

The Linguistic Landscape of Algerian Society From Distinction to Discrimination

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Abstract

This paper aims to be sensitive to linguistic practices in describing different groups. In Algerian society, discrimination is exercised through these practices. Perhaps these practices used in fraught with cultural and political and religious assumptions and that what seems acceptable now may be offensive later. The main languages (Arabic, French, and Tamazight) are in violent confrontations. Tamazight as autochthone language was banned in public space for decades, till it becomes a public request. Arabic, closely linked with the Islamic religion, remains the official language. It is also regarded as a political language. French, as a colonial legacy, is considered as the language of social prestige. It remains used in different spaces. In this challenging coexistence, distinctions are legitimized, and inequalities are justified. The language becomes a symbol of discrimination and social segregation accordingly to the language. Other languages can interfere with the purpose to access to social promotion. The best way to understand and solve this problem is for different groups to learn as much as they can about one another, becoming more aware of the meaning and nuances naming and language and more conscious of the racial assumptions embedded in the language. Higher sensitivity to the language used in describing different group experiences is an essential step in promoting better intergroup relationships.

Keywords. Linguistic practices, Algerian speaking, Tamazight, Arabic, French, linguistic identity.

LES PRATIQUES LANGAGIÈRES CHEZ LES ALGÉRIENS ENTRE DISTINCTIONS ET
DISCRIMINATIONS

Résumé

Il s'agit dans ce papier d'analyser les pratiques langagières, leurs significations et leurs représentations dans la société algérienne. Ces mêmes pratiques qui s'exercent au quotidien véhiculent des distinctions à ne pas sous-estimer. Dans un multilinguisme non-régularisé, les algériens affichent leur culture, mais aussi pratiquent des discriminations envers l'autre. Les principales langues le tamazight, l'arabe et le français forment des rivalités où les pratiques langagières sont les lieux de ces confrontations violentes en tout temps. Tamazight, en tant que langue mère, était interdite durant des décennies, jusqu'à devenir une demande et de revendication nationale. L'arabe est la langue officielle, elle est aussi la langue de l'islam. Mais, elle est aussi la langue du politique. Le français, en tant qu'héritage colonial, n'est pas prêt à se retirer, même dans ses déformations, elle persiste au quotidien. Dans cette coexistence difficile de ces trois langues, des distinctions se légitiment et des inégalités

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s'autorisent. La langue devient ainsi un symbole de dénigrement ou de distinction sociale tout dépend de la langue et de celui qui la pratique et la revendique. D'autres langues peuvent s'ajouter à ces affrontements pour accéder à des opportunités de promotion sociales.

Mots clés: Pratiques langagières, Parler Algérien, Tamazight, Arabe, Français, Identité langagière

Introduction

Algeria is considered as an Arabic country; evidently, the Arabic language is the national and official language. Besides as an ancient French colony, it is obviously normal that the French language is widely used by Algerian people. However, as a decolonized country, the question of language remains very crucial. With the remote past, seizing this question by simplicity can lead us to a false conclusion. It is not a matter of denying the Arabic belonging of Algeria, but a fact of history, and furthermore a matter to understand how languages, which marked along with its history, influenced the linguistic practices in everyday life to become a sign of distinction or even social inequity (cf. Addi, 2012, p. 274). Besides, it's important to understand the origin of the dichotomy existing between spoken and written language in the Algerian language. Indeed, many problems linked to the languages remain without answers or even never been asked; apart from a few interesting studies, the rest proposed more militant analyzing, which served the politic interests than the linguistic (Addi, 2012, p. 277).

The variety of social spoken landscape calls undoubtedly the autochthonous language: "Tamazight," and its place within social life. Even though the deformations exercised on Tamazight, which becomes banned by the politician and the religious, the Algerian spoken is built upon it (cf. Addi, 2017). In the same vein, the Arabic language, which has the most critical part, is due to the closest linkage with the Islam religion, the official religion of the country. Since History is made by ideologies and false consciousness, it is essential do not trip down in the trap of veneration of language, which is the case of Arabic regarded as a sacred language of Islam (Dourari, 2008). Even in the Arab countries, the Arabic language is not spoken correctly; in fact, even the written language is spoken nowhere, and the spoken language is not written.

In post-independence, with banning Tamazight language in public space, strong hate toward Amazigh people spreads within big cities of Algeria. It becomes a rurally branded, a shameful stain, and a source of embarrassment and discomfort (Guedjiba, 2013). By contrast, Arabic, spoken and written, is assimilated to urbanity, civism and religious orthodoxy. According to their unbearable social conditions, the inhabitants of the Tamazight spoken regions were obliged to leave their villages looking for work within cities. Because their languages and their accents were socially disdained, they found themselves exposed to aggressiveness and social abomination. As a reaction to the discrimination, the Amazigh people opted to live in segregation on the linguistic or geographical criteria to constitute a regional concentration. These clusterings have permitted to maintain their language, which cementing their relationships as families or an ethnic group. These practices become a social position symbol of denigration (Guedjiba, 2013). Hence, this linguistic aggregation was accompanied by psychological and inferiority issues, a guilt feeling, and the difficulties to communicate.

