

**LANGUAGES MARKET IN THE HORN OF AFRICA:  
A CASE STUDY OF DJIBOUTI**

**SAID DJAMA DIRIE**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**Aston University**

**May 2020**

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# ASTON UNIVERSITY

## **Languages Market in the Horn of Africa:**

### **A case study of Djibouti**

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## **THESIS SUMMARY**

The linguistic settings of Djibouti, where French was the only official language until 1992, has been altered through the independence; the displaced people and transformations brought by wars in the Horn of Africa over the last few decades. In response to these linguistic transformations, this sociolinguistic study focuses on the changing contemporary relationships of languages. French is today challenged by Arabic, the language of the state religion, English which dominates the international scientific fields and the national labour market, and Afar and Somali, national languages which are increasingly used in every situation. The increasing economic interdependence between Djibouti and Ethiopia has also allowed the emergence of regional languages such as Amharic and Oromo.

This study reveals and analyses the areas of domination and conflict between those seven widely spoken languages in Djibouti. Focused on the field of sociolinguistics and particularly on the macro-subfield (or sociology of language), it explores the notions of bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia and their related phenomena. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods through questionnaires and interviews establishes the frequency of languages usage in the linguistic landscape, the positions of each language in relation to the others.

The research determines whether attitudes towards French in Djibouti have changed and investigates if colonial habits have disappeared as new generations experience things differently due to economic and technological changes.

In addition, the study examines whether French and English are perceived equally as foreign languages and whether the switch from one to another could happen. It demonstrates that the high demand for English in the global market has huge implications for French, the former colonial and today official and educational language.

This study provides an opportunity to find out what is happening to French in Djibouti. It could also inform the process of regulating languages in Djibouti by providing the first basis for a language policy and a language planning, as well as for status and corpus planning.

### **Key words / phrases**

French Future in Djibouti. English and French Inward Competitions. Multilingualism and Diglossia Language Policy and Status. Arabic progress in Higher Education.

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my lovely wife, Deka Saad Said.

*To my departed mother, Amina Hersi Hassan, who still lives in my heart.*

*To Allah we belong and to Him we shall return.*

*May ALLAH (SWT) forgive her shortcomings and grant her the highest ranks of Jannah.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful, Alhamdulillah and praise to Allah, for His Grace and His Mercy in giving me the inspiration, health, patience and strength to complete this thesis.

I am grateful to Dr Emmanuelle Labeau, my supervisor, without whom this project could not have been done. She has been extremely patient, responsive and supportive with plenty of advice and insightful feedbacks on numerous drafts of this dissertation. I am forever grateful for the support and guidance that she has provided throughout the entire process.

I am indebted and will not be able to thank enough my spouse, Deka Saad Said, who patiently supported and eased my family duties while I was spending most of my time writing this project. I thank my daughters Bilan, Rayan and Yusra as well as my sons Liban, Abdoulwahid, Deyl and Wiilsan for being there entertaining me every time I needed to rest.

I am thankful to the government of Djibouti, despite getting it only four times, for making mandatory provision of three months of research leave a year for PhD candidates.

I thank the School of Languages and Social Sciences for providing all my training needs and a strong connection with the academic world during my years of research at Aston University.

I express thanks to my friend Christophe Farah, journalist at the BBC, for having devoted some of its precious time to proofread the first two chapters.

Many thanks to the participants and particularly to my interviewees for their time and contributions and to my Djiboutians students who helped me collect some of the data.

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## Chapter 1 Introduction and Background

### 1.1 Introduction

In Sub-Saharan Africa, nothing has changed, colonial languages still dominate African languages. English, French, Portuguese and Spanish are the official and educational languages except in few countries. These few exceptions are; South Africa and Zimbabwe that teach English from grade fourth, and Ethiopia and Tanzania that start teaching it from secondary schools. Exceptional cases are Sudan with Arabic taught up to secondary schools and Equatorial Guinea with Spanish as the official and educational language. Still, today, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau promote Portuguese and most Francophone countries French. The African languages situation is that in some countries most of the population speak one language either as a mother tongue or as a lingua franca. The majority speak one mother tongue language in countries such as Burundi, Botswana, Lesotho, Rwanda, Somalia and Swaziland. Countries that have a lingua franca are the Central Africa Republic, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Senegal, Sudan and Tanzania. The other countries have either one predominant language or several or no dominant one.

This research deals with the sociolinguistics aspects of all languages spoken in the Horn of Africa. These languages, according to their geographical origin, make up three groups: Arabic from the Arabian Peninsula, and English and French from Europe. Afar, Amharic, Oromo and Somali are the indigenous or vernacular languages<sup>1</sup>, natives of the Horn of Africa. These languages have distinct functions; Arabic and French, according to the constitution, are the official languages which means that they are “approved by the government [...], taught in schools, and used in legal and official documents.” (Longman Dictionary). Afar and Somali are the national languages according to educational law.<sup>2</sup> A national language is mostly “officially designated the language of a nation or country, usually for cultural and/or ethnic reasons.” (Concise Oxford). A national language is in “the broad sense, the full set of all regional, social, and functional, spoken and written variants of a historically and politically defined linguistic community.” (Routledge dictionary). Arabic and French are government-maintained compulsorily languages of education but then the educational system does not use Afar and Somali. French is the main public educational language from primary to higher secondary schools and in most graduate courses at the university level. Arabic is the second language in schools, but it is important

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<sup>1</sup> The term "vernacular language" refers to the native language of a specific language in a specific place (www.worldatlas.com).

<sup>2</sup> Loi n° 96/AN/00/4e L du 10 juillet 2000 portant orientation du système éducatif djiboutien (2000) is the only law that mentions Afar and Somali as the national languages of the country (see article 5 below in page 7).

because of its religious and political affiliation to the population of the country. Amharic and Oromo do not have any status in Djibouti and are regional languages. These languages from the neighbouring country of Ethiopia, have become visible in Djibouti with a large refugee community who fled war and famine. Somali ethnic refugees from Ethiopia and Somalia are not noticeable in Djibouti because they belong to the same tribes as the natives. They have integrated rapidly into the population than those of other ethnic' backgrounds thanks to their tribal lineages with people living in the country and their language.

In Djibouti, secondary schools teach English as a foreign language since the creation of the first one in 1956 (Dudzik, 2008, p 61). Recently English appeared leading the job market. Since 2010, English dominates the job market as it is the working language of most new foreign investing companies. Some of the English-speaking job offers on the market are filled by Ethiopian and Somali refugees, educated in English as it is the language of education in those countries. In the meantime, the University of Djibouti has introduced several courses entirely taught in English. These university English major courses focus on Business, Engineering and Sciences. Private language schools that teach English have also spread rapidly all over Djibouti.

The Republic of Djibouti is the location of this research as it is the microcosm of the regional language settings. Research is a planned and methodical enterprise of finding solutions to problems. First, the research presents, in the statement of the problems, the issues that the government deals regularly with, which trigger language matters, and that the media worsen it through questioning. Then, it introduces Maurer's study, which is an important foundation stone on Djibouti languages. The review of Maurer's study helps to show and explain the need for undertaking this new research.

Next, it proposes its justifications in the purpose of the study, which describes the reasons for doing this study as well as the expectations of its findings.

Afterwards, it presents the significance of the study which enquires on and deals with linguistics notions and focuses on the languages spoken in Djibouti.

In the background chapter, the study gives important geographical and historical information on Djibouti. Then, it describes, in detail, the past and contemporary linguistic situations of all these languages. Finally, it presents the research questions followed by a summary in the form of a plan, which describes and briefly reveals the contents of the next chapters.

### 1.1.1 Statement of the Problems

The first step in the right direction for research is to describe the problem or issues that it is planning to deal with. This study outlines and describes concisely six pressing language issues. These issues motivated the researcher to find solutions. The government of Djibouti may use some of these solutions to regulate its various languages through a policy. At this stage, it shows the significances and explains the occurrences of the language problems that Djibouti and especially the government is dealing with.

The government of Djibouti does not have an official language policy for the various languages spoken in the country. It must start a project on language policy for the realisation and implementation of a multicultural language policy. It must apply the Harare Declaration<sup>3</sup> of March 1997 and supplies a language policy document to Africa Union.

In Harare Conference, experts drew up an agreed reference framework for languages policy requiring the status and function of all languages used in a country and the implementation process of that policy. The final report makes up five sections; 1) a vision for Africa, 2) guidelines for policy formulation, 3) policy options, 4) strategies for implementation and 5) commitments and appeals. More interestingly, section 2b stipulates that; “Each country should produce a clear Language Policy Document, within which every language spoken in the country can find its place.” The AU requested from African countries to supply language policies that could help people use them fairly and governments manage their multilingual situations. Despite the Action Plan of the AU, which contains the activities, aims, results targeted and time frame for the process of language policy that most countries implemented, Djibouti has not even begun working towards any of them. Djibouti took part at the Ministers and Heads of Delegations Conference and signed the declaration as well. Therefore, the government must respect the declaration and work toward a language policy.

This research should help the government of Djibouti and the policymakers to engage in the process and decide expertly on the future language policy for their country. Language policy relies on planning languages, which is based on the writing of an official policy document to regulate them.

Djibouti faces another important problem, which is the fact that all regional and neighbouring countries have implemented English as their official or educational language or both. English is official language in Kenya and in Uganda. English is the medium of instruction from secondary in Ethiopia and in Eritrea. Arabic is the official and education language in primary and secondary in Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Yemen, but English is the medium of instruction in private schools and universities. Arabic and English are the medium of instruction in private schools and universities in Somalia. Djibouti is the only country in the Horn of Africa that has French as an official and educational language. The government

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<sup>3</sup> Harare declaration (20-21 March 1997) is the working document adopted by the Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers on language policy in Africa.

of Djibouti imposes French through the national education system with the financial aid of France. To preserve its French educational system, the government is engaged in an eternal defensive mode to safeguard it from critics. Discussions typically focus on the dominance of French, the use of Arabic or the benefits of English. These language issues consistently influence international relationships between Djibouti, its regional neighbours and its military guests; China, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the USA.

Furthermore, the threat of English to overtake French functions and positions in some domains worsens the situation. It is an example of how European colonial consequences are still affecting Africa and its policies. People know English and French antagonism in this part of Africa and today it is a proxy economic confrontation through language domination. Nevertheless, the language heritage is a burden, that is growing and changing faces, year after year. The human and economic costs on development are inestimable as the state sacrificed and left behind those who do not speak these colonial languages. Despite that, African countries spend more money than any other country on education when compared the attrition rates. Only a few among the schooled population mastered the colonial language and completed their education. African governments do not only waste money on these people that do not finish their education, but there is no economic gain for the country as they cannot take part in the development.

Another challenge for the government is the constant reminder from professional journalists of the existence of these languages' conundrums, at every opportunity. The media constantly question the president of Djibouti and the members of its government about the delicate linguistic situation of the country whenever the interviews concern domestic or foreign affairs. The president of Djibouti gave the following statement to journalist François Soudan of *Jeune Afrique*, on 11<sup>th</sup> April 2004. The question regarding language was :

« Djibouti est un État francophone, entouré de pays où l'anglais est la langue de communication principale. Cela ne pose-t-il pas problème ? »<sup>4</sup>

President Ismaïl Omar Guelleh answered:

« Assurément. Cette singularité renforce notre enclavement. Le système de traduction simultanée d'une organisation régionale comme l'Igad<sup>5</sup> (Inter Gouvernemental Authority on Development), dont Djibouti est membre, n'est ainsi financé que pour nous. Nous devons donc absolument renforcer l'apprentissage de l'anglais. Les Américains et diverses fondations nous y aident. L'avenir de Djibouti passe aussi par-là. »<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> “Djibouti is a francophone State, surrounded by countries where English is the main language of communication. Is this not problematic?”

<sup>5</sup> The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was created in 1996 to succeed the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development that was founded in 1986 to deal with issues related to drought and desertification in the Horn Africa.

<sup>6</sup> “Certainly. This singularity reinforces our isolation. The system of simultaneous interpretation of a regional organisation such as the IGAD (Inter-Government Authority on Development), which Djibouti is a member of, is



The questioning journalists are sensitive to the circumstances through which Djibouti has evolved, and to the discrepancy in the usage of languages between the country and the rest of the region. It seems to them that Djibouti - by supporting French as an official language - is fighting against the odds as the global lingua franca is going to defeated them one day. The journalists expect that that day is coming, and they are ready for the Djibouti government to announce that English has taken over French educational role.

The following interview extracts illustrate some of the language-related issues concerning French that the president and the prime minister of Djibouti often face. Francois Soudan conducted also the second interview, on 4<sup>th</sup> February 2008, but this time the question put to the president was from a different angle:

« Pourquoi les investisseurs français sont-ils si rares à Djibouti ? »<sup>7</sup>

And the president, answered with a bit of irritation:

« Posez-leur la question. Hormis Total et une ou deux sociétés, il n'y a personne. Résultat, la France perd peu à peu ses positions économiques, culturelles et linguistiques à Djibouti. Et pourtant, je suis francophile depuis toujours, par tradition. Mon père a été, en 1927, le premier instituteur francophone du territoire ! C'est la France qui n'est pas à la hauteur. [...] Il faut être clair : si les Français pensent ne plus avoir besoin de Djibouti, l'inverse est aussi vrai. »<sup>8</sup>

One can find two language-related issues in both answers. The first is the fact that speaking French isolate Djiboutians from their neighbours. The second is the statement about France slowly losing its economic, cultural and linguistic positions as it continues to neglect investing in Djibouti, unlike English-speaking companies which do the exact opposite. The president of Djibouti often repeats in his press conferences that because France, and particularly French companies, do not invest in his country, people in Djibouti will follow their best interests and learn English instead of French.

Former Prime Minister, Dileita Mohamed Dileita (7 March 2001 to 1 April 2013), answered related questions about the future of French in Djibouti. In an interview with Dominique Flaux, of the weekly newspaper *Les Afriques*, the prime minister was asked:

« Pensez-vous vraiment que Djibouti restera longtemps francophone ? »<sup>9</sup>

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therefore financed merely for us. We must absolutely enhance the learning of English. So, the Americans and various foundations are helping us. The future of Djibouti is also happening through this.”

<sup>7</sup> “Why are French investors so rare in Djibouti?”

<sup>8</sup> “Ask them the question. Apart from Total and one or two companies, there is nobody. As a result, France loses little by little its economic, cultural and linguistic positions in Djibouti. And yet I have always been a Francophile, by tradition. In 1927, my father was the first Francophone teacher of the territory! It is France who is not up to the challenge. [...] It must be clear: If the French think they no longer need Djibouti, the opposite is also true.”

<sup>9</sup> “Do you really think that Djibouti will remain Francophone for long?”

He answered:

« C'est mon souhait. [...] »

Mais deux choses nous inquiètent à ce sujet. La première, c'est que nous sommes entourés de voisins qui ne sont pas francophones. Nous sommes linguistiquement enclavés. Aujourd'hui, notre principal partenaire commercial, c'est l'Éthiopie, de l'autre côté il y a les Somaliens, et nos principaux investisseurs sont à Dubaï. Nous devons nécessairement encourager nos concitoyens à pratiquer les autres langues, et l'anglais en particulier, non pas pour mettre de côté le français, mais pour pouvoir évoluer dans notre environnement commercial et économique.

Il y a aussi un autre facteur d'inquiétude, peut-être plus important, c'est la difficulté d'accès aux pays développés francophones, et particulièrement à la France. Quand on voit les facilités que les jeunes des pays anglophones se voient accorder pour avoir des visas et pour aller étudier à l'international, on a l'impression que du côté français il y a un blocage, que tout est ramené au problème de l'émigration, alors qu'il y a chez nous beaucoup de gens qui ont des moyens, qui n'ont aucune intention de quitter leur pays et qui se voient tout de même refuser l'accès à la France, pour eux ou pour leurs enfants. C'est vrai que tout ceci incite, surtout nos jeunes, à se tourner vers d'autres cultures plus accueillantes. C'est pour nous, francophones, un vrai problème. »<sup>10</sup>

Dileita's first concern is that, linguistically, Djibouti is a landlocked country as its regional neighbours speak English. He summarised the problems with the French language by expressing the importance of Djibouti to be able to interact with its neighbours and to avoid further marginalisation in the region's trade. At the same time, the prime minister gives a diplomatic answer to the incongruity of supporting French as an official language regardless of its irrelevance when trading in the region. The prime minister's second concern is the difficulty of obtaining student visas for young Djiboutians wishing to further their education in French universities. Better visa delivery facilities drove students towards other countries and therefore, they need to learn other languages. The French cooperation services have gradually withdrawn their teaching staff from the Djiboutian education system since 1995. 700 French teachers from the cooperation had teaching posts in the 1980s, 400 of them were still teaching in 1989 and only 340 staffs remained in schools in 1995 (Marchal, 1995). In 2003/2004 according to the report of Project Education III of African Development Fund (AfDB), only 11 French teachers were teaching in Djibouti.

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<sup>10</sup> "It is my wish [...]. But two things are worrying us about this issue. The first is that we are surrounded by neighbours who are not Francophone. We are linguistically landlocked. Today, our main trading partner is Ethiopia, on the other side there are Somalis, and our major investors are from Dubai. We must necessarily encourage our citizens to practise other languages, and English in particular, not to put aside French, but to be in synch with our economic and trade environment. There is also another point for concern, possibly an important one; it is the difficulty to access Francophone developed countries, and particularly France. When we see the ease with which youth from Anglophone countries get visas and go to study abroad, one has the impression that on the French side there is a deadlock, that everything is reduced to the problem of emigration. There are in our country many people who are well off, who have no intention of leaving their country and still denied access to France for themselves or their children. It is true that all this encourages, especially our young people, to turn to other more welcoming cultures. It is for us, Francophones, a real problem."

An article published on 23 January 2005 in *Jeune Afrique* and written by Fadwa Miadi, reported that;

À la mi-janvier, le ministère djiboutien des Affaires étrangères a informé le Quai d'Orsay, par lettre, de sa décision de mettre un terme dans les délais les plus brefs aux contrats de tous les coopérants civils français présents dans le pays.

After that letter, France took back its last French teachers and advisers working in Djibouti. France also has reduced the offers of French university places since 2000 as the scholarships budget distributed to Djibouti students has dramatically shrunk after President Sarkozy's austerity budget. France Embassy also refuses to issue visas to privately funded students for immigration reasons. The reason is that the new French immigration law classifies Djiboutians students as potential immigrants.

Unlike France, Arab countries willingly accept and educate an increasing number of Djiboutian students in their universities. According to the Pan-Arabic Policy, Arab countries educated more than 5000 Djiboutians due to Djibouti's membership in the Arab League and to religious reasons in the last two decades. The French language appears thus to be losing ground to Arabic because it no longer has the immigration political support it used to get from France government.

Arabic is another matter for the government to deal with as Arab countries and their national newspapers question the linguistic policy of Djibouti concerning Arabic. They are extremely critical about the lack of progress on the use of Arabic within government departments and agencies, despite huge investments from Arab organisations and countries. These donors are keen on promoting Arabic in the field of language, culture, religion and economy. They supply politically and financially support for Arabic to take up fully its official place and meet the country's educational and administrative needs. For Arab nations, Djibouti is one of them and therefore Arabic should be the primarily spoken and written language.

The last problem faced by the government is the pending application of the law on teaching national languages in schools and the promises made to parents in every electoral campaign to bring the legislation into force. A report made public after the national forum of the "Etats Généraux"<sup>11</sup> of 1999 on the educational system, recommends, among others, the teaching of national languages in schools. The authorities made the recommendations after most parents at the forum requested it.

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<sup>11</sup> Etats Généraux: Stakeholders of the education system. See Arrêté n°99-0571/PR/MEN, portant création et organisation d'un Comité National d'Organisation et de Suivi des Etats Généraux de l'Education (C.N.O.S.E.G.E) du 16 septembre 99.

The Ministry of National Education proposed a bill, voted 2000 by the parliament, which became law; *LOI No 96/AN/00/4ème L Portant Orientation du Système Educatif Djiboutien*<sup>12</sup>, that regulates every aspect of the education. Its Article 5 states that:

« Article 5. L'Éducation et la Formation sont dispensées dans les langues officielles et les langues nationales<sup>13</sup>. Un Décret pris en Conseil de Ministres fixe les modalités de l'enseignement en Français, en Arabe, en Afar et en Somali. »<sup>14</sup>.

No implementation policy has followed this directive and it is still in the project phase today after twenty years. Some private schools, responding to parents' demands, have introduced national languages into the classroom in the form of traditional tales, songs and dances.

This study is looking into these issues that politicians must resolve mostly, but some of them require scientific solutions through research. It is necessary, then, to begin examining earlier studies to understand Djibouti language problems.

### 1.1.2 Earlier Studies on Djibouti's Languages

Researchers have carried out language studies on the linguistic or sociolinguistic situations of Djibouti. So far, out of the four PhD theses that researchers wrote on Djibouti languages, only one is exclusively on sociolinguistics and conducted outside the educational sphere. That one is the PhD thesis of Bruno Maurer (1992) « Le français et les langues nationales à Djibouti: Aspects linguistiques et sociolinguistiques ». The three other PhD language studies<sup>15</sup> are on Djibouti schools and education system. They are helpful when referring to the educational system or writing on the population education background.

Written 28 years ago, Maurer thesis is an important starting point and a good study to consider. At that period, the linguistic atmosphere was exceptional due to certain circumstances, which were influencing life in Djibouti city. There was a civil war going on in the north of the Republic of Djibouti because of Afar armed rebels, under the organisation of FRUD<sup>16</sup>, were fighting the government forces. The army barred foreigners to travel to the Northern Territory. To understand how serious the rebellion

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<sup>12</sup> Act No 96/AN/00/4ème L on the *Orientation of the Djiboutian Educative System*.

<sup>13</sup> Sole article, in Djibouti laws, where Afar and Somali are called national languages.

<sup>14</sup> “Article 5. The education and skills are taught in official languages and national languages. A decree issued by the council of ministers fixes the terms of teaching in French, Arabic, Afar and Somali”

<sup>15</sup> The first one is “*English policies, curricular reforms, and teacher development in multilingual, postcolonial Djibouti*” (Dudzik, 2008). The second one is « *Pour l'enseignement du français et des langues nationales à Djibouti : conditions pour une didactique intégrée dans l'enseignement des langues* » (A. Houssein Djama, 2010). The third is « *Pour une meilleure introduction des langues maternelles dans les écoles djiboutiennes* » (Souad Kassim, 2012).

<sup>16</sup> *Front pour la Restauration de l'Unité et la Démocratie, an armed guerrilla.*

was one needs to read the following extract from Ayanleh (2014) who writes about the war in these terms;

An increasing state of anger led to a violent uprising in 1991 in the context of an armed insurgency led by the *Front pour la Restauration de l'Unité et la Démocratie* (FRUD) against the central government of Haj Hassan Gouled. The military front was strong and, discreetly backed up by indigenous Afar pastoralists, it 'conquered' three quarters of the territory (Obock, Tadjoura and half of Dikhil district) within a few months while still allowing humanitarian organizations to help those most vulnerable and isolated. In front of such (popular) opposition, the Somali-Ise government used the defence accords signed on June 27<sup>th</sup> 1977 to justify France's needed military support, along with help from the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments. Ayanleh (2014, p 130)

In this ethnic war between the Afar rebellion and Djibouti army, consisting mostly of Issa, France refused to intervene and was critical of it.

The French Ambassador, Régis de Belenet, in Djibouti at that time, reported the war in these terms;

« En novembre, de premiers accrochages ont lieu entre l'Armée Nationale Djiboutienne et les éléments du FRUD et, à la surprise générale en trois jours, tous les postes militaires du nord du territoire sont pris par le FRUD ou abandonnés par l'Armée Nationale. Les forces du FRUD vont occuper près des deux tiers du territoire pratiquement jusqu'au début de l'été 1993. »<sup>17</sup> (Brisset and Chauderge, 2016, p 12).

To avoid discrimination because of their tribal links with the insurgents, Afars living in Djibouti city were communicating mostly in French with other community members. There were doing so for the sake of ethnic neutrality, people spoke French often across communities to avoid tension and unnecessary conflict. Thus, limited his linguistic inquiry to Djibouti city, likewise Afars were not inclined to talk to foreigners.

Illegal newsletters and other types of printed papers flourished to denounce the government, allowing Maurer to collect a much-needed written corpus for his research. Why much needed? Except for the government-owned unique newspaper "La Nation", there were no private media and known Djiboutian writers. At the time of the research, most French language teachers were from France, only 11 Djiboutians were teaching French in secondary schools.

Maurer's thesis is the description of the linguistic continuum of different French varieties in use in Djibouti city. He emphasizes on French as shown by the title of the thesis and briefly mentions English as restricted to foreign speakers only. Maurer, however, recognised that the English presence is increasing and that its progression was a threat to the predominance of French if the linguistic situation of Djibouti were not to change. He acknowledged that English, because of its global pre-eminence, had the potential to be a vehicular language between people of different mother tongues in Djibouti.

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<sup>17</sup> In November, the first clashes took place between the Djiboutian National Army and the elements of the FRUD and, to the general surprise, in three days, all military posts were taken by the FRUD or abandoned by the National Army. The FRUD forces are going to occupy almost two-thirds of the territory until the beginning of the summer 1993.

Maurer also performed observational research and conducted interviews in public places. He was aware that his presence influenced informants' attitudes. His findings came from a linguistic corpus collected mostly through qualitative observations and interviews. Maurer concluded that French was dominating all languages, educating the people, uplifting them in the social ladder and enlightening the country. He started a list of specific words used in Djibouti that he called *djiboutismes* and said that French was deeply rooted in every aspect of Djiboutian life.

Maurer has cleared the field for upcoming studies on Djibouti languages. His study is valuable for this research despite its limitations. These limitations prevented him from doing in-depth work on Afar, Arabic or Somali, needed to reflect the linguistic situation in Djibouti. According to him, his lack of knowledge of these languages imposed the limitation. After giving the reason for confining the thesis to French, Maurer wished for Djiboutian linguists to emulate him by researching national languages. Maurer had also to limit his research because of several difficulties. Some of these difficulties were inherent to him. As a young, white Frenchman, he could not have access to all representative members of the population. Female informants – particularly those staying at home – were out of his reach.

Within this thesis, as a native male with knowledge of local customs, the researcher can overcome Maurer's limitations by having access to most households and include in the study women from different walks of lives. Translations from and to English, Somali and French of documents and inserted texts in this study, when not cited, are from the researcher. His colleagues and friends translated the questionnaire in Afar and Arabic in respect of the multilingual and multicultural dimensions of the study and the participants and respondents' ethics.

Until now, Maurer's study is the only major sociolinguistic research on French and national languages in Djibouti. It is particularly important and legitimate after all these years to review the sociolinguistic situation of Djibouti and do a research about the status of Afar, Arabic, English, French, Somali and other regional languages spoken in Djibouti. It is necessary, as well, to revisit the linguistic situation of Djibouti, given the evolution of all languages and particularly the last one: English as a prestigious and global language of diplomacy, trade, defence, immigration, media, films and the Internet. The research answers the need for a fresh study and reconsiders the sociolinguistic situation in the light of contemporary information. The originality of this new research is that it deals with all languages and the whole country contrary to Maurer's one on French and Djibouti city. It adds another dimension by going further, looking into all languages, and proposing help with the future language policy of the country. For that end, it is exploring, explaining and describing some new sociolinguistics notions not yet studied in Djibouti such as Bourdieu's theory on language, Ferguson's diglossia and Fishman's extended diglossia.

### 1.1.3 Purpose of the Study

The central premise of this research is that the socio-political transformations undergone by the Horn of Africa over the last few decades have altered the linguistic setting in the sub-region of Djibouti. In response to these socio-political transformations, the purpose of this study is to investigate the changing contemporary relationships of natives and foreign languages in Djibouti. It is worthwhile to study these changes and measure the impact that they are having on languages. The changes in relationships between languages brought in as well as issues that the government of Djibouti faces these days.

This study prepares the foundation of a multilingual language policy and calls the government of Djibouti to begin working towards it. For that reason, it is interested in the work of Baldauf (2005b) who illustrates, in the next sentence, the two ways in which sociolinguists realise language policy; “[...] in very formal (overt) language planning documents and pronouncements (e.g. constitutions, legislation, policy statements, educational directives) which can be either symbolic or substantive in form, in informal statements of intent (i.e. in the discourse of language, politics and society), or may be left unstated (covert) (*The Case for Micro Language Planning*).

Concerning Djibouti, the language policy must be realised officially and “in very formal (overt) language planning documents and pronouncements.” This means that the language policy must go through the parliament, get into the constitution, have a legislation and obtain all the favours and attention it deserves from the government and the population.

For Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, language planning leads to a language policy which is the important part as it is also the first point to obtain a language policy. Here is their explanation; The exercise of language planning leads to the promulgation of language policy or the government triggering it (or other authoritative body or person). A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, p xi). The language planning involves thinking about what to do on languages, and language policy is the ensuing measures to take that the experts defined in the planning phase. Baldauf, 2005b, language planning definition is that;

Language planning is normally thought of in terms of large-scale, usually national planning, often undertaken by governments and meant to influence, if not change, ways of speaking or literacy practices within a society. It normally encompasses four aspects: status planning (about society), corpus planning (about language), language-in-education (or acquisition) planning (about learning), and (most recently) prestige planning (about image) (*The Case for Micro Language Planning*).

Bright (1992, p 310), defines language planning as;

“a deliberate, systematic, and theory-based attempt to solve the communication problems of a community by studying the various languages or dialects it uses, and developing a policy concerning their selection and use; also sometimes called language engineering or language treatment” that is often conducted at the national level.

This definition based on theory is far from the Djibouti case and shows that it is not their primary aim but could be helpful for those who want “to solve communication problems.”

The research also draws on Pierre Bourdieu’s theory, in which people utterances have values. Bourdieu writes in « Ce que parler veut dire », translated in 1991 in “Language & Symbolic Power”, about what he calls, “The economy of linguistic exchanges”. He borrows the concept of the market from economics and applies it to language and linguistic exchanges but did not reduce it to economic transactions. A linguistic market or field has a set of rules that give users, through the exchange of valuable utterances, a linguistic capital. The linguistic capital of the user shows his position in the field. Users are aware of and respect the systems and rules that each field requires. Bourdieu employs the concept of *habitus* which is a set of bodily and lingual behaviours expressed during linguistic exchanges. Before expressing his theory, Bourdieu gives its premises, placing his notions in sociology free from the domination of linguistic concepts. He refuses “the *intellectualist philosophy* which treats language as an object of contemplation rather than as an instrument of action and power.” Then he says his opposition to the concepts of Saussure on language, which he says, is;

“to treat the social world as a universe of symbolic exchanges and to reduce action to an act of communication which, like Saussure's *parole*, is destined to be deciphered by means of a cipher or a code, language or culture.”

He contrasts the notion of language to his notion of legitimate language, and the relation of communication to his symbolic relation of power. He opposes the question of the meaning of utterances to his question of value and power of utterances. Then, Bourdieu defines his theory;

Linguistic exchange- a relation of communication between a sender and a receiver, based on enciphering and deciphering, and therefore on the implementation of a code or a generative competence- is also an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit.

For Bourdieu, a linguistic exchange is an economic exchange between two people with a linguistic capital in a symbolic relation of power in a market where they can earn a symbolic profit.

He continues explaining his theory using Saussure wording on language defining once more his opposition towards the famous linguist.

In other words, utterances are not only (save in exceptional circumstances) signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also *signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, intended to be believed and obeyed.

He explains further what the linguistics values in these exchanges are,



Utterances receive their value (and their sense) only in their relation to a market, characterized by a particular law of price formation. The value of the utterance depends on the relation of power that is concretely established between the speakers' linguistic competences, understood both as their capacity for production and as their capacity for appropriation and appreciation; it depends, in other words, on the capacity of the various agents involved in the exchange to impose the criteria of appreciation most favourable to their own products.

He shows that languages spoken in France integrated into French, the official language, that dominated the linguistic market with the help of teachers and administrators as the enforcers who control the linguistic capital. Throughout his texts, Bourdieu deals with the notions of power, authority and domination in language exchanges. He uses many examples to show and explain the presence of these symbolic power exchanges in the linguistic market.

While this study uses and furthers the idea that utterances create values in “a linguistic market”, it also classifies the different domains in which people use languages in Djibouti. The assumption is that people use languages according to their linguistic values in each domain. It is investigating several domains to associate if possible, with the most valued language.

#### **1.1.4 Significance of the Study**

This study is critically important because, for the first time, it will study all languages used in Djibouti through several areas with Bourdieu's theory on linguistic markets. It will explore whether the high demand for English in the employment market and the education will have huge implications for Arabic and French as official and educational languages. It will be useful for the government of Djibouti and particularly the policymakers to decide expertly on the coming project of language policy. It will supply politicians, language policymakers and all other interested parties, a clear picture of the language policy issues.

## **1.2 Background**

Djibouti shares traits with former tiny colonial territories and islands that became sovereign states in the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Europeans who colonised these tiny territories and islands like Cape Verde and Comoros kept them apart from other African nations that accessed independence earlier in the 60s. Without regards to their attaches, identities, languages and cultures, Europeans shared these small territories under the pretence of protecting them from their African neighbours. Despite the declarations of Africa states at the UN, the Europeans preserved their interests in the continent and are still administering some territories and islands like the French Reunion Island, or Diego Garcia in the British Indian Ocean Territory.

### 1.2.1 Where is Djibouti?

The Republic of Djibouti<sup>18</sup>, born in the night of the 27<sup>th</sup> June 1977, is located on the northeast coast of the Horn of Africa. It occupies an area of 23,200 km<sup>2</sup> and hosts more than 818,159 inhabitants.<sup>19</sup> The Republic of Djibouti forms six localities, the most important is Djibouti city, the capital where live two-third of the population. The five other localities and towns are Ali Sabieh, Dikhil, Tadjourah, Arta and Obock. The Horn of Africa area includes Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Sudan. The north coastal area of Djibouti and the west one of Yemen are on both sides of the Bab el Mandeb (Gate of Lamentations), which gives access to the Red Sea from the Indian Ocean or vice versa. Situated in the east, it is a doorway between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. It connects the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean through the Gulf of Aden.

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<sup>18</sup> See maps Figures 1 and 2

<sup>19</sup> Djibouti Census 2009.



Figure 1 Map of the Horn of Africa © 1992 Geographix.



Figure 2 Regional Map of Djibouti, capital city and vicinity and the five towns and localities. © 2004-2014 EditableMaps.com

It became important after the opening of the Suez Canal for navigation in 1869 making the Red Sea a new shipping route between Europe and Asia. The Red Sea route shortened the distance by 43 % compared to the one going around Africa, through the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>20</sup> Today, Bab el Mandeb is an essential international shipping route that gives Asia access to Europe and America through the Red and Mediterranean Seas. It is the busiest of the two only maritime routes on the Indian Ocean linking the East to West.

Djibouti and Yemen are the natural locks guarding this important international shipping route. Djibouti has gained strategic importance from its geographical location at the crossroads of Africa, Arabia, Asia and Europe. The geostrategic position of Djibouti attracted American, Chinese, French, Italian and Japanese forces to build military bases on its territory. Besides, other countries appreciate Djibouti for its stability and policy of neutrality in this war-ravaged region. Djibouti did not take sides in its neighbours' conflicts but instead helped Somalia and Ethiopia sign peace agreements and normalise their political and economic relationships. Throughout history, Djibouti attracted adventurers, combatants, conquerors, travellers, missionaries and colonists from Africa, Arabia, Asia and Europe.

### 1.2.2 History of Djibouti

For a long while, the history of Ethiopia shadowed the Horn of Africa in general and Djibouti in particular. Internationally, people knew Ethiopia throughout its turbulent history under the various names of Habesh, Axum and Abyssinia,<sup>21</sup> and often mistaken it with the whole Horn. One theory is that the legend of Menelik I brought this confusion. The theory alleged that Menelik I was the son of the Jewish King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba<sup>22</sup> who founded the Christian kingdom of Axum linked to the Eastern Church.<sup>23</sup> He was born after the return of his mother from Jerusalem to her kingdom. As an adult, he travelled to Jerusalem to gain powers and learn the "Law of Moses"<sup>24</sup> before founding a dynasty in Axum, now part of Ethiopia.

This famous black Orthodox Christian State attracted people from around the world and the existence of Christians in the Horn of Africa especially fascinated and spellbound European monarchies. The reason for sympathy towards the country was, of course, due to Christianity introduced and embraced, officially in the fourth century, by the kingdom's subjects. Another motivation for European sympathy was the country's resistance against Islam, which, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, besieged it from all

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<sup>20</sup> Source: Earth Observation Research Centre

<sup>21</sup> Ethiopia's historic names

<sup>22</sup> The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek (I): Being the "Book of the Glory of Kings" (Kebra Nagast) Routledge, 2001

<sup>23</sup> Eastern Orthodoxy, official name Orthodox Catholic Church, one of the three major doctrinal and jurisdictional groups of Christianity. It is characterized by its continuity with the apostolic church, its liturgy, and its territorial churches (Britannica.com).

<sup>24</sup> The Pentateuch (Five Scrolls).

borders. Several Islamic Sultanates of the Somali and Dankali (early name of Afars) coastal areas united under Adal, an Islamic State, were threatening the Christian State from North and South. Harar,<sup>25</sup> the town was the capital city of the first Islamic State in the region. These threats were pushing the Christians further inside the continent forcing them to live on the top of the highest mountains of the region. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Adal State with a new leader called Ahmed Guray<sup>26</sup> conquered most of central Ethiopia forcing the Emperor into exile. The Europeans accused the Ottoman Empire of being involved in the defeat of the Christians in Ethiopia. This critical situation for the existence of the Christian State gave Europe a reason to intervene in the conflict.

At that period, Portugal was the first European country to send military aid to Ethiopia. It sent hundreds of fighters to reinstate the Christian Emperor in Ethiopia, as well as missionaries<sup>27</sup> to convert him to Western Church<sup>28</sup> beliefs. Britain was the second country to send military personnel not to help Ethiopians but to fight them. In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, hostile British forces from India landed on the North East of Africa (now Eritrea). Their mission was to liberate her majesty Victoria envoy and Europeans who were prisoners of the Ethiopian Emperor, Tewodros II. The Emperor provoked the Queen after she ignored his proposal of an alliance to destroy Islam.<sup>29</sup> The Anglo-Indian military expedition in 1868 commanded by Sir Robert Napier ended with the suicide of Tewodros. The third country to send troops was Italy who occupied Mitsiwa (now Massawa in Eritrea) in February 1885. The Italians were unable to go further and stayed in the coastal Red Sea area to build a colony there, Eritrea.<sup>30</sup> The French were the last to come to Ethiopia, constructing, for emperor Menelik II, a railway between Addis Ababa and Djibouti. France had the backing of Britain and Italy in a tripartite treaty<sup>31</sup> signed on 13 December 1906. Menelik II had good relationships with European monarchs, heads of state and governments. Illustrating his relationships with Europeans, here is an extract of a letter he sent to Queen Victoria of Great Britain in April 1891, and similarly to other European heads of state.

Formerly the boundary of Ethiopia was the sea. Failing the use of force and failing the aid of the Christians, our boundary on the sea fell into the hands of the Muslims. Today we do not pretend to be able to recover our sea coast by force; but we hope that the Christian Powers, advised by our Saviour, Jesus Christ, will restore our seacoast boundary to us, or that they will give us at least a few points along the coast.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Hārer, also spelled Harar, city, eastern Ethiopia, in the Ch'erch'er Mountains, at an elevation of 6,000 feet (1,800 metres). Probably founded in the seven century AD by immigrants from Ḥaḍramawt in southern Arabia, Hārer became the capital of the Muslim state of Adal (Britannica.com).

<sup>26</sup> Aḥmad Grāñ, also called Aḥmad the Left-handed, real name Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī, (born c. 1506—died 1543), leader of a Muslim movement that all but subjugated Ethiopia (Britannica.com).

<sup>27</sup> Challenge, revival, and decline (16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century) (Britannica.com).

<sup>28</sup> Roman Catholicism, Christian church that has been the decisive spiritual force in the history of Western civilization (Britannica.com).

<sup>29</sup> Emergence of modern Ethiopia (1855–1916) Tewodros II (1855–68) (Britannica.com).

<sup>30</sup> Emergence of modern Ethiopia (1855–1916) Yohannes IV (1872–89) (Britannica.com).

<sup>31</sup> Great Britain, France, and the Ethiopian Tripartite Treaty of 1906, Author(s): Edward C. Keefer

Source: Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies, Vol. 13, No. 4(Winter, 1981), pp. 364-380

<sup>32</sup> Source: Archives of the Ministère degli Affari Esteri (Rome), ASMAI, Ethiopia Pos. 36/13- 109 Menelik to Queen Victoria, Addis Ababa, 14 Miazia, 1883, encl. in Tarnielli to MAE, London, 6 August 1891.

In this letter, Menelik is exploiting his affiliation to Jesus Christ and Christianity by asking Queen Victoria to help him get back the territories conquered by Muslims.

1.2.2.1 *France and Great Britain in the Horn of Africa*

The Somali coastal area on the Horn of Africa was part of the Ottoman Empire under the administration of Egypt from 1873 until their army left Berbera and Zeila in August 1884 and Harar a year later.<sup>33</sup> The British were settled since 1839 in Aden, in today's Yemen, on the Arabian Peninsula, a strategic port alongside the Red Sea. Aden was a coaling station for ships going to India, a military garrison and a trading post in the region. Britain's utmost need was the supply of fresh meat for its fleet and the best choice was to gain a foothold in the Horn of Africa. In 1880, from Aden, the British started settling in the region at the ports of Berbera and Zeila as representative of the Khedive of Egypt.<sup>34</sup> Then later, in 1882 when the British occupied Egypt, they settled in the region after signing various treaties of protection with different Somali traditional leaders<sup>35</sup> and the Afar Sultan of Tadjourah.<sup>36</sup> This gave way to the creation of the protectorate known as British Somaliland in 1884.

The French also looked to find a port on the Red Sea to use it as coaling facilities for their vessels going to Asia and the Pacific Ocean. They aimed to obtain a position, preferably near the Christian State, to counter British trade operations. The French decided to head for an Afar territory, which was then known as the northernmost part of the Somali Coasts. They first chose to settle in the region of Obock and sent the French consul, Henri Lambert at Aden, in 1859 to buy a territory extended from Ras Ali to Doumeira. Unfortunately, muggers brutally murdered him during his mission. The assassination caught the attention of Napoleon III who sent a punitive expedition and ordered the establishment of relationships with local Sultans. The mission was successful; France Foreign Minister Edouard Thouvenel signed the first treaty with Aboubakar Ahmed Dini, the representative of the Afar Sultans of Raheita, Tadjourah and Gobad, in Paris on the 11<sup>th</sup> March 1862, in exchange for 10,000 Thalers<sup>37</sup> (Oberlé and Hugot (1985, p 59). These Afar sultanates stood for the political entities of the North territory where French stopped first and decided to settle. All these were happening despite the presence of a Turkish commanding officer standing for the Ottoman Empire of Egypt in the Somali region. Jean-Jacques Salgon in his book, *Obock*, said that after the treaty, the French flag flew for 20 years under the care of an old local Afar man.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The Scramble in The Horn of Africa. M. O. Omar 2001. According to W. Lee-Warner, report of November 25, 1856, of the British Political and Secret Department, India Office.

