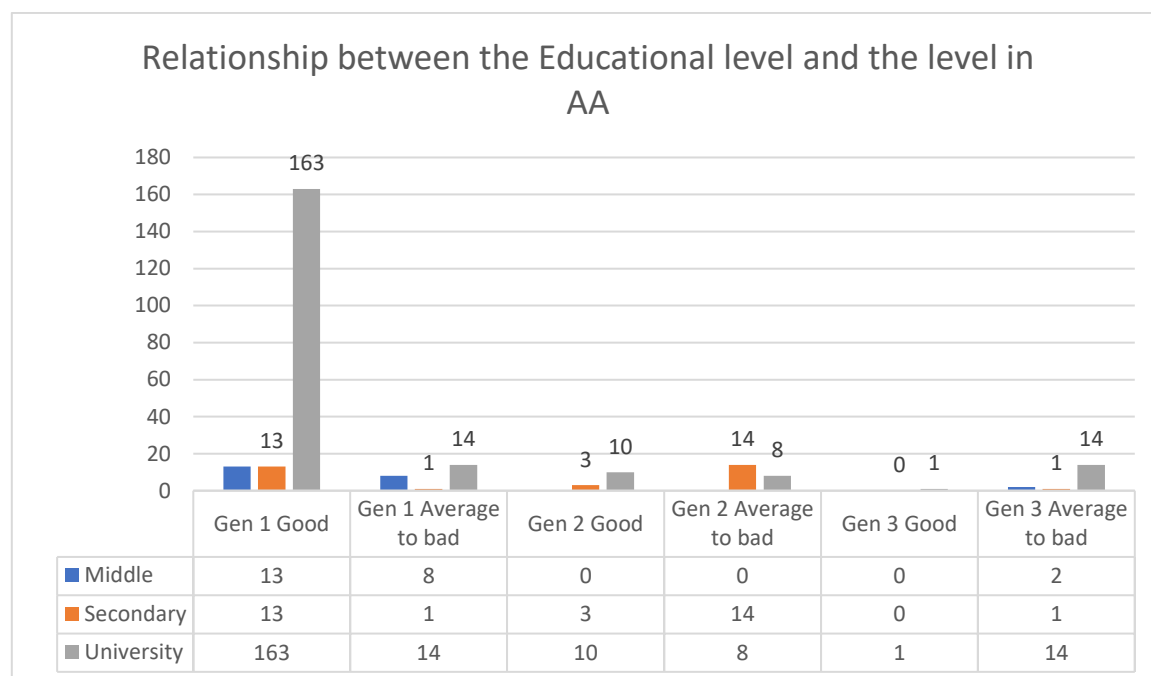


Figure 5.11. Relationship between the educational level and competence in AA

5.3.3. Relationship between Age of First Exposure and Competence in AA

From the answers provided to Q2, the sample was divided into two groups: participants who acquired AA before the age of school and participants who acquired AA after the age of school. The goal was to examine the correlation between the age of first exposure to AA and the level of competence developed in that language. The graph demonstrates that among the 183 first-generation participants who acquired AA before school, 177 individuals developed a good level in AA, while the remaining 6 manifested an average to poor level. Among the 29 participants who acquired AA after the age of school, 12 individuals have a good level and 17 have an average to poor level in their language of origin.

The second-generation group included 28 participants who acquired AA before the age of school, among whom 13 have a good level and 15 have an average to poor level, in addition to 7 participants who acquired AA after the age of school, all showing a limited level in that language. Concerning the third-generation group, only one participant acquired AA before school age, and this individual shows a good level in AA, while the 17 others who acquired AA after the age of school all show an average to poor level in their HL.

The results of this analysis demonstrate that the majority of participants who acquired AA after the age of school, across all three generations, developed limited competence in AA compared to those who acquired it before school age. While the second- and third-generation results indicated that all individuals who acquired AA after the age of school developed an average to poor level, the first-generation results showed that proficiency in AA could still be developed even after school age. Hence, it can be concluded that acquiring AA before the age of school is important for developing sufficient proficiency in the language. However, this rule applies mostly to generations 2 and 3; for the first generation of immigrants, there may be exceptions.

All in all, it can be suggested that the age of first exposure to AA can have a direct impact on the level of proficiency in that language, specifically for the second- and third-generation participants.

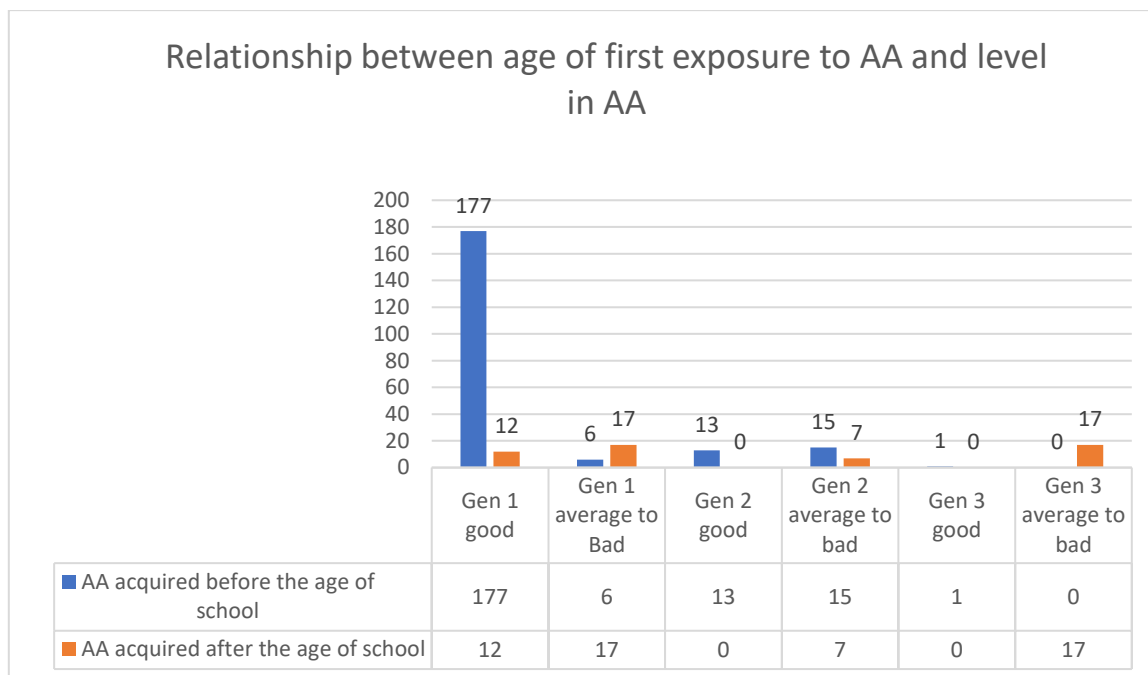


Figure 5.12. Relationship between age of first exposure to and competence in AA

5.3.4. Relationship between Frequency of Use and Competence in AA

From the results of Q4, the sample was again divided into three groups: participants who frequently use AA, those who use French more frequently, and those who frequently use both AA and French. The aim was to determine whether the frequency of AA use affects proficiency in that language.

The following figure shows that the 22 participants from the generation 1 group who use AA more frequently have a good level in the language. Similarly, the 111 participants from the same group who use both French and AA equally all achieved a good level in their HL. However, among the 79 participants who use French more frequently than AA, only 56 individuals developed a good level in the language.

Among the second-generation group, 5 participants use AA more frequently, and all of them present a good level in the language. Nine participants use French more frequently, and all of them present a limited level in AA. Finally, the

remaining participants use both AA and French approximately equally, and only 8 of them developed good proficiency in AA.

Lastly, all third-generation participants reported being French-dominant in terms of frequency, and only one of them appears to have sufficient competence in AA compared to the others.

These results demonstrate that the frequency of AA use can significantly impact the level of proficiency maintained in the language across the three generations of immigrants, but especially for generations 2 and 3. However, even though a large majority of generation 1 individuals who use AA less frequently still maintain good proficiency, many of them have also lost some competence in AA because of reduced use.

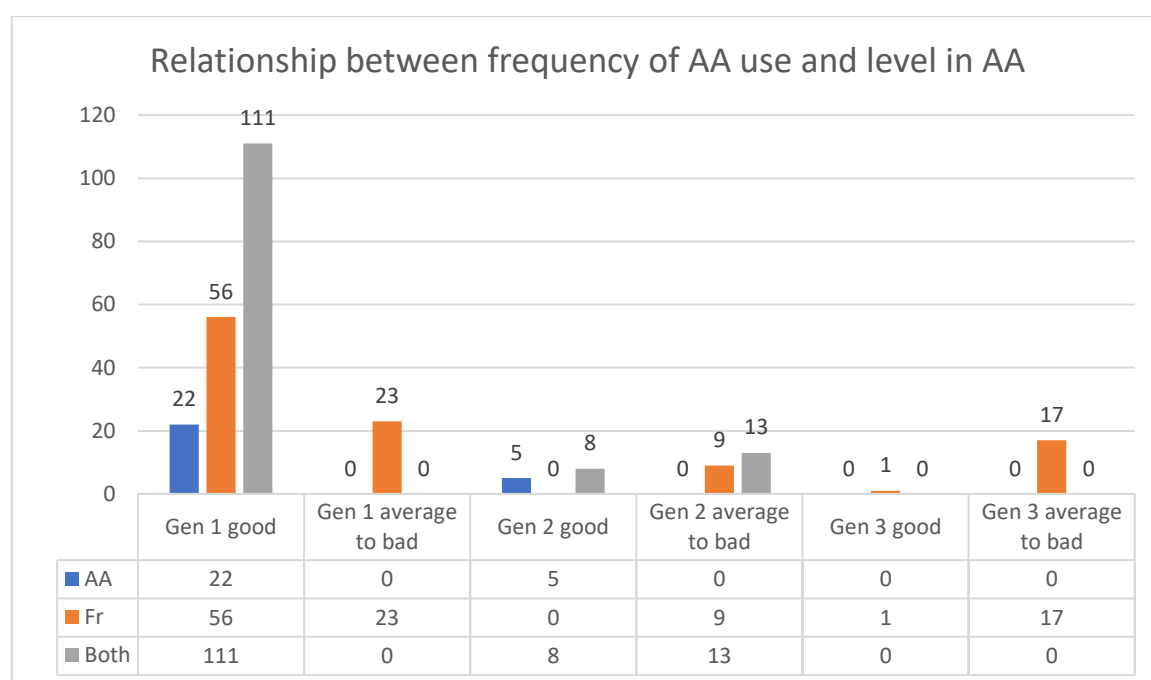


Figure 5.13. Relationship between frequency of use and competence in AA

5.3.5. Relationship between Culture and Identity and competence in AA

From the question asking participants to select the culture they identify with the most, the sample was split into two groups: those who maintained their culture of origin and rejected the new culture, and those who accepted both the Algerian and French cultures. Among the first-generation group, 209 participants maintained

their culture of origin, including 188 individuals who also maintained a good level in AA, while the others did not. Only three members of this group accepted both the original and the new cultures simultaneously, and among them, one has a good level in AA while the other two have a limited level in that language.

The second-generation group included 16 participants who maintained their heritage culture, 13 of whom maintained a good level in AA, while the remaining participants did not. All 19 participants in this group who adopted both the French and Algerian cultures have an average to poor level in AA.

Finally, the third-generation group included 18 participants, all of whom appear to have adopted both cultures and identify with both simultaneously. Among this group, 17 individuals have a limited level in AA, while only one appears to have maintained good proficiency in their HL.

From this correlational analysis, it can be suggested that while culture and identity are important factors in maintaining the use of the HL, they do not appear to have a major impact on the level of competence in that language compared to other, more influential parameters.

