

Family Language Policy and Home Language Maintenance: Linguistic Choices, Ideologies, and Management Efforts among Berber Families in Algeria

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Received : 13/10/2021

accepted: 06/12/2021

Abstract:

This study investigates dynamics of family language policy among Chaoui and Kabyle families in Algeria. In stark contrast with Language policy research in Algeria focusing on institutional contexts, this study foregrounds language practice, ideology and planning in private and informal contexts. A survey was carried out with Berber parents, who vary on educational, regional and ethnic grounds. The results indicate that Kabyle gains a strong foothold as the dominant home language choice across Kabyle families, as opposed Chaouia and Dariğa which seem to be favored by the Chaoui families. Dehierarchizing language codes in Algeria reshaped the general perceptions of Berber Parents, who advocate the promotion of linguistic plurality in private and educational spheres. Finally, parents of both ethnic origins plan to avail themselves of the social media and kinship relations to maintain their Berber children's heritage language. These home policies provide a continuity for the intergenerational transmission of Tamazight across generations.

Keywords:

Language Practice, Language Ideologies, Language Management, Chaouia, Kabyle, Tamazight, heritage language, plurality.

Introduction:

A quick glance over the long the history of language policy in Algeria reveals that the pendulum swung far away from the enactment of stringent, homogenizing policies-since the independence until the late of 1980s-to less restrictive and more pragmatic policies that conform to the developing free market in the country. This offshoot of focus, it must be noted, was burgeoned in 2002 and 2016, which represent crucial landmark years in the history of language policy in Algeria and reconstructed the sociolinguistic profile and linguistic ideologies in the many Berber speaking regions. In 2002, Tamazight (also called Berber) gained an official recognition as a national language, along with Standard Arabic. In 2016, Tamazight was declared as the second official language. The sociological and linguistic counterparts of these two landmark years were, unequivocally, manifold. First, the changing language policies boosted Berbers' ethnic and linguistic pride in many predominantly Berber speaking regions. Second, Tamazight gained a strong foothold in many educational sectors, administrative institutions and broadcasting. In 2018, it was reported that the ministry of education enacted laws to add Tamazight as an optional course in forty four cities. Similarly, new Tamazight departments and faculties were

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founded across the country, such as the Department of Tamazight language and culture in cities like Batna and Tizi Ouzou. Notwithstanding the meritorious outcomes of such new language policies on the Status of Berber in the nation, the processes of Tamazight standardization and officialization have not been fully realized in the country, especially in the fields of literature, science and technology.

A plethora of research works has been devoted to the history of Arabization policies (Benrabah, 2007¹; Berger, 2002²; Djité, 2009³; Kossmann, 2013⁴; Sayahi, 2014⁵), their implementations in the wider political, institutional and educational avenues (Benrabah, 2007, 2013) and, also, the long-term ideological conflict between the Arabo-Islamists and the Modernist-Berberologists over the changing language policies in the country since the advent of independence in 1962 (Benrabah, 2013). Nevertheless, while scholars and researchers working on language policy in North Africa placed education and politics at the center of their focus, they, however, paid little attention to the impact of the historical changes of language planning and policy on smaller social groupings and units of organization, most notably Berber families. Said differently, although there is a general consensus that sees that recent language policies in Algeria admit of varying degrees of impact on the social structures, sociopolitical and educational arenas, their veracity in the case of families is far from obvious. There is little or no interest in, for instance, how Berber families in Algeria and diaspora communities, experience the new challenges, such as multilingualism, public discourse, children's heritage language maintenance and shift and multilingual education. With these challenging issues in mind, the present study sets the task to contribute to bridging this research gap by examining: 1) the various language practices implemented by the Chaoui and Kabyle families in the home; 2) parents' views about their children's language proficiency and Tamazight officialization; 3) linguistic efforts made by parents to influence children's linguistic behaviors; 4) the relation between the recent governmental policies and Berber families' changing linguistic ideologies and plans to promote their children's multilingual education.

This research work is theoretically and methodologically informed by the field of Family Language Policy (FLP), a new interdisciplinary discipline whose concepts, approaches and theoretical underpinnings are rooted in the established language policy literature (Fishman, 1986⁶; Spolsky, 2004⁷) and studies and theories of language acquisition (Berko-Gleason 2005⁸; Guasti, 2005⁹). Framed within Family Language Policy (FLP) paradigm, this research work embraces a socially based approach to analyze the ways in which Berber families, both of Chaoui and Kabyle roots, actually use, perceive and plan to preserve their heritage language varieties in private, informal social contexts, such as home and neighborhoods.

1- The Linguistic Status quo of Kabyle and Chaouia in Algeria:

The sociocultural profile of Algeria is prototypically diverse, inhabited by social groups that vary on several linguistic grounds, such as Berbers and Arabs, which represent the two most dominant and geographically dispersed ethnic groups in the country. Geographically speaking, while speakers of Arabic roots inhabit in almost all the cities of country, Chaoui and Kabyle speakers live in many eastern blocks and northern parts of the Algerian coast, respectively. Many other Berber varieties are spoken in some northern regions (Chenoua in Bni Menacer, Tipaza), western regions (Bni Snous in Tlemcen) and western regions

(Mozabit in Ghardaïa). Though still preserved regionally in many close-knit, isolated rural blocks, many Berber varieties have been gradually cast aside in favor of the Maghrebian mainstream dialects, also known as Dariġa or Al āmiya, Arabic-based varieties which are used in day-to-day communication and economic transactions by all local inhabitants of different ethnic and regional roots.