For decades, a ridiculous depiction branded the Amazigh people through the official media. As a result, anti-Tamazight attitudes developed to become systemically legitimated. Despite the cultural and linguistic repression, Tamazight remains used by a lot of people. After years of fighting against exclusion and inequity, today, unexpectedly, a reversal's position has emerged displaying proudly the Tamazight belonging within big cities (Guedjiba, 2013). At the same time, this challenging exhibition affirms the linguistic identity of the Amazigh people. A language of seclusion becomes a sign of pride, and even of arrogance for certain among them, an essential brand of distinction against the threat of assimilation and acculturation. The Amazigh people retake their confiscated rights and discarding the process of cultural and linguistic unification with an imposed identity. At the same time, they did not reject other languages: Arabic and French. For the second, even though the colonization does

not mean a civilization, the collective memory is constantly carrying this colonial past, which is marked by its language. Hence, the French, which is regarded as a colonization legacy (cf. Maougal, 2018), remains a language of luxury and prestige within Algerian society (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997). In other words, the Algerian linguistic landscape is plural: French coexists with Algerian Arabic, which coexists with Tamazight and school Arabic. The question of language is a vital problem and appealing to revisit the history of the Algerian society (Dourari, 2008; Taleb-Ibrahimi, 2002).

On the other hand, the social reality of speaking proposes partitions and rigidities, especially in the formal spheres. In addition, the emergence of the intermediate varieties of the Algerian language, the incursion of foreign languages. Accordingly, the ideal diglossic² situation is the dichotomy separating the languages held and the dialects. This diglossic situation does not evolve in an empty space, but in a concrete society and that the terms of diglossia change with the terms of social relationships that change especially in a society that was subjected to social and cultural destruction during the colonial period. The apprehension of the diglossic situation must always be put into a dynamic and relativistic perspective, because not every situation is fixed. It participates in social dynamics and thus in internal and external cultural conflicts, insofar as we are willing to consider that any language is at the same time act, product and condition of a culture as well as a vehicle of communication (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997, p 43-40). Indeed, the spoken language is more close to social reality. The entourage with its verbal repertoire offers a unique dynamic of communication. Different social categories, using different linguistic practices, structure the dynamic behaviors, and a real creativity game of language (Kassoulet, Maougal 2002). We do not mean here one practice, but a lot of practice. Linguistic diversity is displayed within social space, which gives us a unique spatial representation: the French, as it mentioned, benefits a prestige status in the residential quarter; the Algerian Arabic, which is a common and accessible language, remains in the popular area (Djerroud, 2002).

The linguistic practices separate from the spatial distinction of the Algerian society until becoming a sign of social inequality. In reality, the exact representations and their verbalization are territorialized and patterning social identity. Willy-nilly, It contributes to discrimination and racialization in everyday life. In the same vein, rather in gender repertoire, the male spirit mobilizes the language within the collective imagination to violate women, and speak out its frustration and lack of love (Mered, 2006). Thus, the woman is expressed differently, in the matter to denigrate her; she is a source of malediction, sexual frustration, and so on. Even the vocabulary repertoire of women is different from the repertoire of man. Hence the woman in the presence of man is socially restricted in using a precise vocabulary some words are forbidden in social and private spaces. Besides, the sobriquets, in ridiculous speaking, are used to denounce social inequality (Yermeche, 2002; Guedjiba, 2013). Within an infinite complexity, these spoken encounter in observable reality is essential to know the communicative exchanges, which guided by the social and spatial belonging feeling, and even gender repertoire. The sociolinguistic representations converge and diverge. The heterogeneous groups, the spatial benchmarks, and human density affect the attitudes profoundly and imposing a social legitimation of the discrimination.

- ✓ How the language becomes a sign of social belonging within Algerian society?
- ✓ How practicing a language is a distinction for some people and denigration for others?
- ✓ How the relations toward the language are structured to denounce social inequality?

² See on diglossia C. Fergusson (1959).

In the following paragraphs, we expose the manner, which the relationships are structured amongst the linguistic facts and social facts within Algerian society to create a hierarchy and legitimate discrimination.