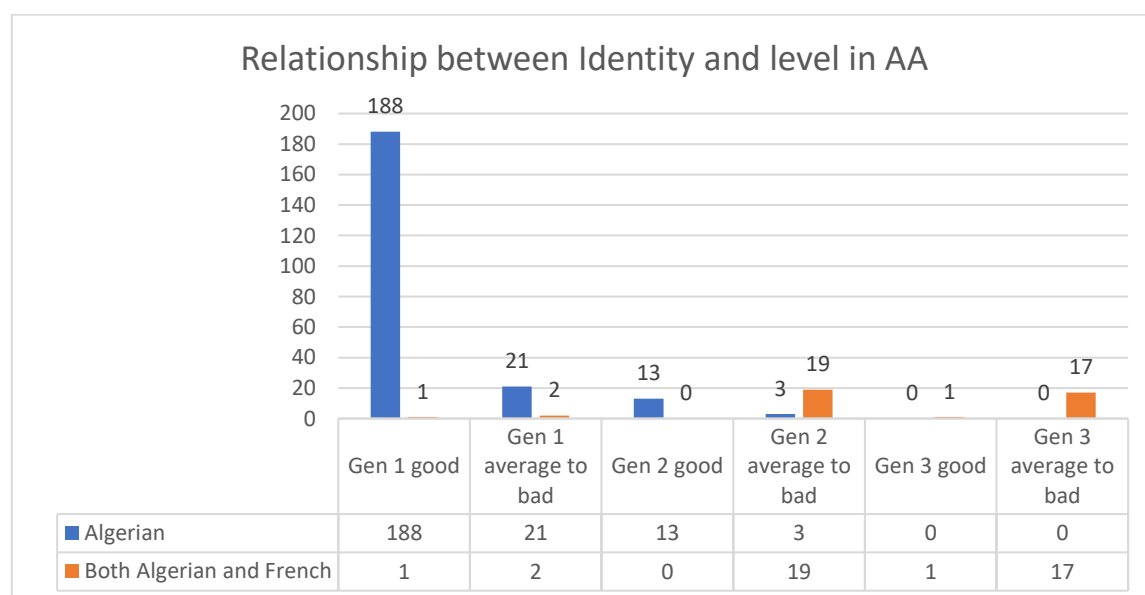


Figure 5.14. Relationship between Identity and competence in AA

5.4. Discussion of the Online Questionnaire's Results

The online survey aimed at collecting data about the community of Algerian immigrants in France in terms of their HLM, language shift, and transmission across the generations. Its particularity is that it focuses on a larger scale and allows for analysing the correlation between both phenomena and different social variables.

The results of the questionnaire differ from one generation to another. On one hand, they revealed that among the sample population, first-generation immigrants consider AA as their mother tongue regardless of the age of their first exposure to this language. Most of them evaluate their level in AA as being good enough, as they have a sufficient level of comprehension and can translate both from AA to French and from French to AA. In terms of fluency, most of them answered being fluent in both AA and French equally, although some of them admit being more fluent in French than in their mother tongue.

Regarding frequency of use, most of the sample part of the group of first-generation immigrants use both French and AA on a daily basis depending on the context, but French takes a significant space in their lives, being the dominant language of the country where they live. While at home and with Algerian relatives, these immigrants use both AA and French, but AA is more dominant; with neighbours, in public spaces, and at school or workplace, most of them use mostly French, but AA is still present as a secondary language. In addition, the results showed that this generation of immigrants feels comfortable in both French and AA equally, but most of them admit being much more natural when they use AA than French.

In terms of frequency of contact they keep with this language and its environment, all first-generation immigrants included in this study regularly visit their country of origin and maintain regular virtual contact with their relatives in Algeria via social media, phone calls, and messages. Most of the sample strongly identify with the Algerian culture and completely reject the culture of their receiving society, while three of them accept and assume both cultures simultaneously. They,

in the majority, feel at ease using this code with other Algerian speakers either residing in France or in Algeria, although ironically many individuals from the sample admitted feeling a kind of discomfort while using AA with Algerian residents. Moreover, most of the group of first-generation participants appreciate watching Algerian shows and listening to Algerian music, as it triggers a sense of nostalgia and pleasant memories.

As far as the preservation and transmission of AA across the generations is concerned, the group of first-generation participants revealed that most of them show no particular sign of attrition at the level of their mother tongue, although a few admitted they manifest some. With their children, some of the sample answered they use both AA and French, some answered they use more French, and some others use more AA than French. However, these descendants reply using both AA and French, but French is much more dominant. With their grandchildren, generation 1 immigrants seem to be more engaged in the transmission of their HL, as they answered in the majority that they use both AA and French equally. Similarly, their grandchildren answer mostly in French. All in all, they claim that they strive for the preservation of AA and actively encourage their children and grandchildren to maintain the use of their HL as much as they can, because, in the majority, they strongly believe it is important that AA is preserved across the generations of immigrants within the Algerian community in France.

On the other hand, the results of the second-generation immigrants group provided mixed answers that were less consensual than those of the previous generation. First, in terms of the language they regard as their mother tongue, the results revealed that while most of the sample answered French, many of them designated AA as their first language, as the majority of the group acquired both AA and French before the age of school. This shows that one's mother tongue is not necessarily the dominant language of the country of birth. Then, regarding the proficiency acquired in AA, most of the participants think their level in their HL is average. Most of them declare being able to understand most of it, while a few of them seriously question their comprehension ability regarding AA. In terms of

fluency, the majority admitted being more fluent in French than in AA, although many of them said they were fluent in both languages equally.

Moreover, the results regarding the second-generation group revealed that at home, French is the dominant language used by most of the participants, although AA remains extremely present. With Algerian relatives, the majority of them agree in using both AA and French equally. However, with neighbours in public spaces, at work, or at school, French is the only language they use. They declared being comfortable both with the use of French and the use of AA, but admitted that they felt much more at ease when they used French.

In terms of the contact they maintain with their HL, the results first showed that while many answered they regularly go to their country of origin, many others declared having never been there before. Additionally, they rarely exchange with their families residing in Algeria or do so only occasionally through social media. Nevertheless, the majority of them still identify with the Algerian culture, although a higher number compared to generation 1 claim both the Algerian and French cultures at the same time. Moreover, in contrast to the first-generation immigrants, who are still attached to Algerian forms of entertainment, the second-generation group leans more towards Algerian music rather than TV shows.

As far as HLM and transmission, most of the sample answered that they manifest several attrition signs, as their proficiency in AA seems to be different from that of their parents. They admitted using more French with their children, although they include some AA in their daily interactions with them. However, their children are French speakers and only reply in that language. With their grandchildren, they try to use both AA and French at almost the same rate, but similarly, these grandchildren are mostly French monolinguals. Nevertheless, they, in the majority, try to encourage their descendants to use AA as much as possible and help them at least understand the language so they can maintain the HL and pursue cultural transmission across the generations because language is part of one's identity.

In conclusion, the results obtained through the survey provided this research with particularly interesting insights concerning the third-generation group of immigrants. First, they revealed that the large majority of the group regards French as their mother tongue, and almost all the sample did not acquire any AA before the age of school. In addition, their level of proficiency in AA ranges from average to bad, with a majority tending towards poor language skills. Most of them think they are unable to fully understand this language, although the majority of them answered feeling more capable of translating from AA to French than the other way around, as it requires using the language. According to the findings, all of them answered having limited fluency in AA as compared to French.

Regarding frequency of use, most of the third-generation participants answered they used French more frequently than AA. At home or with Algerian relatives, most of the participants declared using French with only a few insertions of AA. With neighbours, in public spaces, at school, or at the workplace, however, French is the only language they use and the only language in which they feel most comfortable.

As far as the contact they keep with their HL, the majority of them never visited their country of origin; only two of them answered that they regularly travel to Algeria. Again, most of them rarely exchange virtually with their relatives in Algeria. Nevertheless, they, in the majority, identify with both the Algerian and the French cultures at the same time. This shows that none of the whole sample population rejected their culture of origin. Despite assuming both cultures, the majority of third-generation immigrants are not particularly interested in watching Algerian TV shows or listening to Algerian songs.

As a final point, the results revealed that the majority of them manifest significant attrition signs at the level of their HL. Consequently, they primarily use French to communicate with their children, although many of them said they tried their best to include some AA in their daily speech just to transmit the language to their descendants and preserve its use and the culture that comes with it across generations. In terms of the importance they give to the preservation of the use of

AA as the HL within the Algerian community in France, the answers were unanimous. Some of them think that understanding the language is enough to maintain relationships with relatives. They believe that what is vital is preserving Standard Arabic, which represents the language of the Islamic religion and is more worth protecting and transmitting.

The correlational analysis, in turn, provided interesting results regarding the relationship between predetermined social factors and the level of proficiency in AA and its maintenance among the community of Algerian immigrants in France. First, it was determined that the educational level of the immigrant does not have a specific impact on the level of competence in their HL. Similarly, identity and cultural identification alone do not determine the level of proficiency developed in one's ancestral language. However, according to the results, the factors that proved to be particularly influential are the age of immigration, the age of first exposure to AA, and the frequency of its use.

Indeed, it was shown that individuals who immigrate before adulthood are most exposed to language shift and loss of competence in AA, their original language, due to their socialization process, which will be completed in French rather than in their initial mother tongue. Then, it was demonstrated that immigrants who are exposed to AA from birth have higher chances of developing sufficient proficiency in that language and maintaining its use over the course of their lives. In addition, the results demonstrated that the more frequently AA is used by immigrant individuals, the more fluent they become in that language and the more eager they are to preserve it and transmit it at the family and generational levels.

According to the findings of this correlational analysis, it could be concluded that one social factor alone is insufficient to predict the level of competence the immigrant is going to acquire or develop over time. What actually determines the degree of maintenance or shift of the HL is the combination of a set of factors whose influence or impact may differ from one individual to another and from one generation to another.

5.5. Discussion of the Research Findings

The analysis of the three research instruments used in this research revealed insightful results concerning the use of AA among the Algerian community in France. In addition, it shed light on the way this HL is preserved, used, and transmitted across the different generations. It highlighted the generational differences existing in terms of language choice, level of proficiency in AA, frequency of its use, code-switching patterns, and attitudes towards the preservation and transmission of the HL.

The results first revealed that while the majority of immigrants from the first-generation group regard AA as their mother tongue regardless of their age or age of immigration, most generation 2 and 3 participants indicate French as such. Nonetheless, in terms of identity, all the participants among the three generational groups identify with the Algerian culture to different degrees. Some accept and embrace both French and Algerian identities, and some others reject and separate from the French culture. They all proudly acknowledge their Algerian origins and their belonging to the Algerian community. Interestingly, none of the participants declared full assimilation into French culture.

Regarding the frequency of AA use in different life situations and settings, such as at home, with friends, at school or at work, with neighbours, and in public spaces, it was determined that only first-generation participants maintain the use of their HL regardless of the context. Their production is either in full AA or includes frequent code-switching with the French language. In contrast, language choice for generation 2 and 3 participants is often based on the interlocutor. They show motivation and comfort using AA only when addressing other AA speakers, particularly those residing in Algeria. Family remains one of the few domains where these generation 2 and 3 members use their language of origin, depending on their level of proficiency in it.

Relatedly, a large majority of the first-generation participants, from both interviews and conversation recordings, proved to have maintained fluency in AA,

among which a few cases of balanced bilingualism between AA and French were reported. However, deterioration and signs of attrition and shift from AA to French manifest starting from generation 2 and persist in generation 3. Even though most participants from the second-generation group can understand AA and translate from and towards it, they show difficulties maintaining a full conversation in that language and rarely favor the use of AA over French. Many of them reported signs of AA attrition, specifically at the vocabulary and pronunciation levels. Consequently, generation 3 manifests similar or even weaker proficiency and a more alarming decline in that language of origin.

The conversation analysis was particularly interesting in terms of AA acquisition and proficiency. In a previous study within this topic, Hinton (1998) proved that among a family of immigrant siblings, the youngest child has higher chances of experiencing HL shift or loss. This is due to early exposure to the host language from the elder siblings. This situation was confirmed in the present research, taking into consideration the third family of participants, which included three siblings from the third generation. From that conversation, it could be determined that while the first sibling had sufficient proficiency in AA, the second and third siblings showed limited vocabulary, being hardly able to express themselves in that language.

While CS is a common linguistic behavior within the Algerian community, the way it is used differs across the generations of immigrants. Utterances of first-generation participants mostly included AA as the matrix language and French as the embedded one. In the same line, it was determined that first-generation immigrants represent the participating group that reported the most frequent use of the CS strategy, often effortlessly and spontaneously, showing particular compensatory motives. In contrast, generation 2 and 3 participants produced mostly French-dominant sentences with the inclusion of AA embedded items. Their CS use was judged unnatural and occurred mostly for specific motivations, such as cultural or religious purposes, or to express solidarity with the interlocutor.

Despite these multiple generational differences, there was a general agreement over the importance of maintaining the use of AA both within the family domain and among the whole Algerian community in France. The vast majority of the participants explained that AA is part of their Algerian identity and that linguistic heritage is important to maintain to proclaim and affirm their Algerian roots and origins. Even those who advocate the learning of more powerful and more useful languages still manifest respect towards AA, holding positive views and attitudes towards it.