According to the last reports of the Ethnologue website (2018)¹⁰, there are 2.130.000 Chaoui inhabitants and approximately 5 million Kabyle inhabitants in Algeria. Both Chaouia and Kabyle are ethnolinguistically vital, that is, they are relatively sustained in many social and informal contexts, most notably in the geographically many-stranded rural communities. As for the Berber EGIDS scale, the reports of the Ethnologue (2018) note that Chaouia and Kabyle are in ‘*vigorous*’ use across all age-cohorts in the age spectrum. Kabyle, however, gained currency in the field of literature and became progressively used in many Kabyle literary works, most remarkably novels and poems.

2- A Historical Sketch of Research on Family Language Policy:

2-1 Early Developments:

Early Works on Family Language Policy (FLP) often had such goals as accounting for children’s bilingual development across middle class families in the western world through psycholinguistic lens, linguistic input and parental strategies. Also, the history of the field has had to deal with the role of parents’ experiences in raising bilingual children in predominantly multilingual societies. Earliest studies cast light over the families who seek to raise multilingual children in predominantly multicultural communities. Though Family Language Policy (FLP) is a new comer compared to the other scientific fields, the first accounts of children’ linguistic development at home can be traceable to the beginning of twentieth century, such Ronjat’s (1913)¹¹ descriptions of his son acquiring German and French and Leopold’s (1939-1949)¹² agenda-setting research on his daughter’s bilingual development. Ronjat’s adopted the so called One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL) strategy, which involves parents using different languages when speaking to their children. Notwithstanding its drawbacks, OPOL’s effectiveness and popularity are attributed to the fact that it “helps keep the child from becoming linguistically confused” (Caldas, 2012, p. 354)¹³. The OPOL strategy has been, repeatedly and continuously, adopted, refined and evaluated in several subsequent projects (Sondergaard¹⁴, 1981; Arnberg, 1987¹⁵, De Houwer¹⁶; 1990; Kasuya, 1998¹⁷; Takeuchi, 2006¹⁸; Hoffman, 1985¹⁹). Conversely, Non-OPOL strategy, which involves both parents using a minority heritage language, has also been explored and documented (Pan, 1995²⁰; Kouritzin 2000²¹). The aforementioned parental discourse strategies were effective in some studies and less effective in other research projects. In addition, although earliest studies foregrounded the importance of linguistic factors, they dismissed the role of the social, political and ideological constrains in maintaining home languages and bilingual childrearing.

2-2 Heritage Languages:

In the last decade, researchers working within Family Language policy discipline turned their attention to the interplay between social evaluative norms, home language maintenance and cross-generational transmission. Patrick, Budach and Muckpaloo (2013)²² used interviews and participant-observation to explore the relationship between literacy tasks and dynamics of heritage language maintenance in an Inuit community in Ottawa, Canada. The results demonstrated the role of home literacy environment and oral literature in the process of intergenerational transmission, linguistic and cultural, among the indigenous Inuit families. In her ethnographically orientated research, Smith-Christmas (2016)²³ set the tasks to observe and analyze the social interactions between members of one extended family in Scotland. Contrary to Patrick et al (2013), Smith-Christmas (2016) found that, albeit Gaelic was adopted as a central aspect of home language practices, it was avoided by children at home and other private and public spheres. Furthermore, there has been a growing evidence demonstrating the role of institutional sectors in bridging the home language-school gap and, by and large, heritage language maintenance and revitalization (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014, 2016; Lane, 2010; Seloni & Sarfati, 2013). In Singapore, Li Wei, Saravanan, and Ng's (1997)²⁴ work on the link between the broader socio-educational forces, attitudes and language use in a Chinese speaking community revealed that Chinese was evanesced from daily usage and replaced by the national languages, a strong indication of language shift. Because Chinese dialects were negatively evaluated by most Chinese speakers, they were considered as less valuable in the socio-economic market place and educational arena. Language shift, Li Wei et al add, "is accompanied by rising living standard and is closely and intricately associated with such factors as speaker age, educational level and religion" (p. 379). By the same token, Lane (2010)²⁵ pointed out that the Norwegian government imposed the adoption of one official language in the educational contexts. This homogenizing policy affected the home practices adopted by parents, who ceased to use Kven (a Baltic Finnish language) and spoke Norwegian with their children. The previously discussed studies demonstrated the role of societal evaluative norms, values ascribed to languages and socioeconomic motives in the process of language development and heritage language maintenance. Parents' views and efforts to change the linguistic behaviors of their children are in large measures shaped by a complex array of sociopolitical and ideological forces.

3-Method:

As stated at the outset, the main essential aim of this research work is to examine the actual language and literacy practices, parental ideologies, and planned efforts made by the Berber families in Algeria to raise their children bilingually and promote their heritage language acquisition. This study seeks to investigate, in details, the various social situations in which Family members use Chaouia and Kabyle, along with other linguistic codes, and cast light over parents' views about heritage language maintenance and multilingual education in Algeria.