<sup>34</sup> The title of the viceroy of Egypt under Turkish rule 1867–1914

<sup>35</sup> (Commercial) Treaty between the Governor of Zayla and the British Government, 1840

<sup>36</sup> Treaty between the Sultan of Tadjoura and British Government, 1840

<sup>37</sup> It was equivalent to 50,500 Francs of that period. The *Thaler* was a silver coin, originally struck in Austria from 1740 to 1780. It was very important for trade with the Levant (parts of Turkey, Lebanon, and Syria). <http://www.theresia.name/en/>.

<sup>38</sup> Source: And also, at <http://djibouti.genereux.free.fr/djibouti/histoire.htm>.

In 1883, during the French Tonkin Campaign and the war with China, the British declared their neutrality and refused France's vessels access to the port of Aden. The French reconsidered their presence in the Red Sea, and Obock imposed itself as an important coaling station on the Suez route for France in its colonial expansion to Asia and Madagascar. On 29<sup>th</sup> December 1883, the French Government appointed Viscount Léonce Lagarde as a commissioner in Obock with special powers to negotiate and delimit the acquired territory. Regardless of the commissioner's agreements and the French treaty, the British claimed their rights on Obock. As they annexed Egypt in 1882, the British considered that Djibouti was part of the Ottoman Empire with Cairo as its political centre. They posed a threat to France's colonial ambitions in the Horn of Africa. However, after the Fashoda Incident<sup>39</sup> in Sudan between French and British expeditions, in which Britain army forced its opponent to back down, and the status quo on held positions in Africa, both parties signed an agreement of understanding that allowed France to stay in Obock. The French then moved further down to the south shore of the Gulf of Tadjourah, settling in to build the Port of Djibouti in 1888. Before settling there, they signed an agreement with the Somali-speaking Issas clan leaders. Those representatives of Southern inhabitants signed a treaty of alliance in March 1885 in Ambaddo, some 15 km west of the actual Djibouti City.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, France and Great Britain strengthened their diplomatic relationships with Ethiopia. They opened a corridor on the Red Sea through the Franco-Ethiopian railway and gave Ethiopia access to the rest of the Christian world. Protecting the religious authority of the African state<sup>40</sup> was the pretext that gave Europeans a political justification and the freedom to act as they wished. All the while, the hidden purpose of these "friendly operations" was to control Ethiopia, a country known for its wealthy gold mines, and to set up a special trading connection in the region (Oberle and Hugot, 1985). It was not the first time that Europeans had come to the "rescue" of the African state. The Portuguese, the British and even the Italians had already come for the same reasons two hundred years earlier, according to the book *Futuh Al-Habash*.<sup>41</sup> These attempts had resulted in failed missions as they lacked the means to annex the unconquerable Abyssinian Kingdom. However, this time, things were different politically and militarily, Ethiopians, prepared by all those earlier experiences, recognised the motivations of their coreligionist friends and exploited the situation to develop their country.

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<sup>39</sup> The Fashoda Incident; the climax of a series of territorial disputes in Africa between Great Britain and France at Fashoda, Egyptian Sudan (now Kodok, South Sudan) on September 18, 1898. Encyclopaedia Britannica at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Fashoda-Incident>.

<sup>40</sup> Letters of Ethiopia emperor to European monarchs, heads of state and governments.

<sup>41</sup> *Futub Al-Habash* "Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Qādir" The conquest of Abyssinia: 16<sup>th</sup> century

### 1.2.2.2 *Creation of Djibouti City*

Léonce Lagarde founded Djibouti in 1890. He built a palace for himself as the first Governor and a European residential quarter. He chose the central territory for the new French colony and at once started trade links with Ras Mokenen, the then Emperor of Ethiopia. In May 1896, the French colony adopted the name of *Les Côtes Françaises des Somalis*<sup>42</sup> (CFS) and Léonce Lagarde kept his title of governor and got additionally the role of France's ambassador to Ethiopia. In 1949, the opposition organised in Djibouti the first anti-colonial demonstration and the elections of 1951 elected, Mr Said Ali Coubeche, as the first deputy representing the CFS in Paris. A new French law, "Loi Cadre" of 23 June 1956, changed the system of proportional representation for a plurality vote of political parties' lists, which will have a long-lasting effect on the natives, giving them access to the governing body. They set up in 1957 the first territorial assembly. Mahamoud Harbi Farah was the first indigenous vice president of the Djibouti Government Council under French colonial power, from 1957 to December 1958, and secretary-general of the *Parti Mouvement Populaire* (PMP). He was an uncompromising, pro-independent Issa politician who actively sought independence.

In 1958, the first referendum confirmed with 75 % of the voters in favour of France to keep the territory under its rules. At the same occasion, they elected Dini Ahmed Dini, an Afar, vice president of the Government Council. When he left in 1960, Ali Aref Bourhan, another Afar, won the vice president seat. The visit of President de Gaulle in Djibouti provoked a huge demonstration in which people demanded to have their independence from France. According to Marks (1974, p 102);

When President de Gaulle visited the Territory in 1966, the nationalist Issa *Parti Mouvement Populaire*, which drew most of its strength from the 66 % of Djibouti city's population which was from Somali extraction launched a series of violent riots demanding immediate independence. Highly embarrassed de Gaulle ordered an immediate referendum to determine the future status of the Territory.

On the 19 March 1967, at the second referendum on the Independence of Djibouti, 60 % of the voters re-elected those who wanted the rule of France to prevail. Unfortunately, those who wanted independence did not agree with the ballots and made it known their profound disagreements through demonstrations. Here, Marks (1974, p 102) reports what happened after the declaration of the results;

As was to be expected, the opposition claimed that the balloting had been rigged, and Somalia stated its refusal to accept the results. Demonstrations erupted, leading to rioting in which at least 17 civilians were killed.

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<sup>42</sup> French Somali Coast, CFS



Mr Aref was re-elected as vice president of the governing council, a post that he kept until 1976. Then, he proposed a bill, which became law that changed the CFS into *Le Territoire Français des Afars et des Issas*<sup>43</sup> (TFAI). Here is an extract reporting on the referendum written by Omar (2001, p 523);

In 1967 France decided to organise a referendum to ask whether the people wanted [it]<sup>44</sup> to stay on or leave. It hoped that the inhabitants would vote “Yes” for France to continue to administer the territory. Instead, the result was a massive “No”. But the French authorities declared the contrary. Angered by the outcome of the referendum, the French Government decided through their Parliament to erase the word “Somali” from the original name of the territory and changed it from “French Somali Coast” to “The French Territory of the Afars and Issas”. From “Côtes Françaises des Somalis” to “Le Territoire Français des Afars et des Issas.”

These changes of name were part of a strategy that subjected the word "*Somalis*" to various treatments to conceal any connection between the Somali people of the CFS, which became TFAI and those of the Federal Republic of Somalia.

The French then sown a policy of division and discord, known as “divide and rule”, between the Somalis and the Afars, the two main ethnic groups in the country. Marks (1974, p 102) writes “Acrimonious verbal volleys passed between Afar and Issa leaders, with Ali Aref, leader of the strong Afar Democratic Party, declaring “The Afar[s] hate the Somalis, to say things as they are. They have always been our enemies.”<sup>45</sup> This infighting between Afars and Issas hampered efforts to hammer out a common anti-colonial strategy and postponed the accession to independence on several occasions. The French instead imposed themselves as “Peace envoys”, claiming that, “without them, the natives would massacre each other.” In the second house of parliament, the Senate, M. René Monory, a senator, who presented a report on the 19 October 1972 sitting, said that;

M le Haut-Commissaire Tiercy pense que notre départ entrainerait le massacre à Djibouti de quelques 50.000 personnes : « La France, dit-il, est l’arme de la paix dans cette région du globe ».<sup>46</sup>

On 8 May 1976, the third referendum simultaneously with the elections of the future government of Djibouti ended the colonial rule. On that day, it was visible that France had decided to let Djibouti go, from the way it organised the polling places. That was the message people understood as they went to the polling stations. The parties seeking independence under the umbrella of RPI (Rassemblement Populaire pour l'Indépendance) had complete control over the management of the ballot boxes. The LPAI (Ligue Populaire Africaine pour l'Indépendance) militants, a strong core of RPI, were helping hesitant voters to cast their votes in favour of the independence.<sup>47</sup> For the colonial power, the vote was

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<sup>43</sup> French Territory of Afars and Issas, TFAI

<sup>44</sup> France

<sup>45</sup> According to Eric Pace, 'France Will Help Somaliland Tribe', The New York Times, 25 March 1967, sec. 1, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> English Translation “France, he says, is the weapon of peace in this part of the world”

<sup>47</sup> The author of the thesis voted and witnessed the situation at the polling station of the School of Q7 where voting was taking place during the election.

just a formality<sup>48</sup> but for the United Nations (UN) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), it was an international legal requirement. To legitimise the process, there was a large delegation of international observers visiting some of the polling stations. Djiboutians welcomed nationally the representatives of the UN and OAU and the observers of the voting process as saviours with folkloric dances and songs. The population and the party in favour of independence won the elections and the referendum with more than 98 %.

On 8<sup>th</sup> June 1976, after 15 days of negotiations, the secretary of DOM-TOM<sup>49</sup> and the three Djibouti political parties signed, in Paris, the agreements plus the modalities of access to the Independence. Those cooperation agreements also gave France several privileges such as the official status of the French language, education, foreign policies, military defence and the right to stay in Djibouti. The French government put in place a transitional government from July 1976 to 11 May 1977. The President *du Conseil de Gouvernement*<sup>50</sup> Abdallah Mohamed Kamil<sup>51</sup> headed the caretaker government, which placed the country's opposition parties under his management.

France succeeded in its colonialist design to separate Djibouti from Somalia, but not at keeping at bay the shared concept of Somaliness among Somali-speaking people in the region. To that end, a new tiny independent nation in the Horn of Africa, called the Republic of Djibouti, arise. The successful strategy, that already scattered the Somali territories into five distinct entities, was part of the division of Africa. It was the realisation of the famous scramble for Africa, that Europeans planned and decided at the conference of Berlin in 1884/1885. Somalis were living under British, Italians, and French colonies, respectively Hargueisa, Mogadishu and Djibouti. Europeans handed to Ethiopians and Kenyans two Somali territories, respectively Ogaden<sup>52</sup> and NFD (Northern Frontier District of Kenya is The North Eastern Province). Despite the break-up of the Somalis, the language stayed a strong unifying factor. Somali-speaking inhabitants of the Horn of Africa still use their mother tongue across Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia.

Finally, on 27<sup>th</sup> June 1977, the TFAI<sup>40</sup> joined the sovereign nations of the world as the Republic of Djibouti. Local languages conveyed the songs, dances and other expressions of liberation. Although the president and prime minister spoke in French inside the parliament at the ceremonial declaration of independence, the primacy of French over local languages progressively started to decline from that day. Djibouti had been under French rule from 1888 until its Independence Day.

Despite Djibouti's new sovereignty, the colonial language policy usage remained in place as well as the French education system. With French becoming the official language according to those

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<sup>48</sup> French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and its government decided to grant independence as Djibouti accepted France military presence and cooperation. See the Interviews with Olivier Stirn, Secrétaire d'État aux Départements et Territoires d'outre-mer (8 juin 1974 – 31 mars 1978).

<sup>49</sup> Départements d'Outre-Mer - Territoires d'Outre-Mer (French : Overseas Departments & Territories)

<sup>50</sup> Representative of French Government in Djibouti

<sup>51</sup> Former Afar politician and currently public notary in Djibouti.

<sup>52</sup> Ogaden is The Somali Federal State of Ethiopia

agreements, its policy covered the whole territory. Besides, Schools did not teach Somali and Afar languages because policymakers feared that the teaching of the two native languages might fuel division and secession. The new authority, in charge of the French language, was no longer foisting its use upon Djiboutians. They felt liberated from a language which had no link with their culture and languages. They were communicating freely everywhere in their vernacular languages. The government, when talking to them, would also use vernacular languages. Despite this slight setback on the usage of French, France won the day as it handed back the country to Djiboutian civil servants who had been working for them in the colonial administration. Critics said that the politicians brought in no changes but a new flag and few symbols and added the word Republic to Djibouti as the country official name.

However, the Somali language is still the main link of the Somali communities throughout the region. Today, Djibouti, the Somali Region of Ethiopia, Northern Kenya, Somalia and Somaliland recognise Somali as either a national language or an official one.

### 1.2.3 The Linguistic Situation

In Djibouti, several communities live together inside one small territory. Today they share a common history although they speak several languages. The existence of the languages of these people tells that different circumstances have united them in Djibouti. Most people are native of the territory, others like the Europeans came from far away to conquer and others came from neighbouring countries looking for a better life. These migrants brought a lot with them: their histories, knowledge, experiences as well as languages. These vibrant communities not only exchange between them products but also utterances in everyday communications.

#### AFRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES FAMILY

Chadic	Berber	Ancient Egyptian	Semitic	Cushitic	Omotic
Hausa	Tuareg	(extinct)	Arabic	Somali	Gamo
Bole	Kabyle		Amharic	Oromo	
				Afar	Dizi

Figure 3 Afro-Asiatic languages

These systems of communication comprise five languages spoken in the region that are from the Afro-Asiatic family (Figure 3); one is official, Arabic, two are perceived as national, Afar and Somali, and two are used by Ethiopian communities and temporarily displaced immigrants; Amharic and Oromo. Afar, Oromo and Somali are Cushitic languages and indigenous to the Horn of Africa

(Figure 3). Arabic despite not being indigenous, like Afar and Somali, is an official language and has a strong historic and religious link to the region. Arabic is the language of Islam, the religion of the State, and 99 % of its inhabitants. Arabic is in everyday life, unlike English that pupils must learn from secondary school onwards. In this multilingual context, French – language of the former colonial power – has a head start historically. It has a dominant linguistic position due to its official status and a written usage in the administration and education systems. However, people speak in everyday communications in two of the three national languages, namely Afar and Somali. They use them even in official situations despite their status.

Furthermore, members of the parliament and government use Somali nowadays in matters requiring official languages. Government agencies increasingly use national languages in the face to face communications and conversations through the telephone, but French is still the tool of communication for all paperwork. Most people speak their mother tongue plus French and Arabic learned at public primary and secondary schools. Exceptionally, some young people learn Arabic earlier for religious needs in Qur’anic schools. Some undergraduate students switch to English-medium programmes at the university level in Djibouti as well as in English-speaking countries.

The aim of the Higher Education Ministry is that every Djiboutian learns and speaks several languages (Loi n° 96/AN/00/4èmeL).<sup>53</sup> It promotes the mastering of international languages such as Arabic, French and English for all graduates. As a result, the educational system teaches French as the medium of instruction, Arabic as the second language and English as the third one in secondary schools and at the university in some courses.

#### 1.2.3.1 *Indigenous Languages; Afar and Somali*

Before the arrival of the Europeans, Afar and Somali were the indigenous languages spoken in the coastal area of the Horn of Africa.

The Afars, an ethnic group of the Horn of Africa, speak Afar. People use the Afar language in eastern Eritrea, northern Djibouti and the Afar region of Ethiopia. It is an Afro-Asiatic language classified in the Oriental subgroup called “Lowland East Cushitic” like Oromo and Somali. Even though Afars are a distinct ethnic group, their culture and language are like Saho<sup>54</sup> and related to those of Somali and Oromo. The Afars comprise two groups that are organised into a loose confederation of four sultanates. They are the sultanates of Awsa in Ethiopia, Baylul in Eritrea and Rehaita in Eritrea and Djibouti territories (Alwan and Mibrathu, 2000). One group is *Assay Mara*, the red ones, from the Ethiopian highlands and the second is *Adoy Mara*, the white ones, from the coastal area. The Afar

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<sup>53</sup> Loi n° 96/AN/00/4èmeL du 10 juillet 2000 portant orientation du système éducatif djiboutien. Education Policy Act.

<sup>54</sup> Loi n° 96/AN/00/4èmeL du 10 juillet 2000 portant orientation du système éducatif djiboutien. Education Policy Act. family.

language (Qafar Af), like Somali and Oromo, uses the Roman alphabet, has little written history but is rich in oral traditions.

European researchers have done several inventories on Afar since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There are the works on Afar vocabulary by Henry Salt (1814) and Karl Wilhelm Isenberg (1840). In 1886-87, Leo Reinisch published a grammar and dictionary of Afar, after his work on Cushitic languages in Massawa, Ethiopia. Later, Giovanni Colizza, a disciple of Reinisch, published an Afar grammar. In 1985, Enid Parker and Richard Hayward published an Afar, English and French Dictionary. Mrs Parker, a missionary from the Red Sea Mission, translated the Bible into Afar. People used, throughout time, to write Afar, first in Arabic characters then later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Latin ones. The Afar language specialists Edouard Chedeville<sup>55</sup> and Didier Morin<sup>56</sup> were the first to transcribe Afar in Latin characters.

In 1976, Ahmed Abdallah Dimis and Gamal Adin Reedo published, *Qafar afih baritto*,<sup>57</sup> a textbook and *Qafar afak yabti rakiibo*<sup>58</sup> a grammar book that became the norm in learning and teaching Afar. Today, schools in Ethiopia and Eritrea teach Dimis and Reedo's Latin transcription spelling with slight variations. In 1980, Eritrea allowed each community to implement their language in their territory. Private, non-profit and government-led initiatives and other contributions shaped what is today's the Afar language. In Eritrea, schools teach Afar language in primary and some adult learning programmes in Afars' region. With the creation of federal states in Ethiopia, each state selects its official language under the law. They teach the official language in primary schools. The federal state of the Afar region in Ethiopia has Afar as an official language and therefore teaches Afar in primary schools. Djiboutian Afar researchers have contributed massively to the success of the Afar language in Ethiopia and Eritrea. However, a fact is despite these efforts, public schools in Djibouti do not teach Afar.

Af Somali, known as Somali, is the most used language of the Cushitic family in the Horn of Africa after Oromo. Somali, as Orwin said, is spoken in Somalia, northern Kenya, eastern Ethiopia and southern Djibouti.<sup>59</sup>

Orwin (2006) summed up the striking first impression that linguists get about Somali as he writes that;

Of the many countries of Africa, Somalia, including the Republic of Somaliland in the north (which is not officially recognized by the international community), is unusual in that there is essentially only one language spoken throughout the whole country, namely Somali. Somali speakers also live in the countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya.

There are two important varieties within the Somali language, known according to the way they ask the question, *what did you say?*: Mahaatiri is known as Maxaad Tidhi and Maaytiri is known as Maay, they are often preceded by "Af" which means language. "Af Maxaad Tidhi, often referred to in English as

<sup>55</sup> Édouard Chedeville, French specialist of Afar language, appointed as Afar language teacher in 1967–69, in Djibouti.

<sup>56</sup> Didier Morin, student of E Chedeville and French specialist of Afar and Saho languages.

<sup>57</sup> Learning of Afar language (Apprentissage de la langue afar)

<sup>58</sup> Bases of Afar Language (Bases de la langue afar)

<sup>59</sup> According to International Encyclopaedia of Linguistics: AAVE-Esperanto Vol. 1

the northern dialect group, is the most widely spoken by the predominantly pastoralist nomadic people of the northern, western, and southwestern regions of the Somali-speaking territories.” Orwin (2006). In the southeast region neighbouring Mogadishu, where sedentary agricultural communities live, the distinguished dialect group is Af Maay. Maxaad Tidhi has an overwhelming majority of speakers contrary to Maay, which has several dialects such as Digil, Benaadir and Ashraaf (Orwin, 2006).

On 1<sup>st</sup> July 1960, the Italian colony of Somalia after accessing Independence unified at once with the British Somaliland, who gained Independence on 26 June 1960, as the Republic of Somalia. The five-pointed white star on their national blue flag is the symbol of the five different regions of the Somali-speaking regions (Laitin, 1977). Three territories were missing at the independence of Somalia as they were under Ethiopian, Kenyan and French authorities. To reinforce the determination of the Somali government at that time, Ingiriis (2016) reports that;

[...] most postcolonial civilian leaders of The Somali Republic in 1960 insisted that there was no future for Somali people in the new Republic other than in union with their brethren hauled up in Djibouti, Ethiopia and the NFD (2016, p 3).

This symbolic five-pointed white star and the belief to bring on board all Somalis will have a negatively profound effect on the future of the Somali Republic. For a while, each region of the Republic of Somalia kept its colonial language as well as Arabic for administration and educational matters. The administrators were the first to express the need to have a sole official Somali language instead of Arabic, English and Italian. For a lengthy period in the history of Somalia, students had to learn different languages from the Madrasa to university. Arabic, at the informal Quranic schools, was the first on the list. English and/or Italian were second, at the university level.

Then, an important event happened which changed Somalia and brought to power a new president that will have a profound impact on the Somali language. Ingiriis (2016) writes about the even in these terms;

On 21 October 1969, Somalia saw a coup that brought Siad Barre, the Commandant of the Army, to power upon the successful stage of a (bloodless?) coup d'état that overthrew the democratically-elected civilian government (2016, p 3).

The Supreme Revolutionary Council of Somalia, under President Siad Barre, promised in 1969 the writing of the Somali language. It officially announced without any directive, two years later, the Somali Language Commission. Then, in the third year, on 21 October 1972, the government introduces during the festivities of the revolution a leaflet written in Somali Roman alphabet. They made the choice not only on the script but also on the variety, which was the Maxaad Tidhi. Despite the condemnation of the other varieties written forms, no Somali politician voiced any disapproval. Ingiriis says that at the contrary;

The government newspaper, *Heegan* (Vigilance), published a series of opinion pieces penned by regime authorities celebrating the adoption of the Latin as a script for the Somali and describing it a national victory (2016, p 87).

The Arabic alphabet and Osmaniya script, invented 1920 by Osman Yusuf Kenadid a local poet and teacher<sup>60</sup>, were the writing forms of the Somali language before its recognition as a national language.

The Somali language became a tool for state propaganda in Somalia. For the state, it was all about unifying the population with one language, teaching the alphabet to the nomads, educating the youth, controlling the production of books, theatre plays, mass media and promoting communist ideology.

After the administration, the education and the media, they decided that it was time to teach written Somali to the masses. In 1974, the government introduced an ambitious programme of teaching Somali to the masses. In a socialist propaganda campaign style, it mobilised all students and educated adults to tackle, across the country, their appalling 5 %<sup>61</sup> literacy rate. That poor rate was putting Somalia far behind most countries in Africa and the government decided to change it. Ingiriis (2016) writes about the campaign of “Teach or Learn” in these terms;

In addition to the written standardisation of the pastoral nomadic language, *Af-Maxaa*, in a Latin script, together with the sending of thousands of high school graduates and students to teach rural masses on how to read and write, a nation-wide campaign of *bar ama baro* (teach or learn) was carried out in 1974 (2016, p 86).

The government claimed progress everywhere and publicised through the media; songs, debates, lectures and speeches as a victory for the Comrade President.

The president went on to the next item on his agenda: the liberation of Ogaden, a Somali territory conceded by the European to Ethiopia. From 1977, the war became more important than the language issues until Somalia government disintegrated in 1991. Somalis were fleeing to other countries all over the world looking for asylum. The new generation of refugee children lost the Somali language education path. Somalis were not able to educate their youngsters in the Somali language; this was not a priority anymore. They had to integrate into their newly adopted countries to learn other languages like Arabic, Dutch, English, French, German, and Italian.

To face the new challenges, the diaspora reactivated the Somali Language Commission outside Somalia. Its revival started under the works of the Somali Pen<sup>62</sup> which held a Language Symposium and published several documents to resolve language issues. The new body strived to refine the Somali language. It is made up of the Somali Diaspora, the Federal Republic of Somalia, the self-declared Republic of Somaliland, the self-declared autonomous region of Puntland<sup>63</sup> and the Republic of Djibouti. The latter offers all the facilities needed for revitalising Somali. The Somali entities renewed their alliance with the president of Djibouti who promised to pursue the development and perfection of Somali. They met several times in Djibouti. International Mother Language Days were crucial moments. Exhibitions books on the Somali language were the highlight of those events.

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<sup>60</sup> Reference: [https://wikimili.com/en/Osman\\_Yusuf\\_Kenadid](https://wikimili.com/en/Osman_Yusuf_Kenadid)

<sup>61</sup> According to United Nation, source: <https://www.un.int/somalia/somalia/country-facts>

<sup>62</sup> Somali Pen is an association of Somali writers around the world based in London and Somali speaking

<sup>63</sup> Somaliland and Puntland are two regions in Somalia

From 17 to 21 December 2012, the government of Djibouti organised with the Somali Pen the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the official script adoption of the Somali Language in Djibouti. Djibouti presented to the public and delegations of scholars that came from Africa, Europe and the USA a new Somali Dictionary. A team of Somali and Djiboutian members of Somali Pen wrote, designed and published the dictionary with the financial aid of Djibouti's president. The researchers debated in seminars and explained in conferences several studies on Somali Language and Literature. They presented the progress of Somali and its consolidation into a written language. Somali writers are now authoring books in Somali, a language known for transmitting history, culture, and knowledge through oral tradition.

### 1.2.3.2 *Official Languages; Arabic and French*

In the Republic of Djibouti, the language anomaly is so obvious that two non-native languages, Arabic and French are official, and the status of the vernacular ones are not stated in the constitution but are only mentioned in an educational law.<sup>64</sup> Countries like Djibouti must deal with colonial language problems although they were not responsible for these issues, in the first place.

According to the Routledge Handbook of Arabic Linguistics;

Arabic is the official language in 23 countries in the Middle East (all except Turkey and Iran) and North Africa (Suleiman 1999). In four countries (Israel, Chad, Somalia, and Djibouti), Arabic is an official language alongside other languages. Outside the Middle East and North Africa, Arabic has a special status in Islamic countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia as the language of the Koran. Muhammad Amara (2018, p 546).

Arabic, with its varieties, is among the most spoken languages in the world. Arabic is a Central Semitic language from the Arabic Peninsula (Figure 3) and belongs to the same family as the West Semitic Ethiopian languages such as Amharic, Gurage, Ge'ez and Tigrinya, which are indigenous to North-East Africa. These languages are native of the African and Arabian coasts of the Red Sea. Lotfi Sayahi (2014), who extensively writes on the Arabic language, says that;

Arabic, in its different varieties, is one of the five most spoken languages in the world today. It is estimated that more than 225 million people speak it as an official language in twenty-five countries. As a minority language, a language of Diaspora or a second language, it is spoken by tens of millions more (2014, p 20).

The origin of the Arabic language spoken in the Horn of Africa is rooted in the history of the region. One can assume that since trading has long been present on both sides of the Red Sea, there is a history of contacts, exchanges and migrations between the peoples of those shores. Arabic was a religious language since Islam came to Africa in the seventh century. The leading members of the native population of Djibouti spoke and understood Arabic, besides their languages. Moreover, there is a historic Arab community permanently installed in Djibouti. It is difficult to date the first usage of Arabic;

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<sup>64</sup> Loi n° 96/AN/00/4e L du 10 juillet 2000 portant orientation du système éducatif djiboutien (2000)



however, ethnologists have categorised the language spoken in Djibouti as Taiz-Aden<sup>65</sup> from Yemen. They trace the variety back to immigrants from Taiz and Aden cities.<sup>66</sup> The first wave may have reached Djibouti at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The French brought in these Yemeni nationals for the construction of Djibouti administrative buildings. The way these Yemenis were recruited were a secret that Rouaud (1997) reveal in these terms;

Le recrutement était réalisé pour le compte de sociétés de batelage ou de navigation opérant dans l'océan Indien et la mer Rouge et dont la branche djiboutienne se chargeait de la prospection de la main d'œuvre. Pour ce faire, elle envoyait au Yémen un agent recruteur yéménite qui convainquait le plus souvent des membres de sa propre tribu de le suivre à Djibouti. Là, ceux qui trouvaient à s'embaucher au port ou ailleurs se fixaient, les autres poursuivaient leur route vers Madagascar ou vers d'autres destinations. Au cours une tournée ultérieure, le recruteur distribuait aux familles restées au pays les gains réalisés par les émigrés.<sup>67</sup> Rouaud (1997, p 326).

So many Yemenis were immigrating that in 1902 half of the population of Djibouti city were Arabs (Jolly; 2013). They owned most of the small trades and occupied all paid position in the colony, especially at the port. To understand why the natives at that period tolerated Yemenis immigration, one must find the reason in Islam. To understand the importance of Arabic as well one must understand the two religious and political sides of the language. Arabic (Classical) is for Muslims the sacred written language of the Quran, and Standard Arabic, not the regional varieties, is the language that unites all native speakers of Arabic.

However, French Language do not have a religious affiliation with Djiboutians but a historical one built around the colonial relationships. Nevertheless, France went through foreigners' occupations too, especially those of the Germans in World Wars I and II. In both World Wars, Djiboutians, mostly Somalis and a minority of Afars and Arabs, enrolled freely in the French Army and fought for the liberation of the mother land (Jolly, 2013, p 87).

In the first millennium before Jesus Christ, in Gaul, actual France, people spoke Gaulish. The Gaulish language is part of the Indo-European families and the Gauls or Celts migrated from today Germany (Walter; 2003). French is a language derived from Latin through a lengthy process of linguistic adoption and adaptation after the Romans conquered Gaul. According to Henriette Walter (2003);

It was only around the ninth century, a thousand years after the conquest of Gaul in 51 BC, that the ancestors of the modern French people noticed that the Latin which they thought they were speaking had become French without their realising it (2003, p 7).

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<sup>65</sup> Variety of Arabic dialects spoken in the region of Taiz and Aden in Yemen

<sup>66</sup> Major cities of Southern Yemen

<sup>67</sup> Recruitment was carried out on behalf of bateling or shipping companies operating in Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, which Djibouti branch was responsible for the prospecting of labour. To do so, they sent a Yemeni recruiting agent to Yemen who most often convinced members of his own tribe to follow him to Djibouti. There, those who found employment at the port or elsewhere settled, the others continued their way to Madagascar or to other destinations. During a subsequent tour, the recruiter distributed the gains made by emigrants to families who remained in the country.

Thousand years of the spoken Latin usage in Gaul transformed it into French. Then, Walter explains, on when and how this happened, in this way;

What is certain is that for centuries the ancestors of the French were obliged to live with their Roman, Frankish, Burgundian, Visigoth and Norman neighbours, and they were obliged, between skirmishes, to talk to them, share their meals, and, perhaps, woo their daughters. And all of that involved communication problems, since, originally, these peoples did not speak the same language. French is to some extent a result of these encounters and contacts (2003, p 7).

During the Roman colonisation of Gaul, the administration used Latin. Several centuries after the Romans, the Germanic invasions of the North East of Gaul had a significant impact on the way people spoke Latin. The Franks embraced the language spoken in Gaul and gave their name to the French language. Centuries later, cardinal de Richelieu in his effort to centralise the power under Louis XIII created the French Academy council in 1635. The Academy had the assignment to publish a dictionary, a grammar, rhetoric and a poetic, and to protect and purify the language.

At the French Revolution, a central language became the aim of the new Republic to unify France and its inhabitants. The revolutionaries condemned the “patois”, oral and rural varieties, to disappear. At that period, in 1790, Abbe Gregoire presented the result of his linguistic survey, the first in history, on the number of people speaking French. Walter (2003) comments on the results, in these terms;

The answers he received in 1790 and 1791 led him to conclude that at least six million French people, especially in the rural areas, did not know the national language, that another six million were not capable of holding a sustained conversation in the language, and that ‘the number of those who speak it correctly is no higher than three million’ (2003, p 74).

It took decades for the entire population to embrace fully French, as the Republic had to replace other languages, dialects or patois, by teaching it through schooling on the account of Jules Ferry’s education law. The patois persisted even during the spread of French around France through schooling. The patois started declining after the first World War when people in the army used to communicate French, the language learned in schools. Then, afterwards, the authorities forbidden patois usage in school playgrounds and that made it rare to hear in French cities.

At that period, in the colony of Djibouti, French taught in schools their language and they prohibited native ones from the playgrounds. They treated native languages like the French patois which was a menace for France unity. France granted itself the vital role of keeping national stability. It considered a threat to the stability of the colony the two indigenous languages, Afar and Somali. A brief overview of the history of French colonialism and its language policy is a must to understand the current sociolinguistic context in Djibouti. Like many other African countries, Djibouti endured French colonialism and the devaluation of its languages, cultures, and the suppression of its history. That was under the French government’s colonial policy. The French set up the teaching of their language at once, unlike the British, who settled further south in Somaliland. It was a language policy, which often

changed its form, although the principle stayed the same. France made compulsory the French language under the pretence to unite the country and helping people to access European civilisation.

In post-colonial Djibouti, the French language is still dominant. French as an official language is a constant reminder of France's influence in the country. Djibouti is a member of the International Organisation of Francophonie whose motto is “Les pays qui ont le français en partage”.<sup>68</sup> French has undergone some minor changes outside France as many Francophone countries share it. In Djibouti, the linguistic appropriation of French by Djiboutians did not happen overnight but went through a process of familiarisation that lasted for more than a century. The Djiboutians are aware of the linguistic situation that they share with other Francophone countries. They also know that French isolates them in the Horn of Africa more than anything else does (see the interview of the President in the introduction). Djibouti sees itself as “une île française au milieu d’une mer anglaise”.<sup>69</sup> To make matters worse, French politicians and journalists have continually condemned every language policy that the Djiboutian government has tried to introduce. Numerous articles in the Djibouti newspaper *La Nation* reflect the complicated relationships between France and Djibouti over the past decades. Each month of September, at the French Embassy, there is the recurring problems that students face when they apply for visas on Djibouti government-funded scholarships. Many of them fail in their bid to further their studies in France. No wonder that many young Djiboutians are looking elsewhere for higher education. This process also raises questions about which historical entity Djibouti belongs to. Out of necessity, young Djiboutians study in countries that teach in Arabic and English. To understand what is happening, it is necessary to see that these languages are creating new elites who do not speak French. Meanwhile, Djibouti continues to attract people who speak English from neighbouring countries in search of a better life.

### 1.2.3.3 *Refugees and Languages Migration to Djibouti; Amharic and Oromo*

Fleeing wars and economic hardships, people from the Horn of Africa have sought refuge in Djibouti since its independence. Despite these people outnumbering three folds the inhabitants, the population welcomed them and continue to welcome them, but most have immigrated with the help of UNHCR<sup>70</sup> to Australia, West Europe and North America.

In July 1977, while Djibouti was still celebrating its newly acquired independence, Somalia went to war by crossing Ethiopia's border to conquer the Somali-inhabited region of Ogaden. Somalia invaded Ethiopia to free Ogaden from colonial rule. At the time Somalia aim was to unite all Somali territories under one flag. The other entities, to come into the fold, were the newly independent Republic of Djibouti, the Ethiopian-controlled territory of Ogaden and the Somali region of Northern Kenya.

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<sup>68</sup> Countries sharing the use of French

<sup>69</sup> Anonymous: A French island in the middle of an English sea

<sup>70</sup> UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, is a United Nations programme

In the meantime, Soviet Russia and its Communist allies, especially Cuba, had been present in Somalia for the last eight years. The Soviets had strong cooperation links and military bases in Somalia. However, during the war, they ratified secretly a defence agreement with Ethiopia. The secret treaty undermined the Somali government trust and alliance with Russia. Somalia retaliated at once; they ordered Russian and Cuban diplomats and military personnel to leave the country within 24 hours. Humiliated, the Communist block moved to Ethiopia and sided with the Ethiopians by supplying combatants and technical aid that helped Ethiopia's army to regain Somali-occupied territory.

The Socialist Somali government did not receive the much needed and expected military help from the United States. The coalition of Communist armies defeated and forced the Somali army to withdraw. The Somali state collapsed after the military defeat of President Mohamed Siad Barre and his failed attempt at what he justified as the liberation of the Somali-speaking region of Eastern Ethiopia. In 1992, a coalition of armed opposition Somali groups ousted President Barre from power. He went into exile to Nigeria where he died in 1995. The President of Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile Mariam, who dethroned and killed Emperor Haile Selassie, fled out of the country in 1991. After Haile Mariam's departure to Zimbabwe in exile, the Soviet Russian army and Cuban military instructors also abandoned Ethiopia and the region. They left the two African countries in ruins after the end of the proxy war between Moscow and Washington. Since then, the bloodiest and lengthiest civil war in African history has taken place in Somalia. This bloodshed and suffering are the consequence of the war between Somalia and Ethiopia as well as the failure of the Communist ideology to unite both countries under Soviet influence.

A decade later, the 9/11 attacks, in which Muslim terrorists killed more than 3000 people and destroyed the twin towers on American soil, prompted the United States to deploy a military presence in the Horn of Africa once more. It was a comeback in the region for America and its government, which adopted new policies to fight terrorism in the world. Djibouti has, ever since, been host to a growing Marine base that is part of a US regional drive to implement its policy of War on Terror. The US Marine flotilla is still patrolling the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea to fight Somali pirates and prevent Al Qaida terrorists moving between Afghanistan, Yemen and Somalia. Instability in the Horn of Africa has also turned the Red Sea state of Djibouti into an oasis of peace and a haven for those fleeing troubles in the region. With war and conflict everywhere in the region, the situation forced thousands of people to flee. The flux created several migratory routes leading to Africa, America, Europe, and Asia. Somalis, followed by Sudanese, Ethiopians and Eritreans, were the majority of those who emigrated. These people were speaking their mother tongues but to communicate with each other, they had to make concessions by learning foreign languages and adopting new ways of life. The stability in Djibouti attracted half a million people from those countries. Half of this migrant population stayed and settled in the Republic of Djibouti. They represented sixty per cent of the Djibouti population and most of them had Somali as mother tongue. However, some Ethiopian refugees did not speak Somali, but Amharic and Oromo languages.

Amharic, or Amarinya, is a Semitic language of the Afro-Asiatic language family like Arabic. Amharic and its sister languages Tigre and Tigrinya originated from Ge'ez. Ge'ez is an extinct language that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church still uses today in its liturgical services. The Amharic language uses Ge'ez script, despite being archaic. Afar and Oromo briefly used Ge'ez script (known as Fidel) before adopting at the end Roman alphabet. Amharic has been the language of the ruling class of Ethiopia. It became the lingua franca of Ethiopia under Menelik I. To understand why Amharic is so popular in Ethiopia, one must look at its history. The Emperors of Ethiopia who were religious leaders and spoke Amharic believed to be the legitimate rulers of the whole of the Horn of Africa. To stay in power and dominate all other ethnic communities they used politics based on religion and the Amharic language, *lisane nigus*, the king's language. People were integrating the Amhara way of life to become part of the ruling class, the Amhara. They spoke Amharic fluently and taught it to their offspring, as it was the only way to show allegiance. They were begging to become Christians. It was a privilege as only the Emperor was accepting and authorising conversion. Those steps helped people claim to be Amhara, the Emperor's ethnic group, which they were not considering it anymore as a community but as a nation. Becoming Amhara spared them slavery or the confiscation of their lands. Thus, this was the best protections that someone could look for in Ethiopia at that period. There was a saying; *Amhara yazzal inji aytazzezim* meaning "the Amhara is to rule, not to be ruled".

That period ended in September 1974 with the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie and the rise of the communist revolution who brought to power a Marxist-Leninist military junta. The revolution recognised officially the linguistic diversity of Ethiopia through new revolutionary government policies:

All the necessary effort will be made to free the diversified cultures of Ethiopia from the Imperialist cultural domination.... Opportunities will be provided to allow them to develop, advance and grow with the aid of modern means and resources....No nationality will dominate another one since the history, culture, language and religion of each nationality will have equal recognition in accordance with the spirit of socialism....Within its environs each nationality has the right to determine the content of its political, economic and social life, use its own language (Programme of the Revolutionary Ethiopian government 1976 in Language programmes and language planning 1997).

Recognising the equal rights of languages, the new constitution of 1995. Included "Article 39.2" that stipulates: "Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and develop its language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history".

Today, Amharic is still a prestigious language as it dominated the last 600 years, and no one can imagine succeeding in Ethiopia without speaking it. It dominates still others because of its official federal working language status. The new federal system allows each state to implement the main local language. The main local language of the majority becomes officially the working and educational language of the state and most of the time it is an ethnic language. Ethiopia federalism is based on ethnic regional communities. As an example, the first language used in Afar region is Afar and for the Somali

state, it is Somali. Amharic is the working language of the federal government of Ethiopia and in some states. It is the second language in all other states, which makes it the most used in Ethiopia.

Afaan Oromo, which means the Oromo language, is the most spoken Cushitic language in the Horn of Africa according to number of speakers and terms of geographical space. More than 50 million speak Oromo and its varieties in an area covering Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan. It is the third most widely used language in Sub-Saharan Africa after Swahili and Hausa. However, Oromo was only a spoken language and European missionaries were the first to write the language and publish books. Teferi Degene (2015) who, reported about the books, says that;

Oromo is widely believed to have not been written until the early 1840s and indeed the first available evidence for written Oromo is a book on the elements of the language, which was written by Krapf in 1840. Another book, *Vocabulary of the Galla Language*, followed this immediately in 1842 by the same author, who lived and travelled extensively as a missionary among the Oromo people in Ethiopia. Before the end of the 19th century other notable writers such as Tutschek (1844; 1845); Massaia (1867), Viterbo (1892), and Onesimus Nesib (1894, 1899) wrote or translated various books (but mainly parts of the Bible) into the Oromo language (2015, p 82).

Ethiopian Emperors Menelik II and Haile Selassie, as well as the Council, known as the Derg in Amharic, of the communist military regimes who took power afterwards, banned the writing of Oromo language. In response to various problems endured from Haile Selassie and the Derg regimes, the Oromo organised themselves in political groups. Teferi Degene (2015) writes that one of these groups considered the importance of the language in their political agenda;

In 1973, when the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), an underground Oromo liberation organisation was formed, it began to raise the rights of the Oromo people as a political issue and to create an awareness of interests of the people in the Oromo language in general and the Oromo writing in particular. The OLF was very clear from the outset of its formation that the Oromo language had been suppressed and that it was the responsibility of the Oromo people to develop their language (2015, p 223).

