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English as a "Trojan Horse" in the Algerian Linguistic Landscape

The case of Bouira, City Center

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Dedication

To my caring grand-mother, Fatma.

To my supportive mother, Baya.

To my dear aunt Farida and her husband Mourad

To my much-loved sisters, Lyna & Soulef.

To my Uncle Mourad and his wife Sekoura

To my Uncle Mohammed

To my adorable cousins Mehdi, Walid & Fatima El zahraa

To my dear friend, Zohir

In memory of my Father Djamel-Eddine

& Uncle Nour-Eddine!

Acknowledgement

List of Abbreviations

LL: Linguistic Landscape

QCA: Qualitative Content Analysis

SPSS: Statistical Package in Social Sciences

AGB: Algerian Gulf Bank

BLD: Bank of Local Development

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Abstract:

The display of languages in public spaces is as old as history. However, the attention given to this phenomenon is not that old. The current study explores the expansion of English use in Algeria through analyzing instantiations of English, mainly on shop and building names, in the Linguistic Landscape of Bouira city center. This research work attempts to determine the features influencing Algerians to use English in commercial domains. The motivating factors for the display of English are addressed using *Spolsky's theory of Language Choice,* by means of a mixed method research. To this purpose, all the shop and building signs labelled in English were photographed. The pictures were supplemented with a set of semi-structured interviews with the available actors responsible for the creation and use of these signs, namely the sign owners, the sign makers, and the sign recipients. SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) was used for statistical data analysis, while the results of the interviews were interpreted through the Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) to gain an in-depth understanding about the real reasons behind the use of English in deep Algeria. Despite the small number of its speakers, the residents of Bouira show a great tolerance and acceptance towards English. The results reveal that the majority of signs labelled in English are of a subjective nature and the spread of English in Algeria is an offshoot of globalization. Recommendations and suggestions for future LL research are provided to have better insights about the exact positioning of English within the complex language situation in Algeria, thus offering further visibility to the present linguistic market.

+**Keywords:** *English expansion, Globalization, Shop/ building names, Linguistic Landscape, Language Choice.*

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General Introduction

Statement of the problem:

The linguistic situation in Algeria is very interesting as it can be safely labelled a multilingual nation. Presently, Up to four main languages (Berber, Arabic, French, and English) make up the Algerian linguistic landscape, all of which could be found in a state of competition in the streets. It is worth to mention however that, as far as English is concerned, it was totally absent in the country seventy-four years ago (personal correspondence with Fodil). Today, it is getting more and more visible through commercial signs, especially in urban public signage, as an offshoot of globalization

The area, which has come to be known as Algeria, is the land of the original Berbers (Benrabah, 2014). Algeria's linguistic profile is the result of several invasions, starting from the Romans' to the Arab-Islamic conquest around the seventh century, and finally to the French settlement in 1830 (Benrabah, 2014). However, English has a unique history of its own; its presence is rather *de-ethnicized*. The term was coined by Benrabah (2009b) and is used to designate a variety of English which has nothing to do with neither Britain's colonial history nor the countries whose native language is English.

A flow of linguistic signs constructs any urban setting, thus constituting its vivacity. As purposeful, decorative and plain as it seems, the display of languages in public spaces undergoes an intricate procedure driven by actors, motivations, and decision-making processes. In today's world, English and globalization go hand in hand. In Algeria, this fact is confirmed to be true as English is making inroads in the streets. This tolerance towards English is shown in the Algerian Linguistic landscape. Henceforth, One of the many ways to account for the increasing influence of English in Algeria is through conducting a Linguistic Landscape (LL from now) research. This   Latter offers an understanding towards the sociolinguistic preferences of the inhabitants, that concern mainly which language or languages are alloted the position of prevalence.

This research work describes a study of the LL conducted in the province of Bouira, city centre, which is located in the northern part of Algeria.   The main shopping areas, which have a good combination of commercial and residential use, were selected for the aim of investigating the presence of English on commercial signs. Eight different districts in different parts of the town were selected, in addition to the town shopping centre. What makes these places motivating to conduct a study of this nature is the fact that the inhabitants of this area speak Berber and colloquial Arabic (AKA: Ed-Darija), and sometimes French, but seldom English. Thus, it is thought-provoking to know why some shop owners have favoured English in labelling the name of their shops, rather than the languages they actually speak.

Although the socio-politico-economic situations are quite different, the chief aims of this study are quite similar to Ross' research (1997), in which he examined the presence of English on shop signs in his district in Milan, Italy, or that of Griffin's (2004), in which he examined the conspicuousness of English in the streets of Rome to discover the motivation of shop keepers to use English to sell goods Actually, Med Sadek Fodil has already started a research program in the department of English to explore the effects of the presence of English in Algeria inside and outside of school. An axis of this program consists in trying to discover the reasons of the use of English by shop keepers to label their shops in English. Our work is to be envisioned as a continuation of this program, as it also seeks to probe the same phenomenon, but in another part of the country. Fodil was kind enough to provide me with his research article awaiting for publication, in which he analysed the naming of shops in the town of Tizi-Ouzou, particularly, English shop names. His work suggests that, today, English enjoys a new status within the local linguistic landscape. This is where to include my own research that seeks to examine English occurrence and visibility in Algerian streets. The data to be analysed, therefore, includes all the commercial signs inscribed in English and are

perceivable to the public eye in a town, Bouira, where English is seldom spoken but publicly visible.

Aim and significance of the study:

It is commonly agreed that as a "Lingua Franca", English is the most widely used language around the world. In Algeria, "Standard Arabic" and, recently, "Berber" are the two official languages of the country, with "French" bearing the status of a *de facto* co-official language. However, when wandering in the streets of some Algerian towns, one cannot help but notice the presence of the English language which arrived in Algeria only during World War II (Fodil, 2016), but which is visible on street signs, store fronts, shop windows, billboards, etc. Our study presents a rudimentary, empirical investigation about the infiltration of English use in Algerian public spheres. In other words, its chief aim is to depict the presence of English signs and their role in the construction of a new "Linguistic Landscape", providing thus valuable insights about the salience of English in a "Non-English speaking area". Besides, it attempts to examine the awareness of Algerians about English visibility in open spaces. The study also tries in one of its extensions to explain how and why English sneaked into The Algerian society as a "Trojan Horse", for an enduring cultural settlement liable to jeopardize the inheritance of the colonial language traditions.

By the same token, it is important to mention that LL can have a major influence in language use within a society. Hence, this research tries to establish a correlation between the use of English in publicly displayed signs in Bouira, in comparison with its linguistic standards, by adopting the theory of *language choice in public signage* (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991) which generally follows the same model used in language policy: - describe the praxis, presume beliefs, and look into peculiar management decisions- (Spolsky, 2009, p. 72). The theoretical framework proposed by Spolsky offers means to study some facets of the socio-linguistic ecology of public spaces, as it takes into account the choice of

language, particularly English, in LL. Indeed, this approach describes the actual use of the language, and looks for further minutiae about the language management resolutions.

To this end, far from the informative nature of publicly exposed signs, the selection of the language that vehicles their meaning mirrors a symbolic significance (Spolsky, 2009). The choice of which language or languages to be put on view in any given city-land cannot be random, it is one of the many choices that people need to make at a given time, and this choice may reveal overt or covert intentions (personal correspondence with Fodil).

Research Question and hypotheses:

The current study examines thoroughly the display of sign commercials in English in the Algerian province: *Bouira*, city centre. Hence, this dissertation asks the following questions:

1- Is the English language making its way through the Algerian linguistic landscape to become ubiquitous?"

2- Why do some shop-owners favour English in advertising their shops over Berber, Arabic or French?

Two hypotheses are presented as possible answers to the first research question:

➢ **H1:** English is present in the Algerian linguistic landscape, but its presence is rather scarce

➢ **H2:** English is gaining ground at the expense of the three other languages (Berber, Arabic and French)

As an attempt to predict answers to the second research question, the following hypotheses are advanced :

➢ **H1:** There are objective factors that motivate shop-owners to use English over Arabic, French or Berber, such as the products advertised belong to an international trend

➢ **H2:** There are subjective factors that motivate shop-owners to use English over Arabic, French or Berber, such as a sense of modernisation and prestige.

The answer to these research questions stated above should provide insights into how the LL Bouira reflects the different preferences, needs, and interests in the English language.

Research techniques and *Methodology:*

Since LL is a novel field, this research is exploratory in nature. It makes use of a number of sources, and involves references to pertinent scholarly research in journals and books. It puts a special emphasis on certain kinds of signs, especially commercials, acting as active elements for the visibility and ubiquity of English in Algeria. Digital photography is the most effective tool that will be used mostly for the data collection phase to keep record and track of all these displayed signs, as they are photographed and coded on a per-store basis. Just after taking the needed pictures, semi-structured interviews will be held and recorded with owners and designers of the signs. Additional participants, consisting in random passers-by, will also be interviewed to obtain their feedback about the displayed signs in English. Naturally, the common location is the city centre, then, a distinction will be made between the two categories of language use in LL which are "Top-down" and "Bottom-up" i.e. "governmental" and "private" signs. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches (.i.e. mixed method) will be used to measure the relevance of the main research questions. The quantitative analysis of the data concerns the corpus, which consists in the collected picture

and the close-ended interview questions, while the qualitative study comprises the analysis of the open-ended interview questions through Spolsky's framework of "Language Choice" using Qualitative Content Analysis. This will guide in providing the study with an in-depth and thorough understanding concerning the expanded use of English in the Algerian LL.

Structure of the dissertation:

The dissertation is structured following the traditional complex design that consists of a general introduction, four chapters, and a general conclusion.

The Introduction presents the backdrops of LL, the reasons for choosing this topic, the aims and significance of the study, and the way the dissertation is organized. The first chapter consists in reviewing the prime research works done in relation to LL pointing out to the major theoretical frameworks upon which this research work relies, as it sheds light on Spolsky's *theory of language choice in public signage*, which in turn fits into the theory of "*Language management*". The second chapter under the title of "Research Design" offers a description of the data collection and analysis procedures. The third Chapter, "Presentation of the Findings", presents the findings of the gathered and analyzed data, and then these results are explained in further details in the form of paragraphs. The fourth and the last chapter labeled "Discussion of the Findings" discusses the reasons behind the results found in the preceding chapter as it aims at answering the research question. Finally, the general conclusion provides a holistic summary of the main points considered throughout the study.

Chapter I: Review of the Literature

Introduction:

This chapter consists in the review of the literature designed to account for the major works related to the theory and practice of LL research. It comprises three sections.

The first section presents an overview of the history of Algeria's linguistic diversity as it sheds light on the key factors, especially one of 'Globalization', responsible for the rise of English into today's linguistic competition arena on the national scene. The second section reviews the origins of displaying linguistic signs in public spaces as it aims at describing the conceptual frameworks underlying the notion of LL and the research developed in this area. It also explores the different theories applied in previous LL studies, with an emphasis on Spolsky's *theory of language choice in public signage*. Relying on this theory, the research will attempt to find out the major factors influencing the language choice, mainly English, in the field of commercials. Finally the third section, describes the methods used to survey the different LL investigations. Additionally, it discusses the various problems that a research of this kind is likely to encounter, specifically, the question of "What counts as a sign?"

1.1 The linguistic situation in Algeria

1.1.1   Historical overview:

Historically, before the French settled in Algeria in 1830, the linguistic situation in the country was already complex enough. Berber (Tamazight) was the language of the natives (Berbers), who were in a linguistic contact with a variety of peoples and languages – Phoenician and Hebrew chiefly- (Fodil, 2016). During many centuries the Berbers have got involved in the Roman wars against Carthage; this has promoted Latin to become the lingua franca for more than five centuries (Fodil, 2016). Around the seventh century, Berber started to lose ground for the benefit of classical Arabic, when most Berbers converted into Islam after the first successful Arab-islamic conquest (Benrabah, 1999). Algeria knew other

settlements of the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Turks. According to Benrabah, the language contact between these diverse languages gave rise to a new Arabic variety through time called colloquial Arabic spoken by Algerian people (also known as Ed-Derja), which is different from the Arabic spoken in the Middle East due to the fact that it was highly influenced by the Berber language (Benrabah, 1999; Berger, 2002).