- ✓ What linguistic choices and planned literacy activities do Chaoui families and Kabyle families adopt to raise their children bilingually/multilingually ?

- ✓ What are parents' perceptions towards their children's acquisition of the Berber varieties and multilingual education?
- ✓ What efforts do Berber parents plan to employ in order to promote their children's acquisition of Berber and, by and large, multilingual development ?
- ✓ In what ways do the family Language Policies adopted by Berber families interplay with the broader socio-political constraints in Algeria ?

In order to address the questions above, a paper-based survey with many Chaoui families and Kabyle families in several cities and rural areas was conducted. On a closer look, the survey addressed Berber families whose members vary on various ethnic grounds. By way of example, while many Chaoui parents affiliate themselves with the same ethnic origins, other parents identify with two different cultural roots, such as those in which the father is of Kabyle roots and the mother is of Arabic roots. The reason behind recruiting multiethnic Berber families is to examine how family members employ their native ethnic varieties in their day-to-day interactions, which codes they prefer to use in various social situations, and which codes they mostly use when they interact with children in the home. In order to collect the data, a questionnaire was designed to solicit information about dynamics of family language policies (FLP) within each Berber family, be it Chaoui, Kabyle or multiethnic. In essence, the questionnaire foregrounds the following components:

- ✓ The actual language choices preferred by members of the family, parents-children linguistic interactions and the literacy activities performed by Berber children;
- ✓ Parents' opinions about linguistic plurality and Tamazight officialization in Algeria;
- ✓ Parents' planned efforts to promote their children's multilingual acquisition and Berber maintenance.

3-1 Research Instrument:

In essence, the questionnaire is composed of four main sections. The section '*Informant's Information*' addresses each informant's social background, such as gender, place of residence, ethnic identity and his/her family's structure (extended vs. nuclear). Such social information, it is assumed, might intersect significantly with dynamics of family language policy (FLP), language choice in the home children's bilingual development. The next three sections foregrounds the three interrelated, yet independent components of family language policy (Spolsky, 2004). Section two, entitled '*Language practices*', addresses what languages and language varieties children mostly use when they interact with their peers and members of the family in different social situations. It also addresses the hours Chaoui and Kabyle children spend on various activities per week. Parents were also asked about how much extensively they and their children engage in some literacy activities, such as reading stories and jokes in Tamazight or Standard Arabic. Section '*Language Ideologies*' foregrounds parents' views about linguistic plurality in Algeria and the importance of language use in various socio-educational settings, such as the impact of learning Tamazight on their children's educational achievement. This section also tackled parents' perceptions about the impact of the officialization of Tamazight in 2016 on promoting Tamazight learning and use in various public and educational sectors in Algeria. The final section '*Language Management*' casts light over the specific language

choices parents opted for after their children reached four years old and became pupils at the primary school. In the last table, parents were asked to choose which plan(s) they tend to follow to promote their children's bilingual/multilingual development and heritage language maintenance, such as visiting their relatives and learning foreign languages in private schools. It is worth noting that the scoring rubric varies from one section into another. In Linguistic Ideologies section, the scoring scale of each item ranges from 1 point to 5 points. By way of example, the response '*totally disagree*' is assigned 1 point whereas the response '*totally agree*' is assigned 5 points. Participant' Linguistic ideologies were counted by dividing the total number of points by the number of items. In Language Management section, the scoring scale of each item is either 0 or 1, and so NO answer is assigned 0, whilst YES answer is assigned 1.

3-2 Participants:

Using Judgment sampling, this research project recruits only Berber participants whose families identify as either Chaoui, Kabyle or multiethnic. Thus, families, whose members identified as non-Berber, were not included in the research sample. It is worth noting that we administered the questionnaires to only one family member, who was asked to fill in the questionnaires. Illiterate parents, who cannot read the questions and instructions, were asked to have someone read the questions for them and then fill in the questionnaires. The administration of the questionnaires began in the early February, 2020 and lasted for five months, that is, until late June, 2020. The sampling process was first conducted in Batna and Oum El Bouaghi, two eastern cities wherein the Chaoui ethnic groups are represented with high proportions, along with their Arab counterparts. By early March, however, data collection process was difficult to manage due to the increasing stringent lockdown measures, which were mainly caused by the pandemic crisis. Thus, an online version of the questionnaire was designed with Google-drive platform and was sent to participants via email and Facebook group pages.