In terms of the intergenerational transmission of this HL, it was determined that first-generation participants are the most invested in the preservation of the use of this language compared to generation 2 and 3. Most of them still watch Algerian TV shows, listen to Algerian music, and maintain contact with their Algerian relatives via social media or by visiting them in Algeria regularly. By these means, they are able to maintain regular use of AA and can hope for effective linguistic transmission to their children. Generation 2 reports less interest and motivation towards the intergenerational transmission of AA, although extensive efforts are made to maintain the use of AA within the family domain to protect family bonds and cultural roots. Regarding generation 3 results, the vast majority of participants from that group manifest partial language shift from AA to French, explaining their incapacity to pursue HL intergenerational transmission effectively. This suggests that HL shift often becomes particularly notable at the level of the third generation of immigrants.

It is particularly important to highlight that a significant communication gap was noticed between the different generations. While parents and children were able to negotiate one language of communication and manifested mutual understanding each time, the situation was different between grandparents and grandchildren. Within the analysis of the conversation recordings, it was noticed that several times, second-generation parents had to play the role of translators between their own parents and children, specifically when these children had difficulties understanding AA and the grandparents lacked proficiency in French. This shows the emergence

of some communication barriers, which may even develop into emotional and cultural breaks.

Ultimately, the research explored the influencing factors on HLM or shift. The results suggested that age is closely related to the degree of influence the French society has on the immigrant; the younger the individual is, the weaker their attachment towards their linguistic and cultural heritage. However, it was also proved that the age of participants did not affect their level of proficiency in AA or its transmission across generations. It could thus be suggested that age alone can hardly be considered a determining factor unless associated with others.

The second parameter examined is the frequency of use of the language of origin. It was determined that the more frequently AA is used, the less likely attrition is to occur. If immigrants maintain frequent use of AA, they have higher chances to preserve the language and engage in effective intergenerational transmission. Interestingly, while the vast majority of first-generation participants reported using AA on a daily basis, those who declared using AA less frequently are the same individuals who show the least proficiency in AA. This proves the direct impact that frequency of AA use has on proficiency developed in that language.

The third factor analyzed in relation to language proficiency and maintenance is the age of first exposure to AA. The results suggested that generation 2 and 3 immigrants need to acquire AA before the age of school to maintain good proficiency in that language. However, for generation 1, the age of first exposure to AA does not seem to impact the level of proficiency developed in this language. Moreover, educational level was revealed to be directly associated with the proficiency developed in AA, regardless of the immigrants' GS.

The last parameter taken into consideration in this research is the age of immigration. The correlational analysis showed the direct relationship that exists between immigration after adulthood and the maintenance of good competence in AA. Indeed, the older individuals are when they immigrate to France, the higher the

chances they have to develop long-lasting proficiency in AA, ensuring its successful transmission to subsequent generations.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter presented the macro approach of this research. It described the analysis of the data collected through the third research instrument of this investigation, the online questionnaire. Its aim was to extend beyond individual and family dynamics and reach a broader community, including the participation and experiences of a larger number of participants. The first part of the chapter was devoted to the analysis of the results obtained from the different questions of the survey. The survey began with a few personal questions to collect data about participants' GS, age, age at immigration, and educational level. It was then divided into various rubrics, each with a specific aim. The first rubric concerned the age of first exposure to the HL; the second attempted to determine their level of proficiency in it; the third contained questions about the frequency with which they use that language; the fourth rubric aimed to measure the frequency of contact they maintain with AA; the fifth was related to the participants' culture and identity; and the last two rubrics concerned the maintenance of the HL or shift from it, and its transmission (or lack thereof) across generations.

Additionally, the second part was devoted to the correlational analysis conducted to determine the relationship between significant social variables and the level of proficiency acquired in the HL. The factors analysed included age of first exposure to AA, educational level, frequency of use, frequency of contact, and culture and identity. The aim was to determine which factor has a direct impact on the level of proficiency Algerian immigrants develop in their ancestral language and, consequently, which factor is most likely responsible for language shift. Finally, this chapter concluded with an overview of the results obtained from the three research instruments and a discussion of the main findings, which will help answer the research questions and confirm or reject the hypotheses formulated at the beginning of this investigation.

General Conclusion

From the dawn of time, people tend to migrate from one place to another. This displacement is triggered by various and different reasons, as it can be both voluntary or non-voluntary. It is a natural process that is associated with human development, considering the numerous alterations it generates in a number of the individual's aspects of life. While it can open up the door for some life-changing opportunities, it can simultaneously be the source of serious challenges, especially at the level of linguistic and cultural adaptation and identity formation. In the immigration context, language serves immigrants to maintain ties with their families, original cultures, and traditions and to integrate into the dominant society at the same time. With that vital tool, immigrants can either show resilience and proclaim their full assimilation or, rather, express resistance and claim the maintenance of their linguistic and cultural heritage.

A key concern in this process is the consequences that arise from HL loss. In fact, previous research on this context insisted that HL shift is closely associated with the disruption of family ties and relationships (Cummins 2001; Hinton 1998; Thomas & Cao 1999). Fillmore (1991:342) warns that abandoning one's ancestral language can have a direct impact on "the social, emotional, cognitive, and educational development of language minority children, as well as the integrity of their families and the society they live in." Immigrants, by submitting to the dominant language's power and influence, can generate a generational communication gap, disrupting all cultural transmission and continuity. Therefore, this research promotes linguistic diversity and multilingualism and their importance in the maintenance of family cohesion and social harmony.

The present sociolinguistic-oriented research explores the case of the community of Algerian immigrants in France. The historical events both the Algerian and the French countries share generated different sociolinguistic dynamics, making this sample population particularly compelling. Notably, the mother tongue of the Algerian population constitutes an interplay between Arabic and French, implying that French represents a significant component of their

language of origin's (AA) repertoire. At the same time, Algerian resentment towards the French is prevalent and openly expressed. Adding to this tension, the French pressure exerted on the Algerian community within the French country is real, which makes it particularly challenging to resist. This research pictured the daily linguistic struggle of the community of Algerian immigrants in France to balance the importance of preserving their language of origin with the demands of the dominant language. It focused on their language choice, proficiency, and dominance with the aim of determining whether and to what extent they preserved their linguistic heritage, and identifying the factors that contributed to that. Importantly, the investigation follows a cross-generational perspective in the sense that it closely examines the evolution and the transmission of the language of origin from one generation to another, with the family context serving as a focal point.

While the community of Algerian immigrants in France **has** received lots of attention and interest from a significant number of sociolinguistic scholars, proposing extensive research, especially regarding their HLM and shift, the existing body of literature addressing both the leading factors of such language contact phenomena and their consequences on intergenerational relationships and mutual understanding is remarkably limited. In addition, what further sets this research apart is the methodology used, including the combination of both micro- and macro-approaches for data collection. The methodological approach of this research aimed at combining results obtained at the individual and family unit levels with other broader results gathered at a larger scale. It relied on the qualitative and quantitative analysis of some free-conversation recordings and semi-structured interviews that captured authentic speech from a natural context, and an online survey that provided data from a larger sample of participants from the community of Algerian immigrants in France.

The research paper was composed of five chapters that tried to provide the most relevant information related to the subject of the current investigation. The first chapter started with an introduction to the concept of migration, with emphasis put on the consequences it has on the different generations of immigrants and the

different aspects of their lives. Then it proposed an overview of the history of Algerian immigration in Europe, and specifically in France, representing the context of this research. It also included important information about the concepts of identity and culture in relation to the process of immigration. Finally, it pictured the reality of the Algerian immigrant's linguistic and cultural adaptation and identity re-negotiation in the receiving country.

The second chapter explained the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation in Algeria and exposed the most common and significant language contact phenomena. However, the focus was put on the concepts of language choice, transfer, attrition, and language maintenance and shift. Then the third chapter exposed the research design and methodology, including the approaches, methods, sampling procedures, research instruments, and data collection and analysis processes. As for chapter four, it was concerned with the analysis of the data collected through a micro-approach and the interpretation of the results of each of the free-conversation recordings and the semi-structured interviews. Finally, chapter five included the analysis of the data collected through the online survey, following a macro-approach. It was followed by a correlational analysis between several social factors and proficiency in AA to determine those determining factors in HLM or shift. Finally, the chapter was concluded by a general discussion of the research findings.

In reference to the first research hypothesis, the main focus was on the use of code-switching among the community of Algerian immigrants in France and the way it differs across generations. The results of the study, in relation to what the researcher suggested, confirmed that first-generation immigrants show higher proficiency in AA than in French, using it as their dominant language. In contrast, second- and third-generation immigrants manifest the use of French as the matrix language and AA as the embedded one. This indicates their linguistic dominance leaning towards the French language. Regarding the use of code-switching, the results revealed that all three generations mostly used intra-sentential code-switching, with a tendency to insert isolated words from one language into sentences

dominated by the other. Generation one participants manifested mostly insertions of French words into AA sentences, with AA representing the matrix language and French the embedded one, while among generation two and three, the insertion of AA words in French sentences was most common. The use of inter-sentential code-switching remained extremely limited and insignificant. In addition, the results confirmed that the first generation of immigrants mostly use CS for no particular compensatory motives. It appeared to be a linguistic practice they use naturally and effortlessly. However, for second- and third-generation speakers, the use of CS proved to have multiple motivations, either cultural, religious, or to express solidarity with first-generation interlocutors.

Additional findings related to the first hypothesis indicated that CS is mostly used by the first generation of immigrants when communicating with their children or grandchildren. For generation 2 and 3, individuals only code-switched when exchanging with generation 1 speakers, either showing solidarity with the person or ensuring mutual understanding. The findings showed a minimal occurrence of CS in exchanges between generation 2 and generation 3 individuals, except in cases where the HL transmission from the first to the second generation had been successfully achieved. When members of the second generation acquire sufficient proficiency in AA, some of them tend to voluntarily CS with their own children to pursue the linguistic transmission process, as was the case with some of the participants of this research. Finally, the results indicated that while the matrix language of generation one is AA, for generation 2 and 3 it is rather French. This shows the manifestation of a progressive decline in proficiency in AA, and the use of full sentences in AA gradually transforms into isolated AA word insertions, giving way to a French-dominant speech.

This introduced the second hypothesis, addressing the potential attrition occurring at the level of the language of origin of the three generations of immigrants. It was suggested that for generation 1 and 2, attrition might start at the lexical level, while for generation 3 it would more likely appear at both the lexical and phonetic levels. The results of the recordings and the interviews showed that

generation 1 immigrants, in a large majority, do not notice any sign of attrition at the level of their language of origin. However, the findings of the survey registered a considerable number of immigrants who do perceive a change at the level of their proficiency in AA, particularly in vocabulary and idiomatic expressions. Such a difference in the results may be attributed to other factors like the frequency of use, age of first exposure, and age of immigration, which were not particularly taken into consideration in this research. Regarding the second generation, signs of attrition were more noticeable, specifically at the lexical, phonetic, and syntactic levels. Additionally, the third group results showed that members of this generation not only manifest attrition signs at the three levels of AA production, but they also have difficulties understanding it.

The results, thus, suggest that the AA shift is initiated with attrition at the level of vocabulary and idiomatic expressions. Immigrants tend to forget some of the AA lexis because of their replacement by their equivalents in the dominant language, which is French. At the pronunciation level, few sounds were subject to noticeable change, like the /q/ which is pronounced more like a /k/, the /ts/ which is pronounced /t/ like in the word “bsahtek,” and finally the /h/ sound becoming silent, like in the word “Wallah.” Consequently, syntactic attrition becomes systematic, with gaps at the level of words and comprehension and confusion in terms of sound pronunciation. Interestingly, despite the positive attitudes that all three generations of immigrants hold towards AA and the importance they give to the maintenance and preservation of that linguistic and cultural heritage, the shift still occurs, starting from a few of generation 1 members, accelerating within the second generation of immigrants and getting more intense at the level of generation 3. This intuitively raises specific questions about the factors that may influence the maintenance or shift from the HL and those that affect proficiency in it.

The third hypothesis suggested that the factors influencing HLM or shift are the frequency of AA use and identity. The results of the study confirmed that immigrants who frequently use AA in their daily lives in different contexts tend to develop higher proficiency in that language, presenting fewer chances to shift to the

dominant language. In terms of identity, it was determined that while proclaiming an Algerian identity and culture may participate in the maintenance of that linguistic heritage, this factor does not seem to be determining on its own. Results revealed that a large number of immigrants across different generations give more value to their HL than to the host culture but still manifest limited proficiency in AA and show signs of attrition at the level of that language.

The results of the other factors that were examined in relation to proficiency in AA and in terms of their impact on its maintenance or shift proved that while generation 1 appears to maintain proficiency in the HL regardless of other factors, generation 2 and 3 show different responses depending on the quality of the intergenerational language transmission process. This suggests that GS alone should be considered alongside other factors, like family influence. Interestingly, the findings proved the importance of the age of immigration in the preservation of the HL. Indeed, the earlier the immigration process occurs, the lower the chances to maintain proficiency in AA. This all depends on the dominant language of the society where the socialization process occurs, which will naturally develop as the immigrant's first language.

