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The Role of Language in Shaping National Identity in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia

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STATEMENT

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the committee members, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of Modern Philology and Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the candidate's work alone.

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The Role of Language in Shaping National Identity in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia

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DEDICATION

To Allah, the Guiding Light,

In the vast garden of knowledge, I dedicate this bloom to You, the ultimate source of wisdom and inspiration.

To my parents, the roots of my strength,

Your unwavering love and support have nurtured me into the scholar I am today.

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ABSTRACT

The role of language in identity construction in Tunisia has been frequently discussed, with arguments often centering on the language issue. As language barriers in Tunisia highlight the connection between social hierarchies, linguistic customs, and nation-states, it is crucial to understand how language contributes to identity construction and how it influences the daily lives of Tunisians. Language plays a significant role in shaping the cultural identity of Tunisians as it reflects their historical and social background. Moreover, the use of language in different contexts and situations can reinforce or challenge existing power structures within Tunisian society.

To explore the linguistic identities of Tunisians, a mixed-methods study was conducted using a customized Language Identity Questionnaire developed by Khatib and Rezaei (2013). The study identified six factors as essential elements of the linguistic identity model, which were presented in the study after an inductive qualitative analysis of the questionnaire results. Additionally, Facebook stories and excerpts from statutes created by Tunisian Facebook users were analyzed deeply to examine the various languages Tunisians use online.

The study looked at language use from three perspectives: the commenter's choice of register, the context in which the message was used, and young people's use of code-switching and code-mixing. The results show that while the participants' identities and viewpoints have remained unchanged, their comprehension of intercultural and interlingual issues concerning Arabic, French, and English languages and cultures has improved. The findings suggest that young people can navigate multiple linguistic and cultural contexts and that language use is a complex and dynamic process influenced by various factors. These insights could inform language education policies and practices that better reflect the multilingual realities of contemporary societies.

Furthermore, the study has found that language patterns in mediated communication platforms serve both as a model for and as a projector of emerging identities. In other words, linguistic practices offer a more accurate and current picture of how language diversity encountered in social media challenges hegemonic and dominant national discourses that support monolingualism.

The study proposes a novel approach to evaluate data by employing partial order theory and unveils a Tunisia-specific language identity model. This method reveals that Tunisians' attitudes towards Arabic are not homogeneous but rather differ at various levels. The study identifies three distinct groups of attitudes towards the Arabic language among the surveyed population. Furthermore, the results indicate that language identity is is constantly in flux. Individuals continually construct and reconstruct it through their experiences in bilingual, trilingual, and multilingual settings. This highlights the importance of acknowledging and valuing linguistic diversity, as it can significantly impact an individual's sense of self and cultural identity. It also emphasizes the need for language policies that support multilingualism and promote language learning opportunities.

Keywords: *Multilingualism, revolution, language identity model, linguistic identity, profiles*

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Introduction

In the globally interconnected society of today, identity profoundly impacts how we perceive ourselves and interact with others. Traditionally, identity has been associated with characteristics such as gender, sexual orientation, religion, class, and caste, which have historically served to categorize and sometimes create divisions among individuals. However, it is essential to recognize that our identities encompass a broader spectrum of dimensions. While these conventional characteristics undoubtedly hold significance, other aspects can bring people together based on shared experiences and affiliations. Language, in particular, serves as a powerful symbol of identity, representing one's cultural heritage and fostering a sense of belonging (Kamau, 2022; Syamsiyah Furotun *et al.*, 2023). Moreover, language can act as a unifying force, enabling individuals to embody multiple identities that transcend traditional social divisions.

The relationship between language and identity often manifests strongly in the context of national or group belonging. It serves as a symbol of identity, signaling affiliations and categorizations within societies (Späti, 2015). The connection between language and identity is evident in the vital link between language and a sense of belonging to a national group (Kamau, 2022). However, it is highlighted that language is not always the sole defining criterion for identity formation, as societal contexts and prevailing ideologies also significantly influence this process (Ronan & Ziegler, 2022). In various social groups, the language spoken reflects not only individual identities but also societal structures, social classes, and cultural backgrounds (Ibrahim, 2022). Therefore, language is a powerful medium through which individuals express and establish their identities within the broader national or group belonging framework.

In some situations, a single "national language" is spoken by individuals sharing a common national identity. However, more complex scenarios arise when multiple languages are involved, such as in Luxembourg, or when languages are linked to several national identities, as in the case of German. National languages are typically taught in schools and used as mediums for teaching other subjects. For some children, this means learning to read, write, and speak a language different from their home language or dialect. The educational system may implicitly or explicitly encourage abandoning the

home language, which, given the close relationship between language and identity, can weaken or even erase the social identity nurtured within the home environment, be it a regional identity or an identity associated with another country.

Exploring identity issues is a complex endeavor that requires interdisciplinary engagement with various fields that have approached identity from different perspectives. Drawing upon existing research and data is crucial to establishing a solid foundation for understanding the measurement, capturing, and more profound comprehension of identity. In this regard, Tunisia presents a compelling case study due to its longstanding history of linguistic and political tensions since gaining independence on the 20th of March 1956 (Riguet, 1984a, 1984b). Therefore, this research aims to contribute to the field of sociolinguistics in Tunisia, investigating the sensitive topic of multilingualism and identity at a pivotal moment in the history of the country (the 2011 revolutionary movements). By delving into this uncharted territory, we seek to shed light on the intricate relationship between language and identity, providing valuable insights into the complexities of identity formation and expression within a multilingual context.

1.2 Background of the Study

Viewed from a broad linguistic standpoint, the Mediterranean region presents a captivating and abundant field for research. Throughout history, the Mediterranean has played a pivotal role in giving rise to significant civilizations and empires, like the Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, in the southern reaches of the Maghreb and the Middle East. What captures our attention in this context is its status as one of humanity's ancient linguistic and literary reservoirs. The dissertation delves into the linguistic identity of Tunisia by employing a holistic sociolinguistic approach, specifically investigating language variation, language policies, language attitudes, and other crucial factors. This research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the challenging facets shaping the linguistic identity of Tunisia. In order to achieve this objective, it is imperative to undertake a series of rigorous iterations. The initial phase entails a comprehensive examination of preceding scholarly endeavors and relevant literary sources, thereby establishing the foundational framework for the present study.

This research draws upon critical theories and empirical studies in the field of language and identity, including the works of Norton (2000, 2013), Bucholtz and Hall (2004), and Darvin and Norton (2015). These foundational studies provide the theoretical framework for investigating the complex relationship between identity and language. Positioned

within the sociolinguistic realm of language research, this investigation scrutinizes the role of language as a pivotal social determinant in constructing one's identity. Moreover, it is informed by the sociology of language (Bourdieu, 1991; Giles & Clair, 1979; Spolsky, 2011) and the sociolinguistics of identity (Omoniyi & White, 2006). Additionally, Dyer (2007) posits that attitude plays a fundamental role in shaping one's identity, with phonology and accent contributing to forming that identity. Studies conducted by Garrett (2010) and Jenkins (2007) support this notion, highlighting how a person's accent, dialect, or pronunciation can serve as markers of their language identity to some extent. In the specific case of Tunisia, the Arabic language is considered one of the foundational pillars of the nation's identity. The literature on language and national identity, as explored by Wright (1994), Joseph (2004), and Simpson (2007), has proven to be particularly relevant and valuable in understanding the relationship between language and the construction of national identity in Tunisia. These studies provide insights into how language, particularly Arabic, shapes and reinforces the national identity of Tunisians.

1.3 Problem Statement

Considering that there are approximately 7,000 languages in the world (Ethnologue, 2022) and that multilingualism is a common phenomenon globally Bátyi *et al.* (2019), it is evident that individuals are likely to encounter and interact with multiple languages in their everyday lives. Exposure to various languages can influence how individuals perceive their linguistic identity, leading to considerations about language choices, cultural associations, and defining oneself in a multilingual environment. Within the unique setting of Tunisia, the language dynamics are influenced by multiple languages such as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) (referred to also as *Fusha*), Tunisian Arabic (referred to also as *Derja* or *Tunsi*), French, and Tamazight (or Berber) (Salah *et al.*, 2020). Arabic holds an official language status, while Tunisian Arabic (TA) is widely spoken as a mother tongue. French, a colonial legacy, continues to be used in education, administration, and the media. Furthermore, within the context of Tunisia, the Amazigh population actively campaigns to acknowledge and advance the Tamazight language.

While Arabic holds official language status and Tunisian Arabic is widely spoken as a mother tongue, French, a colonial legacy, remains prevalent in education, administration, and the media. The Tunisian vernacular has seen a rise in written usage, reflecting societal changes post-2011 revolution (Lachkar, 2022). Additionally, the Amazigh population actively advocates for the recognition and promotion of the Tamazight language. This linguistic diversity showcases a dynamic interplay between historical legacies, societal shifts, and identity politics within Tunisia's linguistic sphere.

Research conducted by Bialystok *et al.* (2004, 2016), Perani *et al.* (2017), and Prior and Gollan (2011) has shown that bilinguals and multilinguals exhibit patterns of language performance that differ from those of monolinguals. This suggests that the experience of navigating multiple languages can impact how individuals perceive and express their linguistic identity. In Tunisia, where linguistic diversity is prominent, individuals may face challenges defining and identifying with a specific linguistic group or language. The debates surrounding language choice, language policy, and the recognition of different languages within the Tunisian context can further complicate the issue of linguistic identity. Individuals may grapple with questions of which language(s) to prioritize, how to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage, and how their language choices shape their sense of belonging and identity within Tunisian society. Hence, the presence of multilingualism in Tunisia contributes to a complicated scenario in which matters of linguistic identity come to the forefront, influencing social interactions, educational policies, and even political discourse. The diverse linguistic tapestry in Tunisia reflects the country's historical and cultural complexities and its geopolitical position at the crossroads of different civilizations. Moreover, the ongoing debates surrounding language use and policies highlight the continuing negotiation between tradition and modernity in Tunisian society. The interplay between different languages, language choices, and cultural affiliations raises questions and challenges individuals and society in understanding and negotiating linguistic identity within a diverse linguistic nature.

Within the context of the historical and cultural development of Tunisia, the notion of Tunisianity emerged as a sense of identity specific to the people of Tunisia, encompassing their shared history, culture, values, and aspirations. The concept has evolved over time and is closely intertwined with the linguistic, historical, and social factors that shape the identity of Tunisia. In the aftermath of the Tunisian revolutionary movements in 2011,

the notion of Tunisianity underwent a revival, signifying a substantial transformation in the social and political terrain of Tunisia, which led to the overthrow of President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, marked a turning point in the history of the country and brought about profound changes in the Tunisian society. Post-revolution, President Kais Saied emphasized a unique Tunisian identity that reconciles various influences (McNeil, 2022). Tunisian youths, a significant demographic, have been crucial in driving political and socio-cultural change, mainly post the Arab Spring, reflecting a 'glocal' culture acquisition (Rahmouni, 2022). Additionally, Tunisia's linguistic profile has transitioned, with Tunisian Arabic increasingly being used in written form, reflecting a shift in national identity and language dynamics (Hladchenko, 2022). These diverse aspects collectively contribute to the emergence of Tunisianity as a distinct identity encompassing shared history, culture, values, and aspirations.

In the aftermath of these events, the Tunisian people, the media, and civil society engaged in a spirited discourse about the essence of Tunisian identity and what it meant to be Tunisian. The slogans that surfaced in the media and political discourse, such as "Be proud you are Tunisian", "I am Tunisian and let them say I am crazy", or "Be happy you are a Tunisian", were indicative of a renewed sense of national pride and self-assertion among Tunisians (Guellouz, 2016). These slogans reflected a newfound confidence among Tunisians and their desire for a unified and strong national identity. The discussions and debates that ensued played a crucial role in shaping the future direction of the country, as Tunisians sought to redefine their values and aspirations in the wake of the revolution, which had sparked a collective awakening among Tunisians, prompting them to question the existing social and political norms. This search for a renewed national identity was driven by a deep longing for a society that reflected their aspirations for freedom, equality, and justice. Through these discussions and debates, Tunisians could voice their opinions and actively participate in shaping the future of their country, ultimately paving the way for a more inclusive and democratic Tunisia.

During the democratic transition, the term Tunisianity became a critical term for defining and exploring the unique characteristics and values associated with being Tunisian. The term encapsulated a broader debate about national identity, cultural heritage, and the aspirations of the Tunisian people for the future of their country. It provided a platform for individuals and communities to contemplate and engage with their national identity in a more inclusive and participatory manner. Linguistic factors

held substantial importance within the political discourse surrounding the concept of Tunisianity. Language is a fundamental aspect of identity, and discussions emerged regarding preserving the Arabic language, particularly the Tunisian dialect, as an integral part of Tunisianity. Tunisians took pride in their distinct linguistic heritage, incorporating elements of Arabic, Tamazight, French, and other influences. Promoting and protecting the Tunisian dialect became a symbol of cultural authenticity and resistance against cultural homogenization. Furthermore, linguistic considerations were intertwined with political and social dynamics. Using slogans and language in political discourse allowed individuals and groups to assert their vision of Tunisianity and distinguish themselves from the previous regime. It allowed for the expression of dissent, mobilization, and the formation of collective identities centered around a shared understanding of Tunisianity.

Following the 2011 revolution in Tunisia, debates on language and identity were multifaceted, involving various perspectives and campaigns. On the one hand, politically conservative activists pushed for formally adopting Arabic as the nation's standard language. Arabic, being deeply intertwined with Tunisia's cultural and historical fabric as the language of the Quran and widely spoken across the Arab world, was seen as crucial for bolstering national cohesion and safeguarding Tunisia's Arab identity. Conversely, proponents of the Tunisian Arabic emphasized its significance as a native tongue.

In Tunisia, activists have been actively engaging in debates regarding language policy. While some advocate for Arabic as the official language to bolster national unity and preserve Arab identity (Helal, 2023), others stress the importance of Tunisian Arabic (TA) as a mother tongue (McNeil, 2022). The linguistic reality in Tunisia has been evolving, shifting towards the increased use of Tunisian lexical items compared to Standard Arabic equivalents in written contexts, reflecting a transition in the linguistic situation (Koerber, 2022). These dynamics highlight the multifaceted nature of language debates in Tunisia, encompassing issues of identity, national unity, and linguistic representation.

TA has evolved over the centuries, incorporating elements from different languages and cultures. Advocates for the TA argued that it is the language most Tunisians use daily and that it reflects the unique cultural heritage and identity of the Tunisian people. They viewed preserving and recognizing the Tunisian dialect as crucial for maintaining cultural authenticity and fostering a sense of belonging among the population. Simultaneously, Berber activists fought for greater recognition of the Tamazight language spoken by the

Amazigh population of Tunisia. Tamazight has a distinct linguistic and cultural heritage, and advocates sought to secure its place in the new Tunisian Constitution. They argued that recognizing Tamazight as an official language would be a step towards acknowledging the rights and cultural identity of the Amazigh community, which has historically faced marginalization and assimilation efforts (Maddy-Weitzman, 2015).

Understanding identity issues, particularly in the context of language, is complex. Identity is a multidimensional concept encompassing various cultural, linguistic, historical, and social dimensions. It requires interdisciplinary engagement and consideration of previous works that have examined identity from different theoretical perspectives. Exploring identity in depth allows for a more nuanced understanding of the motivations and dynamics surrounding language campaigns and their implications for Tunisian society. In post-2011 revolution Tunisia, the language debates have brought diverse perspectives on linguistic identity to the forefront, including the institutionalization of Arabic, the recognition of the TA, and the promotion of the Tamazight language spoken by the Amazigh population. Tunisian Arabic, a distinct dialect with significant French influences, is widely used in everyday communication and holds cultural significance (Koerber, 2022), while Tamazight represents the language of the indigenous Amazigh community, emphasizing the country's linguistic diversity and heritage (Battenburg, 2006; Gabsi, 2011; Guellouz, 2016). The complexities of identity in Tunisia, particularly concerning language, assure the multidimensional nature of identity, encompassing cultural, linguistic, historical, and social dimensions. Interdisciplinary engagement and a comprehensive review of existing literature on identity are essential for understanding the intricate motivations and dynamics surrounding language campaigns and their impact on Tunisian society.

The study aims to examine the phenomenon of multilingualism in Tunisia, focusing on the post-revolutionary period. It recognizes the connection between language practices, social hierarchization, and the nation-state, as highlighted by Heller (2008). The study acknowledges the linguistic disputes and their connection to identity conflicts in Tunisia, underscoring the significance of comprehending the linguistic challenges before and after the 2011 revolution. The investigation centers on how these linguistic issues play a role in constructing the image of "Tunisianness" or Tunisianity. It recognizes that language practices are integral to constructing cultural codes and the perception of Tunisian identity. With reference to previous studies (Blackledge, 2002; Gardt &

Hüppauf, 2004; Wodak, 2009; Tsui & Tollefson, 2017), I consider that language is not solely a means of communication but also carries social, political, and cultural significance, influencing the construction of national identity.

1.4 Research Questions

The present dissertation aims to address the following research questions:

1. What language must a Tunisian speak to be considered a Tunisian? This question explores the language requirements for identifying as a Tunisian. It delves into the linguistic expectations and criteria that individuals must meet to be recognized as members of the Tunisian community. The dissertation explores historical, cultural, and sociopolitical factors influencing language perception as a marker of Tunisian identity.
2. How can we define Tunisianity linguistically? This question examines how Tunisianity can be linguistically defined. It explores the linguistic elements, characteristics, and practices contributing to constructing and understanding the Tunisian identity. The dissertation analyzes language choices, codeswitching, and language policies to uncover the linguistic dimensions of Tunisianity.
3. How do sociolinguistic practices contribute to constructing Tunisianity? This question focuses on the role of sociolinguistic practices in shaping the concept of Tunisianity. It investigates how language is used in different social contexts, such as education, media, and everyday interactions, to construct and reinforce the Tunisian identity. The dissertation examines language ideologies and language attitudes.
4. What implications did the revolution have in raising the question of Tunisianity? This question explores the impact of the 2011 revolution on the emergence and reevaluation of Tunisianity as a concept. It investigates how the revolutionary movements and the subsequent social and political changes influenced discussions and debates surrounding Tunisian identity, including its linguistic aspects. The dissertation analyzes language policy shifts and language-related discourses post-revolution.
5. To what extent are language and identity connected in Tunisia? This question examines the connection between language and identity in Tunisia. It explores how language, as a symbolic resource, shapes and reflects individual and collective identities in Tunisian society.

By addressing these questions, the dissertation aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between language and identity in Tunisia, shedding light on the complexities of Tunisianity and its linguistic underpinnings.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to our understanding of the complex relationship between language and identity in Tunisia. As a North African country with a diverse linguistic profile, Tunisia provides a unique context to explore how language influences individual and collective identities. By investigating the historical, social, and political aspects of language use and policy; this investigation sheds light on the dynamics of language identity in a multilingual society. The findings can have several practical implications. Firstly, it can inform policymakers and educators about the role of language in shaping identities, leading to more inclusive and effective language policies in education and other spheres of public life. Understanding the impact of language choices on identity can also aid in preserving linguistic heritage and promoting linguistic diversity, particularly in the case of endangered languages like Tamazight.

Moreover, this study can contribute to the broader field of sociolinguistics and identity studies. Examining Tunisians' experiences and perceptions regarding language use may offer valuable insights into how language contributes to constructing personal and collective identities. Furthermore, in the context of the history of revolution and political change in Tunisia, understanding the role of language in fostering identity can provide insights into the influence of language on social movements, political discourse, and nation-building processes. Additionally, this study presents a pioneering language identity model explicitly tailored for Tunisia, making it the first of its kind in Tunisian sociolinguistics. The methodology employed in developing the model and studying the language identity profiles is innovative and novel, setting a precedent for future research in this domain. Overall, the significance of this dissertation lies in its potential to deepen our understanding of the complex interplay between language and identity while offering practical implications for language policy, education, and sociocultural integration in Tunisia and beyond.

1.6. Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation explores the complex relationship between language and identity in Tunisia. The study begins with an introduction that outlines the purpose of the study, background, problem statement, and research questions. The theoretical framework

delves into the concepts of language, identity, and their interconnectedness, as well as the role of multilingualism in shaping identity. The historical background section provides an overview of the Tunisian linguistic profile, considering the historical and sociolinguistic context, the status of various languages (Arabic, Tamazight, French, and English), and the language policies in education, legislation, administration, justice, politics, and media. The methodology chapter details the research approach, tools, participants, and data analysis. The results section presents the qualitative and quantitative analyses, exploring language ideology in revolutionary slogans, presidential speeches, and social media interactions, along with a comprehensive analysis of factors shaping the Tunisian language identity model. The discussion chapter synthesizes the findings, discussing the role of the revolution in shaping language identity, the position of languages in the Tunisian education system, the paradox of language practices vs. policy, and presents the proposed language identity model. Lastly, the concluding chapter offers a comprehensive summary, addresses study limitations, and outlines potential future implications.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the evolving definitions associated with our research topic, focusing on the process of identity construction. It explores key concepts integral to the exploratory work's subject. Defining and clarifying these notions sets the groundwork for a comprehensive understanding of the examined topic. Investigating matters of identity, particularly concerning language, is undeniably intricate. Identity is a multifaceted notion encompassing diverse elements, such as culture, language, history, and society. Therefore, engaging with various fields, such as linguistics, sociology, anthropology, and history, is necessary to understand identity dynamics comprehensively.

Previous works in these fields can provide valuable insights into how identity has been conceptualized and studied. Scholars have approached identity from different theoretical perspectives, including essentialism, constructivism, and intersectionality. Essentialist perspectives view identity as fixed and inherent, while constructivist perspectives see it as socially and culturally constructed (Untila, 2022; Moffitt *et al.*, 2023). Intersectionality recognizes that identities are shaped by the intersection of various social categories, such as gender, ethnicity, and class (Guan & So, 2022). By examining earlier works, one can gain a broader perspective on identity, its assessment, and the reasons for wanting to comprehend it in more detail. This exploration can shed light on the motivations behind different identity campaigns and help understand the complexities and nuances of identity dynamics in Tunisia and beyond (Lebow, 2022; Kong, 2023).

2.2 Language

A language is a comprehensive linguistic framework consisting of semantic, phonological, orthographic, morphological, and syntactic components. Its usage is intricately tied to concrete instances of communication and, inherently, to the individuals who employ it. Furthermore, it involves "the symbolic representations, such as beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes, that govern their language practices" (Loubier, 2011:10). This assertion aligns with the definition provided by the *Larousse* dictionary[1], which defines

[1] Larousse Dictionary Online. Retrieved from https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/langue/46180

language as "a system of vocal signs, potentially accompanied by written symbols, specific to a community of individuals who utilize it for self-expression and communication."

According to the Oxford Dictionary[2], language is "the method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way". This definition emphasizes that language is a means by which humans communicate with one another, utilizing words in a structured manner, whether through spoken or written forms.

Within the framework of this study, language assumes a broad sociocultural dimension, transcending the confines of mere grammar and vocabulary. In this context, language operates as a potent political instrument for various tribal, communal, or national entities, serving as both a symbol of homage and a medium of communication. Language reflects the identity and values of these entities and plays a crucial role in shaping their collective consciousness and social cohesion. Furthermore, using language as a political tool can influence power dynamics, social hierarchies, and even territorial disputes among different groups.

Consequently, individuals who share a common language experience a sense of unity and affiliation, fostering a collective identity. This, in turn, allows language not only to serve as a means of communication but also to act as a marker of cultural identity. It helps individuals establish a sense of belonging and reinforces social bonds within a community. Additionally, language can be used to preserve and transmit cultural heritage, traditions, and knowledge from one generation to another, further strengthening the collective consciousness of a group.

Conversely, linguistic identity emerges as a pivotal component contributing to the cohesion, unity, and autonomy of nations. As posited by Rajagopalan (2001), the linkage between nationhood and language gained prominence through the well-known adage "one nation, one people, one language". Historical instances underscore how language frequently assumes a central role in securing political sovereignty and establishing national character, as exemplified by the case of India. During the Indian independence movement, leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized the importance of linguistic identity in their fight against British colonial rule. This led to linguistic states in India, where different regions were given autonomy based on their

[2] Oxford Dictionary Online. Retrieved from https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=language

predominant language, strengthening the sense of unity and nationalism among various linguistic groups.

Consequently, language identity emerged as a decisive and unifying factor for the people of India, transcending regional and cultural differences. This linguistic diversity continues to be celebrated and protected in modern-day India, with the recognition of multiple official languages and the promotion of language preservation initiatives. Language has become a symbol of India's rich cultural heritage and a powerful tool for fostering inclusivity and national integration. This linguistic kaleidoscope is not only a source of pride for Indians but also a reminder of the importance of preserving and promoting linguistic diversity in an increasingly globalized world. Through language, India continues to bridge the gap between its diverse communities, fostering a sense of unity and belonging among its people.

2.3 Identity

Identity is a complex and multifaceted concept that has garnered extensive scholarly attention across diverse disciplines. It encompasses various dimensions, representing who we are as individuals. It can be understood as our individuality, reflecting the unique qualities and characteristics that define us. In the social sciences, identity is a concept that pertains to how individuals identify themselves as members of specific groups (Goffman, 1949; Tajfel, 1974; Ashmore *et al.*, 2001; Jenkins, 2008; Burke & Stets, 2009;). In psychology, it refers to the self-esteem or self-image of an individual (Erikson, 1968; Harter, 1999; Crocetti *et al.*, 2008). Tajfel *et al.* (1979) define identity as an individual's self-concept that emerges from their awareness of belonging to specific social groups, encompassing the associated values and emotional significance of this membership. Jenkins (2008) characterizes identity as how individuals and groups comprehend and position themselves and others within social, cultural, and political contexts, emphasizing their affiliation with particular groups. Furthermore, Norton (2013) elucidates identity as the framework through which individuals perceive their relationship with the world, including its construction over time and space and their perception of potential future prospects. These definitions shed light on the sophisticated nature of identity and its multifaceted dimensions.

Within the realm of identity, there are diverse forms such as social identity, gender identity, cultural identity, religious identity, national identity, and others. This discussion focuses on aspects of identity-related to one's membership in a particular group and how

that self-perception is influenced by language use and social experiences. The language we employ and our social interactions contribute to forming and shaping our identity within specific groups (Goffman, 2002; Gee, 2014, 2015).

2.4 Language and Identity

Language use is intricately tied to identity because it serves as a medium through which we communicate with others, convey our thoughts and feelings, and experience the world around us. It is an integral part of how we represent ourselves to the world. Moreover, language is a fundamental component of any social group or community. In this sense, attitudes towards language are associated with individuals' perception of their belonging to such social groups (Jenkins, 2008). The notion that language and identity are tightly interconnected persists and permeates various aspects of human existence. This belief finds support in empirical studies conducted in the field, which consistently demonstrate the strong association between language and personal or group identity (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2004; Golan-Cook & Olshtain, 2011; Spencer *et al.*, 2013; Stevenson, 2015;). Ulibarri (1972) delved into the complicated connection between language, people, and culture, emphasizing their inseparable bond. He eloquently expressed this idea by stating:

> "In the beginning was the Word. And the Word was made flesh. It was so in the beginning, and it is so today. The language, the Word, carries within it the history, the culture, the traditions, the very life of a people, the flesh. Language is people. We cannot conceive of a people without a language or a language without a people. The two are one and the same. To know one is to know the other" (p. 295).

As highlighted by Ulibarri (1972), this interdependence of language, people, and culture underlines the understanding that language goes beyond being a mere means of communication; it constitutes a foundational element of one's identity and cultural legacy. Ulibarri's assertion that "language is people" underscores the idea that an individual's language is a core component of their identity. Language reflects not only how people communicate but also their history, traditions, and way of life. Ulibarri's idea of language, people, and culture being inseparable supports the notion that language and identity are deeply interconnected. Language serves as a vehicle through which individuals express their cultural identity, and it plays a significant role in shaping how they perceive themselves and how others perceive them within their cultural context.

Furthermore, language plays a crucial role in shaping individual and collective identity, operating at both macro and micro levels. Its significance extends beyond the individual speaker as it becomes intertwined with the historical context of a nation, imbuing it with layers of meaning. By examining linguistic factors from different perspectives, researchers can gain valuable insights into identity formation across various periods in national history. According to Bergey and Kaplan (2010), language carries historical and cultural significance, contributing to the construction of collective identities. This historical perspective allows scholars to uncover the complex relationship between language and identity, shedding light on the complex interplay between language dynamics and identity formation. Moreover, language is a marker of social identity within local contexts, reflecting a speaker's geographical origin or allegiance to a particular nation. This idea is supported by studies like Nguyen and Brown (2010), who investigated language as a marker of social belonging. They found that language use and linguistic choices can indicate group identity and affiliation.

Language is an expression of one's identity, showcasing a sense of ownership and emotional attachment through how individuals communicate (Rassokha, 2010; Tódor & Dégi, 2016). Identity and language play a crucial role in recognition at the personal and community level. They are inseparable concepts since our language usage reflects and shapes our identity (Rezaei *et al.*, 2014). Hall (2013) emphasized that individuals' linguistic choices are influenced by their group memberships and specific communicative activities. Our communication patterns are deeply tied to our socio-cultural context, determining our access to particular linguistic resources. Rezaei et al. (2014) explain that language identity is the connection between an individual's sense of self and the language they use for communication. The discourses we employ not only enable communication but also manifest the identities we hold at the time of speaking (Hall, 2005).

According to Block (2009), language identity involves the relationship between an individual's self-perception and the various modes of communication, whether through language, dialects, or sociolects. Khatib and Rezaei (2013) underscored six components of language identity (Table 1), illustrating how users perceive language in connection with the context in which it is practiced. In multicultural societies, these language identities may either embrace or resist specific languages, varieties, or linguistic forms imposed on them, often subject to negotiation (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004: 3).

Table 1. Language Identity and its components

Component	Definition
Attachment toward native language or L1	People's thinking and feeling about L1 in comparison to L2
Pronunciation attitude	Attitudes towards pronunciation patterns in L1 and L2 and desirable perceived pronunciation
Language and social status	Associating social status to the language which people speak
L1 use or exposure in the society	Use of L1 in comparison to L2 in the daily lives of people
Language knowledge	Knowledge about the history and literature of one's language
Script or alphabet	Feelings about the alphabet and writing system of one's language

(Source: Khatib &Rezaei, 2013: 695)

Considering the multifaceted nature of language and its impact on identity, it becomes essential to analyze language dynamics from different perspectives. Scholars have approached this topic through two main theoretical frameworks: essentialist and constructivist perspectives. Essentialist perspectives perceive language as an innate aspect of identity, positing that individuals possess a predetermined "linguistic essence" (Brown, 2015). This viewpoint emphasizes the intrinsic link between language and identity, treating language as a core component of one's being. On the other hand, constructivist perspectives view language as a socially constructed entity that evolves and transforms over time. According to Hall (1997), language is shaped by social and cultural contexts, reflecting the power dynamics and social structures within a society. This perspective highlights the malleability and contextual nature of language and its connection to identity. By considering both essentialist and constructivist perspectives, we can deepen our understanding of the complex relationship between language and identity, recognizing the interplay between individual experiences, societal norms, and historical contexts (Garcia, 2010).

Goffman (1949) and Gee (2014, 2015) have significantly contributed to our understanding of the relationship between language, social interactions, and identity formation. In his book "*An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*", Gee delves into how language is utilized to construct social identities, negotiate power dynamics, and establish social norms within specific communities. He emphasizes that language is a crucial tool for identity formation and socialization. Furthermore, in "*Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses*", Gee explores how language practices

and literacy skills contribute to social inequalities and the construction of identities. He highlights the interplay of language with power, ideology, and social context, which influences individuals' self-perception and identity within particular social groups. Similarly, Goffman's work, particularly "*The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*", focuses on impression management and how individuals actively shape their identities through language use, nonverbal cues, and performative acts during social interactions. Although Goffman primarily examines face-to-face interactions, the principles and insights he presents are highly relevant to comprehending the complex relationship between language, social interactions, and the formation of identities.

In conclusion, language operates at macro and micro levels, carrying historical and cultural significance while influencing social identity markers. The interplay between language and identity can be explored through essentialist and constructivist lenses, providing a deeper understanding of the complexities involved. By studying language dynamics, scholars can uncover profound insights into the multifaceted nature of identity and its deep connection to language, further enriching our understanding of human society and individual experiences.

2.5 Multilingualism and Identity Formation

Multilingualism shapes identities within multilingual societies, where individuals navigate multiple languages and cultural backgrounds. In these diverse linguistic settings, language proficiency and language choices become integral to how people express their identities and establish social connections. For instance, in Europe, countries like Switzerland exemplify multilingual societies where citizens use several official languages, including German, French, Italian, and Romansh. Individuals may identify with different linguistic communities in such contexts, reflecting their language use and cultural affiliations. The fluidity of identities in multilingual societies challenges the notion of a singular, fixed identity, as people often adapt their linguistic repertoires and cultural expressions based on their interactions and contexts (Gorter, 2006).

In multilingual societies, identity formation is also influenced by the historical and sociopolitical context of language policies and practices. For instance, in Belgium, a country with three official languages (Dutch, French, and German), language has significantly shaped regional and national identities. The linguistic divide between the Dutch-speaking Flemish and French-speaking Walloon communities has extensively impacted identity formation and political dynamics within the country. The language

policies implemented by the state can either promote linguistic diversity and inclusivity or reinforce hierarchical relationships between linguistic groups (Phillipson, 2003). Thus, multilingualism can both foster a sense of belonging and unity among linguistic communities, yet it can also spark tensions and identity struggles stemming from language disparities. While these conflicts are not unique to Belgium, they are notably pronounced in a nation with such a complex language situation. The coexistence of multiple languages, including Dutch, French, and German, has created a rich tapestry of cultural expression and diversity.

However, it has also led to governance and political representation challenges. The linguistic divide between the Flemish and the Walloon communities has often been a source of tension, with debates over language rights and territorial autonomy frequently dominating the political discourse. Despite these challenges, Belgium has also found ways to celebrate its linguistic diversity and promote inclusivity. Many schools have implemented bilingual education programs, allowing students to learn Dutch and French from an early age. Additionally, efforts have been made to ensure that both languages are equally represented in governmental institutions and public services. These initiatives aim to foster a sense of belonging and unity among linguistic communities while recognizing the importance of preserving individual cultural identities.

Identity formation in multilingual societies is a dynamic process influenced by various factors, including language contact, migration, globalization, and education policies. For example, the coexistence of Spanish and Catalan languages has shaped individuals' linguistic and cultural identities in Catalonia, Spain. Language revitalization efforts in Catalonia have led to a renewed sense of pride in Catalan identity, and Catalan has become an essential marker of cultural identity and resistance to assimilation (Pujolar, 2019). However, these processes are complex, and multilingualism can also give rise to challenges related to language dominance, prestige, and linguistic inequalities, which can impact the identities of minority language speakers (Heller, 2007). Understanding the complex interplay between multilingualism and identity formation in different European contexts provides valuable insights into the complexities of living in linguistically diverse societies. It is essential to recognize that multilingualism is not a homogenous phenomenon but varies across different European contexts. In some regions, such as Catalonia or the Basque Country, multilingualism is seen as a source of pride and resistance to assimilation. These communities have fought hard to maintain their

linguistic diversity and have developed strategies to ensure the survival of their minority languages.

However, this process stands up to multiple challenges. Language dominance and prestige play a significant role in shaping identity formation within multilingual societies. Minority language speakers may face linguistic inequalities and discrimination, which can impact their sense of self and belonging. Understanding these complexities is crucial for creating inclusive and equitable societies that value linguistic diversity. By acknowledging the complex interplay between multilingualism and identity formation, we can work towards promoting linguistic justice and empowering individuals to embrace their diverse linguistic backgrounds. In some European contexts, multilingualism can lead to hybrid identities incorporating elements from different languages and cultures (Pujolar, 2019). This can result in a sense of belonging to multiple communities and a rich cultural repertoire. However, it is essential to acknowledge that linguistic inequalities and power dynamics can also shape identity formation processes, as minority language speakers may face discrimination or marginalization due to their linguistic background (Heller, 2007).

Its unique multilingual context also shapes language and identity dynamics in Tunisia. Arabic is recognized as the official and national language, but the role and status of French and English remain complex. While the Tunisian constitution does not explicitly specify the position of foreign languages, French historically held a prominent place due to the colonial history of Tunisia. French has been widely used in education, administration, and business (Daoud, 2001), and has played a significant role in shaping the identities of Tunisians (Smari & Navracsics, 2019). English has gained increasing importance in recent years, driven by globalization and the demand for English proficiency in the job market (Battenburg, 1997; Harrabi, 2010; Boukadi, 2013). Younger generations, in particular, increasingly identify with English as a language of opportunity and global connectivity (Jabeur, 1999; Aouina, 2013).

The language dynamics in Tunisia reflect a complex interplay between historical legacies, social aspirations, and global influences. The linguistic scene of Tunisia is evolving, with a growing emphasis on promoting Arabic as a means to strengthen national identity and cultural heritage. However, the role of French and English continues to shape individual and collective identities in various spheres of life, including education, media, and professional contexts. This multilingual reality reflects the ongoing negotiation and redefinition of identities in Tunisia, as individuals navigate their linguistic repertoires to express different aspects of their social, cultural, and professional selves. The present

study aims to substantiate this phenomenon, shedding light on the continuous nature of identity negotiation and redefinition in the Tunisian context. People skillfully navigate their linguistic repertoires to express various dimensions of their social, cultural, and professional selves. The coexistence of these languages allows individuals to draw from different linguistic resources to articulate their thoughts, ideas, and aspirations effectively. Moreover, it fosters a sense of cosmopolitanism and openness to global influences while simultaneously valuing local traditions and customs. This dynamic interplay between languages enriches personal expression and contributes to Tunisian society's broader tapestry by promoting diversity and inclusivity.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has provided an overview of the evolving definitions associated with the research topic of identity construction, with a particular focus on the role of language. Language is intricately tied to identity, serving as a medium through which we communicate, convey our thoughts and feelings, and experience the world. Language plays a crucial role in shaping individual and collective identity at macro and micro levels. It carries historical and cultural significance, contributing to the construction of collective identities and functioning as a marker of social identity within local contexts. Moreover, we have discussed the role of multilingualism in identity formation, highlighting how language choices and proficiency influence how individuals express their identities and establish social connections in multilingual societies. We have explored examples from diverse European contexts, such as Belgium, Catalonia, and Tunisia, to illustrate the complexities and dynamics of identity formation in multilingual settings. As seen from the diverse country models, multilingualism can both foster a sense of belonging and unity among linguistic communities and give rise to challenges related to language dominance, prestige, and linguistic inequalities. The next chapter describes the linguistic situation in Tunisia, namely the linguistic landscape, language policies, and the sociocultural dynamics that shape language use and identity in the Tunisian context. By examining the linguistic situation in Tunisia, we aim to deepen our understanding of the complexities and nuances of language and identity in this context.

CHAPTER 3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Introduction

Language is an essential aspect of human communication and identity, deeply intertwined with the historical and sociolinguistic context of a region. Tunisia, a North African country with a rich cultural heritage, serves as a fascinating case study for understanding the complexities of linguistic variation and contact. The current chapter offers a historical and sociolinguistic Tunisian introspective, exploring the linguistic varieties in contact and the evolution they have undergone. To comprehensively describe the linguistic scene of Tunisia, it is crucial to examine its history and the diachronic presentation of the historical-linguistic context witnessed by its speakers. The historical backdrop sheds light on the events that shaped the linguistic profile of the country and the interactions between different language varieties.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of Tunisian history, highlighting its long-standing linguistic confrontations and the diversity that characterizes its linguistic community. It also examines the history of colonization and decolonization in the Maghreb region, focusing on Tunisia. French colonial linguistic domination significantly affected Tunisia, where French became more than just the language of the colonizer. It became a means of communication widely used in various domains, gaining the status of a 'second language'. The devaluation of Arabic and the cultural hegemony of colonization had profound effects on language and culture, leading to linguistic and cultural alienation.

The linguistic positions within the linguistic profile of Tunisia are then explored, emphasizing the juridical status of Arabic and the role of English in the country. The constitution's recognition of Arabic as the language of Tunisia and the promotion of Arab-Muslim identity reflects the importance of Arabic in the national context. On the other hand, English has gained prominence in Tunisia, being taught in schools and serving as a tool for global outreach. Navigating the complexities of the linguistic profile of Tunisia, which encompasses multiple languages and the demands of globalization, presents challenges for language policymakers, educators, and learners. Preserving local languages and cultures while promoting multilingualism and intercultural communication is crucial in fostering understanding and cooperation among linguistic communities.

The language policy in Tunisian education has undergone significant changes throughout its history, reflecting the complex sociocultural and political situation of the

country. From the era of French colonization to the post-independence period and the rise of Arabization movements, the language of instruction has been a subject of continuous debate and reform. This chapter also provides an overview of the evolution of language policy in Tunisian education, highlighting the role of French and Arabic and the challenges faced in balancing linguistic diversity, national identity, and educational development. Understanding the historical context and dynamics of language policy in Tunisia is crucial for comprehending the current state of the education system and the ongoing efforts to promote multilingualism and educational equity.

This chapter sets the stage for a deeper exploration of the linguistic varieties in Tunisia and their sociolinguistic dynamics. By understanding the historical and sociolinguistic context of the country, one can acquire significant knowledge regarding the complex linguistic fabric that characterizes the Tunisian linguistic profile.

3.2 Linguistic Profile: Historical and Sociolinguistic Context of Tunisia

To comprehend the linguistic varieties in contact within Tunisia, it is crucial to delve into the historical context that shaped their emergence and evolution. By examining the historical-linguistic context that Tunisian speakers have experienced, we can gain insight into the events that led to introducing specific linguistic varieties into the field being studied. The study conducted by Maurer and Desrousseaux in 2013 emphasizes the significance of understanding the historical timeline and changes in Tunisia to describe and analyze the linguistic situation properly. By tracing the development of these linguistic varieties over time, we can unravel the factors that influenced their penetration and study their subsequent transformations. This historical perspective offers valuable insights into the linguistic dynamics of Tunisia and aids in comprehending the complex interactions between languages in the country.

3.2.1 A brief overview of the history of Tunisia

Tunisia is a rich sociolinguistic laboratory with a long history of linguistic confrontations. Daoud (2011a) describes the linguistic history of Tunisia as "being marked by multiplicity, diversity, and accommodation rather than having one language" (9). Bahloul (2001) describes this linguistic community as an "extremely colorful mosaic made up of a significant number of language varieties" (4). The indigenous population of Tunisia historically spoke a language known as Lyric, which is considered the oldest language in the region. Bilingualism has been present in the Tunisian linguistic scene since ancient times, dating back to the arrival of the Phoenicians from Tyre (Lebanon), who established

the Carthaginian Empire (814–146 BCE). The Phoenician presence introduced a new language and cultural influences to Tunisia, contributing to the multilingualism that has characterized the linguistic profile of the country throughout its history. Since then, Lybic/ Punic bilingualism developed over seven centuries (Daoud, 2011a: 9). The coming of the Romans to the region opened the way to multilingualism, with Berber, Punic, and Latin being the main languages spoken then. During the early seventh century, marked by the spread of Islam in North Africa, the linguistic situation changed dramatically. Islam fetched Arabic, which took several years to become the official language of Tunisia. As a result of the conversion of a significant number of Berbers (the indigenous people) to Islam, the Berber language lost its position considerably, giving way to Arabic becoming the official language. Berber is now spoken by less than 1% of the population and is considered "a dying language" (Daoud, 2011a: 10). With Arabic becoming the official language, the linguistic development did not end. Since then, the area has witnessed multiple invasions from different European authorities, which allowed contact with several modern European languages, such as Arab/ Moor Berbers (from Spain), Spaniards (with the arrival of Christians), and Muslims (Turks).