1. Methodological aspects

Relying upon the previous studies on the linguistic field, we try to shift toward the sociological field, which is narrowly linked with it, in purpose to depict what linguistic practices and verbalization are carrying out as representation and discrimination. We start from a reflection on the influence of these practices to enforce, unconsciously, or consciously, a social inequality. At the first moment, we draw, summarily, the linguistic landscape of Algerian society. In the second moment, using sociological observation, we analyze the observed representations in day-to-day life. Besides, we identify the boundaries and the morphology of their spoken languages in the matter to unveil the separation and the differentiation, which is socially imposed or even politically impelled in everyday life. Furthermore, we try to disclose the discrimination practices exercised through the language. By the same token, using interpretative observation analysis of these linguistic practices, we try to detect the reproduction of such practices.

The findings presented here are drawn from a research based on open interviews conducted in 2018 in Algiers, with twenty-five adults aged thirty to seventy. Besides, all participants are originally from different parts of Algeria and live now in Algiers. Certain cautionary remarks should be made regarding the representativeness of the sample and the generalizability of the finding. The recruitment of the participants proved to be highly difficult given that the language issue is so politically sensitive in Algerian society. That being said, data saturation seemed to have been reached, but a large sample would have perhaps revealed new patterns of answers. Second, the objectivity of this research is not to measure the effect of using one language instead another, or which language is better than another. However, because ethnic origin and the political orientation might somehow impact on such representation, I have attempted to ensure that my sample matches so closely as possible the ethnocultural landscape of Algerian society. It appears that participants from the Kabylie origin (9) Chawi origin (2) Arab origin (5) west Algerian origin (3), from the center origin (5) and from south origin (1) (under-represented). Finally, because they come from one region Algiers, the samples are not representative and the finding can be affected, different finding should be expected with a sample of different regions of Algeria.

2. The Algerian linguistic landscape

From its geographical situation and historical past, Algeria has always been in constant contact with the others. Those rapprochements allow using different languages. From 'Phoenician' to French colonization, a succession of different settlers ('Roman', 'Byzantine', 'Vandal', 'Arabic', 'ottoman', 'Spain') had sequentially been remaining for centuries in North Africa, notably in the area known as Algeria nowadays. This past has deeply affected the linguistic landscape substantively in big cities, accompanying the political power in place, which imposed a new vocabulary, ending by this linguistic hybridity in Algerian speaking. A product of its past, this hybridity is characterized by a coexistence of a variety of languages combined in Algerian speaking. Rather than the latter has been built upon Tamazight subtract (Dourari, 2008). Doubtlessly, the Arabic language was more linked with the Islamization of North Africa. A dynamic linguistic coexistence led the speakers' attitudes in compliance with this hybridity. Such coexistence also needs to be considered in contradiction and antagonism,

which explain in somehow the relationship of domination and linguistic stigmatization. The reality is aggravated by a unanimous politics, refusing to recognize the plurality of the linguistic identity of the Algerian society. But the most significant result is the ‘diglossia,’ which is widely used despite neglecting all grammatical rules.

2.1. Tamazight, an autochthone sphere

Also called Berber, Tamazight is an extent of ancient varieties of languages in North Africa. It is considered as the oldest linguistic subtract of this region. Incontestably, it is the native language of the population of this significant area. Effectively, the diversity of Tamazight in Algeria starts to be accepted as a socio-historic fact and sociolinguistically normal. The Arabs conquest, under cover of Islam, has failed to assimilate it. For the same historical reasons, the Tamazight spoken has found refuge in the mountains, where the accessibility is almost impossible: Aures, Djurdjura, Gouraya, Hoggar, and M’zab, with other places, trough the region (cf. Dourari, 2008; Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997). In short, the main spoken Tamazight are the Kabyl (from Kabily), Shawi (Aures), the M’zab (M’zab), and the Targui (Hoggar and Tassili). Yet the practice of Tamazight is confined in orally spoken. Although these practices are vehicles of rich tradition, they were not submitted to the codification and standardization until lately. These languages were marginalized and even banned with the Arabization process.

2.2. Arabic, from the spoken to academic

During the Arabs invasions, also called Islamic conquests, of North Africa, the Arabic language was imposed by sword and blood as a common language. Presently, this language occupies a wide area of practicing in Algerian society, swaying from the less normed to the most normed one. We can also distinguish the geographical differences with their speaking differ from city to another city, for instance: Algiers, Oran and Constantine, and so on. Hence, we pin down for main Arab speaking: the East around Constantine, Algerois as a central one, the West speaking: Oranais and the South Atlas Saharian speaking, which has a considerable diversity of dialects from east to west (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 2000).