Additionally, the educational level of the immigrant did not seem to have a direct effect on the level of proficiency in AA. The next parameter that was examined was the age of first exposure to AA. It was revealed that while first-generation immigrants can develop and maintain sufficient proficiency in AA regardless of the age they were first exposed to AA, the situation is different for generation 2 and 3. Indeed, for these individuals, their competence in AA is strongly related to whether they acquired the language before the age of school or after. In this sense, the earlier in age the language is acquired, the higher the chances it has to be maintained.

Following the analysis of factors influencing proficiency in AA, the study also examined how the transmission of the HL affects intergenerational relationships. Being highly exposed to their language of origin through the frequent contact they keep with their relatives in Algeria, Algerian music, and television

shows, first-generation immigrants tend to make voluntary efforts to transmit this linguistic heritage to their descendants. However, generation 2 and 3 seem less interested and motivated in the transmission of AA to their children, especially when the shift becomes apparent and noticeable in the second generation. As a result, it is improbable for generation 3 immigrants to maintain good proficiency in AA and transmit it effectively to their children. The difference between the level of competence in AA across the generations revealed a huge communication gap, particularly between generation 1 and 3, that is, between grandparents and grandchildren. Findings revealed that often, the exchange between these two generation members requires a mediator who translates for the grandparent in AA and for the children in French. This could suggest the beginning of a disruption at the level of intergenerational cultural transmission and continuity.

During this study, several challenges were encountered. First and foremost, the epidemic of COVID-19 altered the methodological framework that was originally designed and planned. This research initially aimed to be ethnographic, with the researcher acting as a participant observer and being fully immersed in the daily lives of this community of Algerian immigrants in France to obtain the most authentic, objective, and reliable material. However, due to the travel restrictions established and the suspension of all international flights during the pandemic, the population became inaccessible, and any physical contact with it was no longer feasible.

Thanks to social media, it was still possible to manage virtual contact with members of the sample population, conduct the research via the internet, and collect data online. While such an online procedure allowed this research to occur, it generated new limitations. For example, participants were asked to record their own conversations, which affected the quality of the material gathered. Furthermore, it was particularly challenging to find a family composed of three generations of immigrants willing to collaborate, and it was even more challenging to have them record a spontaneous conversation at a time when the whole population needed to conform to strict social contact restriction rules. Additionally, the use of non-

random sampling methods compromises the sample representativeness and reduces the generalization potential of this research's findings.

From the results of this study, as a valuable contribution to the field of sociolinguistics, and based on the limitations encountered while conducting it, the researcher hopes to pave the way for further research on this particular topic. It could be insightful to conduct similar research benefiting from the participation of a larger sample population, ideally through the use of random sampling methods to ensure reliability and the generalization of the results. Additionally, various issues regarding HL use, maintenance, and shift in the context of immigration need in-depth investigation. For instance, it could be interesting to conduct a longitudinal study on the Algerian community in France to closely follow and examine the changes occurring at the level of the HL across the generations of immigrants when in contact with the dominant language, which is French. Furthermore, the impact of HL loss on intergenerational cultural continuity and on family relationships requires further investigation and understanding. Last but not least, it could be insightful if other research in this domain proposed some strategies to prevent HL shift after testing their effectiveness on minority groups of immigrants. The goal is to prevent bilingualism or multilingualism from acting as a dividing tool that generates tensions in multilingual settings, creating a barrier at the societal level, and more specifically at the generational and family group levels. It is recommended, instead, to benefit from multilingualism as a linguistic richness and a powerful tool that promotes linguistic and cultural diversity, encouraging the preservation of both minority and dominant languages.

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Appendices

Questionnaire

Ce questionnaire est destiné aux immigrés Algériens de France toutes générations confondues dans le but d'examiner comment le dialecte Algérien est utilisé et comment il est transmis de générations en générations. Merci de répondre à ces quelques questions ; les réponses seront strictement anonymes et utilisées à des fins purement éducatives.

Informations Personnelles :

1. Quel âge aviez-vous quand vous avez immigré en France ?
2. Quel est le niveau d'étude le plus élevé que vous avez atteint ?
 - Primaire
 - Moyen
 - Secondaire
 - Universitaire
3. Quelle est votre langue maternelle ?
 - Dialecte Algérien
 - Français
 - Les deux
4. Quelle langue avez-vous acquis avant d'intégrer l'école ?
 - Dialecte Algérien
 - Français
 - Les deux
5. Votre niveau en dialecte Algérien avant d'arriver en France ?
 - Bon
 - Moyen
 - Mauvais
6. Niveau actuel en AD ?
 - Bon
 - Moyen
 - Mauvais
7. Voici une série de propositions, mettez une croix (x) pour exprimer ce que vous pensez.

	AD	+AD	Fr	+Fr	Les deux
Langue parlée couramment					
Langue la plus maîtrisée					
Langue la plus utilisée à la maison					
Langue la plus utilisée avec les amis					
Langue la plus utilisée avec les voisins					
Langue la plus utilisée avec la famille					
Langue la plus utilisée dans les lieux publics					
Langue la plus utilisée au travail ou à l'école					
Langue ou vous vous sentez le plus confortable					

8. A quelle fréquence rentrez-vous en Algérie depuis votre naissance ou depuis votre immigration ? Pour quelles raisons ?

- Souvent

- Rarement
- Jamais

.....

 ;

9. A quelle fréquence gardez-vous contact avec vos amis ou famille en Algérie ? Comment ?

- Régulièrement
- Souvent
- Rarement
- Jamais

.....

10. A quelle culture vous identifiez-vous le plus ?

Algérienne	Française	Les deux	Aucune

11. Vous arrive-t-il de vous sentir mal à l'aise en parlant en Dialecte Algérien avec des algériens qui comme vous vivent en France depuis un certain temps ? Pourquoi ?

- Oui
- Non

.....

12. Vous arrive-t-il de vous sentir mal à l'aise en parlant en Dialecte Algérien avec d'autres Algériens qui résident en Algérie ? Pourquoi ?

- Oui
- Non

.....

13. Regardez-vous des films, des documentaires ou des émissions télévisées en Dialecte Algérien ?

- Oui
- Non

14. Ecoutez-vous des chansons Algériennes ?

- Oui
- Non

15. Pensez-vous être capable de comprendre tout ce qui se dit en Dialecte Algérien ?

- Oui
- Non

16. Pensez-vous être capable de traduire facilement du Dialecte Algérien vers le français ? ou du Français vers le Dialecte Algérien ?

Du dialecte vers le Français	Du français vers le dialecte	Les deux	Non

17. Pensez-vous que votre niveau en Dialecte Algérien change durant les années ? A quel niveau ?

- Oui
- Non

.....

.....

.....

.....

18. Quelle langue utilisez-vous avec vos enfants ?

AD	+AD	Fr	+Fr	Les deux

19. Quelle langue vos enfants utilisent avec vous ?

AD	+AD	Fr	+Fr	Les deux

20. Quelle langue utilisez-vous avec vos petits-enfants ?

AD	+AD	Fr	+Fr	Les deux

21. Quelle langue vos petits-enfants utilisent avec vous ?

AD	+AD	Fr	+Fr	Les deux

22. Encouragez-vous vos enfants et petits-enfants a maintenir l’usage de leur langue d’héritage ? comment ?

- Oui
- Non

.....
.....
.....
.....

23. Est-il important que l’usage du dialecte Algérien soit préservé a travers les générations au sein de la communauté des Algériens immigrés en France ? pourquoi ?

- Oui
- Non

.....
.....
.....
.....

Semi-Structured Interview

- 1/ Quelle langue utilisez-vous couramment et fréquemment à la maison, avec vos amis, au travail ou à l'école ?
- 2/ Pouvez-vous comparer entre votre niveau de compétence en Darija et votre niveau de compétence en France ?
- 3/ Vous arrive-t-il d'alterner plusieurs fois de langues dans une même conversation ? Pour quelles raisons ?
- 4/ Pensez-vous être capable de tenir une conversation entière en darija et de comprendre tout ce que l'on vous dit ?
- 5/ remarquez-vous un changement dans votre niveau de compétence en darija depuis votre immigration ou comparé au niveau de vos parents et grands-parents ? A quel niveau ?
- 6/ Est-il important pour vous de préserver l'utilisation de votre langue d'héritage et que faites-vous comme efforts pour cela ?
- 7/ Est-il important pour vous de transmettre l'utilisation de cette langue aux générations à venir et que ferez-vous comme efforts pour les aider à préserver leur langue d'origine.
- 8/ Avez-vous une communauté d'algériens autour de vous en France que vous fréquentez fréquemment ?

English Version of the Semi-structured Interview

- 1/ Which language do you use fluently and frequently at home, with your friends, at school or at workplace?
- 2/ Can you compare between your proficiency in AD and your proficiency in French?
- 3/ Do you frequently switch code between French and AD in one same conversation? For which reason do you do that?
- 4/ Do you think you could hold a conversation entirely in AD and understand everything that you hear?
- 5/ Do you notice any change in AD proficiency since your immigration, or through time? At which level?
- 6/ How important do you think it is to preserve the use of AD and which efforts do you personally do for that purpose?
- 7/ How important do you think it is to transmit the use of this language across generations of immigrants and which efforts do you do or would you do for that purpose?
- 8/ Do you have an Algerian community which you frequently interfere with in France?

Transcription of the Conversion Recordings

Conversation 1:

Amel : Tu veux manger quoi pour noël ?

Fatima : bin rien

Amel : ah d'accord

Amina : non qu'est-ce qu'on achète alors, la dinde ou pas la dinde ?

Amel : c'est quoi une dinde déjà ?

Amina : (rire)

Amel : ah bin je sais pas j'ai jamais mangé de dinde moi on fait comment déjà pour manger une dinde ? Ça cuit comment ?

Fatima : /fel for/

Amel : non je veux dire on met quoi dedans ?

Fatima : (silence)

Amel : ah tu sais pas ? Ta jamais fait de dinde ? Si, ta déjà fait une dinde une fois à maman

Fatima : à chaque année

Amel : alors tu mets quoi dedans, tu l'accompagnes avec quoi ?

Amina : tu sais que je me rappelle pas de la dinde ? Elle mettais des (pause) ah je sais plus, tu mettais quoi avec la dinde ?

Fatima : tout

Amina : non les légumes

Fatima : Ah tu parles des légumes ! /Kona ndiro el batata mqafra syira hakda/.

Amina : les pommes d'auvergnats ! Y avais pas des châtaignes ? Si ?

Fatima : /ela ma konqf ndirohom/

Amel : tu faisais pas des haricots et des asperges avec ?

Amina : pas les frites, les pommes d'auvergnats ah les pommes duchesse voilà tu sais c'est comme des frites mais des grosses boules là. On faisait ça en frites, oué la forme qui tourne

Fatima : non non

Amina : non, tu te rappelles pas ? Siii ta oublié ! Y avait ça aussi

Amel : et après vous avez un cadeau à noël c'est ça ?

Amina : bin bien sûr

Amel : un cadeau par enfant ?

Fatima : bien sûr, /kol wahad wel kadu taṣah/

Amel : et les adultes aussi ?

Amina : non que les enfants, pas les adultes

Amel : ah et tu mettais un sapin ?

Fatima : non

Amina : oui mais on décorait les plantes

Amel : ah bin voilà

Amina : y avait la grande plante dans le salon et chaque année on mettais des guirlandes pas vraiment les boules mais y avait les guirlandes

Amel : et les lumineux ?

Amina : même pas les lumineux juste les guirlandes je me rappelle et quand on a grandi je me souviens les guirlandes je les avait donné à mon école primaire

Amel : ah ok

Amina : comme après on les mettais pas tu sais quand ta grandi c'est bon

Amel : oui oui

Fatima : /ma taṣaqlif ʕla zigo/

Amina : siii siii mais je me rappelle que tout ce que t'achetais tu les divisait en deux, tu disais ça c'était pour le repas de noël et ça c'était pour le réveillon.

Amel : c'est vrai ?

Amine : oué

Amel : et ça veut dire que la dinde tu la coupais en deux ?

Amina : noooooon c'était quoi par exemple

Fatima : /kona ndiro zigo f ras elṣam/

Amina : oui mais pas ça, par exemple quand tu achetais des boîtes de chocolat

Amel : genre une boîte pour le nouvel an et une boîte pour noël

Amina : voiiiiilaaa et moi je les achète toujours

Amel : tu crois que tu pourrais m'acheter des cadeaux ?

Amina : (rire)

Amel : et tu pourrais me les mettre en dessous du lit ?