The May 1991 revolution paved the way for the Oromo language to gain the recognition it needed with the adoption of a written system; the Roman alphabet called “Qubee” in Oromo. With the political changes in Ethiopia, Teferi Degene (2015) reports that;

Moreover, Oromo is an official language in Oromia and the Oromo people take pride in being able to utilize it in the conduct of their business and professional activities as well as in their personal lives. In the streets of Addis Ababa (Finfinnee) it has become common to hear Oromo people speaking their language without any fear or shame (2015, p 250).

Oromo is at the centre of the education in Ethiopia as Teferi Degene confirms by saying that;

The Oromo language is now taught as an examinable subject in schools and employed as a medium of instruction in both primary and junior secondary schools in Oromia. It is also offered at Addis Ababa (Finfinnee) University and at some other universities in Ethiopia as a Minor and Major subject of study at both undergraduate and postgraduate level (2015, p 250).

In April 2018, for the first time, the Ethiopian parliament elected an Oromo, Dr Aby Ahmed, Prime Minister of Ethiopia. Dr Aby who ended one of the bloodiest conflicts between Ethiopia and Eritrea is also the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize 2019. Now, that there is a democracy, Oromo speakers, knowing that they outnumbered all other language users, are contesting Amharic sole federal status and are demanding to have the same role. Teferi Degeneh, who heard these contestations and demands, writes that;

[Finally,] the Ethiopian government needs to revise the country's linguistic policy. Being a multilingual and multicultural country engulfed for decades by conflicts underpinned by linguistic and culture issues, Ethiopia cannot afford not to review its language policy, which allows Amharic the sole official federal language. This would require a political decision by the federal government and further research by academicians in the relevant fields (2015, p 271).

The matter of languages is in the government hands, for now, they must decide before things get out of their hands and blown out of all proportion. The government may ask the academicians to find solutions, but the main deciding factor is the ability to teach in schools Oromo as a second federal language. And that is another matter. It is whether the country can afford more expenses for languages in education. Oromo is not taught in Djibouti, but it is spoken by immigrant workers who are employed as domestics in family homes and manual in construction sites. Foreign English-speaking companies employ some of the lawfully settled immigrants of Ethiopia who speak English.

#### 1.2.3.4 *An International Language: English*

As the global language of today, English has imposed itself everywhere as the lingua franca. The construction of new military bases in Djibouti and the presence of thousands of US, German and Japanese soldiers speaking English have brought globalisation in the tiny Republic. Japan has delivered many aid developments programmes in Djibouti. A Japanese defensive army based in Djibouti contributes to the protection of ships in the Indian Ocean against Somali pirates.

Adding to the linguistic diversity in the region, recent settlement of foreign companies in Djibouti has made English the prime medium of communication in the business community that forms private enterprises and international corporations, thus compelling an increasing number of job seekers to use that language. In Djibouti, companies look for English-speaking workers and advertise for English-speaking positions. The national newspaper "La Nation", edition number 44 of 2017, is reproduced to show the use of English in adverts (Appendix I). Despite the job market's growing demands for English-speaking applicants, students still graduate with French medium degrees. Most recently, English has proved to be a language of increasing importance in Djibouti, where French has dominated the country over the last century. The English language has become popular in a way never seen before in Djibouti. Even the linguistic landscape has changed as some board's advertisements and

front shops, offices and manufacturers signs are displaying information exclusively in English (Appendix G). This is due to its international reputation and growing presence in the labour market.

This linguistic issue calls for decisive action from the government. To rise to this linguistics' challenge the government introduced measures to strengthen the teaching of English in secondary schools. The most important measure was the proposition of teaching English from 2009 as a major in all courses at the university level. The minister informed the University of Djibouti, appointed a project manager and approached the British government for help. In December 2008, a British consultant carried out at Djibouti University research on "Professional English language support for non-English Majors".<sup>71</sup> The government has not yet adopted nor implemented the measures, laid out in the British report. However, since then, some major changes have been happening in the country's education. Currently, the University of Djibouti offers degrees exclusively taught in English in Sciences, Engineering and Business.<sup>72</sup> However, there is no change at primary and secondary school levels, as French is still the leading language.

#### 1.2.4 Languages in Education

Djibouti was a French territory for a long time. The education in Djibouti was the carbon copy of France educational system. During the colonial era, education was the preferred channel for France's teaching, propagation and implementation of its language, ideology and culture to natives. As soon as the colony was set up, education in the French way and especially language teaching was one of the priorities. However, as the first school started for the French, the natives were applying for direct voluntary enrolment. The authorities at once implemented the teaching system which had initially no process for enrolling the natives.

According to the "civilising movement" of Europeans, missionaries came to the Horn of Africa, a Muslim stronghold, to teach the Gospel. At the same time, they taught religion, and they taught the colonial language as well. The Catholic Church first opened a school in Obock. A few decades later, they moved to Djibouti city where they introduced the first six-class grade in 1949. As there were no secondary schools in Djibouti, students had to continue their education in Lebanon, another French colony. In 1959 in Beirut, the first student from the Catholic School of Djibouti had the honour to receive the degree of Baccalaureate. That year too, William Syad, a native of the colony, published the first literary work in French as a collection of poems entitled *Khamsin* (1959). A few years later, in 1961, the French set up the first secondary school to include classes up to Terminal (Year 12 in the British system), and in 1962, it produced the first Baccalaureate recipient inside Djibouti (Coubba, 1993). The

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<sup>71</sup> See the report prepared by Martin Consultancy based in Addis Ababa and financed by the British Council on English

<sup>72</sup> [www.univ.ed.dj](http://www.univ.ed.dj)



same year also saw the success of the first girl to receive a BEPC<sup>73</sup> diploma in Djibouti for completing four years of the secondary programme.

Until 2000, the Department of National Education was the preserved territory of French cooperation. The education system inherited from colonialism, and the presence of many French civil servants, allowed France to influence Djibouti education ministerial decisions.

However, after 2000, the political situation between Djibouti and France changed. The reason was that in May 1999, Ismael Omar Guelleh became the new elected President. Then, as France influence in the administration was weakening the relationships of the ministry and the French Cooperation service changed as well. The change triggered France government to programme a gradual return of French civil servants and teachers to their country. The ministry of the education teaching staff was local except some Senegalese and Malagasy teachers. In 2010 due to an educational policy that gave priority to employ Djiboutian degree holders, the ministry dismissed all foreigners from primary and secondary schools.

Today, after forty-two years of independence, schooling in Djibouti is still synonymous with the French language. People go to school first to learn French, and the educational policy of the Republic of Djibouti continues to imitate that of France. The last available statistics<sup>74</sup> of 2016/2017, on schools, published by the Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training were impressive. The emphasis was on the number of schools built, teachers employed, and pupils enrolled.

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<sup>73</sup> Brevet d'Etude du Premier Cycle. Diploma awarded after four years of Secondary schooling

<sup>74</sup> MENFOP: Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training

## 1.2.4.1 Nursery Education

Nursery education is a luxury on the Horn of Africa and a new trend in Djibouti. Missionaries used to run nursery schools and teach in French until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Christian associations are still present in Djibouti and teach privately French curriculum. Recently in Djibouti city, new private nursery schools offering Islamic religious education in Arabic opened and are popular among Djiboutians. Private and religious associations run nursery schools; the government does not intervene in their management or regulations although some public schools are running a pilot project to explore the implication of the education services<sup>75</sup>.

Table 1 Numbers of pupils in nursery schools by region, age and gender Source MENFOP

Region	Ecole	State	League	a		b		c		d		e		f		
				a	a	b	b	c	c	d	d	e	e	f	f	f
Djibouti-ville	HODAN NORD	Pub	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	81	85	81	85	108
Ali-sabieh	ALI SABIEH 1	Pub	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	18	17	18	36
Ali-sabieh	ALI SABIEH 2	Pub	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	17	23	17	40
Dikhil	DIKHIL 2	Pub	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	14	25	14	39
Obock	Ecole Obock 1	Pub	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	12	19	12	31
Tadjourah	Ecole Aidalon	Pub	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	18	3	2	10	20	30
Tadjourah	TADJOURAH 1	Pub	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	14	16	14	30
Tadjourah	TADJOURAH 2	Pub	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	19	15	19	34
Total public				0	0	0	0	0	0	7	18	199	181	206	199	405
				0	0			0		25		380		405		
Djibouti-ville	LA SAGESSE	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	15	17	13	19	17	15	45	51	96
Djibouti-ville	BILAL	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	34	25	51	29	44	51	129	105	234
Djibouti-ville	CHAMPION	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	11	4	5	4	9	4	25	12	37
Djibouti-ville	CPE	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	10	14	0	0	0	0	10	14	24
Djibouti-ville	Ecole Privé GASHAMALE	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	14	16	17	13	31	29	60	
Djibouti-ville	FARANDOLE	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	28	26	36	32	34	37	97	94	191
Djibouti-ville	HORN OF AFRICA	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	14	14	13	12	27	26	53	
Djibouti-ville	ILEYS	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	45	45	42	45	43	46	130	136	266
Djibouti-ville	J.B. DE LASALLE	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	38	25	38	63
Djibouti-ville	LPGB	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	35	26	46	42	48	51	131	119	250
Djibouti-ville	L MANDELA MATERNELLE	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	15	12	19	18	24	14	58	44	102
Djibouti-ville	NATIVITE	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	34	42	36	53	51	42	120	137	257
Djibouti-ville	NOTRE DAME BOULAOS	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	25	26	26	52
Djibouti-ville	SAHANSAN	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	31	33	30	32	31	26	92	91	183
Djibouti-ville	VICTOIRE	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	25	25	35	17	23	22	83	65	143
Ali-sabieh	SAINT LOUIS	privé	Fr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	9	18	9	27
Total Privé francophone				0	0	0	0	283	269	341	321	423	406	1047	996	2043
				0	0			552		662		829		2043		
Djibouti-ville	ECOLE YEMENITE	privé	Ar	0	0	0	0	0	13	15	14	16	27	31	56	
Djibouti-ville	AL DAWA	privé	Ar	0	0	0	0	4	8	13	4	9	4	26	16	42
Djibouti-ville	AL NAJAH	privé	Ar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	19	15	19	24
Djibouti-ville	CENTRE ISLAMIC TADJOURAH	privé	Ar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	23	3	23	26
Total Privé arabophone				0	0	0	0	4	8	26	19	41	62	71	89	160
				0	0			12		45		103		160		
Total public				0	0	0	0	287	277	374	358	663	649	1324	1284	2608
				0	0			564		732		1312		2608		

405 nursery age pupils attended 8 public primary schools that host nursery classes. 2203 pupils went to 20 private nursery schools, 2043 learned in French and 160 in Arabic. That corresponds to 6.2 % of all nursery pupils and took place in only four schools.

Nursery education has changed a little but remains mainly confined to the private sector and concentrated in Djibouti city. Between 1989 and 2008, enrollments in nursery schools increased at an

<sup>75</sup> See participant Saleh interview

average annual growth rate of around 6.6 %. Private nursery schools are inaccessible for most of the population.

The government has launched in 2006 experimental classes in certain schools announcing the development of a curriculum and the training of new teachers for the next ten years to cover the nursery need of the country. However, in 2019, the initiative did not bring any further changes. The pilot project is taking place in 8 primary schools and teaching 405 nursery age pupils (1.2.4). Apart from this public project, all nursery schools are private.

1.2.4.2 Primary Education

Table 2 Number of pupils in primary schools by region, gender and level

Region	Circonscription /Statut	1		2		3		4		5		6		En			
		Total	Fillé	Total	Fillé	Total	Fillé	Total	Fillé	Total	Fillé	Total	Fillé	Total	Fillé	% Fillé	
Djibouti-ville	Djibouti-1	1265	627	1291	615	1306	637	1683	852	1647	892	0	0	7392	3573	40%	
	Djibouti-2	1304	601	1320	606	1350	638	1441	732	1633	786	0	0	7048	363	40%	
	Djibouti-3	2375	1062	2490	1175	2062	897	2297	1078	3646	1732	0	0	12050	5964	46%	
	Djibouti-4	2300	1117	1791	851	2098	960	1872	810	2639	1237	0	0	10780	5075	47%	
	Total Djibouti-ville public	7324	3427	6892	3247	6806	3152	7293	3502	9765	4647	0	0	780	17975	47%	
	Prive francophone	961	477	922	427	911	450	671	334	661	336	0	0	4126	2023	49%	
	Prive arabophone	394	227	346	207	321	169	500	166	312	160	256	119	1928	1048	54%	
	Total Djibouti-ville	6679	4131	8160	3881	8038	3771	8264	4002	10738	5142	256	119	44134	21046	48%	
	Arta	Public	504	232	466	215	416	170	415	165	617	287	0	0	2418	1069	44%
	Total-Arta	504	232	446	215	416	170	415	165	617	287	0	0	2418	1069	44%	
Ali-Sebieh	Prive francophone	44	24	46	23	44	25	41	13	40	20	0	0	215	105	49%	
	Total Ali-Sebieh	645	361	513	358	832	377	797	359	858	390	0	0	4145	1845	45%	
Dikhil	Public	1121	472	916	376	910	419	910	432	1383	562	0	0	5320	2261	43%	
	Total Dikhil	1121	472	916	376	910	419	910	432	1383	562	0	0	5320	2261	43%	
Obock	Public	268	102	259	104	226	96	235	107	327	145	0	0	1335	554	41%	
	Prive arabophone	30	20	27	12	50	20	43	18	64	54	40	25	254	129	51%	
	Total-Obock	318	122	236	116	276	116	278	125	391	179	40	25	1589	683	43%	
Tadjurah	Public	561	561	648	294	653	285	857	348	957	449	0	0	4026	1737	43%	
	Prive arabophone	36	20	37	22	43	25	43	25	28	18	27	17	214	127	59%	
Total-Tadjurah	917	381	635	396	696	310	910	373	1015	467	27	17	5203	1864	44%		
Total public		10919	4931	9948	4571	9799	4474	10546	4900	13897	6060	0	0	55109	25336	46%	
Total Prive francophone		1005	501	968	450	955	475	712	347	701	355	0	0	4341	2128	49%	
Total Prive arabophone		460	267	410	241	414	214	386	209	404	212	322	161	2396	1304	54%	
Total Prive		1465	768	1378	691	1369	689	1098	556	1105	567	322	161	6737	3432	51%	
Total Primaire		12354	5699	11326	5262	11168	5163	11644	5456	15002	7027	322	161	61846	28764	47%	

55109 pupils attend 128 primary schools owned and managed by the government and 4341 pupils from 19 private schools<sup>76</sup> use French as the medium of education; Arabic as the second one. Ninety per cent of pupils in primary education attend public primary schools. This means that Djibouti state schools are teaching through the medium of French most 6 to 16 years old pupils. Only 10 private primary schools are teaching Arabic as the medium of education to 2396 pupils. This means as well that primary schools teach in Arabic to 3.85 % of all pupils in Djibouti which is huge for a new trend but far from the 21.4 % reflected by the respondents. The discrepancy comes from the learning of Arabic not limited to conventional schooling.

<sup>76</sup> Sources : Ministry of Education, ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE MENFOP 2016/2017

The school curriculum last five years, at the end of the primary, pupils sit for OTI, a pedagogical evaluation. Primary education is the utmost priority for the government, who builds schools in new areas and renovates old ones with equipment and sanitations fitted with the help of American and French Armies each year. The setting of canteens and the installation of electricity in schools eased accessibility and student's retention in both urban and rural areas. These enhancements have increased enrolments to a rate of 40 % in 1999/2000 and 79 % in 2009/2010.<sup>77</sup>

The government spreads evenly public primary schools on the whole territory of the Republic of Djibouti. Public schools are more attractive to poor families as they offer more than free education. They offer in rural areas food and shelter programmes which are much sought after by farmers and nomads<sup>78</sup>. They run free boarding facilities for those who live far from schools and the nomads who move constantly to take their cattle to better grassland. Some parents have no choice but to send their offspring to state schools, especially in poverty-stricken areas. However, some other parents criticise the teaching quality and see public schools' ethos as education for the masses. Only those who are wealthy enough to pay for private education escape public schools. These wealthy children attend the best schools teaching in French medium, and exceptionally some choose to go to English ones. Pupils, more religious or planning to further their studies in Arabic universities, attend Arabic medium private schools. Anyway, the context favours French as most private schools teach in that language.

Some parents challenge the government during political campaigns about the application of its national languages teaching laws. One of the recommendations that parents made to the government, during the conference of the "Etats Généraux" in 1999 (Chapter 1), was the teaching of national languages in schools. The main reason for recommending the teaching of national languages in primary schools was the difficulty that pupils meet while learning maths and sciences in French medium. They complained as well about pupils losing French and not being able to speak it after two or three years out of primary school as there are no language maintenance programmes. The problem is that most school leavers do not speak French inside their communities. The government made the recommendations on languages in 2000 into a law<sup>79</sup> called "Orientation du Système Educatif Djiboutien"<sup>80</sup> (Chapter 1). Even with parliamentary law in force, the teaching of national languages is stuck in its project phase and no school teaches them currently.

Yemen and Saudi Arabia Embassies, and Djiboutians privately own Arabic medium primary schools. They have appeared recently except "Ecole Franco-Islamique"<sup>81</sup> which has been open since the 1930s during the colonial era. The main educational system, before the Europeans colonised the Horn

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<sup>77</sup> Sources : ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE MENFOP 2016/2017

<sup>78</sup> See participant Saleh interview

<sup>79</sup> Loi n°96/AN/00/4ème L du 10 août 2000

<sup>80</sup> *Orientation of the Djiboutian Educative System*

<sup>81</sup> Ecole Franco-Islamique: A French Islamic school founded and financed by Coubeche family

of Africa, was the Quranic Madrasa<sup>82</sup>. Quranic Madrasas are informal schools teaching the memorisation of religious Islamic texts as well as reading and writing basic Arabic. They charge small fees and do not ask for residential or national identification papers contrary to public schools.

Most pupils attending these schools have temporary residency or live illegally in Djibouti. They are child migrants or have asylum seeker parents or the authorities did not deliver birth certificates to them as they could not afford to pay the fees or authorities did not allow them to obtain one. Contrary to other African countries, Djibouti does not accept in its public schools' children of immigrants without legal status or official identities. Sometimes, they refuse to enrol them even if they produce legal documents, despite the government ratification of international educational laws, which request countries to enrol immigrants and refugees' children in their schools.

Those who went to these Madrasas consider themselves as schooled in primary schools. Some of the respondents who reported having Arabic medium in primary school may have studied in these Quranic Madrasas. Today, Madrasas are modern and follow government's education laws, but they pay lesser attention to the residential or national status of pupils. They offer Arabic medium in primary and secondary schools.

1.2.4.3 Secondary Education

Table 3 Numbers of pupils in lower secondary school by region, gender and level

Region	Statut	6			7			8			9			Ensemble		
		G	F	T	G	F	T	G	F	T	G	F	T	G	F	T
Djibouti-ville	Public	3956	3157	7113	3453	2926	6379	3357	2950	6307	3778	3376	7154	14544	12409	26953
	Prive francophone	229	191	420	202	176	378	181	157	338	191	200	391	603	724	1527
	Prive arabophone	0	0	0	263	273	536	229	222	451	273	284	557	765	779	1544
Total Djibouti-ville		4185	3348	7533	3918	3375	7293	3767	3329	7096	4242	3660	8102	16112	13912	30024
Arta	Public	167	115	282	215	171	386	203	146	349	160	107	267	745	539	1284
	Total Arta	167	115	282	215	171	386	203	146	349	160	107	267	745	539	1284
Ali-satsseh	Public	423	327	750	388	264	652	325	240	565	310	262	572	1446	1093	2539
	Total Ali-sabieh	423	327	750	388	264	652	325	240	565	310	262	572	1446	1093	2539
Dikhil	Public	426	238	664	421	238	659	439	258	697	385	240	626	1672	974	2645
	Total Dikhil	426	238	664	421	238	659	439	258	697	385	240	626	1672	974	2645
Obock	Public	87	78	165	98	70	168	98	84	182	90	56	146	373	288	661
	Total Obock	87	78	165	98	70	168	98	84	182	90	56	146	373	288	661
Tadjourah	Public	308	224	532	272	194	466	269	193	462	225	180	406	1075	791	1866
	Total Tadjourah	308	224	532	278	206	484	280	193	473	233	193	426	1099	816	1915
Total public Djibouti-ville		3956	3157	7113	3453	2926	6379	3357	2950	6307	3778	3376	7154	14544	12409	20053
Total public Regions interieures		1411	982	2393	1394	937	2331	1334	921	2255	1172	845	2017	5311	3685	8986
Total public		5367	4139	9506	4847	3863	8710	4691	3871	8562	4950	4221	9171	19855	16094	35949
Total Prive francophone		229	191	420	202	176	378	181	157	338	191	200	391	603	724	1527
Total Prive arabophone		0	0	0	269	285	554	240	222	462	280	297	577	789	804	1503
Total Prive		229	191	420	471	461	932	421	397	800	471	497	968	1592	1528	3121
Total enseignement moyen		5596	4330	9926	5318	4324	9642	5112	4250	9362	5421	4718	10139	21447	17622	30060

<sup>82</sup>Madrasa is a school where people go to learn about the religion of Islam (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/>)

35949 pupils attended 36 lower public secondary schools. 1527 pupils attended 6 lower secondary private<sup>83</sup> schools. 1593 pupils went to 13 lower private Arabic secondary schools.

Middle schools have increased immensely from 29,921 pupils in 1999-2000 to 35010 pupils in 2009-2010. This increase is the results of a new organisation of the primary and secondary schools that changed the French inherited education system.

In secondary schools, 35949 pupils attend 36 lower secondary and 15855 are in 10 higher establishments owned and managed by the government. 1527 pupils attend 6 lower and 799 are in 9 higher private<sup>84</sup> secondary schools that teach French as the medium language. By contrast, Arabic medium educated are only 1593 pupils in 13 lower and 1459 pupils in 12 higher private secondary schools. These lower and higher secondary schools teach in Arabic medium to 4.1 % of all pupils attending secondary schools in Djibouti.

Not all pupils leaving primary schools progress toward secondary and the reasons are various. Some pupils do not reach the level needed to pursue secondary studies. Others leave or withdraw for family, religious or traditional reasons. Most girls who leave schools do so to work for supporting financially their parents or are getting married. However, for boys, truancy and unsatisfactory results are the main reasons for leaving schools. Some families are facing social problems and poverty. Others are without legal documents to apply to secondary schools.

There is another concern on pupils' withdrawal<sup>85</sup> at the secondary level. The ministry of education estimated at 20 %, the yearly loss or withdrawal rate of secondary pupils. Most of them, after failing in the public system, enrol into private Arabic medium schools. This explains why some pupils turn to Arabic teaching schools and categorise themselves as Arabic educated.

The ways people learn Arabic explain the small variations and differences between the number of respondents educated in Arabic and French. Arabic is the language of Islam and people study it privately in mosques, at evening Madrasa and home. In Djibouti as in everywhere else, Muslims follow an Islamic tradition that makes compulsory the learning of Arabic for people to read and understand the Quran. It is the reason that there is not a clear cut between Arabic and French despite the latter having the monopoly in public schools.

Teachers in public schools are overwhelmingly French medium educated but some of them do not speak or understand this language. Teaching in public schools without speaking French is a new reality in Djibouti educational system. 20 years ago, another reality existed that would not allow teachers who did not speak French considered working in schools or hired. Some French teachers speak Arabic as well as other languages. The vast proportion of people employed in education services as simple agents, administrative personnel and teachers fit into that category of French-educated.

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<sup>83</sup> Sources: ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE MENFOP 2016/2017

<sup>84</sup> Sources : Ministry of Education, ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE MENFOP 2016/2017

<sup>85</sup> Taux de déperdition

The priorities are not the same for teachers when it comes to using a language. They speak French when it is professionally proper otherwise, they prefer to use national languages with colleagues. Twenty years ago, teachers and pupils were unwilling to speak national languages inside schools. It was a reminiscence of a colonial tradition that excluded their languages from education. The researcher himself went to colonial schools where French teachers were punishing pupils for speaking their mother tongue in the playground. These practices created a lasting habit that is still observable in some places. The language usage is mostly dependent on the situations shaped by settings or topics or people. Today the frontier between formal and informal or official or unofficial is fading. Teachers and pupils speak the language they wish to, and nobody pays attention to it.

Table 4 Numbers of pupils in Higher Secondary schools by region and classes

Region	Statut	Seconde			Premiere			Ternaire			FraseulMe		
		G	F	T	G	F	T	G	F	T	G	F	T
	Public	2738	2345	5083	1832	1553	3385	2275	1957	4232	6845	5855	12700
Djibouti-ville	Prive francophone	114	95	209	128	95	223	196	169	367	440	359	799
	Prive arabophone	240	208	448	236	207	443	290	259	549	766	674	1440
	Total Djibouti-ville	3092	2648	5740	2196	1855	4051	2763	2385	5148	8051	6888	14939
Arta	Public	77	68	145	43	22	65	63	47	110	183	137	320
	Total Arta	77	68	145	43	22	65	63	47	110	183	137	320
Ali-sabte	Public	222	186	408	143	115	258	203	163	366	568	464	1032
	Total Ali-sabte	222	186	408	143	115	258	203	163	366	568	464	1032
Dikhil	Public	266	135	401	169	71	240	172	120	292	607	326	933
	Total Dikhil	266	135	401	169	71	240	172	120	292	607	326	933
Obock	Public	38	28	66	31	34	65	26	19	45	96	81	176
	Total Obock	38	28	66	31	34	65	26	19	45	96	81	176
Tadjouah	Public	197	102	299	109	57	166	125	104	229	431	263	694
	Prive arabophone	9	0	9	6	4	10	0	0	0	15	4	19
	Total Tadjouah	206	102	308	115	61	176	125	104	229	446	267	713
Total public Djibouti-ville		2738	2345	5083	1832	1553	3385	2275	1957	4232	6845	5855	12700
Total public hors Djibouti-ville		800	519	1319	495	299	794	589	453	1042	1884	1271	3156
Total public		3538	2864	6402	2327	1852	4179	2864	2410	5274	8729	7126	15855
Total Prive francophone		114	95	209	128	95	223	196	169	367	440	359	799
Total Prive arabophone		249	208	457	242	211	453	290	259	549	781	678	1459
Total Prive		363	303	666	370	306	676	488	428	916	1221	1037	2258
Total enseignement secondaire		3901	3167	7068	2697	2158	4856	3352	2838	6190	9950	8163	18113

15855 pupils attended 10 higher public secondary schools. 799 pupils attended 9 higher secondary private<sup>86</sup> schools. 1459 pupils went to 12 higher private Arabic secondary schools. The number of pupils in secondary school increased, in the period of 1999/2000 to 2009/2010, from 4,000 to 12,404 pupils, including 10,080 of them attending public high secondary schools. The construction of new high schools in the capital and the capitals' districts have increased the transition rate of pupils between the middle and secondary schools.

Schools do not yet teach national languages. The Education Department is trialling these languages in several schools. It is a pilot project implemented by a government decree following the 2000 "Etats Généraux". The programme meant to implement the teaching of Somali and Afar in primary schools for several hours a day. The project is not yet operational and there is no publication on the outcomes. This project to teach national languages never went far from its state of experimentation.

The reason is that many politicians consider these languages more ethnic than national. They previously thought they would preserve the unity of the country by excluding them from schools and

they still think the same way. They believed that if schools teach native languages, secession would threaten the unity of the country between the South, where most Somalis live and the North, where dwell the Afars. To understand the views of these politicians, one should understand that French colonialism shaped their political perspectives. The mindset of these politicians is still steeped in the tenets of colonial ideology which is still prevalent in the country. However, most Djiboutians do not agree with them, especially the new generation born after Independence. These youngsters are linguistically more open and few of them speak already other foreign languages such as English.

There is no denying that Djibouti has been undergoing a linguistics change, which is not only about the ongoing competition between two European languages: English and French. Hence, it is the right time to scrutinise and search the ongoing situation, which is academically remarkably interesting to report.

Before reporting on the languages and to understand this linguistics situation, the study investigates the sociolinguistics concepts and several other notions.

#### 1.2.5 Research Questions

Throughout the study the core research questions are:

1. What is the knowledge required for the government of Djibouti to develop a national language policy?
2. What functions do the various languages spoken in Djibouti perform?
3. Is French still for Djiboutians a prestigious international language, which gives them access to education and jobs or is English overtaking its domains of usage and roles in higher education and employment by integrating the country into the global village and more importantly its region?
4. Are national languages helpful or inadequate when getting new knowledge or interacting in the workplace and with the government officials?



### 1.2.6 Plan

This chapter 1, in the introduction presents the statement of the problems, earlier studies on Djibouti's languages as well as the purpose and the significance of study. The background depicts the linguistic landscape of Djibouti, in the form of a backdrop, and presents the region's history for better understanding the research.

Chapter 2 is an outline of the investigative aims followed by a review of relevant sociolinguistic literature and definitions of key concepts and terms used in this study.

Chapter 3 introduces the research design and the methodological framework for field research and data analysis.

Chapter 4 presents the findings along with an analysis of the data collected.

Chapter 5, the conclusion, after presenting the analysis of the research questions, summarises and concludes the study with recommendations for future language policies in Djibouti.

## Chapter 2 Key Theoretical Concepts

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and defines, first, key notions and the sociolinguistic terminology used throughout the study. Then, after defining them, it describes the application of these notions to the research. The primary aim is to introduce important terms in sociolinguistics with a view of understanding their values. The research uses theoretical concepts to answer the research questions from the findings of several well-established studies as its theoretical framework. These findings appraise and contextualise the research within the field of sociolinguistics. Within the findings and through critical evaluations of works, the study discusses the linguistic scholars' theories and their studies on languages.

These areas of study are Language policy, "Political measures aimed at introducing, implementing, and defining the regional use of languages", Bussmann (1996, p 648) and Language planning, "Measures taken by organizations for the development and dissemination of panregional trade languages", Idem (1996, p 649), as well as its subsets areas of status, corpus and acquisition planning. They are both, "involving deliberate and organized efforts to solve language problems, which very often have a social, political and/or economic orientation" (Poon, 2004). These knowledges are useful to deal with the first research question.

Other areas are Bilingualism, "A speaker's competence in two or more languages and their use in everyday communication", Multilingualism, "Ability of a speaker to express him-/herself in several languages with equal and nativelike proficiency", Diglossia, "A linguistic situation, in which exists a strict difference between a low and a high variety of a language", and Code-switching, "the mixing by bilinguals (or multilingual) of two or more languages in discourse" Bussmann (1996, p 194). The study considers these concepts in an orderly manner according to their importance.

The study is also interested in the dynamics of spoken languages as well and their domains of usage. It draws on Bourdieu's theory that languages have changing values on linguistic markets (1.1.3). Bourdieu proved the validity of his claim and concepts on linguistic exchanges through economic perspectives. For Bourdieu, language stands for economic assets that speakers exchange during communications. The overall frame is thus based on the concept of linguistic markets applied to languages spoken in Djibouti and by extension in the Horn of Africa.

Historically, the Republic of Djibouti has welcomed people of diverse horizons speaking different languages. A country where people speak many languages needs a language policy to regulate them and avoid conflict between communities. A language policy implies a language planning process and the activation of its three constituents; status, corpus and acquisition planning. Fishman (2000), writes that "Status planning is the allocation or reallocation of a language or variety to functional

domains within a society, thus affecting the status, or standing, of a language.” Corpus planning refers to modifications in vocabulary, grammar, or writing. Acquisition planning is the learning and the teaching of languages that the government’s language policy implemented (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2005). Wright (2016), supporting the use of these constituents in language planning, writes:

The ways in which they [political leaders] intervened in the language choices and behaviour of their citizens were categorised as status planning and corpus planning by the Norwegian-American linguist, Einar Haugen, (1968) to which Cooper (1989) has usefully added the classification, acquisition planning. Wright (2016, p 47).

Thus, the process of language planning begins, after the country government takes a political stand on languages and engages in an official programme that requires expert knowledge. This study brings in some of the expert knowledge needed and for that reason, language policy and language planning are part of its subsets. Then, it goes further into essential sociolinguistic notions and other concepts dealing with language usage.

How do these concepts apply to this research?

In the Republic of Djibouti, people use seven different languages to communicate. Some of these people speak more than one language. As introduced in the beginning, French, of the former colonial power, and Arabic, of the Arab League as Djibouti is an Arab country, are both official languages. Djiboutians use five other international, national and regional languages as well. This study is aware that a country, where different communities speak several languages, needs to have language planning and to set up a language policy. It is examining and analysing several sociolinguistic notions that are related to the linguistic situations of Djibouti. It is reviewing the notions to see how they can apply to languages spoken in Djibouti. The study is also evaluating and presenting all the necessary constituents for a smooth change from the actual situation without regulations to a regulated one as soon as the authorities decide to create a language policy. After the presentation of the sociolinguistics notions, it is going to deal with their applications and justifications.

## 2.2 A sociolinguistic study

Although Asian linguists, historically Indian and Japanese, studied sociolinguistics, Thomas Callan Hodson first coined the term and used it in 1939 in the title of a paper written on language study in India, Le Page (1997, p 19). Then, Weinreich (1953) used it in his work on “Languages in Contact” and Einar Haugen (1954) as well in his study on “Norwegian language in America”. Researchers only realised in the 1960s the implications brought by the social and contextual dimension of languages and started using widely the notions of sociolinguistics in their studies. As a result, they classified it as a recent linguistic sub-discipline. Basil Bernstein (1962), a British who developed a “theory of social class”, was the first important researcher in sociolinguistics, came after William Labov (1963), an American who introduced quantitative method on linguistics variations. What is sociolinguistics? Linguists and sociolinguists wrote many definitions. Sociolinguistics is, according to Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics, Bussmann (1996), a;

Scientific discipline developed from the cooperation of linguistics and sociology that investigates the social meaning of the language system and of language use, and the common set of conditions of linguistic and social structure (1996, p 1089).

This definition is somehow related to linguists that describe linguistics as the scientific study of human language meaning, form and context (Stowel, 2000) and sociolinguistics as the study of language concerning society (Hudson, 1996). Sociolinguistics is the study of linguistics and social sciences, precisely in the field of sociology.

An attempt to explain some of the sociolinguistic definitions follows, presented according to the year of publication.

For Gumperz (1971, p 223), “sociolinguistics is an attempt to find correlations between social structure and linguistic structure and to observe any changes that occur.” It is about studying the people attitudes towards languages and their variations within different social settings.

Bell (1976) classify sociolinguistics as “a branch of anthropological linguistics” that deals with language and its consequent product, the culture and its usage inside the society.

Hudson (1996, p 4) defines it as “a study of the relationship between language and social factors such as class, age, gender and ethnicity”. This large definition covers inclusively both language and social studies. The focus is on the relation of language and some social factors, it is far from the dichotomy of language and society.

Spolsky (1998, p 24) defines the speech community as “all the people who speak a single language and so share notions of what is same or different in phonology or grammar.” (1998, p 24).

Wardhaugh (2010, p 118) definition is that “Sociolinguistics is the study of language use within or among groups of speakers.” Groups of speakers, he says, are “speech communities”.

Wardhaugh (2010) claims that it concerns stylistic and social variation of language. Stylistics is a personal characteristic of the written and spoken language production of a person according to its ability to use words and speeches. The social variation is the impact that society is having on the language.

All these definitions and explanations clearly describe that sociolinguistics is the study of the relationships between language and society. The sociolinguistic discipline “stud[ies] the relationships between language and society” (Fishman, 1969; Hymes, 1974; Hudson, 1980; Wardhaugh, 1986). In a term more understandable, Holmes (2013) says rightly that,

(sociolinguists) are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning” (2013, p 1).

That means that sociolinguists perceive language and society as two interwoven entities that deeply influence each other. That awareness brought together linguistics and sociology researchers into sociolinguistics to investigate the related patterns and behaviours of society and language usage.

Hudson (1996) noted that as the link between language and society was tight there was no better way than to study them together. He says,

“Since speech is (obviously) social behaviour, to study it without reference to society would be like studying courtship behaviour without relating the behaviour of one partner to that of another” (Hudson 1996, p 3).

Sociolinguistics is the result of the direct participation in a symbiotic union of both linguistics and sociology as a new interdisciplinary field of research. This is illustrated in the definition of Trudgill (2000, p 32) who writes that;

Sociolinguistics... is that part of linguistics which is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon. It investigates the field of language and society and has close connections with the social sciences, especially social psychology, anthropology, human geography and sociology.

Trudgill is not the only linguist to associate the study of sociolinguistics to social sciences such as psychology, anthropology, human geography and sociology. Sociolinguists carried out some sociolinguistic studies as an interdisciplinary subject with social sciences and they are aware of the importance of following this tendency.

Normally, languages in contact may compete to either keep their domination for those that have official status or for the others, conquer new positions in the community usage. The usages of languages are noticeable in the communications and exchanges, between people, are taking place every day in different social settings. These settings are like markets where people are trading language utterances. Mother tongue is the language of the immediate environment and daily interaction that children grow up with and of which they have learned the grammatical rules before formal schooling.

### 2.2.1 Languages and Linguistic Markets

Languages are useful tools to communicate with people. Writing about what is a language, Simpson (2001) says that;

The countable noun ‘a language’ is used to refer to an abstract system underlying the behaviour in speech, writing, or signing of an entire community; to put it more simply, ‘a language’ is regarded as a system of speaking, writing, or signing common to a group of people. Thus, French is thought of as ‘a language spoken by Frenchmen’ or American Sign Language as ‘a language used in the USA’ Simpson (2001, p 31).

Explaining further what language is, Wright (2016) says that certain ingredients are to be present and that;

Language works because all the members of a speech community accept the conventions. The choices that have been made are arbitrary. The links between signifier and signified are sustained by normative behaviour (which invests these sounds with these meanings within a particular community) and prescriptive behaviour (which differentiates the language of one group from the language of another and which avoids fracture within the group) Wright (2016, p 2).

From these two definitions, one can understand that human beings made possible to assemble and organise themselves as communities because they invented languages. Language eased communications between members and helped them to care for their well-being and social needs.

Wright (2016), setting language at the heart of societies, writes: “Language builds human societies, solidarity and cooperation but it also plays a crucial role in the distribution of power and resources within a society and among societies” Wright (2016, p 7). When it comes to knowledge, Wright (2016) explains that Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), the founder of modern linguistics, was the first to study language as a system in which all the speakers take part.

The Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics defines the language, Busmann (1996), as a;

Vehicle for the expression or exchanging of thoughts, concepts, knowledge, and information as well as the fixing and transmission of experience and knowledge. It is based on cognitive processes, subject to societal factors and subject to historical change and development (1996, p 627).

People use language to communicate through different social and cultural settings. Language utterances are only one important part of communication. The other important parts are the cultural and social conventional rules and the contexts that the users of a specific community must understand. Normally, communications are complex exchanges that convey thoughts, cultural beliefs, habits and communities’ traditions, which influence the user’s language choices. The better the user’s choices the higher is his community language competence and fluency. Some people have a mother tongue related to the official language, while others have an unrelated one. Mother tongue is, in some cases, the native language that

is part of the speaker's identity or the first language, in which one learned to speak. In other cases, where the competence count, it is the best-mastered language or where the function prime, it is the most used one. However, in Africa, where mostly tribal traditions prevail, mother tongue is the language of the ethnic group. In Djibouti, the mother tongue of anyone from the Afar tribe is Afar and from the Somali tribe is Somali.

The first researcher to use a code of classification in languages was Georg Schmidt-Rohr (1933). He produced a typology to compare German language choice in different social situations. Schmidt-Rohr studied German language usage in nine domains. These domains comprised the family, the playground and street, the school (subdivided into the language of instruction, the subject of instruction, and language of recess and entertainment), literature, the church, the press, the military, the courts, and the governmental administration (Schmidt-Rohr quoted in Fishman 1965, p 89). Fishman (1972) later adapted Schmidt-Rohr's nine domains. The study adopts Fishman (1972) five domains of language use; family, friendship, religion, education, employment, and adapted it into four by combining two; family and friendship. These four domains are; Family and friends, religion, education and employment. The study investigates these domains where language usages are significant for classification purpose. The study is classifying the languages according to their importance in these domains. The investigation into these domains is the right method to compare the functions that languages perform in a society. They are areas of activities in which people use languages. There is in each domain an important language, which people in a society use more than others. The notion of domains is useful to classify languages. It is noteworthy to consider the frequency of usage for each language in all relevant domains. In a multilingual country, several languages are rightly competing for different domains.

Moreover, Bourdieu's theory of linguistic markets is interesting and useful to use in this study. There is no known study completed using the concepts of Bourdieu on Djibouti's languages. For Bourdieu (1991), communication is not just language interactions occurring between people but consists of valued words or utterances exchanged in linguistic situations. He says that;

[In other words,] utterances are not only (save in exceptional circumstances) signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also *signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, intended to be believed and obeyed (Bourdieu 1991, p 66).

Bourdieu compares human communication to economic exchanges and applies the notion of economy of goods to linguistic interactions. He utilises current economic terms to describe his theory on linguistics usages, such as products, producers, power relations, price formation, capital and profit. He uses as well unfamiliar terms such as linguistic market, habitus, field and symbolic power. For him, utterances have values in linguistic markets according to people personal competences.

Utterances produced and exchanged between people form linguistic markets. The value of the utterances on a linguistic market obeys to specific rules of that market.

People assess and evaluate communications during the interactions according to the specific linguistic habitus that they show in the linguistic market. According to Bourdieu definition, habitus are,

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can only be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Bourdieu (1990c/1980, p 53).

Linguistic expression or speech is the product of the linguistic habitus and the linguistic market. The habitus makes up the speaker economic, cultural and social capitals which are a symbolic capital. Linguistic habitus are the embodied interactive cultural and social conditions of the language that users capitalised as competences for communication. These linguistic competences are drawn from social and cultural capitals mostly accumulated from educational institutions and social groups. They stand for the norms, values, attitudes, and behaviours of the social group.

The linguistic habitus is produced for linguistic markets and it is adapted to a specific field. The field is “a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions”. There are as many fields as subjects or topics or interests such as the field of education, the field of politics or the field of media. The speaker uses throughout the fields the symbolic capital embodied in the form of habitus. The relation between the habitus and the field is that the field structures the habitus and the “habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one’s practice” (1989c, p 44). Habitus, which is subjective and field, which is objective, are evaluated against each other; one holds the embodied social knowledge to express bodily and orally and the other is the up-to-date information on the topic or subject used in the linguistic markets.

One understands better Bourdieu’s theory when the following conditions come together;

In order for one mode of expression among others (a particular language in the case of bilingualism, a particular use of language in the case of a society divided into classes) to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified and the different dialects (of class, region or ethnic group) have to be measured practically against the legitimate language or usage. Bourdieu (1991, p 45).