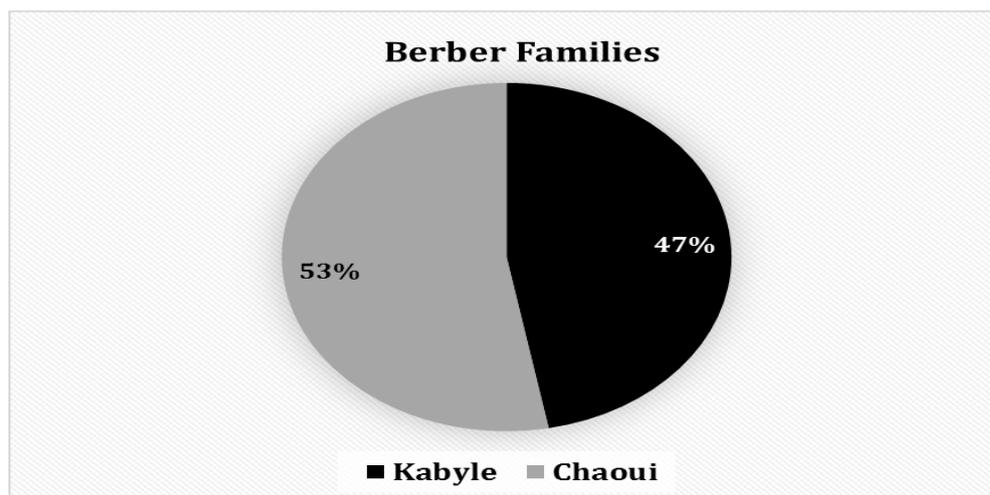


Figure: (1) Distribution of the Berber Families in the Sample

We administered around 600 printed and online questionnaires to Chaoui participants and Kabyle participants in many cities in the country, such as Algiers, Tizi Ouzou, Oran and Tébessa. By the end of June, we received a total number of 522 responses. We excluded 70 questionnaires, which contain missing crucial information about the

informant's social backgrounds or contradictory answers, and so we were left with 452 complete questionnaires. The pie chart above illustrates the percentage of the selected Kabyle families and Chaoui families in the sample. While the former comprise of 47 percent of the whole sample, the latter represent approximately 53 percent.

4- Results:

4-1 Language Practices:

This part is devoted to the analysis of the linguistic choices and literacy practices adopted by Children and their family members in the home and other private contexts. In essence, it casts light over Home Language Environment, code choice and Home Literacy Environment across Chaoui and Kabyle families. We assumed that the type of the linguistic and literary practices children are exposed to plays a major role in the process of bilingual/monolingual acquisition and heritage language maintenance.

4-1-1 Home Language Environment:

Section two seeks to solicit information about Home Language Environment in each family, including questions about participants' mother tongue, the language variety used by their partners and their family members more generally. The results indicate that 93.5 % of Kabyle parents opted for Kabyle as their mother tongue. Conversely, the results of the Chaoui participants sample seem to be, unequivocally, variable. While 67% of the sample opted for Chaouia as their native language, 33 % reported that they were born and grew up bilinguals, using Chaouia and Dariġa in their day-to-day social interactions. Likewise, Kabyle seems to be the most used language choice by most Kabyle participants' partners, as apposed to 42 % of the Chaoui participants' partners who opted for Chaouia. The results, also, show that 63,3 % of Kabyle participants reported that Kabyle is the mostly used code at home among all the family members. However, mostly Chaouia, Chaouia and Dariġa and mostly Dariġa were opted, respectively, by 35,3 %, 38,7% and 26% of the Chaoui participants. These results indicate that, while Kabyle gained a strong foothold as the mostly used home language among the Kabyle families, Chaouia is used with comparable proportions along with Dariġa among the Chaoui families.

4-1-2 Code Choice:

The previous section tackled the general home language environment in the Chaoui and Kabyle families and its impact on children's heritage language development. Equally, it is enlightening to examine, in details, the various linguistic codes parents, peers, siblings and relatives opt for when communicating with children, Chaoui or Kabyle, in distinct social situations. Table 1 below displays these social contexts along with the percentage of each linguistic code.

The Language(s)/ Dialect(s)	Kabyle Families (%)			Chaoui Families (%)		
	Kabyle	Kabyle & Other codes	Dariġa	Chaouia	Chaouia & Other codes	Dariġa
you use with your child at home	65	31,1	3,9	26,4	39,4	34,3
you use with your child outside home	65	31,5	3,5	26	39,1	34,3
your partner uses with the child inside/outside home	59,9	33,7	6,4	27,4	32,7	39,9
Your children use in their discussions at home	65,4	28,6	6	24,9	28,2	46,9
Your child uses with his/her peers in the neighborhood	46,7	31	22,3	11,7	25,2	63,1
Grandparents use with the child at home	88,6	9,4	2	52,1	25,6	22,3
relatives use with the child at home	69,6	27,1	3,4	36,5	33,3	30,1

Table (1): Linguistic Codes Adopted by the Child and his/her Family in Various home Activities

Table 1 displays diametrically opposing results for both categories, namely Chaoui and Kabyle families. Across all the Kabyle families under study, Kabyle seems to be the dominant language choice in all the social situations, followed by Dariġa, French and other linguistic codes. Dariġa is used with extremely low proportions by all family members and relatives. In stark contrast with the Kabyle families, the linguistic choices of the Chaoui families seem to be highly variable. Said differently, Chaoui parents tend to use different codes much frequently when interacting with their children, such as Chaoui and Dariġa. In social situations, which involve an interaction between Chaoui children, peers and siblings Participants' partners, Dariġa appears to be the most favored choice. Chaouia, conversely, gained a strong foothold as the dominant choice in the social interactions between Chaoui children, their relatives and grandparents. The latter tend to use Dariġa and other language varieties with extremely low proportions. This is quite conceivable, provided that most of the Chaoui grandparents in the Aures region are monolingual speakers, who prefer to use Chaouia in almost all the social encounters. Briefly, while Kabyle children Kabyle tend to be highly exposed to their heritage language variety, Kabyle and to less extent French and Dariġa, their Chaoui counterparts seem to be highly exposed to different linguistic codes and in different social situations.