The 19th century witnessed other linguistic changes, with the coming of Italians and French, who settled in Tunisia and joined the competition. After France colonized Tunisia in 1881, the French language became more than the colonizer's language; instead, it became a means of communication for many people. Daoud (2011a: 11) stated that French was widely used after the independence in different domains to the extent that it gained the status of a "second language". He summarizes the current linguistic situation of Tunisia as shown in Figure 1 and he describes it as follow:

> "[…] the current language situation, […], may be characterized by the complex diglossic spread of Arabic and the prevalence of Arabic-French bilingualism. The complexity and dynamism of this situation are further enhanced by the promotion of several foreign languages, especially English as the global language of science and technology, international relations, trade, and electronic communication." (Daoud, 2011a: 11)

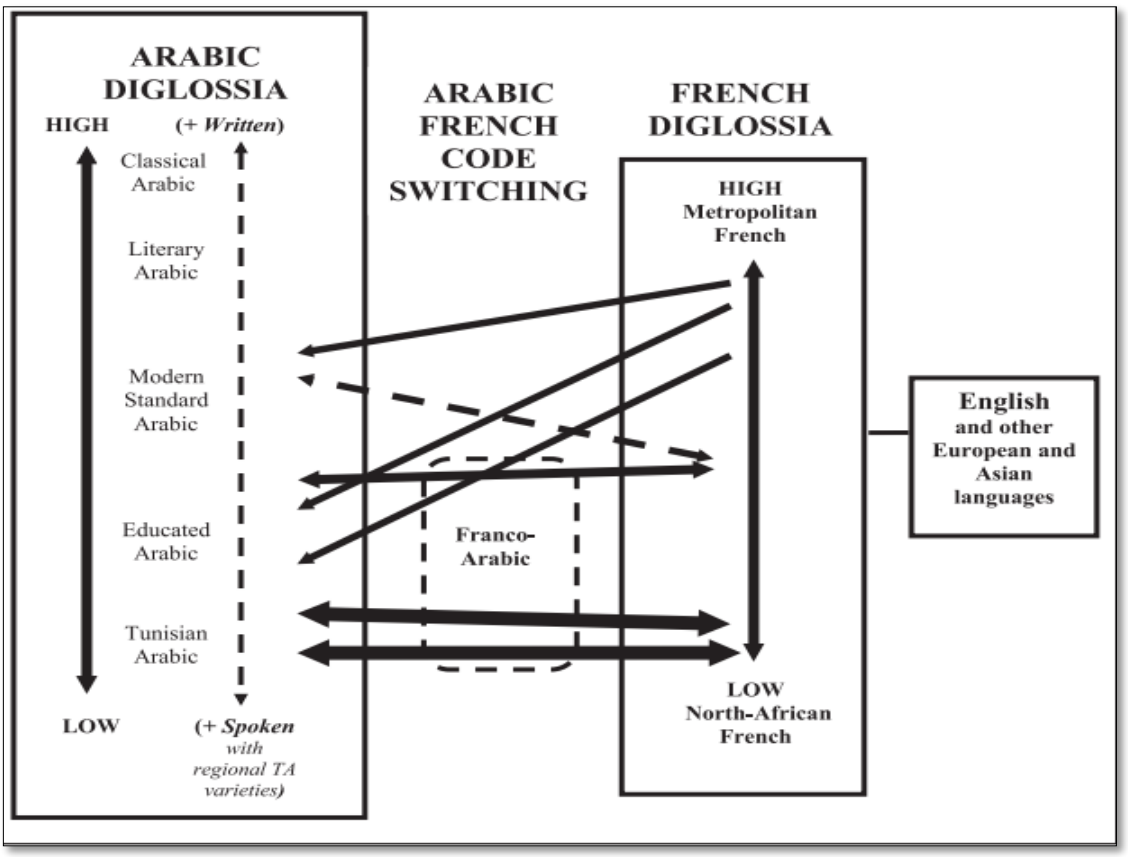

Figure 1. A schematic representation of the current language situation in Tunisia (Daoud, 2011a: 12)

The existence of multilingualism in Tunisia presents a complex and demanding environment for language policymakers, educators, and learners. On the one hand, they face the pressures of globalization, which often prioritize dominant languages and cultures. On the other hand, there is a crucial need to safeguard local languages and cultures, which are integral components of the identity and heritage of Tunisia.

This linguistic diversity highlights the significance of promoting multilingualism and intercultural communication skills. By embracing and celebrating the various linguistic communities within Tunisia, it becomes possible to foster a deeper understanding and cooperation among them. Encouraging the learning of multiple languages facilitates communication and promotes cultural exchange, tolerance, and respect. Language policymakers must strike a delicate balance between preserving local languages and integrating global ones. They must design inclusive language policies that value and support the use of regional languages while providing opportunities for individuals to acquire international languages that can enhance their educational and professional prospects.

Educators play a vital role in creating inclusive and culturally sensitive learning environments. They can help learners develop proficiency in multiple languages and cultivate intercultural communication skills. By recognizing the value of each language and culture, educators can empower learners to navigate the complexities of a multilingual society and engage meaningfully with diverse linguistic communities. Ultimately, the promotion of multilingualism and intercultural communication in Tunisia contributes to the preservation of linguistic diversity, the fostering of social cohesion, and the promotion of mutual understanding and cooperation in an increasingly interconnected world.

3.2.2 Language in the history of colonization and decolonization in the Maghreb

A difference is evident when comparing the duration of the colonization of the three North African countries, distinguishing Algeria from Tunisia and Morocco. France's colonial linguistic domination affected Algeria more than the other two countries, but the difference lies in the degree and not like the influence.

In Algeria, the French were to marginalize and then eliminate the teaching of Arabic. The Arabic language and its referent, Islam, were perceived as a source of resistance against the assimilation project. French was imposed and usurped, as Lacheraf (1965) put it, its status as an official language. Arabic was declared a foreign language in 1938. In Tunisia and Morocco, the teaching of Arabic was maintained, but in all three countries, French was the official language of education, administration, and sectors of economic life. Much has been written about the linguistic and cultural hegemony of colonization, which led to the devaluation of the Arabic language and Arab culture and invested French with a dual function of superiority.

French occupied a dual role, serving as the exclusive official language, thereby conferring upon it the stature of a predominant linguistic entity while concurrently assuming a symbolic role in social and cultural differentiation. This symbolism was closely intertwined with the hierarchical social stratification associated with its utilization and instruction, particularly impacting an elite segment of society. In 1930, the school enrolment rate concerning the school-age population was 6.6 percent in Tunisia, 5.90 percent in Algeria, and 1 percent in Morocco (Sraîeb, 1974) (as cited in Jerad, 2004: para. 16). These low enrolment rates were due to various factors such as poverty, lack of infrastructure, and cultural beliefs prioritizing boys' education over girls. However, since

then, these countries have made significant progress in improving access to education for all. Tunisia made some progress in the final years of colonization to reach 11 percent of pupils enrolled at all levels (Ibid.; Madjtaieb, 2001). The proposition suggesting a concerted French effort to entrench the French language as the dominant native tongue in the Maghreb warrants a nuanced examination. This assertion warrants reconsideration, considering the broader context in which educational policies and linguistic dynamics unfolded. Rather than being an inclusive and egalitarian pursuit, the colonial authorities imbued education with a sense of apprehension.

Consequently, access to education was predominantly restricted to a privileged elite, often aligned with the colonial administration or possessing socioeconomic advantages. This exclusivity engendered a distinct social and cultural demarcation, with education as a status and affiliation marker. A pivotal indicator of the unequal distribution of education was the alarmingly high illiteracy rate prevalent at the time of the region's bid for independence. Estimates place the illiteracy rate within the range of 80% to 90%, underscoring the dearth of educational opportunities accessible to the broader population. This stark disparity not only elucidates the gap in educational access but also accentuates the extent to which the colonial administration failed to prioritize the development of an educated citizenry.

While acknowledging that some progress in educational provisions occurred during the latter phases of colonial rule, the overarching policy framework did not substantially prioritize the education of most Tunisians. The limited strides made in education were insufficient to mitigate the substantial educational gap that had persisted over decades. The enduring consequences of this historical legacy, marked by constrained educational opportunities, have exerted an intense and enduring impact on the progress of Tunisia, posing ongoing challenges for the nation in the present day. As a result, a dual allure emerges, captivating both those who achieve educational attainment and those who find themselves marginalized from its advantages. This fascination and its converse, the repudiation of the French language, are intricately interlinked with a simultaneous sense of self-denial (as evidenced in the context of the so-called French-speaking Maghreb literature[3]). This phenomenon is not unique to French, as it can be observed in learning

[3] French-speaking Maghreb literature encompasses a corpus of literary creations composed in the French language by writers hailing from the Maghreb, a geographical expanse including Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. This literary corpus serves as a poignant reflection of the distinctive cultural and historical narratives that have shaped the Maghrebi populace, delving into complicated themes such as post-colonialism, matters of identity, and the intricate interplay between French and Maghrebi cultures. Notably,

and rejecting any foreign language. It highlights the complex relationship between language, identity, and power dynamics in postcolonial societies. Language is not just a means of communication but also a tool of power and domination. In postcolonial societies, the mastery or rejection of a language can have significant implications for one's social status and sense of self. Cultural and linguistic alienation has been perceived as the product of this linguistic domination and the devaluation of the culture of the colonized and their identity.

This calls us to reflect on the distinction often made between British and French colonialism regarding linguistic matters. The English allowed the learning of mother tongues, while the French recognized only the French language. This can be confirmed in the following passage quoted by Pierre Alexandre (1967) in "Langues et langage en Afrique noire" [Languages and speech in Black Africa]:

> "In educational matters, the linguistic policy of the French colonization is very easy to define; it is the policy of King Francis 1 of France, Cardinal Richelieu, Robespierre, and Jules Ferry. Only one language is taught in schools, allowed in the legal courts, used in administration: the French language, as defined by the French Academy and the decrees of public instructions. All the other languages are nothing more than folklore, ballet dancing skirt, a Mayday call, obscurantism, and ferments of the disintegration of the Republic." (Alexandre, 1967: 71)

It should be noted that this colonial language policy was influenced mainly by the policy practiced in metropolitan France, which was aimed at eradicating regional languages through schools. In the Maghreb, the classical Arabic language, which is also highly standardized and represents the potent symbol of identity, has been considered dangerous. Dialectal Arabic, in the philosophy of language inherited from the history of the imposition of French in France against Latin and patois, was not considered a rival to French. This explains why it was taught in French schools in Tunisia until recently. As for Tamazight, already dominated by Arabic, was perceived as an ally of the French and potentially of the colonial project itself. This was a strategy rather than a real consideration for the oral mother tongues of the colonized. We also must admit that at

this literary tradition holds a pivotal position within the global literary tapestry, offering profound insights into the manifold perspectives and diverse voices emanating from this region. By persistently evolving, French-speaking Maghreb literature continues to function as a dynamic platform, facilitating Maghrebi writers in articulating their lived experiences, confronting challenges, and voicing their aspirations.

any time in history, within each society, there is a dominant culture that is not monolithic, and the numerous co-cultures and specialized cultures have always maintained their linguistic legacy. To oppose this colonialism based on French as a means of domination, liberation movements made Arabic the symbol of the identity of the colonized and the basis of the call for independence. Bounfour (1994: 18) notes, “The colonial state, by crystallizing the debate of frankness against Arabity, has produced its protest based on this same paradigm but reversed.”

Once the colonizer was driven out and independence is achieved, the three Maghreb States inscribed the Arabic language, a symbol of the recovered identity, as the national language in the texts of their respective constitutions and Islam as the state religion. The Tunisian Constitution (2014: 4) stipulates in article 1 in the same sentence that Tunisia is “a republic, its language is Arabic, and its religion is Islam”. Grandguillaume (1983) (as cited in Jerad, 2004) stated that “[t]o oppose a language introduced in the name of its prestige, only classical Arabic can rival it” (para. 27). To erase the trauma of deculturation and rehabilitate an identity scorned by colonialism, the Arabization policy proclaimed at the time of independence of the three countries was to prioritize education, administration, and the environment.

3.3 Positioning the Languages: An Overview of Tunisia's Linguistic Profile

3.3.1 The juridical status of Arabic

Before the 2014 Constitution, the position of the language remained unchanged, as stated in the 1956 Constitution (amended in 1992 and 2002 but suspended in 2011). The official language of Tunisia is Arabic, as indicated in Article 1: "[…], its language is Arabic, […]" (Tunisian Constitution, 1956: 4). The term "official language" was not used; thus, from this constitutional provision alone, MSA, not Tunisian Arabic, was used as the official language of the State. A new constitution was in preparation as early as 2011, but the Tunisian National Constituent Assembly (ANC) did not adopt the final text until April 2013. The main political parties of Tunisia had given themselves one year from the October 23, 2011, election of the ANC to draft the new fundamental law of the country and replace the provisional texts governing Tunisia following the revolution that toppled former president Ben Ali.

However, this effort was put on hold because no agreement on the nature of the regime was achieved. On the one hand, the Islamists advocated a pure parliamentary system, while the other parties wished to delegate critical powers to the head of State. The draft constitution faced a delay in adoption until January 26, 2014, due to an absence of compromise. Pertaining to language, only Articles 1 and 39 hold relevance. Article 1 of the Tunisian Constitution (2014) emphasizes that Tunisia is an independent, sovereign state with Islam as its religion, Arabic as its language, and a republican system; this article is unalterable. Conversely, Article 39 stipulates that education is obligatory up to the age of sixteen. The State assures the availability of free public education across all tiers and allocates necessary resources to ensure high-quality education, teaching, and training. Moreover, it strives to reinforce the Arab-Muslim identity and national belonging in the youth while promoting and popularizing the use of the Arabic language. The State further encourages engagement with foreign languages, human civilizations, and the propagation of human rights culture.

While not explicitly designated as an "official language, " Arabic holds a *de facto* status. This is highlighted by Article 39, which openly addresses the promotion of the Arab-Muslim identity, the integration of the Arabic language in education, and an openness to foreign languages. Notably, the new Constitution needs to acknowledge the Berber people (Amazigh) of Tunisia. In terms of legal provisions for the Arabic language, these are relatively limited, suggesting that the linguistic issues of Tunisia could have been more profound. The Arabization policy initiated in 1958 initially impacted the education sector exclusively. Subsequently, in 1968, it expanded further; however, the broader realms of administration were not significantly influenced until 1970 and 1980.

3.3.2 The Precarious status of the Tamazight Language: an endangered heritage

Amazigh culture, also known as Berber culture, encompasses the traditions, beliefs, and practices of the indigenous Berber ethnic group in North Africa (Corallo & Varde, 2023). Tamazight language, or Berber language, is the Afroasiatic language spoken by the Berber people, with its own unique alphabet called Tifinagh (Pouessel, 2017; Tahiri, 2022; El Guabli, 2022). This heritage language, also referred to as an indigenous language, has a rich history in Tamazgha (North Africa) and has faced marginalization due to colonial influences (Tyuleneva, 2023).

Historically, Tunisia has seen a linguistic evolution. Initially, Tamazight was prevalent, but the rise of Carthage and Phoenician settlement led to the prominence of the Punic

language, diminishing Tamazight's influence (Helal, 2023). Subsequently, Arabic gained dominance with the spread of Islam, becoming the primary language for communication (McNeil, 2022).

Despite its historical significance, the Tamazight language has faced significant challenges and exclusion in modern Tunisia. After gaining independence from French colonial rule, the Tunisian language evolved as a blend of various languages, including Berber dialects. Unfortunately, Tamazight received no recognition in the education system and is entirely excluded from the official curriculum. Gabsi (2011) described Tamazight as a minority and endangered language.

Despite the marginalization faced in modern times, Tunisian Arabic (Tunsi) remains a rich linguistic tapestry adorned with numerous Tamazight borrowings. This phenomenon highlights the enduring influence of Tamazight on TA and underscores the significance of these frequent Berber-origin words that are still prevalent in the spoken language of today. Table 2 below presents a selection of common TA words with their Tamazight origins, demonstrating the continued presence of Tamazight vocabulary in the everyday speech of Tunisians.

Table 2. Tunisian Arabic words with Tamazight origins

Tunisian Arabic Words	English Translation	Notes
Yemma	Mother	Tamazight: Yemma
Naggez	To jumb	
Tatta	To hit	Often used when addressing children
Babbouch	Snail	
Zarda	Feast	Tamazight: Izaryan
Zoghozogh	children	

Source: Mejrissi (2013).

The remarkable presence of Tamazight borrowings within Tunisian Arabic, showcase the linguistic intermingling that has shaped the language over time. Despite the marginalization faced by Tunisian Arabic, these enduring Berber-origin words serve as a reminder of the cultural and historical connections between the two linguistic traditions, contributing to the linguistic diversity and heritage of contemporary Tunisia.

The Amazigh cultural heritage in Tunisia appears less prominent compared to neighboring nations like Morocco and Algeria, where Berber-speaking regions are more widespread (El Guabli, 2022; Corallo & Varde, 2023). Historically, the Berber-speaking region on the mainland covered various districts, reflecting a rich linguistic and cultural

diversity (El Guabli, 2022). In Tunisia, the Berber-speaking region used to cover a larger geography, such as Matmata, Taoujout, Tamazret, and Zrawa (located west of Matmata), as well as Chninni and Douiret (Basset 1950: 220; Maamouri 1973: 14). However, in contemporary times, the Berber-speaking communities have become limited to specific areas, namely Chninni, Douiret, Ouirsighen, Cedouikech, and Guelle (Gabsi, 2011). The Amazigh language faces challenges in representation and integration into education and technology (Driouch & Elghazi, 2023; Silverstein, 2023). Despite this, there has been a resurgence of interest in Amazigh culture and activism post-Arab Spring, with a shift towards legal and socioeconomic equality for the Amazigh people in North Africa.

In contemporary Tunisia, numerous challenges, including terrorism, economic issues, and the complexities of democratic development, take precedence in the national discourse, often relegating other causes, such as the promotion of Amazigh culture, to the background. Despite calls for recognition of the Tamazight language and culture after the revolution, the Amazigh cause must find a prominent position in the political debate. The historical background of the country, marked by cultural diversity, further complicates the politicization of the Amazigh question, making it difficult to gain significant traction.

Even after the revolution, there was a notable absence of discussions concerning the status of Tamazight in the 'new' democratic Tunisia, despite the appeals made by the *Association Tunisienne de la Culture Amazighe*[4] "Tunisian Association for Amazigh Culture". Led by Ben Saedan, this organization was founded in April 2011 to challenge stereotypes associated with Berber culture, preserve its cultural and architectural heritage, and foster cultural studies and Berber events (Gabsi, 2020). Despite their efforts, the lack of discussions regarding its status raised concerns about the inclusivity and representation of Berber culture in the new democratic Tunisia.

Amidst these hurdles, the Amazigh question provides a unique and enlightening viewpoint to understand post-2011 Tunisia and its ongoing transformation. Despite its initial marginalization, the Amazigh perspective serves as an alternative and insightful lens through which to explore the evolving identity and cultural profile of the nation. It offers a valuable opportunity to delve into the heritage and societal dynamics of Tunisia

[4] The Tunisian Association of Amazigh Culture emerged as part of a broader wave of activism post the 2010-11 Tunisian revolution, where civil society groups advocated for the rights and recognition of Tunisian minorities, including the marginalized Amazigh population (Makach, 2022). This movement challenged the prevailing Arab/Islamic ideology in Tunisia, pushing for the acknowledgment of cultural diversity within the nation (Torres de Janon, 2014). The Amazigh people strategically utilized digital platforms to amplify their cultural and political demands, contributing to the redefinition of their identity in the digital sphere (Abdelfattah & Ritt-Benmimoun, 2022).

beyond the dominant discourse, providing a deeper understanding of its diverse cultural tapestry and contributing to the inclusive development of the country.

3.3.3 The status of French

The introduction of the French language in Tunisia dates back to the era of the French protectorate in 1881. During this period, French rapidly gained popularity and was eventually designated as the official language of the Tunisian state. Its inclusion in public institutions, notably in the education system, played a crucial role in its widespread dissemination. In 1956, Tunisia finally gained independence from the French protectorate, and the country embarked on a gradual process of Arabization. During that period, the French government disapproved towards the Arabization movement, viewing it as a significant challenge to the position of the French language in the country. They criticized the closure of the TV channel France 2 and the prohibition of various French newspapers and magazines. As a result of these actions, tensions emerged between Tunisia and France, and this Arabic/French rivalry persisted for several years (Boukadi & Troudi, 2017).

However, despite sustained efforts to promote Arabic as the primary language of instruction, French has retained its significance in various educational domains. It continues to be the language of instruction in science and economics disciplines in secondary education, while also being taught as a mandatory language in primary schools and vocational training. Starting from the school year 2019/2020, Tunisia has introduced French to students in the second grade, intensifying from the third grade with eight hours per week dedicated to studying the language, surpassing the time allocated to MSA (Abdeljaoued, 2023). This emphasis on French in the curriculum aligns with the historical prevalence of French as the language of science and technology in Tunisia between 1956 and 1987 (Abdelfattah & Ritt-Benmimoun, 2022). Moreover, some higher education social science and humanities disciplines are taught in French, emphasizing its ongoing role in academic settings (Daoud, 2011a; Dridi *et al.*, 2020).

The influence of French extends beyond the academia and pervades various spheres of economic activity. It is commonly used as the predominant written language in banking, finance, and commercial transactions, including invoices and government licenses. Daoud (2001) explored the role of the French language in the Tunisian society. His findings revealed that more than literacy in Arabic alone was needed for success, despite a vigorous Arabization campaign since the independence. Most Tunisians

consider Arabic an identity marker (Jerad, 2013; Smari & Hortobágyi, 2020; Rahmouni, 2022). However, the use of Arabic can also be viewed as a symbol of traditionalism, in contrast to French, which is associated with modernization and a cosmopolitan identity (Hawkins, 2010; Helal, 2018). The status of French as a colonial language has led some Tunisians to reject it as a symbol of the past, while others see it as a tool for intellectual liberation (Haouam, 1990). Over time, many Tunisians have embraced a neutral bilingual or multilingual identity, recognizing themselves as Arab, Muslim, Mediterranean, North African, and proficient in multiple languages (Smari & Navracsics, 2019).

Moreover, French language is associated with prestige, sophistication, and social status in Tunisia (Stevens, 1983; Daoud, 2011b). Mastery of French is often seen as a marker of elite status and cultural refinement. In contrast, a lack of proficiency or knowledge in French can be perceived as a lack of prestige or social standing (Daoud, 1991; Callahan, 2018). This creates a hierarchy where those with French knowledge are seen as superior. The prestige of French in Tunisia is a legacy of the country's historical and cultural ties with France, as well as the language's continued use in education, media, and higher social circles (Stevens, 1983; Daoud, 2010). This dynamic creates a tug-of-war between French and Arabic, with French maintaining its prestige status, even as Arabic is the national and dominant language (Battenburg, 1997). The gendered nature of language use in Tunisia further reinforces the prestige associated with French, as it is seen as a marker of sophistication and modernity, particularly for women (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Walters, 2011). In the post-revolutionary context, the prestige of French has been challenged, as there is a push to assert the authenticity of Tunisian identity and culture, which is often associated with the Arabic language (Sayahi, 2020).

3.3.4 The status and the role of English in Tunisia

English started to be taught in Tunisian schools shortly after Tunisia gained the independence. Battenburg (1997) stated that the *Institut Bourguiba des Langues Vivantes* (IBLV) [Bourguiba Institute of Modern Languages] established in 1957, was the first institution promoting English in Tunisia. English was taught from the second to the sixth year of secondary school for all sections. From 2000 until 2007, this phase was characterized primarily by lowering the English learning age in primary schools in 2005 as it became taught from the 6th year. English first started in primary schools as a club. As the club developed into a compulsory subject, the Ministry of Education and Training debriefed schools and teachers about the changes happening, the objectives, the approach,

the manuals to be used, the expected teaching conditions, and the assessment procedures. This act was taken due to growing awareness about teaching English early to promote mastery. The English language continues to be taught in universities, irrespective of the field of study. Nowadays, English is a subject compulsory for everyone attending different schooling institutions.

With the emergence of globalization, the function of English has markedly changed to become a tool to achieve global outreach. We can admit that English is present at all levels of the Tunisian sphere. In this context, Aouina (2013:39) argues that "English has […] jumped over the school fences to start invading streets and peoples' daily life". Scholars such as Boukadi and Troudi (2017:264) admit that Tunisians nowadays have different linguistic needs. Further claims encourage the perception that this was mainly reinforced by the 2011 revolution (the Arab Spring), where the Tunisian youth found it more spirited to share their thoughts with the world, writing in English. According to some studies (Bouzidi & Ammar, 2018; Ben Aissa & Ayouni, 2019; British Council, 2019), Tunisian teenagers use English more than the older generation in their daily lives. For instance, English has become a language that Tunisians switched to, apart from French (Allagui & Breslow, 2014; Messaoudi, 2019). This may be due to mass media and Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) that has promulgated several English terms, partly due to the extensive use of English as a lingua franca, especially with tourists who visit Tunisia by the million every year.

3.4 Identity and the Question of Language/ Language as a Component of Identity

The fundamental idea of the current study revolves around comprehending the connection between language and identity. One of the most effective ways to reveal a person's identity and sense of belonging is through their language. Previous literature and publications (Joseph, 2004; Ricento, 2005; Block, 2007; Edwards, 2009; Liamas & Watt, 2010) support this symbiotic relationship between language and identity. Moreover, language also shapes and influences an individual's perception of the world and their place in it, further emphasizing the importance of understanding the link between language and identity. The current research aims to explore this relationship in depth and to shed light on its significance in various contexts.

We may agree that it is the individual who is most concerned with the construct of identity, considering that the individual is directly affected by the socio-cultural conditions – which include, apart from language, other extra-linguistic factors like family, sociology, psychology, history, politics, nationalism, to mention a few. It is admitted that individuals collectively make up a community. Societal circumstances primarily condition the definition of individual multilingualism. Therefore, speaking about individual multilingualism without referring to identity closely related to societal issues is impossible (Riley 2010: 376). Identity has been for a long time investigated from different angles.

A study of literature reveals the existence of diverse identity categories, encompassing language, cultural, social, gender, ethnic, racial, and national, among many others. The present study places in focus language and cultural identity. Norton (1997: 420) describes cultural identity as "[…] the relationship between individuals and members of a group who share a common history, a common language, and similar ways of understanding the world". Block (2007: 40), on the other hand, stated that language identity could be understood "as the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one´s sense of self and a means of communication which might be known as a language (e.g., English) a dialect (Geordie) or a sociolect (e.g., football-speak)".

When describing the use of the Arabic language in this context, we must consider that the version mostly accepted in one area must be tailored to the needs of the local society. Along with English, French, Spanish, Chinese, and Russian, Arabic is one of the six official languages of the United Nations. According to its Constitution, Arabic is the national and official language of Tunisia, which was amended in 2020 to reinforce the position of the Arabic language in the country. Additionally, Arabic is the official language of the Arab League, which consists of 22 countries in Africa and Asia, and it also holds a co-official status in Djibouti, Somalia, and Sudan. Moreover, Arabic is a national, working, or recognized minority language in several countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe, including Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. In countries like Iran, Arabic is spoken in linguistic enclaves, showcasing its presence beyond the Arab world (Porkhomovsky, 2017). Despite not having official status in South Africa, Arabic is widely spoken, reflecting its global reach and influence (Amara, 2017).

Arabic, as the language of Islam, plays a crucial role in uniting Muslim communities globally (Rababah, 2023). It has been recognized internationally for its cultural significance and as a language of unity (Alzubi, 2023). Despite facing challenges in modern times, Arabic remains essential for Islamic studies and as a liturgical language (Amjad Ali *et al.*, 2022; Musaddiq, 2023). The influence of Arabic extends beyond its native speakers, impacting other languages like Persian through mutual borrowing of words. Moreover, Arabic's historical importance is evident in its contributions to various fields like science, mathematics, and philosophy, with terms like *algebra, algorithm,* and *zero* originating from Arabic roots.

In addition to Arabic, the Arabic alphabet is used to write several other languages. Turkish and Maltese historically used Arabic letters until the 1950s, as documented by studies such as Cremona (1961), Kırkgöz (2015), Çevik (2017), and Al-Jallad (2018). Persian (Farsi) and Urdu, the national languages of Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, are currently written with Arabic characters. Moreover, several other languages of Asia and Africa also use Arabic scripts, such as Uyghur, Kurdish, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balti, Balochi, Pashto, Lurish, Kashmiri, Rohingya, Somali, and Mandinka, among others, as noted by Mirdehghan (2010).

Literal Arabic, commonly known as Modern Standard Arabic or *Fusha* (فصحى)[5], is an essentially written language, considered the most prestigious form by all Arabic-speaking countries. Orally, it is used in media and institutional communication. The term Arabic-speaking covers different linguistic realities. Arab linguistic communities use two varieties of Arabic: one that is primarily written, known as literary Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic, and one that is spoken, known as colloquial Arabic, which varies by country. While literary Arabic is used in formal settings such as news broadcasts and official documents, colloquial Arabic is the language of everyday communication among Arab speakers (Amjad Ali *et al.*, 2022; Al Yamin, 2023; Sada Mezal, 2023). These two varieties of Arabic are mutually intelligible to some extent, but they also have significant differences in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation. Thus, it is diglossia putting forward the Literal Arabic at the expense of the spoken, dialectal language (Mhirsi, 2020:

[5] Charles Ferguson, credited with pioneering the concept of diglossia, underlines its presence in the Arabic language. He delineates this phenomenon as encompassing two distinct varieties: firstly, High Arabic, or "*fusha*", revered for its prestige and designated for written communication, necessitating formal education and specific training; secondly, Low Arabic, referred to as "*derja*" in the Maghreb and "*ammiyya*" in the Mashreq, serves as an oral form, acquired as a mother tongue, and serves as the primary tool for everyday verbal interactions. A more comprehensive understanding of this concept can be found in Charles Ferguson's (1959) seminal work.

para.4). This linguistic situation reflects the complex interplay between the formal, standardized form of Arabic and the everyday, vernacular dialect used by the majority of the population, shaping the identity of its speakers through their linguistic practices and expressions (Alshehri & AlShabeb, 2023).

Even though one speaks *Derja* (colloquial Arabic) rather than classical or literary Arabic, the mother tongue of a Tunisian person is Arabic. This highlights the complex relationship between language and identity, where individuals may identify with a particular dialect or language variety while still recognizing the importance of the standardized form. This also emphasizes the need for language policies that acknowledge and support linguistic diversity. The two languages, MSA and TA, primarily perceived as identity markers, are frequently mistaken for one another.

3.5 Language Policy across Various Spheres in Tunisia

3.5.1 Language policy in the Tunisian education: evolution and challenges

From a historical and a political point of view, Tunisia is an ex-French colony, making it essentially a francophone country. As soon as it got its independence, a process of bilingual education was launched. This was based on early literacy in Arabic, followed by the subsequent introduction of French. Secondary education has always been trilingual, with English as the most common foreign language added to the two languages already taught, Arabic and French. The first years of the 21st century were marked by introducing other foreign languages to secondary schools, like Russian, Spanish, Italian, Chinese, German, and Turkish. Following the independence, educating young individuals has been a primary focus for political leaders. Language preferences regarding curricula have undergone several strategic changes, leading to three distinct periods. These periods have witnessed alternating emphasis on promoting French or devaluing it within the Tunisian education system.

3.5.1.1 Before the protectorate (1881)

Before France established the protectorate in Tunisia in 1881, many schools that promoted a bilingual and bicultural system had already been established. Ahmed Bey created the Polytechnic School of Bardo, which became the Military School. He charged Colonel Calligari with the organization of the new teachings, namely, the introduction of foreign languages, including Italian and French, as these two languages have been considered the languages of modernism (Sraîeb, 2000: 213). The officers who had

graduated from the Bardo Military School, their professors, and some members of the Zitouna[6] initiated these first reforms. Kheredine, appointed Prime Minister in 1873, concretized these new resolutions by creating in 1875 the Sadiki college of Tunis by order of Mohammed al Sodok, the Bey[7] of Tunis (Degorge, 2002). The College aimed to provide education in European languages and sciences. Tullon (2009) emphasizes the essential nature of a bilingual framework in Tunisia, explicitly citing three aspects of modernization: (1) opening up to Europe; (2) scientific catch-up; and (3) technological catch-up (Tullon, 2009: 41).

Thus, the country could claim to achieve modernity and progress by training future executives capable of managing the country through a diversified education ranging from sciences to languages (French, Turkish, Italian). Upon their arrival in Tunisia, the French found bilingual executives who acted as a link between the colonial authorities and the population. It is worth mentioning that there were also schools for the Italian and French residents living in Tunisia (Degorge, 2002). In 1843, the Italians were the first to open a school exclusively for Italians. Two years later, the French opened a "national" school abroad. Thus, the presence of the French seems to be an antecedent of the protectorate, but it should be stressed that it remained reserved for residents of French origin at the time. This changed with the protectorate, and the Tunisian population had to face changes in its daily life, including the experience of a modernization of the education system (Tullon, 2009; Degorge, 2002; World Bank, 2008) led by the French, as described below.

3.5.1.2 During the protectorate (1881-1955)

The Treaty of Bardo, signed on May 12, 1881, placed Tunisia under the protection of France. Although the Bey officially remained the legitimate sovereign, economic, political, and administrative powers fell into the hands of the colonizer. The process of colonization intensified as the number of French officials increased. France thus chose to implement a "policy of association".

> "A policy of association, which – preserving the economic and political interests of the colonizer and supposing that there exists a more advanced society that might allow the changes indispensable for the modernization of protected

[6] Religious higher education establishment attached to the Zitouna Mosque.

[7] Bey was the governor of a district or province in the Ottoman Empire and, in this case, the city of Tunis.

> countries – did not destroy the existing social structures and did not hurt the leading mentalities." (Queffélec, 1995: 802)

The Arabic language was relegated backward for the ideological reasons of the colonizer, who emphasizes *sa mission civilisatrice* "its civilizing mission" (Pape, 2017) and thus justifies the pre-eminence of his language to the detriment of the local languages. Having become a protectorate, Tunisia was subject to a new administration in which the modernization of the education system was one of the most critical objectives. Degorge (2002) describes this modernization as follows: a Director of Public Education was appointed to modernize the education system. This system was to foster an understanding of Arab-Islamic and newly arrived French cultures. An education system was established identical to that of France to achieve this goal. The schools in Tunisia were based on the same models as in France, and the French administration even approved the curriculum. The primary language of education was French, and French people taught in Tunisian schools to transmit the language and the French culture (Degorge, 2002).

3.5.1.3 After the protectorate (1956 to present)

After the independence, Tunisia started its very own educational system. At first, it began from the scheme left by the French colonial administration. Later, it gradually went through significant transformations to achieve better classroom instruction. A historical perspective on why French was maintained immediately after independence is offered by Mahmoud Messadi, former Tunisian Minister of Education from 1958 to 1968:

> "French still plays an important role in some countries of the Third World. We belong to developing countries and must catch up with the highly industrialized ones. To this end, we possess the French language, which is both a language of work and meanwhile a language of culture. For us, French is less a foreign language to be learned, rather it is a tool that will allow us to step over the lost centuries that separate us from the developed world. It will help us access modernity." (Messadi 1967, cited in Belazi, 1991: 53).

Currently, French is introduced as a subject in the second year of elementary school and continues to be taught as a subject throughout the elementary, middle, and high school stages. Like standard Arabic, French was taught eight hours per week when it was first introduced. From the seventh to the ninth grade (known in Tunisia as the *deuxième cycle de l'enseignement de base* "Second cycle of basic education"), French starts to be more

than a simple foreign language, it becomes a language of instruction. At the beginning of the seventh grade, computer science is introduced as a subject and becomes the first to be delivered in French. Nevertheless, math, science, and technology continue to be taught in Arabic.

At the end of ninth grade, students move to high school, taking a common national exam known as the premier *cycle général de l'enseignement secondaire* "general cycle of secondary education". This national exam allows some students to move up to what is called in Tunisia *lycée pilote* "pilot school". This step is the last standard core curriculum Tunisian students have before they are directed to different specialized tracks in high school. At this stage, many subjects, mainly scientific ones, are taught in French, such as math, physics, chemistry, life sciences, biology, and technology. At the same time, French language classes, as well as Arabic language classes, are reduced to five hours per week. At the end of the tenth grade, students choose to continue in one of the following streams based on their skills: humanities (*lettres*), math, economics and business administration, computer science, experimental sciences, and technical sciences.

It is worth mentioning that at this level, Arabic – as the language of instruction – is significantly reduced in all non-humanities sections (e.g., math, life sciences). All other science and technology subjects are in French except for history, geography, and Arabic classes. This policy was applied seven years after French was first introduced as a foreign language and four years after it was used as the language of instruction for the first time in computer science classes. In addition, Arabic continues to be taught to non-humanities students for two hours per week. Students in the humanities section continue to have five hours of French and of English classes per week. Still, they do not take any other subject in French, contrary to all other students in the non-humanities streams, for whom French becomes the principal vehicle of instruction.

After the independence, the new Tunisian government faced the need to implement the Arabization project, particularly in the education sector. The sixty years that separate us from 1956 can be divided into three phases.

i. From 1956 to the late 1960s

At this moment in history, the main goal was to generalize education. The educational charters designated Arabic as the national language and were taught to affirm Tunisian and Arab national identities. French had the status of a vehicle language for science and

technology. In this model, the balance of languages favors French. The superiority of French was confirmed as it progresses through the stages of education. It became predominant in timetables at the end of primary and secondary school: 70% of subjects were in French (Jerad, 2004). French was used almost exclusively in the humanities and all scientific and technical subjects at university. During this stage, Tunisia was a French speaking country. Bourguiba, one of the founders of the *Agence de la Francophonie* "Francophony Agency", claims this Francophony by saying: "We will have to continue to adopt French as a vehicle for progress." (Bourguiba speech 1979, pp.301–302)

In his memorable speech on May 11, 1968, in Montreal, President Habib Bourguiba defended his vision of bilingualism:

> "On the contrary, we are aware not only of having enriched our national culture, but of having guided it, of having conferred on it a specific mark that nothing will be able to erase. We are also aware of having been able to forge a Tunisian mentality, which is a modern mentality, and of having instilled in the Tunisian people, above all in its elite, the necessary capacity to assimilate the techniques of the world today." (Bourguiba, 1978: 2)

Another speech by President Habib Bourguiba, delivered on October 10, 1968, to an audience of teachers in Bizerte, sums up well the situation in what has been considered the "golden age of the French-speaking world" in Tunisia. For Bourguiba, French held a profound significance beyond just a utilitarian or technical language. It was more than a mere instrument; it served as a vehicle through which culture and values could be exchanged, enriching the Arab-Muslim cultural context in unanticipated and valuable ways. His perspective went beyond simple bilingualism, aiming for a more profound concept of biculturalism:

> "Using French does not undermine our sovereignty or our loyalty to the Arabic language but gives us a wide opening to the modern world. If we have chosen French as the lingua franca, it is to better integrate into the streams of contemporary civilization and to catch up more quickly […]. It is too little, finally, when we speak of Tunisia, to emphasize its bilingualism: it is instead a matter of biculturalism.
>
> Tunisia does not deny anything of its past, of which the Arabic language is the expression. But she also knows well that it is thanks to the mastery of a language

such as French that she fully participates in the culture and life of the modern world." (Bourguiba, 1978, pp. 2–3)

Bourguiba recognized that the interaction between the French and the Arab-Muslim cultures could lead to a synthesis of ideas, practices, and perspectives that could contribute to the advancement and modernization of the Tunisian society. He saw French as a means to access a wider world of knowledge, technology, and governance, enabling Tunisia to learn from and engage with the developments occurring on the international stage.

By embracing biculturalism, Bourguiba aimed to create a harmonious blend of Tunisian identity and global influences. This approach allowed for preserving the Tunisian rich cultural heritage while embracing the progressive aspects of Western thought and practices. It was not merely about language proficiency, but about fostering a deep understanding and integrating diverse cultural elements. Bourguiba's emphasis on biculturalism was a strategic choice to position Tunisia as a modern, forward-looking nation while staying rooted in its history and traditions. This approach sought to bridge the gap between different worldviews and ways of life, allowing Tunisians to navigate the complexities of the modern world without losing touch with their roots.

The notion of biculturalism, as envisioned by Bourguiba, found its expression in the initial educational model, which was inherently selective in nature. Although there were aspirations to expand this model widely, the widespread success of the bilingual education provided to the privileged Sadikian elite did not come to fruition as anticipated. By 1984, the results of this educational approach were reflected in the enrollment rates of individuals aged 25 and above, comprising the inaugural cohort of students who had been part of this bilingual system. These enrollment figures are depicted in the data presented in Table 3, showcasing the outcomes of the early stages of implementing the bicultural educational framework.

Table 3. The enrolment rate of the population aged 25 and over in 1984[8]

Categories	Primary school not completed	Secondary school	Post-secondary	Declared without schooling
Percentage	18.9%	12%	2.8%	66.3

[8] UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook 1999

ii. From the 1970s to 2000

Three distinct stages can be identified within the language policy of Arabization of education in Tunisia. I am providing a concise overview of these stages to show the progression of the process aimed at bolstering the position of French in comparison to Arabic.

In the mid-1970s, in the three Maghreb countries, the goal of Arabization was once again the priority. While Algeria opted for a radical Arabization of primary and secondary education and the retention of French in scientific and technical disciplines at the university, Morocco and Tunisia opted for gradual Arabization. In Tunisia, Mohamed Mzali, Minister of National Education, was the promoter of this reform. At the secondary level, the humanities were Arabized: philosophy, history, and geography. However, at university, the same disciplines were only partially Arabized. Scientific and technical subjects remained in French in secondary and higher education.

In 1976, under the nationalist pressure claiming more and more Arabization of humananities, the teaching of sociology, philosophy, history, and geography was Arabized. Many intellectuals of that time saw this return to the Arabic language as a means of compensating for the identity upheavals caused by the French colonization. Surprisingly, French philosophers such as Maurice de Gandillac and Henri Corbin even supported the movement of university Arabization. They argued that, unlike "hard" disciplines, philosophy must be taught in the language of the mother culture, regardless of the universal value of Greek, German, or French concepts.

Islamist movements in the Maghreb increased at the end of the 1980s. Arabization is accused of creating this trend, if not contributing to it. In Tunisia, a political regime change took place against the backdrop of this crisis. In 1989, Mohamed Charfi, former president of the Tunisian League for Human Rights, accepted the Minister of National Education post and took ideological and academic control of education, culminating in the Orientation Act of 1991. It was he and his successors who reformed education as follows:

> “Suppose primary school and college remain fully Arabized. In that case, the teaching of French as a foreign language is re-established from the third year of compulsory schooling. It again becomes the language of sciences at high school,

> economy, and techniques, simultaneously, becomes the language of openness and the development of a culture of tolerance; in all these capacities, French is obligatorily formalized with the General Certificate of Education. Other modern languages, particularly English starting with the fifth year of compulsory education, are introduced into the curriculum. The place of French also tends to be consolidated in higher education, especially in the fields from which it had previously been virtually banned (arts and human sciences)." (Tullon, 2009: 45).

At this juncture, the introduction of French as a language of instruction during the 1990s and 2000s becomes evident, commencing from Grade 3. Consequently, a resurgence of the French language across all educational levels is observed, reversing its decline during the 1970s and 1980s. Nevertheless, the prominence of the French language is under challenge from other languages that are gaining traction within society and particularly within the educational realm.