After the arrival of the French, a policy of frenchification was covertly introduced through the different educational systems planted in Algerian schools (Benrabeh, 1999). Even though the country has been freed since 1962, it is safe to say that the French policy was, in some measure, successful as traces of the French language can still be seen in the Algerian Arabic and Berber nowadays.

1.1.2 Current linguistic situation in Algeria:

After the independence, a campaign of Arabization dominated the country's linguistic policies, as Arabic has been the official language of the country since 1963 (Ager, 2001, p.20). The Algerian government tried to promote the Arab identity by imposing classical Arabic over French and Berber in all the institutional systems, from schools to administrations. As Benrabah suggests, this monolingual policy has utterly failed in realizing the governments' goals, and in '*the early 2000s the authorities openly declared that it was time for bi-lingual education*' (2007b, p.29). Indeed, Algerian Arabic, Berber and even French are still alive in the Algerian speech community. Today, "Standard Arabic" and, recently, "Berber" are the two official languages of the country, and due to the 130 years of colonial French rule in Algeria, French is the most commonly used foreign language by the majority of the inhabitants. Fifty five years after the independence, the French language is still widely used by some government officials, administrations, media, and education (starting from the primary school). In fact, some Algerian children acquire French as their mother tongue, thus being regarded as a *de facto* co-official language.

1.1.3 The emergence of English in Algeria:

If the English language presence in Algeria is to be traced precisely, it will be found that its first manifestation began with the launching of the Torch Operation on November, 1942 when Algiers was used as a military base for the American troops (Fodil, 2016). For the duration of their stay, there was a contact between the Americans and the Algerians, as such preparing an enduring settlement for English in Algeria, which increased in size in the post-independence period (Fodil, 2016). Around the 1970's, Algerians had access to American and English folksongs, movies, etc. which helped them develop their proficiency in English (Bouhadiba, 2OO6, p.6). Then, when Algeria was taking steps forward the socio-economic welfare due to the enormous gas and oil incomes in the 1980's, it was clear that English was the language of world economy (Bouhadiba, 2006, p.6).

1.1.3.1 Globalization :

The current global language system tends to identify English as being at its core. It is highly acknowledged that English is the language of science, technology, modern society, and world economy. Indeed, Globalization and English walk hand in hand. Several publications are dedicated to the future of this language in the world (Graddol, 1997; Crystal, 2008; Abley, 2008 etc.). The press release for the inauguration of the British Council's English 2000 project (1995) mentioned that an estimated number of one billion people will be speaking or learning English by the year 2000 (cited in Graddol, 1997, p. 2). Graddol inquiring about the future of English stated that these speculations, in short order, became '*facts*' as the 2000 projections of English speakers surpassed a billion (1997, p. 18).

Globalization has paved the way for several significant changes in the Algerian politics and economy. As an example, right after the independence, the Algerian government followed a strict socialist regimen. However, socialism has shortly started to lose ground for the free market systems endured by globalization. In fact, these are not the only remarkable changes.

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Today, Globalization continues to affect the country's political economy, including culture and language. For instance, the high rates of English presence in commercial fields are due to the fact that it is considered the language of advertisement and commerce by most people, and *'the language of advertising is an indicator of change'* (Fodil, 2016). In fact, English expansion is related to its use. The more English is used within a non-English speech community, the more it gains a presence liable to jeopardize the local languages.

Exactly, globalization surfaced right after the Second World War. The process included different entertainment products (music, fashion, etc.), communication (World Wide Web), and languages, precisely, English. (Eckert, et *al*., 2014). Many theories have been developed in regard to what made English earn this global linguistic dominance status, such as the "Exploitation Theory" or "Gassroots Theory" (Mair, 2002). However, these theories share one common judgment, which is world ascendency to English as a language.

Nowadays, the impact of English use on Algerians is progressively becoming enduring. To measure Algerian youth's perception of the current global language system, Benrabah surveyed 204 Master's students from three different language departments in a west Algerian university (Mascara), in April 2013. These student were asked to choose only one language, amongst ten proposed others, which they consider to be the best choice to live well in Algeria and abroad. Over 92% chose English (Benrabah, 2014, p. 52). These results show that Algerians are aware of the global position that English holds, though their proficiency in this language remains low according to the global research organization "Euromonitor International" (2012 cited in Benrabah, 2014, p.52). Recently, statistics have found that student enrolments in English departments in several Algerian universities are far larger than student enrolments in French departments (Benrabah, 2014, p. 52). Not to mention that the Algerian education system requires all students to take four years of English in middle school,

and three years in high school. Thus, it is not daring to consider "Globalization" as the primary factor that paved the way for this growing significance of English in Algeria.

1.2 Conceptual Framework: Linguistic Landscape

1.2.1   Anthropology lenses on LL:

It is admitted that communication occurs every day, in ordinary conversations or in written messages. On a very basic level, communication is the process of exchanging information for the purpose of generating a shared understanding between two or more participants through the use of different modes, verbal or non-verbal (Velentzas & Broni, 2011, p. 117). In fact, communication is a good means for keeping effective relations. Based on the notion developed by Scollon and Scollon (2003), urban signs are '*multimodal objects'* (cited in Rossetto, 2013, p. 70), a decent amount of strategies and tools are used for different situations to meet a wide variety of communication functions. For example, the written mode of communication, which falls under the category of the visual signs, uses a wide variety of forms to convey meaningful and more significant messages: colors, images, a creative writing style, the selection of a particular language, etc. all of these elements could act together to deliver one message.

'*The written word may be man's greatest invention. It allows us to converse with the dead, the absent, and the unborn'* (Abraham Lincoln, cited in Flournoy, 2015). Moving back in time, it ought to be reminded that the phonetic alphabet has amplified the human visual dependence (Griffin, 2012, p. 326). From the inception of writing in general, people started to think about themselves differently. In the strictest sense, Ong (1982) considers writing as a technology which molded and catapulted the intellectual activity of modern man. Indeed, the phonetic alphabet, as a starting point in the time spectrum, stands in the liminal zone between "Orality" and "Literacy" (Ong, 1982). This is to say that man was no longer obliged to rely on their evolving biological oral memory, i.e. the brain, to keep

records of about almost everything surrounding them, but rather could use the writing system as a tool to further enivision, create, plan, design and manage their environment. Kevin Kelly, the co-founder of *Wired Magazine,* considers language as the first human *singularity* (Silva, 2015). Apart from language, writing has to be the second human *singularity*, from then on, man is never viewed as a mere creation but as a thinking being, a creator of tools. According to Marshall McLuhan(1962), the phonetic alphabet and the printing press are the most important inventions that changed the human life on earth so far, as they are literally considered to be the dawn of the "Age of Literacy".

Indeed, writing is incessantly molding our world, in McLuhan's (1964) words, 'We *become what we behold. We shape our tools, and thereafter our tools shape us*', i.e. man creates tools for the sole purpose to make his life better, consecutively, these same tools become indispensable for his being. If writing is to be defined, it would simply mean a medium used to communicate ideas across *space* and *time* (Powell, 1999, p.8). On the one hand, across space in that it does not bear the fading property of oral communication as it occupies a given physical space, and on the other hand, across time in that it provides us with registers of entire civilizations.

As a matter of fact, even when writing was an expertise bound only to the literate elite in early organized metropolises, it has always been interlaced with public display, an instance of that would be "The Codex Hammurabi", which represents the legal codes written in cuneiform script on a stela of black diorite in the Old Babylonian language, that were made public by Hammurabi, the Babylonian King, to his people (Coulmas, 2013, p.23). Accordingly, from an anthropological perspective, it is safe to say that LL existed way before it has been applied to the concept by Landry and Bourhis in 1997 (Coulmas, 2013).

1.2.2   What is meant by "Landscape"?

There are many different definitions and interpretations of the term 'landscape'. Before giving a well-defined description, one must keep in mind that a biologist or a geologist would have a completely different idea about what a landscape is than a sociolinguist.

To a biologist, the word landscape would be defined from an ecological perspective that is associated to a field of research called "Landscape Ecology" (Bastian, 2001), which is by no means similar in meaning to a sociolinguist undertaking a research work related to landscapes. This is probably why some social scientists prefer to call it city-scape instead, '*One of the main topics* of i*nterest* [of LL] *is the choice of language in public signs ... which is why "city scape might be preferable to "landscape"* ' (Spolsky, 2009, p. 67). In the broadest sense, the Oxford Dictionary (Stevenson, 2010) defines a landscape as pertaining to '*all the visible features of an area of land, often considered in terms of their aesthetic appeal*'. This definition does not take into consideration the disparity in interpretations, but as stated earlier, there are other definitions of landscape depending on the phenomenon under consideration. This is not to argue for a single meaning of landscape, but for the purpose of this research work, it is incumbent to define it in a suitable manner to better quantify its patterns. That being said, the properties of landscape to be investigated in any social research are cultural in nature, thus, a landscape is the "*cultural properties* [that] *represent the combined works of nature and of man*". (World Heritage Committee, 2012, p. 88).

1.2.3 Defining Linguistic Landscape

The most cited definition of the term "linguistic landscape" is the one that was proposed by Landry and Bourhis, and it is as follows:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. (1997, p. 25)

Many researchers tend to reference this definition (Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht, 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Gorter, 2006a, 2006b;

Huebner, 2006; Fodil, 2016, etc.). This suggests that any sort of visual language encountered in any well-defined public space is part of LL. However, moving objects like T-shirts with words print, or advertisment stickers on buses are not taken into consideration, though they obey to the rule of having at least one linguitic sign and are publicly displayed. Thus, the definition is often adapted by some researchers, depending on the aims and the field of the research.

In a research conducted by Ben-Rafael et al., (2006), in which they compared LL patterns in both homogeneous and mixed cities in [Palestine], they defined LL as '*any sign or announcement located outside or inside public institution or a private business in a given geographical location*' (2006, p. 14). In this definition inside store or public institution signs have been added to the scopes of LL research determined by Laundry and Bourhis (1997).

According to Gorter, the concept of LL could be used to account for the linguistic situation in a given country, or for the presence of certain languages in a larger geographical location (2006, p.1). For him, LL is simply concerned with '*the usage of language in its written form in public spheres*' (Gorter, 2006, p. 1). In fact, Gorter's account broadens the scope of LL to such a degree that it comprises all the textual items which are publicly displayed. LL, whatever ways it is defined, lies upon two basic elements, namely *The linguistic sign* and *public space*.

1.2.3.1 Defining the "linguistic sign"

Bakhaus proposes a definition of a linguistic sign as being '*any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. The underlying definition is physical, not semantic*' (2007, p.66). This implies that the linguistic sign includes all what is written, even what could seem meaningless, unimportant and minor, like a random quote or words inscribed on a custom-made T-shirt, a logo on a shopping plastic bag, a welcome expression on a door mat, etc.

1.2.3.2 Definig "public space":

What comes into one's mind upon hearing the expression "pubic space" is a garden, a café, shopping centres, etc. Habermas (1991) emphasizes that the notion of the public is related to the notion of the common. Indeed, as the name suits the deed, a "public space" is an area accessible to the public .i.e, everyone without exception (Efroymson et *al.,* 2009). This definition excludes the gendered public spaces which are subject to cultural conceptions. For instance, coffee shops in Algeria are strictlt considered to be frequented by men only.

In LL research, public spaces are considered to be a " *negotiated and contested arena*[s]" (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009, p. 9). Given the fact that there is a great language bulk in urban settings overt to the mass, a '*negotiated*' arena would signify that any language displayed in any particular public space is worked out to fit the sign owner's choice, intentions and desires. While, a '*contested arena'* refers to the fact that public spaces has become the new field of linguistic competition and, sometimes, reflect a linguistic rivalry or even ideologies. That is perhaps why LL research mostly makes use of public spaces for the study of the linguitic situation in any given territory, and for inferring the political and social issues in any society (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009, p.9).

1.2.4 Functions of public signs:

Landry and Bourhis (1997) indicate that public signs have two germane functions; they are either informative or symbolic (cited in Spolsky, 2009, p.29). The informative function of the sign concerns those signs displayed to communicate information or instructions (Spolsky, 2009, p. 29), such as the "Exit" instructive sign in a shopping center, or the "Do not feed the monkeys" informative sign found in the Djurdjura mountains. These signs also trace the borders of a linguistic group's territory, indicating which language or languages can be used to communicate within these boundaries (Cenoz & Gorter , 2009, p. 56). As for the symbolic

function, it refers to the value and the status given to a certain language or languages in a speech community (Cenoz & Gorter , 2009, p. 56).