4-1-3 Home Literacy Environment:

The foregoing research findings focused on some specific aspects of home language environment that may support or hinder children's home language learning. It is, also, enlightening to consider the multimodal literacy practices and its link with Berber children's language acquisition. Home Literacy Environment has long been attested as a major contributing factor in enhancing children's linguistic and literary competencies (Patrick, Budach, & Muckpaloo, 2013). By the same token, it is assumed that the types and frequency of literacy tasks would have a major impact on children's bilingual/multilingual acquisition and heritage language maintenance. This research focused on the Home Literacy Environment of Berber families from two different, yet interrelated angles: namely: practices performed by children and practices engaged by parents with their children.

4-1-3-1 Practices Performed by Children:

Tables 2 and 3 below display seven items that address some of the practices performed by Berber children, along with the type of linguistic input they are exposed to. At a closer look, the main results indicate that Home Literacy Environment, though notably *poor* in almost all the Berber families under study, it admits of varying degrees across both ethnic categories.

Statements	Number	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Watch TV programs and Cartoon movies in Tamazight	198	1,42	1,003	1,007
Watch TV programs and Cartoon movies in Arabic and Dariġa	203	2,71	1,254	1,571
Watch documentary movies and entertainment shows in Tamazight	197	1,55	1,184	1,402
Watch documentary movies and entertainment shows in Arabic and Dariġa	196	2,45	1,294	1,675
Use Tamazight in texting and social media	195	1,45	1,094	1,197
Use Arabic and Dariġa in texting and social media	196	2,51	1,326	1,759
Use Arabic and Dariġa when playing video games	193	2,25	1,451	2,104

Table (2): The Linguistic Codes Used by Chaoui Children in some Literacy Activities at Home

Statements	Number	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Watch TV programs and Cartoon movies in Tamazight	198	1,95	1,243	1,546
Watch TV programs and Cartoon movies in Arabic and Dariġa	187	2,25	1,292	1,670
Watch documentary movies and entertainment shows in Tamazight	190	1,93	1,289	1,662
Watch documentary movies and entertainment shows in Arabic and Dariġa	183	1,88	1,137	1,293
Use Tamazight in texting and social media	184	1,74	1,194	1,426
Use Arabic and Dariġa in texting and social media	184	1,89	1,193	1,424
Use Arabic and Dariġa when playing video games	187	2,30	1,397	1,953

Table (3): The Linguistic Codes Used by Kabyle Children in some Literacy Activities at Home

In stark contrast to Kabyle children, the global mean scores of their Chaoui counterparts seem to be, comparatively, high in all the practices that involve exposure to Arabic and Dariġa-e.g., social media and games. By the same token, Kabyle children's exposure to Tamazight appears to be, more or less, higher than their Chaoui counterparts. By way of example, Kabyle children are more prone to use Tamazight in texting and sending messages on social media ($M= 1,74$) more than Chaoui children ($M= 1,45$)

4-1-3-2 Practices Performed by Parents with their Children:

To test the hypothesis that the amount of time Kabyle and Chaoui parents spend in retelling stories in Arabic to their kids is associated with statistically different mean scores, an independent samples *t*-test was performed. The mean scores of the Chaoui parents ($M= 2,2296$) seem to be numerically higher than the scores of their Kabyle counterparts ($M= 1,5455$), an indication that the former use Arabic much more extensively when telling stories and jokes in Arabic to their children more than the latter do. As evidenced in table 4, there is a significant difference across both categories in terms of the amount of time parents spend in retelling fables and stories in Arabic to their children.

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		df	Sig (2-	t-test for Equality of Means		95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig			Mean	Std Error	Lower	Upper

					tailed)	Difference	Difference		
Scores	Equal Variances assumed	9,48	,002	381	,000 *	,68414	,12249	,44330	,92497
	Equal Variances not assumed			375,138	,000 *	,68414	,12199	,44426	,92402

Significant at * $p \leq 0.05$

Table (4): Independent Samples t-Test Comparing the Amount of Time Chaoui and Kabyle Parents Spend in Telling Stories to their Children in Arabic and Dariġa

Kabyle and Chaoui Parents were, also, asked about the amount of time they usually spend in retelling stories in Tamazight, Chaouia or Kabyle. The results, as evidenced in Table 5, show a second mirror image to the previous question. Comparatively, the amount of time spent by Kabyle parents in telling their kids stories in Tamazight or Kabyle ($M=3,25$) seems to be higher than their Chaoui counterparts ($M=2,00$). Likewise, the results of the Independent Samples t-test indicate that there is a significant statistical difference across both groups (Sig., 2, tailed= 0,00)

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				t-test for Equality of Means		95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig	df	Sig (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Scores	Equal Variances assumed	2,529	,113	403	,000 *	-1,125248	,12623	-1,5006	-1,0043
	Equal Variances not assumed			402,88	,000 *	-1,125248	,12623	-1,5006	-1,0043

Significant at * $p \leq 0.05$

Table (5): Independent Samples t-Test Comparing the Amount of Time Chaoui and Kabyle Parents Spend in Telling Stories to their Children in Tamazight Varieties.