The official language, which has its form defined in the dictionary and grammar books, is the legitimate one in the linguistic markets. The recognised standard language is the norm against which one measures individual competences and the value gained is the linguistic capital. The government imposes and legitimises the official language through the educational system which regulates the qualifications needed to access the labour market. Individual competences in a specific field and linguistic market gain high linguistic capital if nearer to the standard norm. However, there are times when speakers exchange utterances more freely and less formally in specific markets.

Bourdieu underlines the existence of such a possibility in these terms;

It is also true that the unification of the market is never so complete as to prevent dominated individuals from finding, in the space provided by private life, among friends, markets where the laws of price formation which apply to more formal markets are suspended (Bourdieu 1991, p 71).



The price formation is higher in the formal markets than when communications are happening between friends and families in informal settings. It is the competent speaker that imposes the linguistic norm that stipulates the law of price formation.

Bourdieu says that the users are aware of the power relations in which they willingly take part and share with others during language exchanges. They endorse and legitimise this power relation, a symbolic power that governs language usage. Even, underprivileged users accept the legitimacy of this symbolic power and the symbolic violence that comes with it. Bourdieu explains that it is an arbitrary social dominant system that accommodates only the privileged ones in the society. Privileged people are not randomly selected but are those who got the knowledge and the competences of the legitimate language. One may argue that these privileged people may have had economic or social advantages to get at the top of the social hierarchy.

One of the conditions of the existence of linguistic markets in a country is the unification of the market through the usage of a legitimate language, hence an official one. For Bourdieu, there is a unified linguistic market in France, he writes that the conditions are;

The official language is bound up with the state. both in its genesis and in its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market dominated by the official language.

This study uses Bourdieu theory as there is not a unified linguistic market. In Djibouti, there is not a unified linguistic market using one official language like France. There are two official languages, Arabic and French. Then, there is not a unified linguistic market with a legitimate language, but two legitimate ones. Besides these two, there are six languages with national and regional status that have no boundaries or limitations in their usages. As there are several parallel ones, Bourdieu theory application fit independently each language. The next section, which is related logically to language markets, the notions of bilingualism, multilingualism and code-switching, investigates the linguistics situation of the country. These notions are observable wherever people use several languages or varieties.

### **2.2.2 Bilingualism, Multilingualism and Code-switching and Applying the Concepts**

This section investigates the notions of bilingualism, multilingualism and code-switching. For linguists, there are several conditions to bring together for someone to qualify as bilingual or multilingual. Still, it stays a fact that people who live in a society where several languages are in contact are more bilinguals than monolinguals even though people call them multilingual. This is the case in Africa and Asia where people communicate in several local ethnic languages and learn in school one or two foreign languages, an advantage given by the colonial rule, even long after independence declarations. When assessing the aspects of bilingualism within research fields, this study benefits from this knowledge and uses the conclusions and findings of Fishman's (1959).

What is bilingualism? The definition of Bilingualism, from the Routledge Dictionary of Languages and Linguistics, Bussmann (1996), is;

A speaker's competence in two or more languages and their use in everyday communication. Depending on the kind and extent of the competence in both languages... (1996, p 130).

Then, it distinguishes individual and societal bilingualism;

individual bilingual competence (individual bilingualism), the existence of two or more languages within a society (societal bilingualism) and their communicative functions are also of interest (1996, p 130).

Bilingualism applies to people who speak two languages, however, it is difficult to define it, as no degree of certainty governs how and when people will use either language.

Sociolinguistics studies bilingual or multilingual individuals or communities too. The Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics, Bussmann (1996), defines multilingualism from two different viewpoints. He defines once multilingualism at the level of individuals as the,

Ability of a speaker to express him-/herself in several languages with equal and natively like proficiency. In practice, proficiency in one language usually dominates (1996, p 776).

He defines multilingualism then at the level of communities, as the,

Coexistence of several languages within a politically defined society as, for example, in India, Canada, or Switzerland (1996, p 776).

People who speak several languages choose one language over another according to the social situation. There is a multilingual reality in most countries where individual use more than the official language. Writing about individual multilingualism, Wei (2000) writes that; "In many countries of Africa and Asia, several languages co-exist and large sections of the population speak three or more languages. Individual multilingualism in these countries is a fact of life" Wei (2000, p 6).

Wei's explanation focuses on the fact that individual multilingualism is the reality in African and Asian countries. colonisation brought European languages into these countries and people use them in addition to their own. There is no doubt that multilingual competences exist in former colonies. Besides, Sociolinguists perceive other linguistic phenomena in bilingual or multilingual countries such as code-switching. Myers-Scotton (1993) writes that:

Code-switching is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation (1993, p 4).

Code-switching is a phenomenon that occurs in language exchanges between multilingual speakers. The Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics, Bussmann (1996), defines code-switching as, "Depending on the demands of a particular communicative situation, bilingual or multilingual speakers will switch between language varieties" (1996, p 194).

Poplack (1980) definition is that,

Code switching refers to the mixing by bilinguals (or multilinguals) of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic, such mixing may take place at any level of linguistic structure, but its occurrence within the confines of a single sentence, constituent or even word, has attracted most linguistic attention (1980, p 1).

Code-switching is the ability for bilinguals or multilinguals to mix two or more language codes. Code means “a system used for communication between two or more parties” (Wardhaugh 1998, p 99). For Trudgill (1992, p77) a code is “a neutral term used for referring to any kind of language”. Multilingual people may switch between codes or languages at any time during a conversation. That is code-switching which is different from code-mixing that occurs when speakers switch between phrases or specific words.

Gumperz (1982) includes grammar to broaden the definition of code-switching, saying that it is, “the juxtaposition within the same speech, exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (1982, p 59). Poplack (1990) also broadens grammatically code-switching: “the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments each one is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic rules of its lexifier language (1990, p 200). These definitions that emphasize grammatical structures show that code-switching is also occurring at the grammar level. Multilinguals use code-switching for many reasons. The researcher carries out this study using the established frameworks and notions reviewed in this chapter. These notions remained useful throughout the processes of writing the questionnaires, interviewing the participants and collecting the data. The next chapter presents these processes, which concern the methodology and design of the study.

This study aims to investigate bilingualism and multilingualism and the practice of code-switching in Djiboutians’ language usage. It is important to understand them for the application of their concepts. For the last century, American and European experts have been writing on bilingualism and multilingualism. They have been presenting bilingual or multilingual countries as having a deficiency rather than an advantage.

They were telling these countries, which are mostly less developed than others, to use only one language for better education, a cohesive nation and a progressive economy.

Wei, who is critical of these propositions, rightly claims that at the economical level as well; [...] that there is no scientific evidence to show that multilingual countries are particularly disadvantaged, in socio-economic terms, compared to monolingual ones.

He mentions the 1960s and 1970s studies concluding that underdevelopment has nothing to do with linguistic diversity. A monolingual country “can be anywhere from very rich to very poor”. Multilingual abilities need bridging languages and utilise two methods for the maintenance; the use of lingua franca and the translation from one language to another. These official languages are the lingua franca and they are used as bridging gap tools between the several languages in contact (Edwards, 2002). Wei argues the importance of bilingualism and multilingualism as a resource at societal and individual levels.

Linguistically diverse countries like Djibouti have ways of motivating individuals from different ethnic languages to keep them unified around official language(s). Adding to the fact that these countries have diverse and richer societies compared to those with only one dominant language and ethnic group.

Djiboutians speak these languages and are functional bilingual or multilingual because they must learn non-native languages to access better scientific knowledge, information and employment opportunities. They also need these languages to communicate with people from outside their communities. A priori, as seen in the first part, Djibouti is a multilingual country according to its constitution that recognises two official and two national languages. Those who speak several languages may choose one language over another according to the linguistic situation and that is interesting for the study. It confirms the multilingual reality in Djibouti. Besides, bilinguals and multilinguals not only speak several languages, but they also switch between languages for several reasons. In a recent definition, Wardhaugh (2012), states that “code mixing occurs when a conversant use both languages together to the extent that they change from one language to the other in the course of a single utterance” (2012, p 103). Code-switching is shifting from one language to another in the normal activities of communications between multilingual speakers. For the first time, this study is reporting on the practice of code-switching, in Djibouti. This diglossic phenomenon happens in most countries. Furthermore, people from countries with one language feel the need to vary their language in two to use them in different settings, one in formal situations and the another in informal ones. It is diglossia.

### **2.2.3 Diglossia and Shifting Domains.**

Diglossia is a recent sociolinguistic question prompted by a linguistic situation in Greece that researchers began to study in the middle of the 20th century. The phenomenon of diglossia is observable in linguistic situations where a region, a country, or a community use two varieties. There are two types of diglossia; the classical one, which researchers discovered and studied first, and the extended one, which sociolinguists used to broaden the notion to more cases. Diglossia is either stable, lasting for centuries or unstable, predicting a change in language use. The change is seen in certain domains where speakers use or not diglossia, which means that a shift toward a new language practice is happening.

2.2.3.1 *Classical Diglossia and How to Apply its Concept*

What is Diglossia? The father of diglossia, Charles Ferguson (1959), who coined the term, writes that,

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards, there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation (1959, p 435).

Ferguson's definition, the first formulation in his writings, contains all the characteristics of a classical diglossia; a stable language situation, a variety from primary dialects and another "very divergent" and "highly codified" with an extensive literature, formally taught, written and spoken but never used in "ordinary conversation". Ferguson's formulation is complete and extremely useful to find diglossia and labels a linguistic situation as being diglossic. However, complementary to Ferguson's definition may be the one from Bussmann (1996) who defines diglossia as a,

Term [...] now describes any stable linguistic situation, in which there exists a strict functional differentiation between a (socially) 'L(ow)-variety' and a distinct 'H(igh)-variety.' The H-variety is differentiated from the L-variety mostly through a greater degree of grammatical complexity (1996, p 2006).

The dictionary states that Greece is historically the term's place of origin. The term described first, in Greece, the use of two varieties, one vernacular, Demotic, widely used in diglossic situations with classical Greek from which it evolved, until 1976 when authorities declared the new national and official language of Greece. The other one, Katharevusa, artificially developed in the nineteenth century from classical Greek as well, was the official, educational and administrative language from 1834 to 1976 (Lotfi Sayahi, 2014).

Then, the dictionary defines the features of diglossia as the usage of two socially separate varieties that are linguistically stable and have distinct functions and grammatical degree.

A comparison between Ferguson's definition and the dictionary's one shows four characteristics in diglossia; (i) the stability, (ii) the presence of two distinct varieties (iii) assigned to distinct functions (iv) with one in superposition and having a grammatical eminence. It also highlights another four features missing from the dictionary's definition. The four other information only confined in Ferguson's definitions precisely describes the varieties, especially on the one, which conveys longstanding abundant literature, gotten through education for formal usage and never used for informal conversation.

When explaining the reason behind the coining of diglossia and how he made up the term, Ferguson states that,

The term ‘diglossia’ is introduced here, modelled on the French *diglossie*, which has been applied to this situation since there seems to be no word in regular use for this in English; other languages of Europe generally use the word for ‘bilingualism’ in this special sense as well.

Diglossia is modelled “on the French diglossie”, Ferguson borrows the terminology from Jean Psichari (Ioannis Psikharis) a Greek French writer. Jean-Pierre Jardel (1981) wrote that Psichari was the first to use the term “diglossia” in « Un pays qui ne veut pas de sa langue » (1928). However, according to Lotfi Sayahi (2014) who cites Toufexis (2008, p207), Karl Krumbacher (1902) used the term diglossia as well. The Arabic linguist William Marçais (1930) also referenced in Ferguson’s study (1959) with regards to his work on Arabic in North Africa. Psichari’s and Marçais’ early usage of the term “diglossia”, as well as Karl Krumbacher’s, have largely been ignored. Instead, “modern” sociolinguistics attributes discovery and the first use of the term “diglossia” to Ferguson (1959).

Ferguson is well known to have defined diglossic languages in four distinct situations, these are (1) dialectal and (Quran) classical Arabic in Arabic-speaking countries, (2) Katharevusa and Demotic in Greece, (3) Creole and French in Haiti, and (4) Swiss-German and German in Switzerland (1959). To study diglossia within the defined languages, Ferguson (1959) examined nine linguistic features in an entirely structured manner:

- its function; H/L positions,
- its prestige; the superiority aspect,
- its literary heritage,
- its acquisition; at home or schooling,
- its standardisation; existence of norms from dictionaries and grammars,
- its stability; persistence,
- its grammar; abundant categories,
- its lexicon; incorporating all
- and its phonology; precursor.

The application of these nine categories derived from Ferguson's original formulation of diglossia is essential to define a diglossic situation.

The list starts with the functional distribution of the L (low) and H (high) varieties, where H function is for educational, administrative and written forms, while L function is for informal communications and never overlaps H function. The distribution of the functions is imperative for diglossia to occur.

Then, the superposed variety L is highly valued and is the “real” language, while the vernacular is a corrupt version of it.

After that, it turns to the written, published and recorded literature, which is only in H variety and never in the vernacular L.

Then, it is about the parent’s transmission at home of the L variety, which is the native language, to children who then learn the H variety at school where only a few reaches a higher level of competency.

Follows on the list, the teaching of H variety through dictionaries and grammar books contrary to L variety that has no written support and as a result loses its value.

Then, it defines the importance of a stable diglossia between a codified H variety, which does not change very much and a continuously evolving L variety behaving like no standardised languages.

Next, it is about grammar that is more complex in H variety than L because of grammarians' prescriptions imposed through its existence and the difficulty to master it, which is only accessible to highly educated people.

Another lead for the H variety is in vocabulary that, despite L having a "lexical doublets" and using enough words for its need, is more advanced in the technical and specialised lexicon. Ferguson calls "lexical doublets" the use of different terms for the same idea.

At the end of the list is the phonological level where L inventory, despite sharing with H, seems more simplistic and shows interferences from other languages.

To make Ferguson's assessment simpler, Myers-Scotton (1986) writes that truly diglossic language situations rarely occur, as they need to satisfy two conditions: "(1) Everyone... speaks the Low variety as a mother tongue" and "(2) The High variety is never used ... in informal conversations" (1986, p 403-15). She supports Ferguson's definition of diglossia, saying that the low variety is the mother tongue and the other one is the informal form. For Myers-Scotton, it is a difficult linguistic situation to find in real life.

Cooper (1989), like many linguists, also refers to Ferguson's definition of diglossia. He asserts that a community where there is diglossia,

"is characterized by the stable presence of two related languages, which exist side by side in the repertoire of members of the community for communication within the group" (1989, p 137).

Cooper uses "two related languages" instead of two varieties of one language. He insists in all definitions on the stability of the linguistic situation, which he appraises it as a crucial factor of diglossia. A stable diglossia signifies that the diglossic situations between two varieties of related languages occur for centuries if not more. Cooper notes that users never speak the language learned in school for ordinary conversation and they use the mother tongue for ordinary and everyday communication. He adds that a diglossic society places excellent value on the High language (H) that they think is the real language.

After Cooper, Janet Holmes (1992) wrote that diglossia must have, "in the narrow and original sense", three important criteria,

It must be that we have two distinct varieties of the same language used in a community, that a variety would be seen as high (H) and the other one low (L) variety, that each variety is used for a separate function and that H and L complement one another. That no-one uses the variety H in everyday conversation (1992, p 32).

These three criteria for an "original and narrow" diglossia are; a) two distinct varieties of a language, b) one variety is high (H) and the second is low (L) from the same language but two separate functions and c) H is never used in everyday conversation.

Holmes (1992, p 34) gave examples of "classical" diglossia, citing German usage in Switzerland as well as Arabic in North Africa and the Middle East. Her sixth example set in Eggenwil, Switzerland, examines the habits of a woman named Silvia who speaks two varieties of German. A standard variety taught in school helps her in formal communications, while she employs a dialectal variety for everyday usage. Holmes' examples are a repeat of Ferguson (1959) originally four defining diglossia studies; Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss-German, and Haitian Creole, these well-known cases placed firmly diglossia into the sociolinguistic literature. Holmes' example concerning diglossia in Arabic is interesting too. She suggests that classical and academic Arabic is for school and religion, prayers and readings the holy book of Quran while Arabs speak regional varieties in everyday life.

The study uses the nine linguistic features examined by Ferguson (1959) to assess diglossia in some diglossic situations. The concept of extended diglossia is specifically appealing as it includes similar situations to Djibouti. Besides, confirming the existence of extended diglossia is possible if there are functional distributions in those languages.

#### 2.2.3.2 *Extended Diglossia and How to Apply its Concept*

The concept of diglossia implies the use of various terminologies. In addition to Ferguson's notion of "classical" diglossia, this section discusses Fishman's concept of "extended" diglossia that encompasses the study of unrelated languages. Myers-Scotton (1986) uses the terms "narrow" with Ferguson's diglossia, known as classical, and "broad" in Fishman's notion of extended diglossia. Sociolinguists use two other linguistic terms, "in-diglossia", which refers to two language varieties genetically related and, "out-diglossia", which describes two unrelated or distantly related languages (Kloss 1966, p 138). They use also other linguistic terms derived from Greek prefixes like "endo-diglossia" and "exo-diglossia". Normally, people who speak two unrelated or separate languages are bilinguals. However, Fishman (1967) introducing his model of refinement on the diglossia concept, points out that, "bilingualism is essentially a linguistic characterization of individual linguistic behaviour, whereas Diglossia is a characterization of a linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level" (1972, p 383). He proposes the term "extended diglossia" for linguistic diglossic situations between two separate languages to the extent that a consensual power assigns, controls and restricts their functional distribution. For Fishman extended diglossia occurs between two unrelated languages, with two separate functions, one in high, superposed position and the other in low, vernacular use. The repartition and the complementary status of these two languages are essential to be in a situation named extended diglossia. He insists that the condition for diglossic situations, in an "extended diglossia", to occur between two separate languages is to be in complementary distribution. Given his pendulum perspectives, it is interesting to see how Fishman categorises the distinct stages that he uses to characterise each situation for bilingualism or diglossia according to specific criteria. For him, bilingualism is an unrestrictive



competence practised at the individual level, and diglossia is a restrictive and controlled competence organised at the socio-cultural level.

	+ <b>Diglossia</b> ---	
+	1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
<b>Bilingualism</b>	3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism
---		

Figure 4 The relationship between bilingualism and diglossia

A competent bilingual user, in the absence of diglossia, uses straightforwardly the two languages in several domains. However, a competent bilingual user, in the presence of diglossia, uses both languages according to their functions that a higher authority socio-culturally assigned them.

Fishman (1967) studies the overlapping relationships between diglossia and bilingualism through a process of ‘refinement’ that illustrates the difference from one extreme, where bilingualism and diglossia coexist, to another extreme, where neither bilingualism nor diglossia exists (Figure 4). Between these two extremes, he studied diglossia without bilingualism and bilingualism without diglossia. He concludes that bilingualism can exist with or without diglossia and diglossia can exist with or without bilingualism (Fishman 1967, p 30).

The most important criteria of Fishman’s extended diglossia is the functional distributions. At that point, many sociolinguists applied extended diglossia to bilingual and multilingual cases whenever a complementary distribution occurred. However, Fishman excluded stretching extended diglossia to all bilingual and multilingual situations where people use languages for different purposes. Sociolinguists stretched the term extended diglossia to languages of different origins in cases where users respected the divided usage. They saw that people likewise used unrelated languages in diglossic situations. These observations mostly occurred in English, French and Spanish that dominated official vernacular in colonised countries. Similarly, Rubin (1960) reveals through her research the necessity of using diglossia for Guaraní and Spanish, two linguistically unrelated languages spoken in Paraguay. In the same spirit, and calling for an expanded definition of diglossia, Hudson (1971) confirms, “that some writers have extended the term to cover situations which do not strictly count as diglossic according to Ferguson’s definition” (1971, p 50). He says that,

"Joshua Fishman, for example, refers to Paraguay as an example of a diglossic community although the High and Low varieties are respectively Spanish and Guaraní, an Indian language totally unrelated to Spanish" (1971, p 75).

Fishman (1967) and others often called “extended” diglossia, these diglossic situations involving two genetically unrelated linguistic codes. The dominant language has greater international prestige or is one

of the powerful elites. Holmes (1992, p 37) also advocates the use of “diglossia” in an expanded sense to diglossic situations whenever languages used are in a high (H) and a low (L) status. For Holmes, they must have two distinct functions and unrelated for diglossia to exist. The author also uses the example of Paraguay where Spanish is the High language and Guarani, an indigenous language, is the Low variety (1992, p 37). Influenced by Paraguay’s diglossic situation, Fishman’s (1967) recognises that diglossia happens in any situation even with two unrelated languages used for distinctive functions. Furthering the notion of extended diglossia, Fishman writes about its existence in Africa with formal and informal usages of a European language and indigenous languages, saying that,

Diglossia of a modern sort exists throughout most of sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and Latin America and involves French, English, or Spanish together with one or more indigenous languages (1972, p 45).

Fishman writes that English, French and Spanish occur in modern (extended) diglossia with indigenous languages in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Dennis Ager (1996) asserts that diglossia is when the French language is in contact with another language as it is the situation in several West Africa countries. This formulation is an assertion of a reference from Ferguson, that says;

“... a High status language (H) is used in public domains, while a Low status language (L) is used essentially for the private, domestic roles which do not require formal or official uses [...]”.  
Dennis Ager (1996, p 67)

Ager specifies like Fishman that diglossia occurs between French and those spoken in former African colonies. Such a statement is particularly useful in underpinning this study as French may be in diglossic situations with national languages. Throughout the world and, specifically in the former colonies, people use every day these European languages in diglossic situations.

Some sociolinguists are concerned about the choice of the extended diglossia prime factor. The designated prime factor is a functional distribution. Winford (1985) finds that Ferguson original formulation is excessively stretched in extended diglossia and “the question of the structural or genetic relationship between the codes becomes secondary” (Winford 1985, p 346). The relatedness of the languages in diglossic situations is not any more the prime factor, but the complementary functions. He concludes that there is not much interest linguistically from naming bilingualism, extended diglossia. Users prefer knowing the relation between varieties or languages in diglossic situations. They have a better attitude and are more confident knowing that the two diglossic varieties they speak originated from one language. They look after their language from other languages interferences or changes. It also helps them to keep separate knowing that the two languages they speak as bilingual are not related at all. Sociolinguists analyse and study the dynamics of the diglossic languages. In some situations, diglossia is a lasting predicted phenomenon and this defines it as a stable condition, which is convenient for speakers of both varieties or languages. In case of an observable or latent conflict between languages,

diglossia can be unstable. This study tries to understand the differences between stable and unstable diglossia.

To the concept of extended diglossia is easy to apply as it englobes most diglossic situations. Sociolinguists extended the term diglossia to languages of different origins in most situations where the functional distribution was complementary. This study has already mentioned diglossia studies that reported unrelated languages used in diglossic situations. It insists on the importance to generalise the situations for a better understanding. These diglossic observations occurred mostly with English, French and Spanish that dominated official vernaculars in colonised countries. This is interesting for Djibouti where indigenous people who speak their mother tongue at home and in other circumstances use French in official matters. The notion of extended diglossia is flexible and covers a wider area than the classical one. It offers the opportunity to include most possible diglossic situations and that means stretching the notion. This study is taking up this opportunity to use extended diglossia in the context of Djibouti by checking the existence of such diglossic situations. Fishman's expanded definition is useful as he says that his modern diglossia occurs between French and former colonial Africa's native languages; Arabic, Afar and Somali in this study.

Additionally, Ager (1996, p 67) asserts that diglossia is when the French language is in contact with another language as is the situation in several countries of West Africa as well as in Djibouti. Such statements are especially useful in underpinning this study as French is in diglossic situations with national languages. Holmes (1992) outlines, as well, an extension of diglossia that supports this study as diglossia in Djibouti is possible when people use French as the High language with another language like Arabic, Afar or Somali as the Low language. Djiboutians speak French in official matters and formally while they use indigenous languages normally at home and in other informal circumstances. In these diglossic situations, involving two different genetically unrelated linguistic codes, the dominant language has great international prestige or is one of the powerful elites, which is the case in these situations. These assessments must prove that extended diglossia exists through linguistic situations where people speak Somali or Afar or Arabic as a mother tongue and French as the formal language and they never use it in informal conversations. This is observed in Paraguay, the example of Holmes, that this study uses as a reference, where the elite speaks and keeps Guarani alongside Spanish.

However, in the case of Djibouti, the elites in power who are supposed to enforce and support the official linguistic systems seem not to be too concerned with the regulation of languages in society. There are no policies regulating languages and people speak official and national languages as they wish, and no one seems to control or take care of these situations. They even use national languages in official and government business. The distinction between high (H) and low (L) languages usage is becoming more blurred in Djibouti as the population or the elite in power neither enforce nor sought after diglossia. There are no clear-cut rules for when and where someone speaks French or a national language except in schools, although pupils are also challenging increasingly the tradition by talking to teachers into their mother tongue. The lack of High and Low language distinctions in Djibouti make it

difficult to present a diglossic argument like the Paraguay's one. Anyway, some researchers argue that there is no stability in diglossic situations, but others said that diglossia is stable using the example of Paraguay.

2.2.3.3 *Stable and Unstable Diglossia and How to Apply its Concept*

One of the conditions of diglossia existence is to be stable. Without stability, diglossia disappears or shift toward a new language usage. It is increasingly difficult to speak of stable diglossia, except in German-speaking Switzerland where a language situation resulting from World War II persists, and the linguistic stability is dependent on a stable social and political climate. Besides this example, it is almost impossible to see two or more languages coexisting without creating some tension and social unrest, currently, in the world. Some linguists have considered linguistic pluralism a source of unrest and social instability (Pattanayak 2001, Calvet 1998, Nelde 1997, 1980).

Lafont (1979, p 509) explains many of the implications of diglossic language choices. He proposes the term "Diglossic functioning"; acts of real communication, such as people exchanging information. For Lafont, diglossia is far from consistently stable. The speech selected in these acts of communication reflects the power standing for the language used in these diglossic situations. Whether the user feels resentment or contentment in these acts relates to issues of dominated or dominant languages. In diglossic situations, the problem is latent and sometimes the speaker makes a significant effort to choose his or her language to uplift it and make it dominant. The speaker is aware of this linguistic power and value and will thus be more affected if it dominates his or her native language. If the speaker must make linguistic concessions to achieve recognition, to communicate publicly or to gain a position of power using another dominant language, then it affects the subject psychologically, and the integration fails. The inherent social pressure that governs language choice, as it happens, in a formal or a colloquial context is always present. This struggle for linguistic power can only end when the choice to use one of the two languages is inexistent or languages have equal rights. About this language struggle, Baylon finds that "Diglossic situations may change according to three dynamic types. The first is a dynamic maintenance of diglossia" (1996, p 150). He mentions the Germanic-Swiss examples of sociolinguists such as Ferguson and Holmes. The second characteristic of language struggle that Baylon cites is the "dynamic convergence, going towards the unification of linguistic varieties present" (1996, p 150). Here, Baylon refers to the example of Norwegian and Danish, two appellations or varieties of one language, to rally support for the model of unification of different language varieties. Norway does not support this position where they recognised two separate dialects as official languages. Norway or most linguists do not consider effective the unification of Riksmal (the Dano-Norwegian urban speech) known today as Bokmal and the Landsmal (rural speech) called Nynorsk.

The third dynamic of diglossic situations that Baylon demonstrated is in the following statement;

Tendency may finally be the elimination of one or the other varieties present: L is the variety - in its relations with the local dialects (L), French (H) tends to eliminate them except where, as in Alsace, they enjoy the support of another language H -, H is the variety - it is French that is currently eliminated in half of the northern Flemish situations of Belgium (1996, p 150).

These three dynamics in language contact and context, where diglossia is either keeping the status quo or shifting toward something new is interesting for the study. The notions of shifting in diglossia are specifically useful in qualitative and quantitative field research. They help to find if these language situations are changing, and if so, in which direction. The areas of observation in this study are confined in Fishman's concept of "domains". The concept helps to find in which areas of language usage shifting is occurring.

The concept of stable and unstable diglossia is difficult to apply as the factors making it possible must have existed for centuries. Diglossia stability is difficult as linguistic pluralism is a source of unrest and social instability (Pattanayak 2001, Calvet 1998, Nelde 1997, 1980). In the Third World, especially, language usage shows tribal or class loyalty and philosophical survival. This is happening throughout the world from Mexico to China, India and Djibouti. It is often difficult, considering Third World conditions, to talk about stability both linguistically and politically.

On the one hand, diglossia may refer to users who practise a conscious and constant choice between two or more languages. A linguistic situation that may, therefore, be a result of a prolonged or permanent conflict dictates these decisions.

On the other hand, Arabic diglossia enjoys centuries of stability which is based on regional or local dialects or varieties and classical Arabic which has changed slightly, when it comes to modern standard Arabic since the writing of the Quran. Each Arabic country has its dialects, which is in diglossic situations with the classical Arabic and yet again users believe that each one of these dialects is an Arabic variety.

At this point, while the study did not prove the existence of diglossic situations, stable and unstable diglossia are mere suppositions. As local languages are conquering increased domains, it is possible to test Ferguson's definition to determine if diglossia occurs. and whether diglossia in Djibouti is stable or unstable. Therefore, if diglossia exists and if it is an unstable one, the elimination of a language from the diglossic situations of Djibouti is probable.

Other issues examined in this section include the difference between diglossia and standard dialects, the causes of diglossia, and the conditions favouring its development. This moves the focus to the three dynamics in language contact and context reported in Baylon (1996, p 150), where diglossia is either keeping the status quo or shifting toward something new. The study checks if diglossia is shifting in these language changing situations, and if so, aims to find out in which direction.

### 2.2.3.4 *Shifting Domains and How to Apply its Concept*

The concept of domains that this study reported using to investigate languages usage, is also useful to examine whether shifting is happening in diglossia cases. The concept is practical to prove languages shift in diglossic, bilingual or multilingual situations. Using the concept of domains, Fishman (1972) distinguishes between a stable and unstable diglossia. Jonas Greenfield supports the use of domains as he writes that,

Fishman has proposed the concept of domain in order to specify the larger institution role-context within which habitual language use occurs in multilingual settings [...]. Using this concept, Fishman has suggested that it is possible to differentiate between stable bilingual societies in which diglossia is obtained (Ferguson 1959) and unstable bilingual societies (1972, p 18).

Unstable bilingual societies use unrelated languages, which do not achieve functional complementary. Most tribal language situations are unstable bilingually as each group support their language. Another sociolinguist, Schiffman (1998) writes that,

While diglossia as a fact of linguistic culture may be stable, the distribution of domains reserved for one variety or other can vary; the dominance of a particular domain by a particular variety can shift, with one variety encroaching on domains previously restricted to another (1998, p 145).

The study of the domains proves where shifting is happening in these situations. Schiffman suggests a shifting in the political domain in the following example;

In Tamil, for example, the political speech was once restricted to the domain of the H variety, but nowadays political speeches only begin and end in H; in between, L variety predominates (probably as a mark of solidarity) (1998, p 145).

These situations show changing attitudes towards official languages as the elite increasingly communicates with the population in national languages to show solidarity and understanding. Schiffman also notes the impact of media on language usage, saying that,

In Alemannic Switzerland and some other linguistic cultures, the development of television has opened up a domain that has become almost exclusively that of the L variety, especially in “live” interviews, talk shows, game shows, sports reporting, etc. where use of H would seem stilted and unnatural (1998, p 145).

The functional importance of the vernacular language used in the domain of media made the shift possible. The reality is that everywhere the vernacular languages dominated the domain of media.

Two types of shifts occur; a diglossic' s and a language one. A language move occurs in extended diglossia when two unrelated languages occur in a diglossic situation. People alternate one language to another, when the prestigious one dominates the less prestigious one in most domains. Eckert (1980) who studied the shifting in France, from Gascon to French, says that diglossia facilitates shifts between languages. People language use gradually moved from vernacular Gascon to French, because France language dominated most of the domains where users were using the two languages.

Language shift happens in one or two generations contrary to diglossic one, which takes much more time because diglossia between varieties is more stable. A diglossic change occurs as well in classical diglossia where two varieties of one language are in a diglossic situation. The shift occurs when the L variety disrupts the functional distribution and conquers domains previously out of its reach and reserved for the H variety. People stop using the H variety and distance themselves from it until speakers do not have any more access to it. They adopt L as the main language and, in some cases, another unrelated one takes the H position. Having confirmed the different cases of diglossia and the shifting, the focus moves to language policy and its subsets notions in the next sections.

The concept of domains is particularly important within the context of this study, as the diglossia practised in Djibouti seems limited to specific uses when French is involved. During the colonial period in Djibouti, France denied any role in public and political domains to local languages. The main domains where people use national languages are family and friends, followed then in an order of decreased importance by workplace, government, religion and education. According to some assumptions, national languages occur more often in some previously French-dominated domains. It appears that only a few domains are still under French language domination, after four decades of independence in Djibouti. No one respects the boundaries of these language domains and no authority supports the current situation of the French language in Djibouti. People use national languages in everyday domains, except in schools and when conducting some official matters in the presence of foreigners. Thus, increasingly this creates a consensus dominated by the circumstances in which people use languages. As this chapter shows, many studies on diglossia reported on several domains that are important variables. These variables focus on language function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon, phonology and on the extent of distribution in space, time, and in various language families.

The most relevant research for this study and the assessment that comes closest to defining diglossic situations in Djibouti is in Harold F. Schiffman's (1998). He wrote about Tamil languages shift in diglossic situations. It seems that Schiffman (1998) perfectly describes a language situation that is terribly like that of Djibouti. He reports the changes in Tamil political speech, which politicians deliver these days in the low variety. He says that they only use the high variety for beginning and ending the political speech. These situations show changing attitudes towards official languages as the elite increasingly communicates with the population in national languages. They speak the low variety to remove the social barriers and show solidarity and understanding with the common people. The same changes are happening in Djibouti too. Schiffman (1998, p 145) also notes the impact of media on language usage which has changed since the low variety is exclusive for live interviews, talk shows, reporting's, etc... As media become more global than ever, a comparable situation is also happening in Djibouti with new tendencies of watching foreign films and programmes produced or translated in regional languages. Regional and international satellite channels are invading Djiboutian households. While many channels transmitting in the Horn of Africa are in international languages, at least eight

television channels broadcast content exclusively in Somali, one in Afar and twenty in Arabic. Djibouti broadcasts through satellite, mostly for the Somali diaspora, its national channels in Afar, Arabic and Somali. An increasingly large public in Djibouti and abroad follows these channels. Beside the many languages aired by these channels and spoken in Djibouti, the country does not have a language policy.

#### 2.2.4 Language Policy

What is language policy?

Here is the definition of the Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics, Bussmann (1996):

Political measures aimed at introducing, implementing, and defining the regional use of languages, such as the use of individual languages in multilingual states, the acceptance of official languages and working languages in international organizations, and regulations and agreements about foreign-language instruction (education language policy) (1996, p 649).

Language policy is the process of decision-making on a language or languages. It is a politically motivated government measure introduced to regulate the status and usage of languages in national, regional and international domains. It starts with the language policy draft preparation in the form of strategies for short, medium and long terms. Before the language policy implementation, there is usually the requirement in some countries to pass legislation and to get the consent of the parliament. Governments around the world regulate languages spoken in their territories for several reasons. They apply a language policy after going through several technical stages and various legislations to adapt it to the population and the constitution. Countries have either a written language policy or an implicit one. Some countries have a language policy for several languages while others manage one or two only.

Most of the studies on language policy have always been both about language policy and language planning. The difference between the two is that language policy is decision-making, while language planning implements the decisions through organised structures. On the origin of language policy studies, Wright (2016) writes that;

Language planning was an integral part of nation building and, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, intellectuals in the United States, France, Germany, Italy and to a lesser extent Britain produced a rich literature on the subject. Wright (2016, p 9)

Scholarly activists studied language policy as they were concerned to set up a one nation state speaking one language. They were working closely with nationalist politicians who were looking to justify the creation of monolingual independent nations in Europe. Two types of nations appeared as the results of one national language policy; state nations and nation states. The state nations, built on fixed borders and religious unity by a dominant group, like Britain and France and the nation states, assembled around mythical common historical past and ethnically diverse like Germany. The state nations language status was a long, hidden and informal process, however, the nation states publicly debated and displayed it widely. Then, later the monolingual nations exported the one national language trend to newly



independent African states. Wright explains the reason, saying that; “The language needs of the new ‘nations’ founded in the wake of decolonisation brought about renewed interest in the philosophy and strategies of nation building” Wright (2016, p 10). The African states implemented the one language, one nation policy despite having many languages because the former power convinced them that this was the only way forwards for the economic development of the country. The decision of African nations about the one party, one language and one nation, written by Bamgbose (1994) and cited by Wright (2016), describes the reality at that time in these terms;

It seems that we are obsessed with the number ‘one’. Not only must we have one national language, we must have a one-party system. The mistaken belief is that in such oneness of language or party we would achieve socio-cultural cohesion and political unity in our multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural societies (Bamgbose, 1994, p 36).

Bamgbose says that to believe that implementing one language and choosing one party can unite a country with a multitude of languages, ethnics and cultures was a mistake.

For Herriman and Burnaby (1996), language policy is about clear and planned actions that will affect public and individual interests in one way or another. Countries that are known to have competitive or conflicting language issues rigorously plan and implement explicit language policy. The Toubon law<sup>87</sup> in France and the Canadian Charter of the French Language in Quebec<sup>88</sup> are explicit language policies that support French in these countries. There are in some other countries less explicit language policies.

Baylon has rightly noted that there is a correlation between language policy and linguistic problem;

[i]f there is a language policy; it means there is a linguistic problem. Any enterprise of “normalisation” is conceived as a glottotherapy susceptible to remedy a sociolinguistic situation considered collectively negative, dangerous or simply delicate, most often in a situation where contact between two or more languages brings conflict (1996, p 190).

Countries that have several spoken languages are likely to face greater linguistic contention that requires well-formulated language policies to prevent conflicts between communities and public disturbances. Language policy is the decisions, laws, rules, regulations, and guidelines that a government of a sovereign state officially adopts and widely publishes to its population. It has the intended use for, the status agreed on, the domains covered by, and the concerned territories of the language or languages. These exist in the form of legal policy documents that specify the languages and the users’ rights. Thus, language policy determines the status of languages and regulates the official use in governmental, educational and public spheres. For these reasons, there are provisional clauses for different situations according to the way the government conducts national and international affairs. These clauses provide the right responses to various scenarios that constitute an array of informative, instructive,

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<sup>87</sup> In 1994, France implemented a law, known as the “Toubon Law”, to preserve the French language, protect French consumers and promote French culture. <https://www.lexology.com/>

<sup>88</sup> The Charter of the French Language (Charte de la langue française in French) is a Quebec law that makes French the usual language of business in Quebec.

administrative, and legislative answers to languages issues. Language policy is entirely under the responsibility of the government who is bound to act upon the implementation of its policy. First, the government legalises its decisions and proposes to the judiciary system the protection of the rights of both the users and the languages. Then, it informs the population through different media supports. The government presents and explains the well-founded and rightly thought governmental decisions that end the language problems in the country. After that, the government instructs its agencies to deploy the full arsenal to successfully implement the language policy. Finally, it demands the administration to fully adopt and oversee the application of the language policy documents.

The stabilisation of the broader society needs language policy in most countries; sometimes, however, authorities use it to suppress or discourage the use of minorities' languages (Hartig, cf., Fishman 1974c). To avoid such situation, language policies must accommodate the interest of small community's languages as well. One of the strategies implemented in some countries is to promote language diversity and give the appellation of national languages to those found in the communities and not used officially (cf., Pool 1979). A language policy that promotes language diversity is a multilingual language policy. Most of the language policies in multilingual countries focus on international or national languages. By doing so they strengthen the elite position but anyway granting minorities' languages greater autonomy in education and media can only strengthen the state's power. In countries with one dominant official language, minorities' languages disappear, because they are less and less used. The main reason is that users from minorities integrate the mainstream. For the minorities, the solution to this problem is to exert political pressure on the government for helping these endangered languages through maintenance programmes. Activists and political representative groups with the help of UNESCO and other NGOs intervene in some countries where language maintenance is necessary to reverse the situation. Only supportive and resolute communities can manage to keep, use, speak and learn minorities' languages. They must have the political will to fight for the survival of their languages.

A well-thought language policy supplies multilingual diversity maintenance and prevents international languages, English and French, to downgrade the national ones. The issue of minorities' endangered languages is constantly at the heart of multilingual policies. Languages disappear when people stop speaking them or teaching to their children. People abandon their languages for several reasons and the important one is the assimilation into the vernacular or national ones. Different countries adopted different strategies depending on their linguistic history and specific community needs, but the difficulty was the process of selecting official languages. Europeans also brought the notion of nation state as a new political way for Africa and Asia to organise their countries. European political organisation that united each country under one language and one territory influenced these large heterogeneous countries in languages as well as in ethnicity. They planned the nation building process to unite their population under 'one people, one language, one state'. The adoption of one national language was important for the development of these countries. So many other challenges and difficulties existed that only linguistic solutions were not able to solve them.

However, “Western-based ideologies” influenced these countries and backed these policies. Ricento (2006) rightly summarises, in the next citation, all the presumptions of knowledge that inspired these policies;

[In other words,] Western-based academic language-planning and LP approaches in the 1950s and 1960s often subsumed a number of ideologies about (1) the nature of language – that is, as a finite, stable, standardized, rule-governed instrument for communication; (2) monolingualism and cultural homogeneity as necessary requirements for social and economic progress, modernization, and national unity (with stable diglossia as a fall-back, compromise position); and (3) language selection as a matter of “rational choice” in which all options are equally available to everyone, or could be made equally available (2006, p 15).

The Asian and African countries made an ideologically important choice on one diglossically stable language with others and equally available for the population; a European’s one. The choice of using a European language for economic and human developments was based on these three criteria. There was also the possibility for native languages, that people use them in informal local domains. However, these ideologies did not achieve much of the planned aims and supported the authority of European languages. Ricento (2006) writes, about the result in these terms;

The result – stable diglossia – had the (perhaps unintended) effect of lowering the status and relegating the domains of indigenous languages to local uses, while elevating the status and extending the domains of the former colonial language to national political and elite educational sectors, helping to perpetuate the stratified, class-based structures of the colonial era (2006, p 13).

As a result of that choice, Africans degraded and devaluated their languages while European’s and local elites, who were using them, dominated the countries economical, educational and political domains.

Since the Independences, European languages, specifically English and French, became the official instruments of wider communication. Currently, English and French create social and economic opportunities in the world and people feel part of a much bigger and freer society speaking these languages. European languages offer them proper means to escape local, regional and national difficulties that somehow oppress them. The history of these languages is the two sides of the same coin, one as instruments of emancipation, freedom and economic development and the other as causes of lost traditions, local customs and beliefs. These are complex relationships that are impossible to solve from one point of view, as one needs to understand the historical perspective. Regarding language policy, it is also important to distinguish between language planning and its components status, corpus, and acquisition planning and understand the complicated process involved in choosing official ones for countries with many languages.