Fatima : Maya /kanet mṣana/

Amina : Maya ouiii elle était avec nous

Amel : et tu achetais du foie gras et du saumon ?
Amina : non
Amel : Y avait pas du /hlel/ avant
Fatima : oui /ma kanʃ/.
Amel : mais attend c'était a bondit tout ça mais a bondit y avait pas tout ce qui était boucherie ou quoi mais tu m'avais dit que /dʒjedi/ il allait à barbes tu m'avait dit qu'il achetait pas du côté de chez vous
Amina : il y avait pas, il y avait pas des boucherie /hlel/Non en fait c'est pas que ça n'existait pas, ça existait à paris dans les grandes villes ou les villes annexes y avait pas mais maintenant c'est bon
Amel : oui maintenant y en a partout tu trouves de tout du /hlel/ et du pas /hlel/
Amina : oui bin 20ans en arrière le pas /hlel/ ils ne savaient pas ce que c'était les français, non pas 20ans disons 30ans en arrière. Par contre tout le monde savait ce que c'était la viande cachère
Amel : oué mais on en voit pas partout les boucheries cachère
Amina : ouiiii c'est par communauté la communauté juive elle est présente
Amel : et tu veux manger quoi alors pour noël ? Tata elle a dit qu'elle ramenait des huitres et des escargots. On dit /beboʃ/ c'est ça ?
Amina : ouiiii
Amel : tu en faisais en Algérie non ?
Fatima : ouéé
Amel : bin oui tu en faisais je m'en rappelle
Fatima : /ijwa beboʃ taʃ dzajer w taʃ hna maʃi kifkif/
Amina : ouiiii le /beboʃ/ d'ici n'est pas /hlel/ (rire)
Fatima : /kɔna ntijbɔh hna/
Amel : je peux t'en trouver et tu le fais cuire. Non vraiment on peu en manger de cela ? C'est quoi la différence
Amina : /hadɔ/ c'est des /beboʃ/ du jardin / ntaʃ bera/ de mon jardin ils sont bon ? Ça se mange ?
Fatima : oui /maʃi meʃrijen, tramasehom w txelihom/ deux ou trois jours /w taʃtehom etʃam yjiw très bon ?
Amel : hun pk ?
Amina : il faut qu'ils vident leur estomac en fait et comme la semoule c'est sain, c'est sain la semoule, tu parles de la farine ?
Amel : mai tu peux leur donner la salade
Fatima : non pas la salade
Amina : bin pourquoi peut-être parce que la semoule comme c'est un féculent ça va absorber ...
Amel : semoule cuite ou pas cuite ?
Fatima : de quoi tu parles ?
Amina : de la semoule c'est du /tʃam/
Fatima : Ah non non /xder/
Amel : pourquoi, c'est pas les mêmes ?
Amina : à la base c'est les mêmes bestioles mais ceux qu'on achète ici (pause)
Amel : on y met de l'ail
Amina : ouii a la fin mais a la base c'est des élevages, ils élèvent les escargots dans le but de les vendre
Fatima : / fi dzajer nefriwah fel marʃe/
Amina : oui mais /maʃi mrabi/
Fatima : oui /maʃi mrabi/
Amina : voia c'est des escargots sauvages
Fatima : /tsaʃ dajer jdirolah zaʃter w nonxa/
Amel : c'est quoi /zahter/
Amina : /Zahter/ c'est le thym
Amel : c'est quoi l'orange alors
Amina : elle met des pelures d'oranges
Amel : non je veux dire comment, (pause)? c'est quoi l'eau de fleur d'oranger en Arabe déjà ?
Amina : c'est euuuuuuh oooh elle ma fait perdre le mot c'est /ma zhar/
Amel : ah ouiiii ouiii presque presque
Fatima : après /tʃaeli laʃʃor taʃ letʃin/
Amina : voilà voilà
Amel : /letʃin/ ?
Amina : les oranges ?
Amel : ah les oranges ouii, tu dois aller a l'école toi !!!
Amina : /de toute façon on fait ce qu'on fait /nti ma takli walɔ/.
Amel : elle se fera une soupe
Amina : elle mange rien !
Amel : /berkokes/ hhh
Fatima : Tu sais ?ramdan rah qrib/
Amina : oui ramadan arrive
Amel : tu as demandé quoi au père noël ?
Fatima : /walo/
Amel : ah oui tu n'a rien demandé ?
Fatima : non rien du tt

Amel : tu as été gentille ?
 Fatima : moi j'ai donné de l'argent aux enfants les 5 et c'est tout
 Amel : tata elle m'a dit qu'elle allait venir aussi
 Amina : Tu vas faire des cadeaux à tata et ses enfants ?
 Fatima : oui /aštīt edraham el bentha w lewliḥa/ mais /hija/ je lui donne rien.
 Amel : ah tu voulais dire avec eux les 5 moi je pensais que tu parlais de papa et maman
 Amel : mais pourquoi tu me dis /esokti/ la Noël c'est le 24.
 Amina : c'est moi qui ai demandé
 Fatima : /ana ma nʔamenʃ bel/ père Noël
 Amina : mais si il existe, tu as vu comme les sapins sont vides dehors bin le 24 y aura des cadeaux partout donc tu vas voir /dök jzi/ de toute façon le père Noël ça n'a rien avoir avec la religion le père Noël il appartient à tout le monde
 Fatima : oui oui c'est commerce
 Amina : bon c'est bon tu as fait le menu, /derti/ le menu ?
 Fatima : /maza/!
 Amina : ah /Bentek raha zaja /tu va me faire quoi à manger alors ? c'est comme ça que tu fais au/djaf ?
 Fatima : /ndirlek jʔrba/
 Amina : la soupe (rire) ah la buche la buche j'adore la buche. /nefriha wala/ je la fais ?
 Fatima : /diriha diriha/
 Amel : buche pâtissière ?
 Amina : oui buche pâtissière je la fais ou on l'achète ?
 Amel : au chocolat !
 Amina : non pas au chocolat mami elle aime pas le chocolat
 Ame : l vanille pistache vanille noisette
 Fatima : café
 Amina : voilà vous mangez tôt le /šja/ des diabétiques maman le /šj/ c'est juste après la maïsse on va à la maïsse et juste après (pause)
 Amel : non après la maïsse c'est les cadeaux
 Fatima : /ki tkon tabla mšamra hakdek naklo tegšad hakdek eli jzi jakol/
 Amel : chez vous ?
 Amina : ouiii a Noël, tout ce qui est nourriture c'est débarrassé et les trucs salés les chocolats ça reste parce que c'est la soirée on veille, les gens fêtent le petit Jésus et nous on fête les cadeaux
 Amel : ah bin oui c'est bien
 Amina : l'église elle est là on entend bien les cloches
 Fatima : une fois une dame elle t'a donné un cadeau, une poupée noire elle lui a fait peur
 Amel : une poupée noire ah bin j'imagine
 Amina : oui une poupée noire quand je l'ai vu j'ai crié c'est une kaḥlošja !
 Amel : ah une poupée dans ce sens-là, je pensais que la poupée était toute noire
 Amina : ah tu sais mais à l'époque une poupée noire on voyait pas ça partout
 Amel : oui maintenant on fait des poupées même en fauteuil roulant
 Amina : oui mais à l'époque ça n'existait pas donc quand je l'ai vu j'ai eu peur
 Amel : elle est où maintenant ?
 Amina : quand je suis partie en Algérie je l'ai donné à quelqu'un là-bas
 Fatima : /ki medithalhom gatšoha w rmawha/
 Amel : y a des buches en Algérie ?
 Amina : tu sais à l'époque si quelqu'un mettait des buches dans leur magasin ils étaient éborgnés
 Amel : non je parle de maintenant
 Amina : je sais pas je pense que tu peux en trouver mais pas partout
 Amel : peut-être à Alger
 Fatima : /kajen/ les buches
 Amina : Ah oui tu en as vu à Temouchent ? cheftihoum ? 107
 Fatima : ouii /kajen/ mais /fi/ Alger / mašī fi tmouchent/ ?
 Amina : mais franchement c'est quoi une buche c'est un biscuit roulé quoi !
 Amel : oué les gens en font trop
 Fatima : hafeda kanet dirha fi darha/
 Amina : bin oui c'est un roulé et c'est tous les gens mélangent tout

Conversation 2 :

Bouchra : Sayé, demain on va prendre le train ma chérie on rentre à la maison.
 Maroua : Oui j'ai trop hâte.
 Faiza : /meskina twašfet darha w frejha. Meli zat w hija tahder šla babaha/.
 Bouchra : on va laisser mami toute seule la pauvre.
 Maroua : oui, mais on reviendra bientôt, hun maman !
 Faiza : la prochaine fois vous resterez plus longtemps j'espère, /ma šbaštkomf gaš/
 Bouchra : /Inšalah/, maman. On aurait aimé rester plus longtemps tu sais mais /alah yaaleb/
 Faiza : /rani zarfa benti, alah jostor hada makan/

Bouchra Ça te manque l'école Maroua ?
Maroua : Oui, mes copines et ma maitresse me manquent bcp
Bouchra : On dira a mami de venir chez nous la prochaine fois ?
Maroua : Ouiiii
Bouchra : Ouiii /Inʃalah/ elle viendra
Maroua : /inʃaʔalah/
Faiza : /Nʃalah/
Bouchra : En plus maman t'a donné de l'argent pour acheter la cuisine, comme ça tu vas jouer à la cuisine à la maison
Maroua : Bah oui
Bouchra et comme ça tu vas jouer à la cuisine après l'école
Maroua oui
Bouchra : On va acheter la cuisine rose que tu m'a montré sur le téléphone ok ?
Maroua : oh oui la cuisine rose comme ça j'inviterais mes copines pour jouer avec moi
Bouchra ouiii ma chérie pour quoi pas.
Faiza : dès que tu achètes la cuisine rose /refdi tsawer w baʔtiħomli nʃufek/
Bouchra bien sûr qu'on enverra les photos a mami
Meroua : oui je dirais a maman de te les envoyer parce que moi j'ai pas de téléphone
Faiza : après /tetʔalem tijeb kima gaʔ lebnat tweli/ une vrai jeune fille.
Bouchra : en plus c'est bien ça peu développer son imagination et tout c'est bien. la maitresse elle m'a dit Maroua est très intelligente mais /tyis bezaf./
Faiza : ahh /ʃefti, semala ʃirilha/ les jeux /ntaʔ/ la concentration.
Bouchra : oui je sais, j'ai trouvé plein de jeux intéressants sur Amazon sauf qu'avec le covid, /kolef hbes/
Faiza : /ijwa maʔliʃ nʃalah kolef jweli kima kan/, j'espère que Riad /w Safia jkonu rijħu/.
Bouchra : oué /Inʃalah/ qu'ils seront plus malade, c'était trop dur pour eux
Faiza : /nʃalah/
Bouchra : toi aussi maman j'espère que ça ira mieux /inʃalah/
Faiza : nʃalah nʃalah ma chérie ouiii ça va aller.
Bouchra : /alah jʃafikom /zmiʔ/. Mais attention y aura le couvre-feu à 18h vous à Lyon, faut pas oublier.
Faiza : oué mais je vais pas sortir moi après 18h, /jeti lberd eli rah. Anaja/ l'après-midi /nrijaħ f dar ndir ʃwija/ la couture /wela netferez/ la télé / nʃuf/ les informations /balak jzibolna zdid ʔla had el ham/
Bouchra : oué et regarde il est 18h et il fait déjà nuit. Chez nous /ħamdulah/ y a pas de couvre-feu, et Marouati restera des fois jusqu'à 18h à l'école.
Faiza : moi je sors le matin et après /saji rani f dar rani neprofité nsom kol jum/.
Bouchra ouiii c'est vrai c'est bien, tu manges quoi généralement a l'heure du /ftor/ ?
Faiza : /tsmer w kas ntaʔ lma hada makan. xetrat ndir laħrira xetrat neʃrob qahwa bel ħlib naklo eli ketbah rebi/
Bouchra : /bsaħtek maman. Alah jetqabel menek/.
Bouchra : Maroua ça te manque l'école ?
Maroua : ouiii
Bouchra : beaucoup ou un petit peu ?
Faiza : c'est son papa qui lui manque
Maroua : papa me manque beaucoup en plus ca fait plusieurs jours que j'l'ai pas vu
Bouchra : ooooh ma chérie, demain on va voir papa t'inquiète pas
Faiza : /ana ʔawed netwahaʃkom/
Bouchra : tu veux voir qui d'autre demain Maroua ?
Maroua : Maya et Mariana
Faiza : ʃkon hado/ Maya et Mariana ?
Bouchra : c'est qui, c'est tes copines de l'école ?
Maroua : ouiii c'est mes meilleures amies j'ai trop hâte de les voir
Faiza : tu es fatigué mon petit coeur hun tu es fatigué ? Imranou il est fatigué imranouu
Bouchra : oué imrane est fatigué il est malade le pauvre. Et oui /meskin/
Faiza : /meskin meskin weldi nʃzlh berk maʃi Covid hata howa bʔid fer alih/
Bouchra : ah oui si il reste dans cet état faudra que je l'emmène chez le pédiatre, si je trouve un rendez-vous, tout est sur bouqué
Faiza : /rebi jaħfedli weldi imranouu,nchallah rebbi jʃafili weldi/
Bouchra : Quesque t en train de chanter Maroua, vient par-là chante moi la chanson de toute à l'heure, celle que tu chantais au téléphone
Maroua : je chantais la chanson de noël, celle que la maitresse nous a appris a l'école
Bouchra vasy chante mami veut t'écouter
Faiza : vasy Maroua chante
Maroua : (chante) ou ou ors
Bouchra : ta oublié les paroles ? c'est le soir de noël, euh euh les enfants sont joyeux, tu te rappelles ?
Faiza : (rire) les enfants sont fatiguées
Bouchra : (rire) /wala/ je te jure les enfants son KO, les enfants sont malades
Faiza : (rire) et la mémé est ko aussi
Bouchra : (rire) je te jure
Meroua : les enfants (rire) ils jouent (rire)

Faiza : Maroua /rahi zahja/, c'est bien.