1.2.5 Overview about Linguistic Landscape research:

'*The city is not only a place of talk, it is a place of writing and reading as well'* (Halliday, 1978, p.154, cited in Bakhaus, 2007). In this special type of print, which is environmental in nature, it is amazing how people managed to use '*cities as texts'* (Dagenais, et *al*., 2008). These written words exposed in public spheres and are visible to the public eye are the core elements defining the *LL*.

Although the study of signs' meanings and functions has a long tradition in semiotics, LL is a newfangled discipline (Gorter, 2006, p.81). The term "Linguistic Landscape" seems to be first employed by Landry and Bourhis (1997) in a paper they wrote on French-speaking high school students' perception of public signs in Canadian provinces. From then on, scholars from different fields started to pay more attention to the notions that define LL. Primarily, the pedestal consolidating LL is any sort of language that imposes its visibility upon the visual field of people (Shohamy & Gorter , 2009). Additionally, LL research is not pinned down to only one field of research, but rather it:

> […] touches various fields and attracts scholars from a variety of […] disciplines: from linguistics to geography, education, sociology, politics, environmental studies, semiotics, communication, architecture, urban planning, literacy, applied linguists, and economics. (Shohamy & Gorter , 2009, p. 1)

Ever since the term LL was coined in 1997, the appeal to contribute in the field is growing significantly in size as studies about the common use of English on shop signs around the world have been attracting so many researchers (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009, p.1). In 1997, Ross wrote an article in which he examined the presence of English on shop signs in his district in Milan, Italy (1997). Griffin (2001) claimed that English is remarkably noticed in advertisement signs in Sofia, Bulgaria. He also examined the conspicuousness of English in

the streets of Rome in 2004. Schlick (2002) made an account of the English words in shop windows in three different geographical locations: Austria, Italy, and Slovenia. Friedrich (2002) studied the motives of the Why and the wherefore of English consolidation into brand labels and advertising in Brazil (cited in Shohamy & Gorter, 2009, p. 36).

In Algeria, Kahlouch (1997) was the first to conduct a LL research emphasizing mainly on language conflict in public signage between Berber, Arabic and French in the naming of shops in Tizi-Ouzou, wherein French dominated the landscape by 55 percent . Today, as part of a research programme, a LL research was inaugurated by Fodil (2016), in which he analyses the social status English is gaining through the examination of shop signs written in English, in Tizi-Ouzou as well. To the present-day, the list of researchers undertaking this kind of study is still wide open, but the aim is common, that is to analyse the growing significance of English through analysing the LL where it occurs. Indeed, Shohamy and Gorter stress enough on the valuable data that LL furnishes by saying that:

> LL items (whatever ways they are defined) offer rich and stimulating texts on multiple levels—single words with deep meanings and shared knowledge, colorful images, sounds and moving objects and infinite creative representations. These displays shape the ecology in local, global and transnational contexts and in multiple languages. (2009, p. 1)

By the same token, it is equally important to learn about LL dynamics, that is how LL is constructed? by whom? and to whom? (Ben-Rafael, et al., 2006). Ben-Rafael grasps the LL as a *"gestalt"*, 'observations of different phenomena understood as elements of one structured setting' (2009, p.43). This means that LL as a whole is constructed of several parts. The latter constitute the actors. According to Edelman and Gorter (2010), five elements can decide on the shape that LL takes:

a- *Authorities:* streets names, signs stating regulations and rules like traffic signs and so on

b- *Businesses:* the aim of the sign is to advertise products. It is not surprising that most signs are of a commercial nature.

c- *Designers:* this includes the graphic designers who decide on the message that the sign should portray, and the different strategies to reach a particular audience. For example, the choice of language, colours, and drawings on signs can be performed by designers.

d- *Private persons:* This includes non-commercial signs, such as graffiti, customized T-shirts, quotes on cars of private use, etc.

e- Passers-by: to whom the sign is addressed, the audience.

Spolsky, on the other hand, accounted for a condensed version in which only three actors can decide on the structure and the shape that LL takes, and these participants can only be '*the iniator or the sign owner, the sign maker, and the reader*' (2009, p. 70).

Next to this, Ben-Rafael suggests four motives that can possibly have an impact on actors in the LL, and they are as follows:

> Individual, corporate and public actors, who all participate in the formation of the LL, are bound to use LL items to attract the attention of potential clients. This, they may hope to achieve, only by […] setting themselves as much as possible in contrast with each other. Even when attached to different services or goods […] everyone quite unavoidably struggles against everyone else over the public's attention. (2009, p.44)

This shows that LL is not simply a compilation of signs, but rather a dynamic system, where actors constantly interact with each other in a way or another. These interactions can only be in a state of competition or attraction, between sellers or of clients, respectively.

1.3 Theoretical Framework:

1.3.1 Theories applied in previous LL research:

It has been argued formerly that LL started to plant its first seeds from the first moment

human developed a writing system (Coulmas, 2013). Studies about the linguistic landscapes around the world have grown significantly in recent years, though the field currently has no fixed theoretical kernel (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). Different publications, journal articles and a respective number of colloquia attempt to resolve the scholarly issue of whether LL could be studied in the light of existing theories, or could actually make a theory of its own relating to ecology and space (Shohamy & Gorter , 2009, p. 2).

LL falls within a number of disciplines, thus, a research of this kind can be approached from a variety of theoretical perspectives. In semiotics, for instance, LL items are analyzed in a deeper complexity than in sociolinguitics. the scopes of semiotic study of signs are much broader than in socilonguitics (Spolsky, 2009), however, a mixture of both linguistic and semiotic analysis is possible. Fodil (2016) managed to do a linguistic analysis of the names of the shop signs in tizi-Ouzou, and a semiotic analysis at the same time. His semiotic analysis was based upon classifying the signs according the three categories demarcated by Pierce: Indexical, Iconic and symbolic signs.

For the purpose of this study, LL is addressed solely from a sociolinguistic perspective within the field of *language choice in public signage* through *Spolsky's theory of language policy.* This theory was chosen specifically because it accounts for the social features and linguistic inclinations of language display by shop owners. That is to say that it exposes the motivations and unveils the hidden intentions, if there are any, of shop keepers for commercializing their business in English.

1.3.1.1 Spolsky's Theory of Language Policy and Management

Language Policy is a decision-making process. Spolsky argues that language policy is about "*the choices individual speakers on the basis of rule-governed patterns recognized by the speech community (or communties) of which they are member*" (2009, p.1). In fact, language policy embraces three components:

> Language practices [which refer to] the language pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; … Language beliefs … [which refer to] the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to mofidy or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management. (Spolsky, 2009, p.5)

Language practices are the observable demeanors of languages in a community .i.e, the concern is on the societal norms that are '*regular and predictable*' , with exclusion of unusual language choices (Spolsky, 2009, p.3). Language beliefs account for the community's perception of a certain language (Silverstein, 1979, p.193) . This comprises the common impression about the different status given to languages. As for language management, it is the '*explicit and observable efforts by someone or some group that has or claims to have authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices and beliefs*' (Spolsky, 2009, p.4). this definition emphasizes the language policy context, it considers the role of all language varities within a sociolinguistic situation as it puts language choice at the forefront.

In fact, Spolsky uses language policy and language management interchangeablly. However, the main interest of this study is language choice in public signage. This latter is is approached with the same model used for language policy in general – *a description of actual practice, an attempt to infer beliefs, and research into specific language management decisions* (Spolsky, 2009, p. 72) .

From a language management standpoint, ' *public signs are the culmination of a process with several participants – the iniator or the sign owner, the sign maker, and the reader*' (Spolsky, 2009, p. 70). This approach comprises three basic conditions, which seek to describe the actual use of the language, and looks into details about the language management resolutions. According to Spolsky, these conditions are as follows:

> The first condition, a necessary one, is to write a sign in a language you know […] The second rule captures […] [the] "presumed reader's condition": prefer to write a sign in a language which can be read by the people you expect to read it. […] The third rule accounts for […] [the] "Symbolic value condition": prefer to write a sign

in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified […]These three conditions […] will be the major part of a theory of language choice in public signage. (2009, p.69)

The first condition, clarifies why signs are not written in languages which do not have a writing system, like in the example Spolsky provided, the case of colloquial Arabic; the signs are in fact written in the classical one. This rule also justifies the common spelling errors (Spolsky, 2009). The second condition, which is the ''*presumed reader's condition''*, takes into consideration to whom the sign is destined. The sign should be written in a language that the potential audience manages to read (Spolsky, 2009,). For example, people walking down the streets of Bouira, who are considered to be the prospective audience, are not expected to speak, read or understand languages other than berber, Arabic, or French. Since the sign is created for the sole aim of advertising goods and services, shop keepers should take into consideration the linguistic commands of the speech community in which the sign is displayed. The last condition, which is the "*symbolic value condition",* concerns generally multilingual communities. For Spolsky, "*it accounts for the order of languages on multilingual signs*" (2009, p. 69). For instance, the hierarchy of languages on any particular sign would tell us to which languages priority and importance were given. As an example, someone who chooses to label his or her shop name in Berber possibly signifies that the person views this language in some sort of admiration and belonging, and potentially communicates his or her ideology. This theory, which primarily was found to analyze the spoken language, offers a complementary frame to the analysis of the written language use in public spaces.

1.4 Methods applied in earlier LL studies

Different LL studies draw their methods from different fields such as sociolinguistics, semiotics, discourse analysis, etc (Edelman, 2010, p.51). The majority of LL studies concentrates on the current situation, with each using a different methodology that fits the

requirements of answering the research questions. Edelman (2010) reports that LL research is now taking on a new form, a modernized version, that makes use of virtual reality. The method involves creating '*linguistic maps*' through the use of computerized maps on which the setting for each sign is located immediately after it is observed and photographed (Edelman, 2010, p. 53).

Once the reseachers define what is a "sign", they also define their methodology, from this stand the methods vary. What to include or what not to include is very important. Many reseachers prefer to count each and every sign that comes under their sight, while others count only signs that are of commercial nature (Masai: Tokyo, Japan/ Ross: Milan, Italy/ Schlick: Austria, Italy and Solvenia/ Fodil: Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria/ Friederick: Brazil/ Da Silva: Jakarta, Indonesia, and many others).

As for the data analysis phase, some researchers take on a very systematic approach by categorizing each sign on a per-store basis, depending on the domain in which the sign is used, such as restaurants, fashion stores, etc. Other researchers prefer to label the signs under two categories, whether "top-down signs", i.e. government-issued, or "bottom-up" signs, i.e. private-issued signs (Ben-Rafael, et *al*., 2006). This allows determining how official or unofficial the sign is. The methodical approach, which this study follows, consists in classifying each sign in accordance to variable categorization found in previous studies, notably, those reported in Fodil's research (2016). The first typology is in accordance to Tournier's (1985) lexicogenic processes, which are as follows: Simple words – Acronyms – Misspelled words – Macaronic forms – Blends – Phrases – Proper Nouns (cited in Fodil, 2008; 2016). An extra additional process this study accounts for is 'transliterations'. Thereupon, these same signs will be classified depending on their thematic field. Finally, the main results will be discussed within a sociolinguistic frame.

Researchers tend also to make other decisions in regard of defining the area under investigation. The areas selected to be studied can be any given street, a district, or an entire country. The latter is completely manageable but very time consuming. Some choose to analyze and compare the languages within the same neighborhood or city, such as Bakhaus' (2007) comparative study of urban multilingualism in Tokyo. Others content with analyzing signs in streets of commercial use only (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). Undeniably, hundreds of signs can be found in commercial districts, which make of them the best places to conduct a LL research (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). It is very important that each and every study regarding LL planning needs to develop an inventory to come to credible and systemic results and conclusions.

LL research is still a young field and the increasing interest in it is growing significantly. It would be useful to come at a unified methodology, thus, it is crucial in any sort of LL study that researchers provide a detailed description of the applied methodology to establish indicative comparisons and results for future research (Shohamy & Gorter , 2009).