The official language policy followed since this change reflects an ambivalent attitude. The objective of the reform was to strengthen the Arab and Islamic culture and identity, thus reinforcing Arabic as a national language through further Arabization. At the same time, however, French is being strengthened by the increase in the number of hours in primary and secondary schools. As Tullon (2009) puts it: in Tunisia, it is indeed English that tends to take an increasingly important place in the lives of Tunisians. As for French, it has regained its place after oblivion and abandonment.

iii. From 2000 to the present

Fifty years after its independence, the Tunisian State has a fundamentally dual education and training system, divided according to the language of instruction. Thus, the beating heart of higher education, i.e., engineering, business studies, and health professions, which have constantly escaped attempts of Arabization and have mainly remained French-speaking (Tullon, 2009: 46), offers rewarding opportunities for its graduates, particularly in the modern economy; conversely, Arabized higher education (mainly humanities and social sciences, but also legal studies for a part) seems to a significant extent to fuel graduate unemployment.

The year 2000 witnessed the introduction of a competency-based approach in the school curriculum, which needed the revision of textbooks accordingly. In 2002, the Ministry launched a significant reform to strengthen the presence of foreign languages,

introducing information and communication technology support from primary school onwards, etc. The reform is also aimed at improving the quality of education and teaching quality. At this level, the return to the French language was supported by the "Program for the Renewal of the Teaching of French in the Tunisian Education System" (PREF/SET) launched in 2003 and completed in 2007, carried out jointly by the Tunisian Ministry of Education and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This program was designed to ensure that teachers whose initial training was deficient (linguistic, cultural, scientific, and pedagogical) were brought up to standard, to promote a better francophone environment for students and teachers outside the classroom, and to provide teaching materials that foster the renewal of classroom practices.

Indeed, French enjoys a special status in Tunisia compared to other languages. This privileged status makes the French language taught from the 3rd year of the first cycle of basic education (primary school), around the age of 8 years. After seven years of learning the language (the last four years of primary school and the three years of middle school), French becomes, during the four years of high school, the language of instruction for scientific, technical, economic, and management subjects. French thus has a significant hourly volume which ranges from 8–10 hours in primary and middle school to 4–5 hours depending on the options in high school, in addition to the hours devoted to subjects taught in French in high school, which exceed 10 hours per week. Article 9 of the Law of Orientation of Education and School Education No. 80 of 23 July 2002 states : “L’école est appelée essentiellement à donner aux élèves les moyens : de maîtriser la langue arabe, en sa qualité de langue nationale ; de maîtriser deux langues étrangères au moins.” *(The school is essentially called upon to give students the means: to master the Arabic language, as a national language; to master at least two foreign languages.*

As the first foreign language Tunisian students study “French should contribute to their intellectual, cultural, and scientific training. It will be a complementary means for the student to - communicate with others; - discover other civilizations and cultures and situate oneself about them; - access scientific and technical information”[9]. In the preparatory cycle of basic education, the objectives of teaching French are articulated around three significant orientations: to develop reading skills in students, refine their

[9] Programme de français, p. 3.

oral and written expression skills, and develop their autonomy by acquiring appropriate work methods.

In addition to French, Tunisian students study English, which has become increasingly important in recent years. In 2005, French was cut by two hours to reinforce the teaching of English. A measure assumed by the director of training who declared in 2005: “French enjoys the status of a privileged foreign language while the teaching of English is part of a perspective of anti-historical utilitarian plurilingualism that will allow us to go beyond the current bilingualism.” Besides, from the second year of secondary school, students can choose a third language, which can be German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, or Chinese, taught for two years at a rate of 3 to 4 hours per week.

Throughout the reforms and especially the Arabization policy, French, the primary language of teaching and administration during the French colonization, was shrunk and even tumbled in education in Tunisia. The number of hours and subjects studied in French has remained unchanged since the 1980s. It is worth stating that the teaching of French has not suffered from these reforms in the French schools applying French curricula established in Tunisia.

Since 1991, we have experienced a gradual return to bilingualism in education extended to multilingualism with the reforms promoted after the 2011 revolutionary movements in Tunisia when the linguistic debate was put again at the core of political confrontations. In political debates, especially in parliament, some deputies were strongly criticized for using French. They were even the subject of mocking among social media users because of their linguistic mistakes.

Tunisian post-revolutionary policymakers believed that in an era of globalization, bilingualism, or even plurilingualism, is an indispensable condition for success in education, work, and economic, political, and social exchanges. Also, as Hortobágyi (2009: 262) puts it: “[…] all over the world, educators have to develop radical pedagogical structures which provide students with the opportunity to exploit their own cultural identities and linguistic realities as a basis of oral and written communication”. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) explains that speaking three languages “should be the normal range of language knowledge in the 21st century”. Seeing countries investing massively to promote the plurilingualism of their population is only a normal consequence of such a statement. One

needs only to consult numerous documents of the European Commission to see the importance given to this issue.

The eagerness of the Tunisian Ministry of Education to deal with this urgent and thorny issue is perfectly understandable as it comes in response to growing social pressure. Starting in 2019, students began studying French from the second year of primary school and English from the fourth year of the same cycle.

In the Tunisian case, Berber is perhaps the forgotten language in these elite debates. In its nineteenth periodic report (2006), the Tunisian government states: "As far as the Berbers of Tunisia are concerned, it can be stated that they are particularly well integrated into the Tunisian society and that they have no claims". However, the claims of the Amazigh of Tunisia were summed up in the right to affirm their language and culture alongside the Arabic language and culture. Moreover, the first article of the Tunisian Constitution stipulating that: "Tunisia is a free, independent and sovereign state; its religion is Islam, its language is Arabic, and its regime is republic" shows that there is no political will to support the expression of Amazigh culture, identity, and language in Tunisia.

3.5.2 The language of legislation

According to Law No. 93-64 of July 5, 1993, on the publication of texts in the Official Gazette of the Tunisian Republic (JORT)[10] and their execution, classical Arabic is the only language used during Parliamentary discussions, law writing, and promulgation:

> Article 1:
>
> 1) The laws, decree-laws, decrees, and orders are published in Arabic in the Tunisian Republic's Official Gazette.
>
> 2) They are also published in another language for informational purposes only.
>
> 3) Legal and judicial notices are published in the Tunisian Republic's Official Gazette in accordance with current legislation.

The Official Journal of the Tunisian Republic transcribes parliamentary debates and is bilingual (Arabic–French); however, the French edition has no legal standing. Some laws

[10] The Official Journal of the Republic of Tunisia (الرائد الرسمي للجمهورية التونسية), also abbreviated JORT, is the official biweekly journal of the Tunisian state in which all legislative events (laws and decrees), regulations, and official declarations are documented.

are occasionally translated into French, but the French text is never deemed official. We should emphasize that debates are in both Tunisian Arabic and standard Arabic, as at the meetings of the Council of Ministers.

3.5.3 The language of administration

The administrative field is massively bilingual (Arabic–French). Article 5 of Decree No. 94-1692 on August 8, 1994, on the administrative printed matter indicates that Arabic is used in administrative printed matter models but that translations into one or more foreign languages are permitted. The article states that "the Arabic language is used in the development of administrative form models. It is permissible to include a translation in one or more foreign languages if necessary".

Documents are written in Arabic and French, and public services are always delivered in Tunisian Arabic and standard Arabic and French. Only the Ministries of Justice and Defense are completely Arabicized. There is no regulation governing the language of institutional communication in ministries, although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has internal norms. In general, simple rules govern how the language should be used in administration and education. Indeed, Arabization in government administration has become effective since the advent of Arabic-language computer resources (word processing, software,).

Education, the Interior, and the Armed Forces are the ministries that employ Arabic the most. French is still used in all technical, scientific, and economic fields. Furthermore, the justice domain is totally Arabicized in conformity with current legislation.

Regardless of the restrictions regarding Arabization, Article 18 of Decree No. 2007-1938 on entrance examinations to the National School of Administration states that written tests may be conducted in two languages, Arabic or French, at the candidate's discretion.

> Article 18:
>
> Unless otherwise specified in the regulations, the written tests for the competition are written in either Arabic or French, depending on the candidate's preference.
>
> After a thirty (30) minute preparation, the final admission oral test consists of a ten (10) minute presentation followed by a twenty (20) minute discussion with the members of the jury.

The topic of the oral exam is chosen at random.

The presentation and conversation are held in either Arabic or French, depending on the candidate's preference.

According to Article 9 of the Order of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of September 10, 2001, which establishes the terms and conditions for the organization of the internal competitive examination on tests for promotion to the grade of financial inspector of Foreign Affairs, the admission tests are held in two languages, classical Arabic and French:

Article 9:

One of the first three written tests must be in Arabic; the other two may be in Arabic or French, based on the candidate's preference.

The oral presentation will be given in either Arabic or French, based on the candidate's preference.

The competition jury shall record in the minutes of its deliberations the cancellation of all the tests of any candidate who does not comply with these provisions.

Under Article 23 of the Tunisian Nationality Law (2010) (Arabic: مجلة الجنسية التونسية; French: Code de la nationalité tunisienne) , 'sufficient knowledge' of Arabic is required to obtain Tunisian citizenship. The article states that "No one can be naturalized: 1. if he is under the age of 18; 2. if he does not demonstrate an adequate understanding of the Arabic language in light of his condition."

However, during Ben Ali's rule, citizenship was often awarded without this mastery of Arabic, particularly if a foreigner had rendered "extraordinary services to Tunisia" or "one whose naturalization is of exceptional relevance to Tunisia." Naturalization was granted in this case based on a reasoned report from the Secretary of State for Justice.

3.5.4 The language of the justice

In the Tunisian legal context, a distinctive linguistic framework shapes the proceedings within the court system, reflecting the complex interplay of languages and their significance. Tunisian Arabic and classical Arabic emerge as the sole sanctioned languages employed within the realm of the court. This linguistic dichotomy takes on a multifaceted role, influencing various aspects of the judicial process. During an ordinary trial, the procedures are predominantly conducted in Tunisian Arabic. This linguistic

choice reflects a deliberate approach to ensure accessibility and comprehensibility for all parties involved. Tunisian Arabic in these proceedings fosters clarity and resonates with the local populace, bridging the communication gap between the legal system and the public it serves.

However, a notable nuance arises when the judge pronounces sentences. At this juncture, the use of standard Arabic becomes paramount. This linguistic shift underscores the official and formal nature of the judgments, conveying an authoritative and standardized tone that aligns with the solemnity of the court's decisions. French occupies a distinct position within this linguistic scene, being treated as a foreign language within the legal context. While the judiciary acknowledges its presence and utility, separation is maintained. This is evident in the requirement for an interpreter when an accused individual of French origin is involved, even if other parties in the proceedings possess a working knowledge of the language. This approach highlights the commitment to a meticulous and fair legal process, ensuring no linguistic disadvantage impedes effective communication.

Articles 66 and 332 of the Code of Criminal Procedure underpin this linguistic protocol. Article 66 highlights the role of interpreters in cases where Arabic proficiency is lacking, further extended to accommodating individuals who are deaf, dumb, or otherwise unable to communicate through writing. The interpreter's role is underscored by an oath to uphold accurate translation, further emphasized by including their identifying details in the official records.

> Article 66:
>
> The investigating judge must appoint an interpreter if the accused or witnesses do not speak Arabic.
>
> If the witness or the accused is deaf or dumb, the questions and answers shall be made in writing.
>
> If he cannot write, he is assigned an interpreter who can communicate with him or has the practice of doing so.
>
> If not sworn in, the interpreter takes an oath to translate the statements faithfully. The reports must include the surname, first name, age, profession, and residence of the interpreter who signs as a witness.

Article 332 extends the linguistic considerations beyond the courtroom's confines. It outlines the protocols for transmitting procedural documents or judgments from foreign governments for individuals residing within Tunisian territory. This process necessitates Arabic translations to ensure clear comprehension, encapsulating the commitment to linguistic clarity and due process in cross-border legal matters.

> Article 332:
>
> When a foreign government deems it necessary to serve a procedural document or a judgment on an individual residing on Tunisian territory in the case of criminal proceedings instituted abroad, the document shall be transmitted in the manner provided for in Articles 316 and 317, accompanied, where appropriate, by an Arabic translation. The service is provided upon the public prosecutor's request. The notice document must be returned to the requesting government using the same method.

The Tunisian legal system's linguistic intricacies encompass a delicate balance between accessibility, formality, and fairness. The interplay between Tunisian Arabic, standard Arabic, and French reflects a nuanced approach that seeks to uphold the principles of justice while acknowledging the diverse linguistic fabric of the nation. This linguistic framework exemplifies the convergence of tradition and modernity and the intricate harmony of languages within the legal domain.

3.5.5 Language in political discourse

The political envirnment of Tunisia has seen relatively few changes in its ruling governments over the past five decades. After gaining independence, the country recognized Arabic as the official language and French as a second language, aiming to improve both. Educational reforms were initiated, emphasizing the unification of school systems, nationalizing the curriculum, and promoting the accessibility to education. Over the years, Tunisia witnessed shifts in political discourses related to language. The former President Ben Ali focused on enhancing functional literacy in Arabic, foreign language proficiency, computer literacy, and learning autonomy.

In the context of language in political discourse in Tunisia, the assessment of the linguistic situation a decade after the revolution reveals an interesting perspective on the status of French and its impact on the identity of the country. Since Tunisia gained independence, French has held a privileged position, being designated as the first foreign

language. This status has led to bilingualism among Tunisians, with Arabic and French being widely used in various domains. For the first president of Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba, French represented modernity, and openness, allowing the nation to engage with the modern world. “Using French does not undermine our sovereignty, but it gives us a vast entrance to the modern world”,[11] he said in one of his speeches. However, there have been contrasting views on this bilingualism in the post-revolution era.

Ennahdha, a moderate Islamist party, promoted the importance of Arabic, especially Standard Arabic (MSA). While some concerns arose about the possible decline of the importance of French, Ennahda emphasized maintaining solid relations with France and recognizing the significance of the French language to certain Tunisians. *Ennahdha* President Rached Gannouchi have expressed doubts about this linguistic arrangement. “We have become Franco-Arabic; it is language pollution!” *Ennahdha*[12] President Rached Ghannouchi said in an interview with Express FM radio, “We encourage learning all languages, especially the most living ones, without losing our identity. He who is not proud of his language cannot be proud of his country”[13]. This perspective highlights concerns about the potential dilution of Tunisian cultural and linguistic identity because of the strong influence of French.

During the interim period, the political discourse of President Marzouki advocated for enhancing translation into Arabic, digitizing Arabic books, using Arabic in science, and rejecting a single-foreign-language system. Interim President Moncef Marzouki expressed similar sentiments to Ennahdha's leader, referring to the linguistic amalgamation of French words within Tunisian dialect and literary Arabic as a challenging and "bastard" language. In one of his statements, he said: “We need nerves of steel to be able to support a bastard language where words in French are mixed with the Tunisian dialect, and sentences in literary Arabic”[14]. This again reflects the complexities of language use and identity in the country. Moreover, the discussion also touches upon the recognition of the Amazigh language and culture. Despite its historical

[11] Speech delivered to educational executives in the city of Bizerte, October 10, 1968.

[12] This party, also called the Movement, is an Islamist party founded on June 6, 1981. Banned in the 90s by Ben Ali, several of its leaders chose exile. This party marked its return after the revolution and obtained a majority in the 2011 elections with 89 deputies in the Constituent Assembly.

[13] Ghannouchi R, « Notre langue c'est l'arabe », 2011, Journal web site https://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2011/10/26/97001-20111026FILWWW00438-ennahda-notre-langue-c-est-l-arabe.php

[14] Marzouki M, « Quelles langues les arabes parleront-ils au siècle prochain ? », November 2011, ElJazeera https://news.gnet.tn/archives/temps-fort/tunisie-plaidoyer-de-moncef-marzouki-en-faveur-de-la-langue-arabe/id-menu-325.html

prominence on Tunisian territory, the Amazigh people had long been marginalized, much like the Jewish minority, before the revolution (Amel, 2015). However, in the aftermath of the revolution, various voices emerged, advocating for the linguistic and cultural rights of the Amazigh community. This linguistic and cultural minority, which has been present in the country for millennia, began to assert its distinct Amazigh identity, separate from the dominant Arab culture. Before the revolution, such expressions of identity were often suppressed, with limited representation confined to folkloric displays for tourists. The revolution opened new avenues for the Amazigh people to assert their cultural heritage and linguistic identity more openly and assertively.

The contrast between the treatment of French and Amazigh languages in the Tunisian political discourse showcases the evolving dynamics of language and identity in the country. This post-revolution era marks a period of reevaluation and assertion of cultural and linguistic identities, urging policymakers and society to find a balance between preserving linguistic heritage and embracing linguistic diversity while forging a collective national identity that reflects rich historical and cultural background of Tunisia.

3.5.6 The language of the media

Tunisia boasts a diverse and multilingual media profile, offering information and entertainment to its population in various languages. The country upholds the principle of media freedom, with some constitutional restrictions to prevent the spread of fanaticism, racism, and discrimination (Article 8). Additionally, the law prohibits incitement to hatred and terrorist activities, thereby setting boundaries on media freedom.

Print media in is prevalent and primarily available in classical Arabic and French, with occasional publications in English, Spanish, and Italian. The country features several notable Arabic dailies like *Al Chourouk*, *Assabah*, *Essahafa*, *Essarih*, and some Arabic–French papers like *L'Expert* and *L'Action tunisienne*. French newspapers such as *La Presse de Tunisie*, *Le Quotidien*, and *Le Temps* also play a significant role. However, weekly newspapers are predominantly in Arabic, except for *Tunis Hebdo* in French, with limited circulation for opposition party publications. Furthermore, numerous professional organizations and associations have their publications, contributing to a diverse media domain.

The Tunisian television is managed by the *Établissement de la télévision tunisienne* "Tunisian television establishment", overseeing two public television stations, namely *Watanya 1* and *Watanya 2*. A significant turning point occurred in 2003 when government

policy changed, allowing private sector involvement in the television industry. This shift led to new channels on Tunisian TV, including *Hannibal TV*, *Nessma*, and *Nessma EU*. Furthermore, after the Tunisian Revolution, several additional private channels were established, such as *El-Hiwar Ettounsy*, *Tunisna*, *TWT*, *TT1*, *Zitouna*, *Alinsen*, *Aljanoubia*, *TNN Tunisia News Network*, *Tsport*, *AlQalam*, *AlMutawasit*, and *ELhiwar Ettounsi*

The Tunisian media arena is a rich tapestry woven from an array of languages and content, serving as a reflection of the diverse cultural fabric of the nation. The broadcasting of radio and television programs is primarily facilitated in two predominant languages: MSA and Tunisian Arabic. These linguistic choices aim to resonate with the local audience, ensuring accessibility and cultural relevance. Local radio stations stand as vibrant platforms for communication, with a marked preference for Tunisian Arabic in their broadcasts. This linguistic approach fosters a sense of familiarity and serves as a conduit for connecting with the populace on a personal and relatable level. Daily newscasts further expand the linguistic spectrum, being offered not only in French but also in English. This approach acknowledges the significance of these languages in international discourse and aims to cater to a more diverse audience, both locally and globally.

The Tunisian International Radio Channel (RTCI) embodies the nation's aspiration to extend its voice beyond borders. By broadcasting in French, English, German, Italian, and Spanish, Tunisia reaches out to a broader international audience, fostering cross-cultural communication and facilitating a deeper understanding of its narratives and perspectives. This linguistic diversity reflects Tunisia's openness to global dialogue and desire to share its unique stories with the world. Media freedom stands as a foundational principle within the Tunisian media arena . However, alongside this freedom, certain constitutional and legal safeguards are in place to ensure responsible reporting and prevent the dissemination of harmful ideologies or actions. These provisions strike a delicate balance between enabling open discourse and safeguarding societal well-being.

In summary, Tunisian media arena exemplifies a harmonious blend of languages and content, catering to a range of audiences and perspectives. The utilization of Modern Standard Arabic, Tunisian Arabic, French, English, and other languages showcase the nation's commitment to inclusivity, communication, and the sharing of its narratives with

both local and global communities. This dynamic media environment embodies the vibrant cultural mosaic of Tunisia while upholding responsible journalistic practices.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The complex interplay between language and identity has long been a central theme in the ongoing discourse surrounding the Tunisian people's self-perception (Smari & Hortobágyi, 2020). While the nexus between language and identity is undeniable, the inherent complexity and adaptability of identity have primarily led research in this domain down qualitative avenues. The initial explorations into identity were steered by anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists, heralding an extensive evaluation of the subject. Nevertheless, an insightful analysis of data drawn from these disciplines presents an opportunity to appreciate the potential merits of integrating quantitative methodologies into our investigative sphere (for instance, Phinney, 1992; Van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Remarkably, the findings emerging from these divergent disciplinary trajectories underscore a stark contrast with conventional identity inquiries within the ambit of language studies. In this arena, the inclination has often been to eschew quantitative methods. Paradoxically, the prevailing surge toward quantitative paradigms in neighboring fields has also reverberated within language identity research, prompting a discernible shift in recent scholarly works (as evidenced by studies such as Ehala, 2012; Polat & Mahalingappa, 2010).

This evolving reality emphasizes the need to reevaluate the boundaries and scope of language identity research. The historical reliance on qualitative approaches, while indispensable in capturing the intricate nuances of identity formation, has the potential to be further enriched by the systematic and structured insights that quantitative techniques can offer. By embracing a more inclusive toolkit of methodologies, language identity research benefits from a more holistic and comprehensive understanding of the complex relationship between language and the multifaceted tapestry of identity.

In this context, amalgamating quantitative methodologies with the traditionally qualitative terrain of language identity research heralds a promising avenue for future exploration. As we navigate the ever-evolving dynamics of identity within the Tunisian context, a judicious blend of qualitative depth and quantitative rigor promises to unveil new dimensions of insight, shedding light on the complex ways in which language intertwines with the tangled mosaic of identity construction and representation.

4.2 Context of the Study

Since its independence, the Tunisian State has tried to build a standard identity for Tunisians to create a Tunisianity, a reference to belonging to Tunisia, through religion, language practices, artistic expressions, clothing, and so on. The current study investigates language as an identification marker of Tunisianity. The origins of the linguistic debate can be traced back to Tunisian history. Following the declaration of independence, linguistic issues became part of the political and social debates about forming a national identity.

Following the 2011 Tunisian revolutionary movements, debates in the media and the civil society, valuing being Tunisian, spotlighted the notion of Tunisianity. Language concerns were then placed at the center of political life as people appeared to ponder what it meant to be a Tunisian. Political parties took opposing sides when it came to the language issue. Conservative political activists, for instance, supported the institutionalization of the standard Arabic language (MSA); others pointed out the Tunisian dialect and stressed its importance as a mother tongue. In contrast, Berber activists appeared as fighters for recognizing Tamazight as an indigenous language.

Some deputies were heavily chastised in political debates for using French. Politicians' linguistic gaffes were mocked on social media. Because they are linked to identity and belonging, these linguistic concerns raise questions about what language a Tunisian must speak to be considered a Tunisian and what place each language has in the linguistic repertoire of the Tunisians as a nation.

The current study attempts to understand the language identity in Tunisia from a sociolinguistic perspective. Drawing on relevant literature, it tries to understand the complexity of language identity while drawing an image of the role languages play in forming the linguistic identity of Tunisia, referred to in this context as Tunisianity. Another main objective of the current study is to create a comprehensive model that effectively captures the relationship between Tunisians' evolving social and cultural identity orientations and their reported bilingual and multilingual orientations in the context of acculturation.

4.3 Research Methodology and Ethical Issues

Recognizing the convoluted nature of human experience, a mixed-method research approach offers a more comprehensive vantage point than any singular method, enhancing the study's overall validity (as illustrated by Creswell, 2008; Morse, 2003).

This study has artfully intertwined qualitative and quantitative methodologies, strategically melding their distinctive attributes to amplify strengths while circumventing inherent limitations. Presented below is a concise outline of these two research paradigms, accompanied by explicit rationale for their harmonious integration within the framework of this project.

Embracing qualitative and quantitative methodologies endows this research with a broader scope and a deeper dimension. Qualitative methods excel in unraveling the intricate tapestry of human experiences, adeptly capturing emotions, motivations, and contextual nuances through in-depth interviews, content analysis, and focus groups. Johnson and Turner (2003: 297) describe pure qualitative research as "exploratory, inductive, unstructured, open-ended, naturalistic, and free-flowing research that results in qualitative data". Exploratory approaches are used to study a topic that is not clearly defined and to grasp the existing problem better using literature and online resources. Inductive, exploratory reasoning and a holistic process-oriented methodology characterize qualitative research, which develops "culturally situated and theory-enmeshed knowledge through an ongoing interplay between theory and methods, researcher and researched" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006: 5).

In contrast, quantitative methods introduce a systematic and numerical lens to data analysis, uncovering patterns, correlations, and statistical significance. Utilizing surveys, questionnaires, or experimental designs, this approach enables the exploration of broader trends and the validation of findings with a statistical lens. Questionnaire surveys are widely acknowledged to be an incredibly effective method for gathering data about large participant groups' attitudes, feelings, and beliefs, as well as necessary background information (Gass & Mackey, 2007; Dörnyei, 2003; De Vaus, 2002b; Gillham, 2000; Mutchnick & Berg, 1996; Oppenheim, 1992). When the inquiry focuses on complex, serious matters, the effectiveness of questionnaire surveys is strengthened by anonymity and privacy (such as, in my study, language identity). Structured closed-ended questionnaires delivered to extensive populations benefit theory testing and validation, provided the instruments have been well-piloted and polished (Cohen *et al.*, 2007). The researcher's presence during the delivery of surveys quickly solves any potential challenges in answering a question and dramatically increases the response rate (Bryman, 2008; Cohen *et al.*, 2007).

Morse (1991) categorizes the current study technique as **QUAN + qual**, denoting quantitative and qualitative data acquired over the same period, with the quantitative

component dominating. Thus, this study followed a descriptive mixed-method cross-sectional research design, intending to provide a comprehensive and comparative representation of the phenomenon under investigation at one point in time in one research context (Bryman, 2008, 2006; Dörnyei, 2007; Cohen *et al.*, 2007; De Vaus, 2002a).

In essence, adopting a mixed-method research strategy in this endeavor arises from the aspiration to harness the distinct virtues of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. This fusion translates into a more comprehensive exploration of the research terrain, transcending the limitations of singular methodologies and culminating in a richer, more nuanced, and substantively valid understanding of the knotted panorama of human experiences under scrutiny.

4.3.1 Qualitative instruments

Throughout the research endeavor, qualitative data was systematically gathered by scrutinizing various documents. These documents constitute a valuable qualitative data source, encompassing non-numeric information that researchers can categorize and analyze. This method of organizing the data empowers researchers to integrate document analysis with other forms of research seamlessly. The documents in question comprised meeting minutes, official reports, authoritative documents (including the Constitution, laws, and decrees), as well as interactions among users on social media platforms. The collected documents underwent content analysis using the Elo and Kyngäs (2008) methodology to find patterns and themes that emerged from the data. This approach allowed for valuable insights into the research topic, aligning with the recommendations of Lune & Berg (2017) and Patton (2014) on using qualitative research methods in the social sciences.

Apart from gathering qualitative documents, such as presidential speeches and radio interviews, the research also collected qualitative audio and visual materials. These materials underwent accurate transcription following established transcription guidelines, ensuring completeness and clarity of the transcribed content. The transcriptions were then subjected to qualitative analysis techniques such as thematic coding or narrative analysis. This qualitative analysis has complemented the quantitative data obtained from surveys, providing a comprehensive understanding of the research topic. According to Neuendorf (2017) in the Content Analysis Guidebook, combining qualitative and quantitative data can yield a more thorough understanding of the subject.

Overall, the framework employed in this research involved the collection and analysis of qualitative documents and qualitative audio and visual materials. This methodology, incorporating content analysis and complementary methods, provided a structured approach to identifying valuable insights, patterns, and themes relevant to the research topic. Integrating qualitative and quantitative data contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter, reflecting best practices in social science research.

4.3.2 Quantitative instruments

4.3.2.1 A model of language identity in Tunisia

Creating a model before designing a valid and reliable questionnaire is necessary when conducting large-scale surveys, which can be very beneficial. However, researchers should consider contextual variations while creating a model or a questionnaire. Consequently, depending on the linguistic, historical, sociological, and anthropological context of the language under study, we might define language identity with various components. As a result, I tried to create a model for Tunisian linguistic identity that would include all its pertinent elements. This action went through several demanding and iterative steps to achieve the goal. Based on Khatib and Rezaei (2013), the questionnaire development went through the following steps: content selection, item generation, writing the rating scales and personal information part, expert opinion, item revision, initial piloting, reliability estimation, and finally, validation.

After reviewing the relevant literature, several components were specified to capsulize language identity in Tunisia. A cadre of linguistics, sociolinguistics, and sociology experts in Tunisia and abroad was consulted to confirm these components' representativeness, appropriateness, and accuracy. After completing the preceding stages and taking inspiration from Khatib and Rezaei (2013), I have formulated six primary elements that constitute language identity in Tunisia. These components include: the attachment to the mother tongue (Arabic), attitudes towards Arabic pronunciation, language and social status, L1 use/exposure in society, language knowledge, and script/alphabet.

Attachment to the mother tongue can show how Tunisians love their language (in this contect the Arabic language); the more they love their language, the higher the Tunisian language identity. Additionally, how people perceive the pronunciation of their language plays a role in language identification. Thus, pronunciation attitude shows how far a Tunisian individual would like to adopt foreign pronunciation patterns (French/English)

when speaking Arabic and if they favor Arabic sounds and pronunciation patterns. Some people believe that foreign languages can give individuals a higher social status. Hence, language and social status was the other component that shows how Tunisians associate their social status with the language they converse in.

Another factor closely tied to the vitality of the Arabic language within Tunisian society is Language use and exposure in the society. This relates to whether Arabic, in its various forms, is actively employed by speakers in social contexts in Tunisia. Notably, the code-switching patterns present in Tunisia, currently exhibit a pronounced presence of Arabic-Tunisian French (TA-F) code-switching, as observed in Godman (2021). It comes as no surprise that code-switching between local Arabic varieties and foreign languages garners more attention than other forms of code-switching. Among these, the Arabic-French code-switching stands out prominently, primarily due to the widespread use of Arabic in comparison to Berber, on one hand, and French in contrast to other former colonial languages, on the other (Bentahila and Davies, 1995; Chebchoub, 1985; Sayahi, 2011). Furthermore, considering the ascendancy of English over French as a dominant foreign language, English and other foreign languages are increasingly becoming part of the linguistic repertoire for code-switching among Tunisians.

Language proficiency was also essential, as a significant aspect of Tunisians' linguistic identity is reflected in their Arabic language and literature. In other words, poetry and literary texts have influenced Tunisians' identity. In this concern Omri (n.d.: para. 1) stated that: “Multilinguality in Tunisian literatures has roots and antecedents in Tunisian theatre, film, poetry, and fiction. The literary movement […] sought to “revolutionize” literary language and to root literature into the multilingual environment and social reality of Tunisia on the backdrop of a Leftist turn in local dissident politics”. In essence, the utilization of multiple languages within Tunisian literature and cultural expressions represents a deliberate effort to capture the complexity and diversity of the Tunisian experience. By doing so, these literary works serve as vehicles for conveying and preserving the intricate layers of Tunisian identity, situating it firmly within the socio-linguistic fabric of the nation. This literary movement reflects a broader cultural and political context, wherein language and literature serve as not only expressions of identity but also instruments for cultural revolution and social critique.

Finally, script and alphabet were added because, since the 1990s, Tunisians have started writing in Tunisian Arabic on the internet using the Latin alphabet with diacritics, particularly on social media and text messages. This trend accelerated considerably

during the Tunisian revolution of 2011, in which communication by text message, chat, and social media played a significant role (Turki et el., 2015). Also, Tunisian Arabic, like the other varieties of Maghrebian Arabic or the Arabic language, contains sounds and letters with no equivalent in the Latin alphabet. Therefore, to communicate in Tunisian or Arabic, by writing SMS or chat, numbers are used as substitution letters based on their morphological similarities with Arabic letters.

The relative impact of language and social status, attachment to the mother tongue, language knowledge and L1 exposure in society, pronunciation, and script attitude were all assessed within the framework of this model.

4.3.2.2 Questionnaire development and validation

Formulating a questionnaire requires extensive testing to ensure its reliability and validity. However, due to time and cost limitations associated with creating new questionnaires, researchers often modify existing ones to better align with their study objectives. The guidelines provided in manuals on questionnaire development by Brown (2001) and Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010) were followed for each step and level of questionnaire preparation and validation. Adapting a questionnaire involves specific steps to ensure the instrument is ready for use.

Firstly, I adapted the questions to fit the local and strategic context. In this study, I have adapted and modified an existing instrument, namely the Language Identity Questionnaire developed by Khatib and Rezaei (2013). The original questionnaire underwent rigorous stages during its creation, such as content selection, item generation, rating scale and personal information writing, expert opinion, item revision, initial piloting, reliability estimation, and validation. The statistical indices obtained through Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) confirmed the high reliability and validity of the questionnaire.

Secondly, I reformulated the questions by removing or adding specific words to suit the current research context better. While the original questionnaire was designed for the Iranian context, with Persian as the national and official language, I obtained consent from the authors to make necessary adjustments and modifications to align it with the current research purpose (see Appendix 1). Khatib and Rezaei's (2013) study emphasized six critical components of language identity, as outlined in Table 1 (see section 2.4). This framework illustrates how individuals perceive language in relation to the specific contexts in which it is used.

The survey questionnaire for this study aimed at evaluating the linguistic identity of Tunisian participants. It consists of two sections: the first section gathered personal demographic information, including gender, age, proficiency levels in four languages (Tunsi, MSA, French, and English), knowledge of additional languages, and location (city). The second section comprised 19 questions aligned with Khatib and Rezaei's model, addressing six key elements of Tunisia's linguistic identity: attachment to Arabic (F1), attitude towards pronunciation (F2), language and social status (F3), Arabic Language use and exposure in society (F4), language proficiency (F5), and script/alphabet (F6). To enable a comparison of Arabic with other foreign languages used in everyday life, every one of the 19 questionnaire items was duplicated. In one set, Arabic was compared to French, and in the other, Arabic was compared to English. After generating the questionnaire items and making the required adjustments, the final version of the questionnaire comprised 38 items (see Appendix 4). Table 4 below presents the items associated with each factor and their scoring system.

Table 4. Questionnaire factors, their related items, and the Likert scale scoring system

Factors	Items	Likert scale					
		Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Slightly Disagree**	**Slightly Agree**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**
F1 Attachment to the mother tongue	I wish all my courses at school/university were taught in L[15] rather than Arabic.	6	5	4	3	2	1
	I like to attend Arabic classes more than L classes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	I love Arabic language more than L.	1	2	3	4	5	6
F2 Pronunciation attitude	I think speaking L with an Arabic accent is bad.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	I am proud of speaking Arabic with an L pronunciation.	6	5	4	3	2	1
	I like Arabic pronunciation more than L pronunciation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
F3 Language and social status	I believe a person who can speak L very well has a better social status and respect in society.	6	5	4	3	2	1

[15] "L" designates language, specifically referring to either the French or English language.

	I believe knowing L brings more respect than Arabic in Tunisian society.	6	5	4	3	2	1
	When I speak L, I feel I am superior to others.	6	5	4	3	2	1
F4 L1 use/exposure in the society	I speak L a lot in my daily life.	6	5	4	3	2	1
	I use L words a lot when I speak Arabic.	6	5	4	3	2	1
	I like to speak L rather than Arabic with my Tunisian friends who know L.	6	5	4	3	2	1
	I read L texts more than Arabic ones.	6	5	4	3	2	1
F5 Language knowledge	I like to know more about the history of Arabic language than L.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	I like to know more about Arabic poets and writers than L ones.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	I read poetry and stories in Arabic a lot.	1	2	3	4	5	6
F6 Script/alphabet	I send text messages and e-mails in L.	6	5	4	3	2	1
	I like the Arabic alphabet more than the L one.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	I wish we wrote Arabic in Latin alphabets.	6	5	4	3	2	1

The rating scale utilized in the current study was based on the Likert scale, one of the most well-known and extensively used scales. I initially chose to work with the 7-point Likert scale, widely used in research because of its high accuracy. The 7-point Likert scale offers users seven options to choose from two reasonable opinions, two extreme opinions, two intermediate opinions, and one neutral opinion. I decided not to include the neutral opinion, and the reason for not having a neutral response option is that I am concerned that including one will attract respondents who lean slightly toward a favorable or unfavorable response. A neutral response would then obscure these feelings. Thus, I decided only to use the following six options: *strongly agree*, *agree*, *slightly agree*, *slightly disagree*, *disagree*, and *strongly disagree*.

On a six-point Likert-type scale, respondents indicated their level of agreement or disagreement with each statement. I scored the items as follows: *strongly agree* received six points, *agree* five points, *slightly agree* four points, and so on. The items with negative wording had their scores reversed, meaning that the lower the score, the stronger the agreement with the negative statement. In other words, a response of *strongly disagree* received six points, *disagree* received five points, *slightly disagree* received four points, and so on (as indicated in Table 4). This was done to account for response bias and ensure accurate measurement of attitudes and opinions. The use of a point system allowed for more nuanced responses and minimized the risk of participants simply selecting the

middle option as a default. This approach also facilitated statistical analysis and interpretation of the data.

Once the questionnaire was created, it underwent a process of validation. This validation process followed the methods of Alderson and Banerjee (1996) and Converse and Presser (1986), similar to the approach taken by Khatib and Rezaei (2013). Face validity, content validity, and construct validity were the main types of validity examined for questionnaire validation in the current study. Since they were irrelevant to this study, the validity of the response, predictive, and concurrent variables was not examined. A questionnaire should be not only brief but also visually appealing. I have attempted to use a friendly layout, font type, margins, color, and so on, to achieve this goal, which is face validity. By considering these issues and comparing them to earlier validated questionnaires in the literature, the face validity of the questionnaire was subsequently met. The validity of the questionnaire was further established using a content validation technique, which involved assessing the questionnaire by linguistics and language identity experts. Content validity was employed to determine the adequacy and relevance of the items included in each subscale. Experts also provided feedback regarding the overall layout and structure of the questionnaire to ensure it achieved face validity. This feedback was used to identify potential issues or difficulties in interpretation that could arise when the questionnaire was administered to participants, as well as any omissions or biases in the content of the items.

Thirdly, when adopting and customizing existing research instruments, one crucial task is translating the chosen instrument from its source language to the target language. Cross-cultural translation becomes particularly complex when the tool needs to be translated into multiple target languages simultaneously. Adopting and customizing current research instruments entails several steps: "(1) reviewing existing cross-cultural translation approaches and offering the reader practical guidelines; (2) employing a multilevel translation process encompassing back-translation, expert evaluation, cognitive interviews, focus group evaluation, and field evaluation; and (3) evaluating the translation of the adopted or adapted instruments" (Tran, 2009). At this stage, I translated the items after making the necessary revisions and modifications. As I intended to reach as many different age group populations as feasible, translating the items to Arabic – be it the national language of the respondents – and French – be it their first foreign language – was essential to reach as many people as possible. After translating the items, teachers of Arabic and French languages revised and examined the translated materials for any

ambiguities that may have occurred (full versions of translated questionnaires are available in Appendix 2).

Finally, following the translation and revision process, I proceeded to conduct the initial piloting of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was distributed online to a similar target demographic as the intended participants. To gather valuable insights, a comment section was included, allowing participants to provide feedback on the questions they had to answer. The participants had the opportunity to offer suggestions, share their individual viewpoints on the project's subject, and provide feedback on the format, wording, and overall viability of the questionnaire. The feedback received was constructive and insightful, providing valuable input for further improvements and refinements.

4.3.2.3 Pilot Study

After creating the questionnaire, conducting a systematic pilot study is typically recommended. The qualitative feedback obtained during this phase helps in revising the questions. The pilot study serves the purpose of evaluating the functionality of the survey software for contacting respondents and collecting their responses. Before commencing the actual data collection, the questionnaire was tested on a sample of 100 respondents. Table 5 presents the demographic distribution of the pilot participants, revealing that 59% were male and 41% were female. The age range varied from 11 to over 25 years, with 72% of participants being over 25.

The questionnaire was developed based on an existing standardized model that was adapted for the specific needs of this research. Considering the Tunisian educational system, it was assumed that respondents would have at least a primary education with exposure to foreign language classes. A key objective of the study is to explore the identity markers that define a person as Tunisian in the aftermath of the 2011 revolution. Given the evolution of post-revolution Tunisian identity, it was hypothesized that individuals aged 25 and above, who were 15 or older during the revolution, would have already established a multi-faceted identity by the time of the questionnaire (2019-2021). This led to a focus on understanding the differences between younger individuals born after the revolution, influenced by new family dynamics, pervasive digital communication, and media exposure, and those aged 25 and above whose initial identity components were shaped by the pre-revolution context. The socio-linguistic and educational backgrounds of the older cohort would have been significant if the research

had not primarily centered on the impact of the new political situation and digital advancements.

A significant majority (77%) reported speaking Tunsi (Tunisian Arabic) at a native level, while 19% considered themselves to have an advanced level in Tunsi. In terms of MSA, 54% claimed to have an advanced level, while only 35% felt they possessed a native level. In relation to foreign languages, the respondents indicated advanced proficiency in French and English, with proportions of 69% and 58%, respectively. Furthermore, participants reported proficiency in other foreign languages, including Spanish, German, and Italian, among others. The survey also identified languages such as Hungarian, Polish, Turkish, Tamazight, Hebrew, Russian, Japanese, and Korean.

Table 5. Table of the demographic information of the respondents to the questionnaire for the piloting phase

Demographic information of the participants (100)										
Age				Gender		Language Proficiency				
11-15	16-20	21-25	+25	Male	Female		Tunis	MSA	French	English
13	4	11	72	59	41	Native	77%	35%	3%	2%
						Advanced	19%	54%	69%	58%
						Intermediate	0	8%	19%	29%
13%	4%	11%	72%	59%	41%	Basic	3%	3%	9%	10%
						I don’t speak	1%	0	0	1%

The pilot study yielded positive outcomes, showing that the participants comprehended the questionnaire well, and they offered valuable insights regarding the clarity of the translated versions in Arabic and French. Nevertheless, one notable limitation was the online administration's inability to reach all the targeted age groups for data collection effectively. Taking this feedback into account, it was decided to switch to a field setting for questionnaire administration. However, the decision to conduct the data collection in a physical setting came with its own set of challenges, primarily due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic necessitated careful consideration and planning to ensure the safety and well-being of both the participants and the researchers.

To address the challenges posed by the COVID-19 situation, several measures were implemented. Firstly, strict adherence to public health guidelines and protocols was enforced to minimize the risk of virus transmission during the data collection process. This included maintaining social distancing, providing hand sanitizers, ensuring the

wearing of masks, and limiting the number of participants in each space. Additionally, alternative methods of data collection were explored to accommodate participants who may have been unable or unwilling to participate in person due to health concerns. This might have involved providing the questionnaire in digital formats or allowing participants to complete it remotely while ensuring data security and privacy. Furthermore, regular communication with participants was established to update them on the safety measures in place and address any concerns they might have had about participating in the study during the pandemic.

Overall, the decision to shift to a field setting for questionnaire administration in response to the feedback received was a necessary step to reach a broader and more representative sample. Simultaneously, the careful consideration and proactive measures taken to address the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic ensured the safety and integrity of the data collection process.