Bouchra : Maroua elle est toujours en forme j'espère qu'elle restera en forme lundi pour aller à l'école. Hun ma fille. Tu sais mami elle ta fait une surprise, tu veux savoir ce que c'est ?

Maroua : oh oui dit moi, c'est quoi c'est quoi ?

Bouchra : mami elle ta acheté le nouveau parapluie mini

Maroua c'est vraiiii !!

Bouchra : ouiii dit merci a mami :

Faiza : /besah ma tezebdiholhaf dorka hatta trohi l dar/.

Maroua : merci mami, il est ou maman je veux le voir steuplé steuplé

Bouchra il est dans la chambre sur le bureau mais tu l'ouvres pas, je vais le prendre si non on va l'oublier je vais tout ramasser toute a l'heure.

Bouchra : ooh /habibi/ il est fatigué mon cœur, coucou allé va chez mami va.

Faiza ouiiii vient /habibi/chez mamiii

Bouchra : demain on va monter dans le train !! En plus demain il va neigé, il va y avoir de la neige, toi t'aime bien la neige ? Tu veux faire quoi avec la neige ?

Maroua : je veux faire des boules

Bouchra des boules tu veux qu'on se fasse des boules de neiges ? Et on va faire quoi aussi ?

Maroua un bonhomme de neige

Bouchra : aah un bonhomme de neige ! Ouiiii on le fera

Maroua : et on mettra une carotte dans son nez et des olives dans les yeux comme l'année dernière

Bouchra ouiiii pk pas on fera ça

Maroua : ouiiii

Bouchra : et on le prendra en photo ?

Maroua : ouééééé génial

Bouchra : comme ça on la montrera a papou ?

Marouaa : ouiiiiii

Bouchra : demain papa il vient nous chercher. Après on va faire l'anniversaire a tata Chahinaz

Maroua : ouiiii

Bouchra : avec tata Imene et doundoune. Tu vas leur chanter quoi ?

Maroua : joyeux anniversaire

Bouchra : oui on va chanter ça. Et en anglais on dit comment ?

Maroua : happy birthday to you

Faiza : et en arabe ?

Bouchra : comment on dit joyeux anniversaire en Arabe maroua ?

Maroua : je sais pas

Bouchra : si tu sais, on ta chanté ça le jour de ton anniversaire tu te rappelles ?

Maroua : non enfin je sais plus

Faiza : on dit /sana hilwa ya Meroua/

Maroua : ah oui c'est vrai je m'en rappelle mais je sais pas le dire

Bouchra d'accord va ramener la boite des cubes on va faire un château tu veux ?

Maroua : mais la boite elle est où ?

Bouchra : elle est dans la chambre, allez vas-y je t'attend /hobi/ Maroua vas-y ramener la boite allez vient.

Maroua : j'ai froid maman

Bouchra : aa ta froid ma chérie, pourtant il fait bien chaud ici le chauffage il fonctionne.

Faiza je sais pas /ijla/ c'est la lumière /wela/ c'est la neige /rahi téh/

Bouchra : il faut éteindre la lumière pour bien voir. ooh il neige Marouati viens voir

Faiza : /rah jban haka/ ?

Bouchra oué y a de la neige regarde a la lumière en haut. Comme ça demain tout sera blanc

Maroua : je vois riiiiiiien

Faiza : attend attend /Nziblek el koursi w tel?i ba? t?ufi/

Bouchra : attend on va te mettre la chaise

(temps de pause)

Bouchra : /nregdah/, Hun je le fais dormir ?

Faiza : Bin oui parce qu'il est fatigué hun. /rah mrid meskin lazem jen?as/

(temps de pause)

Bouchra : maman ta raison en fait c'est de la neige

Faiza : ah ouii

Bouchra : mais par contre ça fond par terre c'est dommage

Faiza : /ma rani? n?uf/

Bouchra : /rwahi/ regarde par là

Faiza : oui /saji rahi tban/

(temps de pause)

Faiza : y a pas que la neige hun

Bouchra : mélange avec la pluie

Faiza : Oui je crois ouiiii

Conversation 3 :

Kamila : tu vas me dire ce que tu as fait vendredi à l'école
Wassim : On a fait on a écrit la date après on a...
Kamila : Tu as oublié
Wassim : Après on a fait le modèle au tableau
Kamila : D'accord et Quoi encore vous êtes sorti a la cour
Wassim : Apres on est sorti a la cours
Kamila : Ta mangé ton goûte ou pas
Wassim : Oui j'ai mangé ma compote
Kamila : Ok très bien et t allé au toilette ta pas oublié d'aller au toilette
Wassim : Non quand je suis allé à la classe j'avais pas pipi
Kamila : Ok d'accord maintenant c'est le tour de Ferial. Ferial dit moi
Ferial : D'abord on a fait l'escalade ensuite c'était la cour
Houria : /feweto gaʃ/ la journée /w ntoma diru fi/ l'escalade ?
Ferial : En fait on a d'abord lu un livre après ct l'heure de l'escalade du coup on est allé faire l'escalade en plus on est allé à la cour on a fait les mathématique on a fait le français
Kamila : /Wasem derto fel mat/
Ferial : On a pas fait de math
Kamila : Tu viens de me dire que j'ai fait les mathématiques
Ferial : Non je me suis trompée on a fait français
Kamila : D'accord /wasem ʃmeltu fel/ français
Ferial : On a parlé de Morgane et les loups ah non c'était pas Morgane et les loups euuh je me souviens plus ensuite on avait fait sur l'ardoise on a écrit a avec accent et a sans accent
Kamila : D'accord est ce que tu connais la différence entre le a avec accent et le a sans accent ?
Ferial : Oui au fait le a avec accent si on le met au passé bin il reste a mais le a sans accent si on le met au passé il devient avais voilà
Kamila : D'accord donc le premier a c'est pour accorder et le deuxième a c'est un verbe au fait c'est le verbe avoir
Ferial : Oué
Kamila : Voilà /Kliti le goûte ntaʃak wela ma kliti/
Ferial : Oui j'ai mangé
Houria : /ʃajbatek baʃda/ l'escalade ?
Ferial : Oué ct trop bien
Kamila : Ca ta plus ?
Ferial : Oué
Houria : Maram /ija hkiɫna wasem ʃmelti fla journée ntaʃ/ vendredi /wasem kliti/ !
Maram : On a fait français on a fait des exercices de français du coup on a fait musique la prof maman elle nous a fait mettre notre capuche on a fait on étaient comme ça en train de faire les moines en passant par la classe comme ça en parlant en latin ct trop drôle hhh Après en français on a continué les exercices après j'ai eu quoi j'ai eu anglais ah on a révisé la leçon du jeudi et après on a mangé euh qu'est-ce qu'on a mangé a l'école euh
Kamila : /wasem klito/
Maram : /Klina/ la purée
Houria : /ntaʃaʃ had/ la purée
Maram : La purée /taʃ lbatata mʃa/ les épinards
Houria : /Eh ɣaja mliha/
Maram : Dégueulasse j'ai pas mangé, des fois /nakul slata mʃaha besaʃ had lɣetra ma kanetʃ kajna slata/ c'était degeulasse
Houria : /Maʃliʃ bentsi/
Maram : Après je suis allée en espagnole on a révisé les jours et tt ça y avait encore des imbéciles qui faisait leur intéressant
Kamila : D'accord
Maram : Euh on est allé en science physique voilà ma journée
Kamila : Ok en parlant des activités puisque ça fait une semaine /meli rakom taʃamlo/ sport pour les activités /saji ʃaʒbatkom ma tbedloʃ/ ?
Maram : Oué vraiment j'aime bien mais maman est ce que tu peux me faire rentrer au fait je me sens pas à l'aise avec les petits
Kamila : Bin /kajen ɣi hadak le groupe ma kanʃ waʃdaxɔr/ c'est le seule groupe
Houria : /Raki tahadri ʃla/ les séances /taʃ tennis wela ʃla les cours taʃ l'anglais
Maram : non, tennis
Houria : /ɣedwa diru tennis/ ?
Maram : Non le sport c'est chaque mardi normalement.

Kamila : Et pour l'anglais, je t'avais dit que /zaftoli/ message pour le mardi /ʃandek/ trois séances
Houria : /Maʃi ma kanʃ baʃi leblas/ mardi?
Kamila: Non /maʃi ma kanʃ kajen leblas ma kanʃ kajen/ un autre groupe mardi donc /ʃa daru/ ils ont demandé aux parents si /ʃandhom/ des enfants /madabihom ydiru/ l'anglais donc /kajen eli/ ils ont proposé mercredi /w kajen eli/ ils ont proposé mardi ,donc /ki jafo/ le calcul /taʃ/ les élèves /w jafo eli ʃandhom/ un nombre bien précis euh ils ont créé un groupe du coup /ʃandek/ trois séances /tsiji jla ʃazbek wala ma ʃazbekʃ/ si tu te sens bien ou pas /w membaʃda t disidi/ si tu veux en faire ou pas
Maram : Comme la gym quoi, /ana/ honnêtement /ʃazbetni/
Kamila : /ʃazbatek/ l'anglais
Maram : Oui parce que en fait maman ce qui est bien /f/ la classe, /f/ la classe en fait c'est pas chacun a ces compétences donc chacun fait ces exercices non , c'est on fait une leçon et celui qui comprend pas bin il comprend chez lui et celui qui comprend bin il écoute quand même, comme ça c'est mieux parce que /ana/ vu que /nefham yaʃa/ l'anglais bin du coup c'est mieux je vais pas perdre du temps là-bas à apprendre des trucs que je connais déjà
Kamila: D'accord
Houria: /tzid wassim wela ʃbaʃt, tzid wela ma tzidʃ/ ?
Wassim: non
Maram : J'ai fini mon repas est ce que tu peux me donner la limonade stp ?
Kamila: /Saha/, Wassim Wassim /asem takol/, yaourt?
Kamila: Wassim tu a fait tes devoirs ou pas ?
Wassim : J'ai fait avec papa
Kamila : D'accord ok qu'est-ce que tu avais comme devoirs
Wassim : de la dictée et c'est tout
Houria : Tu sais /ʃkon ʃajetlek gbila f tirifon wela/ non ?
Wassim : quiii ??
Houria: Chahine
Wassim : /Gouli walah/
Kamila : Oué il ta appelé toute à l'heure
Houria : /twahʃek meskin kan jgouli yi/ Wassim Wassim
Wassim : Et moi je suis pas venue
Kamila : Non parce que tu étais avec papa, Après on l'appellera pour que tu lui parles
Ferial : Quand ?
Maram : L'après-midi Ferial
Houria : /Fewti l/ balais Kamila
Kamila : oui j'attends que les enfants finissent de manger.
Kamila : Donc /saji wezedtu sekan tawaʃkum , Wassim wezedt sac taʃak/ pour l'école demain
Wassim : Oui
Houria : /hamdolah, on dit hamdolah/ quand tu rotes Wassim
Wassim : /hamdolah/
Houria: Voila /hakda/
Kamila : Tu la réchauffes ʃwija ? sexniha
Houria : oui rani rajha nsexenha
Kamila : /ʃazbatek/ la soupe mama ?
Houria : Bien sur, /zatek bnina yi kima nhabha/ merci.
Maram : c'était trop bon maman, Avec le paiiin c'était trop génial
Ferial : Ah tu a taché ton t shift
Wassim : Maman tu a 19 %
Kamila : C'est pas grave je le chargerais
Maram : Maman demain je dois prendre le bus
Kamila : Ah oué /yedwa taʃarfi kif ediri/, euh tu vas chez la PVS, tu demandes le programme si y a un bus à 16h /tedoxli fle bus jla ma kanʃ/ tu m'envoie un message tu me dit maman pas de bus, tu m'envoies juste ça, tu essayes de me l'envoyer entre midi et midi 02 si tu trouves l'occasion.
Maram : Oué oué t'inquiète
Kamila : Automatiquement si il n'y a pas de bus, tu vas faire une heure d'études puis /tzi mʃa Eric/
Maram : Oui je sais
Kamila : /saji/ on fera ça ?
Maram : Maman par contre je sais pas si comment ca s'appelle ah le bus il fera un euro ou deux euros je sais pas
Houria: /dok ana naʃtek, kaʃ haʃa refdi m saki/.
Maram : Non mais au pire c'est pas grave si c'est pas assez
Kamila : Non non y a pas de /maʃlijʃ/, tu prends /b zjada si hada au moin tkoni/ euh, qu'est-ce que je voulais dire, Ferial wezedti sak tazak wezedti qaʃek/ pour demain
Ferial : Oué