1.4.1 Problems LL studies encounter

1.4.1.1 Proper Names

One of the major problems that researchers face when studying the LL, is proper names. Proper names are frequently displayed in LLs more than it is thought (Piller, 2000, p.267, cited in Edelman, 2010, p.23). Piller states, '*The brand name is arguably the most central linguistic item of an ad – it is what it is all about'* (2000, p.267, cited in Edelman, 2010, p.23). "Georgio Armani" and "Nina Rici", for instance, are international beauty brands (fragrances). Some shop owners selling these products, simply, decide on using these proper names as their shop names, by which the quality and the brand of the products they are selling are identified.

A number of suggestions have been proposed in an attempt to address this issue. "*A researcher who does not code proper names as foreign languages gets an incomplete picture of the LL's multilingual character*." (Edelman, 2010, p. 80).

In *What's in a Name? Classification of Proper Names by Languages*, Edleman (2009) proposes three solutions to the matter. The first is excluding all names, but as mentioned earlier, proper names occupy a large part of the LL. Nonetheless, this solution can provide a more accurate frame of the spoken languages in the area under investigation (Edelman, 2009, P. 152). The second solution advocates for tracing the proper names into their origins, either the origin of the names themselves or the origin of their trademarks, before classifying them as being part of a particular language. One of the drawbacks of this solution is that , in accordance to the context in which they occur, proper names can be part of any language , but if a proper name contains a text next to it, then it should belong to the language in which the other text is written (Edelman, 2009, p. 152). The third and last option is to attribute each name to its language of origin and assign codes for all signs, whether they consist of : '*1- Proper name(s), 2- Other text, or 3- both*' (Edelman, 2009, p. 152). This indicates that if the sign includes a proper name and a text next to it, the name is attributed to the language in which the text is written; while if the sign contains solely a proper name, it ought to be coded based on its language of origin.

1.4.1.2 What counts as a sign?

Once the researcher decides on the spatial boundaries of where to conduct the research, a question raises itself instantly to his or her mind: What counts as a sign? In fact, an infinite number of signs can be found in the streets, however, not all of them could be relevant for a LL research. In order to know what counts as a sign for the purpose of a LL study, we need to know what does not count as a sign first.

As mentioned earlier, Bakhaus defined a sign as being '*any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame*' (2007, p.66). Thus, images alone cannot be considered when undertaking a LL research. In addition, most LL studies do not include numerical numbers, for instance price tags, unless they are written in their textual form. The reason behind this is that the main interest is numerical numbers can be read by individuals using any language they wish as they do not belong to a specific one. However, once these same numbers are displayed in their textual form, the latter imposes itself upon the language in which they are read.

The signs that this research work counts are shop and buildings names primarily. This focus is of explicit accordance to the fact that English has become a personal choice to many shop keepers and businessmen. The number of shops labelled in English is mushrooming each and every day, hence, it is worth to note that shop names can tell us a lot about the individual linguistic preferences. Another type of signs that are considered in this study, if there were any, are government issued signs in English. The combination between these two categories of signs, "Bottom-up" and "Top-down", allows pointing out to the growing influence that English is having on Algeria as a country, and her population as individuals.

Conclusion:

The review of the literature in this chapter has introduced the origins of the linguistic diversity, as well as the position of English in the current linguistic situation in Algeria. In addition, it has offered a journey into the past of displaying written language in public spheres, as it has defined the notions that make up LL generally, with providing an overview about the history of research in this field. Moreover, it has addressed the frequent problems that a research of this kind usually encounters. The literature has revealed that authors are aware of these problems as they have suggested different solutions, of which some are

provisional, to better tackle these problems. The chapter has also clarified the theoretical framework within which LL fits. Despite the fact that the field of LL research does not have a well-established theory at core, Spolsky's theory of language management addresses the matter by demonstrating a model of language choice through which LL studies could be approached. For the present aims, this model of language choice suits better for our own research, especially since any LL is mainly constructed from the different choices individuals make in regard to language use.

Chapter II: Research Design

Introduction :

This chapter consists in the research design mainly concerned with the methodology used to reach answers to the research questions asked in the general introduction. First, it presents a description of the context of investigation. Then, it illustrates the procedures followed for the data collection, which consists of capturing commercial signs written in English in digital photography, that were complemented with the different interviews held and audio recorded with the sign owners, graphic designers, and some randomly selected passers-by in the city center of Bouira. Finally, it explains the data analysis methods. The research uses the mixed method that includes both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses. The quantitative study features the corpus, being the collected pictures, and the qualitative analysis makes use of Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) to interpret the data as it considers the interviews and the corpus through Spolsky's framework of language choice in public signage, namely the choice of English to be put on display.

2.1 Description of the survey area

The study is carried out in the town center of the province of Bouira (AKA: Tuviret), which is situated in Kabylia, 96 kilometer south-east of Algiers. With about 89000 inhabitants (ONS, 2008), the city center has a good combination of urban and commercial use. The different bureaucratic services in the town attract people from 45 different municipalities. These urban amenities range from civic administrations, hospital institutions in addition to the university that attracts students from other provinces. Generally, tourists, consisting of athletes and hikers mainly, come for the mountains situated in Bouira 'Djurjdura'. Apart from the Algerian immigrants who come to Bouira from a period to another, the city does not see enough tourists. Of course, there was a time when hundreds of foreign workers, chiefly Chinese, settled in the city and some of them do still live there. French alone is not enough to

meet the needs of these foreigners, who in most cases have a command of English to some degree. Though the locals sometimes face a hard time communicating with these potential clients, the linguistic state of the town landscape today is a miscellany of languages. Interestingly, English was completely absent from the scenery some fifty years ago. Today, a linguistic competition can be inferred from the languages put on display in public spaces.

2.2 Procedures of data collection

In order to gain a holistic image about the presence of English in the Algerian LL, the major streets of Bouira were walked, and pictures of any shop name bearing English captions were taken. Furthermore, interviews were held in order to capture the role of languages in marketable businesses, and the attitudes towards the presence of English in Algerian streets, as well as the factors motivating shop owners to label their shops in English. The mixed method approach is adopted as a methodology for both collecting and analyzing the two types of data. The mixed method was favored for such a study because it allows counting tokens of English presence in the streets as it leads to a full grasp of the matter from the real-life actors' perspective, who are responsible for the sign creation and use.

2.2.1   Photography

To acquire a set of data that properly reflects the presence of English in the LL in Bouira, eight neighbourhoods in addition to the town shopping center (UNO) were selected for this study. Between April, 17th and 25th, all visible commercial signage inscribed in English in these streets was photographed. A total number of 106 shop and building signs were captured in a cannon digital camera. The streets that were surveyed in the inner city are "Draa El Bordj – Foche street – 1100 Blocks – 338 Blocks – Amar khodja Street – Harkat Street - 1st November street - The town center – UNO Shopping Center).

Photography is an efficient research tool for conducting this kind of studies. Methodologically, pictures provide a thorough documentation of any LL as it offers a simulation of the exact setting. Contrary to note taking, which is time consuming and prone to human errors, the digital camera keeps track and record of all the signs.

2.2.2 Interviews

The interviews aim at gathering detailed answers .i.e. qualitative data. They function as an instrument that empowers the research to probe the participants' responses as such constructing flexible networks to the quantitative data. Hence, Interviews were held and audio recorded with the owners of the shop signs right after the photos were taken, to see why they chose to label their shops in English rather than French for example, or any other language. Other interviews were held with six different graphic designers, to see in which language the majority of their clients ask them to design the sign. These interviews are meant to supplement the previous ones, with the shop keepers, to see whether English is truly in demand or not. Next to that, around 20 randomly selected passers-by were interviewed to see whether languages displayed on commercial signs have an impact on them, since they are considered to be the addressed audience and are likely potential clients, or not. Of course, the questions of the interviews were translated into Arabic, Berber and sometimes French, depending on the interviewee's desire. None of the interviews were purely held in English as the majority of merchants, pedestrians and graphic designers do not understand English, or sometimes understand but are not capable of answering. These interviews were semi-structured, but samples of interview questions can be found in Appendix C– D, and E.

2.3 Limitations

It is crucial to note that there are some factors that may affect the data in this study. Some signs might have been missed. However, a great amount of time and efforts were devoted to make sure that the city center is wholly covered. It is also vital to mention that this

study reflects Bouira's LL at one point in time. In fact, it is possible that new signs in English have appeared between the data collection and the time of this writing. As stated above, the interviews that were supplemented to the pictures offer holistic and more informative frame to the research. However, few sign owners were not, or refused to be interviewed for understandable reasons. For instance, the sign indicating the Gulf Bank Algeria, which is a non-governmental bank, was written in three languages "Berber, Arabic and English". This bank belongs to Kuwaitis investors, but the workers are Algerians. Thus, an interview with the owner is almost impossible. However, efforts were made to trace the origins of this bank in an attempt to hypothesize why English was added to the other two official languages of Algeria.

2.4 Procedure of data analysis

2.4.1 Descriptive statistical method

Clearly, the collected pictures of the shop signs generate numerical data. In order to code the shop signs into the different sign categories (Top-down, Bottom-up/ Shop sectors) properly, the photographs, which help us to quantify and categorize English tokens, as well as the close-ended interview questions, which explore the English proficiency level and the factors motivating shop owners to label their shop names in English, are classified and calculated   using a computer software called The Statistical Package for Social Sciences version 24 (SPSS v24). This program is generally used for statistical analysis in social sciences.

2.4.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

In this study, the signs are examined specifically for their commercial and symbolic intent through the use of English in the LL of Bouira. Henceforward, the qualitative content analysis (QCA from now) is the most suitable method in interpreting the answers gained from the interviews in association with the displayed signs. QCA is one of the various methods

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used to analyze text data, and it is defined as being '*a research method for subjective interpretation of the content of the text data through systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns*' (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p.2). In fact, rather than being based on a single type, applications of QCA bring into play three approaches: conventional, directed or summative. The three approaches can be used to formulate interpretations for the content of text data, but this study uses the directive content analysis. In the directive content analysis, the researcher makes use of an existing theory or prior research findings, and then identifies key concepts as preliminary coding categories (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). Indeed, this research work applies a sociolinguistic analysis to the interviews through Spolsky's framework of language choice, which in turn fits in the theory of Language Management.

As to the methodological concern of categorizing proper names, the analysis will be performed according to Edelman's third option, which is based on the notion of any proper name is to be traced back to the language of its origins (2010, p. 80). It is crucial to note that two types of proper names were counted in this study. The first type is all the proper names of British or American origins, such as "Ralph Lauren", and the second type is signs containing names which belong to other languages, but include an English text next to them, for example: Kadi Shop.

Conclusion

The chapter has outlined the research methodology employed in this study. First, it has described the survey area. Then, it has introduced the data collection procedures, which consist mainly of taking photographs of the publicized signs through the use of a digital camera, in addition to the interviews. Moreover, it has laid out the techniques used for the analysis of the collected data, from the coding of pictures to the QCA of the interviews. These

analysis methods endow qualifications to assess the attitudes of Algerians towards English in general, and the role and impact of this language in language hierarchy shift and code selection in Algeria in particular.

Chapter III: Presentation of the Findings

Introduction:

This chapter is empirical in nature. It presents the analysis of the gathered data, which includes photographs and interviews. These two types of documents were collected and conducted, respectively, from April 17th to April 25th, 2016. The chapter explains the reasons behind the presence of English and its impact on Algerians, and elucidates the major factors that motivate people to use the English language. The results are coded, presented in percentages, and displayed in tables, pie charts and Bar graphs. This section is laid out in two main subsections. The first part involves a statistical descriptive analysis based on the photographs that are mainly concerned with the shop signs, and close-ended interview questions asked to the sign owners, graphic designers, and pedestrians. In parallel, the second subsection accounts for the analysis of the results gained from remaining interview questions asked to the above mentioned participants, in Bouira. These questions account mainly for their outlooks on language display in the streets, particularly English.

3.1 Presentation of the Results of the Photographs

The shop names are presented in tables. The first two inclusive categories under which the signs are arrayed are: 'Top-down' and 'Bottom-up' .i.e., private issued signs and government issued signs, respectively. Within the Bottom-up table of classification, the shop names are arrayed in sub-categories to highlight the properties of the English signs. The signs are coded in accordance to the lexicogenic processes reported in Fodil's (2016) research article. These distinctive variables, mentioned in chapter **2** in part **1.2.7**, are as follows: Simple words – Acronyms – Misspelled words – Macaronic forms – Blends – Phrases – Proper Nouns, and as an extra additional variable, transliterations. Thereupon, the shop signs are quantified in a table depending on their thematic field.