4-2 Language Ideologies:

In stark contrast with 'Language Practices', which addresses dynamics of language use in the Berber families, Part two, entitled 'Language Ideologies', casts light over the locally

embedded ideologies and evaluative norms that pertain to patterns of language use, code choice and language status among Berber children and their families more generally. By the same token, it foregrounds parents' attitudes towards the impact of Tamazight standardization and its implementation in the educational arena and the changing the general linguistic perceptions on the one hand, and its association with children's acquisition of Berber, on the other. In essence, the themes foregrounded in this part range from multilingualism, ethnic identity to academic and professional success.

Statements	Number	Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance
It is disadvantageous for the Berber child to use Chaouia only in all social contexts	236	4,43	1,095	1,200
Learning and using Chaouia boosts the child's ethnic identity and affiliation with the Tamazight culture	230	2,83	1,422	2,022
Learning and using Chaouia, and other varieties, have negative consequences on the child's ability to learn Arabic	233	2,19	1,303	1,697
Learning and using two languages would have negative impacts on the academic achievement of the child	22	1,89	1,155	1,335
It is important that parents speak Arabic and Dariġa to their child from an early age	230	2,25	1,394	1,943
The child needs to focus on learning Standard Arabic and Dariġa more than Chaoui or any local dialect	231	2,24	1,377	1,895
Learning and using Dariġa and Chaouia have negative consequences on the child's academic achievement	231	1,89	1,167	1,361
Learning and using Dariġa and Chaouia have positive consequences on the child's academic and professional success	227	4,02	1,195	1,429
Learning Arabic, French and English is more important for the child's academic and professional success than learning Chaouia	229	2,93	1,519	2,306
It is important for the child to learn and speak various languages at home	227	3,68	1,353	1,830
Writing and reading in Tamazight and other languages have negative impacts	226	2,06	1,170	1,370

on the child's academic achievement and professional success				
It is important to teach my children how to speak Tamazight and its dialects at home	227	4,16	1,210	1,464
It is important for my child to enroll in a private school to learn English	228	3,51	1,394	1,943
Maintaining contacts with grandparents and relatives would help my child learn how to speak Chaouia	228	4,40	1,059	1,122

Table (6): Chaoui Parents' Views about Heritage Language Maintenance, Linguistic Plurality and Multilingual Education

Statements	Number	Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance
It is disadvantageous for the Berber child to use Kabyle only in all social contexts	216	4,88	,561	,315
Learning and using Kabyle boosts the child's ethnic identity and affiliation with the Tamazight culture	210	2,98	1,454	2,114
Learning and using Kabyle, and other varieties, have negative consequences on the child's ability to learn Arabic	210	1,81	1,067	1,138
Learning and using two languages would have negative impacts on the academic achievement of the child at school	213	1,70	,996	,992
It is important that parents speak Arabic and Dariġa to their child from an early age	211	1,65	,951	,905
The child needs to focus on learning Standard Arabic and Dariġa more than Kabyle or any local dialect	212	1,65	,969	,939
Learning and using Dariġa and Kabyle have negative consequences on the child's academic achievement	212	1,62	,908	,824
Learning and using Dariġa and Kabyle have positive consequences on the child's academic and professional success	216	4,33	1,129	1,274

Learning Arabic, French and English is more important for the child's academic and professional success than learning Chaouia	212	2,15	1,311	1,718
It is important for the child to learn and speak various languages at home	214	3,22	1,512	2,285
Writing and reading in Tamazight and other languages have negative impacts on the child's academic achievement and professional success	212	1,74	1,027	1,056
It is important to teach my children how to speak Tamazight and its dialects at home	213	4,77	,674	,454
It is important for my child to enroll in a private school to learn English	211	3,75	1,352	1,827
Maintaining contacts with grandparents and relatives would help my child learn how to speak Kabyle	215	4,75	,736	,542

Table (7): Kabyle Parents' Views about Heritage Language Maintenance, Linguistic Plurality and Multilingual Education

4-2-1 Linguistic Plurality and Home language Maintenance:

The Statistical analyses of participants' views about Plurality and Home language Maintenance, as evidenced in items 1, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, reveal comparable results for both ethnic categories. On closer look, there is a general preference for linguistic pluralism at home, whereby parents advocate using different linguistic codes and encourage their children to use various languages, both heritage and foreign, at home. Interestingly enough, it seems that the role of kinship ties and enrollment in private schools in preserving children's home language was positively evaluated by most parents in the research sample.

4-2-2 Ethnic Identity and Kabyle/ Chaouia Influence on Arabic Acquisition:

In question 2, parents were asked to report their perceptions on the links between learning and using heritage language varieties and affiliation with the Berber culture. Parents believe that learning Chaouia and Kabyle would, to some extent, strengthen the sense of belongingness with the Berber identity among their children. Following somewhat from Wolfram (2013), this seemingly shared evaluative norm is consistent with the idea that "When language is linked with culture and history, its significance for the public is heightened" (p. 565). The statistical results of Item number 3 reveals comparable responses. Most parents, both of Chaoui and Kabyle roots, reported that learning Kabyle/ Chaouia, either at home or at school, does not serve as a hindrance to the process of Arabic acquisition.