4.3.2.4 Tests and reliability index

Random sampling is widely recognized as a crucial method in research for ensuring the representation of the larger population and facilitating the generalization of findings (Labov, 1972; Callegaro *et al.*, 2014; Kaplowitz et al., 2004; Bhopal, 2016; Martino *et al.*, 2018). Labov's classic sociolinguistic study highlights the indispensability of random sampling in obtaining valid generalizations regarding language variation (Labov, 1972). Moreover, studies conducted by Callegaro *et al.* (2014) and Kaplowitz *et al.* (2004) specifically focusing on online surveys emphasize the advantages of random sampling in acquiring unbiased estimates and reducing bias. In epidemiology, Bhopal (2016) underlines the importance of random sampling in attaining reliable estimates of disease prevalence and health outcomes. Additionally, the critical examination by Martino *et al.* (2018) offers insights into the strengths and limitations of random sampling across various disciplines. Collectively, these studies provide compelling evidence supporting the necessity of random sampling in research, emphasizing its role in obtaining representative samples and enhancing the generalizability of findings.

To assess the representativeness of the sample, Goodness-of-fit tests determine if the observed data fits a theoretical distribution. This distribution can be any distribution, not just the normal distribution. The goal of the test is to determine whether the observed data came from the population with the hypothesized distribution. The chi-square test is one of the most used tests for goodness-of-fit. It is used to test whether the observed data

follows an expected distribution. The test compares the observed data with the expected data and calculates the difference between the two. This difference is then squared, divided by the expected value, and summed up for all categories. The resulting value is the chi-square statistic. The p-value associated with the chi-square statistic determines whether the observed data fits the expected distribution.

Overall, goodness-of-fit tests are essential in statistical analysis to determine if the observed data is representative of the population. They can help make informed decisions about the data and help ensure statistical models' accuracy and reliability. Other methods to determine goodness-of-fit include the Kolmogorov-Smirnov, Anderson-Darling, and Shapiro-Wilk tests. These tests can be used when the data are not normally distributed or when the sample size is small. The tests are typically conducted using computer software. In STATA, the following syntax is employed to perform the chi-square goodness-of-fit test: **csgof variable_of_interest, expperc(list_of_expected_percentages).** This command helps assess how well the observed data aligns with the expected distribution by considering the provided list of expected percentages.

Table 6. The goodness of fit test

	The variable of interest: Age				**Total**
	11-15	16-20	21-25	+25	
Population	603,657	1,317,069	1,097,558	2,469,506	5,487,790
Percentage	11%	24%	20%	45%	100
Sample	10.17%	28.81%	19.21%	41.81%	100

The goodness-of-fit test

Table 7. csgof age, expperc (11,24,20,45)

Age	**expperc**	**expfreq**	**obsfreq**
11-15	11	38.94	36
16-20	24	84.96	102
21-25	20	70.8	68
+25	45	159.3	148

Note: chisq(3) is 4.55, p = .2077

To interpret the key results for Chi-Square Goodness-of-Fit Test, the p-value determines whether to reject or fail to reject the null hypothesis, which states that the population proportions in each category are consistent with the specified values in each category. To determine whether the observed values from the sample and expected values

from the specified distribution are statistically different, the p-value must be compared to the significance level. Usually, a significance level (denoted as α or alpha) of 0.05 works well. A significance level 0.05 indicates a 5% risk of incorrectly rejecting the null hypothesis.

As shown in Table 7, p-value = 0.2 > α=0.05 means that the observed data are statistically different from the expected values (Fail to reject H_0). The p-value is more significant than the significance level, so we fail to reject the null hypothesis. I have sufficient evidence to conclude that the sample data aligns with the age distribution characteristics of the population.

To establish the construct validity, I used two different methods. The questionnaire was initially examined for consistency with the abovementioned theories regarding language and identity in the literature. The validity was then statistically analyzed using exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses on two separate administration occasions. However, several requirements must be satisfied before performing factor analysis.

The first step in this process is assessing whether the data are appropriate for factor analysis. Following Pallant (2007: 180), two requirements must be met for the data to be suitable for factor analysis: "sample size and the strength of association among the variables (or items)". Researchers have various opinions about the sample size, with the most conservative being that the bigger the sample, the better. For example, some researchers argue that the minimum sample size should be 200, while others suggest between 50 and 100. Before starting the data collection, the questionnaire was piloted on a sample of 100 respondents (see Pilot phase).

The inter-correlations between the survey items are the second criterion for whether the running factor analysis is appropriate. This criterion is determined by Bartlett's sphericity test and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure. A sphericity test was conducted to assess the correlation between the survey items, and the KMO measure was used to determine the suitability of performing factor analysis.

The data must pass Bartlett's test of sphericity, which requires a p-value of 0.05 and a KMO index that ranges from 0 to 1 for these two options to indicate factorability; otherwise, the data will not be deemed suitable for running a factor analysis. The KMO and Bartlett's test results for the current study, presented in Table 8, revealed that the KMO measure was above 0.60 (KMO 0.80) and that Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant (p = 0.00). Therefore, these two tests indicated the suitability of conducting factor analysis for this study.

Table 8. KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.800
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	6783.359
	df	325
	Sig.	.000

In research methodology, the reliability of measurement tools is crucial for obtaining accurate and consistent results. To ensure the internal consistency and reliability of a questionnaire, researchers often turn to Cronbach's Alpha coefficient. This index measures the degree to which the items in a survey effectively measure the same underlying construct (Tavakol *et al.*, 2011). In the current study, I reviewed several previous studies and consulted various suggested baselines to determine an acceptable correlation level for reliability. Drawing inspiration from Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010), the study established that a reliability index below 0.60 was considered weak, while values above this threshold were deemed acceptable. Armed with this criterion, I applied Cronbach's Alpha to assess the reliability of the questionnaire, which comprised a total of 38 questions.

The results of the analysis revealed promising outcomes. The overall questionnaire demonstrated a commendable internal consistency, with Cronbach's Alpha yielding a score of 0.80. Additionally, the study explored the individual factors (F1-6) within the questionnaire and found corresponding reliability estimates of 0.75, 0.47, 0.84, 0.77, 0.89, and 0.58, respectively. For a comprehensive understanding, Table 9 below presents the detailed reliability estimates for each factor within the questionnaire.

Table 9. Table of factors and their reliability indices

	Factors	Cronbach's Alpha
F1	Attachment to mother tongue	0.7469
F2	Pronunciation attitude	0.4675
F3	Language and social status	0.8441
F4	L1 use/exposure in society	0.7705
F5	Language knowledge	0.8944
F6	Script/Alphabet	0.5810

While factors 1, 3, 4, and 5 demonstrated high reliability indices, factors 2 and 6 exhibited lower reliability indices below the acceptable threshold. Cronbach's Alpha results indicated that certain items within these two factors reduced their overall reliability, but they did not significantly affect the reliability of the entire questionnaire. Consequently, these items were not excluded from the questionnaire due to their theoretical significance and the fact that the questionnaire had undergone a validation process (see validation process). In addition, given the nature of Cronbach's alpha as "a measure of internal consistency, that is, how closely related a set of items are as a group" (Mund, 2021: -), based on this understanding, it was concluded that the questionnaire remained a valid and reliable tool for measuring the intended constructs, despite the lower reliability of some individual items.

It is essential to highlight that a high value of Cronbach's Alpha does not necessarily indicate the unidimensionality of the measure (Mund, 2021). While Cronbach's Alpha provides information about internal consistency, additional analyses are required to assess the dimensionality of the questionnaire. Thus, to investigate the dimensionality of the scale, an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) has also been conducted. This analysis has provided insights into the underlying dimensions of the questionnaire.

Factor analysis was run based on Principal Components Analysis (PCA). In order to decide about the number of factors to be retained, the Kaiser's criterion, according to which only the eigenvalues of 1.0 and more were selected. For the current questionnaire, the scree plot in Figure 2 indicates eight factors above eigenvalue 1. The eight factors accounted for 69.5% of the total variance (usually, anything over 60% is good in this case). These eight factors accounted for 22.01%, 14.42%, 9.50%, 6.14%, 5.05%, 4.30%, 4.60%, and 3.48% of the total variance, respectively.

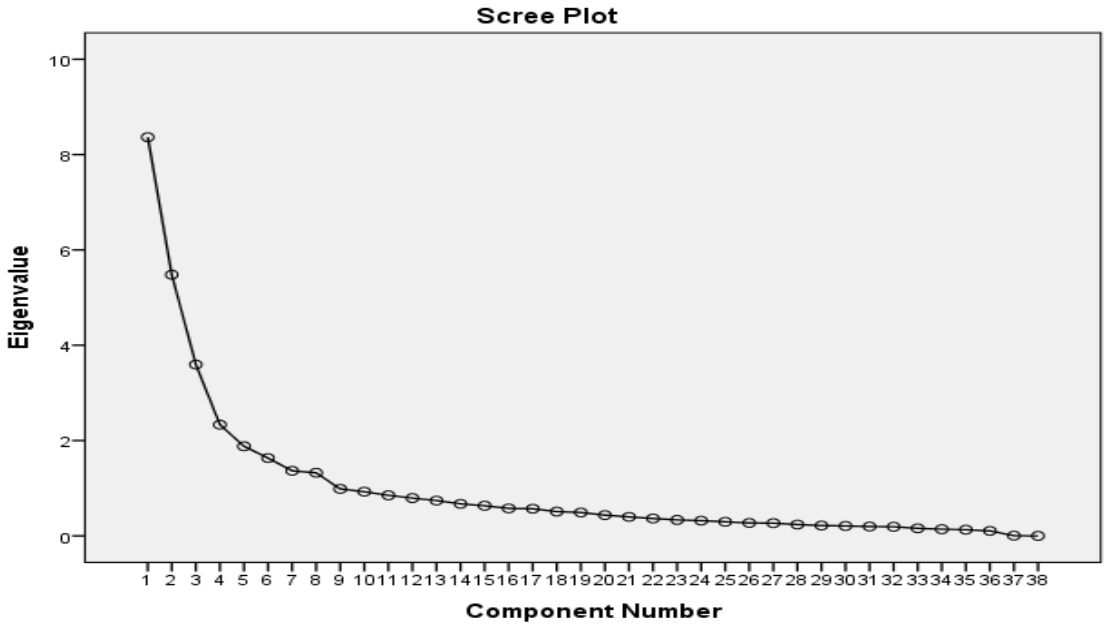

Figure 2. Scree Plot showing the eight factors and the degree of their loading.

PCA was conducted to identify eight factors and their respective loadings. However, based on a strict matrix, it became evident that there is ambiguity in terms of factor loading, indicating potential radical individual differences in the data. As a result, the construction of eight factors was suggested instead of the initially identified six. To gain a better understanding of item grouping, a matrix displaying the factor loadings is presented in Appendix 5. The observed ambivalence in factor loading raises the need for a different approach in data analysis. Radical individual differences might be responsible for this inconsistency, necessitating a reevaluation of the data analysis method. Further investigation is required to explore the underlying causes of these individual differences and to identify a more suitable data analysis technique that can offer deeper insights into the data patterns.

4.3.2.5 Description and factor analysis

Among the six factors mentioned above, F1 represents the level of attachment to the mother tongue and serves as our baseline measure. By using F1 as a reference point, we can compare and assess the relationships and impacts of other factors in relation to the level of attachment to the mother tongue. This can provide valuable insights into the

dynamics and interrelations between these factors and their significance in the context of the analysis.

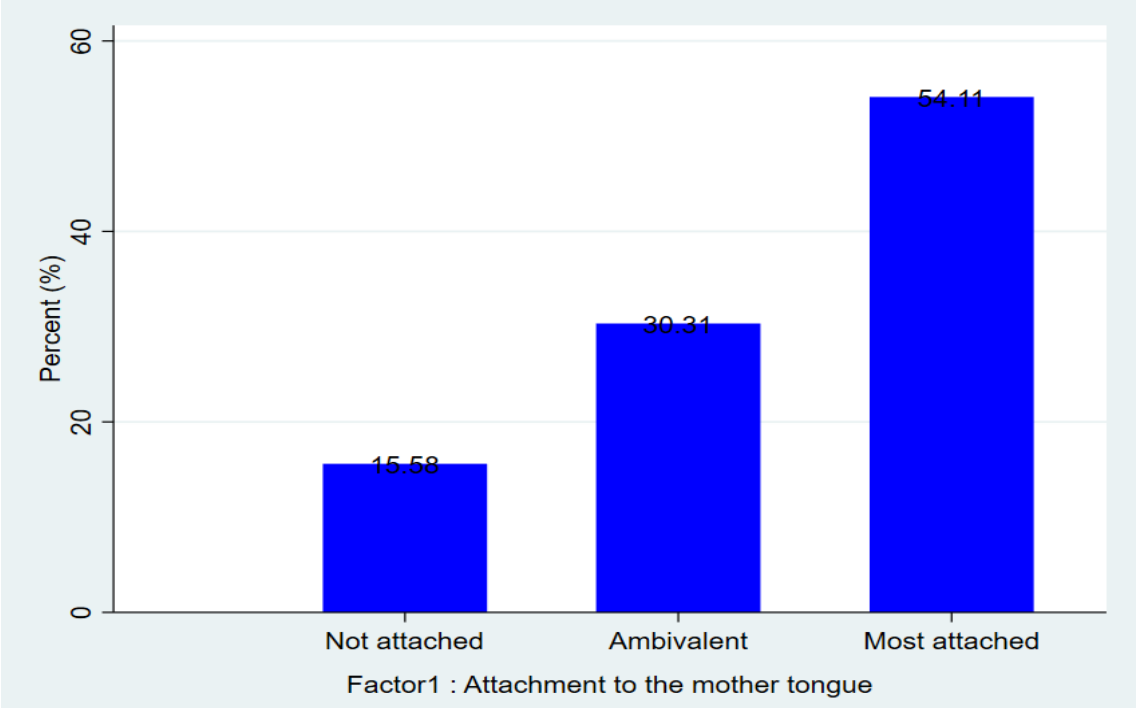

Figure 3. Distribution of respondents according to Factor F1

As illustrated in figure 3, among the surveyed population, 54% exhibit the highest degree of attachment to the Arabic language. On the other hand, 16% show a lack of attachment to Arabic and instead feel more connected to either French or English. The remaining respondents fall into the category of ambivalent profiles, as they neither feel attached nor detached from their mother tongue. These ambivalent profiles make up the remaining 30% of the surveyed individuals. It is important to explore further the reasons behind their mixed feelings towards their mother tongue to gain a deeper understanding of language attachment dynamics.

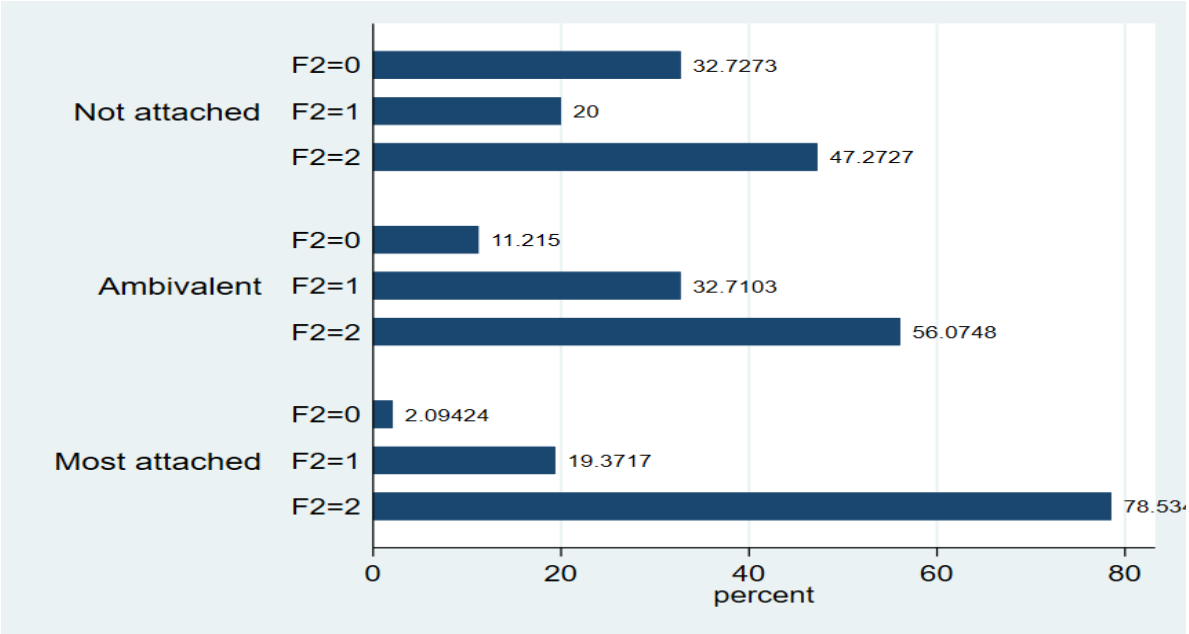

Figure 4. Distribution of respondents within F2 based on F1

Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of respondents according to Factor F2 based on F1. It is noteworthy that a significant majority (79%) of individuals who are highly attached to their mother tongue prefer the sounds and pronunciation patterns of Arabic over those of foreign languages. Surprisingly, even among those who have the lowest level of attachment to their mother tongue, 47% still hold a preference for Arabic pronunciation. This observation highlights that the highest percentage within each category in F1 maintains an attachment to the pronunciation of the Arabic language. This finding suggests that the preference for Arabic pronunciation is deeply rooted within individuals, regardless of their level of attachment to their mother tongue. It also indicates that Arabic pronunciation holds a significant influence and appeal, even among those who may not have a strong emotional connection to their native language.

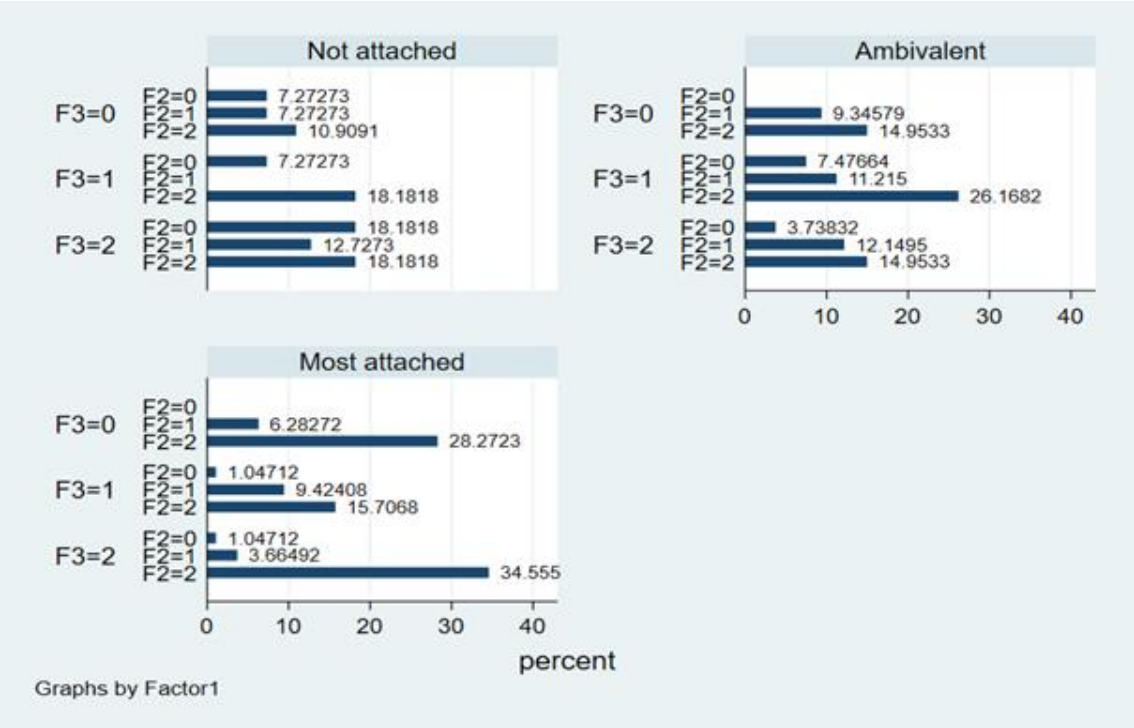

Figure 5. Distribution of respondents in F2 and F3 by F1

According to the survey results, a mere 7% of the surveyed population does not feel any attachment to their mother tongue or its pronunciation patterns. Instead, they associate language and social status with foreign languages. Interestingly, as visible from figure 5 within the ambivalent category of F3, which includes individuals who neither associate language and social status with Arabic nor with foreign languages, there is also a corresponding 7% who lack attachment to both their mother tongue and its pronunciation patterns. This suggests that these individuals may have a more neutral or indifferent attitude towards language in general. Their lack of attachment to any specific language stems from various factors such as cultural influences, personal experiences, or a preference for practicality over emotional connection. Understanding the reasons behind this lack of attachment could provide valuable insights into the complex relationship between language, identity, and social dynamics.

Within the ambivalent category of F3, there are only individuals who may be either attached or not attached to pronunciation patterns. However, what unifies them is the shared characteristic of not being attached to their mother tongue. It is important to note that out of the entire surveyed population, 18% consists of individuals who do not feel any attachment to their mother tongue and its pronunciation patterns. Instead, they associate language and social status with Arabic. Interestingly, an identical 18% of individuals can also be found who lack attachment to their mother tongue but still feel a

strong connection to its pronunciation patterns and associate language competence and social status with Arabic. This finding suggests that for a significant portion of the surveyed population, language and social status are closely tied to Arabic, regardless of their attachment to their mother tongue or its pronunciation patterns. These results highlight the complex relationship individuals have with language and how it can shape their sense of identity and belonging.

Within the ambivalent category of F1=1, the highest percentage of each corresponding F3 category consistently demonstrates a connection to the pronunciation of the Arabic language. Similarly, within the category of F1, where F1=2 and attachment are strongest, the highest percentage in each corresponding F3 category also maintains a strong connection to the pronunciation of the Arabic language.

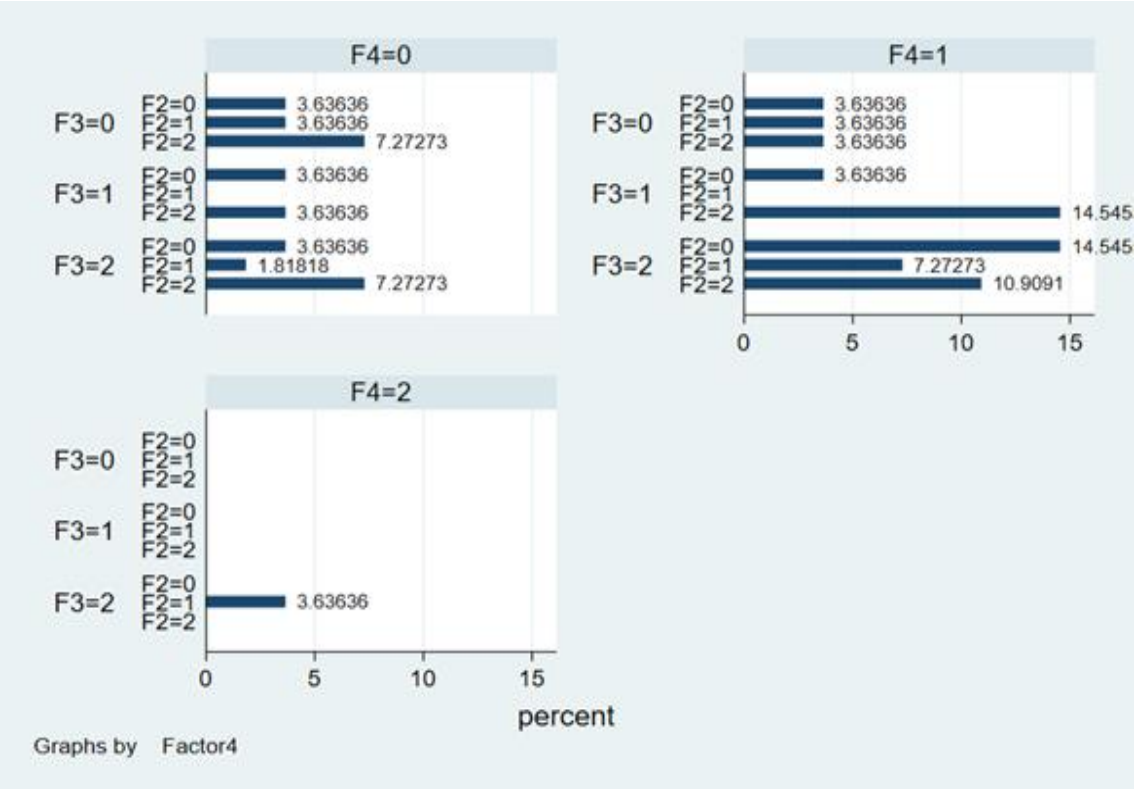

Figure 6. Distribution of respondents in F3 and F2 if F1= Not attached, by F4

Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of respondents in Factor F2 and F3 when Factor F1 equals 0 (not attached), categorized by Factor F4. Within the category of F1=0, which accounts for approximately 16% of the surveyed population, there is an interesting finding. Among individuals who stated that they use English and French more than Arabic in social contexts (F4=0), the number of those who reported high attachment to Arabic

pronunciation patterns (F1=2) and associate Arabic with social status (F3=2) (7 %) is equal to the number of those who reported high attachment to Arabic pronunciation patterns but associate foreign languages with social status (F3=0).

This suggests that within this specific group, there is a balanced division between individuals who feel a strong connection to Arabic pronunciation and view it positively in terms of social status, regardless of their preference for using English and French more frequently in social interactions. At the same time, an equal number of respondents within this category have a high attachment to Arabic pronunciation (F2=2) but associate social status with foreign languages despite using Arabic less in social contexts (F3=0).

Within the same category of F1 (not attached to mother tongue) and under the ambivalent category of F4, which includes individuals with ambivalent attitudes towards the usage of their native language (L1) in social contexts, an interesting observation is made. The number of those who hold ambivalent attitudes towards both associating language and social status with Arabic (F3=1) and hold an ambivalent pronunciation attitude (F2=1) is equal to the number of individuals who prefer foreign pronunciation patterns over Arabic pronunciation but still associate Arabic with social status (approximately 15% of the surveyed population).

This finding indicates a significant subgroup within F4 that demonstrates mixed feelings and ambivalence regarding both their language associations and pronunciation attitudes. They are still determining how to perceive the relationship between language and social status when it comes to Arabic, and they also hold an ambivalent stance towards Arabic pronunciation. On the other hand, there is another group in F4 that constitutes approximately 15% of the surveyed population. These individuals lean towards foreign pronunciation patterns rather than Arabic pronunciation but still associate Arabic with social status. The existence of these two groups suggests that some individuals in the ambivalent category (F4=1) have uncertain or conflicting attitudes towards language, pronunciation, and their associations with social status.

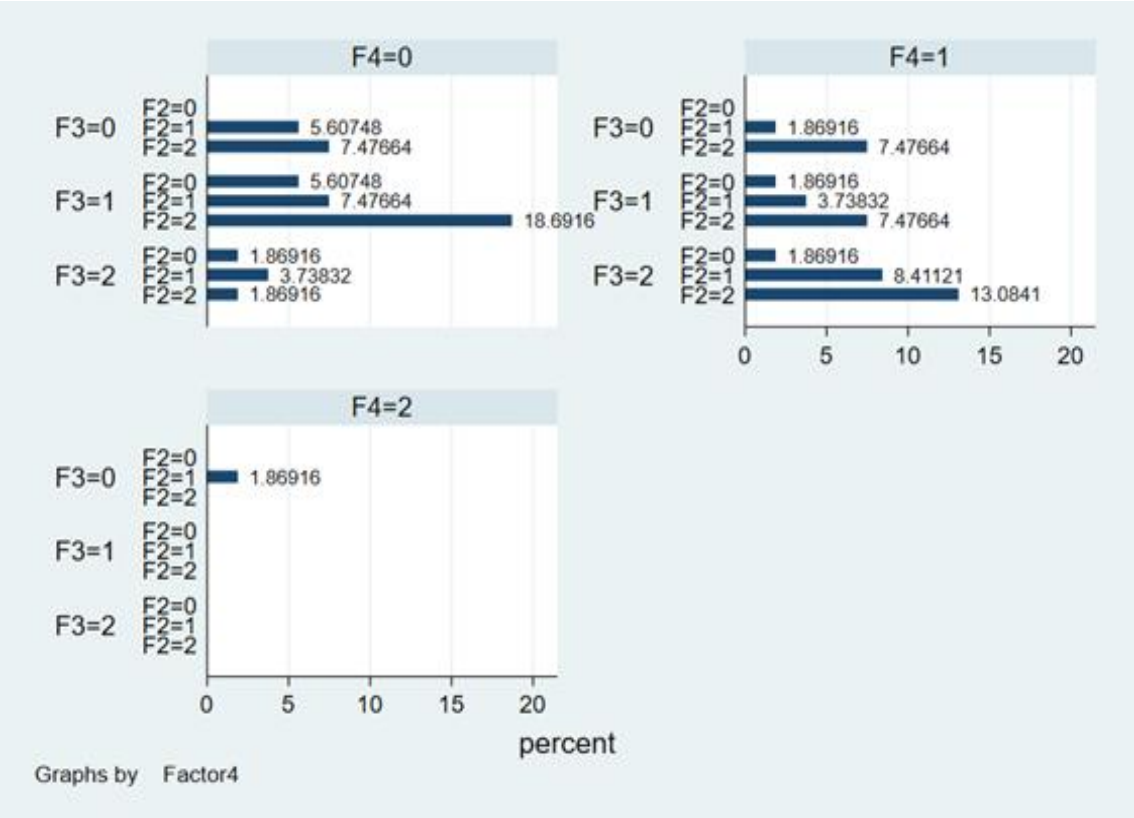

Figure 7. Distribution of respondents in F3 and F2 if F1= Ambivalent, by F4

Figure 7 delineates the distribution of respondents in Factor F2 and Factor F3 when F1 equals 1 (Ambivalent) by Factor F4. Within the category F1=1, where individuals hold ambivalent attitudes towards their mother tongue, and focusing on the subset of F4=0, where respondents reported using English and French more frequently than Arabic in social contexts, there is a distinct group worth noting. This particular group consists of individuals who hold ambivalent attitudes towards associating language with social status and, at the same time, feel attached to the pronunciation patterns of their mother tongue. This group represents approximately 19% of the total population within the subset of F4=0, which accounts for 30% of the overall surveyed population.

As showed in figure 7, this finding emphasizes the existence of a notable subgroup within the F4=0 subset, indicating individuals with intricate and conflicting attitudes regarding the association of language with social status. Additionally, this group exhibits a strong attachment to the pronunciation patterns of their mother tongue, despite using English and French more often than Arabic in social contexts. The proportion of this group, being approximately 19% of the total population within the F4=0 subset, offers valuable insights into the complexities of language attitudes and their connections to identity and social dynamics among the surveyed respondents.

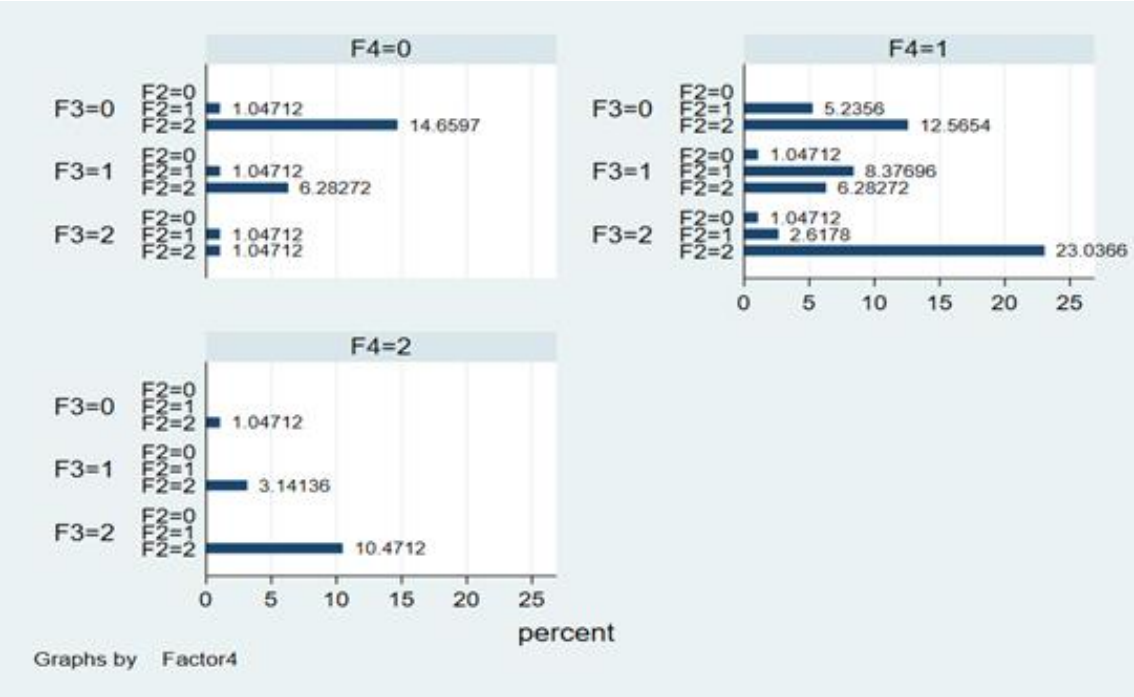

Figure 8. Distribution of respondents in F3 and F2 if F1= Most attached, by F4

Figure 8 represents the distribution of individuals in the category F1=2, who have the strongest attachment to their mother tongue. This category constitutes a significant portion, accounting for 54% of the total surveyed population. Within this category, I analyze the dynamics of F2 and F3, considering three subsets of F4.

Within this category, we examine the subset F4=0, where respondents reported using English and French more frequently than Arabic in social contexts. A distinct group has emerged within this subset, consisting of individuals who attribute language proficiency and higher social status to French and English, rather than Arabic. However, they maintain a deep emotional attachment to the pronunciation patterns of their mother tongue. This noteworthy group represents approximately 15% of the total population within the F4=0 subset, which accounts for 54% of the overall surveyed population.

Next, the focus is shifted to another subset within the category F1, specifically F4=1, where individuals hold an ambivalent attitude towards the usage of Arabic in social contexts. Within this subset, two notable groups have been identified. The first group comprises individuals who associate better social status with foreign languages but still feel a strong attachment to the pronunciation patterns of Arabic. This group constitutes 13% of the F4=1 subset. The second group, making up 23% of the F4=1 subset, consists of individuals who mostly have positive feelings towards the pronunciation of Arabic and also associate the language with higher social status.

Lastly, we explore the subset F4=2 within the category F1=2, where individuals reported using Arabic predominantly in social contexts. It is worth noting that within this subset, individuals who are most positive about the pronunciation patterns of Arabic are found across the three categories of F3. Among them, the most notable group includes those who associate Arabic with better social status and hold a positive attitude towards the pronunciation patterns of Arabic, accounting for 10% of the entire subset.

In summary, this exploration provides insights into the linguistic attitudes and preferences within the category F1=2 and its subsets. The F4=0 subset reveals a group valuing French and English for social status while maintaining a strong attachment to the pronunciation of their mother tongue. The F4=1 subset uncovers two groups: one prioritizing foreign languages for social status (F3=1) while emotionally connected to Arabic pronunciation (F2=2), and another group embracing the pronunciation of Arabic and associating it with positive social status (F3=2). The F4=2 subset, with a focus on Arabic usage, contains individuals who positively view Arabic pronunciation and associate the language with better social status. These findings highlight the diversity of language attitudes and their relationship with social status among the surveyed population.

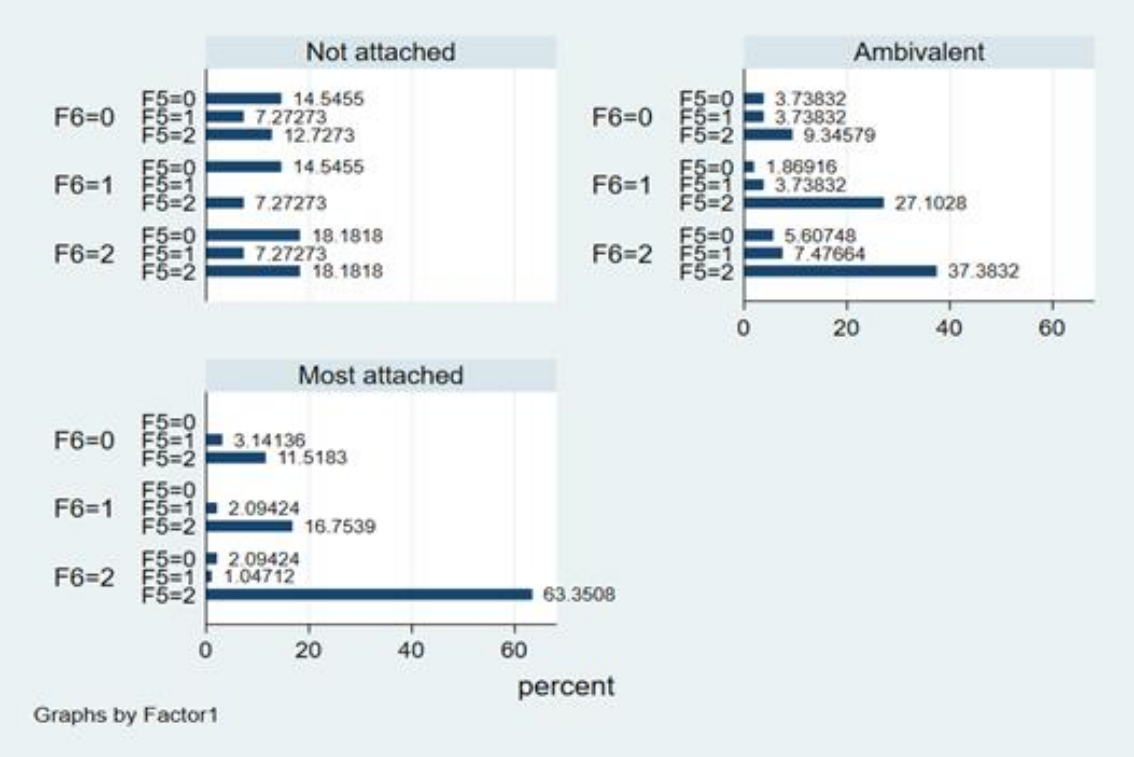

Figure 9. Distribution of respondents in F5 and F6 by F1

Figure 9 presents an insightful overview of the distribution of individuals in F5 (Language Knowledge) and F6 (Script/Alphabet) across the three distinct groups within factor F1. As mentioned earlier, the surveyed population can be differentiated into three groups based on their attitudes towards the Arabic language.

Firstly, there is group F1=0, consisting of individuals with a weaker attachment to Arabic. Within this category, we specifically focus on the subset of F6=2, where individuals hold a positive attitude towards the script and alphabet of the Arabic language. Notably, two prominent groups emerge when considering F5: The first group comprises individuals who reported the strongest attachment to Arabic and its literature, accounting for 18% of the population within F1=0 and F6=2. Conversely, the second group consists of individuals who exhibit the least attachment to Arabic and its literature, representing another 18% of the population within F1=0 and F6=2.

Furthermore, within the category F1=0, there are two more notable groups: The third group comprises individuals who have the least attachment to Arabic and its literature but display ambivalent feelings towards the script and alphabet of their mother tongue (F6=1). This group also accounts for 15% of the population within F1=0. The fourth group consists of individuals who reported a preference for the Latin script and alphabet over Arabic (F6=0) while having the least attachment to Arabic and its literature. This group similarly represents 15% of the population within F1=0.

Moving on to the second group, F1=1, individuals hold ambivalent attitudes towards Arabic, representing 30% of the surveyed population. The most notable subgroup within this category consists of individuals who hold a positive attitude towards the Arabic script and alphabet while also expressing the strongest feelings towards the Arabic language and its literature. This subgroup represents 37% of the subset of F1=1. Another notable subgroup within F1=1 is those who hold a positive attitude towards the script and alphabet of Arabic but express ambivalent feelings towards the Arabic language and its literature.

Lastly, the third group is F1=2, where individuals hold the strongest attachment towards Arabic. The vast majority within this category are those who hold a positive attitude towards the Arabic script and alphabet (F6=2) and also express positive feelings towards the Arabic language and its literature (F5=2). They represent 63% of the most attached population to Arabic (F1=2).

In summary, the analysis reveals that individuals in Group F1=2 have the highest attachment to Arabic, with the majority (63%) displaying positive attitudes towards the Arabic script and alphabet (F6=2) as well as positive feelings towards Arabic language

and literature (F5=2). On the contrary, Group F1=0 consists of individuals with weaker attachments to Arabic. Within this group, distinct subgroups emerge, one showing positive attitudes towards the Arabic script and alphabet (F6=2) and strong attachment to Arabic (18%), and another subgroup displaying the least attachment to Arabic and its literature (18%). Group F1=1 includes individuals with ambivalent attitudes towards Arabic. Notably, there are subgroups within this category: one with the strongest attachment to Arabic and positive attitudes towards both script and alphabet (37%), and another subgroup holding a positive attitude towards the script and alphabet but expressing ambivalence towards the Arabic language and its literature.

In conclusion, this part of the analysis has provided an in-depth exploration of the six factors (F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, and F6) that make up the Tunisian language identity model. These factors encompass attachment to the mother tongue, pronunciation preferences, language and social status associations, language knowledge, and script/alphabet attitudes. By using F1 as a reference point, we have compared and evaluated the relationships and influences of the other factors concerning individuals' level of attachment to their mother tongue. Moving forward, the focus was shifted to conducting a detailed analysis of the profiles that emerged from the amalgamation of these factors. The aim is to discern specific characteristics and patterns prevalent in these profiles, providing deeper insights into how these factors interact and shape language identities within the Tunisian context. By delving further into these profiles, I hope to gain a comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics at play and obtain valuable insights into the diverse language attitudes and preferences among the surveyed population.

To sum up, our exploration of the six factors that make up language identity in Tunisia reveals a diverse array of perspectives among Tunisians regarding the role of Arabic in their linguistic identity. This suggests that Tunisians do not all share a uniform attitude towards their mother tongue, instead displaying varying attitudes at different levels. The recognized ambiguity towards the Arabic language underscores the urgent need for a specialized approach to address this complexity, a topic that will be explored further in the section 4.6.2.

4.4 Demographic description of the surveyed population participated in the survey

The target demographic of the present study encompassed individuals holding Tunisian nationality, comprising primary school, high school, and university students, as well as the broader general population. The participants were solicited through random selection, utilizing online platforms and physical educational institutions. These individuals were invited to complete a survey questionnaire in their preferred language, Arabic, French, or English. Of the respondents, 89.8% opted for Arabic, whereas 6.2% and 4% chose the English and French versions of the survey. To ensure clarity during the questionnaire completion process, I was on hand to provide any necessary guidance.

A total of 354 participants participated in the study. Within this cohort, gender distribution was approximately balanced, with 40% identifying as male and 60% as female. Their ages ranged from 11 years to above 25 years. Most participants (87%) were residents of Tunisia, while the remaining 13% were situated abroad, originating from diverse cities across Tunisia, each contributing varying proportions to the sample. Examination of Table 10 reveals that an overwhelming majority (79%) of the respondents indicated Tunsi (Tunisian Arabic) as their mother tongue. A noteworthy proportion (18%) self-assessed their proficiency in Tunsi as advanced. In terms of MSA, over half of the participants (54%) considered themselves to be highly skilled, with a smaller group (37%) identifying as native MSA speakers. When it came to foreign languages, the majority (58%) expressed advanced proficiency in French, while 49% claimed the same for English. It is worth mentioning that only two participants reported not being able to speak two of the languages included in the survey. Specifically, one person mentioned a lack of proficiency in Tunsi, and another in English.