2.3. French and the foreign languages

The European languages have always branded the Algerian speaking. The Spanish had been introduced during the Hispanic occupation for more than three centuries in the West part of Algeria. Besides, during the French colonization, the majority of settlers have initially been Hispanics. In the East, and for the same reasons, it’s more Italian, which is reinforced with the trade exchanges with the Italian ports. The French language seems more present and influences their usages. It acquires a particular status in Algerian society (cf. Dourari, 2000). The French, imposed by the blood and the fire, constituted among the fundamental elements used by the French colonization in its depersonalization and acculturation of Algerian people. Accordingly, leaning the French language during this period was regarded as a social necessity and an economical means of promotion. Thus, the school permitted a specific social inscription. If the French language during the French colonization was considered as a key of access to the public function or liberal function, it remains until now the threshold to cross toward the modern world. It opens the door of modernity. Since independence, The French elite, or a Francophile elite, formed the foundation of the young independent state. The use of the French language has extended with the efforts of education. Besides, the French cooperation led the institution to the formal bilingual educative system within Algerian society (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 2000; 1997).

However, at the end of the 1970s, the starting of the fundamental school (entirely Arabic school) has engendered a duality within the education system. The French were not taught until the third primary school. Nowadays, the French is taught as a foreign language, in the same consideration as English or others. At university, French remains present within the scientific field. Besides, it is the dominant language in economic life and mainly used in media writing and audiovisual. The Algerian is more connected to the occidental channel, the mostly French one. It seems that the French are swaying between second language status and a foreign language. Sharing the official denying and the symbolic power, which accompanied its usage. The ambiguity of its place between the formal and the informal reveals the complexity of this relationship characterizing the post-colonial phase of Algerian society. In short, the Algerians are confronted with a complicated multi-linguistic situation with the intricateness of a variety of functional linguistics. As a result of this complexity, many acts of stigmatization discrimination and even resistance are emerging and defending their linguistic identity.

3. Linguistic stigmatization

Within the intellectual class, the language becomes a tool of stigmatization pointed toward others. For Arab speakers, the usage of French is regarded as a betrayal act toward national identity, because for them, the Arab language is the main fundament of the national character. In this vein, it is important to recall that Article 2 of the constitution considers Islam the religion of the Algerian people and the State. Consequently, and since the Arab is the language of the Quran, it represents Islam and the Arab language as a sacred language. Other explanations more linked with the Baath movement can be conveyed to underpin the belonging to the Arab community. The movement had changed to become more legitimated within spousing the Islamic movement, in the 1980s; once again claiming the Arab belonging.

Mainly, it is in the spirit of domination that Arabization has been launched during the 1970s engendering different types of discrimination even the Algerian speaking. The latter is more characterized by the diglossia, which adds more complexity to the linguistic issue. The imposed image for one and unique language, speaking and writing, is the Arab give the legitimation to such disdain to other languages. The hegemony of the novel and ideal language is academic Arab language with disdaining other Algerians' speaking toss the Algerian people within deep darkness of identification. Indeed, such discrimination affects the linguistic identity of Algerian society profoundly, especially with excluding Tamazight. For decades, this hegemony motivated marginalized and political exclusion. Consequently, many people detached consciously or unconsciously from their mother language. And because language without practice is condemned to the disappearance, in certain regions, Tamazight has almost vanished.

4. The language in resistance

The Arabization imposed by the politics within Algerian education has extended the practice of the Arabs language in everyday life. On the other hand, the French have taken steps back, and socially speaking, in certain regions, French language encounters difficulties to maintain its practice (cf. Mammeri, 1991). Even though, the French's residues are persisting in Algerian speaking. Those residues are a form of inherent resistance toward the imposition of the Arab language. The diglossia exists in a gymnastic way from a vocabulary repertoire to the other, with people beyond their social class belonging (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997). Such practices reveal the discarding of the imposition of hegemonic sacred language. And it is also

a sign of pluralistic linguistic belonging. Besides, Tamazight has to be considered as a real symbol of resistance for many centuries and remain till nowadays, which assesses this resistance as recognition and references and a necessity to be preserved as an element of social identification (cf. Dourari, 2008; 2002).

The resistance results in the imposed domination and exclusion since independence (Maougal, 2018). Many attempts to eliminate Tamazight from the public sphere failed, especially within big cities. Since the 1970s, the efforts of reconsideration of this language through its cultures associated with the insistence of the specification of Tamazight heritage led to the black spring in 1980, the boycott of the education 1995-1995 and a second black spring 2001. Accordingly, the high commissariat of Tamazight was created in 1995, and the Tamazight was officially recognized and introduced to the education. This recognition was a result of resistance with sacrifices: hundreds of dead and disappeared people claiming a refused identity; and it is also a rejection of an imposed Arab identity. More the power was severed and harsh toward these demanding more the insistences were persisting (cf. Dourari, 2008; 2002)... For the radical Tamazight, people claim their independence from the totalitarian Algerian regime. Hence, Tamazight incarnates the symbol of resistance and the rejection of domination. Presently, Tamazight is vividly displayed everywhere in public space. Some regions, which are supposed Arab, exhibited their Tamazight explicitly. Hence, no one can deny the insistence of belonging to the Tamazight language or even deny its existence. Yet, if specific regions supposed to be Arab in theirs speaking in everyday life, which carries Tamazight vocabulary in diglossia practices (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997). The opposition is only in speaking, but the language to live needs to be written. Launched the writing is more than necessary for identification insistence. Some intellectuals deeply involved within identification dedicate the entire engagement to this exact question. In short, Tamazight speaking is a renewable object of attachment. The sociolinguistic reality of Algerian society is more deeply grounded than all the politics guided by the false ideologies (Dourari, 2000).