4-2-3 Academic Success and Professional Career:

That there is a tight link between children's multilingual development and Academic Success is crystal clear. As evidenced in Tables 6 and 7, there is a general preference among research participants that learning one's heritage language plays a major role in his/her academic achievement and, by and large, his/her professional success. By the same token, parents reported that learning how to write and read in many languages, including heritage language, does not negatively affect the achievement of their children at school, a strong indication that multilingual literacy is positively associated with academic success and professional career. These aforementioned results indicate one crucial idea: Berber parents are highly aware of the significance of multilingual competence in the future professional career of their children. That said, positive attitudes towards linguistic pluralism are quite discernible provided that proficiency in Tamazight, Arabic and the international languages is a basic requirements for any students who considers studying abroad, moving to another country or enhancing his/her professional skills.

4-2-4 Tamazight Standardization:

This research project, also, foregrounds participants' reactions to and opinions about the standardization of Tamazight and its impacts on learning and using the Berber dialects in the home and primary schools. On closer inspection, the majority of participants agree that, since the official recognition of Tamazight as a standard language along with Arabic was ushered by the Algerian government in 2016, the general perceptions towards Tamazight have drastically changed in the last five years. Said differently, although many Algerians expressed their indignation with the official decree, the recognition of Tamazight boosted the linguistic pride of many Algerian Berbers in the country. Interestingly enough, most Chaoui and Kabyle participants reported that Tamazight Standardization and new educational reforms made it possible for Berber children to learn and use their heritage language varieties inside and outside their homes. By the same token, the results indicate that Tamazight and its varieties, though do not hinder the process of Arabic learning among children, they are still negatively evaluated and not accepted by many people in the country, most notably regions which are dominated by non-Berber groups.

4-3 Language Management:

The last part casts light over the deliberate interventions made by Berber parents to manipulate language choices at home and in the speech of their children. In essence, it addresses, respectively, the linguistic choices made by parents when their children reached the age of 4 and when they started school. To begin, it focuses the potential choices planned by parents to enhance the multilingual education and development of their children. The results of part three, also, demonstrate the increasing linguistic awareness among Chaoui and Kabyle parents, who seem to be more likely to adopt their heritage language varieties when interacting with their children at home. The choice of Dariġa, comparatively, with children admits of varying degrees. There is a general preference of Dariġa and Chaouia in Chaoui parents-children interactions, as opposed to their Kabyle counterparts, who seem to be less in favor of Dariġa and more prone to adopt Kabyle at home. After their children started school, parents of both ethnic roots reported that, though they did not change their linguistic habits at home, they, nevertheless, became more prone to intensify the use of their heritage languages with their children (Kabyle parents: $M=$

1.87 / Chaoui parents: $M= 1:52$). The most important point to notice about management of Linguistic behavior in the Berber families is the rather obvious-seeming fact that parents of both ethnic descents favor the maintenance of the Berber language and, by and large, linguistic plurality/ multiculturalism more generally. The results of the survey indicate that instruction in Dariġa /Arabic was opted by 0 % of (0 out of 236) Chaoui participants and 5,52 % (12 out of 216) of Kabyle participants. However, monolingual education was highly disfavored in favor of multilingual education, whereby most Chaoui and Kabyle parents reported that they would enroll their children in private schools to learn foreign languages, such as French and English. This decision is quite conceivable provided that a full command of the international languages is an eligibility requirement for the academic and professional success-e.g., to get a job. Furthermore, Chaoui and Kabyle parents asserted the importance of kinship ties and social media as significant factors for preserving the Berber linguistic norms and cultural folkways among children.

5- Discussion:

This research project provides us with insightful conclusions about patterns of family language policy in Berber families in Algeria. In fact, there is a general tendency among the Chaoui and Kabyle parents, notwithstanding their educational and regional roots, for preserving Tamazight and its varieties and supporting linguistic plurality in the informal and formal arenas. Chaoui families members, be they parents, relatives or grandparents, tend to speak distinct linguistic codes with Chaoui children in daily social encounters, creating a trilingual environment with both Chaoui and Dariġa used at home and Dariġa, being the community language variety, used in the neighborhood and public spheres. A not dissimilar conclusion was corroborated by the results of Home Literacy environment section, whereby Chaoui parents were keen to devote a large amount of time to tell their kids stories in Dariġa and/or Arabic. The analysis of home family interactions of the Kabyle families reveals that Kabyle Children seem to be highly exposed to their heritage language variety, Kabyle, and, to a less extent, French and Dariġa. In stark contrast to Chaoui parents, Kabyle parents tend to use Tamazight/Kabyle when narrating fables and stories to their kids, who, also, seem to use Kabyle in large measure in the social media-e.g., texting, chatting. Therefore, there seems to be a substantial sociolinguistic variability in Chaoui children's linguistic input, as opposed to their Kabyle counterparts who appear to be highly exposed to Tamazight/Kabyle in various social situations, notably home and neighborhood. Interestingly enough, Chaoui and Kabyle parents employ different strategies to promote multilingualism at home. While some Chaoui parents speak Chaouia much extensively to their children, other parents use Chaouia and Dariġa, instead. Other Chaoui parents, conversely, adopt the so-called One-person-one-language strategy (OPOL), whereby each parent speaks his/her mother tongue to their child. The results of the Kabyle sample indicated that, while Kabyle is the most spoken linguistic code in parent-child and partner-child interactions, some Kabyle parents reported that they adopt the so-called Non-OPOL strategy, whereby both parents occasionally make conversational moves between Kabyle and French. It is worth noting that, as evidenced by the research results, the implementation of family language policies by Berber parents admits of varying degrees. Said differently, Berber families fall within a long family language policy continuum, ranging from Berber families which use stringent, planned home