Table 10. Participants' demographic information

Age		**11-15**			**10%**	
		16-20			29%	
		21-25			19%	
		+25			42%	
Gender		Female			60%	
		Male			40%	
Language proficiency		**Native**	**Adv.**	**Inter.**	**Basic**	**No L. K.**
	Tunsi	78.5 %	18.1 %	1.1 %	1.7 %	0.6 %
	MSA	36.7 %	54.2 %	7.3 %	1,7 %	0 %
	French	2,3 %	57.6%	33.9%	6.2%	0%
	English	1.1%	48.6%	41.8%	7.9%	0,6 %

Note: adv=advanced, inter=intermediate, no l. k.=No Language knowledge

Furthermore, a substantial number of participants in the survey exhibited proficiency in Spanish, German, and Italian, thereby underscoring the multifaceted linguistic abilities of the respondents. Additionally, the survey findings revealed a familiarity among the participants with less commonly spoken languages, such as Hungarian, Polish, Turkish, Portuguese, Dragon Tongue, Tamazight, Hebrew, Russian, Esperanto, Japanese, and Korean. This linguistic diversity among the respondents highlights their remarkable breadth of language skills and their willingness to explore various cultural and linguistic landscapes beyond the conventional options.

4.5 Data Collection

The study collected varied qualitative material. As per the slogans, I used photos and video footage of protests from various online sources, as detailed in Appendix 3. These sources encompassed Arab and international media platforms, as well as platforms like YouTube, blogs, and social media sites. Given the vast number of slogans available, both in oral and written form, the decision was made to focus solely on the most frequently used slogans, either chanted or written. This approach considered the multilinguality of the collected materials. By concentrating on the most common slogans, the study aimed to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the overall sentiment and message conveyed by the protesters. This approach allowed for a deeper understanding of the protests, considering the diverse voices and perspectives of the participants. The collected datasets were then examined to identify legible slogans, which were subsequently classified according to their language: Arabic, French, English, or bilingual. The individual sign served as the unit of analysis for this classification process.

In the political analysis of language practices, my objective is to examine the language choices employed by Tunisian presidents during official meetings and speeches, explicitly focusing on the speeches delivered by former President Ben Ali during the revolution and current President Kais Saied. Both presidents are recognized for their predominant usage of MSA as the primary language in their official speeches. Former President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali delivered three significant speeches during the revolution, precisely on December 28, 2010, January 10, 2011, and January 13, 2011. These speeches were collected from YouTube, which serves as a readily available source for recordings of public speeches. Indeed, the speeches delivered by former President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali during the revolution hold significant relevance for the analysis

of language practices. The fact that Ben Ali underwent a noticeable shift in his language use during this period makes these speeches particularly valuable for examination.

Moreover, the significance of Facebook in social life continues to increase steadily. Particularly during the Tunisian revolution, effective information dissemination played a crucial role, and Facebook emerged as the primary catalyst for this purpose (Marzouki *et al.*, 2012). Consequently, Facebook serves as a valuable source of data for this study. The interactions among Tunisian Facebook users were captured on various occasions and were subjected to linguistic analysis. This analysis aims to examine how individuals respond to linguistic practices of political leaders and others, shedding light on the dynamics of language use within this context. While browsing on Facebook, I have examined the various forms of language used by Tunisians on this online platform. Facebook provides users with multiple spaces for written expression, allowing them to share thoughts, experiences, and moments instantly. Four specific writing spaces available to users include Instant Discussions, Comments, Statutes, and Facebook stories. In this study, I have focused on analyzing the linguistic practices observed in two of these writing spaces: Comments and Facebook stories. These spaces were chosen as they are more easily accessible and publicly shared.

I gathered Tunisian comments made in response to the speeches of the presidents to analyze how the people reacted to the language choices made by the leaders. These comments provide valuable qualitative data that can help uncover the sentiments, opinions, and perceptions of the Tunisian population. Analyzing these comments allows us to explore how Tunisians interpret and respond to the language used by their presidents in official speeches.

To investigate the language practices, I selected a well-known group called "Ya Gdim!! (the 80s-90s)". This group serves as a gathering place for Tunisians from different generations, where they reminisce and share memories from earlier times that they believe they have in common. The group's name is expressed in Arabic and written using the Latin script, precisely the term "Ya Gdim" which means "old" or "outdated". Interestingly, in the comments, this term is sometimes written as "يديمg", utilizing a combination of Arabic and a single Latin letter. This orthographic choice represents a specific phoneme (/g/) that refers to a regional variant of Tunisian Arabic not defined in the standard Arabic alphabet.

Additionally, data collection involved the use of a self-report questionnaire, which included closed-ended questions and scales designed to measure the variables examined

in the present study. To mitigate the impact of language difficulties on data quality, the questionnaires were made available to respondents in three languages: Arabic, English, and French. The three language versions were tested on a representative sample of Tunisians, and minor revisions were implemented based on the pilot study to enhance the questionnaire's effectiveness.

4.6 Data Analysis

4.6.1 Data analysis for the qualitative part

Data analysis in the qualitative part of the research is approached based on Creswell & Creswell (2017). This requires going through specific steps as follows: (1) Prepare the data for analysis by organizing the written literature and transcribing the oral and audio materials; (2) Go over all the information, get a general feel of the data, and consider its overall significance; (3) Begin deep investigation by coding the data. Before giving meaning to information, coding is structuring it into chunks or segments of text (Rossman & Rallis, 1998, p. 171, 2017).

Firstly, the analysis has focused on the political aspect of the data, specifically examining the slogan of the Tunisian revolution of 2011 and the speeches of President Ben Ali during the revolution and President Kais Saied's speeches. In what concerns the presidential speeches, I was particularly interested in their use of MSA in formal contexts, and this investigation was carried out within a political-linguistic analytic framework. This framework draws upon qualitative analyses and sociolinguistic approaches developed by scholars like Abu-Lughod (1986), Bassiouney (2009), Versteegh (1997, 2001, 2006), and Holes (1983), who have made significant contributions to understanding language and its connection to nationalism, language policies, and power dynamics. By examining language use in political contexts, I aimed to uncover valuable insights into the complex relationship between language and politics. The framework primarily relies on qualitative and sociolinguistic approaches, emphasizing the importance of comprehending the social and cultural context in which language is employed, rather than relying solely on statistical analysis.

The choice to examine the language choices of Tunisian presidents in official speeches is an essential area of research. It allows us to gain insights into the communicative strategies employed by political leaders during critical periods, such as the revolution in Tunisia. Analyzing the language choices of presidents in official settings provides valuable information about their political ideologies, strategies for addressing

the public, and how they position themselves in relation to the events unfolding in the country. Scholars have conducted similar studies on the language use of political leaders during pivotal moments. For example, in the context of political speeches, Wodak (2006) explored the language of politics and the discursive construction of identities. She examined how political leaders use language to construct their own identities and shape public opinion.

Second, at social level, I aimed to analyze the reactions of Tunisians towards the language choices made by these presidents. By examining public responses and reactions, we could gain insights into how the language choices of presidents are perceived and interpreted by the Tunisian population. This analysis has helped shed light on the significance of language in shaping political discourse and public opinion. Additionally, I examined the linguistic practices on Facebook, which provide insights into the interplay between different languages and writing systems used by Tunisians in an online setting. The incorporation of the Latin script and the adaptation of Arabic letters to represent regional phonetic variations highlight the dynamic nature of language use and the diverse linguistic repertoire of Tunisian users on social media platforms. By analyzing these language practices on Facebook, we can gain a better understanding of how Tunisians navigate between multiple languages and writing systems, and how they creatively adapt their written expressions to reflect their linguistic identities and regional variations.

4.6.2 Data Analysis for the quantitative part: Partial order Method

In the current study, I propose a novel statistical methodology rooted in *Partial Order Theory* for assessing individual differences. Partial Order Theory "allows for a very natural and effective way to represent multivariate systems of ordinal data and provides a general framework to treat and analyse them" (Fattore *et al.*, 2011: 34). The distinctive aspect of this suggested methodology is that it avoids variable aggregation and instead focuses solely on the ordinal properties of the data to assess individual profiles. By leveraging this innovative approach, the study aims to provide a more robust and accurate analysis of the data, shedding light on the intricate patterns underlying individual differences. This clearly distinguishes the methodology from common approaches, which focus on ordinal variables using tools made for quantitative data and are aggregative and compensative in nature.

Therefore, it is essential to carefully consider the methodology used in analyzing the data to ensure that the results accurately reflect the underlying patterns and individual

differences. By avoiding variable aggregation, the suggested method allows for a more nuanced understanding of personal profiles and can reveal patterns that may be overlooked by traditional approaches. Moreover, the focus on the ordinal properties of the data grants the methodology greater flexibility and adaptability in analyzing real-world datasets, particularly those with non-standard distributions or non-linear relationships between variables. This flexibility is precious in the analysis of the six factors of Tunisian language identity, namely Attachment to mother tongue (F1), Pronunciation attitude (F2), Language and social status (F3), L1 use/exposure in society (F4), Language knowledge (F5), and Script/Alphabet (F6).

All the factors are recorded on a 3-degree scale (2,1,0). A score of 2 indicates a positive attitude, while a score of 1 reflects ambivalence, signifying neither positive nor negative sentiments. Conversely, a score of 0 means a negative attitude towards the specific factor. The responses gathered from participants regarding the six aspects of Tunisian language identity were carefully assessed using a particular system of coding. A comprehensive explanation of this coding system is available in Appendix 6. This appendix provides a detailed breakdown of how the scores were assigned based on the participants' answers for each factor. Let's consider F1 as an example: If the responses (Ei) for the items are 1 (with $i \geq 2$) and the overall response (Fri) for F1 is 1 (with $i \geq 2$), then F1 is scored as 2. On the other hand, if the responses (Ei) are 0 (with $i < 2$) and the overall response (Fri) for F1 is 0 (with $i < 2$), then F1 is scored as 0. For all other combinations of responses, F1 is scored as 1. By referring to Appendix 6, researchers and readers can gain a clear understanding of how the scoring system was applied, ensuring transparency and accuracy in the data analysis process.

Each participant in our sample is assigned a set of scores on F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, and F6, collectively referred to as the "Tunisian Arabic identity profile". The number of possible profiles is 729, as indicated by Fattore (2016: 3), given that each factor can be scored on a 3-degree scale ($3^6=729$). Our sample consists of 354 individuals, and it is worth noting that multiple individuals can have the same profile. After empirical analysis, we can identify *N* distinct profiles, which are presented in a Hasse diagram following a comparability process based on the following definition.

Definition

Profile **p**a is more attached to the Tunisian Arabic Identity than, profile **p**b if and only if $pa_i \leq pb_i$ for each i = 1; . . . ; 6,

Profile **p**a is strictly more attached to the Tunisian Arabic Identity than, profile **p**b if and only if **p**a ⊴ **p**b and there is at least one i such that $\mathbf{p}a_i < \mathbf{p}b_i$.

The set P of profiles characterized by the partial order ⊴ gives rise to the profile poset[16] (P; ⊴) (Profile, relation (partial order)), which, for notational convenience, will be similarly indicated as P. It has a top element (222222), and a bottom element (000000), which represent the most and the least attached profiles to the Tunisian language identity. It is evident that it is impossible to arrange all profiles in P according to definition a. For instance, let's take the two profiles ***p****a= (2,1,2,0,1,1)* and ***p****b=(1,1,2,0,1,2)*. These profiles, ***p****a* and ***p****b*, cannot be linearly ordered because ***p****b1*<***p****a1*, but ***p****a6*<***p****b6*. To further elaborate, let's consider a chain as the set of profiles that can be linearly ordered based on the given definition (in this case, definition *a*). In other words, for any two profiles ***p****a* and ***p****b* in a chain, it is possible to say that either ***p****a* is more attached than ***p****b* or ***p****b* is more connected than ***p****a* according to the definition.

On the other hand, an antichain is the set of profiles in which no two profiles can be compared with each other using the given definition. In other words, for any pair of profiles ***p****a* and ***p****b* in an antichain, neither ***p****a* is more attached than ***p****b* nor ***p****b* is more attached than ***p****a* according to the definition. Therefore, we will classify a set of profiles as a chain if they can be ordered according to definition *a*, and we will refer to an antichain as a set of profiles where no comparisons can be made between the profiles based on the exact definition.

A unique number is assigned to each ordered profile. This numbering system serves as an identifier, distinguishing each profile from others in the Hasse diagram. The list of profiles and their assigned unique numbers are provided in Appendix 7. Indeed, assigning numerical values to profiles in P facilitates the comparison and analysis of different profiles within the Hasse diagram. The Hasse diagram is a visual representation of a partially ordered set, in this case, the set of *N* distinct profiles. Based on the Hasse diagram representation, we can indeed identify three different groups of individuals based on their attachment to Tunisianity:

1. The first group consists of individuals who are clearly and firmly attached to Tunisianity. They exhibit a significant association with Tunisian Arabic language identity.

[16] A set S and a relation R are called a **p**artially **o**rdered **set** or **POSET**. A poset is denoted by (S,R) or (S, ≤), where a ≤ b means a is related to b.

2. The second group comprises individuals whose profiles exhibit fuzziness, meaning that their attachment levels to Tunisianity need to be more easily categorized and qualified. In the Hasse diagram, these profiles may form an antichain, representing a set of non-comparable profiles. It implies that there is no straightforward ranking or comparison of their preferences, suggesting a level of ambiguity or mixed feelings towards Tunisian identity.
3. The third group includes individuals who display no attachment or fragile attachment to Tunisianity. These profiles will likely be at the bottom of the Hasse diagram, indicating minimal or no association with Tunisian Arabic language identity.

To delineate each group effectively, the analysis utilizes the longest horizontal antichains. These antichains, as defined previously, are sets of profiles that contain the maximum number of non-comparable profiles, and they are situated close to both the most attached and least attached profiles. Once the groups based on attachment to Tunisianity have been identified through the Hasse diagram representation, we are going to study the socioeconomic characteristics of the individuals within each group, which can provide valuable insights and a deeper understanding of the population. Throughout the data analysis process, two widely used software tools, namely IBM SPSS Statistics 26 and STATA, were used. These software tools are renowned in the field of social sciences and data analysis for their robust statistical functionalities and user-friendly interfaces.

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a comprehensive analysis of the Tunisian language identity, utilizing a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The investigation begins by delving into the domain of language ideology and its influence on the evolution of Tunisian revolutionary slogans. Through a meticulous examination of historical and sociopolitical contexts, the underlying reasons for language choices during crucial moments in the history of Tunisia are unearthed. The study also encompasses an in-depth exploration of linguistic strategies employed in presidential speeches, drawing upon a substantial corpus of such addresses. Furthermore, the research scrutinizes language use and interactions within the context of social media, highlighting the impact of virtual spaces on language identity and linguistic practices among Tunisian social media users.

In the realm of quantitative analysis, the chapter offers an exhaustive examination of the distinct linguistic profiles, culminating in the formulation of the Tunisia Language Identity Model. This integrated framework comprehensively captures the intricate variations in linguistic identities among different individuals in the Tunisian context.

In conclusion, this chapter provides valuable insights into the dynamic and multifaceted nature of the Tunisian language identity, unraveling its historical, cultural, and social underpinnings. The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of how language shapes identity in this North African nation, thus enriching the broader discourse in sociolinguistics. It should be highlighted that the findings from section 5.2.3 were published as a collaborative work between the author and her supervisor.

5.2 Qualitative Analysis

5.2.1 Language ideology and evolution of Tunisian revolutionary slogans

In all human history, revolution has yet to be successful before it developed its slogan. When a revolution decides on a slogan, it has already established its goals and demands a shared ideal that unites the revolutionaries around it and serves as a compass for their options, aspirations, and course of action (Youssfi, 2011). Empirical studies have consistently shown that slogans play a pivotal role in the success of revolutions. The Tunisian Revolution, which reached its peak on January 14, 2011, is renowned for its powerful slogans that played a significant role in mobilizing and uniting the

revolutionaries. The language employed in these slogans possessed extraordinary power, capturing the aspirations, grievances, and demands of the Tunisian people. By delving into the linguistic aspects of these revolutionary slogans, we can gain a deeper understanding of the profound impact they had on shaping the course of the revolution and inspiring similar movements across the Arab world.

Many authors and intellectuals have drawn comparisons between the French Revolution of July 14, 1789, and the Tunisian Revolution. The spirit and slogans of the Tunisian Revolution did indeed spread rapidly to other Arab nations, like how the French Revolution and its slogans quickly influenced Italy, Germany, and Spain, inspiring the rest of Europe. The Tunisian Revolution, which began in 2010, sparked a wave of protests and uprisings across the Arab world, collectively known as the Arab Spring. The slogans and ideals of the Tunisian Revolution resonated with people in other Arab nations, who were also seeking political change and social justice. The use of social media and the interconnectedness of the Arab nations facilitated the spread of slogans and ideas, leading to widespread mobilization and demonstrations. Similarly, the French Revolution, which took place in the late 18th century, had a profound impact on the neighboring countries, with its slogans and principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity inspiring revolutionary movements across Europe. The rapid spread of slogans and revolutionary fervor in both cases highlights the power of shared ideals and the influence of successful revolutions on neighboring nations. The French and Tunisian revolutions sought to establish a system of government that represented its citizens' will and broke away from oppressive regimes. Consequently, the effects of both revolutions were far-reaching and had lasting implications for their respective countries.

For thirty years, the 7th of November has been an unavoidable date for Tunisians; this date marked the inauguration of Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali in 1987. The usage of number seven and the color mauve have been symbols of the *Rassemblement constitutionnel démocratique* (RCD), the ruling party, for a quarter of a century. Only mandated slogans were used. The use of number seven increased significantly throughout Ben Ali’s 23-year reign, as seen by its widespread installation at places like "Place du 7 November", "Rue du 7 Novembre", "Boulevard du 7 November", "Epicerie de 7 November", "Pharmacie de 7 Novembre", "Stade de 7 Novembre", and so on. These symbols carried a message of fear and often acted as reminders of Ben Ali’s oppressive rule.

As Tunisia now navigates the challenges of establishing a democratic system and consolidating political institutions, it is essential to remember the revolutionary ideals and aspirations that brought about the changes in the first place. The language of parties and elections should be clear of the fundamental values of freedom, justice, and dignity that inspired the revolution. Looking at the map of the Arab world today, one can quickly realize that the Tunisian revolution succeeded in formulating the rallying cry for all Arab uprisings. The poetry of the venerable Abu al-Qasim Chebbi, particularly the opening line of his poem "The Will of Life", has inspired Tunisian youth. The first verse of the poem stating, "If, one day, a people desires to live, then fate will answer their call",[17], served as the slogan for the revolution and captured its central demand: the right to dignity (Youssfi, 2011).

Initiated by a youth thought to be non-political, the Jasmine revolution first showed the performative force of the language and its capacity to transform, by the simple act of speaking, a political situation that had long been considered the destiny of certain peoples to live under tyranny. This revolution surprised the world due to "its spontaneous and pacifist nature", the "absence of leadership, and the lack of references to political and religious ideologies" in its slogans (Jerad, 2013: 12). It demonstrated the immense power of words and language, proving that even a single voice can set off an unstoppable chain reaction in those who hear it. Furthermore, Hannah Arendt's words perfectly illustrate the theory of language as action, and the slogans that shook Tunisia and other Arab nations serve as a perfect refutation of the theory of the clash of civilizations. The revolution also showed the importance of language in that it could mobilize entire populations, inspire them to fight for their rights and stand against oppression, and turn them from passive spectators into active political participants.

When the official media presented the immolation of Bouazizi by fire as a "news item", the population used this act to make a political statement, calling for the rejection of a life devoid of freedom and dignity. This pivotal event triggered widespread protests in Tunisia, eventually leading to the historic Arab Spring uprising. Throughout the protests, demonstrators frequently used chants as a means of voicing their demands. Below is

[17] Original verse in Arabic "إذا الشّعْبُ يَوْماً أرَادَ الْحَيَـاةَ = فلا بُدَّ أنْ يَسْتَجِيبَ القَـدَر", meaning "when people choose a noble and worthy existence, the Fates will accordingly respond". Translated by *Elliott Colla*. *Translation retrieved from* https://arablit.org/2011/01/16/two-translations-of-abu-al-qasim-al-shabis-if-the-people-wanted-life one

Table 11 showcasing the most chanted slogans during the demonstrations, classified based on their linguistic features.

Table 11. Table of Tunisian revolution slogans and their English translations[18]

Slogan in original form	Slogan translation to English	Slogan original language
Tunis hurra hurra wa Ben Ali ‘ala barra!	Tunis is free, free and Ben Ali out!	Tunisian Arabic
الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام	The people want to downfall the regime	MSA
Ben Ali dehors!	Ben Ali out!	French
Ben Ali assassin!	Ben Ali murderer!	French
RCD Degage	RCD out!	French
RCD Degage Out!	RCD out out!	Bilingual English-French
RCD No way!	-	English
Mafia out!	-	English
Tunisie libre! Trabelsi: voleurs dehors!	Tunis free! Trabelsi: thieves, out!	French
Game over	-	English
حرّيّة، عدالة اجتماعية، كرامة وطنية	Employment, Freedom, Social justice, National dignity.	MSA
حرّيات، حرّيات، لا رئاسة مدى الحياة	Freedoms, freedoms, no lifelong presidency.	MSA
التشغيل استحقاق يا عصابة السرّاق	Employment is a merit; you gang of thieves.	MSA
يا بوليس فيق فيق، الحجامة تحكم فيك	O police wake up, cuppers control you Oh police, be careful, the barbers have control over you.	TA
خبز وماء وبن علي لا	Bread, water, and no Ben Ali.	TA
بن علي يا جبان الشعب التونسي لا يُهان	Ben Ali, you coward, the Tunisian people will not be humiliated.	MSA
اعتصام اعتصام حتى يسقط النظام	Sit-in, sit-in, until the regime falls.	MSA
Dégage يا خمّاج	Dégage you septic	Bilingual French-TA
Obama: yes we can, Tunisia: yes we do	-	English
Enough, no more games	-	English
I have a dream, Une Tunisie libre	“I have a dream, A free Tunisia”	Bilingual English-French

As depicted in Table 11, the revolutionary slogans exhibited a fascinating multilingual characteristic, being presented in various languages and sometimes even

[18] The sources of all slogans appearing in the table are provided in Appendix 3.

combining different linguistic elements. What makes this observation noteworthy is that the languages employed by the protesters are, in fact, part of their linguistic repertoire. The presence of multiple languages in the slogans reflects the linguistic diversity within the Tunisian population. The protesters drew upon the languages they were familiar with, utilizing Arabic (in its two forms MSA and TA), French, English and sometimes a combination of those languages.

The chant *'shoghl, horryya, Karama Wataniya*' ('employment, freedom, and dignity of citizenship') became the most iconic slogan of this movement, expressing the will of a people for a life with dignity, free from oppressive regimes. In the Tunisian context, the word "employment" is primarily associated with politics. It criticizes both the unequal distribution of wealth and corruption. It is clarified: "It is not a revolution of the hunger". One of the most well-known phrases of the revolution, *Khobz w mé w ben Ali lé* "Yes to bread and water and No Ben Ali" emphasizes that we are no longer in the cycle of bread revolts. The word *'Employment'* has finally found its integrated meaning in "*freedom*" and "*dignity*", the only linguistic markers of the Tunisian revolution and its founding landmarks.

The Arab revolutions' slogans have a newness that shocked people. The word *horrya* "freedom" (see picture in Figure 10 below) was printed in Arabic and in prominent characters on a picture of the demonstration that deposed Ben Ali from power on the cover of the French newspaper *Libération* January 15, 2011, issue (Jeard, 2013). Probably for the first time, the Arabic term for *"freedom"* causes one to perceive a new chapter in history that Tunisians start to write with this word.

Figure 10. Front page of French Newspaper *Libération* Featuring *Horrya* "Freedom" in Arabic during Tunisian uprising, published on January 15, 2011

Following these events, a wave of youthful activism spread across Cairo, Sana'a, and Damascus, as passionate individuals took to the streets, demanding the ousting of their respective leaderships. Their unified call for change echoed through the air with chants of *Horrya* or *ashaab youreed isqat an-nidham* "the people want to downfall the regime". This powerful expression of popular discontent reflected a shared desire for political transformation and a demand for greater freedom and democratic governance. The resounding voices of the youth served as a rallying cry, uniting people from different backgrounds and regions in their quest for social justice and a renewed sense of hope.

An important example of a central chant of the Tunisian Uprisings that requires an interdisciplinary framework is the Tunisian French speech-act-turned-slogan, *dégage!* '*leave!*'/ '*get out!*', used during the protests to ouster Ben Ali in early January 2011. In addition to being intensively chanted during the demonstration, especially in the last two days that precedes the fleeing of the former president, the word *Dégage* was displayed in different forms. Even though *Dégage* has French origins, it did not become known to Tunisians due to its use during the revolution. Instead, Tunisians were the ones who disseminated it globally, even to the French. Through transforming a French expression into a nationwide rallying call, Tunisians employed the slogan *dégage!* to symbolize the anti-colonial feeling central to their demonstrations.

Indeed, as an instance, during the revolution, the Tunisian comedian and humorist Lotfi Abdelli utilized an Internet video clip, that quickly spread through Facebook[19] and Youtube[20], to appeal to his fellow citizens, aiming to emphasize their collective situation and express his strong disapproval of the regime.

> "Zine el-Abidine [Ben Ali], if you have a little humanité, if you have a little *insaniyya* [humanity], let the people live. It's clear: for the young, for the old, for the educated and the uneducated, who say to you: *'Dégage! dégage!'* Old, outdated clown, you are like a yoghurt that has reached its sell-by date [*délai*]. When you are eaten, you make people throw up; the people are dying, the people are sick of you. 20 years you rule and are you not yet in pain from sitting in that chair? Out [barra]! You have the money, go shopping outside the country! Go, do what you want! Leave [*sayyab*] the country and let us build it alone". Rigg (2022: 3)

The word *Dégage* "Get out" has than become the most famous word of the revolution and was chosen as the word of the year 2011 by the festival of the word which has taken place every year since 2005 in *La Charité sur Loire* in France. The choice of this word, which embodies all the courage and hope that characterized the Tunisian revolution, reveals how much this revolution has impacted and inspired people worldwide. Guellouz (2017) stated that Mabrouka Mbarek, a member of the Tunisian Constituent Assembly, advocated for the inclusion of the term "*dégage*" in the introductory section of the 2014 new constitution. Mbarek justified this recommendation by emphasizing the stylistic and poetic merits of the term. She expressed that "*dégage*" encapsulated the essence of the Tunisian revolution on a global scale.

It is remarkable that the first expression of emotion was clearly expressed in French and was not translated until it became clear that the Tunisian uprising had attracted the attention of the entire Arab region. The term was translated to *irHal*! *irHal!* in other Arabic countries which witnessed demonstrations. The French chanting had to be replicated in MSA for mutual comprehensibility, Tunisian Arab identity, and successful export of the revolution (Michel, 2013).

[19] The speech of Abdelli can be found on Facebook at the following link: https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=316446818381111

[20] The speech of Abdelli can be found on YouTube at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GfOFroM2Kw&t=1s

As a result, the regionally popular chant, *ash-sha'b yuri:d isqa:T a niTHa:m,* probably the most famous slogan of the Arab Uprisings, has been generated and reassigned in MSA and local dialects throughout the Middle East and North Africa. Suby Raman[21], a Middle East political blogger and analyst, explains the origins of *ash-sha'b yuri:d isqa:T an-niTHa:m,* and concurs that this is "[w]ithout a doubt, the central slogan of the Arab Spring", translating it as "The People want to downfall the Regime.". It is worth mentioning that this slogan is originally a verse from the official national anthem of the Republic of Tunisia. The protesters modified the verse from the official national anthem of Tunisia to 'The People want to downfall of the Regime', which became the slogan for what has been termed as 'The Arab Spring'. The slogan quickly became popularized in other countries such as Egypt, Libya, and Syria after Tunisian activists began chanting it in the streets during the revolution.

Khalidi (2011)[22] proposes in his published essay by *FP* (Name of the Online Newsletter) that the Tunisian chant *ash-sha'b yuri:d isQa:T an-niTHa:m,* a phrase frequently heard in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Jordan, Syria, and other places, refers to all Arab peoples' desire for a regional shift in the reigning ancient régimes. The claims of Khaliadi are primarily supported by the media coverage of the Arab Spring and the frequent usage of *ash-sha'b yuri:d isQa:T an-niTHa:m* in all parts of the region. Suby Raman's explanation of the origins of this chant further supports Khalidi's claims, as it appears to be a direct reference to the people. According to Raman, the words themselves directly refer to a people's ability to bring about change; *yuri:d isQa:T an-niTHa:m* translating as "we desire the fall of the regime". The evidence presented by Khalidi and Raman offers an insightful explanation for the meaning of *'ash-sha'b yuri:d isQa:T an-niTHa:m*' and lends credibility to the notion that this phrase was not just a rallying.

Moreover, short and direct messages in English played a significant role in conveying powerful sentiments and demands to the international level as well. Phrases like "*Game over*," "*Mafia out!*", or "*Benali out*!" were commonly heard and seen on various protest materials used by the demonstrators. These messages were succinct yet impactful,

[21] Suby Raman, "What do the people want? Dissection of the Arab Spring slogan," Tabeer: Commentary on Near Eastern Politics and Culture. March 2, 2012. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20130801074847/http://subyraman.com/what-do-the-people-want-dissection-of-the-arab-spring-slogan/

[22] *Rashid Khalidi, "Reflections on the Revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt," Foreign Policy. Feb. 24, 2011. Available at: http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/02/24/reflections_on_the_revolutions_in_tunisia_and_egypt*

capturing the protesters' determination and urgency in calling for change and expressing their discontent with the existing regime. The use of English in these messages likely aimed to reach a broader audience, both domestically and internationally, as English is widely understood and used as a global language. The simplicity of these messages made them memorable and easy to share, enabling the protesters to spread their cause rapidly through social media and other communication channels. By using direct English phrases, the demonstrators effectively amplified their voices and garnered attention to their demands for political reform and leadership change.

The data also revealed instances of code-switching between Arabic and French. Only a few signs demonstrated bilingualism in Arabic-French or English-French combinations. For example, one sign displayed an English-French combination that read *I have a dream, Une tunisie libre* "I have a dream, a free Tunisia". The use of English in this context holds significant value as it intertextually references Martin Luther King Jr.'s renowned line, which would carry a different impact if translated into French. Reverting to French, the author of the second language of the sign and potentially their preferred language, adds a personal touch to the message compared to if the line were in English, their third language.

In conclusion, the Tunisian revolutionary slogans showcased a remarkable feature of multilingualism, with chants resonating across the diverse verbal repertoire of Tunisians. These slogans defied the constraints of a highly ideological environment that had confined their thoughts and actions. By chanting in multiple languages without any reference to western imperialism, pan-Arab ideology, or Islamism, the Tunisian people demonstrated their resilience and determination to break free from oppression and build a society they could take pride in (Jerad, 2013). The use of Arabic, French, and English in the slogans reflected the multilingual society of Tunisia, with each language carrying its political weight. During the time of President Ben Ali, Arabic was discouraged, and French was privileged, reflecting the complex dynamics of cultural identity suppression. Utilizing multilingual slogans became a powerful way for protesters to assert their identity and reject the oppressive policies that had silenced their cultural heritage.

Moreover, the expressive power of these slogans went beyond mere persuasion and incitement (Denton & Robert, 1980; Stewart *et al.,* 2012). As Fraenkel (2007) suggests, they functioned as "acts of writing and language", highlighting the personalization and communication imperative inherent in their messages. These protest writings evolved into

political "performances" that spoke volumes about the unity in diversity and collective determination of the protesters (Van De Velde, 2022).

It is essential to acknowledge that while the documented slogans were predominantly in Arabic, French, and English, other languages might have been used as well. However, due to the passage of time and limitations in photographic and video evidence, their full extent could not be captured. The choice of multilingual expressions not only demonstrated the linguistic richness in Tunisia but also showcased the protesters' inclusive approach in reaching out to diverse audiences. By embracing their linguistic capabilities, Tunisians reclaimed their cultural identities and found their voice on the global stage. The revolution of language symbolized the liberation of a people whose thoughts and ideas had been silenced by an oppressive ideological system. Through these various languages, the protesters communicated their distinct cultural identities, transforming themselves from faceless entities into individuals with a powerful and united voice.

5.2.2 Presidential speeches

Language is seen as a social practice and a deliberate means of communication, through which individuals express their identities and establish relationships with others. According to Fairclough (2001: 16) and Schaff (1960: 292), language serves as a tool for self-expression and maintaining specific connections. The intentions of speakers become evident through their use of utterances, as highlighted by D'Amato (1989). Ideologies, therefore, are not silent entities but rather manifest through language, as it exposes their true nature, as suggested by Hunston and Thompson (2000).

Scholars, political commentators, and protesters closely analyzed the language used in President Ben Ali's speeches during the Tunisian Revolution (Jarraya, 2013). The speeches were given during mass protests throughout Tunisia and aimed to address the protesters' concerns. The fact that the three political speeches presented here differ from one another on many levels is interesting to observe. Regarding linguistics, the political realm has long been dominated by Standard Arabic, even when spoken, as seen by politicians' speeches and news media reports presented in the standard, written language (Khalil, 2011).

The first and second addresses of former President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali were delivered in MSA, with a literate and controlled delivery. The use of MSA as a unified language in Tunisia aimed to promote national unity and understanding among Tunisians

of different socio-economic backgrounds. Despite the efforts of former President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali to promote national unity and address the protesters' concerns through his speeches, the anger and frustration of the protesters continued to grow. Many Tunisians felt his promises were not fulfilled, and their economic and political grievances were not addressed.

On the eve of his departure on 13th January 2011, Ben Ali delivered a speech in Tunisian Arabic rather than MSA for the first and last time. He repeated *ana fahimtku*m "I have understood you" over and over, pointing his finger at the camera. This phrase is an allusion to a similar phrase used by French leader Charles de Gaulle in 1958 during the Algerian War of Independence. In a speech addressing French Algerians, de Gaulle famously said *Je vous ai compris* which translates to "I have understood you" in English. By alluding to this phrase, Ben Ali may have been trying to convey the message that he understood and was responsive to the concerns of the Tunisian people. Ben Ali's use of this phrase was intended to emphasize his commitment to the cause of Algerian independence and evoke the same sympathy and understanding that de Gaulle had expressed in his speech.

The decision of Ben Ali to use TA rather than the more formal Arabic language, MSA, was a profound and symbolic gesture aimed at connecting with his people and projecting an image of relatability and approachability. By opting for the dialect, he sought to portray himself as a leader who understood the daily struggles and aspirations of the common Tunisian citizen. It was a calculated move to bridge the gap between the ruling elite and the masses, emphasizing a sense of camaraderie and shared identity. However, the people's response, the following day, with the powerful chant, *al-sha'b yurid isqat al-nidham!* "The people want to downfall of the regime", delivered in *Fusha*, the formal and literary Arabic language, marked a significant shift in the power dynamic. The use of *Fusha* to answer the president's speech was a strategic act of resistance and assertion of agency by the people. In doing so, the people not only rejected the attempt of Ben Ali to connect with them through the use of the dialect but also reclaimed their voice in a language traditionally associated with authority and power. By responding in *Fusha*, the language of governance and official communication, the people conveyed a potent message: they recognized their collective strength and ability to challenge and confront the ruler.

The observation of Jerad (2013:252) that “authority had switched camps. The president spoke the language of the people, and the people spoke the language of power” encapsulates the pivotal moment when the president's attempt to appeal to the people through language backfired, inadvertently empowering them to reclaim their agency. The symbolic significance of the people responding in *Fusha* was a poignant reminder to Ben Ali that his position of power was at the mercy of the people's will. This linguistic exchange highlighted the subtle yet essential dynamics between language and power. By asserting their voice in *Fusha*, the people of Tunisia not only challenged the attempts of the regime at superficial rapport but also reasserted their collective authority and determination to bring about change. The use of MSA served as a potent reminder that the true power lay with the people, whose unified voice resonated far beyond the confines of language choice.

The BBC has obtained recordings of former president Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali's phone calls as he left Tunisia by plane in 2011—eleven years after he fled the country. The recordings began on the evening of January 13, 2011, and were analyzed by audio experts, who found no evidence of tampering or manipulation. What is of concern in this context is his first call to a close friend, reportedly Tariq Ben Ammar, a media mogul known for encouraging director George Lucas to shoot the first Star Wars film in Tunisia.

The conversation between Tariq and Ben Ammar sheds light on the significance of the language used in Ben Ali's last speech to the Tunisian people. Tariq's comments highlight Ben Ammar's praise for Ben Ali's speech, emphasizing that it was the kind of performance they had anticipated. “You were wonderful; this is the Ben Ali we were expecting”, Ben Ammar says in the recording. Ben Ammar's supportive words seemed to reassure Ben Ali, who displayed self-doubt about the fluidity of his delivery. “Not at all [...] It is a historical return. You are a man of the people. You spoke their language”, his friend states. One key aspect that emerged from the call was the discussion surrounding the language choice in Ben Ali's speech. It became apparent that Ben Ali was uneasy about delivering his speech in TA, the dialect widely spoken by the people. His discomfort with using TA might have stemmed from a sense of unfamiliarity or concern about its appropriateness for a formal address to the nation.

In contrast, Ben Ammar, a confidant of Ben Ali, provided reassurance and guidance, suggesting that speaking in the language of the people was essential for effective communication. Ben Ammar's comment that Ben Ali was a "man of the people" who

spoke their language implied that using TA would create a stronger connection with the audience and make the speech more relatable and impactful. This insight into the discussion about language choice underscores the significance of linguistic considerations in public addresses by political leaders. It reveals the delicate balance between projecting authority and relatability. While Ben Ali may have been hesitant to use TA due to its informal nature, his confidants recognized its power in fostering a deeper connection with the people and presenting himself as a leader attuned to their needs and aspirations.

Despite his confidants' praises, Ben Ali was not satisfied with how he communicated in *Derja*, as he felt it "incoherent". The conversation between Ben Ali and his confidant demonstrates the complexities of language in the realm of politics and the careful considerations made by leaders in framing their messages. It highlights how linguistic choices can influence the perception of leadership and the effectiveness of communication in addressing a nation during times of critical importance. Ultimately, the exchange reinforces the importance of understanding and utilizing language effectively to resonate with and garner the support of the people.

Upon careful examination of Ben Ali's speech, it becomes evident that a significant portion of his vocabulary was in MSA. Jarraya's (2013) analysis of Ben Ali's last speech further corroborates this observation, revealing that only 23% of the speech was in the Tunisian dialect (TA). This disparity indicates that despite attempting to establish a more personal connection with the people, Ben Ali could not fully let go of his classical training in MSA. This inclination toward using MSA is not surprising, considering that many educated Tunisians have been traditionally trained in this formal variant for generations. MSA serves as the language of education, administration, and media, and its usage is deeply ingrained in the linguistic culture of Tunisia.

Ben Ali's effort to incorporate more colloquial language in his speech likely aimed to portray himself as approachable and in touch with the concerns of ordinary Tunisians. By using the dialect, he may have sought to present a facade of down-to-earth relatability, attempting to bridge the perceived gap between the ruling elite and the general population. However, despite this attempt, Ben Ali's speech could have resonated with the Tunisian people. The predominantly formal and classical tone conveyed through the extensive use of MSA seemed to contradict the intended image of accessibility. The speech's language

choice may have reinforced perceptions of Ben Ali as disconnected from the realities of the citizens' lives and their everyday struggles.

This dissonance between the language employed and the desired impression highlights the complexities of language in political communication. It underlines the importance of linguistic authenticity in connecting with audiences during critical moments, such as a farewell speech to a nation in upheaval. Ben Ali's inability to strike a genuine chord with the Tunisian people further contributed to the growing disillusionment and discontent that ultimately led to the downfall of his regime. In conclusion, the analysis of Ben Ali's last speech reveals the intricate interplay between language, perception, and political image-making. Despite attempting to adopt a more colloquial tone, Ben Ali's reliance on MSA reflected his classical training and undermined his efforts to appear relatable to the Tunisian people. This linguistic disconnection further exacerbated the mounting opposition, ultimately contributing to the erosion of his authority and the success of the Tunisian Revolution.

The current President of the Republic, Kais Saied, has adopted a distinct linguistic approach in his media appearances by expressing himself in literary Arabic. His adherence to Article 1 of the Tunisian constitution, which designates Arabic as the official language, seems unwavering, even if it means presenting a linguistic stumbling block (reminiscent of Eco (1985)’s concept of “linguistic penitence”) that could potentially widen the identity gap among Tunisians. This choice has faced criticism, especially on digital social networks, where many people mock and scrutinize his speeches, describing them as rigid and pedantic. By exclusively using literary Arabic in his communications, President Saied risks alienating a considerable portion of the population who do not recognize themselves in this formal language or have difficulty comprehending it. This linguistic exclusion becomes evident through the comments posted by numerous internet users on the Facebook page of the Presidency of the Republic during the President's speech on March 20, 2020, where he announced the total containment of the country due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The diverse positions taken by commenters on President Kais Saied's use of literary Arabic in his speeches reveal a significant debate within Tunisian society. On the one hand, there are those who argue that the President's choice of literary Arabic creates a barrier for many people, hindering their understanding of the message. This position underscores the importance of language accessibility, especially during critical moments like the announcement of measures to address the COVID-19 pandemic. A language that

is more familiar and relatable to the public can facilitate more transparent communication and ensure that critical information reaches a broader audience. On the other hand, defenders of the President's linguistic choice argue that preserving the purity of the Arabic language is crucial, particularly in official settings. They view the use of literary Arabic as a means to uphold the linguistic heritage of the country and protect it from dilution or loss. This perspective emphasizes the cultural and historical significance of literary Arabic as the formal language of the nation and seeks to maintain its integrity in public discourse.

The debate surrounding language choice in political communication reflects the broader tension between preserving linguistic traditions and making language more accessible and inclusive. This tension is not unique to Tunisia and can be observed in many societies with diverse linguistic scenes.

During times of crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, effective communication becomes even more crucial. The choice of language can significantly impact the level of engagement and comprehension among the population. Striking a balance between preserving language purity and ensuring communication effectiveness is a complex challenge for political leaders. For example, the Internet user C.Y. postes the following comment : *Désolé les amis, je ne peux vous traduire ce charabia. Ce discours n'est pas adressé aux Tunisiens car cette langue n'est pas leur langue* "Sorry friends, I cannot translate this gibberish for you. This speech is not addressed to Tunisians because this language is not their language". Another Internet user M.B.S. expresses his annoyance regarding the expressions used by the President of the Republic during his speech *كل ما يتكلم يلزم معجم باش نفسروا ونفهموا القرارات مش واضح دخولها حيز التنفيذ مش محدد ما هذا !!!* "Whenever he speaks, we need a dictionary to explain and understand the decisions. It is not clear that it enters into force. It is not specific. What is this!!!". Commenting on the president's language and speed, S.I posts: *بالله نداء و رجاء لسيادة الرئيس قيس سعيّد. بالله تعمل معمولك لربي احكي معانا فيسع فيسع و بالدارجة يرحم ولديك.. مش وقت تفلسيف* "In Allah, appeal to and please Mr. President Kais Saied. Please speak fast and in dialect. It is not time for philosophy". In the same context, and with a justification, internet user Y. T. adds: *الدول لا تسيّر بالنيات الطيبة و لا بالتقريب و لا بلغة سيبويه... و الخطاب في الازمات يخضع لشروط علمية عديدة من حيث استعمال الكلمات و وضوح المطلوب و نبرة الصوت و نوعية الرسائل الموجهة لوعي و لا وعي المتلقي... راهو الخطاب في الازمات و توضيح الإجراءات بلغة بسيطة قريبة من المواطن يصبح اهم من الاجراءات احيانا.* "Countries do

not proceed with good intentions, with approximation, or with the Sibawayh[23] language... In times of crisis, the discourse and clarification of procedures in a simple language accessible to citizens may become more important than the procedures themselves". By invoking the Sibawayh language, the user is implying that the language used by the president should be plain and easy to understand, as opposed to a complex language like Sibawayh. He points out that communication in times of crisis should take place in a simple language close to the citizens, rather than one difficult and elderly.