5. The symbolic power of the language

Two main dominations' rapport crossed the Algerian society. The first opposed Arab to the French language. One struggles to find its place within the community, and the other to set an image of science and modernity. Real competition between both languages aims to control the cultural, economic, and political of the country. The second rapport opposed these two dominated norms (one by the constitutionality of its status of the national language, and the second foreign but legitimated by its preeminence in economic life) to the Arab and

Tamazight speaking. The latter are disqualified and stigmatized especially when it reveals the real place of the Arab language, which is more linked to the remote past, as an imposed language and it remains as well. Its legitimation is due to what it represents as sacred. Nonetheless, the Arab elite doesn't reject the "diglossia" practice in their daily life since it is a sign of prestige. Incongruently, they even orient their children to learn French in their earlier ages in the matter to have exclusive access to the sciences modernity (cf. Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997).

The elites develop hostile attitudes with their radicalization, dichotomies phenomena within symbolic and cultural fields, which stopped the emergence of a real national intelligentsia. From the anti-Arab of certain Tamazight elite to the Francophile doubted to be empathic with the ancient colonization. Between attracting-adhesion and discarding-excluding toward the

Arab language, for whom are of the French culture, and from whom they cultivate an Arab belonging their struggling for a hegemony hindered them from hearing the profound scream of the broad society. Neglecting their expectations and deepening the frustration of the youth people facing contrasts models who were unconsciously derived toward delinquency and anomia. In this order, the Arabization has permitted the relinked with the religious discourse. Inescapably without any control, the discourses provided radicals thought till becoming radical behaviors (terrorists). The black decade in the 1990s had started with the misguided Arabization. We note here that almost the terrorists were the first generation of the Arabization. We supposed that Arabization might be the primary source of this deviation. There are no studies that can deny or even sustain our allegation, but it remains our hypothesis with the misguided policy a real sociological and psychological mess had been produced.

In short, all the social body has been submitted through perverting effects of acculturation and detraditionalization during colonization, and politic, which is sustained by false ideologies and demagogues to the misconduct and contradiction representations. The different developed attitudes disclose the evidence mechanism of the imposition of 'diglossia' ideology leading the cultural and identities radicalization accompanied by linguistic dispossession and veiling the valid cultural identification, which should serve against the hate of self and a seek of peace in complete totalitarian derive.

6. The linguistic conversation in everyday life

It seems that linguistic practices have multiple significations. If the latter informs us of the sociolinguistic reality of the society, according to Taleb-Ibrahim, in a like manner, it unveils a silent truth, which produces an inequality socially embedded. Practicing many languages at the same time, without mastering anyone becomes dangerous. The persons more tending to Arab thought are guided by ideologies settle on the sacred text. Generally, they are more enclosed in the sphere of the sacred and idolatry, reproducing their thought in religious discourse, whose discards and stigmatizes all other languages in profaned consideration.

On the other hand, venerated Tamazight language till exaggeration, lead people to more exhibitionism in their linguistic practicing, and discarding the Arabic, even in accepting French, is estimated as an unreasonable stance. In the French category, some intellectual discard the Arab language for their children and remain focusing on French, which is considered as a warranty for their future. Furthermore, speaking French at home is a sign of social prestige, as do the wealthiest families. Hence, parents do their best offering a sustaining French course for their children. In some exaggeration, others would even think that mastering the French language is a sign of intelligence. Implicitly the Arab is considered in the opposite sense a sign of an underdeveloped.