### 2.2.5 Language Planning

Language planning as its name shows is the planning of a language or languages chosen in the language policy. The Routledge Dictionary of Language and linguistics, Bussmann (1996), defines language planning as;

Measures taken by organizations (usually sanctioned and supported by the state) for the development and dissemination of panregional trade languages. Emphasis may be placed on (a) the transcription of previously unwritten languages; (b) the modernization of the language system (primarily by expanding the vocabulary with specialized terminology); and (c) the expansion of the regional use of a language (1996, p 648).

Language planning is a critical assessment of the language policy because it precisely checks its details. The assessment is to make sure that the language policy supplies all the necessary provisions for a successful implementation. To carry out its assignment comfortably, language planning activates three processes that are the planning of the status, the corpus and the acquisition.

Cooper (1989, p 30) collected and listed twelve definitions, useful for this study, from several respected linguists on language planning. In these definitions, despite their overlapping policy concepts, there is no consensus on one unified description of language planning. Cooper (1989, p 29) pointed out, in these multiple definitions, to the wide divergences in the use of the term language planning itself. He introduces, explains and criticises all the definitions, revealing their strengths and weaknesses in the various required situations of this concept. He classifies the twelve definitions according to the year of publication and then adds its own.

It is interesting to examine closely the last two definitions numbered 11 and 12, the most recent, before moving to Cooper's one.

11. "Language planning refers to systematic, theory-based, rational, and organized societal attention to language problems" (Restatement of Neustupny 1983, p 2).

12. "Language involves policy-making decisions concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those empowered to do so, for the guidance of others" (Prator cited by Markee 1986, p 8).

The definition number 11 has an emphasis on solving language problems, brought to the attention of the society, with "theory-based rational". Definition 12 focuses on the decisions of the language policy for educational and normal uses while carefully formulating it for the benefit of its users. Cooper (1989) makes available the ability gained from the definitions and presents their genuine forms before his study. The following sentences highlight the essence of Cooper's collected definitions. Language planning is at the origin of language choice and preservation within a country. First, language planning is a coordinated political and administrative measure to select, codify and disseminate a language. These measures include the normative work of academicians, jurists and expert committees for finding

solutions and changing the behaviour of a community or an entire population. Second, this process organises and develops the community resources on the teaching and usage of language. It also concerns the adoption of new common regional, national or international languages.

Cooper, then, presents his definition, that says,

*Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes* (Cooper 1989, p 30) (italics in original).

Without idealising language planning, Cooper asserts in his definition that planning is not restricted to institutions or targeted communities or to be compared to others. For him, language planning is about conquering users, not forcing them to speak a language. He says it is about influencing speakers' behaviour and attitude rather than imposing rules on them.

When assessing most definitions relevant to this study, it happens that most researchers define language planning about finding and solving language problems. These issues are also clear in Baylon's definition of planning.

One can, therefore, propose the following definition, p language planning is an explicit and systematic effort to solve linguistic problems and achieve practical implementation solutions found through the support of institutions (1996, p 178).

The planning in this circumstance is to solve linguistic problems by applying the right solutions with the help of institutions. Baylon goes on to explain his definition by saying that language planning can;

1. Affect such language in its structural identity (...)
2. Affect the socio-cultural functions of such language, status, territory, facing the socio-cultural function, statute(s), territory of another/ other language(s) also in usage by the same multilingual community, with varying cases from...
3. (...) May present a double aim: linguistic and sociolinguistic..." (1996, p 178).

This list details the process of language planning and its consequences clearly in a linguistic and sociolinguistic structure. Ball (1997) also wrote about the subject of language planning, saying,

The term language planning is applied to the process of establishing such a policy: status planning (the kind referred to here) is to be distinguished from corpus planning, which is concerned with questions of standardization and correct usage (p. 24).

The planning intervenes at several levels of the language or languages involved such as the status and the corpus. Initially, the planning outlines and predicts accompanying measures that rule language usage as well as language status at national and international levels. With these formal linguistic rules in place, the official process of implementing and adopting linguistic and sociolinguistic practices takes place.

As a result of colonisation, trade and division of land in African and elsewhere, Europeans introduced colonial languages, but the expansion and economic interests came to the detriment of cultural and linguistic diversity. These languages dominated the vernacular ones because of their importance in education and administration matters. With indigenous languages declining because of globalisation, governments have passed laws to ensure linguistic diversity. They have adopted language

policies that appoint not only the official language, English or French but also the native ones as national languages. African countries implemented official multilingual policies because of the many languages in use. It is the upstream results of planning the language situation. That means that they adopted language planning processes to solve problems linked to linguistics situations. It is well-known that governments intervene in language matters when confronted with several competing languages. Under the purpose of setting up a linguistic policy, they put forward measures concerning the status of languages within the country. The process of choosing an official language other than a European one was difficult for many African countries because of inadequate funds to implement their language planning, a process that would require these countries to start for instance the corpus planning from scratch. The former colonial entities recommended them to save the costs of planning and accept keeping foreign languages while getting all the aid needed. Their language planning was on English or French and with that choice made, the former colonial nations took care of the status and the corpus planning.

#### *2.2.5.1 Applying the Concept of Language Policy and Language Planning*

Countries that have several spoken languages are likely to face greater linguistic contention that requires the implementation of language policies to prevent conflicts between communities. Different countries adopt different strategies depending on their linguistic history and specific community needs, but the difficulty arises for most when it comes to the recent process of selecting official languages. Most countries give more importance to the cohesion of the country and grant official status to major languages. Djibouti does not have a language policy and this study proposes to close that gap by helping it to prepare one for itself. To realise that aim, the study formulates the language policy through the process of language planning, which forms status, corpus and acquisition planning.

Language planning governs language choice and preservation within a country. Many foreign languages have been introduced into Third World countries because of colonisation, trade and division of land. This expansion and economic focus significantly cost these countries the cultural and linguistic diversity as one foreign language dominates all others. However, most of the time those who create the situations denigrate them through the media because they choose the colonial language as the main official one (see President Guelleh's interview). Whatever these countries do, they must bear the burden and the marks forever. African countries have planned within the AU many language projects but not yet implemented. They may one day confidently choose and implement their vernacular languages to have an active role in education and other important domains.

With many indigenous languages endangered or extinct, governments have set up laws to ensure linguistic diversity as well as to decide what languages are official within countries that have many. Most countries with several languages have an official policy on languages. When confronted with several competing languages, governments may intervene in language matters. For setting up a linguistic policy, they put forward measures concerning the organisation and management of languages within the

country. It is the results of planning it. That means there has been a language planning process put in place after a parliamentary law.

2.2.5.2 *Status, Corpus and Acquisition Planning*

The “status planning” of a language in a country is often subject to debates and contestations. Even if the decision, in the end, is up to the governing body. The decision of the policymakers affects all languages spoken in the country. They assign an official status to one language or two that dominate the others. Prioritising one language, or two over others is usually because these languages imposed themselves either as used widely or declared officials or used for educational purposes. Nationalists propose the dominant language or variety of the majority that is more likely accepted as a standard and then impose it on all minorities. Status planning is the choice of the authorities to choose a language as the official language of the nation. They select the language used for government business, education and public institutions. The choice is related to the legislative scheme that recognises a language as the official one, in line with the language policy. Cooper (1989) further points out that status planning also refers to the allocation of languages to given functions such as the medium of instruction, official or working language and vehicle of mass communication – language choice and language implementation.

In post-colonial, the choice of the official language is only a matter of legislating on the issue as the working language of the former colonial power is already in use. All countries that gained independence in the last century chose the colonial language officially instead of one of their own. The choice of a language is not an arbitrary process. This notion supports Juan Cobarrubias’ (1983, p 4) assertion that “issues of status planning are not ethically neutral”. Often-cited examples are African countries that have opted for French or English as official languages. Furthermore, former colonial powers often recommend the newly independent country not to embark on the difficult route of choosing a native language. Although critics, such as Robert Philippson (2003), believe that there are strong incentives that bind the newly independent country to choose officially the formal colonial language. For these reasons, adopting the colonial language was the condition to receive aid and keep cooperation with the powerful empire. In addition to financial constraints, choosing a national language among a multitude of indigenous languages spoken in the country is not an easy task. Especially, when more than a hundred languages exist in some countries and the government aims to unite the population with one language. Besides, minorities are historically convinced that English or French is better for them than the dominant native African language. Few are the countries, like Tanzania, that have dared to embark on a national planning programme to choose one of the many languages as an official language. Swahili was the chosen language and today, half a century later, Tanzania is still struggling to implement it in education. International recognition, smooth implementation, better economic transition and internal political stability are the main reasons given for choosing a European language.

These language policies are essential to solve crises and clearly distinguish the status of each language. Once supported by a recognised policy, a language can become official unanimously and indisputably via consensus of the population or according to a government decree that set it up as written. However, politicians never gave such a decision to a population as a referendum or decided through a national census. Language may also impose itself through settlement as with English in the United States of America or it may be the result of political, social, and religious ideologies as Hebrew in Israel (Cooper, 1989). In situations where one language dominates others, especially because of colonisation, languages of the country get different status. It happens when one language is learned at school and the other is spoken at home. In these cases, it is important to clearly distinguish the separation in the domain of use for these languages. European and Asian countries with historical heritage and language problems like Switzerland or Belgium have dealt more democratically with these linguistics issues than their African counterparts. In the latter case, these languages dominated others because of their official status. It also creates conflicts between languages as different attitudes appear according to users' ethnicity, nationality, gender, age and social status. As language is a social occurrence, it reflects the individualities of people when they speak. Subsequently, language choices expose its user's gender, age, social status and much more. According to Herriman and Burnaby, language policy is primarily concerned with the question of “status planning” (1996). Status planning is of high interest to this study because “corpus planning” is virtually non-existent in African countries like Djibouti where people adopted English or French. Corpus planning is inexistent as these countries apply the French, or the British corpus implemented in France and England. However, this study exhorts Djibouti to implement their corpus planning because it is valuable for educational studies.

Corpus planning and status planning are known to be “two sides of the same [language planning] coin” (Fishman, 2004). Corpus planning is the process of making suitable the language for people and as a tool for the different usages in a country. The work on languages takes two directions; one strand develops and plans a policy regulating the use of language (or languages) and the other researches and classifies the terminology of the language. This terminology helps to manage the codification of the national language in several areas such as grammar and lexis. This process is the standardisation of selected languages. It is complete after the linguists conduct several studies concentrated on languages spoken in the country, and then they made from the collection of words used in each language a corpus (Herriman and Burnaby 1996). Herriman and Burnaby (1996) state that there is seldom any “corpus planning” and indeed it is notified early in their book that “status Planning” focuses on the policy for language use, while “corpus planning” is a much more technical work on words and terminology. A corpus (plural “corpora”) is a large computer-held collection of texts (spoken, written, or both) collected to stand as a representative sample of a language or some part of it. Corpora supply easily accessible and exact data, useful to descriptive and theoretical linguists.



A "corpus planning" concerns the development and regulation of the forms of the language itself. Countries that adopt colonial languages, therefore, because of a lack of financial and technical resources, or due to language purism, use the work of "corpus planning" carried out in Europe on native French and English speakers. In doing so, they are confident of getting the best linguistic corpus at the source, because it is the one France (or Great Britain) uses to regulate their language. Yet the absence of a consensus and a lack of work on the corpus in these multilingual countries, like Djibouti, mean that French spoken in Africa is unrecognised and undesirable. However, Dumont (1996), a French linguist, argues in favour of the valorisation of these local varieties of French in Africa. He listed words unique to Djibouti French speakers called *djiboutismes*, a term coined by Maurer (1992). The term *Djiboutismes* is the evidence that Djiboutians form new French words through language creativity in local contexts. However, there is not a structure of recognition for novel words in the wider French-speaking community. Writing about the French spoken outside France, Dumont states that it is time to reflect and organise a corpus specific to countries with French as a national language. From Dumont's statement, one can see the importance given by French linguists to recognise the existence in Africa of French language varieties. If France implement this process of recognition, it will undoubtedly help to anchor and strengthen French more in Africa. The recognition of the French African varieties' corpora can also strengthen the acquisition planning which integrates and consolidate in each country its corpus.

Acquisition planning, first cited by Cooper (1989, p 63), is the most important part of language planning, even if its implementation is last. Some sociolinguists affirm that acquisition planning is more important than corpus planning because of its dissemination role of the language into the population. For Wright (2016);

Acquisition planning is the term generally employed to describe the policies and strategies introduced to bring citizens to competence in the languages designated as 'national', 'official' or 'medium of education'. Wright (2016, p 69)

Acquisition planning is the process that spearheads the inculcation of the chosen language into the community through education, culture and media. It happens as well for the minorities to adopt the nation's language through cultural and linguistic assimilation. The government uses every tool at its disposal to impose the national language. The main tools of integration being the education and schools where people get the language both in its spoken and written systems (Wright, p 2016). Schools and teachers are the guarantors of the language, they have, maintain and teach it throughout the official standard and enforce it with dictionary and grammar books.

The government enforces the standard language because people can use other languages or varieties in their interactions. That possibility of using other languages or varieties confirms the existence of diglossic situations. As people use seven languages for everyday communications, there is the possibility to observe diglossia.

2.2.5.3 *Applying the Concepts of Status, Corpus and Acquisition Planning*

Applying the concepts of status planning is straightforward decision which is taken and announced by government. All countries that gained independence in the last century chose the colonial language as the official instead of one of their own. Djibouti was part of the countries that implemented French, the language in use in education and the administration. Up to these days, Djibouti does not have and did not give a language policy to any international organisation. However, the African Union Commission, the executive and administrative branch or secretariat is waiting for Djibouti to honour its engagement of the Harare Declaration<sup>89</sup> (20/21 March 1997) by supplying a language policy that regulates all the existing languages. For that, the country needs to start the process of planning a language policy that clarifies each language's status. Then, the important task of planning the corpus for these languages must follow. Djibouti never undertook that task of planning the corpus, even for French.

Applying the concepts of planning requires the difficult and lengthy process on working with language components. Most countries that are officially using colonial languages never tried to collect any corpus, as all they want is to get along as much as possible with the usage of the language in school and other important domains. However, recently, they have understood that after half a century of usage, they have shaped these languages to their reality and needed to do a corpus planning. Yet the absence of a consensus and a lack of work on the corpus in countries with many languages, like Djibouti, mean that the French spoken in Africa is unrecognised and undesirable despite its strong linguistic presence.

Applying the concept of acquisition planning is not difficult as there are experts on the subject at the ministry of education. In Djibouti, language acquisition is mostly for French acquisition and rarely for Arabic. The civil servants working in government and specifically in the ministry of education have good knowledge of the acquisition planning. They learned to plan the acquisition of French in education using a duplicate and copied sample of the official French one that France implemented in its educational institutions. Acquisition planning is the only process of language policy that does not need to be worried about. Acquisition planning of other languages than French and Arabic, surely, is going to be well-thought-out if they adopt a multicultural language policy.

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<sup>89</sup> Harare declaration (20-21 March 1997) is the working document adopted by the Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers on language policy in Africa.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, the researcher carried out the study using established frameworks and discussed notions. The sociolinguistic theoretical concepts are useful to help in answering the questions generated by this study on Djibouti languages. The process of language policy involves planning the corpus, status and the acquisition of these languages. The different language phenomena such as bilingualism, multilingualism, code-switching and diglossia are studied because of their uses in Djibouti language situations. In the next one, it is about writing on the methodology and design which include preparing the questionnaire and the interviews.

## Chapter 3 Research Design and Methodology

This chapter presents in the first part the research design and in the second part the methodology applied in this study.

The research design (3.1), comprises three sections that deal with ethical considerations (3.1.1), research philosophy and strategy and choice of methods(3.1.2), research time frame. reliability and validity (3.1.3).

The research methodology for mixed methods (3.2) comprises of two sections, which are; quantitative research methods (3.2.1) and the qualitative research methods (3.2.2).

The quantitative research method (3.2.1) section consists of six subsections; questionnaire sampling and samples size (3.2.1.1), questionnaire development process (3.2.1.2), procedures for data collection (3.2.1.3), the study pilot (3.2.1.4), respondents' demographic characteristics (3.2.1.5) and data analysis methods for the questionnaire (3.2.1.6), which is dived further into two subsections; descriptive statistics (3.2.1.6.1) and inferential statistics (3.2.1.6.2).

The qualitative research methods (3.2.2) section includes eight subsections; interview sampling and sample size (3.2.2.1), interview techniques (3.2.2.2), participants' demographic characteristics (3.2.2.3). interview transcripts (3.2.2.4), the data analysis methods for the interviews (3.2.2.5), the coding process (3.2.2.6) generating themes (3.2.2.7) and data management, tools and procedures (3.2.2.8).

The study begins with the research design, which set down important decisions for the following part on methodology.

### 3.1 Research Design

The research design is the strategy that researchers choose to study a substantial subject. According to Creswell & Creswell, (2018, p 53), "Research designs are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach that provide specific direction for procedures in a research study". Mixed methods research is a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods. The Creswells further their definition with; "A research design is a set of formal procedures for collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data..." (2018, p 363).

A research design is "a blueprint for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the accuracy of the findings" (Burns and Grove 2003, p195). Parahoo (1997, p142) writes that it is "a plan that describes how, when and where data are to be collected and analysed". Data is any information collected for a study, which is a collection of facts, numbers, words, measurements, observations and descriptions.

Saunders *et al.* (2009) explain the nature of research design in these terms,

Your research design will be the general plan of how you will go about answering your research question(s) (the importance of clearly defining the research question cannot be over-emphasised). It will contain clear objectives, derived from your research question(s), specify the sources from which you intend to collect data, and consider the constraints that you will inevitably have (e.g. access to data, time, location and money) as well as discussing ethical issues.

A research design helps to effectively answer the research questions and problems. The research design is classified according to the purpose of the research study. It is a plan that logically integrates the diverse parts of the study to address the research problems. It is an outline of all the processes and activities to undertake while doing research.

The research design is a two planning processes based on planning and writing.

The first one is to have a brief descriptive plan of the main ideas while preparing the research project.

The second one is about the design process that gives specific attention to the requirements of the study. Follows, writing the outline, the reason as well as defining the research aims and goals.

Then, it is the moment of selecting the location of the study, in this case it is the Republic of Djibouti.

Questionnaire and interview are the instruments to collect data for this study. It is a mixed methods research forming quantitative and qualitative methods. The choice of this research design comes from the need to obtain more information than what a questionnaire only discovers.

Follows the description of the sample frame design, the sampling and the choice of the respondents.

According to Tagliamonte (2006, p17), "The very first task is to design a sample that addresses 'the relationship between research design and research objectives' (Milroy 1987, p18, Milroy and Gordon 2003, p 24)". To do the sampling for this study, the researcher is using the following design concepts, which are described in the questionnaire sampling and samples size section (3.2.2.1.): 1) type of universe: (finite) target population; 2) sampling unit; the Republic of Djibouti, 3) source list or sampling frame; Djiboutians, 4) sample size; respondents and participants, 5) parameters of interest; speakers of official and national languages 6) budgetary constraints; unpaid respondents and minimum travels expenditure for the researcher and 7) sampling procedure; a non-probability sampling technique (Gupta 2001).

Next, it is the pilot testing after eventual modifications required, then, the enrolment the respondents of the study.

Follows the description of the questionnaire or the interview.

The conclusion is the collection and entry of the data to a statistics software that helps the researcher in the challenging task of deploying and analysing the research data.

The design of this study is presented and explained onwards. The research design focuses on answering research questions and goals after defining the various stages of the research strategies. Methods are an important part of the design, and they give studies clearer techniques of answering research questions and evaluating findings. Follows next, the ethical considerations, before working on designs and strategies and research philosophy and approach section.

### 3.1.1 Ethical Considerations

From the beginning of any study, at the design stage, researchers have a set of rules to comply ethically with as guidelines. It concerns beforehand the implications involved in drafting the research. The ethical considerations' significant instructions straighten out research thoughts. For the well-being and safety of all respondents, it is essential to set out ethical considerations in any social study requiring human participation. The School of Languages and Social Sciences Ethics Committee approved the unbiased goals of this study.

The researcher presented a consent form written according to basic principles of ethical social research as well as confidentiality and privacy terms. The names of the researcher, supervisor, school and university responsible for the study are written on the form for contact purpose as well as an email address. The form authorises the use of respondents' answers within the research and confirms, after signatures, that both parties reached an agreement.

The respondents obtained disclosure on the aim and the purpose of the study, the number of respondents enrolled, the amount of time the study takes, their responsibilities, the reason for their choice and the procedures. The consent and information form (Appendix E), which is part of the questionnaire given to each participant, outlined the reasons and aims of the research. It is an agreement that the Ethics Committee officially requires and individuals, who are contributing to the research, must read and sign it. Through this process, respondents gain a clear understanding of the purpose of the research and the value of their contribution to the study. The researcher informed interested parties that there was no incentive paid towards participation or for any other contribution to the study. He tells respondents of their rights to withdraw from the research at any time without justification. After being sure that the respondents have understood the requirements and are willing to take part in the study, then, he asked them to sign the consent form. As a good practice, respondents and participants finished the process of enrolment before going ahead with the questionnaire and interview.

The assurance of confidentiality also prevents any political correctness that might lead people to avoid critical attitudes towards the situation under scrutiny. To keep neutrality and a friendly atmosphere, the interviewer avoids intrusion into individual opinions on other respondents' inappropriate actions. No identifiable personal information appears on the interview forms, only reference numbers and pseudonyms, even at the archiving stage. Confidentiality agreements guarantee participants anonymity in audio recordings and transcriptions and appeal to their trust. The data collected is confidential and thus only used for the study purpose (Webb 2002).

The researcher made right provisions in security and assurance matters for the care and protection of respondents as well as for himself and those helping with the research. Most of the interviews take place inside the University of Djibouti, public places or government premises, and risks are non-existent because uniformed guards secure the buildings. There is a security threat in the country

from Somali Al-Shabaab terrorists,<sup>90</sup> however, uniformed police officers are always present outside buildings to give secure protection. After the ethical considerations, as announced in the introduction, the focus is on the research philosophy and approach, which show the basic ideologies of the research.

### 3.1.2 Research Philosophy and Strategy and Choice of Methods

Research philosophy is related, from the study's starting point to the development of knowledge and particularly to the nature of the knowledge. It concerns the new knowledge that may develop from this study. The three major philosophical reasoning that originate from the researcher's view of the world are; ontology, which is on the nature of reality or being, epistemology, which is on what to accept as knowledge, and axiology, which is on the values in research. The study is answering specific research questions that may arise as a piece of new knowledge from languages spoken in Djibouti.

The assumptions of the researcher towards the study are closely related to their view of the world. These assumptions influence the choice of the research strategy and methods, the result is that the researcher thoughts and ideologies influence the research process. The research philosophy acknowledges the "philosophical assumptions" and worldview of the researcher that guide him to the methods of data collection, interviews and other techniques. The researcher applies proper paradigms of the research philosophy; the qualitative and quantitative methods. Studies are based on assumptions, beliefs of the world and thoughts of researchers undertaking them. Creswell chooses the term worldview as meaning "a basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba, 1990, p 17). Creswell & Creswell (2018, p 51) say about the pragmatic worldview that,

There is a concern with applications—what works—and solutions to problems (Patton, 1990). Instead of focusing on methods, researchers emphasize the research problem and use all approaches available to understand the problem (see Rossman & Wilson, 1985). As a philosophical underpinning for mixed method studies, Morgan (2007), Patton (1990), and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010) convey its importance for focusing attention on the research problem in social science research and then using pluralistic approaches to derive knowledge about the problem.

In this citation, Creswell & Creswell name several pragmatists over twenty years to prove the importance of mixed methods and pluralistic approaches in research. He centred the pragmatism of these researchers in the belief that studying the research problem in mixed methods, from different perspectives, is the best way to obtain acceptable knowledge. The pragmatists' worldview philosophically influences this study, which selected mixed methods. The researcher believes in this philosophical pragmatism, which is a way to perceive the nature of the reality as external, multiple and being the one answering best the research questions. For him, the value exists in the interpretation of the results; subjectively as well as objectively and a constantly negotiated reality. Moreover, to him, knowledge comes from different

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<sup>90</sup> In May 2014, Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for a suicide bombing at a restaurant in Djibouti city, which killed a Turkish citizen and injured foreign nationals.

perspectives and techniques through the research questions. The choice of mixed methods pragmatically ensues from the research philosophy and the research approach.

There are two types of research approaches; deductive and inductive (Saunders *et al.* 2009 and Hussey and Hussey 1997). The selected method of research point toward the right approach for the study, which uses qualitative and quantitative methods, and both demand inductive and deductive research approaches. The quantitative method uses a deductive research approach and the qualitative one uses the inductive one. The research philosophy and approach lead the research strategy simply because they control the choice of methods and techniques.

According to Saunders *et al.* (2009, p 144), the different strategies used in studies are the experiment, survey, case study, action research, grounded theory, ethnography and archival research. An experiment is “a form of research that owes much to the natural sciences. A survey is a trendy way that “allow the collection of a large amount of data from a sizeable population in a highly economical way”. A case study is ‘a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence’ Robson (2002, p178). Action research “is concerned with the resolution of organisational issues such as the implications of change together with those who experience the issues directly”. Grounded theory is ‘particularly helpful for research to predict and explain behaviour, the emphasis being upon developing and building theory’ Goulding (2002). Ethnography “is rooted firmly in the inductive approach. It emanates from the field of anthropology”. Archival research “makes use of administrative records and documents as the principal source of data”.

A research strategy is a general plan that helps the researcher to answer, systematically, the research questions, according to Saunders *et al.* (2009), who say that,

Your choice of research strategy will be guided by your research question(s) and objectives, the extent of existing knowledge, the amount of time and other resources you have available, as well as your own philosophical underpinnings.

It is a plan that aims to achieve research goals. Researchers often confuse the terms “research strategy”, an easy-to-follow plan of action that guides you through a research method, with “research methodology processes”, the progression that explains the correct techniques used in finding out solutions. In a UK study, Wedawatta, Ingirige and Amaratunga, (2010b) state that the research strategy clarifies and supplies information about the way to conduct research, unlike the methodology processes that explain methods step by step. They also argue that the research process is part of a research strategy, which is a method to solve problems. These processes adopted as research strategies are precious plans that find solutions for most problems. The kind of questions they answer to are; who, what, where, how much and how many. This strategy works out well with exploratory research, deductive approach and mixed methods research design. These strategies have as well a system that checks the reliability and validity of the study.



The research strategy of this study is based on a survey, which is the most used strategy in the social sciences. The research philosophy, questions and aims mostly dictate, the choice of the method, which is, in this study, a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method implies the use of a questionnaire and the qualitative one requires interviews. The need for more investigative instruments is the reason that led the study to adopt a design, in which it uses both questionnaires and interviews. The final decision is that the formal procedure for collecting, analysing and interpreting data is based on a mixed methods approach, which uses questionnaire and interviews. Earlier research on the French language in Djibouti written by Maurer (1992) partially influenced the choice of mixed methods (chapter 1). Moreover, the questionnaire was not enough to find out about all the information needed to show language situations. There was a need to do more to get much significant information on languages spoken in Djibouti. The choice of the methodology and methods are related as well to the time frame choice.

### 3.1.3 Research Time Frame, Reliability and Validity

Most studies, in social sciences, are from a time frame either cross-sectional or longitudinal. A cross-sectional study is mostly a one-time project, a snapshot, and a longitudinal one is a repetitive project in a longer period studying change and development. This is a cross-sectional study, and the techniques and procedures used to get reliable findings are data collection and analysis. It uses a cross-sectional survey, which consists of collecting data once in time from a cross-section of the Djibouti population. The reliability and validity of the techniques and procedures described in the research strategy and choice of the method are significant for the study.

Saunders *et al.* (2009) write that reliability;

[...] refers to the extent to which your data collection techniques or analysis procedures will yield consistent findings. It can be assessed by posing the following three questions (Easterby-Smith *et al.* 2008, p109):

- 1 Will the measures yield the same results on other occasions?
- 2 Will similar observations be reached by other observers?
- 3 Is there transparency in how sense was made from the raw data?

Data reliability is important, as the research depends on the accuracy or trustworthy of the collected data. Reliability in this study means repeatability of the entire process, and it guarantees that anyone can replicate every step that the researcher went through. As this study uses mixed method, it uses Cronbach's Alpha method<sup>91</sup>, which is a way to measure reliability.

In research, validity refers to the importance of the study to deliver decent findings and reach adequate conclusions. Researchers evaluate thoroughly the study and the validity of the data gathered

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<sup>91</sup> Cronbach's alpha, developed by Lee Cronbach in 1951, is a way to measure reliability, or internal consistency of an instrument. "Reliability" is how well a test consistently measures what it is supposed to measure.

because the conclusions depend on them. Validity is related to the accuracy or soundness of the information collected. It is about how well the research reflects the reality it claims to represent. Validity also means truthfulness, it is the quality of declaring sound the measurement, and it offers ways of verifying the information.

Validation methods used in the current study are key factors as well as other measurements such as credibility; generally accepted findings, dependability; noting changes that affect outcomes, conformability; making others agree with the results, and transferability; a degree of generalisation to other contexts. Checking the reliability and validity is useful and important before the analysing the data. Reliability and validity are significant for the researcher as they corroborate the results of the study. The methodology explains the methods, techniques and procedures needed for the research.

### 3.2 Research Methodology for Mixed Methods

The research strategy is part of the methodology, which is the knowledge of methods. The methodology is “the theory of how research should be undertaken” Saunders *et al.* (2009, p 3). The methodology is the knowledge of the methods that the researcher deploys to complete the research and obtain reliable results. Kothari (2004) writes that;

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically. In it we study the various steps that are generally adopted by a researcher in studying his research problem along with the logic behind them (2004, p 8).

The methodology includes the theoretical and technical knowledge of the methods required for collecting questionnaires, conducting interviews and analysing data. Creswell & Creswell (2018, p 363) write that “A methodology is a set of procedures that guide the use of design. These procedures exist in the research at a more practical level than the design”. These set of procedures are the methods needed for the study. The research methodology is the study of methods. A method is a process that uses techniques to organise, show, measure and analyse accurately the research components or to solve problems. The methods are also instruments, practices and behaviours accessible for research activities like collecting and processing data.

A questionnaire is a systematic method of gathering information from a sample of a population. An interview is an initiated and purposed interaction of person-to-person, either face to face or over the telephone. For gathering data, the methods to use for a survey are questionnaire and interviews, as well as different measurements on the validity and reliability of the study. For analysing data, the methods to use are mathematical; probability, and statistics; an application software programme. The methodology purpose is to carry information defining the selected methods of measurements. The selected methods use adequate techniques for finding answers for the research questions. The methodology finds the proper methods for each study components such as research data collection,

sampling and analysis of surveys. Mathematics and statistics are not the only scientific subjects involved in linguistic research as most methods originated from social science disciplines.

The working definition for methods used in this study is from Saunders *et al.* (2009) who write that;

[...] the term methods [...] refer to techniques and procedures used to obtain and analyse data. This, therefore, includes questionnaires, observation and interviews as well as both quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (nonstatistical) analysis techniques and, as you have probably gathered from the title, is the main focus of this book. In contrast, the term methodology refers to the theory of how research should be undertaken (2009, p 3).

Research methods are procedures for gathering data (Bryman, & Bell; 2007). There are three mandatory methods to choose from; a qualitative, a quantitative and a mix of both, in research methodology. Other methods and the techniques used in the study depend on the main one used for data collection. The qualitative method is suited for information not objectively measurable like opinions, feelings, discourses and texts. The quantitative method is suitable with the use of quantities or numbers and is valid for mathematical and numerical calculations. According to Creswell & Creswell (2018, p 43),

Often the distinction between qualitative research and quantitative research is framed in terms of using words (qualitative) rather than numbers (quantitative), or better yet, using closed-ended questions and responses (quantitative hypotheses) or open-ended questions and responses (qualitative interview questions).

Researchers in the field of sociolinguistics have long used both qualitative and quantitative methods, yet the value of analysing data from both angles within a 'distinct research design' or multi-method is a recent recognition (Creswell, 2006, p 1). This multi-method is a combination of both methods. It offers a comprehensive and flexible approach to data collection that draws from, and often encompasses, ethnography (the study of a culture and its people), surveys, case studies (the study of a phenomenon within its real-life context) and many techniques previously tested in sociolinguistics. These methods generate the techniques to carry out data collection of questionnaires and interviews as well as the procedures they involve.

Multiple data collection methods became manifest after research moved into finding out about social causes. Researchers established around 2000 (Lund, 2012) multiple or mixed methods and refer to it as the "third methodological movement" (Venkatesh, Brown, & Bala, 2013, p. 22). They favoured the method for the strength of using qualitative and quantitative research tools, which minimises the limitations in each one. "Mixed methods research" is an investigative approach based on a combined qualitative and quantitative paradigm. The reason for mixing quantitative and qualitative research is not only for their strengths but also as a way of compensating the weaknesses of both methods (Creswell, 2012; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007). The combination not only creates more prospects but prevents the drawbacks of a single research type too. It brings in a powerful way of using data in qualitative and quantitative. The mixing creates a combination of the two main methods to one study. It is more demanding and advanced, time-consuming, extensive, and may need the use of a research team

(Creswell 2012). It supplies less biased, ‘closed-ended’ results due to empirical data rather than personal observation (Creswell and Clark 2006, p 6).

Miles *et Al* (2004) say that;

The reasons cited most often for mixing both genres are (a) to provide analytic texture to your work, (b) to compensate for the deficiencies of one genre with the strengths of another, and (c) to modify or strengthen the analytic findings when the results of each genre support, corroborate or contradict each other (2014, p 56).

There are three basic mixed methods research that Creswell (2014) identified as (i) the convergent parallel, (ii) the explanatory sequential and (iii) the exploratory sequential.

The convergent parallel, which is the most popular, consists of combining the quantitative and qualitative data. “... [the] researcher collects both quantitative and qualitative data, analyses them separately, and then compares the results to see if the findings confirm or disconfirm each other” (Creswell 2014, p 269).

The explanatory sequential “...involves a two-phase project in which the researcher collects quantitative data in the first phase, analyses the results, and then uses the results to plan (or build on to) the second, qualitative phase” (Creswell 2014, p 269).

The exploratory sequential is about mixed methods “in which the researcher first begins by exploring with qualitative data and analysis and then uses the findings in a second quantitative phase” (Creswell 2014, p 276). The data collection process uses subjective and quantitative systems.

These ‘mixed methods research’ techniques and protocols are important procedures to follow as they ensure the quality of the research, limit bias and help future replication of this study in Djibouti. This study uses the ‘mixed method’ approach to qualitative and quantitative through the provision of survey techniques. It uses the convergent parallel, which combines both methods to obtain complementary or contrasting findings. This research broadens existing sociolinguistic methodologies, concerning language studies in Djibouti. The study focuses on all languages spoken in Djibouti where a multi-ethnic population from various descents cohabits. It aims at a representative cross-section of the population, government departments, and administrative systems in Djibouti.

The following sections give detailed descriptions of both methods with their subheadings and the processes in which both produce verifiable results. It starts first with the presentation of the quantitative research method and its subsections dealing with the questionnaire and respondents.

### 3.2.1 Quantitative Research Methods

Quantitative research refers to the systematic collection and analysis of empirical data such as language census records, education records and survey checklist scores. It produces various data using questionnaires or interviews in survey-based research. Quantitative studies give descriptive data limited interpretations. The data reveal the numerical importance of the occurrences quantified but offers no

further information needed to interpret them. Quantitative strongly depends on measurable investigations theory testing, circumstances, and results, which is the principle of this research. For the quantitative research method, Creswell & Creswell (2018, p 44) definition is,

Quantitative research is an approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables, in turn, can be measured, typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analysed using statistical procedures. The final written report has a set structure consisting of introduction, literature and theory, methods, results, and discussion.

The variables defined for the respondents and their corresponding value differ for each of them. The respondents, sample of the research, are the data providers, the research uses a strategy to choose them from distinct groups and communities in the country population. The next section is about the setup of the sample size from the targeted population of Djibouti in this study’s questionnaire and discusses the followed sampling procedure.

3.2.1.1 Questionnaire Sampling and Samples Size

The two major types of sampling methods are probabilistic, where there is a known probability of someone selected as a participant and non-probabilistic, where the prospect of the selected participant is unknown. There are two types of probabilistic sampling; census, where every single person in the targeted population is selected to take part in the questionnaire and random sampling; where not all people are selected to participate, but the prospect of the selected respondents is known. Non-probabilistic sampling is used when a strictly random sample is not used, the prospect of the selected participant is unknown and there is no relevance to estimating the population or there is not a clearly defined population of interest.

This study uses a stratified sampling technique for gathering information with the questionnaires and the different strata or layers are the profession, gender, age, residency, education and mother tongue. Stratification is the fact that the sample accurately and proportionally reflects the different components of the population in the Republic of Djibouti.

The types of sampling designs (Figure 5) from Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler (2008, p 235) is presented in a clear and concise table.

Element selection	Representation Basis	
	Probability	Non-Probability
Unrestricted	Simple Random	Convenience
Restricted	Complex Random	Purposive
	Systematic	Judgement
	Cluster	Quota
	Stratified	Snowball
	Double	

Figure 5 Types of sampling designs

The explanation of the different sampling designs used in research starts from the element selection on the up-left side corner of Figure 5. The selection depends on the type of study on one of the two categories of sampling, the probability of non-probability, which has further selections.

The advantage of probability sampling is the possibility of computing the *sampling error*. *Sampling error* means that the sample does not reflect quite well the representativeness of the population.

This study uses the unrestricted element of convenience sampling design from the non-probability technique. Sampling concerns the personnel unemployed or employed in the private and public services taking part in the questionnaire as well as the interview. The selected sampling unit is from the targeted population of the Republic of Djibouti. They are defined and selected from the entire population as a representative sample. Next is how the software computes the sample size for the questionnaire.

The researcher worked out the sample size calculation with the Raosoft calculator; an online-based software (<http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html>). The software computes four sets of numbers to find the right sampling size for the study. These set of four numbers to input represent the margin of error, a range of values above and below the response of the sample, the confidence level, the population size and the distribution response. Creswell & Creswell (2018) explain that;

The confidence interval is a range of values (an interval) that describes a level of uncertainty around an estimated observed score. A confidence interval shows how good an estimate score might be. A confidence interval of 95 %, for example, indicates that 95 out of 100 times the observed score will fall in the range of values.

The distribution response, set at 50 %, a default and a conservative assumption according to the guidance of the calculator. The 50/50 expectation reflects respondents' responses at 50 %, more or less. The size of the population is significant if it is larger like in this study. However, population size is a key factor for surveys of a small group of people. A sample of 500 people is significant for a country of 1.000.000 inhabitants and not to one that is more than 15.000.000. In respect of Fowler's (2009) practice and advice, the study uses a margin of error of +/-4 percentage, a confidence error of 95 %, and a 50/50 chance on responses. The first number used for the margin of error is 4.73, an acceptable range of values above and below the response. Most studies use 5 %, the lower the margin error the larger the sample size. This study has a larger sample size than usual, as the margin error is smaller than 5 %. The sample size, if it has a margin error of 5 %, could be much smaller than the actual number obtained. The second digit to insert on the confidence level is 95 %. The sample reflects accurately the population of Djibouti at 95 %. Here contrary to the characteristics of margin error; the smaller the number the larger the sample size. The confidence level is different as well; the higher the percentage the larger the sample size. The third number is for the population size of the Republic of Djibouti that the sample stands for. The last number, on the response distribution, set to 50 %, is a conservative assumption used in most surveys. The sample size obtained from the calculator is 430 respondents at a confidence level of 95 %. This sample size of 430 respondents is the number of people counted for the questionnaire. Several strata distributed to age, gender and mother tongue define the sample size. The study collected more than 600

questionnaires to have a good representative sample. It uses a non-probability convenience sampling technique that requires more questionnaires to match the population strata. The researcher defines from all 600 questionnaires collected the right sample to use for the study. The sample selected meets the requirements to represent the wider population of the Republic of Djibouti. The ensuing steps are to work towards the questionnaire while respecting the strategic process.

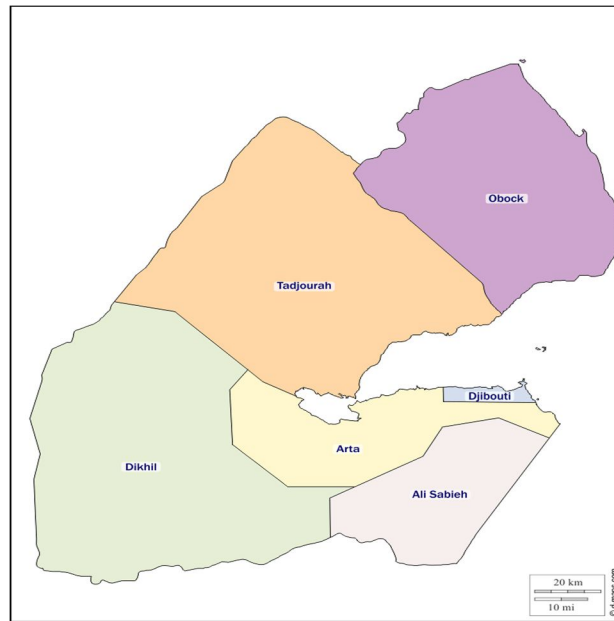


Figure 6 Regional map of the Republic of Djibouti; Djibouti, Ali Sabieh, Arta, Dikhil, Obock, and Tadjourah

The population size is the number of people living in the country, here the Republic of Djibouti. The population size of the Republic is 818,159 inhabitants according to the 2009 census including 475,322 in Djibouti city and the rest in the four counties; Ali Sabieh, Dikhil, Obock and Tadjourah. Djibouti is a big city where two-thirds of the country’s inhabitants live. It is a City-state as the country is composed of Djibouti city and its territories. Djibouti census reported that 58.1 % of the population of the Republic of Djibouti live in Djibouti city. There are no detailed and up-to-date census data in Africa and Djibouti is not an exception. Census data on Djibouti’s residents are not always available for political reasons. The names on the electoral list have not changed for the last 30 years and do not mention the voter’s address. There are 150,000 registered voters and these are 20 % of the population. The Direction of Statistics and Demographic Studies (DISET) carried out, from 29 May to 20 June 2009, the second General Census of the population and territory (habitat) of the Republic of Djibouti. However, because of the 2008 war with Eritrea, DISET collected its data in the North, along the border on October 2009, three months later. Ten year after the war, this study could not collect data in Obock part of the North.