3.1.1 The Corpus of the Study: The Signs

3.1.1.1 Top-down signs:

Banking Service	MoneyGram

Table 3.1: A government issued sign

Figure.3.1: The Bank of Local Development

Table 3.1, which is documented by figure 3.2, shows that only one sign in English was issued by a governmental banking service.

3.1.1.2 Bottom-up Signs:

Simple Words	Hot (spacing) LD ROSE (spacing) Style LOOK - Fashion – Prestige – Newness – Galaxy – Design – Crust – Crunch – Top – Smart .
Acronyms	HIMI (Higher International Management Institute) - G-City(Gentlemen City) - H&M shoes (Hennes & Mauritz) – KFC Food - LG (Life's Good)
Misspelled words	Chic Choes (shoes) – Big says (size) – Alfa for woman – Kids Toys – Quickly Wash.
Macaronic Forms	VIParfum - Galaxy: Santé et Beauté – Bijoutrie Silver - Habillement Homme TOP - Alpha Shoes – Chic Boutique – Tu peux changer de LOOK – Glagla: Built to Breathe… - Burger Royal - Le délice Fast Food & Self-service – La mama Fast Food – Mignon Food – Pizzeria Friends – Espagnola Food – Fast Food Diroma – Flormar Professional

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	Make-up – Shop Solaire .
Blends	TechnoFormat School – ProFormat School – Skynet – ProFoot by Sport – Beauty Coiff – King Berger – Pizza Hut- Algeria Gulf Bank.
Phrases	Empire of Foche street 'Welcome to B&S Shop' – Herbs of the World - Jet Set – Best Fashion – Swift Shoes – Chic Shop – White and Black – Home Net – Revolution Net - New Design – Foot Locker – King Phone – Best Form – My Sport- Air Sport – Baby Land – Shop Dream – Future Ceramic- Eleven Food – King Berger – House Family – Titan Store – Fast Food Pizza Hut – Pizza Hut – Top Food – Broaster Chicken – Burger Chicken Snack - Fast Food (x4) – Pressing star – Beauty Centre – Algerian Gulf Bank – Red Men – Play mode Gallery: the House of Brands – Footland Store – Must : Make-up & Fragrance – Griffa For Women.
Proper Names	Newton School – Silver Soundes – Beauty Paris - Ralph Lauren — Oscar – Verda Shoes – Zara men – Gucci The making of – Istamboul New Style – Heifa Fashion – Tom and Jerry - Kia Motors – Milano Food – McMino – McDo - KADI SHOP – Joana Fast Food – OKAWA: There is Always Time For Coffee – Capri Shoes.
Transliterations	Najah Schools – Najah Travel Agency - كوك

Table 3.2: English Shop names in Bouira center classified according to their lexicogenic processes

Table 3.2 shows the results obtained from eight different neigbourhoods, in addition to the largest covered shopping center in Bouira. A total number of 105 signs were found in these surveyed areas, and classified, as mentioned earlier, according to Tournier's lexicogenic typology reported in Fodil's (2016) article.

To better quantify English tokens in the streets of Bouira, we suggest another table that represents these shop names depending on the different sectors of shops:

Sector	Frequency	Percentage
Clothing store	36	34,3%
Food	31	29,5%
NICTs	10	9,5%
Housewares	3	2,9%
Baby Care	6	5,7%
Multifarious services	7	6,7%
Cosmetics and chemist	7	6,7%
Private Schools	5	4,8%
Total	105	100%

Table 3.3: The Total number of shop signs in accordance to their thematic field.

From table 3.3, it is clear that there is an uneven distribution of the naming of shops in English amongst the different commercial fields. Based on these results, the highest ratios of English shop names are found in the lines of clothing stores, with an overall majority of 36 signs (34,3%), and fast foods, with a total number of 31 signs (29,5%). English shop names were also found in other commercial sectors, like NICTs (New Information and Communication Technologies), and cosmetics, but in lower records compared to clothing and food businesses.

3.1.1.3 Top-down Vs Bottom up:
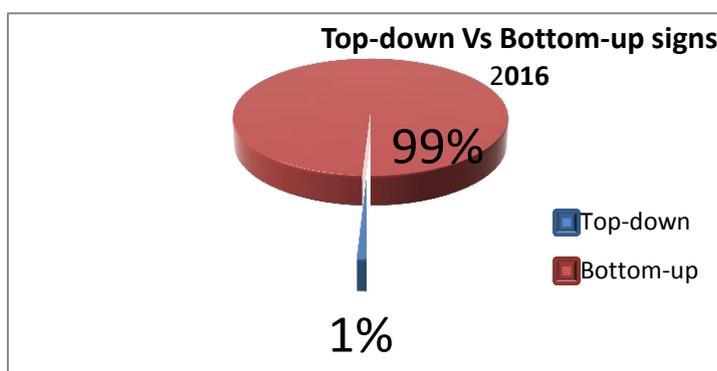
Diagram1: comparison between government issued and private issued signs

From table 3.1 and 3.3, one concludes that there is a massive gap between top-down and bottom-up signs. As the pie chart indicates, 99 percent, which stands for 105 signs, belong to

private owners. In contrast, only 1 percent represents the total number of government issued signs. This shows that English does not have an official, but rather and officious standing in Algeria.

3.2 The results of the close-ended interview questions:

3.2.1 The Interview with the Shop Keepers

With no regard to gender and age differences, 55 shop keepers were interviewed about the reasons behind labelling their shops in English. The respondents all live and run their business in the province of Bouira.

3.2.1.1. What is your level in English?

	Very low (Beginner)	Low (Understand few words)	Medium (Understand but face difficulties communicating)	High (a good command of English)
Percentages	61%	16,70%	18,50%	3,70%
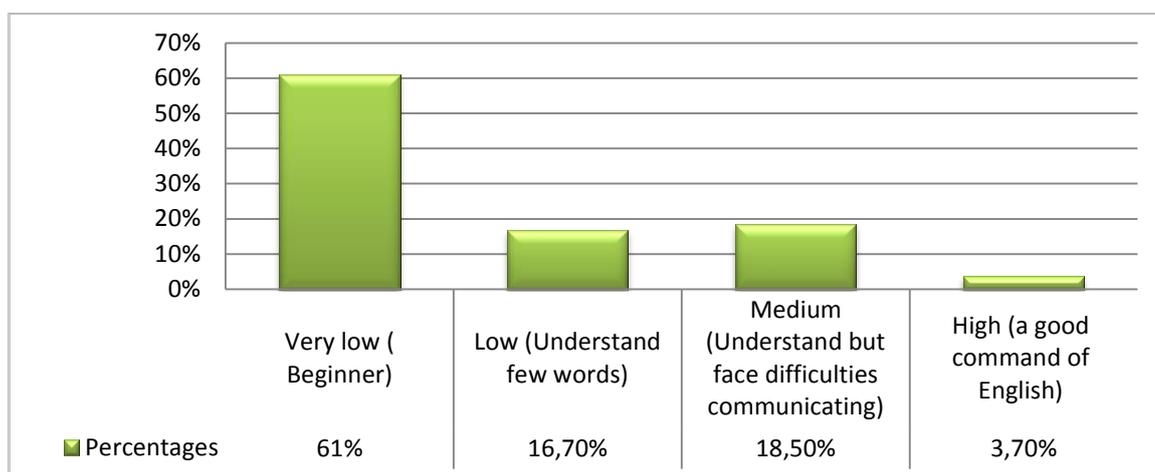
Diagram2: The shop owner's Level in English

The diagram indicates English proficiency level of shop owners who have labelled their shop names in English. While only 2 respondents, who stand for 3.7%, claim that they have a good mastery of the language, nearly two thirds of the interviewees, with 61%, have admitted that they have a very poor command of English. In comparison to the 16.7 % of merchants who can understand few words in English but cannot speak, nearly the fifth of shop keepers , with a total fraction of 18,50% , understand well English but face a hard time communicating using the language.

3.2.1.2. Do you think that an English shop name attracts more customers?
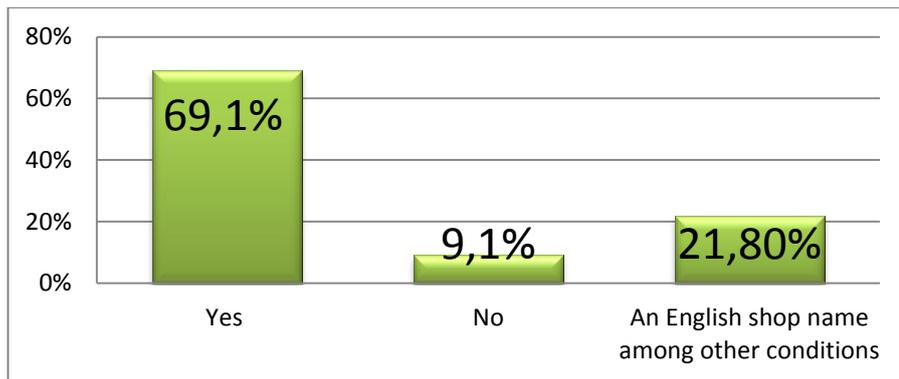
Diagram 3: Shop keepers' perception of English potential to attract more clients.

The statistics of diagram 3 depict that the great majority of shop keepers (69,1%) consider that labelling a shop in English plays a major role in attracting more clients. While 21,8% argue that next to an English shop name, reputation (quality of the service, hygiene, etc.) are complementary conditions that affect the customer's appeal. A small percentage (9,1%) of respondents believe that English has nothing to do with attracting clients.

3.2.1.3. Would have named your shop in English if it were located in a rural area?
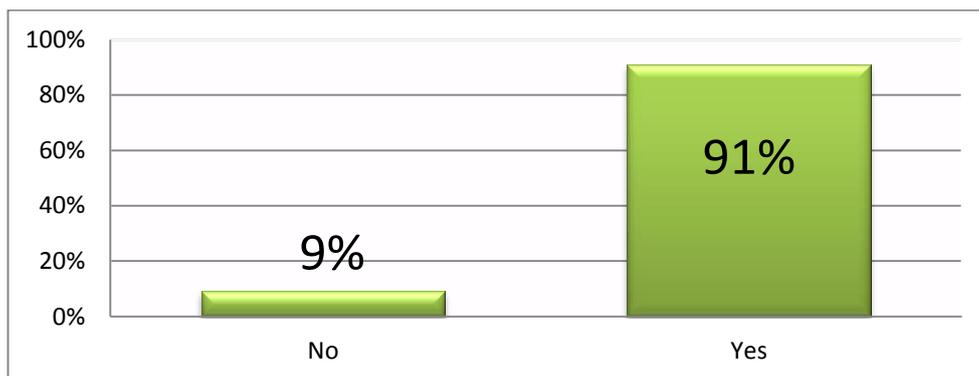
Diagram 4: Shop owners' willingness to keep their shop name if it were located in a rural area

The bar chart illustrates that the majority of shop owners, 91 percent precisely, are willing to keep their English shop name even if it were located in a rural area. Only 6 respondents, who stand for 9 percent, claim that it is unlikely to keep their shop name, and

they would definitely change it to fit the setting, in which the sign is produced, and arrange the customers' language, to which the sign is addressed.

3.2.2 The interview with the pedestrians:

To reinforce the results gained from the interview with the shop keepers, twenty passers-by were randomly selected and interviewed to see whether there is an impact of English in streets on them or not.

3.2.2.1. In your opinion, do you consider that a shop labelled in an English name provides better services, or sells quality products?
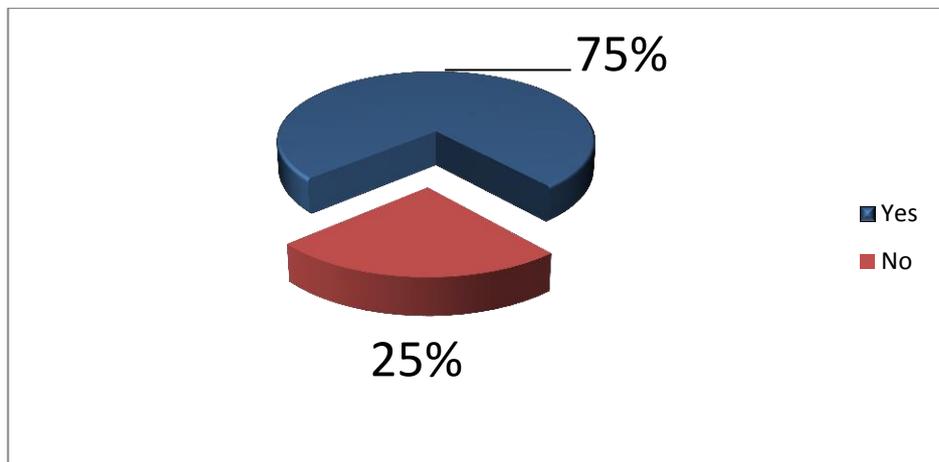
Diagram5: Participants' views on the quality of the services offered in shops labeled in English.