7. The Algerian speaking

The Algerian speaking is characterized by its using multiple linguistic repertoires at the same time. The communicators are obliged to do some semantic stretching, intuitive 'diglossia,' changing the collection according to the situations and the contextualization. As a result, a permanent conflict between Arab and French language and of course implicitly Tamazight. Theses real lexical intricacies explain to some degree, why the Algerian speaking remains unwritten, rather exclusively oral. These Algerian speaking are more regional varieties. They are principally opposed to the written language. Using the Arab is strictly reserved for formal context, which is absent in an informal setting. The official imposition obliging the exclusive use of modern Arab does not change the speaking manner of Algerian. Although the reality of

Algerian speaking is known, the Arab elite refuses the recognition of the Algerian speaking as an educational language (cf. Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997; Dourari 2002; 2008). On this point, in 2014, the minister of education had proposed a project to introduce the Algerian speaking in school, in purpose to refine and correct in the long term the Algerian speaking. Unfortunately, the first who rejected the project was the Arab elite. The latter insisted on denying the reality of Algerian speaking, they instead enclose their selves within the sacralization of the classical Arab language (Dourari, 2008).

As we mentioned above that learning a foreign language is considered as a means to social promotion, even if it is uniquely practiced during work time. Also, the parents, more concerned by the future of their children, initiate them at an earlier age, whether at home or in private school, learning the French language. Others, more ambitious, opt for a more globalized language such as English. The Arabic language is only practiced once at the schooling age. For the parents who prefer it, as a principal and sacred language, they have a religious tendency, which acts on their conscious. The children are initiated in the mosque school through recitation Quran text. The learning is enforced with completion occasionally organized, and the winners are gratefully awarded. Certain families exercised the academic language with their children, but such practice is merely reduced in some words within enclosed private space.

The stigmatization is reciprocal between possessors of language opposing other languages. Certain have a victimized attitude or a more stigmatized attitude, as is revealed in the following verbatim.

a. The everyday life communication in the public sphere: semi-formal and formal situation

It seems to us, there is no big difference between semi-formal and formal communication; from retailer to the politician, the Algerian dialect and French are always presented. But the situation has a considerable impact: the imam in his preaching will talk differently with his neighbor. Such orientation can easily give a clue how diglossic situation is. In addition people can switch from one language to another according to the situation. However, it is important to underline, those semi-formal and formal situations consider a workplace, shopping place, and every place gathering different people outside private place. Thus, the quotations below shed light on the personal strategies in these situations for language use.

“When I entered the shops, the seller, looking at me without a veil, will talk to me in French, and I responded in Arabic. I experiment with the same situation with my colleagues at work; I speak with them in Arabic to affirm my Algerianity” Lila 60-year-old.

“People jugged you through your cloth, especially if you wear a hijab; thus, I do speak more of time in French because people think that the women wearing a hijab do not master a French” Rachida 33-year-old.

“I hesitate to frequent some restaurant or cafe, a luxurious one especially. They talk only in French, and like I am rejected from such a place. It is not my entourage. I am an Arab Algerian.” Nouri 43-year-old.

“Nowadays, women have a complex of inferiority, they prefer to talk in French because it is more stylish. They forget that the Arabic language is ours, and it is a sacred language, it is a Quranic language.” Moussa 45-year-old.

“In some shops, they speak only in French, I refuse such an attitude, I even refuse to use these places.” Mohcine 41-year-old.

“Imams, in their Friday-preach, talk to us with academic Arabic [...]. Our politicians speak differently; especially in their press-conferences or with the interviewers, they allow themselves to switch instantly from language to another in matter to simplify their viewpoints...” Redwan 49-year-old.

In particular public space, the people use rather French; such orientation can be on the one side a space obligation, on the other side the type of clients frequenting. Hence, the category of the clients fits more with the quality of service. The shops seem to exercise implicitly a client selection, only through the language used by both client and shop staff. The language is added to the decor to become a tool of preference and discrimination.

Furthermore, in the workplace, the same issue is detected with my participants. The discussions remain led by the linguistic distinction. It seems that the French language is more accepted than the Algerian dialect. Sometimes, ethnic belonging can affect implicitly the discussion. People switch from one language to another depending on the participants in the situational discussion. But generally, informal discussion, for instance, meeting, we can say that the French language is more appreciated than others. Contradictorily, Algerian dialect is less appreciated. It can be related to the low-class belonging or other considerations as a devout Muslim and so on. Tamazight is also used in the workplace but with intimate colleagues in informal situations only, which means there is a discrepancy separating formal and informal discussion in the workplace. Arabic is used when it is required, but it is used as a strategy to send a particular message.

b. The everyday life communication in the private sphere: informal situation

The private sphere seems to be deeply affected by linguistic issues, and parents do not hesitate to prepare their children strategically regarding future situations. Hence, the awareness is consciously or unconsciously transmitted to the children. Furthermore, it is important to say those informal situations consider personal, family, and intimate persons. Hence, the quotations below shed light on the personal strategies in these situations for language use.

“At home, I do not watch the Arabic channel; I fed up. Even with my kids, I used only French or English. I let the Arabic for school time. The Arabic is useless unless to read a Quran to pray” Hakim 44-year-old.