The example of the Internet user H. W. is more explicit about the language used by Kais Saied: "سيدي الرءيس , في ذكرى عيد الاستقلال العديد من التونسيين لا يزالون تحت الاستعمار الثقافي للشعب: # الفرنكفوني فرجاءا سيدي مخاطبتهم بلغتهم الفرنسية او بالدارجة حتى يستطيعون " تفريكهم " و شكرا شدوا دياركم و ربي يحمينا و يحمي الناس الكل" *Mr. President, On the anniversary of Independence Day, many Tunisians are still under Francophone cultural colonialism. Please, sir, address them in their French language or dialect so they can "mock" and thank you. # For the people: Stay at home and may my Lord protect us and protect people all*. This internet user indirectly supports the president's choice of language and mocks other commenters who are scoffing at Saied's usage of MSA instead of TA.

Many commenters on this and other posts urged the president not to use classical Arabic, especially when the subject of his speech is serious, such as Internet user R. A., who advised the president to use a simpler version of MSA to be understood: *معادش تحكي بالعربية الفصحى متع التعابير الشفاهية براس اميمتك احكي عربية فصحى عادية راك رئيس دولة مش أستاذ عربية ولا خاطبنا بلهجتنا راك مرجتنا !!* "Do not speak in literary Fusha[24], please speak normal Fusha. You are the president of the state, not a teacher of Arabic language. You bothered us!". This sentiment was echoed by many other commenters who argued that speaking in a language that most people understood, instead of a more complex version, would be more effective in conveying the message.

These various examples illustrate the significant linguistic identity cleavage experienced by many Tunisians, who are advocating for the official recognition of the Tunisian dialect in the President of the Republic's official speeches. This cleavage in

[23] The Sibawayh language is named after Ab Bishr Amr ibn Uthmn ibn Qanbar Al-Bar (أبو بشر عمرو بن عثمان بن قنبر البصري), also known as Sbawayh (سيبويه), an influential Arabic grammarian. His seminal work, Al-Kitab ("The Book"), was the first written grammar of the language. The internet user refers to the Sibawayh language to say that the president uses a historical language that most 21st-century speakers may no longer understand. Yet, its influence remains in the Arabic language today.

[24] The commenter may be implying that the Arabic used by the president contains vocabulary that is challenging to comprehend, possibly suggesting that it consists of outdated terms or expressions that are not easily understood by the general population.

linguistic identity reflects a broader struggle for acknowledgment and a sense of self among Tunisians. The situation has sparked intense debates among individuals, politicians, and linguists regarding the legitimacy of considering the Tunisian dialect as a distinct language. In contrast to their aspirations for Tunisian identity, the constitutionalized literary Arabic presents a growing disconnect for many Tunisians. The use of literary Arabic in official settings seems to simultaneously deny their authentic selves and hinder progress towards a more democratic society. This sentiment was articulated by Ben Achour (1995), who argued that adopting literary Arabic as the official language is, in essence, an assertion of identity that paradoxically leads to self-negation.

In summary, this ongoing debate sheds light on the significance of linguistic identity for Tunisians, emphasizing how language can be a fundamental component of personal and collective identities. The recognition of a language by the society plays a vital role in its preservation. Despite receiving support from numerous linguists and the Tunisian population, it remains to be seen whether the Tunisian dialect will eventually attain the status of an official language. The outcome of this deliberation will undoubtedly have far-reaching implications for the cultural heritage and linguistic identity of the Tunisian people. I have intentionally taken the decision to focus primarily on the role of the new political environment and digital availability in shaping Tunisian identity, rather than delving deeply into sociolinguistic factors such as education, exact age, and living conditions. These broader societal and technological changes have had a deep impact on identity formation, potentially overshadowing more traditional determinants of identity.

By proposing a model of Tunisianity that applies broadly, I aimed to capture the essence of the evolving Tunisian identity in the post-revolutionary context, where the boundaries of identity may be less rigidly defined by demographic or socioeconomic factors. The underlying assumption is that the sweeping political and digital transformations have created a new environment in which identity markers are in flux, requiring a more holistic approach to understanding the changing nature of Tunisian selfhood. This strategic focus on the macro-level drivers of identity formation does not diminish the importance of sociolinguistic variables, but rather reflects my belief that the contemporary Tunisian experience demands a fresh perspective on the construction of national and personal identity.

5.2.3 Social media users' interactions

As individuals communicate with each other, they express and construct their identity through language. Identity is often understood as who a person is or the characteristics of an individual or community that make them distinct from others. It is the way one defines his or her relationship with the globe, according to Norton (2013), and how that relationship is built through space and time. Social media platforms that provide a connection with people from all over the globe have provided more opportunities for multilingual encounters and translingual practices, which has revitalized languages and led to the assertion of new identities (Darvin, 2016).

Social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and others, have created an unprecedented level of connectivity among people from different parts of the world. These platforms enable individuals to engage with others who speak different languages and come from diverse cultural backgrounds. In this global digital space, multilingual encounters, where people communicate in multiple languages, have become commonplace. Moreover, the concept of "translingual practices" refers to the fluid and dynamic use of multiple languages within a single conversation or interaction. On social media, users often switch between languages, mixing and matching them to convey their thoughts, emotions, and identities more effectively. This practice challenges traditional linguistic boundaries and norms, fostering linguistic creativity and flexibility.

As people engage in communication, language becomes a key means through which they express and shape their identity. Identity encompasses the unique attributes and qualities that distinguish individuals or communities from others. As Norton (2013) explains, it also involves how individuals perceive their connection with the world and how this connection evolves over time and across different contexts. The advent of social media platforms has brought about a significant transformation in the way people interact globally. These platforms offer opportunities for multilingual exchanges and translingual practices, allowing individuals to use and blend multiple languages in their communication. This phenomenon has had a revitalizing effect on various languages and has, in turn, given rise to the assertion of new identities (Darvin, 2016). Through online interactions, people can express themselves using the languages they are most comfortable with, leading to a celebration of linguistic diversity. This virtual interconnectedness has enabled individuals to forge connections with others from diverse

linguistic and cultural backgrounds, further enriching their sense of identity and broadening their understanding of the world.

Browsing on Facebook, I checked the different forms of languages Tunisians use on this online platform. Facebook offers its users different writing spaces where they can express themselves, share their thoughts, and even instantly share moments they live. Four writing spaces are thus available to scriptwriters: Instant Discussions, Comments, Statutes, and Facebook stories. As comments and sometimes Facebook stories are easier to find publicly shared, I have decided to observe these two writing spaces and comment on the linguistic practices found there. The following excerpts are taken from Statutes published between 2019 and 2020. As we will see, several types of spellings are used by Tunisian Facebook users to express themselves in different languages: notably MSA, French and Tunisian. According to my observations, it seems possible to characterize the writing of the selected Statutes according to two aspects: one relating to the language used, and the other to the graph used.

(1) Examples of the use of the Latin script[25]

a. expression in Tunisian	
nhebik barcha. (B.K)	'I love you so much'
b. expression in Tunisian and French	
merci beaucoup, win lkitha, hhhhhh, super, super sympa (M.B.)	'Many thanks, where did you find it, great, super lovely'
c. expression in French	
J'adore à Monastir aussi on avait les mêmes troupes. (L.N.)	'I love it, we had the same troops in Monastir too.'
d. expression in Standard Arabic	
Orsileha ila rouh Abi […] 27 octobre thikra wafatihi. *(A. B)*	'I dedicate it to my father's soul […] 27 October anniversary of his death'

(2) Examples of the use of numbers with Latin spelling

a. expression in Tunisian and French	
Je l'adore kol chay ya3rfou […]. (S.M.)	'I love him, he knows everything […]'
b. expression in Tunisian	
hedhy lm3alma. (S.J.)	'This is the boss'

(3) Examples of the use of the Arabic writing

a. expression in Tunisian	
ايه توا قديم حق حق *(R.J)*	'Yes! now this is the real outdated'
b. expression in French	
ج دور *(T.D.)*	'j'adore' 'I like'

[25] (Smari & Hortobágyi, 2020: pp. 224–225)

بروبليم (I.N.)	‘problème’ ‘problem’
c. expression in Standard Arabic and French	
بنجووووور. على أحلى قدم *(B.M.)*	‘Bonjour (good morning) to the best outdated’
d. expression in Tunisian and French	
هههههه حتى هو مات سبيسيال هذا *(F.H.)*	‘Hhhhhh This is a special mathematics’
e. expression in Standard Arabic	
من احلى الذكريات *(F.C.)*	‘One of the best memories’
f. expression in Tunisian and Standard Arabic	
الزمن الجميل و الخير و البركة و المخاخ النظيفة و التربية *(F.J.)*	‘The beautiful and benevolent time, the blessings, the clean minds, and the education’

(4) Examples of the use of two spellings in Arabic and Latin for expressions in Tunisian and French

a. expression in Tunisian and French	
عبد الحليم حافظ *inoubliable* ❤ *(N.S.)*	‘Abd Alhalim Hafidh is unforgettable’
b. expression in French and Tunisian	
قداش كنت نحبها ***cette publicité (H.D.)***	‘How much I used to love this advertisement’

These examples are not exhaustive. Other languages also circulate, such as Egyptian Arabic[26], English, Spanish, or Italian, and many other possibilities have also been noted. It is also pertinent to point out several features that characterize these writings. These features include the use of colloquial language, the incorporation of slang and dialects, and the presence of code-switching between languages. Additionally, these writings often reflect the cultural and social contexts in which they are produced. Facebook users show high ability in mixing languages and scripts (see examples in Figure 11): French, standard Arabic, Tunisian, two by two, sometimes all three. This ability to mix languages and scripts on Facebook can reflect the multilingual and multicultural nature of the Tunisian society. It also highlights the importance of social media in shaping and reflecting cultural and linguistic diversity.

[26] Egyptian Arabic, also known as Masri or Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, is a dialect of the Arabic language spoken by the majority of the population in Egypt. Due to the country's cultural and historical significance, it is considered one of the most widely understood and spoken dialects in the Arabic-speaking world. [Holes, C. (2004). Modern Arabic: Structures, functions, and varieties. Georgetown University Press.]

Figure 11. Screenshots taken from Facebook, retrieved on 5th of September 2020 (Smari & Hortobágyi, 2020: 226)

According to Gervasio and Karuri (2019), when people occupy online platforms, they reconstruct language in ways that match the constraints and affordances of different digital spaces. Social media users take photos and upload them or share status updates in real-time and space, rendering the process a naturalized practice. This being the case, observing Facebook Stories, similar features were found. Take the example of G.R., who posted seven stories in two hours (see Figure 12). Of the seven stories, three were in English, one in Tunisian Arabic, one in MSA, one in Egyptian Arabic, and one in French and Tunisian Arabic. These mixtures of more languages are usually found in Tunisians' Facebook or Instagram Stories. The variation in language usage and graphics is also strongly present. When browsing through many stories, I noted that, apart from other languages, variants of the Arabic language are also present. People tend to self-express in social media while spontaneously displaying their linguistic identities in real time and space.

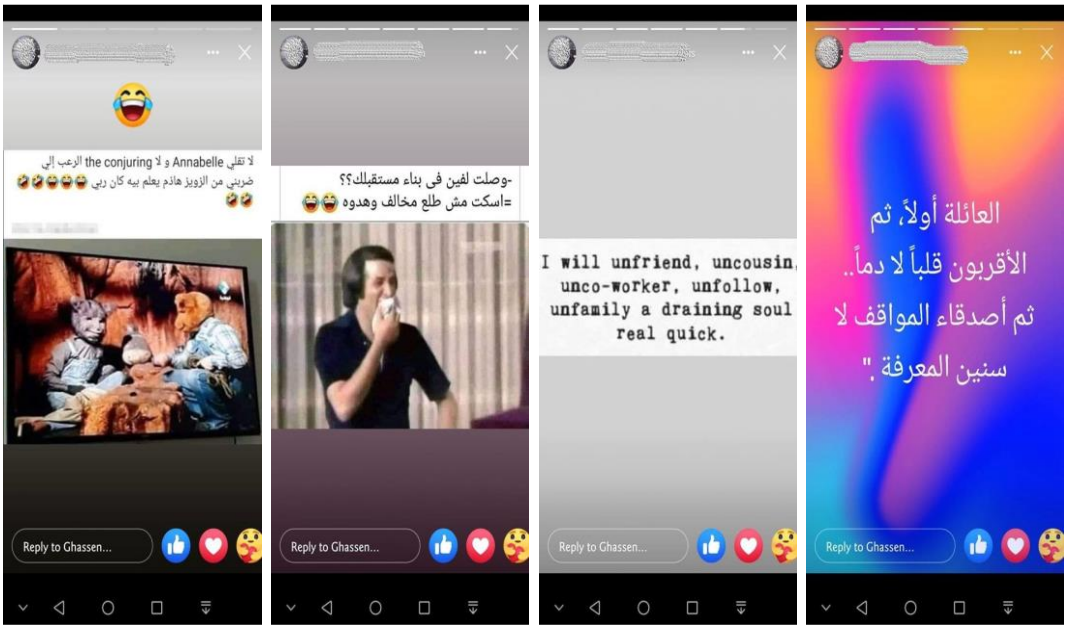

Figure 12. Screenshots of Facebook stories taken from G.R.'s profile (Smari & Hortobágyi, 2020:227).

In addition, these examples show the possibility of knowingly eliminating the systematization of using the Latin alphabet for writing French, which can perfectly serve as a writing medium for standard Arabic or Tunisian.

Today, standard Arabic and French are the two main written languages in the country. Standard Arabic is officially recognized according to the first and later the second Tunisian Constitution (1959 and 2014). The latter insists even more firmly than the former on the importance of the status of the Standard Arabic language by linking it to identity issues. Indeed, Article 1, reaffirming that Standard Arabic is the language of the country, is reinforced by Article 39, which expresses the commitment of the state commitment to 'rooting Standard Arabic' with 'Arab-Muslim identity'. This ideologization of the standard Arabic language is not new (the implementation of the Arabization policy in the late 1970s).

By proclaiming that its language is Arabic, the State denies the reality of linguistic customs and facts. By giving French an important place in the landscape of the country, it accentuates its contradiction by trying to deny a language that is part of the linguistic scene of the area and the lives of Tunisians. In an ethnographic study of linguistic landscape in Tunisia, Ben Said (2011, Abstract) stated that "Although not officially recognized in Tunisian legislation, French in Tunisia was shown to have a substantial impact on the linguistic landscape, especially on private signs".

This linguistic contradiction can create tension and division among Tunisians, as language is often tied to cultural identity and heritage. It is important for the State to recognize and embrace the linguistic diversity of its people to promote unity and inclusivity. Whether he speaks it or not, French is part of the linguistic horizon of the Tunisian. The foreign visitor will therefore notice that French as a foreign language officially occupies the same status as Arabic. All the inscriptions of state institutions - ministries, public buildings, signs, road signs, train stations, and airports - are given to the public in both languages. For those who do not practice classical Arabic or French, this can be felt as a form of symbolic violence and exclusion by languages.

5.3 Quantitative Analysis

In this section, I explored the profiles that have emerged from the combination of the six factors (F1, F2, F3, F4, F5, and F6) in the Tunisian language identity model. By synthesizing these factors, I intended to gain a comprehensive understanding of the diverse language attitudes and preferences among the surveyed population. The combination of these factors has given rise to distinct profiles that offer valuable insights into how they interact and influence individuals' language identities. In Appendix 8, a comprehensive list of profiles and their extraction process based on factors' coding is available. Subsequently, I closely examine the most frequent profiles that have surfaced from the analysis and identify specific characteristics and patterns associated with each profile.

5.3.1 Exploring Tunisians´ linguistic profiles

As previously described in the data analysis, a profile is the outcome of combining scores on each item of the language identity model, namely F1, F2, F3, F5, and F6. Represented in the diagram below (Figure 13), a profile encompasses a score for each item, illustrating the various aspects that contribute to an individual's language identity. By closely analyzing these profiles, we aim to gain a deeper understanding of the complex relationships between the factors and how they shape individuals' linguistic perceptions.

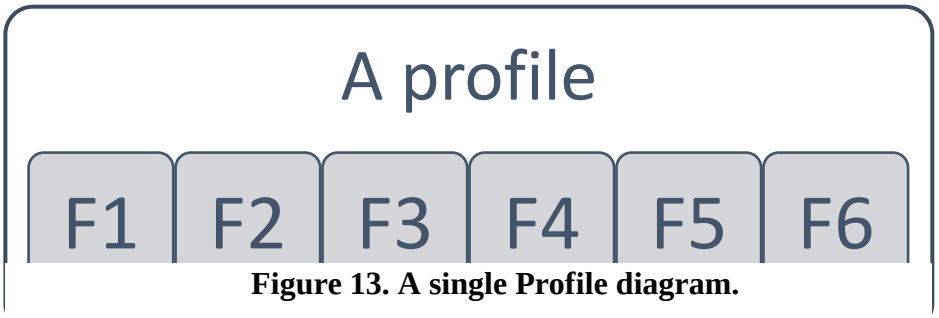

Figure 13. A single Profile diagram.

Based on the methodological framework, the analysis of the data resulted in 94 distinct profiles. Table 12, displayed below, presents the most frequent profiles and their representation in percentage in relation to the surveyed population. The profiles were identified based on their different answers to the six factors. The data from Table 12 can be used to gain insights into the characteristics of the surveyed population and their attitudes toward the six factors.

Table 12. Table of the most frequent profiles

Profile	Percentage
(2,2,2,1,2,2)	10.2%
(2,2,2,2,2,2)	5.4%
(2,2,0,0,2,0)	4.0%
(2,2,0,1,2,2)	4.0%
(2,2,1,1,2,2)	3.4%
(1,2,2,1,2,2)	2.8%
(2,2,0,1,2,1)	2.8%
(1,2,1,0,2,2)	2.8%
(2,1,1,1,2,1)	2.5%
(1,1,1,0,2,1)	2.3%
(2,2,1,0,2,2)	2.3%
(2,2,1,2,2,2)	1.7%
(1,2,0,1,2,2)	1.7%
(2,2,0,0,2,2)	1.7%
(2,1,0,1,2,2)	1.7%

An individual who falls within the (2,2,2,2,2,2) profile designation is characterized by a profound attachment to their native language in contrast to foreign languages (French and English). This individual exhibits a favorable disposition towards the phonological patterns of the Arabic language, displaying a preference for Arabic pronunciation over that of English and French. Moreover, a distinct source of pride is observed in their linguistic identity, with a linkage established between their elevated social standing and proficiency in the Arabic language.

This individual's routine communication predominantly employs Arabic, surpassing the frequency of French and English usage. Their adeptness in the historical and literary dimensions of their native language further stresses their profile. Fondness for the Arabic alphabet and its script is also discernible. Within this context, a robust cultural identity is evident, underpinned by a commitment to safeguarding the heritage and customs of the language.

In social exchanges, a notable inclination is demonstrated towards utilizing their mother tongue, Arabic, over English or French, a preference that aligns with their heightened comfort in self-expression. The prevalence of this profile is relatively modest, accounting for a mere 5.4% of the surveyed populace.

An individual falling within the (2,2,2,1,2,2) profile classification demonstrates a notable preference for their native language in comparison to foreign languages like French and English. This profile constitutes the most prevalent category, accounting for 10% of the surveyed cohort. Notably, akin to the previously described profile, the sole disparity lies within the fourth factor (F4), where this individual engages with their mother tongue as well as other foreign languages on a daily basis.

This variance indicates a proclivity toward bilingual or multilingual capabilities, signifying a commendable proficiency level in both their native language and the foreign languages they engage with. Such linguistic versatility may suggest exposure to diverse cultural contexts. Despite this broader linguistic repertoire, this profile still exhibits a noteworthy degree of attachment to their mother tongue. While possessing a heightened appreciation for language diversity and potentially greater intercultural awareness, this individual retains a robust affinity for their native language, affirming its enduring significance in their identity. Exhibiting an elevated appreciation for linguistic variety and an enhanced understanding of intercultural dynamics, this individual upholds a steadfast affection for their native language, thereby reinforcing its enduring relevance within their identity.

Among the surveyed profiles, the (2,2,0,0,2,0) and (2,2,0,1,2,2) categories emerge as the third most frequently encountered, collectively representing 4% of the respondent population. For those meeting the criteria of the (2,2,0,0,2,0) profile, a parallel valuation is placed upon their mother tongue in conjunction with other languages, such as French and English. This individual demonstrates an emotional attachment to their native language, possesses a favorable perception of Arabic pronunciation patterns, and manifests a curiosity about the historical and literary aspects of their mother tongue. However, a noteworthy paradox emerges, as they also associate their elevated societal standing with foreign languages, exhibit a higher level of exposure to them, favor their usage over their mother tongue, and hold an adverse view of the Arabic writing system. This internal dissonance between their affinity for their mother tongue and their aspiration to maintain social prestige through foreign language usage engenders a sense of duality.

Consequently, they navigate an ongoing struggle between their cultural identity and the expectations to conform to prevailing societal norms.

In contrast, individuals embodying the (2,2,0,1,2,2) criteria assign commensurate significance to both their native language and other languages such as French and English. They express a positive inclination towards their native language, its writing system, literary heritage, historical context, and phonological characteristics. Their exposure to foreign languages matches their exposure to their mother tongue, yet they attribute their heightened social status to proficiency in foreign languages. Such individuals recognize that multilingual proficiency has furnished them with manifold opportunities for cross-cultural engagement, thereby enhancing their ability to connect with individuals from diverse backgrounds. Despite this, they evince a keen awareness of the imperative to conserve and honor their language and cultural legacy, emblematic of their balanced perspective.

Individuals who satisfy the criteria for the (2,2,1,1,2,2) profile demonstrate an equitable regard for both their mother tongue and other languages, namely French and English. Representing 3.4% of the surveyed populace, this profile ranks as the fourth most prevalent. In a manner akin to the previous profile, these individuals are characterized by their intense emphasis on multilingualism, and they establish a parallel between their elevated social standing and competency in both their native language and foreign languages. This profile alludes to a likelihood of multilingual proficiency and underscores an impartial valuation of their native language in conjunction with foreign languages. Beyond linguistic considerations, these individuals also harbor a robust attachment to their national identity. Paradoxically, their prioritization of multilingualism and multiculturalism does not undermine their sentiment for their national identity but rather enriches their perspective.

Some of the remaining profiles, which exemplify a robust dedication to their national linguistic identity, encompass (2,2,1,2,2,2), (2,2,0,2,2,2), (1,2,2,2,2,1), (2,2,2,1,2,1), and (2,2,2,1,1,2). In the subsequent analysis, I will delve into the intricacies of four among these aforementioned profiles. Firstly, an individual fitting the description of (2,2,1,2,2,2) exhibits a distinctive leaning toward their mother tongue, surpassing the significance attributed to other languages such as French and English. This profile closely aligns with the first-described profile, with a subtle distinction residing in the third factor (F3). Herein, a discernible discrepancy emerges: while maintaining a sense of pride in their

proficiency in their native language, this individual attributes their elevated societal status to their ability to converse in foreign languages.

This inclination might be rooted in their upbringing within a community where their mother tongue held preeminence, thus forging a potent attachment. Nevertheless, they also acknowledge that mastery of multiple languages is instrumental in affording them an esteemed social standing. This conveys the possibility of the individual hailing from a cultural milieu where their native language assumes paramount significance, emblematic of their identity. Simultaneously, they discern the pragmatic merits of multilingualism in the contemporary globalized milieu. This profile thus captures the dynamic interplay between cultural heritage and the practical advantages of linguistic versatility, delineating a nuanced response to the evolving demands of our interconnected world.

Secondly, an individual corresponding to the (2,2,0,2,2,2) description ascribes greater significance to their mother tongue in comparison to other languages like French and English. This profile aligns with the previous one, with the third factor (F3) revealing a distinction: the absence of a deep sense of pride in their native language. Instead, they perceive proficiency in foreign languages as the source of their elevated social status. This inclination might stem from their upbringing within a multilingual milieu, wherein fluency in English or French is regarded as emblematic of education and achievement. The individual could grapple with internal conflict regarding their cultural identity and the role of their mother tongue. In adopting the belief that fluency in foreign languages holds more value than mastery of their mother tongue, they may be influenced by societal expectations, prioritizing languages perceived as more prestigious.

Thirdly, an individual fitting the (1,2,2,2,2,1) description assigns lesser importance to their mother tongue relative to other languages, such as French and English. This profile denotes a reduced attachment to their native language, underscored by the first factor (F1), which signals a connection to both their mother tongue and foreign languages, notably French and English. The sixth factor (F6) implies a positive disposition toward the alphabet of their mother tongue while concurrently harboring a preference for its representation in a distinct writing system. This individual's outlook emanates from a cosmopolitan worldview, reflecting comfort in traversing diverse linguistic and cultural realms. Such an orientation might arise from exposure to various languages and writing systems, thereby shaping their linguistic identity. This individual is likely characterized by open-mindedness and adaptability in the face of diverse cultural encounters.

Lastly, an individual who corresponds to the (2,2,2,1,2,1) description places lesser importance on their mother tongue compared to other languages like French and English. This profile aligns with reduced attachment to their native language, as indicated by the fourth factor (F4), which underlines their daily use of both their mother tongue and other foreign languages. The sixth factor (F6) highlights a favorable sentiment toward the alphabet of their mother while favoring its presentation in an alternative writing system. This individual's disposition might be influenced by a multicultural background or early exposure to multiple languages, fostering a balanced perspective on language usage. Likely immersed in a multilingual environment, their language attitudes and preferences are shaped by their surroundings. Proficiency in multiple languages underscores adaptability and high language skills, underscoring the pragmatic and utilitarian value they place on linguistic versatility.

Last but not least, the profiles demonstrate diverse levels of attachment to their linguistic identity associated with their mother tongue, Arabic. To gain a deeper understanding of this phenomenon, I intend to employ partial order theory to rank the profiles based on their degree of attachment to the Arabic language. Furthermore, I will explore a specific analysis approach to delve into this matter more comprehensively, as explained in the following section.

In conclusion, it is evident that the profiles manifest a spectrum of affiliations with their linguistic identity, particularly concerning their mother tongue, Arabic. To achieve a more nuanced perspective on this phenomenon, I propose the application of partial order theory to establish a ranking of these profiles based on the extent of their attachment to the Arabic language. By employing this theoretical framework, we can delineate the hierarchical relationships between these profiles in terms of their degree of linguistic affinity.

However, to offer a more comprehensive understanding, an additional analysis approach will be employed. This approach will involve a detailed exploration of the distinctive factors that contribute to the varying levels of attachment within each profile. By scrutinizing these factors, we can unravel the intricacies underlying their linguistic preferences, cultural perspectives, and social attitudes. This multifaceted analysis will illuminate the interplay between individual experiences, societal norms, and global influences, thereby enriching our comprehension of the complexities that shape linguistic identity within this diverse spectrum of profiles.

5.3.2 Investigating Profiles Emergent from the Integration of Factors: Tunisia language identity model

In the framework of partial order theory, the profiles are ordered compared to two edges, the most attached and the least attached to Tunisianity. This order allows for a more nuanced understanding of the degree to which a profile reflects Tunisian language identity, as well as the potential for variation within that framework. For example, a profile that qualifies as (2,2,2,1,2,1) has a stronger attachment to one who qualifies as (2,2,1,0,2,2). It is worth mentioning that according to the partial order theory, a profile that qualifies as (2,2,2,1,2,1) does not proceed with a profile that qualifies as (1,2,2,1,2,2). At the other edge, a profile that qualifies as (0,0,0,0,0,0) is the least attached to Tunisianity. In fact, this profile does not exist in our data. applying the definition in 4.8.1.2, the profile qualifying as (0,1,0,0,0,0) is the least attached. Thus, the edges of our Tunisian language identity model will be the most attached qualifying as (2,2,2,2,2,2) and the least attached qualifying as (0,1,0,0,0,0). These profiles represent the extreme ends of the spectrum, with some Tunisians falling somewhere in between. Understanding this range of attachments can help us better understand how Tunisians view and identify with their language identity.

The Hasse diagram representation, displayed on the following page, provides valuable insights into the attachment to Tunisianity among the individuals studied. We can discern three distinct groups, each with unique characteristics:

1. Groupe A(ttached): This is the first group, positioned at the top of the Hasse diagram. It comprises individuals who exhibit a clear and strong attachment to Tunisianity. These individuals have a well-defined and pronounced connection to the Tunisian language identity.
2. Groupe F(uzzy): This is the second group, positioned in the middle of the Hasse diagram. It consists of individuals whose profiles display fuzziness in terms of their attachment levels to Tunisianity. In the Hasse diagram, the profiles in this group form an antichain, which means that they are non-comparable or cannot be strictly ranked against each other. This suggests that their preferences regarding Tunisian identity are ambiguous or

encompass mixed feelings. It is challenging to categorize or qualify their degree of attachment in a straightforward manner.

3. Groupe D(etached): This is the third group, positioned at the bottom of the Hasse diagram. It includes individuals who demonstrate little to no attachment or very weak attachment to Tunisianity, indicating minimal or no association with Tunisian language identity.

By visually representing the attachment degrees in the Hasse diagram, we can observe hierarchies among the individuals' linguistic identities. Groupe A stands out as the most strongly attached, Groupe F exhibits a more nuanced and uncertain attachment, while Groupe D represents individuals with minimal or negligible attachment to Tunisian language identity.

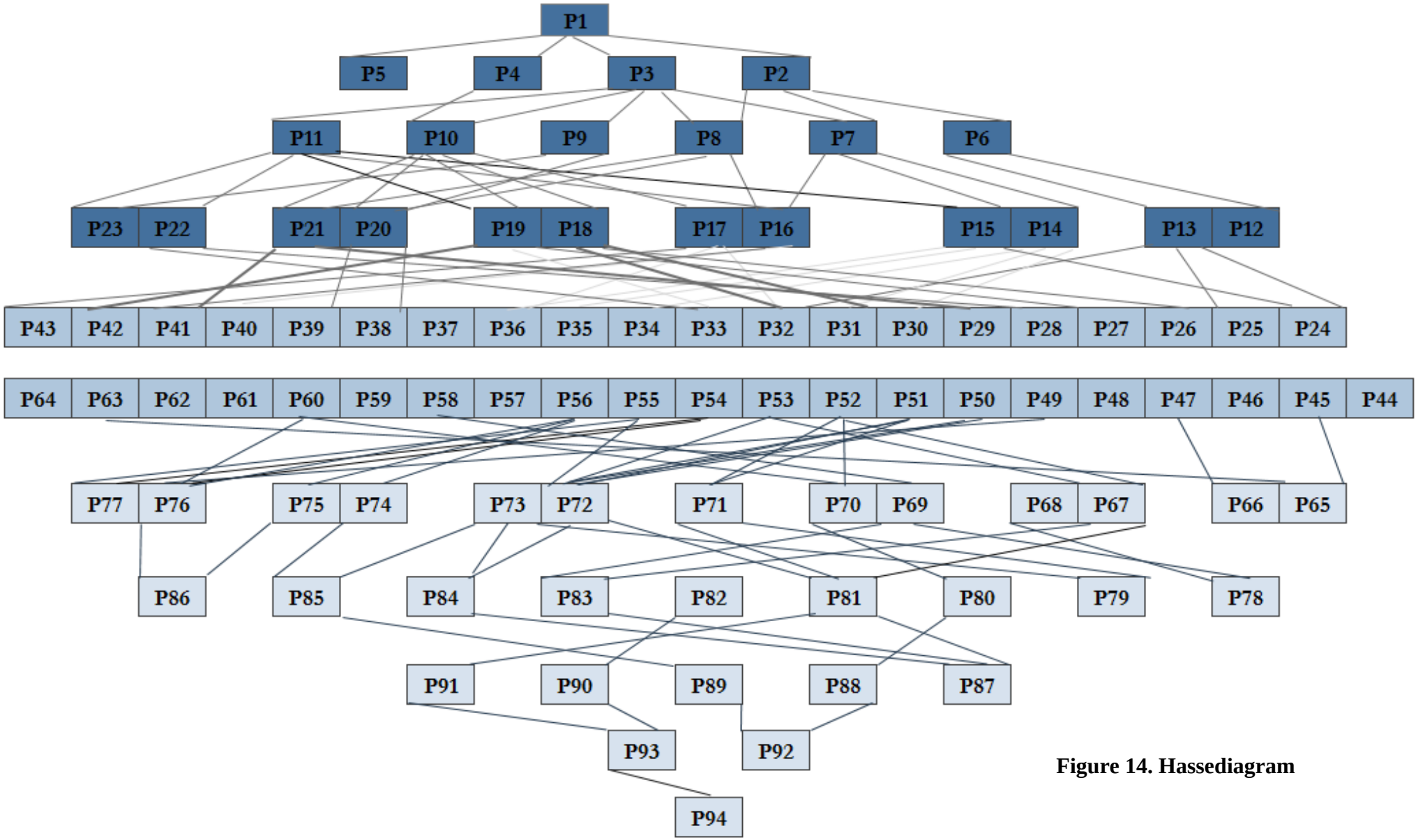

Figure 14. Hassediagram

In Figure 15, the data reveals that Group A constitutes 41% of the entire surveyed population, Group F comprises 35%, and Group D represents 24%. The data presents a varied picture of the linguistic identity of Tunisians within the present population. A significant proportion of individuals show a strong attachment, indicating the importance of Tunisian language identity to them. Meanwhile, a substantial number exhibit ambiguous or mixed feelings, suggesting a complex relationship with their linguistic identity. In contrast, a notable segment expresses minimal or negligible attachment, indicating a lesser emphasis on Tunisian language identity.

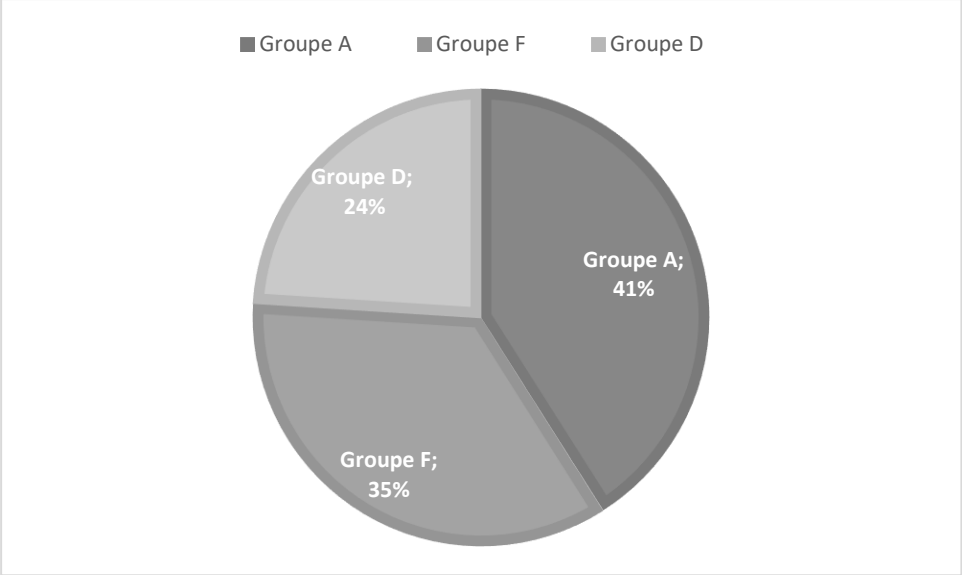

Figure 15. The distribution of groups among the surveyed population in percentage

These findings highlight the diversity of perspectives and attitudes towards Tunisian language identity among the population. It is essential to delve deeper into the factors influencing these different levels of attachment to gain a comprehensive understanding of the complexities surrounding language identity in Tunisia. By identifying these factors, policymakers and researchers can address potential challenges and capitalize on opportunities to promote and preserve Tunisian language identity.

The discussion of these findings raises questions about the nature of language identity and its relationship with societal belonging. Sen's (2007) arguments, as opposed to Huntington's (1993) Clash of Civilizations hypothesis, emphasize the existence of multiple identities within individuals. Sen (2007) argues that people belong to various identities based on factors such as history, language, culture, and religion, which intersect and influence one another. This perspective suggests that individuals can have diverse

and overlapping affiliations, challenging the notion of exclusive and homogeneous identities proposed by Huntington.

In the context of language, Sen's perspective suggests that speaking a particular language does not necessarily indicate a singular and fixed group identity. Instead, it can reflect multiple aspects of an individual's identity and cultural affiliations. The findings from the data align with Sen's viewpoint, as they demonstrate varying degrees of attachment to Tunisian language identity among the population, which cannot be easily categorized into rigid and monolithic groups.

Overall, understanding the complexities of language identity in Tunisia is vital for fostering a harmonious and inclusive society. Embracing diverse perspectives and acknowledging the multiple identities within individuals can contribute to a more inclusive and nuanced approach to language policies and cultural preservation efforts.

Exploring the distribution of the three different groups (Group A, Group F, and Group D) based on their demographic information can provide valuable insights into whether there are any notable differences among them. In the present study, the demographic variables in question are age, gender, language proficiency, and geographic location. Given that females constitute 60% of the surveyed population, it is not unexpected that they are the notable gender in each group. However, as illustrated in table 13, the intriguing finding emerges within the detached group, Group D, where a significant majority of 71% of the profiles expressing less or no attachment to Tunisianity are females.

Table 13. Gender distribution within each group of Profiles

		Distribution of Profiles		
		Group1/ A	**Group2 / F**	**Group3 / D**
Total Headcount = 345		144	126	84
Percentage %		40.68	35.59	23.73
Sex	**Female %**	55.56	58.73	71.43
	Male %	44.44	41.27	28.57

Previous studies on gender attitudes towards language have consistently shown that females tend to have an advantage over males in language attitudes and abilities. Several research results have demonstrated that females generally exhibit more positive attitudes towards language learning and multiple languages compared to males. These findings have been supported by studies conducted by Burstall (1975), Gardner & Smythe (1975), and Cameron (2007), among others.

The correlation between gender and language attitudes is a well-documented phenomenon, and it is crucial to understand how gender can influence language identity and attachment within a specific cultural context like Tunisia. The notable gender difference within Group D, where a majority of females express less attachment to Tunisianity, adds to the body of knowledge on gender-related language attitudes and supports the existing evidence of females' generally more positive attitudes towards foreign language learning (Karahan, 2007; Bakke, 2004).

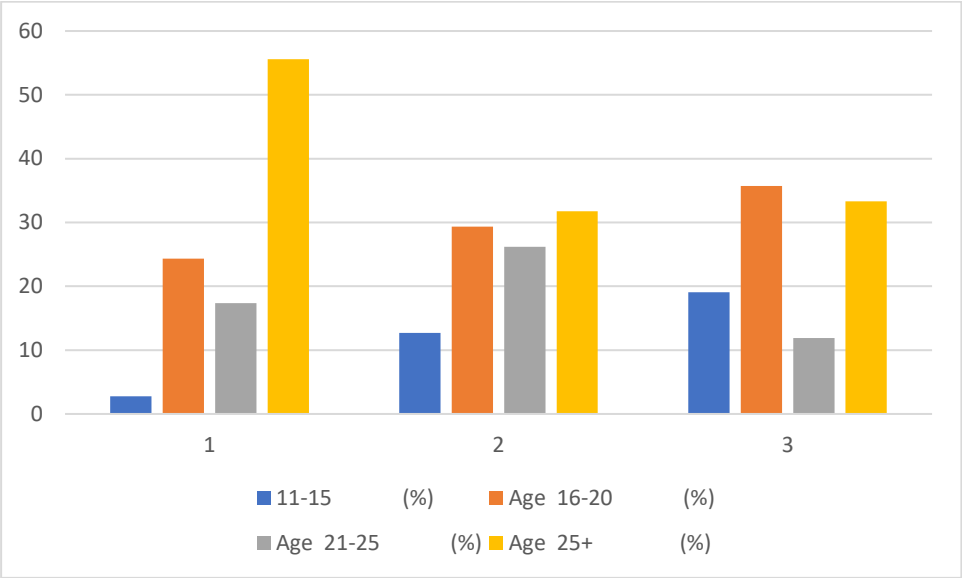

Figure 16. Age Distribution among the three groups

Upon examining the age distribution within each group, significant patterns emerged. In Groupe A and Groupe F, the noticeable age group consists of individuals over 25 years old, accounting for approximately 56% and 32%, respectively. On the contrary, in Group D, the noticeable age group is comprised of individuals aged between 16 and 20, representing the high school population. Interpreting the results, it appears that older individuals, especially those over 25, exhibit a stronger attachment to Tunisianity, as evidenced by their prevalence in Groupe A and Groupe F. This could be attributed to factors such as a deeper connection to cultural heritage and a longer exposure to Tunisian language and traditions. On the other hand, the dominance of high school-aged individuals in Group D, aged between 16 and 20, indicates a potential shift in attachment levels to Tunisianity in this age group. This shift might be influenced by various factors, such as increased exposure to global cultures, social influences, and educational experiences, which could impact their language identity.

It is noteworthy that the individuals, aged between 16 and 20, were aged between 4 and 8 years old when the revolution occurred, meaning they grew up in a post-

revolutionary era. This period was marked by a democratic transition, where educational reforms and identity issues were prominent in the media and social life. As a result, their language experiences and cultural interactions may have been influenced in unique ways. Considering their formative years during this post-revolutionary era, the individuals in Group D likely had different experiences regarding language use and interaction compared to the older age groups. The socio-political changes and educational reforms that took place during their upbringing could have shaped their language identity and attachment to Tunisianity differently.

The limited studies focusing on language attitudes in Tunisia, such as Aouina's (2013) investigation, provide valuable insights into the evolving linguistic reality. Aouina's study compared attitudes towards Arabic, French, and English among Tunisian teachers and students. The results revealed a preference for English among the younger generation, indicating its increasing prominence, especially in academic and professional domains. The preference for English observed in Aouina's study aligns with the globalized context of the post-revolutionary era, where English is perceived as an international language of science and technology. This suggests that the socio-political changes and educational reforms during their upbringing contributed to the younger generation's positive attitudes towards English. Considering these factors, it becomes evident that the age group in Group D might have had different language experiences and interactions compared to the older age groups in Groupe A and Groupe F. Their formative years during the post-revolutionary era may have shaped their language identity and attachment to Tunisianity in unique ways.

Upon investigating language proficiency within the three groups, a notable pattern emerged, particularly in relation to the proficiency levels in TA and MSA, the national language of Tunisia. As illustrated in the tree map of Figure 17, in Group A, 84% of the individuals stated having a native level of proficiency in TA, their mother tongue, which aligns with their strong attachment to Tunisianity. Additionally, approximately 51% of the same group stated having a native level of proficiency in MSA, indicating a significant linguistic competence in the national language. Furthermore, within Group A, 41% of the individuals reported having an advanced level of proficiency in MSA. This high level of proficiency in both TA and MSA justifies the strong attachment of individuals in Group A to their Tunisian language identity. Moreover, approximately half of the individuals in

Group A, or even more, stated having advanced levels of proficiency in both French (66%) and English (51%). This indicates that they are multilingual individuals.