Maram : Maman tu sais /ʃhal ʃandi taʃ/ les étapes cette semaine ?
 Kamila : /ʃandek / quatre étapes /had/ la semaine
 Maram : non cinq
 Kamila : /Derti/ les devoirs /tawʃak/ tu as bien révisé ?
 Maram : Oiii j'ai une en français une en technique une espagnole une en anglais et une en science physique.
 Houria : Wassim /gʃod habibi, Wassim gʃod habibi w kol/
 Maram : Maman j'aime la science physique mais j'aime pas la prof /ma tfahamnaʃ ʔaja w ʔi teʃkel/ elle est là que pour nous humilier
 Ferial : Maman au lycée est ce que y a les potions ?
 Kamila : Oui
 Ferial : Est-ce que /fel/ collège /jdiru/ les potions /haka/ et tt
 Kamila : Oiiii les expériences
 Ferial : /Gouli welah/
 Maram : /hna/ le premier cour de physique on a eu une expérience, le premier cours bon c'est pas vraiment une expérience mais on a mesuré du sucre et de l'eau
 Ferial : /Mahbol/
 Kamila : Dit /mahbol/
 Wassim : /Mahbol/ (rire)
 Houria : Non /ma ngoloʃ hakda/
 Wassim : Non je dis ça à Maram c'est juste pour rire
 Maram : Maman je me rappelle quand on dormait au salon, y avait Chahine /kan jzi jdirli haka/, comme ça il m'écrasait le visage /haka/ (rire)
 Kamila : /Ija saji habibi gʃod habibi, gʃod w kol/
 Maram : Maman /nmot alih ki jʃof fʃja haka ʃafrito/
 Ferial : Wassim arrête de faire le bébé
 Maram : A chaque fois qu'il venait chez moi il faisait ça il me frappait c'était un comique
 Kamila : /Ija d'accord ijya kemel habibi/ demain y a école aller mange /habibi/
 Ferial : Arrête les bruits de bouches à table
 Houria: Iyya sayi kemmelti hawadou lemgharef tien
 Maram: Mami tata Aicha elle a la voix de Wissem
 Houria : Oui tu vois c'est presque pareil

Conversation 4 :

Naila : Bon je sais pas /besah/ attend je réfléchis
 Mohammed : /ngolhalek/ ?
 Naila : non non mon premier est un rangeur un peu plus grand que la souris
 Mohammed : Rat
 Naila : c'est ce que j'avais dit
 Mohammed : eh /eketbiha/
 Naila : Ravioli, aaaaaah c'est vrai
 Mohammed: /taʃarfiha/
 Souad: bin oui tu connais
 Naila : /besah/ ravioli R A V I O L I E
 Mohammed : i a la fin /waqila/ i
 Naila : /saha besah ʃha/ l deux L /wela/ un seul
 Naila : bon /saħa/ Li /saħa/ hun
 Souad : /zaʃma jqolek/ combien de lettres /wela ma yqolekʃ/ ?
 Naila : /la la besah hadi wahdoxra/. mon premier est un minuscule insecte qui cause des démangeaisons à la racine des cheveux.
 Naila : ah oui Poux, mon deuxième est possessif masculin singulier qui signifie a moi, mes donc poumais mon tout est un organe poumon ah mon !
 Mohammed : Poumais (rire) /tahseb/ portugaise
 Souad : /ma thaʃemhaʃ tgolek ela ma terself haka/
 Naila : (rire) aaah j'arrive pas à écrire bon /laxor/ j'ai trouvé. Mon premier est un mot de négation de deux lettres non /besah hadi ma fhamtʃ/
 Mohammed: de deux lettres non ?
 Naila : aaaaah de deux lettres, eeeuuuh pas non
 Mohammed : ne !
 Naila : aaaaah
 Souad : /xeliha wahadha/
 Mohammed : /ela mma baʃ nban waʃer/
 Souad: (rire) /baʃ tban taʃref/
 Naila: Mon deuxième est le verbe vouloir au présent de l'indicatif première personne du singulier veux mon tout est le

fils du frère de ma mère
 Naila : /hadi ma fhamtha/ mais j'ai deviné que c'était neveux.
 Naila : Le fils du frère de ma mère, /ntija/ ton frère il a un fils. Bin son fils c'est ton neveux
 Souad : Ils l'ont compliqué /ela/ ? le fils du frère de ma mère !
 Souad: Ils auraient pu dire le fils de mon frère ou le fils de ma sœur ça aurait été plus simple.
 Mohammed : (rire)
 Naila : eech oué bon. /Hadi meltaht tani ma fhamtj mañi ma fhamtj ma qdertj nañmelha/. Replace les lettres dans l'ordre tu découvriras de mots de la semaines. Les mots de la semaine /ma jethomj kamel/.
 Mohammed : /besah dekoverihom/ normalement /ma jkonj ñlabalek bihom/
 Naila : bin normalement /tkon/ déjà /qrit/, je pense, bon /mohim mañlij/, de toute façon c'est trop compliqué
 Souad : j'espère /ma nensalhañ siru tañha/
 Mohammed : /siru tañaj/
 Souad : /siru tañha dwa/
 Naila : la semaine /asem déjà, manij gañ ntebañ ana/
 Souad : /ija netñajaw benti/
 Naila : /saha. Ah hna/ banale
 Souad : /skat rah bezaf/
 Mohammed : /lazem netñajou skat tañ zouñ rah/
 Souad: j'attends /fi/ Naila /tkemel/
 Mohammed: Ki jkon zouñ lhadra ma tñij gañ/ (rire) 15mn /yil tañ rani zifan rani zifan/
 Naila : /rañna nahadro besah, bel ñarbija/ mais...
 Souad: /netlaqo mor lmakla/
 Mohammed: 15mn /mazal lañja rani zifan mazal lañja/
 Souad : /rani dajañ/ (rire)
 Naila : Ok bon, aaa ah aplatir yes, aplatir ça prend un p
 Mohammed : /yeda diri/ l'équitation /wela/ c'est pas la peine ?
 Naila : bin oui , ah /bessah/ j'ai trop envi
 Mohammed : /Ma nzapohañ parce que ki diriha nhar gañ jroñ/
 Mohammed: /yedwa sbah ela? wela yass 24H/
 Souad: /Sbah jwija ñekla/
 Naila: papa je sais que je dois /nrañjañ/ mais j'ai trop envi /ndir/ l'équitation. Aaah salami mm ca a l'air bon
 Souad: /eljouñ/ (rire)
 Naila: (rire)
 Naila: Ah ravioli R A V I O L I /besah/ c'est pas vraiment un mot français /zañmak/
 Mohammed : /Besah kajen f/ dictionnaire
 Naila : C'est bizarre un peu
 Mohammed : /Kima l /couscous
 Souad : /Kima/ souk
 Naila : C'est quoi souk ?
 Souad: /soq/
 Naila : C'est quoi /soq/
 Souad : /Soq el/ marché
 Naila : Aaah ah bon
 Mohammed: /ñlaf jqolo rani mañi nesewaqañ smañtiha wela lala/
 Naila: /Ni mañi nesewaqañ ouiii, besah souk !
 Mohammed : Souk /ma kanj el qa fel/ français
 Naila : Je sais /besah ñlaf/ had le mot ?
 Souad: /Fi wahren jgolo ñadak sog/
 Naila: Mais Souk c'est encore pire
 Souad : /wañ rajek wkan/ je mets pause et que /nerselha/ en plusieurs fois /zañma/ ?
 Mohammed : Eh /ma ñlabaliñ jla tfot/ directement
 Souad : eeech, /ela besah wkan tcompresseha alahou añlam la tfot teqder tabñatha/
 Souad : /besah/ 20mn c'est trop long /yil ana habit ndir ñliha ntwel bañ jkon kajen assez de matière zañma. Txaf tcomprese jseyerelna/ la durée
 Mohammed : /yadi jdirelma/ Irésumé
 Souad : /qader ma tahderj bezaf/
 Mohammed : /Ki tcomprése yadi joxrezelha/ Irésumé tu crois ?
 Souad : /éh lala zañma wkan nebañtu /plusieurs fois y aura plus de matières
 Mohammed : /ela ndirou/ 20mn /w ki tcompreseha hija tñawed thelah tsibha kamla/
 Souad : /ela bañ ma tkonj lhadra haka./ enfin bien que en 5mn /nta teqder tahder/ f plusieurs sujets en même temps
 Mohammed : wkan tebbañtilha 5mn tchouf yla 3ejbetha njiw n3archou hna
 Naila : /besah ñlabalkom beli rah j enregistre/
 Mohammed : On s'en fou, /ma ñandna ma nxebou/
 Souad : à la fin de cette vidéo abonne toi
 Naila : /jqolo/ like /hna besah/
 Mohammed: /Wkan zina/ on les aime pas n9olo /balak/ , /besah/ vu qu'on les aime sure /ma nqatsoj fihom/

Naila: papa /hadu ma šlabališ/ c'est quoi, vital vitau vital
 Mohammed : Vitau hiya pluriel /taš/ vital
 Naila : /besaħ/ c'est quoi vital
 Mohammed : ça vient de vie
 Naila : c'est vital /zašmak/ c'est
 Souad : /hija raki thawsi šla la nature wela wař/
 Naila : non /maři/ la nature
 Mohammed : question de vie ou de mort, /zašma/ c'est vital
 Souad : L'eau c'est vital
 Naila : C'est un truc que ta besoin pour vivre,
 Souad : /wař raki thawsi/ c'est quoi la question /tašak/ ?
 Naila: la question /taři/ c'est quoi vital
 Mohammed : /Kima/ ta maman elle est pas vitale pour moi (rire)
 Naila : /šlař kajen/ vitaux /w kajen/ vitale
 Mohammed : Elle est utile mais elle est pas vital, /rahi tijeb pizza rahi tijebelna lašfa/ donc elle est utile /bař diri/ la différence /binathum/, pizza elle est vital maman elle est utile
 Naila : Non
 Mohammed : l'utile /jzibelna/ l'vital /bah nřiřu bih/ (rire)
 Naila: désolé papa mais non. Mais c'est quoi la différence entre vital et vitaux
 Mohammed : Vitaux c'est le pluriel ta3 vital
 Naila : aaah saha.
 (temps de pause)
 Souad: /Saji raki qriba tkemli benti/ ?
 Mohammed: /W lašfa rahi tajba/?
 Souad : /Eh walah/ c'est presque prêt, /nħot řil tabla/
 Souad: /Rak zřiřan ħbib/ ?
 Naila : Nom masculin singulier
 Souad: Třam ? Non /ma tijebř řřam weldi/
 Mohammed: Masculin /kima/ le moment ideal
 Naila : Je sais mais/ ki ngulu ideal c'est quand meme un adj
 Mohammed :: Eh
 Naila : /Mais /ki ngulu l'ideal/ ca serais comme un nom
 Mohammed : /Saha/
 Naila : C'est tout juste pour être sure. /Hadi vital/ je n'ai pas compris. Ah c'est bon
 Souad : Vitale /tqad tkon e w tqad tkon/ sans e vitaux c'est le masculin pluriel
 Naila : Donc vital /bla/ le e c'est un adjective masculin /bel/ e adjective féminin, vitaux adj masculin pluriels vitales adj féminin pluriel
 Mohammed : Voilà.