policies, to those which adopt pragmatically inspired policies that reflect the status socioeconomic factors, to families which favor a more *laissez-faire* home practices. Comparatively, the results demonstrate that while most Kabyle parents and, to a lesser extent, Chaoui parents fall somewhere between the first two categories, some Chaoui parents in the sample fit into the last category.

5-1 Dehierarchizing language choices, Home-School gap and Economic Reforms:

King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008), noted that the family “can be seen as a site in which language ideologies are both formed and enacted through caregiver–child interactions” (p. 914). The descriptive statistical analyses of parental ideologies demonstrated parents’ awareness of the importance of preserving home languages on the one hand, and linguistic pluralism in the academic and professional success of their children, on the other. These seemingly new conclusions leave open two main questions: 1) how did such linguistic ideologies come in the first place? and 2) to what extent do such parental ideologies affect both language practice and language planning?

A possible line of explanation pertains to several socio-economic and political processes, most notably the official recognition of Tamazight in 2016 as well as the globalization and new economic policies, which necessitated more flexible multilingual policies. To begin, as Tamazight was officially recognized as an official language, along with Arabic, it became taught as an optional subject in middle and primary schools in more than forty cities around the country. New departments of Tamazight were officially founded in some Chaouia and Kabyle speaking cities in Algeria. Thus, these new educational reforms resulted, not solely in decreasing the home-school gap, but also reshaping the linguistic perceptions and attitudes of Berber parents, who became more aware of the cultural and market values of Tamazight and linguistic plurality. Like Arabic, French and English, Tamazight became tightly related to the market place and, thus, it became possible for students of Tamazight language and culture to apply for jobs that require a proficiency in Tamazight language. Thus, Dehierarchizing languages in Algeria was accompanied by a shift in the evaluative norms towards linguistic plurality and parental ideologies towards the status quo of Tamazight. What is more, the findings, which pertain to learning multiple languages at home, tend to corroborate this forecast. There is a general agreement that learning any additional language, be it Tamazight or English, at home does not hinder the process of Arabic acquisition.

5-2 Planning to Save and Promote Linguistic Pluralism:

As evidenced in the previous section, Chaoui and Kabyle parents tend to consider ways to encourage their children to learn, not only foreign languages, but also their heritage language varieties. This result, once again, is indicative of parents’ changing views towards Tamazight. Spolsky (2004) nicely stressed the inextricable link between the internal conditions and external impetuses, noting that “Language practices develop and are influenced in large measure by the external social context, and include the necessity of choice among available variants on the basis of beliefs that assign values to the variants. Language management, then, becomes an attempt to modify the values or practices of

someone else.” (p. 186). Parents, similarly, reported that maintaining regular contacts with the family members and relatives, be it virtually or face to face, would encourage their kids preserve their heritage languages. Indeed, children, would then be able to extensively speak Chaouia and Kabyle with their grandparents, uncles and other members in the kinship network. All things being equal, these explicit parental decisions, accompanied with the integration of Tamazight in the educational arena, would provide a continuity for a successful intergenerational transmission of Chaouia and Kabyle from the oldest age cohorts to children. In the same line of reasoning, monolingualism tends to be put on hold in favor of multilingual education, since most parents plan to send their children to private schools to learn foreign languages, most notably French and English. A degree or an international certificate of English became increasingly a crucial eligibility requirement in many job applications and online freelancing jobs in Algeria and worldwide.

Conclusion:

This comparative study examined patterns of Family Language Policy among Chaoui and Kabyle families in Algeria. Dynamics of code choice among the Berber families appear to be, diametrically, different with Chaoui families using different varieties when interacting with children, as opposed to the Kabyle families who use Kabyle much frequently, instead. Despite these differences in home code choice, heritage language maintenance and promotion of multilingualism in all the private spheres and institutional sectors seem to be positively evaluated by parents of both ethnic descents. In addition, parents' changing attitudes towards the instrumentality of Tamazight in the market place and its cultural and economic value were in large measures coerced by the sociopolitical and educational changes in Algeria. The home literacy practices, supplemental strategies planned by Berber parents at home and the new multilingual education policies represent a continuity of Chaouia and Kabyle transmission across generations one the one hand, and contribution to 'Additive Bilingualism' among Berber children, on the other.

Footnotes:

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⁷ Spolsky, Bernard, 2004, *Language Policy: Key Topics in Sociolinguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University, USA, p. 186

⁸ Berko-Gleason, Jean, 2005, *The development of language*, Boston, MA, Pearson/Allyn & Bacon, USA

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- ¹³ Caldas, Stephen, 2006, *Raising bilingual-biliterate children in monolingual cultures*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters Press, UK, p. 354
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