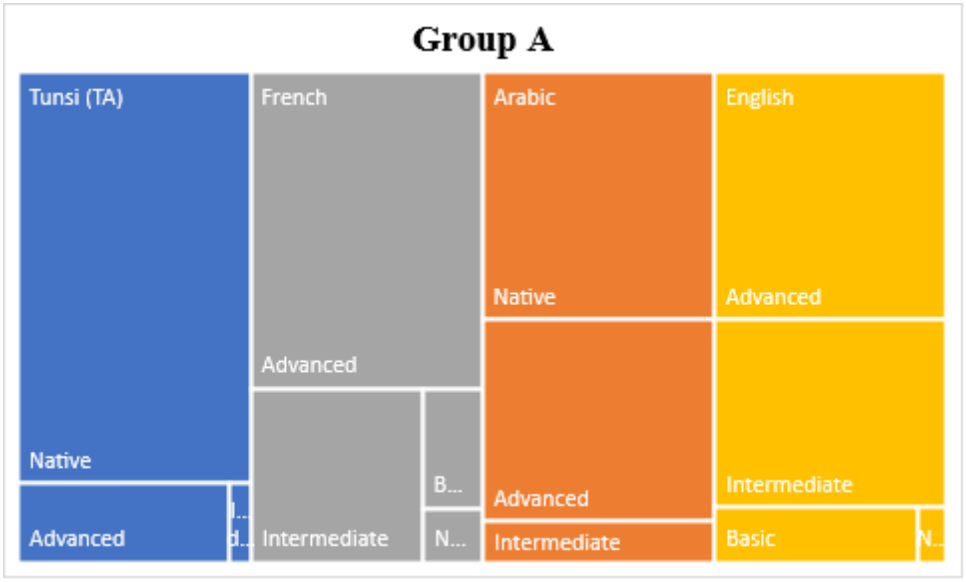

Figure 17. The language proficiency levels of Group A in TA, MSA, French, and English

What is intriguing is that being multilingual within Group A did not go against their attachment to Tunisian language identity; rather, it seemed to foster it. The ability to speak multiple languages, including the national language (MSA) and international languages (French and English), suggests a cosmopolitan outlook and an openness to different linguistic and cultural experiences. The findings in Group A reflect a positive relationship between multilingualism and attachment to Tunisianity. This suggests that being proficient in various languages does not dilute their connection to their Tunisian language identity; instead, it enhances their linguistic repertoire and cultural understanding.

In Figure 18, we can observe a treemap depicting the language proficiency distribution of Group F. The data shows that a substantial majority, constituting 80% of the surveyed population, indicated possessing a native level of proficiency TA, their mother tongue. This high level of proficiency in TA indicates a strong attachment to their Tunisian language identity within this subgroup. However, in terms of MSA, the national language of Tunisia, only 23% of individuals within Group F reported having a native level of proficiency. This suggests that while they are deeply connected to their mother tongue (TA), their proficiency in the national language (MSA) is relatively lower.

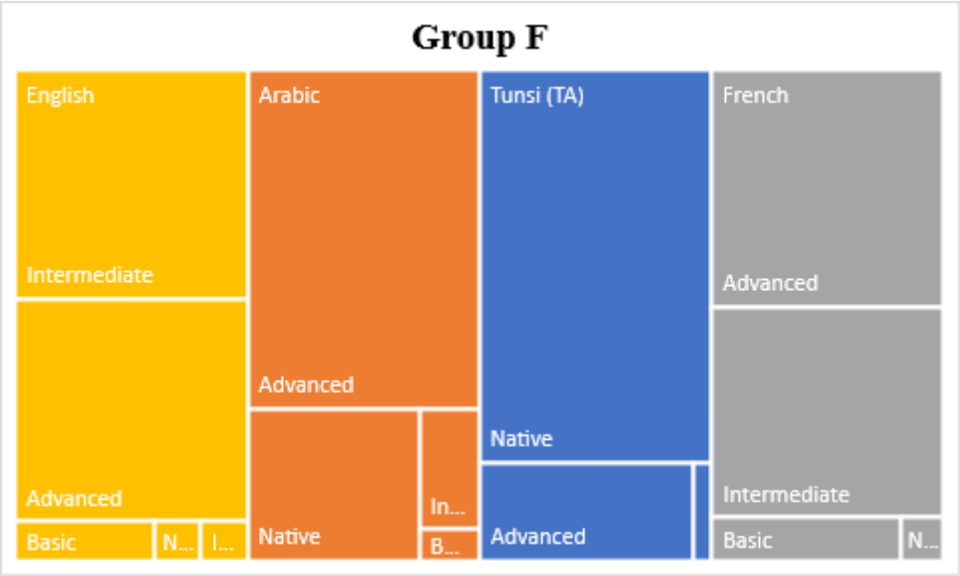

Figure 18. The language proficiency levels of Group F in TA, MSA, French, and English

Interestingly, within Group F, there are two noticeable reported levels of proficiency in English and French. The vast majority of individuals reported either an advanced level (48%) or intermediate level (43%) of proficiency in French. Similarly, in English, the majority reported an advanced level (45%) or intermediate level (47%) of proficiency. This language proficiency pattern within Group F indicates a group of individuals who have strong native language ties to TA, but their proficiency in MSA, the national language, is not as dominant. The preference for advanced or intermediate levels of proficiency in French and English suggests a cosmopolitan outlook, where individuals in Group F are embracing multilingualism and expanding their language repertoire beyond their mother tongue and national language.

The findings within Group D, which consists of the least attached individuals to Tunisianity, reveal intriguing language proficiency levels, as shown in Figure 19. Despite their reported low attachment to Tunisianity, a significant majority of individuals, comprising 67% of the group, reported having a native level of proficiency in Tunisian Arabic (TA), their mother tongue. This suggests a strong connection to their native language and cultural identity, even though they might have lower attachment levels to Tunisianity overall. Moreover, within Group D, 55% of individuals reported having an advanced level of proficiency in MSA, the national language of Tunisia. This indicates a notable linguistic competence in the official language of the country despite their perceived low attachment to Tunisianity.

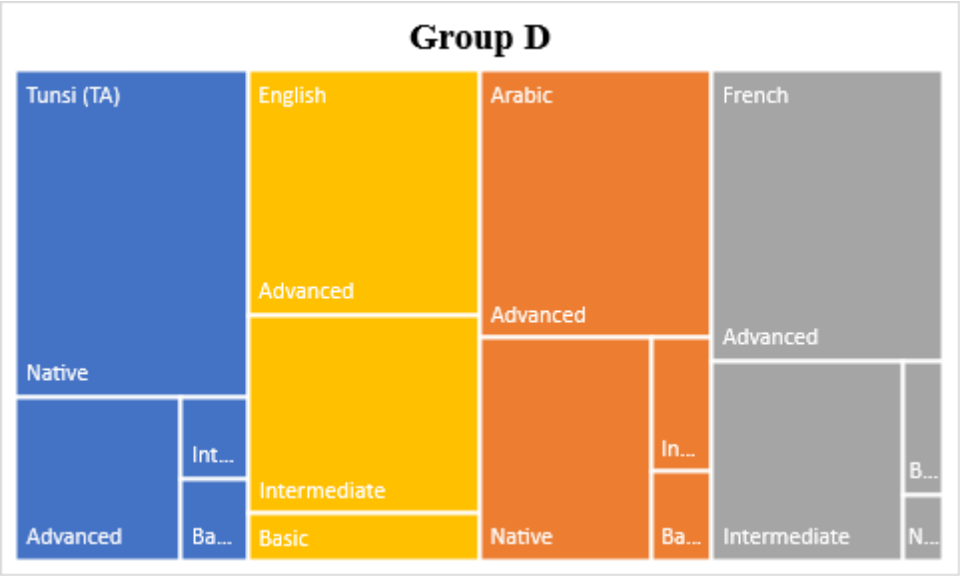

Figure 19. The language proficiency levels of Group D in TA, MSA, French, and English

Additionally, the language proficiency in foreign languages within Group D is also noteworthy. Approximately 60% of the individuals reported having an advanced level of proficiency in French, and 50% reported an advanced level of proficiency in English. This indicates a substantial proficiency in both foreign languages, further highlighting their diverse linguistic abilities, even within a group that might be less attached to Tunisianity. The combination of strong proficiency levels in both TA and MSA, along with advanced proficiency in French and English, showcases the linguistic diversity and skills of individuals within Group D. Despite their perceived lower attachment to Tunisianity, their language proficiency suggests a broader cultural openness and adaptability.

Overall, Group A, characterized by high proficiency levels in both Tunisian Arabic TA and MSA, as well as proficiency in French and English, represents individuals deeply attached to their Tunisian language identity. Their multilingualism complements and reinforces their strong connection to their mother tongue and national language, demonstrating the complexity and richness of language identity dynamics within Group A. Moreover, the findings in Group F reflect a diverse linguistic reality, with individuals displaying varying levels of proficiency in different languages. Their strong attachment to their mother tongue TA and interest in learning other languages like French and English signify an openness to linguistic and cultural diversity, contributing to the complex language identity dynamics within this group. Furthermore, the findings within Group D demonstrate that language proficiency can be distinct from overall attachment to Tunisianity. The individuals in this group display significant linguistic capabilities and a

connection to their native and official languages, as well as proficiency in foreign languages. These results add to the complexity of language identity dynamics within Group D, showing that language proficiency can be a nuanced aspect when studying attachment to language identity in Tunisia.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter engages in the evaluation and discourse of the research findings derived from the empirical data expounded in Chapter 4. The evaluation occurs in the context of the literature review, and the research inquiries articulated in Chapters 2 and 3. The evaluation of the research findings aims to determine the extent to which they align with the existing body of knowledge and contribute to filling the research gaps identified in the literature review. Additionally, it seeks to address the research inquiries by analyzing and interpreting the empirical data collected in Chapter 4. The primary objectives that underscored this research endeavor encompassed the determination of which language an individual of Tunisian origin must be proficient in to qualify as authentically Tunisian. How can the concept of Tunisianity be linguistically delineated? In what ways do sociolinguistic practices contribute to the formation of Tunisianity? To what extent did the revolution engender implications that brought to the fore the notion of Tunisianity? To what degree is the interconnection between language and identity evident in the Tunisian context? As highlighted previously, a plethora of distinct investigations have been conducted across varying foreign language contexts pertaining to the discourse surrounding Tunisian linguistic identity. The Tunisian case, particularly concerning Tunisian Arabic, Arabic, or French language identity, is uniquely intricate due to the multicultural and multilingual backdrop of the nation (Dridi *et al.*, 2020) and its evolving emphasis on the widespread adoption of the English language (Smari & Hortobágyi, 2020). The ensuing sections deliberate upon the outcomes corresponding to the five core research inquiries delineated in this study.

6.2 The Role of the Revolution in Fostering the Language Identity of Tunisians

The Tunisian revolution stands, undoubtedly, as a pivotal catalyst in nurturing the language identity of Tunisians, engendering an environment that enables the articulation and commemoration of linguistic multiplicity. Preceding the revolution, Tunisia grappled with a complex language situation characterized by the prominence of MSA and French. Notably, the government advocated for the primacy of French in domains like education and administration, while TA often endured stigmatization as a language associated with

lower social strata. However, the revolution upended this linguistic hierarchy, offering an avenue for Tunisians to assert their linguistic identities. Notably, the use of TA in revolutionary slogans, alongside languages such as French and English, underscored the significance of embracing linguistic variety and championing the diverse languages and dialects present within the nation. This pivotal shift within the sociopolitical scene emphasized the need to celebrate and promote the rich tapestry of languages present in Tunisia, fostering an environment that acknowledges and respects linguistic pluralism.

The power of the Tunisian revolution was in its ability to bridge multiple cultures, identities, and tongues to produce an understanding that transcended language. By reclaiming a French slogan, the Tunisians could illustrate the strength of their unity and emphasize their rejection of colonial rule. This act highlighted the shared opposition to French colonization and stressed the power of solidarity and the struggle for freedom that Tunisians shared from all backgrounds. By chanting revolutionary slogans in multiple languages, Tunisians demonstrated their resilience and determination to gain freedom from oppression and create a society that reflected their values and aspirations. This act of multilingualism was revolutionary in breaking free from the oppressive language of oppression and emphasizing the power of unity in diversity.

To elaborate further, the use of multilingualism in the Tunisian Revolution had several implications. First, it was a means of inclusivity, as it allowed different linguistic groups within Tunisia to come together and unite under a common cause. Second, it was a way of transcending the narrow confines of nationalistic rhetoric, which often privileged one language over others and instead emphasized the importance of embracing linguistic diversity as a strength.

Furthermore, the revolution also gave rise to a new generation of Tunisians who were proud of their linguistic identities and were committed to promoting linguistic diversity. For instance, the use of Tunisian Arabic in public spaces, including media and entertainment, increased significantly after the revolution, and it was no longer considered a stigmatized language, at least by its speakers. This trend calls for the emergence need of implementing more inclusive language policy that recognizes the importance of Tunisian Arabic as an integral part of the linguistic heritage of the country.

Additionally, multilingualism during the Tunisian Revolution had broader implications beyond Tunisia. It inspired other nations struggling for freedom and democracy, highlighting the importance of using language as a tool for liberation and social change.

In conclusion, the Tunisian revolution played a crucial role in fostering the language identity of Tunisians by challenging linguistic hierarchies and promoting linguistic diversity. It created a space for the celebration of Tunisian Arabic and other minority languages and empowered Tunisians to express themselves freely in their language of choice. The revolution contributed to the emergence of a more inclusive language policy that recognized the importance of linguistic diversity in the cultural and social fabric of the country.

6.3 The Position of Languages in the Tunisian Education System

Tunisian policymakers insist on French as the first foreign language in education and its role in guaranteeing access to universal knowledge and scientific and technical progress. Considering this stance, it becomes discernible that a tacit reiteration of the colonial ideology is at play, one that initially rationalized the integration of the French language as a catalyst for societal progress. However, this approach has been criticized for neglecting the importance of preserving and promoting the Arabic language, Tunisia's official language and symbol of national identity. Some argue that prioritizing French over Arabic perpetuates a legacy of colonialism and undermines efforts to promote linguistic diversity and cultural heritage.

Through these practices, there exists an implicit defense of French as a universal language, simultaneously resisting the encroaching influence of English, which presently serves as the primary conduit for accessing global knowledge. This observation substantiates Calvet (1996: 120)'s astute observation: *"Mais l'effet le plus marquant de l'histoire sur les situations linguistiques est sans doute dans ce fait que les pays du Maghreb en sont à assurer chez eux le statut d'une des langues les plus parlées au monde, alors que la France œuvre au statut de sa langue dans le monde"* (But the most striking effect of history on linguistic situations lies undoubtedly in the fact that the Maghreb countries, on their own territories, are ensuring a leading/important status to one of the most widely spoken languages in the world, while France is working on the status of its language in the world. Translated by the author)

In the current context, Tunisian policy makers implicitly defend French as a universal language and resist English, which is currently the language of access to universal knowledge. Hence, Stevens's remark (1983: 108): "To be educated in Tunisia is to be a French speaker". This highlights the tension between the desire to preserve cultural and

linguistic identity and the need to access global knowledge and opportunities. It also underscores the power dynamics at play in language use and education.

Consequently, the Tunisian policymakers have welcomed attempts to promote English in education since independence. Since 1994, English has been taught in primary schools, becoming a compulsory subject for all students, and taught across all levels. This has led to a rise in awareness of its importance in all domains of life. The history of educational reforms shows that the teaching of foreign languages is one of the major axes of Tunisian educational policy. As French is the first foreign language studied by Tunisian students, its mastery by young people represents both an option and a challenge.

6.4 Language Practices vs. Language Policy: A Paradox

In the realm of education and social awareness, the concept of conscious multicultural education holds great significance. This approach involves the critical deconstruction of experiences and situations to unravel underlying biases and prejudices. By breaking down complex situations into discrete elements, individuals gain insights that expose presumed sources of prejudice (Hortobágyi, 2009). This process fosters greater empathy and inclusivity, encouraging individuals to challenge stereotypes and embrace cultural diversity.

Tunisia, much like its neighboring northern African countries, such as Algeria and Morocco, stands as a compelling example of multiculturalism due to its historical ties with the French language. In this nation, the French language has not remained a mere foreign language; it occupies a position of privilege. This distinction is elaborated upon by Aitsiselmi and Marley (2008), who highlight that the status of French extends beyond that of a foreign language, as it enjoys a prominent role in the linguistic milieu. Consequently, this linguistic influence has led to a dynamic interplay between languages, notably influencing even the development of English, which traditionally existed on the periphery of the linguistic scene of Tunisia (Bahloul, 2001).

However, the present investigation showed that the linguistic scene in Tunisia reveals a fascinating complexity. While both Arabic and French are emphasized by state laws as official languages, neither serves as the mother tongue for most Tunisians. Instead, Tunisian Arabic stands as the primary language used in daily communication by the population. The nuanced bilingualism observed involves French being intertwined with Arabic in various contexts. This blending is so seamless that, from the speaker's perspective, the mixture of languages is perceived as a single language. This coexistence

is notably apparent in the quotidian environment of Tunisians, particularly in written manifestations where French often shares the limelight with Arabic, if not surpassing it in signage prominence (Ben Said, 2019).

These linguistic dynamics challenge the conventional expectations of language use and policy. Educational reforms in Tunisia, for instance, provide an insight into the linguistic policies and practices of the country. These practices frequently diverge from the official policies, showcasing a nuanced multilingual reality. Social media platforms serve as a rich ground for examining this complicated linguistic milieu. On these platforms, individuals adopt linguistic practices that reflect existing identities while simultaneously contributing to the emergence of new ones. Here, languages become vehicles for projecting one's identity, revealing a complex web of cultural influences and affiliations.

The paper by Helal (2023) explores the tensions between official language policies and sociolinguistic practices in Tunisia, highlighting the emergence of an English-leaning trend in public signage amidst a multilingual landscape. In comparison, the study by Rahal (2023) aims to contribute to the limited literature on language policy in Tunisia, providing insights into the current state of language policy implementation in higher education. These findings can be related to May (2006) work on language policy and minority rights, as it studies the complexities of language ideologies, policy implementation, and sociolinguistic practices within specific contexts. By examining the dynamics between dominant languages, language policies, and linguistic landscapes, a comprehensive understanding of language rights and practices in Tunisia can be achieved, aligning with the broader discourse on language policy and minority rights.

Intriguingly, this exploration of linguistic practices, as presented in Chapter 5, also uncovers a paradox between the official language policy promoting MSA as the exclusive language of the state and the diverse linguistic practices observed. The lived experiences shared on social media platforms stand in stark contrast to the official discourse advocating linguistic monolingualism. This duality challenges the idea of a singular national identity and highlights the nuanced negotiation between policy and the authentic linguistic experiences of the population.

In conclusion, the concept of conscious multicultural education resonates deeply in the discussion of the linguistic scene of Tunisia. The intricate relationship between Arabic

and French, the blending of languages in everyday communication, and the dynamic linguistic practices observed on social media all point to the complex interplay between official policies and the diverse identities and affiliations of Tunisians. This multidimensional examination underscores the need to move beyond the monolithic language policies and embrace the rich linguistic tapestry that contributes to the multicultural essence of Tunisia.

6.5 Linguistic Ambivalence: Unpacking Language Identity in Tunisia

The dual perspective, rooted in the complex interplay of Arabic, French, and English languages within the cultural scene, has offered a valuable lens through which we can gain far-reaching insights. In this challenging interplay, Tunisian individuals adeptly traverse the intricacies of their roles as both ardent proponents and objective evaluators of their linguistic identities in several languages. This duality reflects a nuanced and ambivalent stance concerning their language use and identity formation.

As passionate advocates, Tunisian individuals fervently embrace and promote their cultural heritage in Arabic, displaying an unwavering dedication to preserving linguistic traditions and maintaining the vitality of their unique identity. The French language enjoys a very privileged status, and English is seen as the language of globalization. This fervor is often rooted in a profound sense of attachment to these languages as conduits of historical narrative, shared experiences, and collective memory. By enthusiastically celebrating and safeguarding their linguistic heritage in all three languages, Tunisians contribute to the richness and diversity of the Tunisian cultural tapestry.

However, in the same breath, Tunisian individuals demonstrate their capacity to be impartial assessors. With a discerning eye, they engage in introspective contemplation and objective analysis of the complex relationship between language use and identity. For instance, the results showed that Group D had the lowest attachment to the pronunciation patterns of Arabic, and Group A on the social status of French and English. This analytical dimension showcases a level of introspection that transcends mere emotional attachment. It is through this lens that they assess the evolving socio-cultural dynamics, the impact of globalization, and the role of these languages in shaping their evolving identities.

This juxtaposition of passionate advocacy and impartial evaluation reflects a sophisticated ambivalence that captures the complex socio-cultural milieu in Tunisia, manifested through the ambivalent language identity. It signifies an understanding that

the Tunisians' linguistic heritage in all three languages is both a source of pride and an evolving entity influenced by contemporary dynamics. For example, even though group A strongly identifies with Arabic as a symbol of their identity, individuals within this group have mixed feelings about using and being exposed to Arabic in society when compared to foreign languages such as French and English. Despite their strong attachment to Arabic as an identity marker, they still regularly use French and English in their daily lives. This ambivalence does not show confusion but rather reflects a thoughtful acknowledgment of the complexities involved in the relationship between language and identity. By using and being exposed to Arabic, individuals within this group feel a sense of cultural pride and connection to their roots. However, they also recognize the practicality and global importance of using foreign languages such as French and English. This ambivalence showcases their ability to navigate multiple linguistic and cultural spheres, demonstrating a nuanced understanding of the complexities of a language and its role in shaping one's identity.

In essence, this dual perspective underscores the richness and depth of the Tunisian identity across Arabic, French, and English, encapsulating the ability to champion tradition while acknowledging the forces of change. It is through this delicate equilibrium that Tunisian individuals embrace their cultural heritage while navigating the currents of modernity in the context of all three languages, ultimately shaping a distinctive and ever-evolving mosaic of language use and identity. Thus, to answer the research question of what language a Tunisian speaks to be considered Tunisian, it becomes clear that the answer lies in the nuanced interplay between these languages. Being Tunisian is not restricted to a single linguistic identity but rather a dynamic blend that encompasses Arabic, French, and English, reflecting the intricate tapestry of the historical, cultural, and contemporary influences of Tunisia. This linguistic blend is a result of the history of Tunisia as a former French colony and its current status as a globalized society. The use of Arabic, French, and English in different contexts allows Tunisians to navigate their multicultural identity and connect with various communities both locally and internationally.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

7.1 Final Conclusions

The complex linguistic situation in Tunisia presents challenges in terms of linguistic identification. Understanding the intricacies of multilingualism and its impact on language performance is crucial for comprehending the dynamics of language and identity in Tunisia and similar diverse linguistic contexts worldwide.

Hence, the multifaceted exploration of language identity in Tunisia, as evidenced through various contexts and dynamics, highlights the profound significance of language in shaping both personal and collective identities. Due to its advantageous location in the Mediterranean, Tunisia has historically undergone a variety of influences. It has been a crossroads of civilizations, experiencing Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and Ottoman influences throughout its history. These historical layers of cultural and linguistic influences provided a rich backdrop for the debates on Tunisianity as individuals and communities sought to navigate the complexities of their identity in the context of a rapidly changing socio-political landscape.

The Tunisian revolutionary slogans, characterized by their multilingualism and defiance of ideological constraints, exemplify the role of language in expressing resilience and determination in the face of oppression. The use of Arabic, French, and English in these slogans not only reflects the multilingual society of Tunisia but also symbolizes the political weight that each language carries, reflecting the complex dynamics of cultural identity suppression during President Ben Ali's era. These slogans transcended mere persuasion and incitement, evolving into powerful political performances that conveyed unity in diversity and collective determination among protesters.

Furthermore, linguistic considerations were intertwined with political and social dynamics. The use of slogans and language in political discourse was a way for individuals and groups to assert their vision of Tunisianity and distinguish themselves from the previous regime. It allowed for the expression of dissent, mobilization, and the formation of collective identities centered around a shared understanding of Tunisianity. The concept of Tunisianity that emerged after the 2011 Tunisian revolution represented

a renewed sense of national pride and self-assertion. It opened up a space for discussions on national identity, cultural heritage, and linguistic considerations. The slogans and linguistic debates that ensued reflected a desire to redefine Tunisian identity in a more inclusive and participatory manner, acknowledging the historical and cultural complexities that have shaped the nation. Ultimately, the concept of Tunisianity provided a framework for Tunisians to contemplate and explore their collective identity during the democratic transition.

Additionally, the ongoing discussion over the official recognition of the Tunisian dialect highlights the heavy linguistic identity cleavage that many Tunisians experience. The quest for recognition and a sense of self, in contrast to constitutionalized literary Arabic, highlights how language can be both a source of empowerment and self-negation.

In summary, this comprehensive examination illuminates the pivotal role of linguistic identity for Tunisians, emphasizing that the recognition of a language by society is integral to its preservation. Regarding language policies in Tunisia, the Tunisian constitution officially designates Arabic as the official and national language of the country, yet it does not explicitly outline the roles and statuses of French and English. Upon reviewing official documents related to languages in Tunisia, it becomes evident that the status of foreign languages needs to be explicitly articulated. The commonly held assumption that French occupies the primary position as a foreign language, followed by English as a secondary language, lacks official endorsement based on specific documents specifying this order. This assumption is often rooted in the sequence in which these languages are introduced within the public school system.

When we consider the status of Tunisian Arabic, it becomes apparent that there needs to be more official statements, degrees, or laws explicitly defining its position within the country. The lack of a clear and formalized status for Tunisian Arabic leaves it in a state of uncertainty. This uncertainty surrounding the official status of the Tunisian dialect highlights its profound significance, as it has far-reaching implications for both the cultural heritage of Tunisia and its linguistic identity. The absence of a formal recognition of Tunisian Arabic in official documents and legislation reflects a complex linguistic situation in Tunisia. It raises questions about the extent to which the dialect should be acknowledged and integrated into formal institutions and educational systems. This uncertainty has fueled ongoing debates, especially after the revolution of 2011, among linguists, policymakers, and the general population regarding whether the Tunisian

dialect should be recognized as a distinct language in its own right or whether it should continue to exist in the shadow of the constitutionally endorsed literary Arabic.

The outcome of these debates carries substantial consequences. The official recognition of Tunisian Arabic would not only validate its cultural and linguistic significance but also empower its speakers to assert their identity and heritage more proudly. On the other hand, the continued absence of such recognition may perpetuate a disconnect between the linguistic reality of Tunisians and the formal language policies in place. In fact, the uncertain status of Tunisian Arabic encapsulates a broader struggle for cultural and linguistic recognition in Tunisia. It symbolizes the tension between preserving cultural heritage and conforming to established linguistic norms. The eventual resolution of this uncertainty will significantly impact the cultural mosaic of Tunisia and its evolving linguistic identity.

Furthermore, the language identity model introduced in this study revealed the varying language competencies and affinities that Tunisians possess regarding their national language and other linguistic systems. This gives us a better idea of how complicated language identity dynamics are in Tunisia. These dynamics reveal how multilingualism can complement and reinforce a connection to one's mother tongue and national language or, alternatively, signify openness to linguistic and cultural diversity.

In essence, this study underscores the intricate interplay between language, identity, and culture in Tunisia, offering valuable insights for scholars, policymakers, and society at large as they navigate the complexity of linguistic identity in a diverse and evolving society.

7.2 Limitations of the Study

Every research study is accompanied by certain limitations that can influence the scope and interpretation of the findings. Tunisian research studies pertinent to my thesis exhibited limitations or were bypassed, contingent upon the inherent nature of my research topic. The exigency for an entirely novel research typology arose due to the paucity or absence of antecedent investigations on my subject. This circumstance points out the presumption of a new methodology, namely partial order theory, which can provide a fresh perspective on the research topic. By utilizing partial order theory, my study aims to overcome the limitations of previous Tunisian research studies and contribute to the existing body of knowledge in a unique and valuable way. Additionally, this novel methodology has the potential to uncover previously unexplored aspects of the

subject matter, offering new insights and avenues for future research in Tunisia. In the context of the present research, a couple of limitations emerged, which are important to acknowledge in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research outcomes.

A limitation of this dissertation concerns the size and representativeness of the sample. While endeavors were undertaken to ensure the inclusion of a varied range of participants, the sample size employed in the study remains relatively modest. Consequently, the extent to which the findings can be extrapolated to the larger Tunisian populace might be restricted. This limitation becomes particularly evident in the examination of the linguistic aspect. Despite the potential existence of 729 distinct profiles, the study managed to identify only 94 profiles. This underlines the potential impact of a more extensive and diverse sample, which could potentially yield a more comprehensive understanding of language identity attitudes and unveil a broader spectrum of linguistic profiles.

Moreover, response bias represents a potential limitation associated with the data derived from self-report surveys. Participants might be inclined to furnish responses that align with social desirability or exhibit an inclination to exaggerate their language competency. Consequently, the accuracy of the reported language attitudes and proficiency levels could be compromised. Originally, my intention was to conduct individual interviews with Tunisian individuals to mitigate this concern. However, due to the dual constraints of time limitations and the coinciding emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic during the data collection phase, the execution of these individual interviews could have been more feasible. Despite this setback, it is important to note that this avenue remains viable for prospective research endeavors.

Lastly, the focus of the study on language proficiency in TA, MSA, French, and English, while essential, leaves out other languages that contribute to the linguistic diversity of Tunisia. One notable omission is the Berber language. Although the study briefly mentions the exclusion of Berber and its emerging recognition as an indigenous language in Tunisia, a deeper exploration of its role and position within the Tunisian context is warranted. The absence of the Berber language from policy debates, despite growing advocacy for its recognition, raises questions about its impact on language identity in Tunisia. It is noteworthy that neighboring countries like Morocco and Algeria have officially recognized Berber, and efforts to reintegrate it into the linguistic scene are underway. A comprehensive examination of the role of Tamazight in the Tunisian context

could shed light on its potential influence on language attitudes and identity, especially considering its prevalence in neighboring countries and its potential to shape linguistic dynamics. Given the evolving recognition of Berber in neighboring countries and its potential impact on the Tunisian linguistic scene, future studies could delve into how its inclusion or exclusion in language policy discussions may influence language identity attitudes. Exploring the attitudes and perceptions of Tunisians towards Tamazight could provide insights into its role as a potential language of identity and its intersection with Tunisianity.

In conclusion, while the research endeavors have provided valuable insights, it is crucial to acknowledge these limitations to ensure a well-rounded understanding of the scope and implications of the present study. Ultimately, embracing these limitations as opportunities for growth and refinement will contribute to the advancement of knowledge in the field of linguistics and provide a more nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between language, identity, and culture in Tunisia.

7.3 Practical Implications

The findings of this study offer valuable insights with multifaceted implications that can significantly impact language policies, educational strategies, cultural initiatives, and societal cohesion in Tunisia and beyond.

Firstly, the development of a language identity model based on partial order theory, tailored specifically for Tunisia, holds promise as a versatile analytical tool. It allows for the examination of how Tunisians construct their identities through language use across various contexts. This model is not limited to Tunisia; its application can extend to other regions and countries, shedding light on language identity formation and linguistic diversity elsewhere.

Furthermore, the relevance of this model extends to language policy and education in Tunisia. A deep understanding of how individuals perceive their Tunisian identity informs the creation of culturally and linguistically appropriate language programs. These programs can foster inclusivity and unity, as well as identify potential sources of division, enabling proactive measures to address these issues.

In addition, the language identity model aids in comprehending Tunisians' attitudes and beliefs regarding their national identity. This knowledge can inform targeted interventions to strengthen Tunisian identity and promote social cohesion and national unity.

Overall, this language identity model contributes significantly to our understanding of the complex relationship between language use and identity formation in Tunisia and elsewhere. Researchers and policymakers can employ this tool to gain nuanced insights into linguistic diversity, social and cultural practices, and national identity formation in North Africa and beyond.

Moreover, the insights of the study directly impact language curriculum development and language policy formulation. Acknowledging the significance of proficiency in native, official, and foreign languages informs the design of comprehensive language programs that cater to diverse linguistic needs. The study emphasizes the importance of recognizing and valuing linguistic diversity, including languages like Berber, in shaping language identity and calls for inclusive language policies that resonate with a broader population segment.

The positive correlation between multilingualism and stronger language identity attachments advocates for fostering multilingual skills in educational institutions. Promoting the learning of multiple languages enhances the connections of individuals to their linguistic heritage and cultural identity.

Moreover, the diverse attitudes towards different languages, as highlighted in the study, underscore the responsibility of media professionals to represent linguistic diversity accurately and sensitively. Media can play a pivotal role in fostering positive attitudes toward all languages spoken in Tunisia.

Lastly, policymakers can leverage these findings to formulate informed policies that support language learning and cultural preservation. Recognizing the influence of language proficiency on identity can lead to policies that not only celebrate linguistic diversity but also promote a robust sense of national and cultural belonging among the populace.

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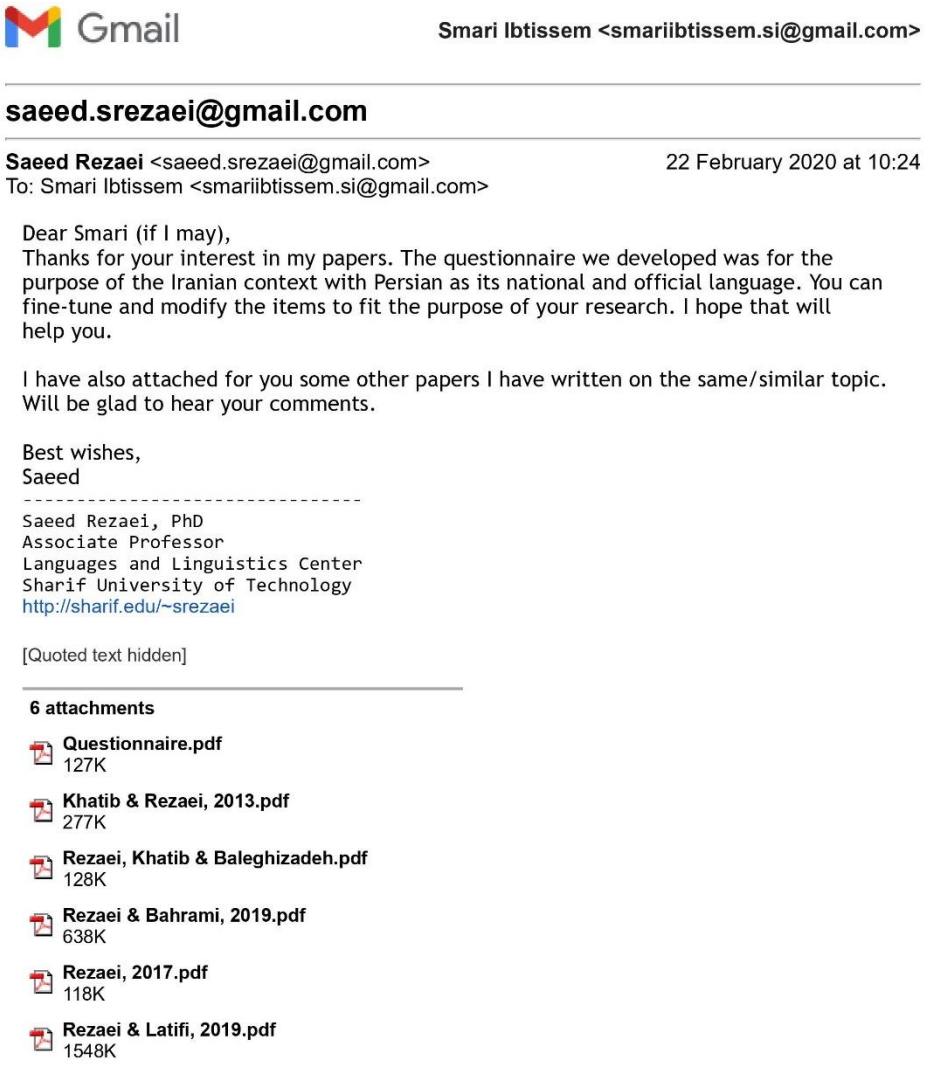
Bank. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/6303 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Dr. Saeed Rezaei's Authorization for Questionnaire Development by Katib and Rezaei (2013)



Gmail Smari Ibtissem <smariibtissem.si@gmail.com>

saeed.srezaei@gmail.com

Saeed Rezaei <saeed.srezaei@gmail.com> 22 February 2020 at 10:24
To: Smari Ibtissem <smariibtissem.si@gmail.com>

Dear Smari (if I may),
Thanks for your interest in my papers. The questionnaire we developed was for the purpose of the Iranian context with Persian as its national and official language. You can fine-tune and modify the items to fit the purpose of your research. I hope that will help you.

I have also attached for you some other papers I have written on the same/similar topic. Will be glad to hear your comments.

Best wishes,
Saeed

Saeed Rezaei, PhD
Associate Professor
Languages and Linguistics Center
Sharif University of Technology
http://sharif.edu/~srezaei

[Quoted text hidden]

6 attachments

Questionnaire.pdf 127K

Khatib & Rezaei, 2013.pdf 277K

Rezaei, Khatib & Baleghizadeh.pdf 128K

Rezaei & Bahrami, 2019.pdf 638K

Rezaei, 2017.pdf 118K

Rezaei & Latifi, 2019.pdf 1548K

Appendix 2. Survey questionnaire and its translations.

Questionnaire in English

رأيك يهمناTN تونسيTNعلى خاطرك !

* Indicates required question

1. **Language / Langue/ اللغة**

Mark only one oval.

English Skip to question 2
Français Skip to question 17
العربية Skip to question 32

Agreement and privacy statement

This questionnaire aims to examine your language identity in the Tunisian context. The questionnaire consists of two sections. This survey is conducted as part of my Ph.D. dissertation at Pannonia University in Hungary. As you begin each section, please read the items carefully and provide your responses in the format requested. Please feel free to answer based on your true opinion, and you do not need to worry about the data gathered here because it will only be used for research purposes. If you want to know the results, you can put your email at the end of the questionnaire so that the results will be sent to you at the end of the study.

Thank you for your cooperation.
Ibtissem Smari
University of Pannonia

2. *Do you agree with the privacy statement? **

Mark only one oval.

Yes Skip to question 3
No Skip to question 3

You need to agree to continue

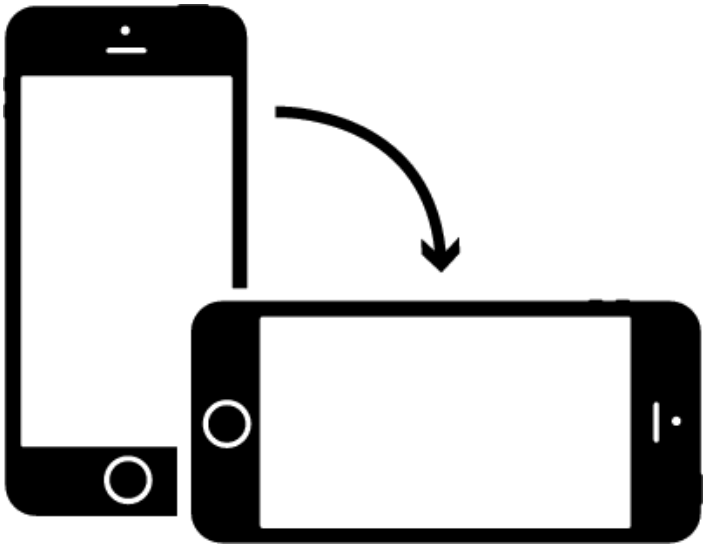
3. *You need to agree to continue to the survey, do you agree? **

Mark only one oval.

Yes Skip to question 4
No Skip to question 2

English

Recommendation: if you are using your mobile to answer this questionnaire, please rotate your screen for a more comfortable way of answering.



4. Gender *

Mark only one oval.

Female

Male

5. Age *

Mark only one oval.

11-15

16-20

21-25

25+

6. Do you live in Tunisia? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

7. City where you live/are from.

Mark only one oval.

Ariana

Béja

Ben Arous

Bizerte

Gabes

Gafsa

Jendouba

Kairouan

Kasserine
Kebili
La Manouba
Le Kef
Mahdia
Médenine
Monastir
Nabeul
Sfax
Sidi Bouzid
Siliana
Sousse
Tataouine
Tozeur
Tunis
Zaghouan

8. Please indicate your level in these languages *
Tick all that apply.

	Native	Advanced	Intermediate	Basic	I don't speak this langauage
Tunsi(Tunisian Arabic					
Standard Arabic					
French					
English					

9. If you speak/know other languages, please indicate here.
……..

10. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. *

Items	Strongly A	Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly	Disagree	Strongly

I wish all my courses at school/university were taught in English rather than Arabic.						
I like to attend Arabic classes more than English classes.						
I love Arabic language more than English.						
I think speaking English with an Arabic accent is bad.						
I am proud of speaking Arabic with an English pronunciation.						
I like Arabic pronunciation more than English pronunciation.						
I believe a person who can speak English very well has a better social status and respect in the society.						
I believe knowing English brings more respect than Arabic in the Tunisian society.						
When I speak English I feel I am superior to others.						

11. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. *

Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I speak English a lot in my daily life.						
I use English words a lot when I speak Arabic.						
I like to speak English rather than Arabic with my Tunisian friends who know English.						
I read English texts more than Arabic ones.						
I like to know more about the history of Arabic language than English.						
I like to know more about Arabic poets and writers than English ones.						
I read poetry and stories in Arabic a lot.						
I send text-messages and e-mails in English.						
I like Arabic alphabets more than English ones.						
I wish we wrote Arabic in Latin alphabets.						

Mark only one oval per row.

12. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. *

Mark only one oval per row.

Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I wish all my courses at school/university were taught in French rather than Arabic.						
I like to attend Arabic classes more than French classes.						
I love Arabic language more than French .						
I think speaking French with an Arabic accent is bad.						
I am proud of speaking Arabic with an French pronunciation.						
I like Arabic pronunciation more than French pronunciation.						
I believe a person who can speak French very well has a better social status and respect in the society.						
I believe knowing French brings more respect than Arabic in the Tunisian society.						
When I speak French I feel I am superior to others.						

13. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with following statements. *

Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I speak French a lot in my daily life.						
I use French words a lot when I speak Arabic.						
I like to speak French rather than Arabic with my Tunisian friends who know French.						
I read French texts more than Arabic ones.						
I like to know more about the history of Arabic language than French.						

I like to know more about Arabic poets and writers than French ones.						
I read poetry and stories in Arabic a lot.						
I send text-messages and e-mails in French.						
I like Arabic alphabets more than French ones.						
I wish we wrote Arabic in Latin alphabets.						

Mark only one oval per row.

14. Any comments?

15. Please provide your email if you wish to receive the results of this study :)

16. Do you want to submit? *
Mark only one oval.

Yes

Skip to question 4

Questionnaire in French

Accord et déclaration de confdentialité

Le but de ce questionnaire est d'examiner votre identité linguistique dans le context tunisien. Le questionnaire se compose de deux sections. Cette enquête est réalisée dans le cadre de ma thèse de doctorat à l'Université de Pannonia en Hongrie. Au début de chaque section, veuillez lire attentivement les éléments et fournir vos réponses dans le format demandé. N'hésitez pas à répondre en fonction de votre véritable opinion, et vous n'avez pas à vous préoccuper des données recueillies ici car elles ne seront utilisées qu'à des fins de recherche. Si vous souhaitez connaître les résultats, vous pouvez mettre votre

adresse électronique à la fin du questionnaire afin que les résultats vous soient envoyés à la fin de l'étude.