Relying on the results displayed in diagram 5, the majority of the respondents (75%) believe that shops labelled in English offer better services and sell quality products. In contrast, 25% of them affirm that English shop names do not necessarily reflect the good quality of the services offered.

3.2.2.2. Which of these four languages (Berber, Arabic, French, English) you wish to see more in the streets?
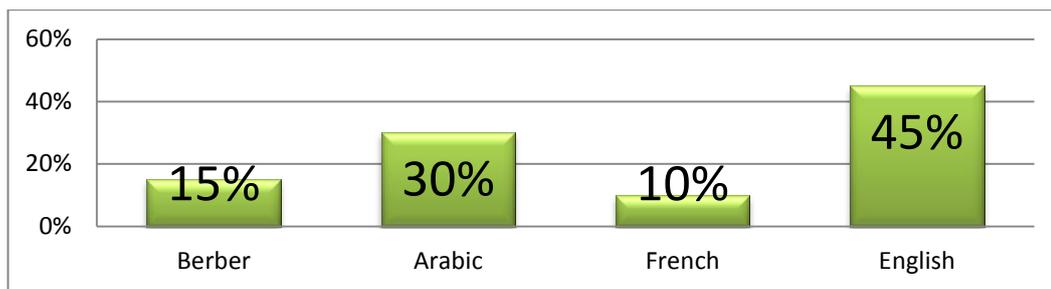
Diagram 7: Participants' language preferences.

The results of diagram 7 reveal that 45% of people prefer to see more English tokens in their LL. In counterpart, exactly the third of the respondents chose Arabic over the other three languages. While the quarter of pedestrians voted for Berber, only 10% of them chose French.

3.2.3 The results of the open-ended interview questions

3.2.3.1 The interview with the shop owners:

3.2.3.1.1. Why did you label your shop name in English?

The Answers to this question vary from personal to marketing-related purposes. While the majority of merchants agree on the international status English possesses, others have had more mixed feelings. Some shop keepers decided to simply name their shop with the brand label of the company with whom they deal. Few merchants are 'captured' by the 'smooth pronunciation' (as I quote from two participants) of the English language; this advantageous property makes it seem effortless to read and articulate the sounds of their shop sign which thus lingers in people's memory. Interestingly, some sign owners claim that English is a prestigious language as it gives a chic sounding to their shops.

3.2.3.1.2. Who do you think can read your sign? Who do you want to read your sign?

The majority affirmed that they used plain words that people hear very often even if they do not speak nor understand English. For example the owner of a graphic design store named "Design" said 'even my grandmother knows what the word Design means'. However, some shop signs need a certain amount of English mastery to understand, but this argument

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was confronted by the statement, as I quote from the " Crust" sign owner, 'if they do not know what it means they just have to ask or look for it'. Additionally, most merchants affirm that they do not target any particular kind of customers through their shop name; whoever is willing to purchase their goods and pay is welcomed. However, there are those who said that this depends on the service or the item sold, if it is destined for children as an example, it should be reflected through the shop sign. A baby clothing store owner who named his shop "Kids' Toys" said, 'even if children cannot read the sign, they can see the colours, and this sign is similar to the one they see almost every day advertised on MBC3 (a cartoon channel); it would not surprise me that they would easily recognize it, say it, and understand it'.

3.2.3.1.3. What do you want your client to think of your business through your shop name?

Almost all the merchants said that their clients are better informed about the quality of their products and services through their shop sign. Hence, the shop name indicates that their business meets the international etiquette. Thus, labelling the shop in English attributes their services or items sold to foreign rather than local standards.

3.2.3.1.4. Why would you change your shop name if it were located in a rural area?

(This question was asked to those who answered with "yes")

Precisely 5 out of 55 shopkeepers claim that it would not be relevant to label their shop name in English if it were located in a rural area. The owner of the clothing shop "Alfa for woman" said that he would definitely use Berber instead. From his angle of sight, though the shop sign should reflect some sense of internationality, it should also take into consideration the fact that it is understood by the potential clients.

3.2.3.2 The interview with the Graphic Designers:

The process of creating signs starts at the graphic design store. Graphic designers are fundamental actors responsible for designing graphics used in advertising and signage. Six graphic designers in Bouira town center are interviewed about their clients' language preferences and demands. Their answers are used to supplement the results gained from the interviews with the shop keepers.

3.2.3.2.1. What do you consider to be the most predominant language in the area of advertising and signage in Bouira?

Three graphic designers claimed that French and Arabic hold a position of dominance around the area. When they were asked about English, they confirmed that they had also designed signs in English but in fewer occasions. One graphic designer said 'there is no fixed answer to this question', Most of advertisement signage use up to three languages. In his opinion Arabic, French, and English are used equally. The remaining two designers affirmed that English is now holding a new spot. They said that people tend to use more English, especially when it comes to private businesses; French and Arabic are not in demand compared to how they used to be in the past. In their words, there is no single predominant language, but there are three which co-exist simultaneously instead. However, one of these two designers added 'not for so long, because English holds bad news for the other languages' (adapting his words).

3.2.3.2.2. When was the last time you designed a sign in English?

Participant 1 &2 & 3	So long that I do not even recall
Participant 4	About a month
Participant 5	Just recently, I think around fifteen days or so
Participant 6	The last two days, and to a clothing shop named "Top Shop"

Table 3.4: English demand in advertising

3.2.3.2.3.   Do you think that labelling a shop in English will attract more customers?

Participant 1 &2 & 3	Not necessarily
Participant 4 & 5	Of course it would attract more customers
Participant 6	If the goods and services are appealing then the English shop name is an intelligent addition.

Table 4.4: Shop designers' view about the use of English for advertising purposes

In the world of graphic design, English does not seem in demand that much. However, the presence of English in the streets tells another story, i.e. English is highly noticed on shop signs.

3.2.3.3. The results of the interview with the pedestrians:

3.2.3.3.1. **What do you understand from this shop sign?** *(pointing to a shop sign written in English)*

Ten pedestrians were interviewed in front of a fast food shop named "*Crust*" and were asked about what the name meant. Six respondents did not know what the word "crust" means. One made a reference to cereals without giving a definite meaning, while only two have got the meaning right. The same interview process held place in another setting. Ten different passers-by were interviewed in-front of a perfume shop labelled 'VIParfum' and were asked what they thought the shop sign meant. Interestingly, five persons, mainly young people, knew what VIP meant, while two of the participants said that they know it refers to something or someone important but they did not know what the acronym stands for, while the remaining interviewee said that it may be a perfume brand name.

Conclusion:

The chapter has provided the results of the shop signs' photographs and the interviews indicating English display in the streets of Bouira and its impact on people, with a special emphasis on the factors that motivate shop owners to label their shops in English. The results obtained from the different sets of participants (shop keepers, graphic designers, and pedestrians) indicate that there are different layers of intentions to public signage generally, and language display particularly. In furtherance of exposing more details and accounts, the coming chapter is consecrated to the interpretation and discussion of the findings described in this one.

Chapter IV: Discussion of the Findings

Introduction:

In the present chapter the results of the study are further discussed and presented in relation to the conceptual framework provided in the first chapter. The findings stem from the collected photographs in the street, as well as the interviews held with the different actors who played a role in the creation and use of these signs. The chapter also answers the questions formulated in the general introduction:

1- Is the English language making its way through the Algerian linguistic landscape to become ubiquitous?"

2- Why do some shop-owners favour English in advertising their shops over Berber, Arabic or French?

The chapter comprises three major parts with each providing an answer to the two research questions, respectively, as it aims at checking the validity of the hypothesis formulated in respect to them. The first part accounts for the frequency of English tokens in the street. Subsequently, the second part provides some reasons behind the spread of English in Algeria. The last part is concerned mainly with the motivating factors for English display in commerce. Finally, the chapter concludes by offering some recommendations and suggestions for future LL research in Algeria.

5.1 Frequency of English Tokens in the Streets

In Algeria, generally, and Bouira, particularly, English is relatively infrequent. Thus, while the large presence of French and Arabic is not surprising, the increasing occurrence of English in the streets was not really expected. However, the high frequency of English display is seen in some sectors and not in others.

5.1.1 Top-down Signs:

As has been presented in the result section, signs placed by government agencies in English are uncommon compared to private signs. As mentioned in chapter I, in theory, Standard Arabic and Berber are the two official languages of the country but in practice Arabic and French are the two main languages used mostly by the government, education and media. For that reason, government signs in most cases include a limited number of languages. In Algeria, the signs incorporate texts in either Arabic, or French, and sometimes Berber; often these same signs constitute translations of each other (Arabic ◄► French). The only unexpected governmental sign in English was detected in a banking service. The Bank of Local Development (BDL) has signed a covenant with an American Bank "MoneyGram", which is a leading American transfer company. This bank offers money transaction services around the globe. In the case of "MoneyGram", the sign comprises its equivalent in classical Arabic "تحويل الأموال" (see figure 3.1).

5.1.2 Bottom-up signs:

From the results obtained, the language of private signs is more diversified than the language of government signs. It can be thus safely affirmed that the Algerian government does not impose restrictions for language choice on private signs. Shopkeepers seem to use creative forms when it comes to the naming of their stores. For example, a perfume shop named "VIParfum, alternates in one expression from one code to another (English to French) in a witty and manipulative way. These kinds of innovations are of direct relation to being exposed to the English and French cultures. As presented earlier, most shop owners believe that their shop names are easily understood by their clients. In fact, according to a report compiled by the global research organization Euromonitor International (2012), Algeria has the lowest number of proficient speakers of English amongst eight different countries of the Middle-East and North Arica (cited in Benrabah, 2014 p.52). Nevertheless, the language is not unfamiliar to people due to the high exposure to the English language and culture that

Algeria witnesses today through the internet, social media particularly, and satellite broadcasting, for instance the Arabic subtitled English TV series and movies. In addition to that, most shop keepers agreed that English is a must to communicate with the foreign tradesmen with whom they deal mostly, whether Chinese, Spaniards, or Turkish, thus, acting as a lingua Franca in commercial deals at all times. This argument as a fact motivates more and more shop managers to label their shop name in English.

In a LL study conducted by Edelman in the Netherlands, proportions of the language used on shop signs fluctuate depending on the sector in question (Edelman, 2010). The largest amounts of English use were found in electronics and music sectors which are closely linked to technology. In contrast, English in Bouira has apparently a dual significance: as a language of Fashion and a language of Food. Many of the occurrences of English are in fact found within the clothing store lines, and fast foods/pizza stores. 36 out of 105 signs (34.3%) are found in the clothing sector while 31 shop names belong to fast foods and pizza stores (Table 3.3). These results validate that English is present in Algerian streets. Reported by the British Council, 57% of Algerians regard English as an important language (Euromonitor, 2012 cited in Fodil, 2016). In addition, Euromonitor (2012) asserts that English is increasing in prominence amongst the Algerian youth convinced that it opens to better career opportunities as well as it allows establishing connections with foreigners (cited in Fodil, 2016). A shop manager of a clothing store called "Big says" said that when he went to Turkey the only language he saw all over the streets was English. He even took pictures of the major commercial streets there. Though his English proficiency level is very low, he still could recognize the dominance of English. Indeed, English in Algeria is increasing in value regardless of the actual number of its speakers (Fodil, 2016). The interviews with the sign actors and pedestrians confirm that English presence is definitely mushrooming through time, thus becoming ubiquitous in a bat of an eye.

5.2 Reasons behind English spread in Algeria:

There has been found that there are different factors that may influence directly or indirectly in the selection of English to advertise certain goods and services. These factors range from personal to business-related. Most of the English signs found in the streets in this current study belonged either to international chains, or to small independent businesses.