“I suffered from my oldest daughter; she grew up with the French. Now, she hates the Arabic language; it is my fault. And I am obliged to correct my strategy to accept her the Arabic language because we are in Algeria” Hafsa 35-year-old.

“For me. The Arabic language is only to read the Quran or to pray. I speak Algerian Arabic and Tamazight, but for my kids, I prefer to talk with them in French sometimes in English. We are in the globalization era.” Imad 55-year-old.

“We like to talk in three languages with my daughter. Maybe it seems weird, but we want to prepare her for the future, and the reality of language in our society. I want to avoid her being rejected by others because she doesn't use a particular. Mastering the three main languages, she will be socially fine that's it” Boualem 45-year-old.

“I am Kabyl, but I do not see the utility to learn Tamazight for my kids. I speak with them in Arabic, because it is our religious language and they have to learn directly by using it. The French come after, I mean at school.” Reiki 48-year-old.

“ I think it is easier to say things with French than in Arabic. Thus, I prefer to express my thought, my feeling in French it is more significant for me. I consider the Arab as a vulgar language, I know it is just a point of view.” Omar, 39-year-old.

As we can discern from the quotations, the private sphere is more related to the family relations of parents-children. It seems that parents are more preoccupied with the language issues and how they can prepare their children to deal with them. The first manifestation of their concern is their education from primary school to university in order to prepare them for professional life. Their strategies are more or less relying on how they experiment with their relation with different languages. Thus, the whole process of education is deeply marked by the use of language. Although education is for everyone, access to the university is not guaranty for everyone. However, to be a student does not mean the possession of a more intellectual vocabulary or more refined. The school neither does propose such repertoire nor work on improving the existing repertoire. Consequently, many families, financially comfortable, prefer orienting their children toward language courses, mainly French and English. Others, less affluent, content with the school course, or if it is possible to get some free courses giving in the mosque or other public organisms. For instance, the children from the Arabic supporters arrived at the school with three years of Quran learning, which means an advanced level of language at the earliest age. It can be considered at the same time, as a positive and negative thing. On the other hand, many parents discard the idea of a mosque at an early age; they focus more on the game and playing using a native Algerian speaking with their kids. These parents are more preoccupied with choosing the right day-care center with a specific language. The public sector deals rather with Algerian speaking, in contrast, the private sector deals with French than Arabic, we can also encounter English as a newcomer in this linguistic competition. Certain day-care centers deal only with the French language, which is frequented by the bourgeoisie class, preferring to educate their children in such a center. The children have an advanced level in French. On the other hand, their children lack Arabic words with some vocabulary in Algerian speaking. In the first years of their education, the child can feel such a categorization practiced within the school. Facing this irregular learning of language, the respondents were obliged to reorient fitting the social classifications through language mastering.

8. The language of exclusion

The Arabization launched at the end of the 1970s produced an Arabic generation with an Islamic tendency. The elite mastering the classical Arabic, with traditional education, is considered as an Arabic-Islamic stereotype. Even being mono-linguistic culture, this category practices a ‘diglossia’ beyond their control in using the Algerian speaking. This category with a strong feeling to belong to the Arabic-Islamic civilization is nostalgia for the glorified past. Claiming the return to the sources of Islam and its values in Islamic-city, the only way to resist the cultural invasion of the accident and the process of the depersonalization of the society. Hence, the Arabic language had been instrumentalized to denounce the belonging to France and the Occident. The religious discourse has banned any use of foreign language including the French. The discourse carried out hate and rejection of modernization. The only legitimized culture is the Islamic one. If the clothing can reflect their orientation, it is more embodied in the language they used with its vocabulary (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997:76-77). The language is in phase shift with the Algerian speaking producing a utopic modal of life inspired by the life of the Prophet Mohammed. Such orientation is persisting with other forms of representation: the real disclosed image of a radical Islam, especially during the 1990s, when

people were killed in the name of Islam, in addition to the globalized image of Islam as a terrorist brand (el-Kaida, ISIS). All these stereotypes call the Algerians to review their rapport with the Arabic and its representations (cf. Addi, 2017). The Bedouin image, a known depiction, remote from any modernization. Hence, the conversions supposed to distance from the Arabic language allowing other languages to learn without any radicalization. Even though French is not the most modernized language, it remains the opened door to the Occident. Some parents do not hesitate to introduce the French-speaking in their private sphere to facilitate French learning for their children. Furthermore, the French elite strongly shaped with French culture looks for references within the symbolic occidental universe, and think that the French are the key to the modernity. And the Arabic remains paralyzed before the development and modernity (Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997: 76). However, other languages seem competing within supposed French territory, especially English. For this new elite, the French do not fit enough with globalization rather English because it is more opened and updated language. Many children have been Anglicized to find difficulties to exercise their English except in school, where the time is very restricted. Nevertheless, they get their relief in social media where it is more comfortable to do so.