Conversation 5 :

Nabila : /Imelħ ntařkom řadebni anaja fi dari/ la dose c'est une cuillère pour un litre d'eau
 Sarah : ah et ici, non ?
 Nabila : /fi bali/ c'est pas du NaCl parce que j'ai remarqué déjà /sbaħ, dert/ deux cuillères mais /walu/, /alah řaleb/ c'est pas de ma faute.
 Sarah: T'aime la pizza Yacine ?
 Yacine : ah ouiii j'adore
 Nabila: ah voilà c'est pas du NaCl c'est plutôt du sel de potassium
 Sarah : ah bon, eh bin j'avais pas remarqué c'est la première fois que ça m'arrive.
 Nabila : ouiii la prochaine fois /xtari/ le NaCl /ma řřawdiř řęřri hadaja. fel rayon ntař lmelħ/ y a tellement de choix qu'il faut faire attention.
 Sarah : Oui /inřalah/.
 Sarah : Alors et la soupe de mami tu la trouves comment Yacine ?
 Yacine : Délicieuse, c'est très très bon
 Nabila : rah a la mode le sel rose ga3 nas rahi techriħ
 Sarah : c'est d'origine quoi ?
 Nabila: /maraniř řarfa, ki řřřřih zaji/ rose
 Sarah : Moi je préfère le sel de mer, c'est celui que j'ai l'habitude de prendre, /mwalfinah/
 Naila : Bin oui /hadak eli mwalfin bih/
 Sarah : Yacine ta passé une belle journée ?
 Yacine : très belle journée oui, je peux te raconter ce que j'ai fait?
 Sarah : raconte-moi juste une partie de ta journée
 Yacine : deux parties pas qu'une seule
 Naila : /dima/ il doit négocier
 Sarah: /welah/ je te jure
 Naila: /xelih řaħkilna/, vas-y mon fils raconte

Yacine : combien de parties?
Sarah : vas-y raconte ce que tu veux
Yacine: on a fait écriture après on est allé en récré après on a mangé nos collation après on a fait math et après et l'heure des jouer et après la journée était fini
Sarah: vous avez joué a quoi ?
Nabila : /lpidza zat hajla surtout ntaʕ/ sauce tomate
Sarah : oué même l'autre /zat/ trop bonne
Yacine : pourquoi elles n'ont pas le même gout ?
Nabila: non /waħda/ sauce tomate /waħda/ sauce blanche
Yacine : ah d'accord.
Sarah : alors répond a ma question, vous avez joué à quoi ?
Yacine: on a joué a des jeux de société
Sarah: quel genre de jeu ?
Yacine : un jeu de challenges
Sarah : ça se joue comment ?
Yacine : on a des cartes on doit prendre une carte chacun et on doit faire le challenge qui est marqué dessus
Sarah : tu a gagné ?
Yacine : non c'est pas moi qui ai gagné
Sarah : c'est qui alors qui a gagné ?
Yacine : Ilyes c'est un chanceux
Nabila : il est algérien ce Ilyes ou il est de quelle origine?
Yacine : oui il est algérien d'origine
Sarah : ah c'est le nouveau venu, il est gentil ?
Yacine : oui il est gentil
Nabila : Sarah /hkilna/ ta journée /nti tanit,waf derti ljom f/ le salon ?
Sarah : (rire) alors moi j'ai fait des ondulations toute la journée des colorations, des coupes, c'est très intéressant /lala/?
Yacine : maman est ce que je peux venir avec toi au salon ?
Sarah: tu n'as rien a faire là-bas /habibi/, tu t'ennuieras comme d'habitude
Nabila : tu veux partir là ou y a que des femmes ? non, reste avec Mami on va faire des cookies ensemble
Sarah : vous allez m'en laisser j'espère
Nabila : /eh bajna/
Yacine maman j'allais te dire que j'avais un projet à faire et j'ai besoin que tu m'aides
Sarah : c'est un projet sur quoi ?
Yacine : c'est un projet de science mais j'ai pas encore choisi quoi faire
Sarah: bin d'accord, On peut le faire le Week end
Yacine : Non je veux le finir avant jeudi maman
Sarah : Mais quand est ce qu'on peut le faire mon cœur demain tu as la choral et vous ne finissez pas tôt jusqu'à 20H30 on rentrera a la maison vers 21H30 on ira dormir et ça sera déjà jeudi
Yacine : oué alors vendredi
Sarah: on verra après vas-y mange
Nabila : mange /weldi/ comme ça tu vas grandir
Yacine : c'est bon j'ai fini Merci maman et Mami et moi je vais m'applaudir aussi
Sarah: c'est nouveau ça, je vais m'applaudir
Yacine : oui on a appris ça aujourd'hui, comme ça on s'applaudi nous-même
Sarah : c'est bien c'est une bonne habitude
Yacine : maman, Demain on va avoir la soupe pour le diner ?
Sarah : Oui surement pk ?
Nabila : tu es déjà en train de réfléchir a ce que tu vas manger demain ?!
Sarah : Fini ta soupe stp avant de te lever il t'en reste pas bcp
Yacine : non j'ai plus faim
Sarah : La soupe /zatek hajla/ maman
Yacine: Maman est ce que je peux avoir du coca
Sarah : Fini ta soupe d'abord.
Sarah : c'est bon je te serre du coca ?
Yacine : Oui c'est bon j'ai fini ma soupe
Nabila : /hamdolah/ j'ai plus faim
Sarah : Ah non maman ça s'est pas bien, tu n'as vraiment rien mangé
Nabila : Non /walah ʕaʕbetni lpiza klitha jbaʕt/
Yacine : C'est toi qui a fait ta propre soupe et tu ne l'aime pas
Nabila : Non c'est pas que je n'aime pas c'est que je n'ai plus faim, /tqahwina/ ça fait deux heures je n'ai pas encore tout digéré.
Sarah : /bsahtek/ maman. Tu vas te reposer moi je vais ramasser
Nabila: /lala xelina enetwajo ensemble, anaja ndebarase tabla/ on finira plus vite comme ça on va pouvoir sortir toute a l'heure
Sarah : Yacine regarde ta boite pour demain
Yacine : Mmm une pizza délicieuse

Nabila : /Homa jreʃɔfewelhom/ leur repas là-bas?
Sarah : Non c'est moi qui lui réchauffe sa nourriture avant de partir
Nabila: /Alah jexlef w jketer xirkom/
Sarah: Avec plaisir maman, /bla mzija/
Nabila: /Alah jdum hnakom nʃalah ja rebi w jferahkom/
Sarah: /alahoma amin, inʃala/ maman c'est gentil.
Nabila: /rebi jkhelikum w jwefaqkom/. Tu sais, /lwahad eli jemʃi f triq rebi w jdir lkhir fi hjatah/, sans même /ma tedʃilah, rebi jsahalaha fi koleʃ/
Sarah : ah oui a chaque fois je me répète ce que papa me disais toujours. /kan jkoli : mol nija jerbah/
Nabila : Oui /mol nija jerbah/ effectivement
Sarah : y en a qui te font des plans sur ta vie, qui te manipulent et tt mais en fin de compte ils ne réussissent jamais
Nabila : non tu sais, il se peut qu'ils réussissent mais à la fin /tʃofihom/ triste et pas satisfait de leur vie
Sarah : oui, Même si l'apparence y est, y a de l'argent et le confort matériel mais l'inconfort des fois il est dans la tête
Nabila : ah oui voilà.
Sarah : Des fruits ?
Yacine : Oui oui moi je vais ramener les fruits
Nabila :/Anaja/ c'est bon /ʃbaʃt ma naqderʃ nzid/
Sarah : Fini au moins ta soupe
Nabila : /ela walah ma naqderʃ/
Yacine : Moi je veux manger des kiwis
Nabila : /Rahom xoder w hamdin/, mange plutôt des oranges
Yacine: Je vais prendre une orange alors et après je vais ramasser la table
Sarah : Non laisse merci je vais m'en occuper moi-même
Yacine : maman tu peux m'éplucher mon orange stp
Sarah : donne
Nabila: donne moi je vais t'aider
Yacine : Non attendez je sais le faire, c'est un peu dure mais je vais y arriver
Nabila : laisse-moi commencer at après /ntaja kemelha/
Yacine : Non non je veux le faire. Maman j'ai le hoquet j'en peux plus. Tu sais, la meilleure façon pour enlever le hoquet c'est de boire de l'eau j'ai déjà essayé ça a marché
Sarah : C'est moi qui t' montré cette technique. Tu coupes ta respiration et tu bois de l'eau. Mais reste vivant quand même (rire)
Yacine : Je vais pas faire cette technique parce que j'ai pas soif
Nabila : /rahlek/ le hoquet, il est parti ?
Yacine : Ouiii je pense
Nabila : Super
Yacine : Il y a trois mots qui se prononcent ok, y a le ok d'accord y a le hoquet celui que j'avais maintenant et y a le sport
Sarah : Ça s'écrit comment le hoquet que t'avais ?
Yacine : H O C K é je sais pas
Nabila : /hawes f l'internet/, cherche
Yacine : Je trouve pas j'ai trouvé le hochet
Sarah : Mais ça c'est le hochet pas le hoquet
Nabila : Ah je pense que ça s'écrit Hoquet, /ʃof temak/ si c'est ça, écrit H O Q U E T
Yacine : Ouiii voilà c'est ça
Nabila : Des fois /ma tʒiniʃ temtem/ mais sayé c'est revenu.

يهتم هذا البحث بالجالية الجزائرية في فرنسا و مظاهر الثبات أو التحول و كذا النقل التي تشهدها لغتهم الأصلية. و قد أظهر هذا البحث، من خلال توظيف طرق و أدوات مختلفة لجمع البيانات و تحليلها، نتائج مُعبرة بشأن الممارسات اللغوية لهؤلاء الأفراد، سواء بين الأجيال المختلفة أو بين أفراد الجيل الواحد حيث تبيّن أن أجيال الجالية الثلاث يوظفون التناوب اللغوي بطريقة مختلفة، إذ يغلب على الجيل الأول توظيف اللهجة الجزائرية و تغلب على الجيلين الثاني و الثالث اللغة الفرنسية. و علاوة على ذلك، يطرأ التحول في اللغة الأصلية لدى الجيل الثاني من الجالية مع بروز مؤشرات فقدان الكفاءة اللغوية على المستويات الصوتية و المعجمية و النحوية. و في الأخير، على الرغم من أن الحفاظ على اللغة الأصلية و نقلها يعتمد على اجتماع عدة عوامل، فإن سنّ أفراد الجالية و كذلك سنّ بداية التعرّض للهجة الجزائرية و توارد استعمالها هي عوامل لها تأثير خاص.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الجالية الجزائرية في فرنسا، فقدان الكفاءة اللغوية، الحفاظ والتحول اللغوي، النقل اللغوي، التناوب اللغوي

Summary :

This investigation is concerned with the community of Algerian immigrants in France and the maintenance or shift and transmission of their language of origin. Through the use of different methods and tools for data collection and analysis, the research provided insightful results regarding the linguistic practices of these individuals at both the intergenerational and the intragenerational level. It was revealed that the three generations of immigrants code-switch differently, the first-generation being AA dominant and the second and third being French dominant. In addition, heritage language shift starts at the level of second-generation immigrants with the manifestation of attrition signs at the phonetic, lexical and syntactic levels. Finally, although the maintenance and transmission of the heritage language depends on a combination of factors, age of immigration, age of first exposure to AA and frequency of its use proved to be particularly influencing.

Keywords : *Algerian immigrants in France ; Language attrition ; Language maintenance and shift ; Language transmission ; Code-Switching.*

Résumé :

Cette recherche porte sur le maintien, le changement et la transmission de la langue d'origine des immigrés Algériens en France. A travers l'utilisation de différentes méthodes et instruments pour la collection et analyse des données, la recherche a fourni des résultats très enrichissants par rapport aux pratiques linguistiques de ces individus aux niveaux inter et intragénérationnels. Il a été révélé que les trois générations d'immigrés utilisent l'alternance codique différemment, la première génération montrant une dominance au niveau du dialecte algérien tandis que la deuxième et la troisième montrent une dominance au niveau du Français. De plus, le changement linguistique apparaît à partir de la deuxième génération manifestant des signes d'attrition au niveau lexical, phonétique et syntactique. Finalement, bien que la maintenance et la transmission de la langue d'origine dépend d'une combinaison de facteurs, l'âge d'immigration, l'âge de la première exposition au dialecte et la fréquence de son utilisation se sont révélés particulièrement influents.

Mots clés : *Algériens immigrés en France, Attrition linguistique, Maintenance et changement de langue, Transmission de langue, Alternance codique.*