5.2.1   Signs belonging to Global Chains and brands:

Over the years, business has been undeniably globalized. Many organizations have benefitted from globalization through creating new markets all over the world (Stank et al., 2014, p.2), such is the case in Algeria. Actually, '*English is invariably considered to be the official language of international advertising bodies*' (Crystal, 1997, p.93). As one might expect, there is a respected number of signs found in the streets of Bouira but belonging to global brands groups. Hence, some shop managers who represent foreign brands are not free to label the shop name. For instance, LG (Life's Good), Kia Motors, Footland store, Footlocker, Must: make-up & Fragrances, Flormar Professional make-up, Play mode Gallery, RedMen, etc. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there are other signs which belong to global brands groups but which are not part of them. For instance, KFC Food, Verda Shoes, OKAWA Coffee, Ralph Lauren, Gucci The Making Of, Zara men, etc. These names are all inspired form known brand labels. When asked why they chose to label their shop in an English brand name, many interviewees initially showed confusion as they took it for granted. Interestingly, all of these shops do not limit their services and goods to the brand that is exposed on the store sign, which supposedly speaks for the quality of their products. The shop owners showed a keen esteem to these brand names and wanted to be represented by them with no regard to English, especially that these brands have established a reliable international reputation. This practice is entirely built on the principle that people often judge the book from its cover.

5.2.2. Foreign investments:

One of the basic factors that leads to the expansion of English use in Algeria happens to be the different foreign investments in the country. Globalization has permitted for different companies and organizations to establish corporations and networks in several countries. Algeria Gulf Bank (AGB from now) is part of Burgan Bank Group that was founded in Kuwait in 1977 (Burgan Bank Group, 2010). The group has opened a branch (AGB) in Algeria in 2014, and labelled the bank in the two official languages of Algeria (Berber and Arabic) in addition to English. Since the interview with the founder or the responsible for the making of the sign is almost impossible, suggestions are given to clarify this choice. It is common knowledge that Gulf Arab countries' second language is English. In fact, English has earned this status because of the British involvement in the Gulf (Peck, 2010, p. 189). Besides, most of the companies in these countries have corporations whether with the United States, or The United Kingdom. Berber is the official language of Algeria, Standard Arabic is the official language of both countries, Algeria and Kuwait, while English is the second language in Kuwait. The use of English is to add a cosmopolitan flavour to the banking services, thus is fully justified.

Another corporation that promotes the spread of English in Algeria is "MoneyGram" with the Bank of Local Development (BLD from now). While AGB is a private Bank, BLD is a government banking service, thus, this kind of intergovernmental partnerships (between an American and an Algerian banking service) gives slightly a heftier standing to the status of English in Algeria.

5.2.2   Small private businesses:

From the result section, 99 percent of shop signs in Algeria are bottom-up signs. When the shop owners were asked about their focal point in making a sign, most shopkeepers, 69,1% precisely, cited the matter of choosing the language in which it is written. For most of

these businessmen, this new tendency to name their shops in English seems to have the potential to attract more customers, and gives a peculiarity to their commerce.

Next to the factors of globalization and the international status that English holds, the cosmetic store manager of "Beauty Paris" and the fast food owner "Eleven Food" bluntly expressed their belief that English is more prestigious, beautiful and fluent than the local languages as it connects more to the youth. What is more interesting is that both two merchants answered the interview questions in French mixed with only few Arabic words. It seemed that they have a slight preference for the French language which was not admitted through their answers. However, their choice of English was of direct relation to subjective rather than objective purposes. Henceforth, the impression that the English language has a pleasant sounding, more beautiful and prestigious affected heavily their choice of English, which they do not actually speak, contrary to French.

5.3 English as a free and a personal choice:

The interview with the sign owners gives further insights about the issue of language choice, which is addressed by Spolsky. Through his theory, Spolsky (2009) presents the drives that lead people to favour the use of certain languages on their signs over the others, thus formulated three necessary conditions to that end: The sign-writer's skill condition, the presumed reader's condition, and the symbolic value condition (Spolsky, 2009, p. 71). The first condition, accounts for the errors that are found in some shops labelled in English. The second condition takes into consideration the ability of the recipients of that sign to understand what it communicates. As for the third condition, it is tied with the sign owner's sense of belonging and identity through language.

5.3.1 The sign-writer's skill condition:

As presented earlier in the result section, exactly two thirds (61%) of shop owners have a very low proficiency level in English; nevertheless, this handicap did not keep them from labelling their shop name in the English language. This shows that the decisions regarding English use have nothing to do with the sign owner's mastery of the language. In most cases, the shop owners sought help from either relatives or friends, who supposedly know English, in the creation of the shop name; nonetheless, this did not prevent errors from taking place on signs.

5.3.1.1 Misspelled shop names

A handful amount of shop names in English were found to be spelled wrongly due to differing factors. One of the respondents, who owns a car washing station labelled "quickly wash", frankly expressed his indifference about the sign, justifying the error as belonging to the previous owner. Hence, speculations about the reasons for this error cannot be made. Another clothing shop name which triggers confusion is "Big says". At first glance, the sign seems to be error free, however, "says" is a transitive verb which calls for the presence of "what?" in mind. The sign does not say much as if it were left incomplete on purpose. When the store manager was approached and asked about the meaning, it became clear that he originally intended to mean "Size" instead of "Says". According to him, there has been a misunderstanding as the name was heard falsely due to the similarity of sounds between the two words. Another undisguised spelling error is "Chic Choes". In reality, the owner meant "shoes" but since he has a poor command of English, he did not pay attention to it, which is showing through this idiosyncratic use of English. Still, he showed no willingness to correct the mistake.

As point of fact, these errors are of direct relation to the sign owners' poor command of English, leading to an idiosyncratic use of the language. Furthermore, the fallacy in the sign making explains that the sign writer does not have to be a proficient speaker, or have good

language skills to use English, but rather it is a free and a personal choice, subsequently, violating Spolsky's first condition of language choice

5.3.2 The presumed reader's condition:

In essence, the significance of any commercial advertisement depends on whom it is destined. Advertisement is 'all about talking to someone' (Ammi, 2007). Plain as it seems, the targeted audience can have biased judgements about the language a vendor chooses to use to advertise his or her goods and services. Most shop managers affirm that their signs can be understood by almost all of their clients. However, this claim was found to be untrue when some random passers-by were asked about the meaning of two particular selected signs (Crust, VIParfum). Except from a few, the majority has got the answer wrong, or did not know what the sign meant at first place. In addition, the survey shows that the great majority of shopkeepers would not change their shop name if it were located in a rural area. Seemingly, an English sign is more in-vogue compared to other signs, radiating an up-to-date representation of the shop as it reflects the owners' openness to the current trends. In fact, these results confirm that , compared to the 9 % whose answer may reveal some stereotypes, the majority of shop keepers, 91% precisely, do not necessarily take into consideration their presumed reader's condition. As an argument, shopkeepers advocate that language alone cannot say everything. That is to say that even if English is present in a non-English setting, other forms can deliver the message as good as the language can. For instance, the baby care store labelled "Tom and Jerry" with a drawing of Tom and Jerry cartoon (as documented in figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: an example of a multi-modal sign

Through the drawing, the shop sign can be recognized, thus read easily by everyone because generations of Algerian have grown watching this cartoon. This is to say that the presumed reader's condition can be affected by other factors, such is the case of this sign and "Kids' Toys" shop name that was previously presented in chapter III. The common knowledge and experiences that people have through watching this cartoon allows for more than just reading the sign but also recognize it; this is known as multimodal communication. "Tom and Jerry" was favoured over "Tom et Jerry" by the manager, simply because it has a more original sounding.

The interviews with the randomly selected passers-by, provide more valuable understandings about the visibility of English in Algerian streets. As a manifestation of globalization, 75% of the interviewees believe that shops labelled in English provide better services and quality products, thus, attract more customers. Amongst the four proposed languages (Berber, Arabic, French, and English), 45% of respondents prefer to see more English occurrences in the streets, according to them, it adds a universality to the town. At heart, LL gives information about the languages spoken within a speech community (Edelman, 2010), but Bouirians show a great tolerance and acceptance towards English, despite the small number of its speakers. Henceforth, the signs labelled in English are destined to an audience who does not necessarily master the language, but has an admiration

to it. These results add other information of a political nature, people strongly wish from the government to reconsider the Algerian language policy in favour of English.

5.3.3 The Symbolic value condition:

The English language has managed to transcend the five continents as a language of modern society. Over the years, the prevalence of English in technical and scientific domains has resulted into its incursion in all other domains, such as commerce and business (Kelly-Holmes, 2005, cited in Edelman, 2010, p. 106). These factors are what made the international business community value, thus offer a momentous status to English.

Ben-Rafael (2009) mentions that the display of language can reveal information about '*the presentation of self*' (cited in Edelman, 2010, p.16). For Ben-Rafael (2009), the presence of certain languages recognizes and identifies the existence of certain ethnolinguistic groups. In addition, '*the presentation of self*' justifies the presence of certain languages, which are considered to be prestigious, in the LL of particular settings (Ben-Rafael, 2009, cited in Edelman, 2010, p.16). Indeed, the interviews with the shop owners and pedestrians reveal that English seems to be valued by the majority of Algerian non-English speakers. The majority of shop keepers regret not having learnt English at a young age. This infers that Algerians who speak English are well esteemed, and better regarded. To some measure, English permits to merchants to present themselves in a modernistic image, as persons and as tradesmen at the same time. As discussed earlier, two shop owners (Eleven Food and Beauty Paris) labelled their shops in English for its fluent and pleasant-sounding tone. This reason, which is of a subjective nature, could also have been affected by globalization. Probably, the incessant exposure to English builds a sort of familiarity sense, thus developing a keen esteem and a tolerant appreciation of the language.

5.3.3.1 Proper Names:

Proper names, as Piller (2000) states, are considerably the most dominant linguistic items of advertisements (cited in Edelman, 2007, p.3). The three types of proper names that are counted in this study are as follow: the borrowed proper names of an American/British origin, signs with proper names containing an English text next to them, and coalesced proper names.

5.3.3.1.1 Borrowed proper names of American/ British origin:

A handful number of English proper names are found in the LL of Bouira. For instance, the shop sign "Ralph Lauren" who happens to be the name of an American fashion designer and the brand label of his clothing chains all over the world. Interestingly, the shop manager does not sell only "Ralph Lauren" items, but sells other brands and labels (such as Nike, Adidas, etc.), and apparently he did not choose the language but rather chose the reputation that this mark holds, and with which his store is to be identified by the potential clients. Apparently, people tend to distinguish and value these kinds of international trends which outwardly symbolize the latest and modish fashions.

The owner of the clothing store entitled "Oscar" believes that people from all the over the world are familiar with the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences Awards, "The Oscars". Artists dress up elegantly in these occasions, thus, the shop name gives a glimpse about the kind and quality of the habiliments that are to be sold as it yields a chic character to his shop. Similarly, the manager of a fast food store labeled "McDo" believes that this name would attract many customers. In his words "Who does not know McDonald's". When people walk by the store, they would be definitely thinking of that "delicious hamburger" they have seen on the television. Indeed, the manager does not need to publicize his business as it is already globally advertised.

5.3.3.1.2 Proper names with an English text next to them:

The director of a private school entitled "Newton School" sees that English symbolizes progress, while "Newton" is world-wide known for being a clever English physicist, after him the world as our ancestors knew it, was never the same. Sure enough, both the proper name "Newton" and the English text "school" radiates smartness thus symbolizing bright new possibilities for people who are considering their future. Some shop owners on the other hand, wanted to create a brand-like name through adding an English word or text next to a proper name , such as "KADI SHOP", "Heifa Fashion", "Istamboul New Style", and many others.

5.3.3.1.3 Blended proper names:

A fast food store entitled "McMino" expressed his admiration to the economic prosperity the American "McDonald's" has managed to reach. Undeniably, it is the world's largest food corporation. Today, McDonald is not only a food organization or a multinational company, but also a universal symbol representing the American culture. "Mino", in fact, is the manager son's nick name, and in his words, 'with no regard to English, "McMino" is a catchy word and could be the next "McDonald" in Algeria'. Without being aware of it, a global food company has affected the Algerian's culture, habits and most importantly, language.