It was not possible to collect data in Obock for two reasons. At the time of collection, Obock was having an outbreak of cholera, not recognised officially, and its access difficult for foreigners.

Obock was also having an influx of refugees fleeing the ongoing war in Yemen. The researcher met the prefect of Obock before collecting data to inform him about the research and the collection plans. The prefect insisted on collecting the data himself with the help of his administration and the researcher explained the study aims, the use of the questionnaire and gave him a pack of the forms to fill. The prefect said that his staff knew the residents and could distinguish them from the Yemeni refugees. He did not say anything about the danger of the disease as it was not official, but it was clear that he did not want outsiders around. The researcher accepted the prefect's concerns, but the latter did not respond to many messages and follow-ups. Even the intervention of the "Directeur des centres de développement Communautaire"<sup>92</sup>, who spoke personally to the prefect, did not obtain any approval. The non-participation of Obock to this study is an unfortunate event that was beyond the control of the researcher; it will have on the findings an impact to be evaluated at the right time while presenting the results. After these explanations, the focus moves to the questionnaire development process.

### 3.2.1.2 *Questionnaire Development Process*

The widespread method for primary data collection is the use of questionnaires. The design allows for people or the interviewer to write the answers. It is only for the selected sample, a subset of the population. The advantages of a questionnaire are that it gets hold of input in recorded written form from varied respondents of a specific sample. Another advantage is that their anonymous nature means no one is afraid of being identified and people feel comfortable giving information they may otherwise withhold. Most of the surveyed population is also familiar with this form of research. This familiarity eases the challenging task of approaching people especially women in Muslim countries.

The first step when making a questionnaire is to list the information to ask the respondents. Individual questions need specific attention for their significance and contribution to the study. At that stage, the researcher decides on the type of questions - whether to structure them or not -, as well as their wordings or phrasings and the order in which they appear to respondents. He completes the layout during the pilot testing and before adopting a final draft of the questionnaire. The target audience is set according to who they are, and the kind of responses expected from them. The research problem defines the purpose of the questions, the population targeted, the information to collect and the usage to make of it. There are four kinds of information about the respondents needed for the research. These are the information of respondents' attributes that are statistically useful such as gender, age, and ethnicity. These attributes prove the respondents' representativeness of the wider population to investigate. Another kind of information that the researcher obtains when the situation is meaningful is the behaviours and experiences of the respondents. Then, to determine what respondents know, he collects knowledge questions and it is the kind of information based on facts, not opinions and attitudes.

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<sup>92</sup> Director of Centres of community development.



Opinions and attitudes are information that evaluates and determines people feelings. It is difficult sometimes to map and obtain respondents' opinions and attitudes about some issues, as they may do not want to express them or not have any.

The questionnaire helps make comments and inferences about a sample and extend it to the population concerned by the research. They allow more contributors than direct interviews thus increasing participation. Compared with face-to-face interviews, questionnaires are cost- and time-effective and many tools help researchers analyse data efficiently. Questionnaires in population surveys mean that researchers use their field time efficiently despite long hours spent preparing the right questions. They are also a useful way of asking the same questions to all without the intervention of the researcher or a representative to give clues or directions, although in this study provisions are in place to help respondents.

Anonymous questionnaires, limited in nature, describe only situations rather than allowing respondents to expand upon their opinions. They can sometimes seem shallow, artificial and not personal or original in their approach to the research problem. Thus, the research depends on the answers of respondents that small space to fill on the questionnaires influences their expressions. the efficiency of the questionnaire depends on the question sequences, the formulations and the wordings. These complications occur often when researchers do not invest enough time in preparing and testing the questionnaire.

Questions used in questionnaires are of two types, close-format or closed-ended and open-format or open-ended ones. This research uses a questionnaire with closed-ended questions. It is a suitable choice for this study because not only questions are statistically easy to analyse but also response rates are higher when respondents do not have to write very much. Besides, a non-negligible number of respondents, have low literacy skills.

Closed-ended questionnaires are very convenient for statistical purposes in quantitative research. The advantages are that these questions are statistically friendly as they allow a set of important calculations. The calculation of statistic data and percentage eases the analysis of the research findings. These types of questions are valuable when handling many questionnaires and are right to computerise and analyse. Sometimes, researchers run into difficulties in the degree of specificity for each question as well as in the knowledge and manipulation of statistics software. With closed-ended questions, researchers cannot probe respondents in the same way as in interviews. These questions limit the respondents' options to prearranged answers provided in the questionnaire. The types of closed-ended questions mostly illustrated in quantitative research are; dichotomous, which is based on two choices, multiple-choice, which proposes more than two and scaled questions, which use rating scales such as the Likert scale. Closed question form designs are in different formats: a list of items, a set of categories or a ranked list.

The questionnaire of this study includes questions with several options. The questionnaire, which is in two pages, consists of twelve distinct sections in the form of standalone tables. Each section or table of the questionnaire has a numbered question (Appendix A).

The next step is to consider what type of data to collect and how to measure them. Data types have distinctive characteristics, which are convenient for specific requests. The study uses simple category, multiple-choice and single-response, multiple-choice and multiple-response and the numerical scaling techniques for the questionnaire.

The language of a good questionnaire is simple and sensible as it targets efficiently respondents according to their knowledge and cultural background. As the questionnaire is in several languages, all of them got the same attention during the drafting and the editing (3.1.1). As soon as the researcher finalised the questionnaire, he started planning the data collection according to the studied methods.

### *3.2.1.3 Procedures for Data Collection*

A questionnaire is the instrument, which is a list of questions. The traditional method of mailing the questionnaire, which is criticised in Europe for its excessive cost, is impossible in Djibouti since there is no postal delivery service to residential addresses. People rent letterboxes at the post office to receive mail particularly from abroad. In some cases, respondents answer the questions over the telephone similarly to an interview mode, but that possibility is not applicable because of the scarcity of subscribers, the costs involved and the difficulty of obtaining a phonebook. Another way, that is not possible to do, is to hand out the questionnaire or make it available in a public area (shops, schools...) where respondents are invited to collect it and bring it back or post it once filled to a numbered letterbox at the post office. The Internet, as well as other information technology tools, uses several ways to administrate questionnaires. A trendy way is to send the questionnaire as an attachment to emails. The application of these modern technologies is in an early and exploratory phase in Africa as they are still new and accessible only to wealthy families.

Since this study is taking place in Africa, one approach to secure questionnaire completion is to invite people to popular and easily accessible locations. This approach is used in most African countries because of the difficulty to access participant residences and for security purposes. The security services propose precautionary practices to every researcher and these propositions dictated the research collection activities. In these locations, the researcher holds interviews, hands out questionnaires for respondents to fill them in, and collects them once completed. The other approach to ensure the completion of the questionnaires and interviews is to visit participants and respondents' workplaces and organise contribution and collection according to the research plan. Once the study becomes familiar with methods and tools to collect data on quantitative research, comes the decisive moment with the study pilot.

3.2.1.4 *The Study Pilot*

The study pilot was focused on the questionnaire as the interview questions were not tested. The researcher sent the first draft of the questionnaire to the supervisor who noticed that it was not enough. The remarks were on the making of the questionnaire and were so convincing that he changed completely the first draft before testing it (Appendix B). Then, he wrote a second draft, with the help of the comments, and sent it to the supervisor for approval. Finally, after further modifications, the draft was ready for the study pilot (Appendix C).

The questionnaire is tested in the field on two locations with a small sample of thirty respondents including; colleagues, students, friends, neighbours and several other people, in a pilot study, with the help of Djibouti University's students. The university authorised and gave its backing for using the premises and enrolling those willing to take part in the research. The number of respondents was not important as the pilot study was more about testing the questionnaire and getting feedbacks, specifically the major problems voiced by the many. The respondents were representative of the targeted population and were of different age and gender ranges. Adding colleagues was done in the hope that they may find some pertinent minor issues. For the students, it was an opportunity to practise on the field the techniques learned in the class, as they were trained to help the researcher. They were attentive to the loud thinking of the respondents and were asking questions and reporting answers to use them as feedbacks for the debriefing. Two sessions, one for the students and the other for the colleagues and friends were held to fill and collect the questionnaires at the Djibouti university. A third session happened in a public place, part of Balbala area, in Djibouti city.

Respondents were mostly choosing to complete, among the five languages, English and French questionnaires. Other versions in Afar, Arabic and Somali were provided as well, but since these languages, written forms, in general, are used with difficulty in the case of Arabic or not used in the two native languages, it proved difficult for the respondents to read and understand the questions. It was a question of antecedence; the reason was that most surveys carried in Djibouti were either done in French or English and there is always a team of interpreters going with the researchers. Few constraints related to the use of the questionnaire appeared in the first contact with the respondents who were impatient and reluctant to finish the procedure they started. They were expecting more help to answer the questions from the researcher and his assistants. They did not do surveys and the entire process was new to most of them. Answering the questionnaire needed between twenty and thirty-minutes. After the collection of the questionnaires, the researcher drew some useful conclusion from the study pilot feedbacks. The feedback concerns were about the way the researcher carried out the process of handing out, conducting and collecting the questionnaire. The experience of the pilot study was important as it helped to be aware of the kind of situations that need avoidance or preparation. Each time the team of helpers were doing better than the earlier sessions, and, at the university, they were receiving help from the debriefings.

On the questionnaire, there was a need to do some modifications. The examination of the answers was shedding light on the issues of the questionnaire. Issues were related to the presentations and the formulations of the questions. In the final questionnaire, the researcher made several changes compared to the draft used in the pilot study. He changed, after considering the feedback from the respondents, students and colleagues, the wordings of the questions. He made the changes according to several criteria pertinent to the survey of the study. Thus, helped to realise the final questionnaire after changing the tables and the wordings. The researcher combined some tables and expended others with new inputs (Appendix A).

The pilot study revealed its usefulness as it made the researcher aware of the difficulties to deal with. It was important to prepare for these difficulties that will be exceeding by ten folds according to the number of respondents expected to enrol. For comparing the progress of the process, a set of the draft are in the appendices (Appendices B and C).

Summary of the changes prompted by the examination of the answers and the feedbacks are shared bellow as examples.

Question 1 was ambitious for respondents' professions as it was not possible to cover all the jobs and to list the professions was a mistake. Respondents did not understand some of the grammatical construction of the questions. They had problems ticking right boxes to their status. These concerning gender identification and the instructions on how to choose the right box for age, residence and education.

Question 2 was simple, but the ticking sign was missing. Question 3 was too long, and respondents were asking so many questions about it. Question 4 was easy to complete, and it did not ask about the level of fluency about the spoken language. Idem for question 5, but on the understanding of the language. Respondents found question 6 not interesting as it was only about choices to make. Questions 7 and 8 were quite good but respondents understood that question 8 represented two different queries because it was in two-part on the paper as there was not enough space to hold the whole table. Like question 6 respondents said that question 9 was not challenging but just choosing a possibility. Respondents received well, questions 10, 11 and 12 as they quickly understood them. However, questions 13 and 14 were difficult to understand as clear instructions were missing about how many times to use numbers with choice of languages.

The examination of the answers showed that the data collected was meeting the expectations of the researcher. It was possible to go ahead with the research. After concerting with the supervisor, the researcher applied for permission to the School of Languages and Social Sciences Ethics Committee who allowed the research to go-ahead. The research attracted more students who wanted to take part as helpers. The researcher invited students to come for training sessions and made an application to the university faculty of languages to offer a methodology research module to some students with their programme of the semester. Several students enrolled in the module but unfortunately because of a

technical issue the university did not take into consideration the marks. However, most students, who helped the researcher, were grateful to have experienced such a programme.

Some challenging issues happened during the collection of quantitative data research. These issues did not appear during the study pilot but later and were difficult to deal with as they hampered the research ongoing process of collecting the questionnaires. The most important problem was the mentality of people who think that researchers collect information for the government. The majority of Djiboutians are worried about the state of the national debt towards China, which all over the news channels. According to Selen Duruşkan & Ayşe Altay (2019, p 14);

[...] Djibouti was unable to pay its debt; and in 2017, Djiboutian government has been forced to 10-year lease of port of Doraleh Container Terminal at an annual rent of \$20 million by Chinese government [...] (2018, p 14).

They think that the government is taking loans not for investing in the wellbeing of the population but only for diverting and misusing the funds transferred to the Central Bank of Djibouti. They accuse the ministers of national funds misappropriation.

Another concern was about the women who were difficult to invite to the questionnaire or talk to when the husband or the father was around, specifically if no female helper was with the researcher. The issue, here as well, was linked to the government who is enforcing “le code de la famille”.<sup>93</sup> A new family law that deals with issues related to divorce, child custody and maintenance. Listening respondents talking about problems going on in the society and persuading to take part in the study because of its authenticity and originality, made possible the data collection. Some respondents did not supply information on professions because joblessness is high and is becoming taboo. The subsection on the demographic characteristics shows missing answers and questions not completed so.

### *3.2.1.5 Respondents' Demographic Characteristics.*

The target population or the finite universe to study is the inhabitants of the Republic of Djibouti, where the sample of respondents comes from. The number of respondents, the research sample, is a subset of the population. The researcher used online software to do the calculation of the respondents' sample for this study (section, 3.2.2.1.). 430 respondents contributed voluntarily to the questionnaire. All the respondents voluntarily gave their personal information through a questionnaire (Appendix A). Assumptions made were that respondents contribute honestly to the study by giving personal responses to the questions. The assurance of full anonymity and confidentiality were to encourage respondents to answer fairly. The survey sample is men and women between 18 and 60 years old and over who are representatives of the wider population living in the Republic of Djibouti. They are people from all occupations and ages including women, elders, jobless and university students. The pension age limit

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<sup>93</sup> Family code ; Loi n°152/AN/02/4ème L portant Code de la Famille

for employees and civil servants is 60 years old but there are few exceptions in the administration where some people get an extension year after year until they apply for retirement.

The researcher administrated, with the help of students inside Djibouti city, the questionnaires over three months and according to the guidelines and rules of the research ethic committee of the school of languages and social sciences (3.1.1). The students learned during the study pilot to work as teams covering duties such as organisers, guides and translators (3.2.1.4). However, outside Djibouti City, the researcher, with the help of two colleagues, administrated and collected the questionnaire as the distance to cover between the residential areas was small. Besides, those in charge of the districts of Ali Sabieh, Arta, Dikhil and Tadjourah and their residents supplied helpful services that eased the movements and conditions of work for the researcher and helpers. The district of Obock, because of the ongoing Yemen refugee crises, refused to let the researcher conduct the survey. The prefect promised to do it with its administrations but that never happened (3.2.1.1).

#### *3.2.1.6 Data Analysis and Methods for the Questionnaire*

The data analysis process is time-consuming yet valuable to validate the information collected according to the aims and goals of the study (Cooper and Schindler, 2008). Its significant purposes are to discover reliable and useful information from the qualitative and quantitative data gathered. The use of both methods is beneficial as it circumvents a one-sided data analysis. The data analysis encompasses three components: exploring the facts: coding (categorising data to facilitate analysis), altering the explored facts (editing and then examining and displaying the facts at hand), and, tabulation (transferring the information, putting data in a table). The determinant elements that revolve around the data analysis are: 1) describing and summarising the facts gathered as data; 2) identifying the relationships between the variables; 3) comparing the variables; 4) once the comparison is done, identifying the difference between the variables; and 5) forecasting the outcome of the research. The variables are the information got from the questionnaires and they are the respondents' name, age, profession, gender, language...etc. They are representative of items or objects that the researcher needs to measure and calculate.

Statistical software such as SPSS (acronym of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), MATLAB, Stata and Microsoft Excel help to analyse the qualitative data. SPSS is one of the most popular statistical packages that researchers use to organise complex data manipulations and descriptive and inferential analyses. The final decision to adopt SPSS came down to its simplicity of use, the wide usage practice in Social Sciences and the free accessibility offer of Aston University, which gives a copy to postgraduate students.

The researcher examines the quantitative data using two analytical methods, which are descriptive and inferential statistics. In descriptive statistics, the researcher runs different tests to present, organise and summarise the data with the help of SPSS. In inferential statistics, he makes assumptions and conclusions from the sample extending it to the entire population. The data under consideration is

the values of qualitative and quantitative variables from a dataset of the SPSS. The analysis methods deal with collected and recorded surveys on languages spoken in the Republic of Djibouti, Horn of Africa. The analysis process aims to obtain meaningful results and findings from a sample of 430 respondents, taking part in the questionnaire, drawn from the population. In the interview selection, the criteria are the representativeness of the population, the knowledge and experience in dealing with languages matters.

This study is using a statistic regression analysis and three statistical methods with SPSS; the Z-test, the Chi-Square test and the correlation test.

The correlation test is useful displaying the strength and the presence of the relationships between two variables in a single number. The single number is an index that measures the kind of relationship between variables. Looking at the graph of a correlation gives an idea of the strength and kind of the relationship, which is based on its direction that can be positive, negative or absent.

The statistic regression analysis with SPSS. Regression analysis is a model to test a link between two variables to find out more about their relationship. The measurement of the variables is in scale, which is simply a way to measure a phenomenon or a characteristic. One variable is the independent variable and another one is the dependent variable.

#### 3.2.1.6.1 Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive and inferential statistics, in research, deal with the collection, the organisation and the interpretation of the data. The researcher records the data collected through the questionnaires on SPSS for statistical purposes and prepare the data. The data preparation (or data pre-processing) is the fact of organising, cleaning and coding it. Data preparation implies recording it, checking it for accuracy, developing it as a database and entering it into SPSS. After that, cleaning the quantitative data of outliers<sup>94</sup> and any mistaken entry, then presenting it in table layouts, charts and other graphics. At that moment, descriptive statistics tests are performed as they provide clear outputs with tables and numbers in understandable layouts. Then, begin working with inferential statistics that use the results of the descriptive tests to infer the findings to the population.

Descriptive statistics is a method of analyses in which the researcher describes, illustrates or summarises data significantly as to make plain emerging patterns. These statistics data presentations display the differences and relationships between variables. It is an investigative method to examine the variables of interest, potentially before conducting inferential statistics on them. They supply not only summaries of the data, but they also answer the descriptive research questions of the study. The descriptive statistics section of this study uses the questionnaires of the survey.

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<sup>94</sup> Outliers are extreme values in the sample, i.e. for mean of respondents' salaries when most earn £100000 to £200000 per annum and one respondent earns 1 million pounds.

There are four major types of descriptive statistics. The first one type of descriptive statistics is the measure of frequency, which deals with the count, frequency and percentages. This study uses the Valid per cent distribution of the respondents. The reason is that occasionally they do not answer questions, particularly those believed to infringe on their privacy. The descriptive statistics determine whether the distribution of the sample is normal and whether it is comparable to the larger population, as it is a requirement from most samples. The researcher assumes the validity of statistical analysis from the distribution' shape.

The second type of descriptive statistics is the central tendency and dispersion. For central tendency (CT), the mode is the typical or most often occurring number in the overall distribution of the data, e.g. 2.3.4.5.6.6.6.6.7.8.8.9 the most occurring number is 6.

The third type of descriptive statistics is the dispersion or variability, the first measuring tool is the range, which is the easier one to measure the spread of the variables; it is the maximum value minus the minimum value. The variance shows how far the numbers spread out. The standard deviation (SD) determines how much variation exists from the average or mean.

The fourth type of descriptive statistics is the position. The position of a value is the relative measure to other values in a set of data.

The descriptive statistics help the user to do all the analysis required on data by running and manipulating SPSS. The descriptive statistics are the main purposes for doing inferential tests, which assert the research results. It is essential to run first the descriptive tests before dealing with inferential statistics as the latter uses the results of the earlier.

#### 3.2.1.6.2 Inferential Statistics

Inferential statistics infer the sample data of study to the entire population of the country. Statistical inference is the act of generalising from a sample to an entire population with a certain degree of certainty. The sample population, which is the complete set of elements understudy, is selected from the inhabitants of the Republic of Djibouti. The Djibouti census is useful for the study as its parameters, which are the characteristics of the population, statistically help to compare, prove or deduce from the sample. The sample is a characteristic of the study respondents and the population parameters are characteristics from the census of the country. This study is working by exploring research questions and makes decisions analytically on the findings. However, the inferences depend on the type of the research methods used.



### 3.2.2 Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research method explores attitudes, behaviours and experiences through survey, observation, case study and record keeping. The interviews request answers to questions on specific areas for significant facts of use in the study. The researcher aims to talk more to fewer respondents about their opinions and obtain valuable information. For the qualitative research method, Creswell & Creswell (2018, p 43) write this definition,

Qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participants setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure.

Until recently, researchers considered qualitative research methods secondary to empirical data collection due to issues of investigators and respondents' bias. There are difficulties in reproducing survey results as well as issues of variation in research conclusions. Often thought of in contrast to quantitative approaches, qualitative research seeks to understand and interpret human behaviour and decision-making through observation which is to study the life of a group by sharing in its activities and surveys, which is to ask questions with the help of a questionnaire or/and an interview.

The interviews are, in this study, a means of understanding and explaining the language situations in Djibouti. The selected participants have experience and knowledge of the languages. The responses of these interviews are complementing the questionnaire. Thus, the interviews may as well reinforce the information collected with the questionnaires. They may yield other information resulting from asking specific questions to a smaller and knowledgeable number of participants. They are exclusively useful to find out what are participants' opinions and attitudes towards languages. The study is probing languages spoken inside several domains. Some participants working for ministerial departments may have helpful information for the research. E.g. what officials think of Djibouti's language policy and how they see the linguistic situation in the country. The participants sampling is important as it determines the kind of information desired and the expected outcomes for the results for the study. The process of sampling goes through two stages; interview sampling size and interview techniques

#### 3.2.2.1 *Interview Sampling and Sample Size*

The researcher adheres to a standardised approach of inviting participants to the interview. He chooses respondents standing for every generation of the sample population to survey and based on this choice, sets aside for analysis a set of responses. He prepares a document called Description of the Interview procedure, that has an interview guide in English and French (Appendix F). Similarly, he uses

a stratified sampling method for interviews with males and females aged 18 to 60 working in different private and public services. This study uses the stratification of respondents in the form of tables for the interviews. “Any number of stratification schemas could be constructed depending on the research question, the relevant data and any other practical constraints” (Tagliamonte 2003, p 30). Practical constraints are the amount of time, funding and energy needed for the research. The stratification of different cells in each table reflects the sample size. How many [participants] per cell is enough? “Some statisticians say three, some say five” Tagliamonte (2003, p 31). The study uses five cells.

The interviews concern particularly participants of the three communities who speak the four languages; Afar, Arabic, French and Somali. Moreover, English-speaking lecturers of different nationalities from the University of Djibouti and a French-speaking Imam of a mosque in the capital city are taking part as well. However, Ethiopian communities of Amharic and Oromo speakers are not taking part in the interviews for several reasons. One reason is that these two ethnic groups do not want to be visible. They feel vulnerable to publicly show themselves as Ethiopians because of immigration issues. Those who live legally claim to be Djiboutians and prefer not to be involved in such discussions. A second reason is that most of them are living illegally in Djibouti and do not want to take part in any programme. A third one is that the authorities in charge of the security told the researcher not to expose himself. They said people could accuse him of giving a platform and a voice to illegal foreigners and that could put his life in danger.

The sampling size for the interviews is important and the researcher started to plan for it. Creswell & Creswell (2018) recommend the number of participants in interviews according to the type of study,

Sample size depends on the qualitative design being used (e.g., ethnography, case study). From a review of many qualitative research studies, we have some rough estimates to advance. Narrative includes one or two individuals; phenomenology involves a range of 3–10; grounded theory, 20–30; ethnography examines one single culture-sharing group with numerous artifacts, interviews, and observations; and case studies include about four to five cases (2018, p 308).

The interview sample size for this study could be up to 10 participants, but the researcher looked for a way to get to saturation in the interviews data. In research interviews, there is the concept of “saturation”, which is a point reached after a certain quantity of interviews. For Creswell & Creswell (2018);

The idea of saturation comes from grounded theory. Charmaz (2006) said that one stops collecting data when the categories (or themes) are saturated: when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new insights or reveals new properties. This is when you have an adequate sample (2018, p 308).

There is no new evidence to collect on the topic at that point, which depends on the number of interviews. On the saturation point, Guest et al. (2006).<sup>95</sup> concluded that the first six interviews cover 73 % of the research needs, and then the next six bring in 9 % more information. Twelve interviews cover 92 % of

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<sup>95</sup> How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability

the information needed; there is only 8 % left before reaching saturation. One more interview covers the 8 % left to reach the saturation point, that makes 13 interviews altogether. However, in this study, the researcher added three more to reach a total of 16 interviews for better assurance of valid coverage for the study. The 16 interviews are convenient for finding valuable information and getting past the saturation point. In their article on the saturation point, Guest *et al.* (2006) cited Nielsen and Landauer (1993) who,

created a mathematical model based on results of six different projects and demonstrated that six evaluators (participants) can uncover 80 % of the major usability problems within a system, and that after about twelve evaluators, this diagnostic number tends to level off at around 90 %.

The researcher decided, in this study, to conduct 16 interviews, which easily reaches saturation after collecting information from three-quarter of participants. Once he completes the sampling process, then he reviews and writes down the interview techniques.

### 3.2.2.2 *Interview Techniques*

An interview means having a conversation with a group or an individual for a research purpose. Nicholas (2011) writes that an interview is a discussion/conversation between two people (interviewer and interviewee) or more. Interviews are suitable for data collection across all disciplines. Though researchers carry out interviews in-person, the rise of technology has enabled a range of interview types. The discussion consists of the interviewer asking questions and the interviewee explaining his/her view and opinion. Interviews can be of any length; short or long and of any intensity; dialogues or multi-dialogues according to the aim of the research. As the study mixes two methods, which is a good process to compensate for the disadvantage of questionnaires when it comes to the quality and quantity of responses (Austin 1981). Research interviews used within sociolinguistics are categorised into several types, structured, semi-structured and unstructured.

According to Berry (1999),

There are many kinds of interviews. Hitchcock (1989, p79) lists nine types, p structured interview, survey interview, counselling interview, diary interview, life history interview, ethnographic interview, informal/unstructured interview, and conversations. Cohen & Manion (1994, p273), however, prefers<sup>96</sup> to group interviews into four kinds, including the structured interview, the unstructured interview, the non-directive interview, and the focused interview.

Interviews structure depend on the research requirements. The researchers use unstructured interviews when they know little about the topics or the issues of the study and they are trying to set up a theory or define knowledge. There are no predetermined questions and the research depends on the interviewer knowledge, skills and professionalism. Unstructured interviews are flexible in their structures, contents

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<sup>96</sup> As written in the article.

and questions. This study does not use unstructured interviews, as they are not right for the research questions.

Structured interviews are rigid in their structures and contents. The rigidity is as well in the questions and the wording. The questions are predetermined, and specific answers are expected. Structured interviews are preferable when the same set of questions are asked consistently to every participant. The discussed subjects and the questions are in the same order throughout the interviews with each participant. There are exemptions for some participants as they bring understanding and justifications to language usages. To respect time and order, there is an interview schedule to use with a list of questions related to the research issues. The plan is to use it and leave no room for manoeuvre or change. The advantage of this type of interviews is that they are not only quick and easy to do but also to analyse and compare. The disadvantage is that after a while they turn out to be boring for the researcher who must stick to its schedule and resist to follow any tempting and interesting leads. However, semi-structured interviews are preferable as the researcher asks participants the same questions with some room for manoeuvre. Morse (2012) writes that;

Semistructured interviews are used when the researcher knows enough about the topic or phenomenon to identify the domain (i.e., knows the limits of the topic and what is and is not pertinent to the research question) but does not know and cannot anticipate all of the answers. Questions are asked of all participants in the same order. These interviews may be conducted face-to-face, in written format, or by Internet survey. Gubrium (2012, p 208)

It is the case of this study where the interviewer knows very well the topic and is looking for specific questions to reinforce the questionnaire findings. The interviewer (researcher) records and conducts interviews face-to-face and in one-to-one participation. For this purpose, the researcher sets up a list of specific topics and issues related to the study in the form of a guide. The interview guide covers all the areas of interest in the study and the research questions. Participants have some room to expand upon when answering (Appendix F).

This study uses semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. The choice to conduct semi-structured interviews is significant since it ensures and makes possible key research questions repeatable later. The opinion that semi-structured interviews are the best method to gather specific information guides this research. The researcher asks the same questions to all participants (Bailey 1987). The inconvenient is that this method is time-consuming. The researcher carries out directly the interviews and this gives him more room for manoeuvre and the opportunity to look for specific answers.

Within these semi-structured interviews, the researcher has a certain flexibility to elicit key facts and, as such, it is necessary for him or her to guide the participant for clearer and error-free answers. A good approach to extract in-depth answers is using probes after first questions and adjusting questions depending on the interesting responses of individual participants. Probing is particularly important to shed light on issues and thoughts expressed by participants. It stimulates the interview in diverse ways, e.g. jogging memories (Smith 1992) inspiring more open talk that produces valuable information

(Gordon 1975, Austin 1981, Bailey 1987). The interaction between the participant and the researcher generates much valuable material when skilfully negotiated (Patton 1990). There is a procedure applied for engaging participants, as well as a protocol for recording the interviews. At the end of the interview, which last normally thirty to forty minutes, the researcher thanks the participants for completing the interview, then switch off the recording, continues talking to relax any tension before he takes leave of or shows the way out with courtesy. He takes steps to save the interview in the designated folder and later transfers all the interviews of that day in a secure place on Microsoft OneDrive. Updating the backup of the study material is for every week according to good data management practice. In forty-five days, from 4 March 2017 to 27 April 2017, the researcher conducted twenty-six interviews, more than the desired sixteen.

### 3.2.2.3 *Participants' Demographic Characteristics*

The participants, of different gender, ages and backgrounds, are a separate and smaller sample. The selection criteria dictated the importance to include, among the sixteen participants, people from Governmental Organisation, national and foreign private companies. The choice included, as well, two human resources directors or in charge of personnel who can help the study to clarify the language situation inside the recruitment of civil servants, private and international employees (See profiles in Appendix H). They are giving important insights into Djibouti language situations and corroborating some basic known facts. Some of them are officials or authorities from the major ministerial departments like higher education and research, Islamic affairs, culture and waqfs, work and administrative reforms and national education and vocational training (Appendix D).

For the interviews, this study uses five stratified levels of characteristic variables such as age, gender, profession, the language of education as well as their values like gender (Male, Female), languages (French, Arabic, English), and degree level of education achieved (No formal education, Baccalaureate, undergraduate, postgraduate) and so on. the qualitative analysis planning started after the recordings of the participants finished and the data secured.

### 3.2.2.4 *Interviews' Transcripts*

Before the data analysis, the researcher transcribes the interviews from the recordings. Transcription of interviews are important, and he must handle them properly to avoid any loss due to poor storage and techniques (McLellan, MacQueen & Neidig, 2003). The researcher is aware of the difficulties of transcribing audio data and the loss in non-verbal communication as well as body languages expressed by the participants while answering questions (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). Researchers interpret differently the transcriptions, and their interpretations always vary according to the person analysing them (Kvale, 2008). The researcher gave participants the choice to express

themselves in the language of their preference or they felt comfortable with. Most of them used French, some spoke in English and few in national languages. The professional position of the participants dictated the language choice as the nature of the interview suggested handling state matters. Out of the 26 interviews that the researcher conducted, he transcribed 16 of them with the help of friends and colleagues. The researcher made the choice of the interviews sample based on the valuable information that these participants were bringing to the study. He adopted non-verbatim transcription techniques to avoid hesitations and repetitions for maximum readability and comprehension of the answers (Grbich, 2013). The 16 transcriptions include 12 transcribed in French and 4 in English (See transcripts in appendix J). Cited texts translations are inserted as footnotes. The transcripts are analysed in their original languages, which means that French transcripts are not translated.

#### *3.2.2.5 Data Analysis Methods for the Interviews*

There several methods to analyse interviews data. Thematic analysis is the method used in this study. Braun and Clarke (2006) recommend this method in qualitative studies because of its flexibility. It is convenient when “identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). The process is and to the aim of the questions asked in the interview. The researcher completed the coding and the thematic analysis using the NVivo 12 Pro software package (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2019). The reputation among users when compared with other programmes, the University’s offer of a free copy, the outstanding integration with SPSS, which supplies the possibility of using the questionnaire data if needed influenced the choice of NVivo software. The software is also effective in managing, coding and organising interviews in countless themes and categories for finding answers to research questions. The coding process of the data on NVivo is straightforward and intuitive with the display of many futures grasped after doing the included basic tutorials and further training on YouTube.

#### *3.2.2.6 The Coding Processes*

The qualitative analysis process consists of eight steps; cleaning, uploading, reorganizing, exploring, coding, visualizing, exporting and communicating the findings (Adu, 2017). The cleaning part is in the first phase of preparing the data, before reviewing it. Preparing also involves the transcription of the interviews and choosing a tool for the analysis. The choice of the tool is down to the efficiency of the software, in this study NVivo 12, which must code the data according to the goal and aims of the study. The coding part is in the second phase and consists of labelling nodes and cases and tagging relevant texts and phrases. Nodes and cases are essential in using NVivo as they are like containers or folders. Sorting the codes is the third part and consists of organising them into categories,

subcategories and themes before coding them. Writing the findings, the fourth and last phase, concludes the coding process, which empowers the researcher to present, justify and support his claims.

The first basic tasks of the coding process with the software deal with importing files, creating nodes for themes and case classifications for participants' demographic variables. For these tasks, the researcher creates nodes and cases to generate themes that are associated with their sources.

Nodes hold significant and relevant information gathered from the interview transcripts. They have labels and thematic arrangement as these are effective in finding emerging patterns and ideas.

Classified cases hold demographic information on participants, locations, organisations and other entities. These case classifications are outstanding not because they hold demographic characteristics, but they also incorporate detailed information on the attributes and values of participants or locations or organisations.

There are two case classifications built-in by default in NVivo 12 called Person and Organisation and used to code participants and organisation facts. In this occasion, the researcher activates Person as the case classification and labels it with participants' names. He adds to the case demographic variables of participants, such as gender, education, profession...etc. The demographic variables take further subcategories as values. The values of the demographic variable, for example of gender, are female and male.

To analyse the data efficiently it is essential to link each relevant information to its source. NVivo operates by coding the relevant information and placing them in the thematic nodes. The operation is based on the identification from the transcripts of pertinent information, the choice of phrasal extracts and the collection of themes into coded nodes. The coding process, automatically or manually, starts to find the information, then drop it into a labelled node with the descriptions of what it holds and allow the writing of a memo. The software is ready to run several types of data analysis and generate as much as required themes.

#### *3.2.2.7 Generating Themes*

The procedure, for generating and labelling nodes, starts with a review of the research questions' wordings. The research questions prompt the kind of themes imaginable and beneficial for the analysis. Nodes are organised in themes, categories and sub-categories that are based on parent and child nodes. In this study, the nodes are organised in different themes and categories created from the research questions. The technique used is focus prompting, which is a way to extract a phrase from the research question and use it as a theme (Adu, 2017). Then, the researcher chooses a coding method that finds, selects and organises the process.

In this study, the structural coding method generates the themes from the transcripts. According to Saldana (2013, p 84);

Structural Coding both codes and initially categorizes the data corpus to examine comparable segments' commonalities, differences, and relationships. The Sources suggest that Structural Coding is perhaps more suitable for interview transcripts than other data such as researcher-generated field notes, but open-ended survey responses are also appropriate with this method.

Finally, using the coding methods that best represent the relevant information in the transcripts with the distributed nodes and codes. The auto coding feature helps to code the transcripts automatically, efficiently and effortlessly with. Before auto coding, the transcripts must have formatted headings and phrases that respond to the coding process and stand specifically for the desired codes. Additionally, there is the possibility to code by questions or speakers or paragraph. In NVivo, the auto coding process codes the transcripts according to the formatting applied, the indicated themes and categories. The software automatically creates and codes the themes and categorise them using specific nodes, in which it places organised and referenced contents from the transcripts. After sorting out the themes, the analysis process which eases writing the findings can begin. The labels, the description and the memos describing the nodes help writing the findings after the analysis.

During the analysis of the data, the software makes available prospects and possibilities to investigate details of any relevant information coded with a connection to any participant who is the source. The relationship or association of the source is important as any pertinent demographic characteristic shown is significant for the study. The next chapter deals with the results of the data analysis, but the focus in the following section is on data management and the application measures to safeguard the data.

#### 3.2.2.8 *Data management, Tools and Procedures*

There are procedures and tools to deploy to safeguard and take care of the collected data and manage the day to day operation.

Data is information, measurements or numbers used as a basis for reasoning, discussion or calculation. The data management consists of keeping data in storage for several years for further examination and studies. Before storing the data, it goes through a refining process to produce integrated bankable resources. After the researcher asserts the validity and reliability of the data collected, he manages, evaluates and securely stores it.

The research data management concerns the organisation of data from its collection to the research stage to the dissemination and archiving of its valuable results. The aims are to ensure reliable verification of the results. The data management encompasses all aspects of looking after, handling, organising, and enhancing the research data. The databases and internet provide researchers with relevant studies when they are out of materials or out of guidelines to search for materials. Concisely, Wall, Christiansen and



Schwartz (1996) structured the data management process as the final stage of data mining, which is transforming raw data into useful information.

According to Wall, Christiansen and Schwartz (1996), the data warehousing is through coding and programming (with the help of data management tools). Smaller files are tagged as “small-scale” databases (example: text documents, spreadsheets, etc.); data with a little larger content or context that exceeds 500MB are categorised as “medium-scale” databases (Relational Data-Base Management System) example: Fox-Pro, Paradox, dBase, Microsoft access and so on; finally, the “large-scale” databases that could handle documents in millions or greater numbers are normally of Oracle, Sybase, InterBase, Informix, MS SDL Server, Perl and so on. The collected data is of small-scale database storage and there is no problem to host it free of charge on Aston University servers.

In Conclusion, this chapter describes, for this study, the research design and methodology as well as all the methods, techniques and tools. The research strategy explains how both quantitative and qualitative methods are combined into one. It outlines the ‘mixed methods research’, counts and presents the two methods for primary data collection which are face-to-face interviews and questionnaires. The details of the advantages and disadvantages of these methods are in sections (3.2.2.). The specifications for research conditions in Djibouti and the outlines, explanations of interviews and questionnaires are in section (3.2.3.). The way data from various sources is efficiently yielding reliable and valid results and the analysis methods, strategy and adequate techniques are as well in section (3.2.4.). The research relies not only on data collected on this occasion but also on the 2009 census of Djibouti to compare and make sense of the analysis. In this chapter are the design and methodology, the planning of the data management as well as the explanation of important processes for the study. The result is a readiness to move forwards to the next chapter on findings and analysis.

## Chapter 4 Findings and Discussion

This chapter on findings and discussion is organised in two parts, which are dealing with the analyses of the quantitative data and the qualitative data.

The first part is dealing with quantitative data analysis (4.1.1). To analyse the data, the researcher uses the questions of the questionnaire collected from the respondents.

Then a subsection deals with the Discussion of the Questionnaire Findings (4.1.2).

The second part is dealing with qualitative data analysis (4.1.3). To analyse the data the researcher uses the research questions of the study.

Then a subsection is dealing with the Discussion of the Interview Findings (4.1.4).

### 4.1 Analysis of the data

A starting point for the analysis of the data is the reaffirmation of the study's statement, purpose, reviewed concepts and notions as well as the design and methodology.

Some of the six problematic issues presented in the statement of the study are; the obligation for Djibouti to implement a language policy, the progression of English, a regional working and educational language, which is influencing employment access, higher education and youngster's communication practices.

The purpose is to investigate, after the radical political changes in the region, the languages spoken in the Horn of Africa through its small-scale version; Djibouti (0).

The concepts and notions needed to explain the findings are language policy, planning, bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia and more (0).

The design and the methodology as well as the techniques and methods required are selected and explained to meet the implication of the research (0).

This chapter, the logic continuation of the preceding ones, deals first with the data analysis of the questionnaires through descriptive statistics. The questionnaire analysis starts describing the first question and end with the twelfth and last one including the visual displays. Second, it deals with the interviews data analysis using a qualitative method with a thematical and categorical approach.

For data analysis of the quantitative method, the researcher interprets the data and its statistical numbers and defines parameters from it.

For data analysis in the qualitative method, he analyses the interviews and looks for patterns in participants' answers to make themes. He handles the data analysis through several stages; applying a delimitation on the data, meeting the condition that collected data is from varied sources, organising and categorising the data, and finally, cleaning and correcting the data from any errors.

In the next section, the quantitative data analysis aims are summarised and then the first question of the questionnaire is described (Appendix A).

Finally, after both, the discussion findings are written, starting with quantitative data.

#### 4.1.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

The data collected and processed respond to the problems posed in this study (0). The analysis process that this study uses consist of answering the questions of the questionnaire, one by one, from number 1 to 12. Then, SPSS, for quick computational outcomes, comes in to ease the written of the data analysis into descriptive statistics and display it visually. The questions are important as they investigated language situations in Djibouti and the way respondents specifically use them in their everyday life. To answer the questions, each section represents one and it is divided further into several subsections. Each subsection gives the opportunity to analyse and discuss a specific language matter and compare it to the language situations in Djibouti.

As planned, it is beginning with the first question, which is dealing with respondents' demographic characteristics.

##### 4.1.1.1 *Question 1, Respondents' Gender, Age, Profession, Residence, Education and Mother's tongue*

The study foundation is the representative sample that defines the population of the research in which respondents' characteristics are a significant part of its data. The descriptive statistics distinguish the respondents according to six essential features; gender, age, profession, residence, education and mother tongue. Once the data entry completed, then SPSS runs efficiently in a comprehensible way; the process of retrieving the desired information is easily performed as well as the production of tables and graphs for visuals. These graphs and tables are effective tools to present and display statistical frequencies of events.

##### *Tables of statistics frequency*

The tables display the frequencies and percentages of events. The frequency of an occurrence stands for the number of times it occurs in the data. The percentage is the representation in numbers of the selected event for every 100 choices. The tables display either categorical variables or quantitative variables. The statistics tables display the information for the statistical values. SPSS computes and generates using variables all the tables as well as the charts.

Respondents' Gender*Tables of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 5 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Gender*

		Gender			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	Male	195	45.3	45.3	45.3
	Female	235	54.7	54.7	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

Out of the 430 respondents who contributed to the data of this study, 54.7 % are females, while 45.3 % are males (Table 5) Female informants slightly outnumber their male counterparts. After the information on gender, age is the second respondents' characteristics to study.