Merci pour votre coopération
Ibtissem Smari
Université de Pannonie
Smariibtissem.si@gmail.com

17. Êtes-vous d'accord avec la déclaration de confdentialité ? *
Mark only one oval.

- Oui Skip to question 18
- Non…….Skip to question 18

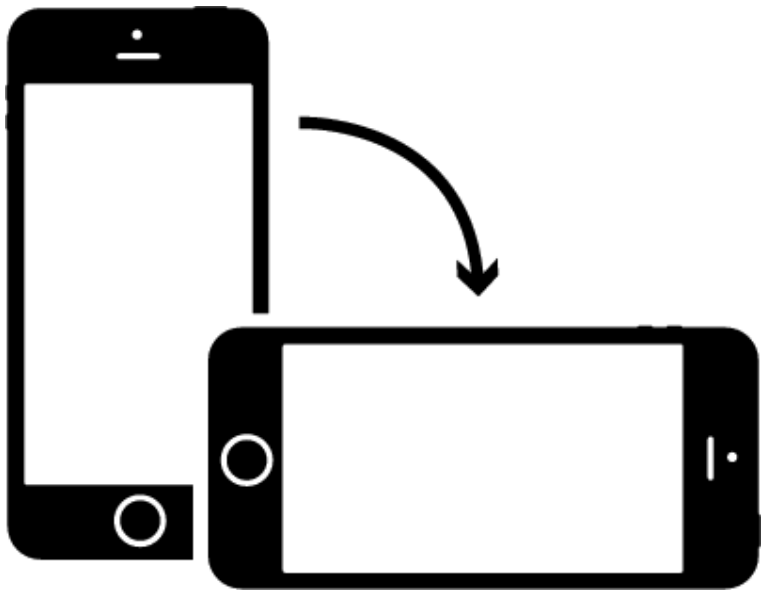
18. Vous devez accepter pour continuer.

Vous devez accepter de procéder à l'enquête, êtes-vous d'accord ? *
Mark only one oval.

- Oui Skip to question 19
- Non Skip to question 17

Français

Recommandation : si vous utilisez votre téléphone portable pour répondre à ce questionnaire, veuillez faire pivoter votre écran pour une manière plus confortable de répondre.



19. Genre *

Mark only one oval.

- Femme
- Homme

20. Age *

Mark only one oval.

- 11-15
- 16-20
- 21-25
- 25+

21. Vivez vous en Tunisie ? *

Mark only one oval.

- Oui
- Non

22. Ville où vous habitez ou d'où vous venez. *

Mark only one oval.

- Ariana
- Béja
- Ben Arous
- Bizerte
- Gabes
- Gafsa
- Jendouba
- Kairouan
- Kasserine
- Kebili
- La Manouba
- Le Kef
- Mahdia
- Médenine
- Monastir
- Nabeul
- Sfax
- Sidi Bouzid
- Siliana
- Sousse
- Tataouine
- Tozeur
- Tunis

Zaghouan

23. Veuillez indiquer votre niveau dans ces langues. *
Plusieurs réponses possibles

Tick all that apply.

	Langue Maternelle	Avancé	Intermédiaire	Basique	Je ne parle pas cette langue
Tunsi(Arrabe Tunisien					
Arabe Standard					
Français					
Anglais					

24. Si vous parlez/connaissez d'autres langues, veuillez l'indiquer ici.

25. Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarationssuivantes. *

Items	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Un peu d'accord	Un peu en désaccord	En désaccord	En désaccord total
J'aimerais que tous mes cours à l'école/université soient dispensés en anglais plutôt qu'en arabe.						
J'aime plus suivre des cours d'arabe que des cours d'anglais.						
J'aime plus la langue arabe que l'anglais.						
Je pense que parler l'anglais avec un accent arabe est mauvais.						
Je suis fier de parler l'arabe avec une prononciation anglaise.						

J'aime plus la prononciation arabe que la prononciation anglaise.						
Je crois qu'une personne qui parle très bien l'anglais a un meilleur statut social et est mieux respectée dans la société.						
Je crois que la connaissance de l'anglais apporte plus de respect que l'arabe dans la société tunisienne.						
En parlant anglais, j'ai le sentiment d'être supérieur aux autres.						

26. Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarations suivantes.*

Items	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Un peu d'accord	Un peu en désaccord	En désaccord	En désaccord total
Je parle beaucoup l'anglais dans ma vie quotidienne.						
J'utilise beaucoup de mots anglais quand je parle arabe.						
J'aime parler anglais plutôt qu'arabe avec mes amis tunisiens qui connaissent l'anglais.						
Je lis plus de textes en anglais qu'en arabe.						
J'aime en savoir plus sur les poètes et les écrivains arabes que sur ceux anglais.						
J'aime en savoir plus sur l'histoire de la langue arabe que sur celle de l'anglais.						
J'envoie des SMS et des e-mails en anglais.						
J'aime plus l'alphabets arabe que l'alphabet anglais.						
Je lis beaucoup de poésie et d'histoires en arabe.						

Mark only one oval per row.

27. Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarations suivantes *

Items	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Un peu d'accord	Un peu en désaccord	En désaccord	En désaccord total
J'aimerais que tous mes cours à l'école/université soient dispensés en français plutôt qu'en arabe.						
J'aime plus suivre des cours d'arabe que des cours de français.						
J'aime plus la langue arabe que le français.						
Je pense que parler le français avec un accent arabe est mauvais.						
Je suis fier de parler l'arabe avec une prononciation française.						
J'aime plus la prononciation arabe que la prononciation française.						
Je crois qu'une personne qui parle très bien le français a un meilleur statut social et est mieux respectée dans la société.						
Je crois que la connaissance du français apporte plus de respect que l'arabe dans la société tunisienne.						
En parlant français, j'ai le sentiment d'être supérieur aux autres.						

Mark only one oval per row.

28. Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarations suivantes.*

Items	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Un peu d'accord	Un peu en désaccord	En désaccord	En désaccord total
Je parle beaucoup l'français dans ma vie quotidienne.						

J'utilise beaucoup de mots français quand je parle arabe.						
J'aime parler anglais plutôt qu'arabe avec mes amis tunisiens qui connaissent le français.						
Je lis plus de textes en français qu'en arabe.						
J'aime en savoir plus sur les poètes et les écrivains arabes que sur ceux français.						
J'aime en savoir plus sur l'histoire de la langue arabe que sur celle du français.						
J'envoie des SMS et des courriels en français.						
J'aime plus l'alphabets arabe que l'alphabet français.						
Je lis beaucoup de poésie et d'histoires en arabe.						

Mark only one oval per row.

29. Si vous avez des commentaires, veuillez les laisser ici ?

30. Veuillez indiquer votre adresse e-mail si vous souhaitez recevoir les résultats de cette étude :)

31. Voulez-vous soumettre ? *

Mark only one oval.

Oui

Questionnaire in Arabic

بيان الاتفاقية والخصوصية

الغرض من هذه الاستبانة هو دراسة اللغة والهوية في السياق التونسي. يتم إجراء هذا المسح كجزء من أطروحة الدكتوراه الخاصة بي في جامعة بانونيا في المجر. عند بَدْء كل قسم، يرجى قراءة العناصر بعناية وتقديم ردودك بالتنسيق المطلوب. لا تتردد في الإجابة بناء على رأيك الحقيقي، ولا داعي للقلق بشأن البيانات التي تم جمعها هنا لأنه سيتم استخدامها فقط لأغراض البحث. في حال كنت مهتما بمعرفة النتائج ، يمكنك وضع بريدك الإلكتروني في نهاية الاستبانة بحيث يتم إرسال النتائج إليك في نهاية الدراسة.

شكرا لك على تعاونك
ابتسام صماري
جامعة بانونيا
Smariibtissem.si@gmail.com

32. هل توافق على بيان الخصوصية؟ *
Mark only one oval.

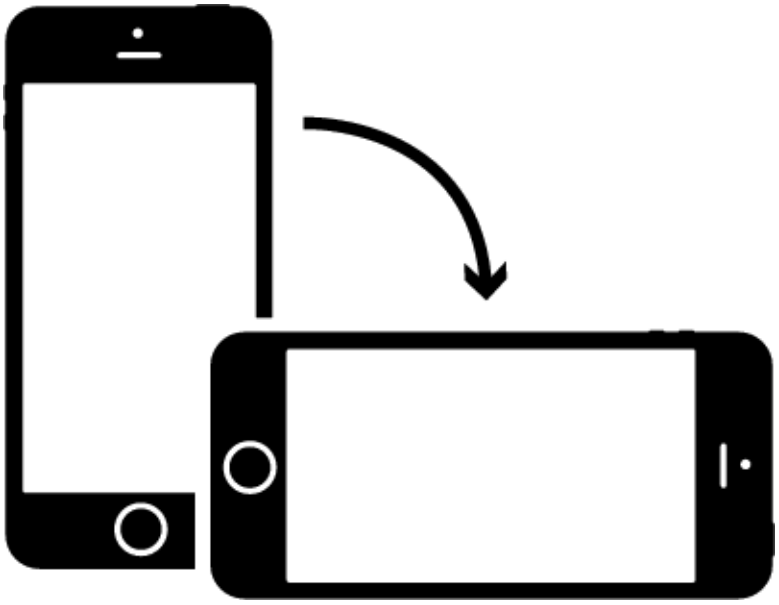
- نعم Skip to question 33
- لا Skip to question 33

يجب أن توافق على المتابعة

33. أنت بحاجة إلى الموافقة على متابعة الاستبيان، هل توافق على ذلك؟ *
Mark only one oval.

- نعم Skip to question 34
- لا Skip to question 32

Arabia
إذا كنت تستخدم هاتفك المحمول للإجابة على هذه الاستبانة، فيرجى تدوير شاشتك للحصول على :توصية
طريقة أكثر
راحة للإجابة.



34. الجنس * .
Mark only one oval.

- أنثى
- ذكر

35. العمر *
Mark only one oval.

- 11-15
- 16-20
- 21-25
- 25+

36. هل تعيش في تونس؟ *
Mark only one oval.

- نعم
- لا

37. مدينتك. *
Mark only one oval.

- أريانة
- باجة

بن عروس
بنزرت
قابس
قفصة
جندوبة
القيروان
القصرين
منوبة
الكاف
المهدية
مدنين
المنستير
نابل
صفاقس
سيدي بوزيد
سليانة
سوسه
تطاوين
توزر
تونس
زغوان
قبلي

38. يرجى الإشارة إلى مستواك بهذه اللغات *
Plusieurs réponses possibles

Tick all that apply.

	اللغة الأم	جيد	متوسط	مقبول	لا أتحدث هذه اللغة
تونسي (العربية التونسية					
العربيةالفصحى					
الفرنسية					
الانجليزية					

39. إذا كنت تتحدث /.تعرف لغات أخرى، يرجى الإشارة إليها هنا

40. يرجى الإشارة إلى مدى موافقتك أو عدم موافقتك على التالي *

	أوافق بشدة	أوافق	أوافق بعض الشيء	لا أوافق إلى حد ما	لا أوافق	أختلف بشدة
أتمنى لو أن جميع دروسي في المدرسة/الجامعة كانت تدرس باللغة الإنجليزية بدلا من العربية.						
أحب حضور دروس اللغة العربية أكثر من حضور دروس اللغة الإنجليزية.						
أحب اللغة العربية أكثر من الإنجليزية						
أعتقد أن التحدث باللغة الإنجليزية بلكنة عربية أمر سيئ						
أنا فخور بالتحدث باللغة العربية باللفظ الإنكليزي						
أحب النطق باللغة العربية أكثر من النطق باللغة الإنجليزية.						
أعتقد أن الشخص الذي يستطيع أن يتكلم الإنجليزية بشكل جيد يتمتع بمركز اجتماعي واحترام أفضل في المجتمع.						
أعتقد أن معرفة اللغة الإنجليزية تجلب الاحترام أكثر من العربية في المجتمع التونسي.						
عندما أتحدث الإنجليزية أشعر أنني متفوق على الآخرين						

Mark only one oval per row.

41. يرجى الإشارة إلى مدى موافقتك أو عدم موافقتك على التالي *

	أوافق بشدة	أوافق	أوافق بعض الشيء	لا أوافق إلى حد ما	لا أوافق	أختلف بشدة
أتحدث الإنجليزية كثيرا في حياتي اليومية						
أستعمل كثيرا الكلمات الإنجليزية عندما أتحدث العربية						
أحب أن أتحدث الإنجليزية بدلا من العربية مع أصدقائي التونسيين الذين يعرفون الإنجليزية.						
أقرأ النصوص الإنجليزية أكثر من العربية						
أحب أن أعرف عن الشعراء والكتاب العرب أكثر من الإنجليزي.						
أحب أن أعرف عن تاريخ اللغة العربية أكثرمن الإنجليزية.						
أرسل رسائل نصية ورسائل إلكترونية باللغة الإنجليزية						
أحب الحروف الأبجدية العربية أكثر من الحروف الإنجليزية.						

						أقرأ كثيرا الشعر والقصص بالعربية

Mark only one oval per row.

42.يرجى الإشارة إلى مدى موافقتك أو عدم موافقتك على التالي . *

أختلف بشدة	لا أوافق	لا أوافق إلى حد ما	أوافق بعض الشيء	أوافق	أوافق بشدة	
						أتمنى لو أن جميع دروسي في المدرسة/الجامعة كانت تدرس باللغة الفرنسية بدلا من العربية.
						أحب حضور دروس اللغة العربية أكثر من حضور دروس اللغة الفرنسية.
						أحب اللغة العربية أكثر من الفرنسية
						أعتقد أن التحدث باللغة الفرنسية بلكنة عربية أمر سيئ
						أنا فخور بالتحدث باللغة العربية باللفظ ا الفرنسي
						أحب النطق باللغة العربية أكثر من النطق باللغة الفرنسية.
						أعتقد أن الشخص الذي يستطيع أن يتكلم الفرنسية بشكل جيد يتمتع بمركز اجتماعي واحترام أفضل في المجتمع.
						أعتقد أن معرفة اللغة ا الفرنسية تجلب الاحترام أكثر من العربية في المجتمع التونسي.
						عندما أتحدث ا الفرنسية أشعر أنني متفوق على الآخرين

Mark only one oval per row.

43.يرجى الإشارة إلى مدى موافقتك أو عدم موافقتك على التالي . *

أختلف بشدة	لا أوافق	لا أوافق إلى حد ما	أوافق بعض الشيء	أوافق	أوافق بشدة	
						أتحدث الفرنسية كثيرا في حياتي اليومية
						أستعمل كثيرا الكلمات الفرنسية عندما أتحدث العربية
						أحب أن أتحدث الفرنسية بدلا من العربية مع أصدقائي التونسيين الذين يعرفون الإنجليزية.
						أقرأ النصوص الفرنسية أكثر من العربية
						أحب أن أعرف عن الشعراء والكتاب العرب أكثر من الفرنسية.
						أحب أن أعرف عن تاريخ اللغة العربية أكثرمن الفرنسية.
						أرسل رسائل نصية ورسائل إلكترونية باللغة الفرنسية

.أحب الحروف الأبجدية العربية أكثر من الحروف الفرنسية						
أقرأ كثيرا الشعر والقصص بالعربية						

Mark only one oval per row.

44.يُرجى ترك تعليقاتك هنا

45. يرجى توفير بريدك الإلكتروني إذا كنت ترغب في الحصول على نتائج هذه الدراسة (:

46. هل تريد الإرسال؟ *

Mark only one oval.

نعم

Appendix 3. Compilation of Slogans Utilized in the Current Study and Their Corresponding References

Slogan in written form	Slogan translation to English
Tunis hurra hurra wa Ben Ali ʻala barra!	Al Jazeera Documentary الجزيرة الوثائقية. تونس 2011 ثورة كرامة "Tunisia 2011, Revolution of Dignity" .https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hveEeyVmLno
الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام	https://www.creativearabs.org/tunisia/tunisia-slogan
Ben Ali dehors!	https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/04/Zabadehors.JPG
Ben Ali assassin!	http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/americas/01/24/tunisia.canada.ben.ali/index.html
*RCD Dé*gage	https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/5370538693/in/photostream/
*RCD Dé*gage *Out!*	https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/5371143356/in/photostream/
RCD No way!	https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/5373924498/in/photostream/
Mafia out!	https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/5373183954/in/photostream/
Tunisie libre! Trabelsi: voleurs dehors!	https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/5373842042/in/photostream/
Game over	https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/5373435731/in/photostream/
حرّيّة، عدالة اجتماعية، كرامة وطنية	https://www.creativearabs.org/tunisia/tunisia-slogan
حرّيات، حرّيات، لا رئاسة مدى الحياة	https://www.creativearabs.org/tunisia/tunisia-slogan
التشغيل استحقاق يا عصابة السرّاق	https://www.creativearabs.org/tunisia/tunisia-slogan
يا بوليس فيق فيق، الحجامة تحكم فيك	شعارات الثورة :غة الحرية والكلمة ــ الفعل التونسية " Slogans of the Tunisian Revolution: The language of freedom and speech - The action" https://bidayatmag.com/node/200
خبز وماء وبن علي لا	https://www.hdhod.com/%D8%B4%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%86%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A9%D8%A5%D8%B9%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%AD%D8%AA%D9%89-%D9%8A%D8%B3%D9%82%D8%B7%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%B8%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%88%D8%AE%D8%A8%D8%B2%D9%88%D9%85%D

	8%A7%D9%88%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A7_a27513.html
بن علي يا جبان الشعب التونسي لا يُهان	شعارات الثورة :غة الحرية والكلمة ـــ الفعل التونسية " Slogans of the Tunisian Revolution: The language of freedom and speech - The action" https://bidayatmag.com/node/200
اعتصام اعتصام حتى يسقط النظام	https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/5373842042/in/photostream/
Dégage يا خمّاج	شعارات الثورة :غة الحرية والكلمة ـــ الفعل التونسية " Slogans of the Tunisian Revolution: The language of freedom and speech - The action" https://bidayatmag.com/node/200
‘Obama: yes we can, Tunisia: yes we do’	https://www.facebook.com/BenArfa/photos/a.147687945286803/1476880052867977/?type=3
Enough, no more games	https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/5373435731/in/photostream/
‘Obama: yes we can, Tunisia: yes we do’	https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/5373435731/in/photostream/
Enough, no more games	https://www.creativearabs.org/tunisia/tunisia-slogan
“I have a dream, Une Tunisie libre”	https://nawaat.org/2011/02/21/%C2%AB-i-have-a-dream-%C2%BB-la-nouvelle-voie-de-mondialisation/

Appendix 4. Components of the Questionnaire and Their Associated Items

The table displays the questionnaire items alongside their corresponding factors, which pertain to language preferences and attitudes among Tunisians. Specifically, these factors pertain to the Arabic, English, and French languages within the Tunisian context. The questionnaire consists of individual statements that articulate participants' attitudes, preferences, or actions concerning language usage and perception. Meanwhile, the factors (designated as F1 to F6) represent the fundamental themes or constructs to which these statements are linked. Each variable or item is aligned with a specific factor, signifying the aspects of language attitudes and preferences it signifies.

Questionnaire Items/ Variables		**Q. components/ Factors**	
E1	I wish all my courses at school/university were taught in English rather than Arabic.	**F1**	Attachment to the mother tongue
E2	I like to attend Arabic classes more than English classes.		
E3	I love Arabic language more than English.		
F1	I wish all my courses at school/university were taught in French rather than Arabic.		
F2	I like to attend Arabic classes more than French classes.		
F3	I love Arabic language more than French.		
E4	I think speaking English with an Arabic accent is bad.	**F2**	Pronunciation attitude
E5	I am proud of speaking Arabic with an English pronunciation.		
E6	I like Arabic pronunciation more than English pronunciation.		
F4	I think speaking French with an Arabic accent is bad.		
F5	I am proud of speaking Arabic with French pronunciation.		
F6	I like Arabic pronunciation more than French pronunciation.		
E7	I believe a person who can speak English very well has a better social status and respect in the society.	**F3**	Language and social status
E8	I believe knowing English brings more respect than Arabic in the Tunisian society.		
E9	When I speak English, I feel I am superior to others.		
F7	I believe a person who can speak French very well has a better social status and respect in the society.		
F8	I believe knowing French brings more respect than Arabic in the Tunisian society.		
F9	When I speak French, I feel I am superior to others.		
E10	I speak English a lot in my daily life.	**F4**	L1 use/exposure in the society
E11	I use English words a lot when I speak Arabic.		
E12	I like to speak English rather than Arabic with my Tunisian friends who know English.		
E13	I read English texts more than Arabic ones.		

F10	I speak French a lot in my daily life.		
F11	I use French words a lot when I speak Arabic.		
F12	I like to speak French rather than Arabic with my Tunisian friends who know English.		
F13	I read French texts more than Arabic ones.		
E14	I like to know more about the history of Arabic language than English.	**F5**	Language knowledge
E15	I like to know more about Arabic poets and writers than English ones.		
E16	I read poetry and stories in Arabic a lot.		
F14	I like to know more about the history of Arabic language than French.		
F15	I like to know more about Arabic poets and writers than French ones.		
F16	I read poetry and stories in Arabic a lot.		
E17	I send text-messages and e-mails in English.	**F6**	Script/alphabet
E18	I like Arabic alphabets more than English ones.		
E19	I wish we wrote Arabic in Latin alphabets.		
F17	I send text messages and e-mails in French.		
F18	I like Arabic alphabets more than French ones.		
F19	I wish we wrote Arabic in Latin alphabets.		

Appendix 5. Table of Extracted Components (Principal Component Analysis Results)

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	8.364	22.011	22.011	8.364	22.011	22.011
2	5.479	14.418	36.430	5.479	14.418	36.430
3	3.595	9.461	45.891	3.595	9.461	45.891
4	2.333	6.139	52.030	2.333	6.139	52.030
5	1.881	4.949	56.979	1.881	4.949	56.979
6	1.632	4.296	61.275	1.632	4.296	61.275
7	1.366	3.595	64.870	1.366	3.595	64.870
8	1.324	3.484	68.355	1.324	3.484	68.355
9	.986	2.594	70.949			
10	.927	2.440	73.388			
11	.851	2.240	75.628			
12	.793	2.087	77.714			
13	.741	1.949	79.663			
14	.673	1.770	81.433			
15	.632	1.664	83.097			
16	.577	1.518	84.615			
17	.569	1.498	86.113			
18	.510	1.341	87.454			
19	.491	1.293	88.747			
20	.436	1.149	89.896			
21	.398	1.048	90.944			
22	.365	.960	91.904			
23	.335	.882	92.786			
24	.319	.840	93.626			
25	.295	.776	94.402			

26	.272	.716	95.117			
27	.266	.701	95.819			
28	.238	.627	96.445			
29	.216	.569	97.014			
30	.208	.548	97.563			
31	.196	.516	98.079			
32	.192	.504	98.583			
33	.159	.418	99.001			
34	.140	.369	99.371			
35	.130	.343	99.713			
36	.105	.276	99.989			
37	.004	.011	100.000			
38	4.101E-16	1.079E-15	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Appendix 6. Key for Survey Questionnaire Analysis Codes

Factor/ code	Condition	If	Positive attitude (6/5/4) if	Negative attitude (3/2/1) if
F1	2= Most attached	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) And Fri=1 (with i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 and Fi=1	
	1= Ambivalent	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) et Fri=0 or Ei=0 et Fri=1 (with i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 or Fi=1	Ei=0 or Fri=0
	0= Not attached	Ei=0 (with i <2) and Fri=0 (with i <2)		Ei=0 and Fi=0
F2	2= Most attached	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) and Fri=1 (with i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 and Fi=1	
	1= Ambivalent	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) et Fri=0 or Ei=0 et Fri=1 (with i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 or Fi=1	Ei=0 or Fri=0
	0= Not attached	Ei=0 (with i <2) and Fri=0 (with i <2)		Ei=0 and Fi=0
F3	2= Most attached	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) and Fri=1 (with i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 and Fi=1	
	1= Ambivalent	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) et Fri=0 or Ei=0 et Fri=1 (with i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 or Fi=1	Ei=0 or Fri=0
	0= Not attached	Ei=0 (with i <2) and Fri=0 (with i <2)		Ei=0 and Fi=0

F4	2= Most attached	F4_use=2 and F4_expo=2	F4_use	2 (positive)	(E11=1 and E13=1) et (Fr11=1 Fr13=1)
	1= Ambivalent	All other combinations		1 (unclear)	All other combinations
				0 (negative)	(E11=0 and E13=0) or (Fr11=0 and Fr13=0)
	0= Not attached	F4_use=0 and F4_expo=0	F4_expo	2 (positive)	(E10=1 and E12=1) and (Fr10=1 Fr12=1)
				1 (unclear)	All other combinations
				0 (negative)	(E10=0 and E12=0) or (Fr10=0 and Fr12=0)
F5	2= Most attached	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) and Fri=1 (with i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 and Fi=1		
	1= Ambivalent	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) et Fri=0 or Ei=0 et Fri=1 (with i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 or Fi=1		Ei=0 or Fri=0
	0= Not attached	Ei=0 (with i <2) and Fri=0 (with i <2)			Ei=0 and Fi=0
F6	2= Most attached	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) Et Fri=1 (avec i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 Et Fi=1		
	1= Ambivalent	Ei=1 (with i ≥ 2) et Fri=0 or Ei=0 et Fri=1 (with i ≥ 2)	Ei=1 or Fi=1		Ei=0 or Fri=0
	0= Not attached	Ei=0 (with i <2) and Fri=0 (with i <2)			Ei=0 and Fi=0

Appendix 7. List of Profiles and their assigned Numbers

Profile	Assigned code
P1	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
P2	(2,2,1,2,2,2)
P3	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
P4	(1,2,2,2,2,1)
P5	(0,1,2,2,1,2)
P6	(2,2,0,2,2,2)
P7	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
P8	(2,2,2,1,2,1)
P9	(2,2,2,1,1,2)
P10	(2,1,2,1,2,2)
P11	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
P12	(1,1,0,2,2,2)
P13	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
P14	(2,2,1,0,2,2)
P15	(1,2,1,1,2,2)
P16	(1,2,2,1,2,1)
P17	(2,1,1,1,2,2)
P18	(2,1,2,0,2,2)
P19	(1,1,2,1,2,2)
P20	(2,2,2,1,1,1)
P21	(2,1,2,1,2,1)
P22	(0,2,2,0,2,2)
P23	(1,2,2,1,0,2)
P24	(1,2,0,1,2,2)
P25	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
P26	(0,1,2,1,2,2)
P27	(1,0,2,1,2,2)
P28	(0,2,2,1,0,2)
P29	(2,0,2,1,2,1)
P30	(2,2,1,0,2,1)
P31	(2,2,0,0,2,2)
P32	(2,1,0,1,2,2)
P33	(1,1,2,0,0,2)
P34	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
P35	(0,2,1,1,2,2)
P36	(2,0,1,1,2,2)
P37	(1,2,2,0,2,0)
P38	(2,2,2,1,1,0)
P39	(2,2,2,0,1,1)
P40	(0,2,2,0,2,1)
P41	(1,1,2,1,2,1)
P42	(1,2,1,1,1,2)
P43	(2,1,1,1,2,1)
P44	(1,1,2,0,0,1)
P45	(0,1,2,0,2,0)
P46	(2,1,0,1,0,2)
P47	(0,2,2,1,0,1)
P48	(1,2,0,1,1,2)
P49	(0,2,1,1,2,1)
P50	(1,2,1,0,1,2)
P51	(1,2,1,0,2,1)
P52	(2,2,1,0,2,0)
P53	(2,2,0,0,2,1)
P54	(0,2,0,1,2,2)
P55	(1,2,0,0,2,2)
P56	(1,1,1,1,2,1)
P57	(1,2,1,1,1,0)
P58	(0,2,1,1,1,2)
P59	(1,1,0,1,1,2)
P60	(2,1,1,1,2,0)
P61	(1,1,1,1,0,2)
P62	(1,1,2,1,0,0)
P63	(1,0,2,0,2,0)
P64	(0,0,2,1,0,2)
P65	(0,0,2,0,2,0)
P66	(0,2,2,1,0,0)
P67	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
P68	(0,2,1,1,0,2)
P69	(2,1,1,0,2,0)
P70	(0,1,2,1,0,1)
P71	(1,2,1,0,2,0)
P72	(1,2,0,0,2,1)
P73	(1,2,1,0,1,1)
P74	(1,1,1,0,2,1)
P75	(1,0,1,1,2,1)
P76	(0,1,0,1,2,0)
P77	(0,0,0,0,2,2)
P78	(0,2,1,0,0,2)
P79	(1,2,1,0,0,0)
P80	(0,0,2,1,0,1)
P81	(1,2,0,0,2,0)
P82	(2,2,0,0,1,0)

P83	(2,1,0,0,2,0)
P84	(1,1,0,0,2,1)
P85	(1,0,1,0,2,1)
P86	(0,0,0,1,1,0)
P87	(1,1,0,0,2,0)
P88	(0,0,1,1,0,0)

P89	(1,0,1,0,1,1)
P90	(1,2,0,0,1,0)
P91	(0,2,0,0,2,0)
P92	(0,0,1,0,0,0)
P93	(0,2,0,0,1,0)
P94	(0,1,0,0,0,0)

Appendix 8. Profiles Extracted using Partial Order Theory for Factors' Coding

Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Profile
1	2	2	1	2	1	(1,2,2,1,2,1)
2	2	2	1	1	2	(2,2,2,1,1,2)
2	2	2	0	1	1	(2,2,2,0,1,1)
1	2	2	0	2	0	(1,2,2,0,2,0)
1	2	1	1	2	2	(1,2,1,1,2,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
0	1	2	1	2	2	(0,1,2,1,2,2)
1	1	1	1	0	2	(1,1,1,1,0,2)
1	0	2	0	2	0	(1,0,2,0,2,0)
0	0	1	0	0	0	(0,0,1,0,0,0)
0	2	0	0	2	0	(0,2,0,0,2,0)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
0	2	0	0	1	0	(0,2,0,0,1,0)
0	2	1	0	0	2	(0,2,1,0,0,2)
0	1	2	1	0	1	(0,1,2,1,0,1)
0	2	1	1	0	2	(0,2,1,1,0,2)
1	2	1	0	0	0	(1,2,1,0,0,0)
0	2	2	1	0	1	(0,2,2,1,0,1)
0	2	0	1	2	2	(0,2,0,1,2,2)
0	0	0	0	2	2	(0,0,0,0,2,2)
0	2	2	1	0	2	(0,2,2,1,0,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	1	2	2	2	(2,2,1,2,2,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
1	2	1	1	1	2	(1,2,1,1,1,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
1	1	2	1	2	1	(1,1,2,1,2,1)
1	1	0	2	2	2	(1,1,0,2,2,2)
1	1	0	0	2	0	(1,1,0,0,2,0)
1	2	1	1	2	2	(1,2,1,1,2,2)
1	2	1	0	2	1	(1,2,1,0,2,1)
2	2	0	0	2	2	(2,2,0,0,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	2	(2,2,0,0,2,2)
0	2	2	1	0	0	(0,2,2,1,0,0)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
0	0	2	1	0	2	(0,0,2,1,0,2)
2	0	2	1	2	1	(2,0,2,1,2,1)
2	2	0	0	2	2	(2,2,0,0,2,2)
2	2	1	0	2	1	(2,2,1,0,2,1)
2	1	2	0	2	2	(2,1,2,0,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	1	0	1	2	2	(2,1,0,1,2,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
2	1	2	1	2	2	(2,1,2,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	1	2	0	0	2	(1,1,2,0,0,2)
2	2	1	0	2	2	(2,2,1,0,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	2	(2,1,1,1,2,2)

1	2	0	0	2	2	(1,2,0,0,2,2)
1	2	0	1	2	2	(1,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	1	0	(2,2,2,1,1,0)
0	0	2	0	2	0	(0,0,2,0,2,0)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(1,2,2,2,2,1)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	1	(2,2,2,1,2,1)
2	2	1	2	2	2	(2,2,1,2,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
1	1	0	1	1	2	(1,1,0,1,1,2)
2	2	1	0	2	2	(2,2,1,0,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
0	0	0	1	1	0	(0,0,0,1,1,0)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	0	1	1	2	2	(2,0,1,1,2,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	1	2	2	2	(2,2,1,2,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
1	1	2	1	0	0	(1,1,2,1,0,0)
2	2	2	1	1	1	(2,2,2,1,1,1)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
1	1	2	0	0	1	(1,1,2,0,0,1)
0	2	1	1	1	2	(0,2,1,1,1,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
0	2	2	0	2	2	(0,2,2,0,2,2)
2	2	1	0	2	2	(2,2,1,0,2,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
1	1	1	0	2	1	(1,1,1,0,2,1)
2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
0	1	0	1	2	0	(0,1,0,1,2,0)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
2	1	0	1	2	2	(2,1,0,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
2	2	0	0	2	1	(2,2,0,0,2,1)
1	1	0	0	2	1	(1,1,0,0,2,1)
1	2	0	0	2	1	(1,2,0,0,2,1)
1	1	1	0	2	1	(1,1,1,0,2,1)
1	1	2	1	2	2	(1,1,2,1,2,2)
0	2	2	0	2	1	(0,2,2,0,2,1)
0	1	2	0	2	0	(0,1,2,0,2,0)
2	1	2	1	2	1	(2,1,2,1,2,1)
2	1	0	0	2	0	(2,1,0,0,2,0)
0	2	1	1	2	1	(0,2,1,1,2,1)
1	2	2	1	0	2	(1,2,2,1,0,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	2	0	1	1	2	(1,2,0,1,1,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)

1	0	1	0	1	1	(1,0,1,0,1,1)
2	2	1	0	2	0	(2,2,1,0,2,0)
2	1	1	0	2	0	(2,1,1,0,2,0)
2	2	1	0	2	2	(2,2,1,0,2,2)
1	2	0	1	2	2	(1,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
1	2	1	0	2	0	(1,2,1,0,2,0)
1	0	2	1	2	2	(1,0,2,1,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	0	(2,1,1,1,2,0)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
1	0	1	0	2	1	(1,0,1,0,2,1)
1	0	1	1	2	1	(1,0,1,1,2,1)
1	0	1	0	2	1	(1,0,1,0,2,1)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	1	(2,1,1,1,2,1)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
0	0	2	1	0	2	(0,0,2,1,0,2)
2	1	0	1	0	2	(2,1,0,1,0,2)
2	1	0	1	0	2	(2,1,0,1,0,2)
1	2	1	0	1	2	(1,2,1,0,1,2)
1	2	1	1	1	0	(1,2,1,1,1,0)
1	2	0	0	2	0	(1,2,0,0,2,0)
2	2	0	0	1	0	(2,2,0,0,1,0)
0	2	1	1	2	2	(0,2,1,1,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	2	(2,1,1,1,2,2)
0	1	0	0	0	0	(0,1,0,0,0,0)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
0	0	1	1	0	0	(0,0,1,1,0,0)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	1	0	1	2	2	(2,1,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	1	0	0	2	1	(1,1,0,0,2,1)
2	2	0	0	2	1	(2,2,0,0,2,1)
2	1	1	1	2	1	(2,1,1,1,2,1)
2	2	0	0	1	0	(2,2,0,0,1,0)
2	2	0	2	2	2	(2,2,0,2,2,2)
1	1	2	1	2	2	(1,1,2,1,2,2)
1	1	1	1	2	1	(1,1,1,1,2,1)
0	0	2	1	0	1	(0,0,2,1,0,1)
0	0	2	1	0	1	(0,0,2,1,0,1)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
1	2	0	1	2	2	(1,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	2	1	0	1	1	(1,2,1,0,1,1)
1	1	2	1	2	1	(1,1,2,1,2,1)
0	1	2	2	1	2	(0,1,2,2,1,2)
1	2	0	0	1	0	(1,2,0,0,1,0)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	1	(2,1,1,1,2,1)
2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)

2	1	1	1	2	1	(2,1,1,1,2,1)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	2	(2,1,1,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
1	1	1	0	2	1	(1,1,1,0,2,1)
1	1	1	0	2	1	(1,1,1,0,2,1)
1	2	2	1	2	1	(1,2,2,1,2,1)
2	2	2	1	1	2	(2,2,2,1,1,2)
2	2	2	0	1	1	(2,2,2,0,1,1)
1	2	2	0	2	0	(1,2,2,0,2,0)
1	2	1	1	2	2	(1,2,1,1,2,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
0	1	2	1	2	2	(0,1,2,1,2,2)
1	1	1	1	0	2	(1,1,1,1,0,2)
1	0	2	0	2	0	(1,0,2,0,2,0)
0	0	1	0	0	0	(0,0,1,0,0,0)
0	2	0	0	2	0	(0,2,0,0,2,0)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
0	2	0	0	1	0	(0,2,0,0,1,0)
0	2	1	0	0	2	(0,2,1,0,0,2)
0	1	2	1	0	1	(0,1,2,1,0,1)
0	2	1	1	0	2	(0,2,1,1,0,2)
1	2	1	0	0	0	(1,2,1,0,0,0)
0	2	2	1	0	1	(0,2,2,1,0,1)
0	2	0	1	2	2	(0,2,0,1,2,2)
0	0	0	0	2	2	(0,0,0,0,2,2)
0	2	2	1	0	2	(0,2,2,1,0,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	1	2	2	2	(2,2,1,2,2,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
1	2	1	1	1	2	(1,2,1,1,1,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
1	1	2	1	2	1	(1,1,2,1,2,1)
1	1	0	2	2	2	(1,1,0,2,2,2)
1	1	0	0	2	0	(1,1,0,0,2,0)
1	2	1	1	2	2	(1,2,1,1,2,2)
1	2	1	0	2	1	(1,2,1,0,2,1)
2	2	0	0	2	2	(2,2,0,0,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	2	(2,2,0,0,2,2)
0	2	2	1	0	0	(0,2,2,1,0,0)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
0	0	2	1	0	2	(0,0,2,1,0,2)
2	0	2	1	2	1	(2,0,2,1,2,1)
2	2	0	0	2	2	(2,2,0,0,2,2)
2	2	1	0	2	1	(2,2,1,0,2,1)
2	1	2	0	2	2	(2,1,2,0,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	1	0	1	2	2	(2,1,0,1,2,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
2	1	2	1	2	2	(2,1,2,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	1	2	0	0	2	(1,1,2,0,0,2)
2	2	1	0	2	2	(2,2,1,0,2,2)

2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	2	(2,1,1,1,2,2)
1	2	0	0	2	2	(1,2,0,0,2,2)
1	2	0	1	2	2	(1,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	1	0	(2,2,2,1,1,0)
0	0	2	0	2	0	(0,0,2,0,2,0)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	1	(2,2,2,1,2,1)
2	2	1	2	2	2	(2,2,1,2,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
1	1	0	1	1	2	(1,1,0,1,1,2)
2	2	1	0	2	2	(2,2,1,0,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
0	0	0	1	1	0	(0,0,0,1,1,0)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	0	1	1	2	2	(2,0,1,1,2,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	1	2	2	2	(2,2,1,2,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
1	1	2	1	0	0	(1,1,2,1,0,0)
2	2	2	1	1	1	(2,2,2,1,1,1)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	2	(2,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
1	1	2	0	0	1	(1,1,2,0,0,1)
0	2	1	1	1	2	(0,2,1,1,1,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
0	2	2	0	2	2	(0,2,2,0,2,2)
2	2	1	0	2	2	(2,2,1,0,2,2)
1	2	2	1	2	2	(1,2,2,1,2,2)
1	1	1	0	2	1	(1,1,1,0,2,1)
2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
0	1	0	1	2	0	(0,1,0,1,2,0)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
2	1	0	1	2	2	(2,1,0,1,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
2	2	0	0	2	1	(2,2,0,0,2,1)
1	1	0	0	2	1	(1,1,0,0,2,1)
1	2	0	0	2	1	(1,2,0,0,2,1)
1	1	1	0	2	1	(1,1,1,0,2,1)
1	1	2	1	2	2	(1,1,2,1,2,2)
0	2	2	0	2	1	(0,2,2,0,2,1)
0	1	2	0	2	0	(0,1,2,0,2,0)
2	1	2	1	2	1	(2,1,2,1,2,1)
2	1	0	0	2	0	(2,1,0,0,2,0)
0	2	1	1	2	1	(0,2,1,1,2,1)
1	2	2	1	0	2	(1,2,2,1,0,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)

2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	2	0	1	1	2	(1,2,0,1,1,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
1	0	1	0	1	1	(1,0,1,0,1,1)
2	2	1	0	2	0	(2,2,1,0,2,0)
2	1	1	0	2	0	(2,1,1,0,2,0)
2	2	1	0	2	2	(2,2,1,0,2,2)
1	2	0	1	2	2	(1,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
1	2	1	0	2	0	(1,2,1,0,2,0)
1	0	2	1	2	2	(1,0,2,1,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	0	(2,1,1,1,2,0)
2	2	1	1	2	2	(2,2,1,1,2,2)
1	0	1	0	2	1	(1,0,1,0,2,1)
1	0	1	1	2	1	(1,0,1,1,2,1)
1	0	1	0	2	1	(1,0,1,0,2,1)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	1	(2,1,1,1,2,1)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	0	0	2	0	(2,2,0,0,2,0)
0	0	2	1	0	2	(0,0,2,1,0,2)
2	1	0	1	0	2	(2,1,0,1,0,2)
2	1	0	1	0	2	(2,1,0,1,0,2)
1	2	1	0	1	2	(1,2,1,0,1,2)
1	2	1	1	1	0	(1,2,1,1,1,0)
1	2	0	0	2	0	(1,2,0,0,2,0)
2	2	0	0	1	0	(2,2,0,0,1,0)
0	2	1	1	2	2	(0,2,1,1,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	2	(2,1,1,1,2,2)
0	1	0	0	0	0	(0,1,0,0,0,0)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
0	0	1	1	0	0	(0,0,1,1,0,0)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	1	0	1	2	2	(2,1,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	1	0	0	2	1	(1,1,0,0,2,1)
2	2	0	0	2	1	(2,2,0,0,2,1)
2	1	1	1	2	1	(2,1,1,1,2,1)
2	2	0	0	1	0	(2,2,0,0,1,0)
2	2	0	2	2	2	(2,2,0,2,2,2)
1	1	2	1	2	2	(1,1,2,1,2,2)
1	1	1	1	2	1	(1,1,1,1,2,1)
0	0	2	1	0	1	(0,0,2,1,0,1)
0	0	2	1	0	1	(0,0,2,1,0,1)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
1	2	0	1	2	2	(1,2,0,1,2,2)
2	2	2	2	2	2	(2,2,2,2,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
2	2	2	1	2	2	(2,2,2,1,2,2)
1	2	1	0	1	1	(1,2,1,0,1,1)
2	1	2	1	2	1	(2,1,2,1,2,1)
0	1	2	2	1	2	(0,1,2,2,1,2)
1	2	0	0	1	0	(1,2,0,0,1,0)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	1	(2,1,1,1,2,1)

2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
2	1	1	1	2	1	(2,1,1,1,2,1)
1	2	1	0	2	2	(1,2,1,0,2,2)
2	1	1	1	2	1	(2,1,1,1,2,1)
2	2	0	1	2	1	(2,2,0,1,2,1)
1	1	1	0	2	1	(1,1,1,0,2,1)
1	1	1	0	2	1	(1,1,1,0,2,1)

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