The tri-linguism is spreading instead in disequilibrium, and in favoring the foreign languages: French and/or English, and in the second level the Algerian speaking with Tamazight. Less with classical in big cities, which are not the case in the rural area, where the opportunity to learn a foreign language is fewer presents. It is also important to recognize the deep dichotomy displaying the fragmented cultural legacy. The analysis of the correlations between different attitudes and the social satisfaction depending on the social classes, even if the participants had expressed, in some way, the same orientation, according to values and the signification remain narrowly linked with their social class belonging and their rapport to the language. The incident of the representations and contradictions images on individual behaviors and the conflicts they can experiment in societal life are the source of other psychological issues. Intensive communications act as a symbolic integration linking with the possibility to communicate regardless of the languages or the superposed varieties (cf. Taleb-Ibrahimi, 1997).

Conclusion: linguistic alienation

In a precautionary manner, we can advance that the linguistic practices in Algerian society are conjugated within two logics. The first logic is an implicit linguistic practice and the second as a linguistic alienation. Positively, the first embodies the conciliation between the existent languages; such orientation is more presented with individuals who can tolerate the difference and diversity. The use of 'diglossia' points the rapport between language and space where the language is practiced in purpose to produce accurately the true significations, which is linked with the real situation. This conciliation offers the acceptance of the other and the appropriate harmonization with the realities of language and its culture. If the French language evolves within a particular context producing a genuine signification proper to French society, Algerian-French speaking can affect the words and reshape the appropriate sign of the phrase accordingly to the Algerian background with its particular components. The same logic is found, in using the Arabic language, and even with the English as a newcomer language. Though, Tamazight is more concerning with the belongings recognitions to the origins without rejecting other languages. Others can influence these returns even if the language is not used anymore; it is a belonging issue and collective cultural identity.

Linguistic alienation, as a second logic, consists of the radical appropriation of the language whether French or Arabic with the accompanying culture. Linguistic belonging is displayed in

an extremist stance with discarding the other. Negatively, linguistic alienation is the primary source of social inequality because of its rejection stance of the other. Hence, the discourse carrying this logic is the religious discourse. In the same vein, the political discourse shares this logic in its producing social inequalities. Unfortunately, many intellectuals adopt such a radical stance in the matter to reproduce these boundaries to maintain the differences. Within denied reality, they refuse to disengage from their dogma; for the religious is more embedded in the sacred past of Islam, others in colonial past and so on, both are participating in the confusing linguistic identity without any objective referees.

Both logics reveal the inequalities generated from a politic deeply engaged stuck with a controversial past. If Arabic is considered as Algerian language, it remains that language had been imposed in remote past by the sword and blood as French was, even if the Arabic is distantly remote in history than French, which makes the difference. Basically, a hybrid society does not exclude the other, but its passivity led it to marginalize the autochthonous language. The language has remained and will remain a sign and symbol of social distinction. Within a spoken culture, access to the written and writing remain only for a superior social class, which explains the veneration of the lettered persons. But, the lettered have deceived the expectations of the mass in deepening the gap between them and allowing the growth of social inequalities.

A symbolic power used against the mass explains this set the language representation down. The foreign language becomes more appreciated as a spoken language, and in ridding them from the politic imposition with allowing success and social promotion. For instance, choosing English, then French, as a new foreign language, gives more social opportunities. Besides, it is important to mention that linguistic detachment and deception, emerged a way of speaking very disorganized shifting from language to the another without mastering any of them; neither the vocabulary nor the signification is clear, a multi-linguistic unlettered. Such practice exists within the disfavored class. Their speaking is more broken with un-comprehended ‘diglossia’ forming their speaking with beginnings without ends, and ends without any start. Real linguistic disorganization speaks out a deep psychological and social disequilibrium.

Within this mixture, Algerians use the available resources to express their emotional and tensional situations opting more for the practical aspects in communicating their feeling. Emotions are indeed more faithful to the mother language. Thus, it is important to notice that linguistic practices in social media, where the writing reveals an opposition as the mistakes are permitted: the Arabic is writing with Latin alphabets and the French with Arabic alphabets. Studying the structures of these sentences completely disorganized is useless (cf. Dourari, 2002). In short, Algerian speaking becomes a language strictly spoken by Algerians. In anthropology perspective, Algeria is a Tamazight country, with any linguistic politic encouraging the use of the Tamazight and regarding the socio-historical dynamic. In matter to stop an ideology guiding the use of a language and diminishing the conflicts; global recognition of the historical stances of each language is more than necessary to solve the problem language in Algerian society.

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