Respondents' Age*Tables of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 6 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Age Groups*

Respondents' Age Groups				
	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
19/24	135	31.4	31.4	31.4
25/29	71	16.5	16.5	47.9
30/34	55	12.8	12.8	60.7
35/39	43	10.0	10.0	70.7
40/44	50	11.6	11.6	82.3
45/49	38	8.8	8.8	91.2
50/59	32	7.4	7.4	98.6
60 +	6	1.4	1.4	100.0
Total	430	100	100.0	

The respondents' age distribution layout presents in a manner to display the different generations. For the making of the sample, the data collection targeted nineteen-year-olds and older residents living in the Republic of Djibouti. It is difficult to differentiate between seventeen-year-olds and eighteen-year-olds because in Muslim countries people do not celebrate birthdays and the exact date

of birth is never memorised. For that reason, the study excluded both ages from the age groups as a precautionary measure to protect the integrity of the data.

The respondents' ages are in eight groupings, which are; 19/24, 25/29, 30/34, 35/39, 40/44, 45/49, 50/59, and 60 + (Table 6).

First impression, the numbers of young people in these groups are impressive. 47.1 % of the respondents, half of them, are under 30 years old. Moreover, those of the 30-44 age bracket make up of 35 % of the respondents. A total of 82.1 % of respondents are under 44 years old. Only 16.6 % of respondents are between 45 and 59 years old and as few as 1.4 % are 60 years old or over.

### Respondents' Gender and Age

*Table 7 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Age and Gender*

		Gender			
		Male		Female	
		Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %
Age	19/24	65	48.1 %	70	51.9 %
	25/29	37	52.1 %	34	47.9 %
	30/34	24	43.6 %	31	56.4 %
	35/39	19	44.2 %	24	55.8 %
	40/44	22	44.0 %	28	56.0 %
	45/49	11	28.9 %	27	71.1 %
	50/59	15	46.9 %	17	53.1 %
	60+	2	33.3 %	4	66.7 %

The respondents' ages are broken down further in gender (Table 7). The results show that females are the majority in all age groups except in the 25/29 age group where 52.1 % are males. Females outnumber males in two age groups; in 71.1 % of them in the 45/49 and 66.7 % in the 60 +. It is a fact that there are more female respondents than males, which imply that the proportion of women are higher than men in each age group. In the next section, the study explores the respondents' profession.

Respondents' Profession

*The table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution*

*Table 8 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Profession*

		Profession			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	Homemaker	57	13.3	13.3	13.3
	Private Employee	19	4.4	4.4	17.7
	Unemployed	190	44.2	44.2	61.9
	Self-employee	5	1.2	1.2	63.0
	State Employee	91	21.2	21.2	84.2
	Student	68	15.8	15.8	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

The respondents' profession distributed in the table are; private and state employee, self-employee, unemployed and student. 21.2 % of them are working in public services as state employees, 4.4 % in private sectors and 1.2 % are self-employed. 26.8 % of respondents are part of the active working population of Djibouti; self-employee, private and state employee (Table 8). 15.8 % of the respondents reported being students. 44.2 % of respondents who answered the question on employment reported not having a job. 13.3 % of the respondents reported being homemakers; mother and fathers who are caring for their families.

Respondents' Gender and Profession

*Table 9 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Profession and Gender*

		Gender			
		Male		Female	
		Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %
<b>Profession</b>	Homemaker	9	15.8 %	48	84.2 %
	Private Employee	11	57.9 %	8	42.1 %
	Unemployed	77	40.5 %	113	59.5 %
	Self-employee	1	20.0 %	4	80.0 %
	State Employee	65	71.4 %	26	28.6 %
	Student	32	47.1 %	36	52.9 %

The breakdown of the respondents' profession into gender shows some differences.

84.2 % of homemakers are females, meaning that most women stay at home, which is normal in Muslim society (Table 9). 59.5 % of unemployed respondents are females. 28.6 % of female respondents are state employee's contrary to the 71.4 % of male workers. 42.1 % of female are private employee and 80.0 % are self-employee. 52.9 % of female respondents are students, which is more than 47.1 % of males.

### Respondents' Residence

Table 10 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Residence

		Residence			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Valid</b>	Djibouti: Ras dika	27	6.3	6.3	6.3
	Djibouti: Boulaos	109	25.3	25.3	31.6
	Djibouti: Balbala	184	42.8	42.8	74.4
	Arta	13	3.0	3.0	77.4
	Ali Sabieh	46	10.7	10.7	88.1
	Dikhil	24	5.6	5.6	93.7
	Tadjourah	25	5.8	5.8	99.5
	Obock	2	.5	.5	100.0
Total		430	100.0		

74.4 % of respondents, in the study sample (Table 10), live in Djibouti City, which includes three municipalities; Balbala, Boulaos and Ras dika. 42.8 % of respondents from Djibouti City live in Balbala, 25.3 % of them in Boulaos and only 6.3 % in Ras dika.

The second place of respondents' residence is Ali Sabieh with 10.7 % of respondents, a small city at the border of Ethiopia, then follow Tadjourah with 5.8 % of them, the historic city of the seven white mosques, Dikhil with 5.6 %, the city of unity, where Afars and Somali ethnic territories connect and Arta (3 %), the city-village on the Mount Arta, 40 kilometres away from Djibouti. The two respondents reported being from Obock, which is missing from this study, are classified statically as outliers in residence.

### Respondents' Level of Education

Respondents gave personal information on their level of education. There is a statistical need for the study to know the respondents' education background. It is useful for comparing with or inferring the results of the sample to the entire population of Djibouti. The assumption made is that most respondents have finished the primary level as the government's put out politically driven statistics numbers and reports claims that 80 % of children join up primary<sup>97</sup>.

#### *The table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution*

*Table 11 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Education*

		Education			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	No formal schooling	69	16	16	16
	Primary	27	6.3	6.3	22.3
	BEF	41	9.5	9.5	31.9
	BAC	106	24.7	24.7	56.5
	Licence	103	24.0	24.0	80.5
	Master 1	31	7.2	7.2	87.7
	Master 2	42	9.8	9.8	97.4
	PhD	11	2.6	2.6	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

Regarding educational backgrounds, 9.5 % of respondents finished lower secondary graduating after four years with Brevet<sup>98</sup> (BEF) and 24.7 % from higher secondary obtaining, three years later, Baccalauréat<sup>99</sup> (BAC). 6.3 % of the respondents reported having completed their education in primary schools. However, 16 % of respondents (Table 11) said to have no formal schooling. At the university level, 24 % of respondents reported graduating with Licence<sup>100</sup> while postgraduate degrees accounted for 7.2 % and 9.8 % respectively as Master 1 and Master 2<sup>101</sup>. Graduate respondents with Doctorate (PhD) represent 2.6 % but no comparison is possible with the population as there are no statistics available on the number of doctors in Djibouti census.

<sup>97</sup> See participant Saleh interview.

<sup>98</sup> BEF is equivalent to GCSE in UK

<sup>99</sup> Baccalaureat is equivalent to A level subjects and the new Baccalaureate

<sup>100</sup> Licence is equivalent to Bachelor's degree

<sup>101</sup> Postgraduate degrees of Master 1 and Master 2, from French system, are two years courses that are equivalent to the Masters (UK).



Respondents' Mother Tongue

*The table Frequency and Percentage Distribution*

*Table 12 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Mother Tongue*

		Mother Tongue			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Afar	71	16.5	16.5	16.5
	Amharic	4	.9	.9	17.4
	Arabic	43	10.0	10.0	27.4
	English	8	1.9	1.9	29.3
	French	22	5.1	5.1	34.4
	Oromo	3	.7	.7	35.1
	Somali	278	64.7	64.7	99.8
	Urdu	1	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

The respondents selected their mother tongue from one of the seven languages spoken in Djibouti. The question offered them the possibility to specify their mother tongue if not listed.

64.7 % of the respondents' mother tongue is Somali, 16.5 % of them is Afar, 10 % is Arabic and 5.1 % is French (Table 12).

For regional languages, 0.9 % of respondents' mother tongue is Amharic and 0.7 % is Oromo. 1.9 % of respondents reported having English as a mother tongue, which means that it is doing better than regional languages thanks to the presence of a new growing community.

#### 4.1.1.2 Question 2, Medium Language of Education in School

Question 2 from the questionnaire investigates the medium language of education that Nursery, Primary and Secondary schools taught to respondents. Respondents must choose from the two languages taught and can specify a further choice in another language in each educational stage. The third choice "to specify" is for other nationalities or immigrants of Afar, Amharic, Oromo or Somali origins from neighbouring countries.

What is the proportion of respondents educated in French and Arabic from the data? To answer this question the study examines the data on the medium language of education for Arabic and French in nursery, primary and secondary schools.

Languages of Education in Nursery*The table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 13 Distribution of Respondents' Medium Language of Education in Nursery*

Nursery					
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Arabic speaking	66	15.3	15.3	15.3
	French speaking	142	33.0	33.0	48.4
	No language of education	222	51.6	51.6	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

In nursery schools, respondents have Arabic and French as languages of instruction. At nursery level, 33 % of respondents reported French as the medium language and 15.3 % of them, Arabic (Table 13).

Languages of Education in Primary*The table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 14 Distribution of Respondents' Medium Language of Education in Primary Schools*

Primary					
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Arabic speaking	92	21.4	21.4	21.4
	French speaking	275	64	64	85.3
	No language of education	63	14.7	14.7	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

In primary schools, 64 % reported French as the medium language and 21.4 % Arabic (Table 14). One-fifth of respondents went to Arabic primary medium schools. It is remarkable to see these numbers as not long-ago Djibouti had only one private Arabic primary school (chapter 1).

Languages of Education in Secondary*The table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 15 Distribution of Respondents' Medium Language of Education in Secondary Schools*

Secondary					
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Arabic speaking	87	20.2	20.2	20.2
	French speaking	25	59.3	59.3	79.5
	No language of education	88	20.5	20.5	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

59.3 % of respondents are French medium educated and only 20.2 % of them, Arabic (Table 15). Arabic, a newcomer in the private sector, is progressing in secondary schools as a language of education.

*4.1.1.3 Question 3, I speak*

Question 3 of the questionnaire enquires about languages that respondents speak and the levels at which they can communicate with. There are four levels of competency, which are “Not at all”, “Few words”, “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation” and “Fluently” to choose from. A row is for No Answer, which reports respondents who did not choose an answer in that category and left it blank.

*The Table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 16 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Languages Spoken and Levels*

	Afar		Amharic		Arabic		English		French		Oromo		Somali	
	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent
Not at all	205	47.7	318	74.0	107	24.9	131	30.5	91	21.2	357	83.0	27	6.3
Few words	107	24.9	59	13.7	62	14.4	62	14.4	26	6.0	27	6.3	15	3.5
Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation	39	9.1	15	3.5	106	24.7	116	27.0	56	13.0	8	1.9	38	8.8
Fluently	70	16.3	20	4.7	142	33.0	112	26.0	250	58.1	14	3.3	340	79.1
No Answer	9	2.1	18	4.2	13	3.0	9	2.1	7	1.6	24	5.6	10	2.3
Total	430	100.0	430	100.0	430	100.0	430	100.0	430	100.0	430	100.0	430	100.0

For Somali, 79.1 % of respondents reported speaking it fluently, but 8.8 % of them speak “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation” and 3.5 % speak only “Few words”. 6.3 % of them said, “Not at all”.

16.3 % of respondents reported speaking Afar “Fluently”, yet 9.1 % of them speak it “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation” and 24.9 % of them only “Few words” (Table 16). However, 47.7 %, half of them said: “Not at all”.

33 % of respondents reported speaking Arabic, which is an official language, “Fluently”, but 24.7 % of them speak it “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation” and 14.4 % speak only “Few words”. However, 24.9 %, a quarter of respondents reported “Not at all” about speaking Arabic.

58.1 % of respondents reported speaking French “Fluently”, 13 % of them speak it “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation”, and only 6 % of them speak “Few words”. However, 21.2 % of respondents reported “Not at all” about speaking French. An important percentage of respondents (58.1 %) speak French “fluently” but 21.2 % of them reported “Not at all” about speaking it, which is the same proportion that reported in several questions on speaking and learning French.

About English, 26 % of respondents reported speaking it “Fluently”, 27 % of them speak it “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation”, and 14.4 % of them, “Few words”. However, 30.5 % of respondents reported, about speaking English.

Reporting about the two Ethiopian languages, only 4.7 % of respondents said to speak “Fluently” Amharic and 3.3 % Oromo. Yet, only 3.5 % of them reported knowing “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation” in Amharic and 1.9 % in Oromo. 13.7 % of respondents said to know “Few words” of Amharic and 6.3 % of Oromo. However, when asked if they speak Amharic and Oromo, 74 % and 83 % of respondents respectively said, “Not at all”. Overall, 87.7 % of respondents speak “Few words” of Amharic or “Not at all” and 89.3 % about Oromo.

#### 4.1.1.4 *Question 4, I understand*

Question 4 of the questionnaire focus on the understanding and the levels of understanding of languages spoken in Djibouti. It investigates languages that respondents understand and how well they understand them. After probing about speaking, the question is now on how well respondents understand languages, which is slightly different. Answers to this question may confirm or not those results on speaking. Normally, the percentage of both data should not have so many differences.

*The Table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 17 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Languages Understood and Levels*

	Afar		Amharic		Arabic		English		French		Oromo		Somali	
	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent
Not at all	191	44.4	300	69.8	88	20.5	119	27.7	87	20.2	346	80.5	34	7.9
Few words	95	22.1	58	13.5	51	11.9	61	14.2	28	6.5	32	7.4	14	3.3
Enough for a non-specialised conversation	41	9.5	23	5.3	98	22.8	99	23.0	44	10.2	12	2.8	32	7.4
Perfectly	91	21.2	29	6.7	181	42.1	136	31.6	264	61.4	14	3.3	334	77.7
No Answer	12	2.8	20	4.7	12	2.8	15	3.5	7	1.6	26	6.0	15	3.5
Total	430	100.0	430	100.0	430	100.0	430	100.0	430	100.0	430	100.0	429	99.8

Asked at what level respondents understand native languages, 21.2 % of them reported to understand “Perfectly” Afar, and 77.7 % Somali. Additionally, 9.5 % of them understand “Enough for a non-specialised conversation” Afar and 7.4 % Somali (Table 17). 22.1 % of respondents understand “Few words” of Afar and 3.3 % Somali. However, 44.4 % of respondents reported “Not at all” understanding Afar but only 7.9 % gave the same answer for Somali.

More than 77.7 % of respondents understand Somali “Perfectly”, which is the leading native language in understanding as well as in speaking. 66.5 % of respondents understand “Few words” or “Not at all” Afar, which is difficult to understand why this lack of understanding for a native language.

About understanding Arabic, 42.1 % of respondents reported to understand it “Perfectly” and 22.8 % “Enough for a non-specialised conversation”. 11.9 % of respondents reported to understand “Few words” of Arabic, but 20.5 % of them understand it “Not at all”. Arabic has still an advantage over Afar and is always in the second position after Somali.

About the understanding French, 61.4 % of respondents reported understanding it “Perfectly” and 10.2 % of them understand it “Enough for a non-specialised conversation” but 6.5 % understand only “Few words”. However, 20.2 % of respondents reported understanding “Not at all” French. More than three-fifths of respondents understand French “fluently” but 20.2 % reported “Not at all” understanding it which is the same proportion as on speaking. 16.7 % of respondents, which is one fifth, understand either “Few words” of French or “Enough for a non-specialised conversation”.

31.6 % of respondents reported understanding “Perfectly” English and 23 % understanding it “Enough for a non-specialised conversation”. 14.2 % of them understand “Few words” of English and 27.7 % “Not at all”.

About the two Ethiopian languages, 7.1 % of respondents reported to understand Amharic “Perfectly” and 3.5 % Oromo. 5.3 % of respondents understand “Enough for a non-specialised conversation” in Amharic and 2.8 % in Oromo. 13.5 % of them reported understanding “Few words” of

Amharic and 7.4 % of Oromo. Most of them, 69.8 % of respondents understand “Not at all” Amharic and 80.5 % for Oromo. On understanding Amharic and Oromo, respondents reported, overwhelmingly, “Not at all”, which reveal that they are not interested in these languages. Fewer respondents understand “Few words” and “Enough for a non-specialised conversation”.

4.1.1.5 *Question 5, Languages Learned at Home, in School and at University*

Question 5 of the questionnaire investigates the languages learned at home, in school and at university. It examines where respondents learned languages including mother tongue, assumed to learn at home. Respondents answered the question related to those learned at home, which are mostly mother tongue. However, they did not answer for other languages as they may do not speak them, ignoring the question. Respondents did not pay attention to questions on languages they do not speak. Very few respondents answered the questions on Amharic and Oromo. Assumptions are that only a few of them speak these languages. Contrary to the expectations, No Answer for French as well. A reason may be that they thought to have expressed their choice, in questions 1 and 2, on the medium of education and mother tongue or did not understand.

Language Learned at Home

For languages learned at home, the result of the investigation is not a surprise. It certainly met the assumptions that Djiboutians learn mother tongue and national languages at home and the European ones at school.

*Tables of Frequency and Percentage Distribution*

*Table 18 Distribution of Respondents who learned Somali at Home, in School and at University*

		Somali			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Home	308	71.6	71.6	71.6
	Nursery	4	.9	.9	72.6
	Primary	8	1.9	1.9	74.4
	Secondary	8	1.9	1.9	76.3
	University	2	.5	.5	76.7
	No Answer	100	23.3	23.3	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

Home is where respondents learned most languages although some of them even reported having learned English and French there. Anyway, no schools are teaching Afar, and Somali in Djibouti and home is certainly where respondents learned these languages except for the few educated in Ethiopia and Somalia.

Table 19 Distribution of Respondents who learned Afar at Home, in School and at University

		Afar			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Home	104	24.2	24.2	24.2
	Nursery	5	1.2	1.2	25.3
	Primary	2	.5	.5	25.8
	Secondary	2	.5	.5	26.3
	University	1	.2	.2	26.5
	No Answer	316	73.5	73.5	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

Somali is leading languages acquired at home as 71.6 % of respondents (Table 18) reported having learned it at home. Afar is in second place (Table 19) with 24.2 %, followed by Arabic with 11.9 %. And Amharic with 7.7 %.

Table 20 Distribution of Respondents who learned Amharic at Home, in School and at University

		Amharic			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Home	33	7.7	7.7	7.7
	Nursery	5	1.2	1.2	8.8
	Primary	7	1.6	1.6	10.5
	Secondary	4	.9	.9	11.4
	University	1	.2	.2	11.6
	No Answer	380	88.4	88.4	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

Table 21 Distribution of Respondents who learned Oromo at Home, in School and at University

Oromo					
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Home	19	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Nursery	4	.9	.9	5.3
	Primary	2	.5	.5	5.8
	Secondary	4	.9	.9	6.7
	University	1	.2	.2	7.0
	No Answer	400	93.0	93.0	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

Language Learned in Schools

Table 22 Percentage Distribution of Respondents who learned French at Home, in School and at University

French					
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Home	12	2.8	2.8	2.8
	Nursery	10	2.3	2.3	5.1
	Primary	2	.5	.5	5.6
	Secondary	45	10.5	10.5	16.0
	University	15	3.5	3.5	19.5
	No Answer	346	80.5	80.5	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

In the nursery, primary and secondary schools combined, 13.7 % of respondents reported to have learned, Arabic, 13.3 % French, 4.7 % English, 3.7 % Amharic (Table 20) and 2.3 % Oromo (Table 21)



Table 23 Distribution of Respondents who learned Arabic at Home, in School and at University

		Arabic			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Home	51	11.9	11.9	11.9
	Nursery	18	4.2	4.2	16.0
	Primary	4	.9	.9	17.0
	Secondary	37	8.6	8.6	25.6
	University	20	4.7	4.7	30.2
	No Answer	300	69.8	69.8	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

10.5 % of respondents reported having learned French (Table 22) at the secondary level and 8.6 % Arabic (Table 23).

Language Learned at the University

Table 24 Distribution of Respondents who learned English at Home, in School and at University

		English			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Home	8	1.9	1.9	1.9
	Nursery	2	.5	.5	2.3
	Primary	1	.2	.2	2.6
	Secondary	17	4.0	4.0	6.5
	University	55	12.8	12.8	19.3
	No Answer	347	80.7	80.7	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

At university, 4.7 % of respondents reported having learned Arabic and 3.5 % French (Table 22). 12.8 % of respondents learned English at the university level (Table 24) and 4 % of them reported to have learned it as a third language in secondary schools.

4.1.1.6 Question 6, I would like to learn ... And why?

Question 6 of the questionnaire investigates respondents' preferred languages to learn and the reason for that choice. Respondents must choose from a list of twelve prepared reasons to learn a new language.

*The Table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 25 Percentage of Respondents' preferred languages to learn and why*

	<b>Afar</b>	<b>Amharic</b>	<b>Arabic</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>Oromo</b>	<b>Somali</b>
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
To live in harmony with my compatriots	25.3	6.0	3.0	2.8	5.1	4.0	7.2
To speak with my friends, neighbours or colleagues	13.3	6.3	2.8	1.9	3.7	2.1	8.4
To speak with family members	2.6	.9	3.0	.5	3.3	.9	6.7
To make friends	1.4	4.7	1.9	3.0	.7	4.2	.9
To study at university level	.5	.7	.9	7.2	5.8	.2	.5
To do politics		2.8	.7	.9	3.3	.9	.2
To do business	.2	7.0	1.6	3.3	1.4	4.0	1.6
For my business travels	.2	1.2	20.5	.5	1.2	.2	.9
It is the language of my religion	.9		4.7		.7	.5	1.9
To discuss or chat or get married	.2	.5	.9	.7	.5	1.4	1.2
It is a language that dominates the world	.2	2.3	.9	13.7	2.6	.2	
It is an international language	.2	.2	3.0	20.5	4.0		.7
No Answer	54.9	67.4	56.0	45.1	67.9	81.4	69.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

25.3 % of respondents reported that the main reason to learn Afar is “To live in harmony with my compatriots”.

13.7 %, of respondents, reported wishing to learn English because “It is a language that dominates the world” and 2.6 % said French, which is far behind. Similarly, 20.5 % of participant reported learning English, which is the best choice, because “It is an international language” and only 4 % chose French for that reason.

Another reason to learn a language is “To discuss or chat or get married”, which is a way to be part of a new community. The best choices for that reason are; Oromo with 1.4 % of respondents, and Somali with 1.2 % of them.

Respondents prefer to learn national languages such as Afar, 13.3 %, and Somali 8.4 % “To speak with my friends, neighbours or colleagues”. Afars are always using their language more conservatively as earlier questions proved it many times. “To speak with my friends, neighbours or colleagues” is the reason that 6.3 % of respondents want to learn Amharic, which is in the third position before French with 1.9 %.

22.3 % respondents, “To speak with family members”, desire to learn Somali, which keep its high usage need in that situation. “To make friends” is the reason that 4.7 % of respondents wish to learn Amharic, 4.2 % Oromo, and 3 % English. “To study at university level”, it is normal, 7.2 % of respondents aspire to study it in English and 5.8 % in French.

3.3 % of respondents think about learning French “To do politics” and 2.8 % Amharic. However, “To do business” is a reason for 7 % of the respondents to learn Amharic and 4 % Oromo, they are more sought than English with 3.3 % and Somali with 1.6 %. However, 20.5 % of respondents prefer learning Arabic “For my business travels”, far more than any other language. As expected, learning Arabic is for 4.7 % as “It is the language of my religion”. Next to respondents’ preferred languages to learn and the reasons, the questionnaire investigates languages spoken at home for different purposes.

4.1.1.7 *Question 7, At home you speak to...*

Languages spoken at home with mothers, fathers, brothers/sisters, children, husband/wife and servants.

Question 7 in the questionnaire investigates about the languages that respondents speak at home. It provides answers on languages that respondents use to communicate with members of their families and people working at home. The frequency at which respondents claim to use languages is on display and their distribution shows the proportion of usage for each one at home.

What language do people favour when talking to their mother or father? Do they use the same language to all members of the household? Do they have language preferences according to people they speak to?

At the end of this section, a chart (Figure 7) displays in one place the information of six variables, six types of relationships for languages. It presents the statistical report for each language with its six variables. It displays all languages and each one stands for 100 % of the respondents who speak that language. The six variables are; Mother, Father, Siblings, Children, Husband and Wife, and Servants, and they supply answers to the question on languages used at home.

Languages Spoken to Mothers*The Table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 26 Percentage Distribution of Somali spoken at home*

		<b>Somali</b>			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
<b>Valid</b>	No Answer	72	16.7	16.7	16.7
	Mum	287	66.7	66.7	83.5
	Dad	22	5.1	5.1	88.6
	Brothers/Sisters	15	3.5	3.5	92.1
	Children	11	2.6	2.6	94.7
	Husband/wife	2	.5	.5	95.1
	Servants	21	4.9	4.9	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

66.7 % of respondents speak Somali to their mother at home (Table 26). This is with the fact that 64.7 % of respondents' mother tongue is Somali (Table 12). All respondents reported speaking to their mothers matching the proportion of the number reported as mother tongue. The proportions are similar to mother tongue proportions because 64.7 % of respondents reported to have Somali, 16.5 % Afar and 10 % Arabic (Table 12). It is also understandable that 16.7 % of respondents thought not concerned and ignored the question as they did not speak Somali.

Table 27 Percentage Distribution of Afar spoken at home

		Afar			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	No Answer	335	77.9	77.9	77.9
	Mum	64	14.9	14.9	92.8
	Dad	8	1.9	1.9	94.7
	Brothers/Sisters	5	1.2	1.2	95.8
	Children	3	.7	.7	96.5
	Husband/wife	3	.7	.7	97.2
	Servants	12	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

14.9 % of respondents reported speaking Afar (Table 27) to mothers and 7.9 % Arabic. There is also 7.2 %, which is a considerable percentage, of respondents who speak French to their mothers.

#### Languages Spoken to Fathers

The two main languages that the respondents use to talk to their fathers are French with 10.7 % of them speaking it (Table 28) and Somali with 5.1 %. Arabic is third with 4.9 % of respondents speaking it with fathers. Altogether, 25.9 % of respondents reported speaking to their fathers in these languages.

#### Languages Spoken to Brothers and Sisters

At home, to communicate with brothers and sisters, 20 % of respondents speak French and 11.2 % English. 9.3 % of respondents speak Arabic to brothers and sisters. A total of 47 % of respondents reported speaking to their brothers and sisters in these languages.

Table 28 Percentage Distribution of French spoken at home

		French			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	No Answer	228	53.0	53.0	53.0
	Mum	31	7.2	7.2	60.2
	Dad	46	10.7	10.7	70.9
	Brothers/Sisters	86	20.0	20.0	90.9
	Children	17	4.0	4.0	94.9
	Husband/wife	10	2.3	2.3	97.2
	Servants	12	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

### Languages Spoken to Children

There are forty-five respondents (13 %), twenty-three females and twenty-two males, who reported having offspring as they responded positively to the question on language spoken to children. Out of seventeen parents who said to use French, six are females.

As for the eleven parents who speak Somali, nine are females and for the eight others who communicate in Arabic, five are females.

Out of five parents who converse in English to children three are females.

The three parents who communicate in Afar to children and the one in Amharic are males. Few parents use a second language such as Oromo or French or Arabic to speak to their children. Despite this information, without statistical computation, the respondents who have children are not as noticeable.

Table 29 Parents' gender and language spoken to children

	Afar	Amharic	Arabic	English	French	Somali	Total
Male	3	1	3	2	11	2	22
Female	0	0	5	3	6	9	23

Amongst the 13 % of respondents who have children, 4.0 % of them as parents speak French to their children and 2.6 % of them speak Somali to them. 1.9 % of parents speak Arabic to their children and another 1.2 % speak English to them.

Languages Spoken to Husbands or Wives

2.8 % of respondents who speak Arabic use it with their husband or wife, 2.3 % use English and similarly, 2.3 % use French as well in that setting.

Husband and wife hardly communicate in vernaculars, Somali, 0.5 % and Afar, 0.7 % but in educational languages.

*Table 30 Percentage Distribution of Arabic spoken at home*

Arabic					
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	No Answer	308	71.6	71.6	71.6
	Mum	34	7.9	7.9	79.5
	Dad	21	4.9	4.9	84.4
	Brothers/Sisters	40	9.3	9.3	93.7
	Children	8	1.9	1.9	95.6
	Husband/wife	12	2.8	2.8	98.4
	Servants	7	1.6	1.6	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

*Table 31 Percentage Distribution of English spoken at home*

English					
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	No Answer	350	81.4	81.4	81.4
	Mum	2	.5	.5	81.9
	Dad	8	1.9	1.9	83.7
	Brothers/Sisters	48	11.2	11.2	94.9
	Children	5	1.2	1.2	96.0
	Husband/wife	10	2.3	2.3	98.4
	Servants	7	1.6	1.6	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

Languages Spoken to Servants

Amharic is the most spoken language to communicate with servants as 7.9 % of respondents reported using it. Followed by Somali with 4.9 % of respondents speaking to servants in that language. The third language is Oromo with 4.7 % of respondents speaking it with their servants.

Table 32 Percentage Distribution of Amharic spoken at home

Amharic					
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	No Answer	376	87.4	87.4	87.4
	Mum	8	1.9	1.9	89.3
	Dad	5	1.2	1.2	90.5
	Brothers/Sisters	4	.9	.9	91.4
	Children	1	.2	.2	91.6
	Husband/wife	2	.5	.5	92.1
	Servants	34	7.9	7.9	100.0
	Total	430	100.0	100.0	

The Graph for languages spoken at home

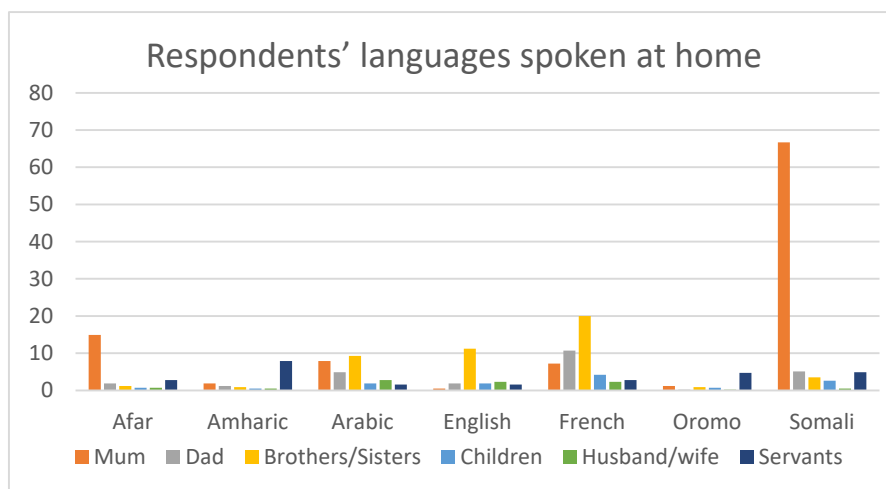


Figure 7 Respondents' languages spoken at home



The graph represents languages spoken at home by respondents and illustrates the present situation of Djibouti language use (4.1.1.7).

#### 4.1.1.8 Question 8, *What language do you use for...*

Languages for Family friends, Neighbours, Classroom peers, Shopkeepers, Workplace colleagues, Religious people, International business, Studying university, Travels abroad, Administration agents

Question 8 investigates “languages usage in a wider social environment” and respondents answer to “What language do you use for”. They must choose from ten options that are the basis for the analysis of variables, which include 10 domains of the social environment. The question gives insight into languages respondents speak in their close circle for everyday communication as with family and friends, neighbours; with colleagues in the workplace and peers in the classroom, and while studying at the university level. It also enquires about the languages they use within their wider circle including shopkeepers, religious people and administration agents. Finally, respondents report on languages they speak occasionally for international business as well as for travels abroad.

Table 33 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' languages used for family and friends, neighbours, peers, shopkeepers... etc.

	Family and friends	Neighbours	Classroom peers	Shopkeepers	Workplace colleagues	Religious people	International business	Studying university	Travels abroad	Administration agents
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
<b>Afar</b>	16.0	15.1	10.5	10.2	7.7	7.7	4.0	3.5	4.7	5.1
<b>Amharic</b>	1.9	1.2	.9	.9	.5	.2	.7	.5	4.9	0
<b>Arabic</b>	11.2	4.7	7.9	7.4	5.6	41.6	7.9	10.2	8.1	6.0
<b>English</b>	2.8	1.9	7.2	2.1	5.8	1.2	25.1	16.7	23.3	8.1
<b>French</b>	14.9	6.3	28.8	3.3	28.8	3.3	12.1	29.3	17.7	40.5
<b>Oromo</b>	.2	.7	.2		.2	.2		.2	.9	.2
<b>Somali</b>	42.8	57.2	15.3	58.4	17.7	25.1	11.6	6.0	10.7	10.2
No Answer	10.2	13.0	29.1	17.7	33.7	20.7	38.6	33.5	29.8	29.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

For family and friends, most respondents use national languages. 42.8 % of respondents speak Somali with friend and family and 16 % Afar, then follows French with 14.9 % (Table 33).

57.2 % of respondents use Somali with their neighbours (Table 33). Far behind, follow in second position Afar with 15.1 % and third French with 6.3 %. Again, the same scenario as earlier applies for most respondents when they speak to their neighbours, they use national languages; 57.2 % Somali and 15.1 % Afar. The language that dominates in each area is related to the major ethnic group who live in that neighbourhood (See p 45). Somali and Afar are by far the most used languages with neighbours and they make up as much as 72.3 % of the total. This means that other communities are using this language too as only 60 % of the population are from an ethnic Somali background<sup>102</sup>. This is also because other communities speak Somali as a respect for the veiled rule of the area language usage.

As little as 3.3 % of respondents use French, a language left far behind and not useful in that domain.

Speaking to shopkeepers, respondents exclusively use national languages; 58.4 % Somali, 10.2 % Afar and 7.4 % Arabic. 58.4 % of respondents reported speaking Somali to shopkeepers (Table 33). Only 10.2 % of people use Afar when speaking to shopkeepers and 7.4 % Arabic.

When speaking to religious people, 41.6 % of respondents use Arabic, 25.1 % Somali and 7.7 % Afar (Table 33).

The situation is completely different for the next four domains as French leads all other languages.

With classroom peers, 28.8 % of respondents speak French. Then follow national languages; 15.3 % Somali, 10.5 % Afar and 7.9 % Arabic. Using language in the wider social environment brought the study to investigate what is happening in the classroom between peers. The study recognised that French usage was dominant in schools. It is not surprising then, that 28.8 % of respondents use French with classroom peers (Table 33). Classroom peers prefer to converse in French first, then, secondly in Somali (15.3 %) and thirdly in Afar (10.5 %). With 7.9 %, Arabic despite being an educational language is behind Afar and Somali. Although Arabic is a taught subject in public schools, only 11.1 % of respondents used it in the classroom.

With workplace colleagues, 28.8 % of respondents speak French, making it the most used language in that domain, then, 17.7 % Somali and 7.7 % Afar. In the computation statistics, the informal workplace sectors are not in the calculation as Somali dominates markets, streets and small businesses.

With administration agents, 40.5 % of respondents speak French, making it the second domain where it keeps its domination. Then, far behind, follows Somali with 10.2 % of respondents using it.

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<sup>102</sup> Ethnic population: Somalis 60 %, Afars 35 %, Arabs 3 % and Others 2 % (source: <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/largest-ethnic-groups-in-djibouti.html>)

More than half of the respondents, 40.5 %, use French with administrators, while 10.2 % speak in Somali and 8.1 % in English (Table 33). Surprisingly, some administration agents use English, to serve their customers. Lesser respondents use Arabic, 6 % and Afar, 5.1 %.

When studying university, 29.3 % of respondents use French followed by English with 16.7 % then Arabic with 10.2 %. The question that respondents answered was: What language do you use for studying at university? 29.3 % of respondents reported using French, 16.7 % English and 10.2 % Arabic at university (Table 33).

English flexes its muscle throughout two domains. To do international business, 25.1 % of respondents speak English, making it the most used domain, followed by French with 12.1 % speaking it and 11.6 % Somali.

For travels abroad as well, where 23.3 % of respondents reported using English, making it the second domain dominated by this language. 17.7 % of them are using French, 10.7 % Somali and 8.1 % Arabic.

#### 4.1.1.9 *Question 9, Languages should be taught Schools and University and why?*

Which languages should be taught in schools and university?

Question 9 requests respondents to give their opinions on the languages they want to be taught in schools and at university. It is a useful question for checking if French keeps its dominant position in education or if respondents do not think it worth educating pupils and students in that language anymore. To answer the question, respondents have a maximum of three language choices to make for each level; primary, secondary and university. Then, they must give a reason. For that, they chose a reason for each level from the thirteen prepared answers that are to choose from. They must choose the reasons for teaching these languages. These possible varied reasons are insightful and help respondents give their opinions.

#### *The Table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution*

Question 9 requires two answers in two sequences, which must be in two tables. First, respondents choose languages they think should be taught at all levels (Table 34). Then next, they must say their choices by choosing among the prepared answers, which are the reasons.

Table 34 Distribution of Respondents' opinion on languages that primary, secondary and university should teach

	Afar	Amharic	Arabic	English	French	Oromo	Somali
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Percent	Percent	Per cent
Primary School	18.3	5.3	14.3	8.1	8.8	2.6	23.2
Secondary School	3.7	3.0	7.2	3.9	3.9	1.6	4.9
University	.2	2.6	3.4	7.0	3.0	.7	1.4
No Answer	77.7	89.1	58.5	81.0	84.2	95.1	70.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It begins with the first percentage distributions choices, which are on one row for Primary, Secondary and University. 37.8 % of respondents chose Afar, 36.9 % Somali, follow Oromo 35.5 % and Amharic 34.8 %, to be taught in Primary. In Secondary, respondents chose the teaching of Oromo 22.6 %, Amharic 19.7. At the university level, Amharic 16.7 % is the respondents' choice, follow English 10.3 % and Oromo 9.7 %.

Next, the second percentage distributions choices are on two rows for Primary and Secondary schools. The choices are on two national languages, Afar 13.4 %, Arabic 10.6 and on two Ethiopian languages Oromo 9.7 % and Amharic 9.1 %.

Then, the third percentage distributions choices are on two rows for Primary School and University. Again, the choices are for national languages, Afar 4.3 %, Arabic 3.4 % and Somali 2.6 %.

The fourth percentage distributions choices are on two different rows, which are Secondary School and University. This time, the choices are on European languages, English 16.5 % and French 8.3 %.

The fifth percentage distributions choices are on three rows for Primary School, Secondary School and University. The choices are clearly for French 61.3 %, Arabic 58.5 % and English 49.5 %. These languages come only after national languages, Somali 41.6 % and Afar 35.4 %.

It is now time to explore the reasons for the choices made earlier in the first part. For each choice of language made to be taught, respondents must give a reason (Table 43). They choose to express their opinions from a list of prepared reasons. The researcher assumption was that this would be a straightforward process once he explains and shows the examples. He assumed that respondents would strongly express their opinions on teaching national languages in schools.

Why teaching national languages, "It is an important national language that is spoken by the majority in Djibouti city" is the reason given by 31.8 % of respondents for the choice of Somali and 15.3 % of them for Afar. Why national languages, the reasons are related to Djiboutian parents who demanded to government, several times, the teaching of these languages (chapter 1). 12.3 % of

respondents recognised Somali, and 10 % of them Afar as “It is a national language to communicate with Djiboutians”. “It is a national language spoken by part of the Djiboutians” is only true for Afar, 11.4 %, then comes French, 4.2 %, why, certainly a confusion created by its official status or the mentioning of “part of the Djiboutians”.

Table 35 Percentage Distribution of Respondents on why primary, secondary and university should teach these languages

	Afar why	Amharic why	Arabic why	English why	French why	Oromo why	Somali why
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
It is an important national language that is spoken by the majority in Djibouti city	15.3	.2	3.2	1.6	9.5		31.8
It is a national language to communicate with Djiboutians	10.0		2.1	.9	4.2		12.3
It is a national language spoken by part of the Djiboutians	11.4	.5	3.7	.7	4.2	2.9	2.3
It is a language spoken by domestic workers	.5	2.3	1.2	1.4	2.1	1.9	1.4
It is the language of Islam and the Arab League	.2		34.3	2.1	.9	.2	.7
It is a useful language to communicate with the Ethiopians, our neighbours		9.0		.7	.5	2.3	.2
It is a useful language for doing business with neighbouring countries	.2	1.6	.9	4.6	1.4	2.1	.5
It is a regional language	.9	.9	1.2	.7	1.4	.7	.7
It is an African language	.7		.2		.2	.2	.5
It is a prestigious language			1.6	1.2	3.5		.2
It is an international language	.2		1.6	24.8	3.2	.2	.5
It is an international and useful language to find a job in Djibouti			.9	8.6	13.2	.2	.5
It is an international language that is useful for learning about science and technology			.9	7.2	3.7		.2
No Answer	60.6	85.4	48.0	45.5	52.0	92.1	48.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

13.2 % of respondents think that French, “[...] is an international and useful language to find a job in Djibouti” contrary to English, in which 8.6 % of them expressed that opinion for.

7.2 % of respondents think English “It is an international language that is useful for learning about science and technology” leaving this time behind French, the only contender, with 3.7 %.

French is “It is a prestigious language” for 3.5 % of respondents, Arabic follows halfway with 1.6 % of them, but English with 1.2 % has the slightest prestige. 24.8 % of the respondents recognised English as “It is an international language”, while French, with 3.2 %, is not.

## 4.1.1.10 Question 10, We need...

Question 10 enquires about languages respondents need to use in different situations. It puts respondents in a setting where they have to say which language they need to use in a specific situation. They must choose a language for the situations that come after the prompt We need ... It provides answers on languages that respondents need to use for learning a trade, finding a job, communicating with Djiboutians, doing business, higher education, relationships with neighbouring countries, international relationships, religion, and success in life.

*The Table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution**Table 36 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' languages needed for different purposes*

	Learning a trade	Finding a job	Communicating with Djiboutians	Doing business	Higher Education	Relationships with neighbouring countries	International relationships	Religion	Success in life
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
<b>Afar for</b>	8.4	5.6	31.3	9.5	4.2	6.3	3.2	5.1	4.4
<b>Amharic for</b>	2.1	1.2		6.0	.2	19.5	.7	.9	.7
<b>Arabic for</b>	13.0	16.9	5.	11.8	15.3	8.6	17.2	66.4	17.2
<b>English for</b>	21.1	27.1	3.0	27.4	23.9	26.2	43.2	1.4	35.0
<b>French for</b>	18.8	23.2	18.6	12.1	26.0	11.1	11.4	3.7	11.6
<b>Oromo for</b>	.9	.9	.5	.9	.5	1.4	.5	.5	.9
<b>Somali for</b>	14.2	8.6	30.4	12.8	7.2	9.5	8.1	6.5	9.7
<b>No Answer</b>	21.6	16.5	10.7	19.5	22.7	17.4	15.8	15.5	20.4
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

21.1 % of respondents need English for Learning a trade, 18.8 % of them, French, 14.2 % Somali and 13 % Arabic.