5.3.3.2 Transliterations:

Transliterations that were found in the streets are better discussed within the symbolic value rule because they reveal certain covert intentions. Remarkably, there are some English labelled stores written in Arabic symbols and others in Arabic Romanized texts, notably transliterated signs.

Figure4.2: Transliteration

(Romanization of Arabic)

Figure 4.3: Transliteration (for example, an English word in   Arabic letters)

Connotations cannot be inferred from a plain shop sign, but the fast food manager of "كوك" wanted to merge the two languages (Arabic and English) into one in such a way that even a monolingual person could read it. In addition, he believes that Arabic is the pedestal on which Algerian culture is built. This ideology springs from his strong religious ties with Islam and Arabic as being the language of the "Quran". Clearly, from this transliterated sign, one realizes that the owner admits the global status of English as being the language of modernization, at the same time preserving his identity as an Arab. Since a revealing interview with the owner "Najah Travel Agency" and "Najah Schools", who happened to be abroad, was not conducted, speculations about his intentions cannot be assumed.

On the whole, it has become clear that the majority of the shop names are completely considered to be a personal and a free choice. Merchants' intentions are in the most part of a subjective nature. They believe that English labels take on a modernistic and contemporary

frame, thus attracting more customers. The first two conditions set by Spolsky (the sign writer's skill and the presumed reader's condition) are typically not respected by the sign actors. However, the third condition, which is the symbolic value condition, seems to be more honoured by the shopkeepers. Similar to the findings in Fodil's (2016) LL research in the city of Tizi-Ouzou, shop owners in the town of Bouira are increasingly embracing English as a flag of world economy and business. Obviously, though its presence is *de-ethnicized* English is definitely gaining ground in Algeria and is considered to be a prestigious language often linked with technology, science, fashion and modern society. In that respect, Ross described Milan streets by saying that, 'An English name lends an aura of chic prestige to a business, suggesting that it is part of the international scene, following the latest trends, up-to-date with the newest ideas' (Ross, 1997, p.4). Certainly, these characteristics attributed to English are enough motivations behind the incursion of English use in Algerian public spaces. As point was already mentioned above, research in LL can give precious insights about the languages spoken by any speech community (Edelman, 2010). However, it is not always the case scenario. In the case of Algeria, there is an evident presence of English in the streets though the number of proficient speakers is considerably low.

5.4 Suggestions for future LL research in Algeria:

The Algerian culture is becoming gradually globalized. The aspects of this latter can totally be inferred from a walk in the Algerian streets. LL items can provide valuable information about the linguistic diversity and identity of the area. Bakhaus' defines the linguistic sign as 'any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame […] including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards' (Bakhaus, 2006, p.55). However, due to time restrictions, the current study reflects only one facet of English presence in the streets, namely the shop names. Certainly, more research could be done in respect of shedding light on English expansion. For example, there is a number of other

English instantiations that can be included in the LL research to give more astute details and information, but necessitate a huge amount of time. A respected number of English tokens were found on graffiti, T-shirts, shopping bags, even cars and buses. What makes these English instantiations more significant is that a great deal of them is not of a commercial nature, thus presenting a precise measurement to the cultural tolerance towards English.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the results in order to answer the two research questions. While some of the hypotheses put forward in the general introduction are confirmed, others have been proved to be false. Apparently, English seems to have an officious status in Algeria. With regard to the motivating factors influencing English use on private signs, the majority of the interviewees assert that the major inviting reason to label their shops in English is the power position that English speaking nations hold. Another factor that may influence English use is its pleasant-sounding tone. These motivations are obviously subjective reasons, held on the belief that English is more prestigious, powerful, and modern. The results have also revealed that the three rules set by Spolsky (2009) (See chapter I) are not all the time respected by the actors of the sign. The majority of sign owners do not master English, which violates in turn Spolsky's first rule of the sign-writer's skill. Almost all the shopkeepers are convinced that their targeted readers can read and understand their signs even if they do not speak English. However, some shop owners seem to breach the second rule that stands for the presumed readers' condition, especially that their sign needs a certain level of English mastery. As for the symbolic value condition, almost all the shop owners wanted to manifest different intentions through their sign. Sure enough, English is not the language of these shopkeepers. However, its use symbolizes openness, tolerance, and an in-vogue appearance. For further concern in the study, the chapter has ended with

recommendations and suggestions for future LL research that would provide a larger frame to

the   emerging   sociolinguistic   preferences   of   Algerians.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion:

The study has consisted in an investigation about the presence and visibility of English use in Algerian public streets. The research took place in the main shopping areas, which have a good combination of commercial and residential use, in the inner city of Bouira. The work has also attempted to determine the role of English signs in the construction of a new LL. It has focused mainly the reasons behind the infiltration of English into a non-English speaking society, namely, Algeria, relying on *Spolsky's Language Choice Theory*.

This dissertation laid three major objectives. The first objective was to account for the frequency of English signs in the city of Bouira. The second objective was to detect the reasons behind the infiltration of the English language, as well as examining the awareness of Algerians about its visibility in open spaces. The third and last objective was to discover the major factors motivating shop owners to label their shop names in English.

In the present study, all the shop and building signs labelled in English in the survey area were photographed. The data collection involved 106 signs which were supplemented with the results of the interviews with the available actors, who played a role in the creation and use of the signs. These shop names were coded according to a lexicogenic typology (Acronyms, proper names, etc.), the signs' thematic field (housewares, NICTs, etc.), and their type (i.e. Top-down or Bottom–up). The mixed method approach was adopted to measure the relevance of the main research questions. The quantitative analysis of the data concerns the collected photographs of shop signs and the close-ended interview questions, which were then evaluated through a computer program called SPSS. The qualitative study comprises the analysis of the open-ended interview questions that were interpreted through Spolsky's frame of Language Choice.

The first traces of English presence in Algeria manifested after the Second World War in the form of simple entertainment products, such as fashion and clothes, cinema, etc. Today, English presence is evolving to pervade the Algerian streets. Relying on the data analysis, English seems to be really visible despite its status as a second foreign language. Note should be taken that almost all signs are private signs and only one English sign is issued by a government agency. Mention should also be made that the proportion of the shops labelled in English on private shops differs depending on the field of use. Many of the occurrences of English on shop signs are found in the clothing and food sectors.

The issue associated to the choice and placement of English on shop and building signs is addressed through Spolsky's theory for language choice. The latter explains the drives that lead people to choose one language over the other, thus formulating three necessary conditions to that end: The sign-writer's skill condition, the presumed reader's condition, and the symbolic value condition. The first condition: '*write a sign in a language you know*', accounts for the errors that are found in some shops labelled in English. Indeed, the research reveals that the majority of sign owners have a low proficiency level in English, yet they decided to label their shop name in English, thus violating the first condition set by Spolsky. The second condition relating to the presumed reader's condition: '*prefer to write a sign in a language which can be read by the people you expect to read it*', takes into consideration the ability of the recipients of that sign to understand what it communicates. From the results, it appears that the majority of shop keepers consider that their shop sign is well understood by their potential clients. The interview with the passers-by reveals that it is not always the case. In fact the majority of sign owners overlook the language skills of their addressed audience. Finally, the third condition: '*prefer to write a sign in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified'*, is linked to the sign owner's sense of belonging and identity through language use. Indeed, the owners of the English labelled signs wanted to

manifest unpronounced intentions through their sign. Although English is not the language of these shopkeepers, its use symbolizes linguistic openness, tolerance, and an in-vogue appearance. In this study, English appears as a means showing the sign owner's peculiarity and uniqueness. As a detail already declared by Fodil in his LL research in the city centre of Tizi-Ouzou, '*all the shop keepers who were asked why they have labelled their shop in English confirmed this perception of English as 'more up to date'.*' (Fodil, 2016).

In this study, English infiltration in Algeria has been referred to as a "Trojan Horse". This expression has come from the Greek mythology that tells the story of a war between the Greeks and the armies of Troy. Today, the expression designates any stealthy ways used by someone as a means to an end. As stated earlier, English presence in Algeria is de-ethnicized (Benrabah, 2009b) (see General Introduction), thus, it is not daring to describe its incursion as being a "Trojan Horse" within the Algerian speech community. Indeed, these elevating rates of English use jeopardize the already existing languages in Algeria in the same way the Trojan horse has led to the fall of Troy. In fact, the findings in this study imply that this evolving status of English in Algeria may call for language policy reforms in its favour.

Along with modernization, the English language has managed to transcend the geographical boundaries around the globe all the way to reach Algeria. It has been proven that the majority of English occurrences are of direct relation to the position and power that English-speaking nations have gained over the years, thus, yielding an impression that English is a prestigious language. Over the years, Globalization has heavily affected the Algerian policy, economy, and today, it is affecting her languages and culture. Indeed, English is gaining ground in Algeria at the expense of Berber, Arabic, and French. As a matter of fact, LL research represents one facet for the investigation of English expansion in Algeria. Indeed, through the results, it is confirmed that English is perceived

as being trendier, more prestigious and tuned with the latest innovations, which makes us assume that its presence will be growing in size in the near future.

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Appendices

Appendix A: The map of Bouira illustrating the surveyed areas

**A map illustrating the location of Bouira in Algeria**

The province of Bouira

The map below from "Google maps" illustrates the sampled areas of the study in the inner city. (The surveyed areas are marked with the red colour).

The surveyed neighborhoods in the inner city

Appendix B: The code book of signs

SPSS Code Book of Signs

Variable number	Variable name	Description	Value	Value Label
1	SignName	The shop/ Building name	1,00 2,00 ,etc.	Eleven Food VIParfum
2	SignType	Top-down Vs Bottom_up	1,00 2,00	Top-down Bottom up
3	ThematicF	The Thematic Field of the stores	1,00 2,00 3,00 4,00 5,00 6,00 7,00 8,00	Clothing & accessories Food NICTs Housewares Baby care Multifarious services Cosmetics & chemists Private schools

Appendix C: Shop keepers' sample interview questions

The following interview was held with the shop owners.

The questions I am about to ask you will be purely used in a scientific research. First and foremost, you need to know I do not have any ties with any commercial or governmental organization of any sort. The purpose of the study is to determine how and why English is gaining ground in Algeria. I will be taking pictures of your shop name, and I would like to ask for some clarification questions mainly concerned with the language choice of your shop/ building sign. There is no intended risk or discomfort to you, and the recordings are strictly confidential.

I really appreciate your participation.

Q1- The Location of the Shop:

Q2- The name of the Shop:

Q3- the Service offered/ items sold:

Q4- What is your level in English?

Q5- Why did you label your shop name in English?

Q6- What does your shop name mean?

Q7- Who do you want to read your sign? Who do you think can read your sign?

Q8- What kinds of customers do you want to come to your business?

Q9- Do you think that labelling your shop in English attracts more customers?

Q10- What do you want your clients to think of your business through your sign?

Q11- Would you have labelled your shop in English if it were located in a rural? Why?

Appendix D: Graphic designers' sample interview questions

The following interview was held with the graphic designers.

By giving you consent, you are participating in a study that aims at identifying the key motivating factors for English incursion in Algeria. The questions I am about to ask you are purely intended for a scientific research as I have no ties with any sort of commercial or governmental organizations. The questions will not take much of your time.

I really appreciate your collaboration.

Q1- What are the languages that your customers are most interested in?

Q2- What do you consider to be the most predominant language in the area of graphic design currently?

Q3- In which language was your most successful design in your opinion?

Q4- When was the last time you designed a sign in English?

Q5- Do you think that labelling a shop in English will attract more customers?

Appendix E: Pedestrians' sample interview question

This interview was held with randomly selected passers-by.

I am doing a study concerned with the new growing use of English in the streets as I would like to take minutes of your time to ask you few questions. There is no intended risk or discomfort to you. I do not need to know your credentials. You can stop the interview at any time you want.

I really appreciate your collaboration.

The setting of the interview: Next to shop names written in English.

Q1- What do you understand from this shop sign? (Pointing to a shop sign written in English)

Q2- In your opinion, do you consider shops with English names provide better services, or sell better quality products?

Q3- Which of these four languages (Arabic, French, English, and Berber) you wish to see more in the streets?

Q4- Which of these four languages you consider to be the most commercial?

Appendix F: Samples of English labelled signs