27.1 % of respondents need English, 23.2 % of them, French and 16.9 % Arabic for finding a job in Djibouti.

Doing business, 27.4 % of respondents requires English, 12.8 % of them Somali, 12.1 % French and 11.8 % Arabic.

Success in life, 35 % of respondents reported needing English, 17.2 % of them, Arabic and 11.6 % French.

To have relationships with neighbouring countries, 26.2 % of respondents need English, 19.5 % of them Amharic and 11.1 % French.

For International relationships, respondents needing English are 43.2 %, 17.2 % of them, Arabic and 11.4 % French.

For Higher Education, 26 % of them need French, 23.9 % of them, English and 15.3 % Arabic.

For religion, 66.4 % of respondents need Arabic, 6.5 % of them, Somali and 5.1 % Afar.

For communication with fellow Djiboutians, 31.3 % of respondents need Afar, 30.4 % of them, Somali and 18.6 % French.

4.1.1.11 *Question 11 Classify languages according to their importance in your life*

In question 11, respondents must classify the languages according to the importance in their life.

*The Table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution*

Table 37 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' languages classification according to the importance in their life

	Afar		Amharic		Arabic		English		French		Oromo		Somali	
	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent
of no importance	163	37.8	251	58.2	45	10.4	48	11.1	55	12.8	302	70.1	47	10.9
of minor importance	119	27.6	67	15.5	50	11.6	41	9.5	37	8.6	42	9.7	46	10.7
of major importance	107	24.8	58	13.5	305	70.8	304	70.5	308	71.5	35	8.1	290	67.3
No Answer	42	9.7	55	12.8	31	7.2	38	8.8	31	7.2	52	12.1	48	11.1
Total	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0

71.5 % of respondents testified for French, 70.8 % of them for Arabic and 70.5 % for English. Somali follows as 67.3 % of respondents said that it is “of major importance”, then, Afar with 24.8 %.

37.8 % of respondents, the majority of those who reported on Afar said that it is “of no importance” for them, and a quarter, 27.6 % said it is “of minor importance”

Only Amharic and Oromo are on the opposite side with respectively 58.2 % and 70.1 % of respondents reporting “of no importance”.

4.1.1.12 *Question 12 Classify languages to the frequency with which you use them*

In question 12, respondents must classify the languages according to the frequency with which they use them.

*The Table of Frequency and Percentage Distribution*

*Table 38 Percentage Distribution of Respondents’ languages classification according to the frequency used*

	Afar		Amharic		Arabic		English		French		Oromo		Somali	
	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent	Freq	Per cent
no frequency of use	204	47.3	286	66.4	54	12.5	48	11.1	68	15.8	302	70.1	39	9.0
minor frequency of use	107	24.8	49	11.4	91	21.1	41	9.5	37	8.6	42	9.7	35	8.1
major frequency of use	84	19.5	41	9.5	247	57.3	304	70.5	291	67.5	35	8.1	316	73.3
No Answer	36	8.4	55	12.8	39	9.0	38	8.8	35	8.1	52	12.1	41	9.5
Total	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0	431	100.0

73.3 % of respondents who use Somali reported that their language is of “major frequency of use”, and 70.5 % of them said that as well about English which is second. Surprisingly, French is in third position and 67.5 % of respondents who speak it reported as “major frequency of use”. Arabic, with 57.3 % of respondents is left behind.

for regional languages, 75.2 % and 66.4 % of respondents reported respectively that Oromo and Amharic are of “no frequency of use” to them.

4.1.1.13 *Statistics tests on relationships and correlations in data*

The Relationship Between Mother Tongue, Languages for Friends and Family

This section is on the relationship between the respondents’ mother tongue (Table 12) and the languages they reported to speak with friends and family (Table 33). The SPSS software helps make a Linear Regression analysis on data drawn from both tables.

On languages usage for friends and family (Table 33), respondents reported using French, immediately after Somali and Afar. Somalis are not using their language extensively when talking to



friends and family despite the intimacy required in these casual conversations. They are not loyal to their language like the Afars who feel being a minority and are aware of the danger of losing their language.

When talking to friends and family, respondents of Afar mother tongue use only their language. 16.5 % reported Afar as their mother tongue and 16 % of respondents use it with friends and family which is equivalent. The Oromos speak Afar as well as their language. Oromo ethnic people name themselves as Afar because they have traditional intermarriage links and they obtain citizenship claiming to be Afar. There is a possibility then that respondents who speak Oromo use Afar to speak to friends and family. Nonetheless, Afars' mother tongue respondents are more conservatives and proud to use their language than Somalis. Afars do not mix as much outside of their language group and they may feel a little bit segregated by the Somalis. As a result, Afars appear loyal and committed to their mother tongue. There is an Afar saying: "Qafar qadoleh"; meaning "Afars practise customs". They have the same propensity towards their culture, and, unlike Somalis, the administration had difficulty to deal with them throughout the colonial era. During colonial times, France used to praise in its literature and research, Somalis' willingness to learn and use French compared to Afars' unwillingness to do so. Somalis easily integrated the administrative colonial system and held important political positions. Thompson and Adloff (198, p 28) describe the conditions, which, led to the relative advance of the Somalis in the colony.

Afar people always knew the advantages that Somalis had over them. The Somali left behind, the Afars when came the time to build an independent state. Today Somalis still dominate the administration and the government, leaving to the Afars powerless second roles. Kassim Shehim and James Searing (1980, p 209) illustrated Afars' fear of the Somalis' hegemony after Independence.

The Afar felt that independence was premature, at least for them. They were not prepared to compete against the better educated and more urbanized Somalis. The Somalis had benefited more fully from the limited opportunities for advancement provided by colonial rule and were firmly entrenched in the administration, in the educational system, and in the armed forces, where they held a dominant position. The political reality that Afars face today is no less than a Somali domination.

The Issas, a sub-clan of Somalis, are particularly enforcing the political domination in Djibouti. Since the Independence of Djibouti in 1977, the first and former president was an Issa as well as the actual one in power. The intrinsic nature of the Somali's "majority-status" resulted in the implicit disregard of Afar culture, identity and hence Somali language like the newly conceived Djiboutian identity became synonymous with belonging to the Somali ethnic. This majority-status exempted them from learning the Afar language, the minority language, as people communicate most of the time in Somali or French. Somalis and Afars, therefore, communicate in Somali except when the Afars are not willing to speak it; in that case, they use French. The Somali hegemony within distinct aspects of public life served as a catalyst which fuelled tensions between the Somalis and the Afar, after independence, which led to the outbreak of the civil war in 1992 (Chapters 1 and 3).

This dynamic, existing between Afars and Somalis, does not exist between Somalis and Arabs because of the prestigious status of Arabic within the religion. The use of Arabic with friends and family is in expansion mode as 11.2 % respondents speak it and that is more than the 10.2 % who reported to have Arabic as their mother tongue. Yet, although Arabic mother tongue respondents are twice as many as French, they use it less with friends and family than the latter. Still, Arabic speakers are more dedicated to their language than Somali whose language shrunk by a quarter when used to speak to friends and family. However, the reason Arabic usage is more restricted than French, despite its status and achievement with a high percentage of usage with friends and family, is related to the size of the Arab ethnic community<sup>103</sup>, which is 2 % of the population. However, the 2 % does not include other black ethnic people who see themselves as Arabs like the Sudanese.

For English, 1.9 % of respondents reported it as their mother tongue but its use with friends and family is not as important as between parents and children. 2.8 % of respondents using English with friends and family may not seem much but it is significant, as it was completely absent from the conversations several years ago (Maurer, 1992). English is more popular among young people. It confirms the work and influence of the Internet and the growing expatriate English speaking community that lives in Djibouti. People use widely Amharic in Ethiopia, but Somalis do not speak it. Past colonial domination tarnished Amharic as it was the imperial language of Ethiopia that Somalis fought throughout history.

### Linear Regression Analysis with Graphs and Figures

At first, it is a normal reaction for people to use their mother tongue when speaking to friends and family. Jean-Marc Dewaele (2010), a Birkbeck College linguist, has studied language choices in inner speech, the monologue people “hear” inside their heads. He says that the factors influencing the choice of the language to use in each domain are the dominant language, the languages acquired, the proficiency, the frequency of use, and the size of the social network of the speaker. Interestingly in this situation, respondents are using their mother tongue for the reason they gave in their answers. The more the choices of languages usage made by people are exact, the more reliable is the data when comparing respondents’ mother tongue and languages used for friend and family. The test shows a strong relationship between mother tongue and languages that respondents report using with friends and family. A reason would be that some of the members of the family do not speak other languages than their mother tongue.

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<sup>103</sup> Source : <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/largest-ethnic-groups-in-djibouti.html>

### Regression Analysis

Running a regression analysis is to prove patterns and make predictions based on data. The hypothesis for the regression tested is that mother tongue influences the languages used with friends and family. The mother tongue is the independent variable and language used for friends and family is the dependent variable. In the case of rejecting the null hypothesis, it would mean that the mother tongue does not influence languages used with friends and family.

The results are, then, used to write out a fitted regression equation of the model. The equation is used to predict values of languages for friends and family for the given values of the mother tongue. The data of the output (Table 12 and Table 33) helps to run the tests for mother tongue and languages for friends and families. The results of the tests determine if there is an influence and give the percentage of that influence by mean of measurement.

The tests use the regression equation;  $y = a + b x$  (y-dependent variable = a-constant coefficients + b-coefficients associated with mother tongue \* x = independent variable). The significance *p*-value is less than .0005 this test is of high significance (Figure 8). There is compelling evidence to reject the null hypothesis and recognise that mother tongue strongly influences the languages used for friends and family.

**Model Summary**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.963 <sup>a</sup>	.927	.913	4.8377

a. Predictors: (Constant), MotherTongue

**ANOVA<sup>a</sup>**

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	1490.682	1	1490.682	63.695	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	117.018	5	23.404		
	Total	1607.700	6			

a. Dependent Variable: FriendsFamily  
b. Predictors: (Constant), MotherTongue

**Coefficients<sup>a</sup>**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	4.459	2.205		2.022	.099
	MotherTongue	.691	.087	.963	7.981	.000

a. Dependent Variable: FriendsFamily

Figure 8 Model summary, Anova, and coefficients

The R squared value in the model summary table calculated how much mother tongues influence the usage of languages for friends and family. What is R squared value? R-squared is a statistical measure that is the reliability of the linear relationship between the x and y values. The R squared statistic value percentage in this case is;  $.927 \times 100 = 92.7\%$ . There is a strong connection between the 2 and in 92.7 % of the cases, mother tongue influences significantly the languages used among family and friends.

Graphs

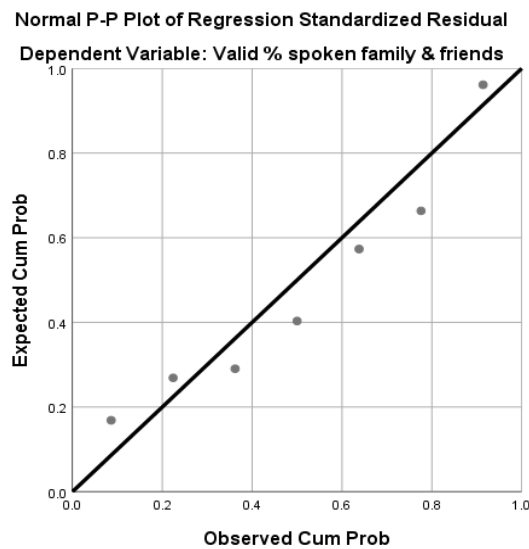


Figure 9 Graph of regression plots expected and observed

The plots are close to the line, meaning that the test assumption is met, and the population sample is evenly distributed.

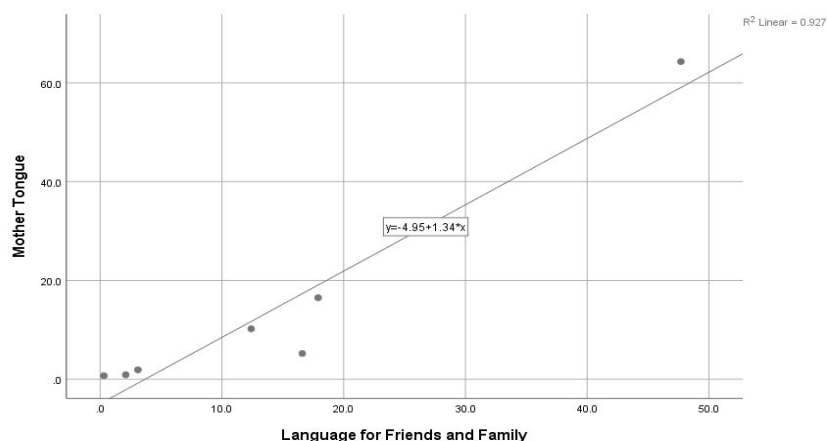


Figure 10 Graph of regression plots of Mother tongue and Languages for Friends and family

The estimates of intercept and slopes are given in column B; Intercept; constant = 4.459 and Slope; mother tongue = .691 (Figure 10). The relationship is positive, linear and the mother tongue has

a strong influence and can be a prediction factor with 92.7 % on languages used with friends and family. This test is of a strong significance with a low  $p$ -value less than .0005. The test affirms that mother tongue significantly influences language spoken to friends and family.

#### T-Test for Correlations of Djibouti City Census 2009 and Respondents Residency

##### Respondents' place of residence

*Table 39 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Residence*

		Residence			
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
<b>Valid</b>	Djibouti: Ras dika	27	6.3	6.3	6.3
	Djibouti: Boulaos	109	25.3	25.3	31.6
	Djibouti: Balbala	184	42.8	42.8	74.4
	Arta	13	3.0	3.0	77.4
	Ali Sabieh	46	10.7	10.7	88.1
	Dikhil	24	5.6	5.6	93.7
	Tadjourah	25	5.8	5.8	99.5
	Obock	2	.5	.5	100.0
<b>Total</b>		430	100.0		

73.8 % of respondents live in Djibouti City: 6.3 % in Ras dika, 25.3 % in Boulaos and 42.8 % in Balbala (Table 34). In the countryside, 10.8 % of them are from Ali Sabieh, 5.8 % from Tadjourah 5.6 % from Dikhil and 3 % from Arta (Figure 2).

Djibouti's census (2009) indicates that 55.4 % of the population lives in Balbala, the majority, 90 % of them speak Somali (Table 39). If half of the 44.6 % of people who live in other areas speak Somali, that makes this language and its community the dominant one in Djibouti City. Communities' locations are according to the area where most of them live. Residency and mother tongue languages responses from the respondents are consistent with the 2009 census. The population of the Republic of Djibouti makes up of 60 % of Somalis and 35 % of Afars; they are both the two largest ethnic groups.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Source : <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/djibouti-population/>

Paired Samples Statistics					
		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	RESPONDENTS	24.833	3	18.3500	10.5944
	CENSUS2009	33.333	3	27.9529	16.1386

Paired Samples Correlations				
		N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair 1	RESPONDENTS & CENSUS2009	3	.957	.188

Paired Samples Test									
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Paired Differences		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
					Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	RESPONDENTS - CENSUS2009	-8.5000	11.6974	6.7535	-37.5580	20.5580	-1.259	2	.335

Figure 11 T-test for correlations of the residency of the respondents and from Census 2009

The T-test is to check for differences between the census 2009 of Djibouti city and the respondents' residency in this study (Figure 11). Both samples collected from the same population served to run a paired T-test. The output showed no significant difference between the Djibouti 2009 census and respondents' distribution place of residents.

The T-test results help this study to find out whether the proportion of each mother tongue in each of Djibouti's districts is similar in both the census and sample. The study compares the respondents' residency against the 2009 Census of Djibouti city. It uses particularly the respondents reported residence places and mother tongue. The 2009 census of Djibouti city population (100 %) distributed by municipality shows that 55.4 % of the residents live in Balbala, 42.7 % in Boulaos and 1.9 % in Ras dika (Table 35).

55.4 % of Djibouti's population, which is more than half, lives in Balbala. Overall, 98.1 % of the population of Djibouti City lives in Balbala and Boulaos. The census reported that 58.1 % of the population of the Republic of Djibouti lives in Djibouti city.

Table 40 Population of Djibouti by Municipality from the Census of 2009

Municipality	Male	Female	Total	Percentage (%)
Ras dika	3247	3583	6830	1.9
Boulaos	73319	77746	151065	42.7
Balbala	98441	97465	195906	55.4
Total	175007	178794	353801	100.0

6.3 % of respondents live in Ras dika, 24.7 % in Boulaos and 42.8 % in Balbala. 74.2 % of respondents live in Djibouti city, which is higher than the 58.1 % of the 2009 census. The distribution of the population in Djibouti city from the 2009 census is like the respondents' reported places of

residence. Respondents' mother tongue (Table 12) shows that most of them use Somali (64.3 %) and Afar (16.5 %). In Djibouti city, most people have Somali as mother tongue, and they live in every municipality. Ethnic Arabs live mostly in two districts; Ambouli, which is part of Boulaos and Quartiers<sup>105</sup> 1 and 2 of Ras dika. Most people speak Arabic in these areas.

Afar ethnic people regroup themselves in Boulaos, exclusively in the areas called Arhiba and in Balbala at Arhiba 2, Hodan and Wahledaba. In 2000, the first Afar families moved forcibly to Balbala through a government initiative after the destruction of a slum grown out of Arhiba. Afars make 35 % of the population of the Republic of Djibouti<sup>106</sup> but in Djibouti city, they could be 10 % less. The reason is that Djibouti city is not their ethnic primary territory but a Somali one (See Djibouti map: page 5). In conclusion, the study survey reflects the respondents' answers for questions on mother tongue and places of residence in Djibouti city. It confirms that Somali is the dominant language that respondents speak to their neighbours.

#### 4.1.2 Discussion of the Questionnaire Findings

The primary aim of this quantitative part of the research was to study the language situations of Djibouti from the perspective of a questionnaire. To complete these determined goals, the analysis focused on answering the twelve questions of the questionnaire that respondents filled.

##### 4.1.2.1 From Question 1

Question 1 is on respondents' gender, age, profession, residence, education and mother's tongue.

There is interesting information displayed on gender participation and the age and profession of the respondents.

There are more female respondents who took part in the study, the explanation is related to the way data was collected but also to the gender ratio in the country. One reason may well be that women responded better to the invitation to take part in the research. Another reason may well be too that as female students were more active than males, they attracted more respondents of the same gender.

Similarly, to most countries of the Horn, many respondents are of youthful age. The gender and age breakdown show that there are more female in the groups of 45/49 (71.1 %) and 60 + (66.7 %) and this confirms that women life expectancy is longer than men.

More than half of respondents are unemployed (44.2 %), those employed with the state make up the most (21.2 %) and self-employed the lesser. These numbers reveal the difficulty of getting not

<sup>105</sup> Quartier is an appellation inherited from the colonial period for the municipality division areas

<sup>106</sup> Source : <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/djibouti-population/>

only a job but also the lack of means for people to create one and get out of poverty. The state, which employs civil servants, teachers, medical personnel and public services, is the greater employer in the country. This is a way in Africa to control the population which explain that most governments stay in place for several decades.

Breaking down profession further into gender reveals another reality, that exists throughout Third countries, that females make up of most unemployed (59.5 %) and homemakers (84.2 %). It is not a coincidence that most males work for the government as females are discriminated. Privately hired female respondents have nothing to shy from competing with their counterparts. Besides, more women are self-employed (80 %) and students (52.5 %). This society, where women mostly stay at home, have higher unemployment proportions and fewer positions in state employments, is a patriarchal based one.

In place of residence, more respondents live in Balbala (42.8 %) and Boulaos (25.3 &), which are large conglomerates of hastily built-up areas that were badly planned and poorly serviced. There are pockets of residential zones for middle class families called city like Cite Hodan where half of participants are from. The proportion of respondents' residence is similar to the census of 2009.

In education, 22.3 % of the respondents have no formal schooling or finished primary, which is acceptable in Africa as many difficulties prevent children going to schools. These numbers are not concurring with official claims<sup>107</sup> as primary and secondary schools are the main educational institutions that the government has heavily invested in. The anomaly can come from immigrants who settle in Djibouti and lack basic education as access to public school is difficult for foreigners. Impossible to check, and the percentage of immigrants in the sample is unknown as the researcher avoided any question concerning immigration status.

In respondents' mother tongue, Somali (64.7 %) is the language spoken by the majority of Djiboutians according to the census, then next is Afar (16.5 %) and follows Arabic (10).

An exception concerns one respondent from the small Asian community living in Djibouti who reported to have Urdu as mother tongue. For this study, Urdu is an outlier in the statistical analysis. However, the study could not ignore the Djiboutians who choose French as mother tongue.

Do 5.1 % of Djiboutians have French as a mother tongue?

It could be that respondents misunderstood the definition of mother tongue. The notion in this context was difficult to understand, as the researcher assumed that mother tongue in Africa and particularly in Djibouti is the tribal identity that people claim to be from (2.2.1). Some people define mother tongue as the first language taught and got in the presence of mothers during childhood. However, there is no French community of that dimension in Djibouti, but only military personnel living in military bases and a few diplomats.

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<sup>107</sup> See participants Saleh interview.



This anomaly comes from the fact that some parents speak only French to their children<sup>108</sup>. These parents, from the upper class, display their highest social status in society by speaking exclusively French at home. This small fraction of society, according to their status or wealth, speaks French to their children despite it being different from their mother tongue. The children may believe having French as their heritage language. Their parents are seeing themselves as part of the French culture and they use it because they believe it is a prestigious language.

For English, it is different as there is a small English-speaking community of investors, teachers, military personal originated from Kenya, India, Pakistan, Philippines and the United States. The first members of this community settled after the opening in 2002 of Camp Lemonnier, the only American Naval base in Africa (chapter 1). Styan (2013) says that;

The United States' CJTF-HOA [Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa] has been based in Djibouti since 2002. Originally conceived as part of the response to the 9/11 attacks, it became the US military's only permanent military facility on the African continent with the creation of AFRICOM in 2008 (2013, p 9).

Camp Lemonnier hosts 4000 military personnel and employs 500 civilians of different nationalities, half of them are Djibouti nationals. The presence of Americans gave an assurance of stability to the country and attracted expatriates from other English-speaking countries and companies to invest in Djibouti. Ethiopian and Somali immigrants speak basic English and have better prospects of working for foreign companies. Nowadays, increased companies are using English as a working language and it is transforming the language situations.

The results show that most participants are young and that females are more likely unemployed, staying at home, studying more, living longer, business minded and discriminated. The workforce is more likely government male dominated employees and the society is more likely patriarchal, where women are expected to care for the family and keep the role of mothers. National languages are mother tongue, with Somali as the main one.

#### 4.1.2.2 *From Question 2*

Question 2 is on the medium language of education in schools.

20 years ago, there was no nursery school teaching Arabic and primary schools were enrolling all 6 years old into French teaching public schools. Private religious initiatives are behind the opening and management of these nursery schools.

Despite Arabic-medium schools catering for 6.2 % of all nursery pupils, 15.3 % of the respondents reported that their language of education was Arabic at that stage. This means that most

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<sup>108</sup> See participant Ahmed interview.

respondents may have reported informal exposure to Arabic outside mainstream schools. They may have counted in Arabic informal teaching at home or in mosques.

Respondents wrote down the language schools taught them and their levels to show whether they are French-speaking or Arabic-speaking (Francophone or Arabophone). It is more of a sense of belonging than anything else.

There is a widespread belief in Djibouti that French-educated people have a better education than those of Arabic medium, despite pupils not having the choice of a free language medium schooling in the public. French is an official and educational language that people mostly use in formal and rarely in informal settings and interest for Arabic is primarily religious.

Islamic religion followers often strongly express their religious beliefs as an identity. Religion is what motivates Djiboutians to learn Arabic.

All respondents of the survey were Muslims and, in the interviews, only one interviewee reported being Christian (Daoud). For parents, it is a religious duty to teach their children the language of Islam; Arabic. The mentality and cultural traditions have an impact on language usage, particularly when the communication is between nationals or natives.

The results display that Arabic has made considerable progress worth recognising despite this situation where French is the public school medium of instruction. French is facing problems affirming its domination at the three educational school levels against Arabic despite being preferred by the administration. Respondents educated in French medium are twice as many as those schooled in Arabic. French dominates as the language mediating education in schools.

#### 4.1.2.3 *From Question 3*

Question 3 is on the respondents speaking level of fluency.

There are only a few respondents who reported to speak “Fluently” Afar, and fewer speaking it only “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation”. Most respondents reported speaking “Few words” or “Not at all”, which means that few Djiboutians speak Afar. The reason that Afar is not popular despite being a native language is that communities do not mix, and they live in tribal territories; the Afars in the north and the Somalis in the south including Djibouti city, where three-quarter of the population reside. Even the capital city has exclusive tribal areas such as Arhiba and Wahledaba where Afars live and Quartiers 6 and 7 where Somalis live.

Arabs dominantly live in Quartiers 1, 2 and Ambouli. Despite the high number of Djiboutians speaking Arabic, Arabs community represent a small proportion of the population.

The case of the two Europeans languages may be better; English as a third educational language in secondary schools and French as an official one.

A fifth of respondents do not speak French and another fifth speak either “Few words” or “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation”.

The deficient performance of Amharic and Oromo means that an insignificant number of respondents speak Ethiopian languages. Djiboutians do not speak regional languages, oddly they are fluent in other ones that came from faraway lands. The prospect of Djiboutian learning Amharic and Oromo are non-existent in present days as there is not an important trend to attract or motivate them into learning these languages.

The results are that the percentage of respondents reported speaking Afar and Somali, the two native languages, match approximatively the size of the two communities. Arabic has an advantage over Afar as an official, religious and educational language, which is why it is always in the second position after Somali. French is the language that respondents master the most after their mother tongue. One reason is that for more than a century and a half, Djiboutians officially learned and spoke French. For English, the results display a big leap in the scale of progression for a language that people started learning recently.

#### 4.1.2.4 *From Question 4*

Question 4 is on the respondents understanding level of fluency.

Again, similarly to the question of speaking, this one proves as well that most people understand Somali and few people Afar. It is more accentuated than the question about speaking. The results are that few respondents understand Afar “Perfectly”, and fewer “Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation”.

Another big step for English as the results attests a net progression of this language, that Djiboutians did not speak a couple of decades ago.

The proportion of respondents on both questions on speaking and understanding are similar. There is a continuity in these answers which is substantial for the study.

#### 4.1.2.5 *From Question 5*

Question 5 is on languages learned at home, in school and at university.

Languages learned at home;

Most respondents learned at home the three main national languages; Afar, Arabic and Somali, which are ahead of all others.

Amharic got an important number of respondents who reported to have learned at home. It is partially learned for limited conversations with servants but not mastered as a mother tongue. Ethiopian

domestics speak Amharic and Oromo, they speak both languages inside most respondents' homes and the little knowledge that Djiboutians claim to know is from what they have learned at home. Ethiopian nannies may have taught Amharic or Oromo to some respondents as children while under their care. Respondents also, as adults, may have learned few words or the basics of Amharic or Oromo to communicate with domestic workers.

#### Languages learned in Schools;

Normally, for language learned in schools, respondents reported the education level at which they first learned the language. Most pupils introduced to French in primary have already studied some basic Arabic at informal Madrasas from an early age.

Respondents who reported to have learned English (.2 %) in primary may have done it in private school and those who reported French (10.5 %) in secondary are Arabic educated primary pupils who attended public secondary schools.

Respondents who reported to have learned Arabic and French in secondary school had Arabic or French medium language in the primary.

Pupils start English in secondary, but only 4 % of respondents reported to have learned it at that level. It is difficult to keep track of medium languages taught to Djiboutians who went through these educational systems as they can switch from one language of instruction to another. Some of them did not report that French was their primary medium because they have switched to secondary Arabic medium schools. They do not want people to know that they failed the public secondary school exams.

Some respondents reported to have learned Amharic in schools. As there are no Amharic medium language schools in Djibouti, these respondents went to schools in Ethiopia. They might not have reported it in the earlier questions or did not realise they had to answer if they have been to Arabic or French medium schools. Alternatively, they may have attended schools in French or Arabic and Amharic or Oromo languages, and found it easier to report it in this question as they had the opportunity to do so.

There are families with one parent, or both having immigrated from Ethiopia. They may be of Amharic or Oromo ethnicity's and have integrated perfectly into Afar or Somali communities. Some families cross the borders to live for a limited period in Djibouti or Ethiopia. The consequences of these migratory movements may have one day an impact on regional and national languages.

#### Languages learned at University;

Before the opening of a university, most students were studying in French universities with France and Djibouti financial aid (see Chapter 1). The University of Djibouti opened officially in October 2007 on the premises of "le Pole Universitaire de Djibouti", a grouping of several French

universities that delivered a two-year higher diploma (BTS<sup>109</sup>) and an associate degree (DEUG<sup>110</sup>) taught in a mixture of class and distance learning courses since 2000. The University delivered its first bachelor's degree (Licence) in June 2011 and started teaching First year Grad School (Master 1<sup>111</sup>) courses in 2014. The university does not have PhD programmes and Djiboutians have scholarships distributed for those who are doing postgraduate research degrees abroad.

However, some of the respondents who reported to have learned English at the university level may have studied it as an option alongside other languages. The University of Djibouti used to teach English as a second language or as an option, but since 2012 several programmes in sciences and engineering are entirely in that language.

At university, immigrants and Arabic medium educated students from private schools learn French as a new language. There are, as well, students who study abroad at university level exclusively in Arabic, English and other foreign medium languages and their numbers are going up with time.

According to Mohamed (see interview), 35 % of students who are abroad study in Arabic and 15 % in English medium language. It means that 50 % of students studied in French-taught universities. The linguistic background is not the same as half of the students graduate from Arabic and English medium universities. Moreover, the University of Djibouti has Arabic and English medium degree programmes. Djiboutians are not only graduating from French universities like it used to be but are now also graduating from Arabic and English ones. The new elite do not speak only the former colonial language but Arabic as well as English. This indicates that French is gradually losing its domain in higher education.

The results are that participant learned at home mother tongue, at school French and at university French and English and Arabic particularly abroad in Arabs countries.

#### 4.1.2.6 *From Question 6*

Question 6 is about the desired language to learn and the reason for learning it.

The twelve potential reasons proposed for learning a new language may reveal respondents' desires (Table 25). The research made the assumptions that respondents would show their willingness to learn other community languages for reaching out to them. Afar attracted some respondents and it is interesting as most people from other communities do not speak that language except the Oromos. It shows that respondents who do not speak Afar are conscious of the need to learn it.

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<sup>109</sup> Brevets de Techniciens Supérieurs (BTS)

<sup>110</sup> Diplôme d'études universitaires générales (DEUG)

<sup>111</sup> Masters 1 is a year postgraduate degree like the French one.

It is particularly important to see that respondents consider English, more than French, as a dominant language of international recognition. It may well mean that respondents would like to learn English to further their access to another prestigious language as most of them, already, speak French.

The results confirm the educational roles of French and English.

4.1.2.7 *From Question 7*

Question 7 is regarding languages that respondents use at home to speak with mothers, fathers, brothers/sisters, children, husband/wife and servants.

Languages spoken at home with mothers.

The results show that most respondents converse with their mother at home in their mother tongue and mostly in national languages, Afar, Arabic and Somali.

A small number of respondents speak Oromo and Amharic and use these languages to communicate with their mothers. These respondents may have mothers, of Oromo and Amharic origins, who settled in Djibouti but have kept using their languages within the family. If that is the case, then these mothers are not visible statistically in any other way because they have integrated their husband's communities and use their languages.

The proportion of respondents who reported speaking to members of their families are small. The reason is that speaking to members of the family such as brothers, sisters, children and husband or wife is subject to the possibility that they live and are accessible.

Languages spoken at home with fathers;

The reason that respondents use mostly French to communicate with fathers is that Djiboutians language of education was exclusively French in the first fifteen years of independence. Moreover, another reason is that parents value French and prepare their offspring's professional access into public sectors through its mastery. These parents see French as an international and official language and besides, they know that it is the working administrative language. The administration rarely recruits civil servants but if they hire, it is only for French-educated applicants.

Opposite to the administration, most private sectors hire new workforce and look for English-speaking candidates.

Arabic speaking people work in the administration as well and Arab companies look for them as well as investors and Embassies. However, Arabic is a way of strengthening children religious beliefs for helping them to become better Muslims. Arabic use was confined to mosques and Africans equated Arab governments' presence in Africa to a new form of colonialism. Normally French also has access to mosques, compared to when it was a blasphemy to use it in these places of worships. Today Arabic is statistically just behind French in most situations, except when used as a mother tongue or religiously,

where it excels. It is a new phenomenon as twenty years ago such competition with French was nowhere visible except in mosques.

The reason that Arabic is so popular comes as well from the negative way the news portrays Islam. This has attracted not only more Muslims to study Islam's scriptures but also more non-Muslims and to access them they need to learn Arabic. Three-quarter of respondents did not report speaking to or not access to or not have a father. Respondents most of the time did not answer questions that did not apply to them.

Languages spoken at home with brothers/sisters.

Few respondents favour national languages when communicating with brothers and sisters at home. After French, English is the language to use with young and old people alike. Young people prefer chatting in French and English. Over half of respondents did not have this opportunity as they may not have access to them temporarily or not at all.

Languages spoken at home with children.

Parents and children conversations are in Arabic and English. Parents who favour Arabic, and English reported that they speak French as well to their children. English has more influence than Afar, a national language that parents and children communicate in it.

Educated old generation's parents who were born before Independence speak mostly French. Young parents, educated in more languages, mostly speak Arabic and English with their children rather than French, as they may prepare them for fluency. Some young parents, because they have studied in English-speaking countries, are also influencing friends, colleagues and neighbours. The new generation may see English as the language of the future.

Languages spoken at home with husband or wife.

Husband and wife use less national languages when communicating. It may be because most of them are young couples and prefer using Arabic, English or French. Or they may use these languages because they have a different mother tongue because of inter-ethnic marriages.

This tendency may show a recent shift from French to Arabic in Djibouti that Maurer (1992) did not see. Communications in Arabic highly occur between not only brothers and sisters but also between husbands and wives. The religious belief that family is the base of Islam influences husband and wife to speak Arabic. They must implement into their family life Islamic rituals that require the reading and understanding of Arabic.

Languages spoken at home with servants.

Djiboutians who employ domestics speaking Amharic and Oromo learn some basic commands in these languages. Without being fluent in these Ethiopian languages, they use them to communicate

with their domestics. Few respondents reported speaking some basic Amharic and Oromo words that they learnt at home.

In conclusion, the results highlight a clear tendency towards the use of national languages when speaking with mothers. However, respondents prefer using French to speak to brothers and sisters, children as well as fathers. The fathers, particularly, as they are from the older generation while for others it is Arabic.

The explanation could be that people learn French by necessity as the government imposes it as the language of education. Respondents do not speak French in their everyday communications but instead use most of the time national languages. They speak habitually their vernaculars rather than French except in professional settings like workplaces or during language practices time or using it as a mother tongue.

In younger generations, spouses and siblings practise English trendily between them. Young parents use English to speak to their children as well. English as an international language is pushing French out of home languages' domain.

The young generations are learning not only French like the older ones but also Arabic as well as English (Table 12). Employment access is influencing the learning of English on top of the compulsory French that public education imposes on pupils. People are doing everything possible to learn English and several reasons are behind their motivations. Getting a job is certainly the most encouraging reason but there are others like browsing the Internet, listening to English music and watching American films.

#### 4.1.2.8 *From Question 8*

Question 8 concerns the languages used for family friends, neighbours, classroom peers, shopkeepers, workplace colleagues, religious people, international business, studying university, travels abroad and administration agents.

Languages used with family and friends.

In the inner circle of family and friends, most of the respondents reported using Somali and Afar (Table 33).

Arabic, which is an official, as well as a national language, is the fourth most often used language between family and friends after Somali, Afar and French. Arabic became official for political reasons because it is the language of the Arab League, of which Djibouti is a full member. Arabic is a national language too since there is a local community that originally emigrated, a century ago, from Yemen.



In a domain particularly casual that uses informal communications, French is unable to compete with national languages and is in the third position. Although French is foreign, it is an official language and specifically an educational one widely used for these reasons in several domains.

Friends and family conversations belong to the domain of personal feelings and expressions where people normally prefer to maintain the conversations in their language(s), but Djiboutians sometimes have recourse to French because of their fluency, which gives them the possibility to use it in a diglossic situation. Mother tongues convey a certain intimacy and a sense of belonging to a community. People prefer to converse in a language that is proper to their familial and cultural reality. They see friends and family as a domain that national languages always dominate and most of them are aware of the emotional implications involved when using them intimately. They speak French rarely in this informal situation, but increasingly they use national languages.

#### Language used with neighbours.

French is useful and still more popular than Arabic when using with neighbours who do not speak Somali or Afar. Normally, Djiboutians communicate in Somali with their neighbours except in the North; in Obock and Tadjourah, the ethnic territory of Afars. Between educated neighbours, French is mostly used in formal situations and especially when Afar or Somali languages are not mastered. If someone starts speaking French in the neighbourhood, they have logically Afar or Arabic mother tongue and cannot speak Somali.

In the South, Somalis ethnic area, most people speak Somali. When communicating with neighbours, they always start speaking in Somali (See Djibouti map: page 5). Even when others speak a national language in their neighbourhood, Somalis always respond in their language as it is perfectly normal for them that everyone speaks it or should. The same reactions happen in Afars' Area. This way of communicating with neighbours is more traditional and does not influence other situations of communication.

#### Language used with peers in the classroom.

The low percentage in the use of Arabic with classroom peers is the reflection of the small number of students attending private Arabic schools. Students attending public French schools see Arabic as an extension of religion which is usually practised in mosques and Islamic schools. The teaching and pedagogical structure of Arabic classes are not as good as the French ones. Another possibility is that pupils do not speak widely Arabic within the communities and by extension, do not use it widely with peers in the classroom.

Even though schools are French's main domain of domination, classroom mates also use national languages. This phenomenon has recently appeared and is becoming more visible or audible in schools, as the ban of speaking national languages in schools enforced during the colonial era does not work anymore. Currently, there are neither linguistic regulations in schools nor any concerns about the

use of local languages in the classroom. However, teachers and parents encourage pupils to speak French to further their mastery of the language.

Language used for studying at the university.

Some respondents reported using Arabic and English languages either as a language of communication or as a medium of instruction for Business, Economics, Engineering, and Sciences majors at the university. Few respondents reported using national and regional languages. They may have studied these languages in neighbouring countries. There is also the possibility that some respondents may have mixed the language of lectures with the one used to communicate with peers although this question was about using the languages as a medium of study.

Language used with shopkeepers.

People speak Somali when communicating with shopkeepers as most of the customers who interact with them are servants and children. As Somalis are numerically superior, then they use their language in more areas. They are regular customers who live in the area and use the language spoken there.

The interactions in French with shopkeepers never happen and if someone needs to communicate in with them it is only possible through interpreters. It is interesting to note that these numbers do not precisely reflect the proportion of the ethnic population. Everywhere in Djibouti city, shopkeepers speak Somali to interact with their customers who in majority communicate in that language.

People use Somali when speaking to shopkeepers who are not always from that ethnic group. It is for that reason that Somali is so popular and the first language to speak when working as a shopkeeper. Respondents, from areas where people use mostly Afar like Arhiba and Wahledaba reported using this language.

However, there is an exception in the North of the country, an Afar ethnic territory, where people always speak Afar. It is interesting to see if the situation is similar when speaking to colleagues in the workplace.

Language used with colleagues in the workplace.

There are two main reasons why people speak Somali within the workplace. The first reason is that there is no pressure from the state forcing them to speak French, contrary to the colonial era.

The second reason is that low-skilled workers within the informal sector of the economy, such as labourers, servants and taxi drivers speak Somali at the workplace. Since then, people speaking Somali influenced employees, and it seems to them normal to speak Somali at the workplace. People always see the usage of speaking Afar or Somali according to the ethnically inhabited territories; the North or the South of the country.

Colleagues, working for the government or in the administration, speak mostly French between themselves to accommodate those who do not speak Somali. However, as foreigners and immigrants are not numerically important, Afars and Arabs are the main beneficiaries. This is because Somali is the dominant language outside workplaces and people who speak this language respect and keep an administrative colonial rule that prevented them from using their language in these places. They stand for that old rule for fairness to their co-workers who are not Somalis. In all other workplaces, people are free from such practice and speak mostly in Somali whenever engaged in communication. That is the reason French dominates public workplaces. It may be as well that Somali speakers use this language to protect other people's feelings. While this status quo exists, people will accept Somalis and their language. Administration agents use, too, the same implicit rule in the workplace, but they do not extend it to customers.

#### Administration agents;

Administration agents speak French, first, when serving people, as it is the official language that most of them speak fluently although Arabic has also the same status. Francophone countries, which Djibouti claims to be part of, must use French in educational and administrative settings. Djibouti follows this practice particularly because of the French colonial legacy.

#### Religious people;

Religious people must speak Arabic in an Arab country, and Djibouti, which is a member of the Arab League, follows this commitment. Respondents are overwhelmingly practising Muslims and some of them use national languages to communicate with religious people.

So national languages are still relevant when dealing with religious matters. Religious people are from different communities and some of them speak their languages to keep privileged relationships with their constituents. These languages have a future in Islam as all Djiboutians do not speak Arabic.

French is timidly getting a place in religious gatherings with Cheick Ahmed<sup>112</sup> who was invited to take part at the interviews because he uses French in his Fridays' khutbah<sup>113</sup> at its mosque. In the interviews, some participants mentioned going to that Mosque on Fridays. The question that encouraged to report about the usage of French in a mosque is: Do you understand the Arabic Fridays' Sermon? Most of the participants reported not understanding the Arabic used in Fridays' Sermon.

Ahmed is a French educated Cheick who has taught himself advance Arabic and Islamic studies with the help of friends.

#### International business;

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<sup>112</sup> Iman of a mosque.

<sup>113</sup> A sermon, an address or public prayer (on Friday) read from the steps of the pulpit in mosques, offering glory and praise to Allah (God).

English use is newly developed and is having more importance in that domain as Djibouti plays the role of an economic hub that links Asia, Arabia peninsula and Africa. The increasing number of transactions going through the airport and ports of Djibouti confirm the commercial role that the country took up recently. The government is working towards more international visibility using its motto “Djibouti: Terre de rencontre et d’échange” translated for English investors as “Djibouti: land of encounters and exchanges”. Truly a land of encounter as there are twelve military forces, from Asia, Europe and America, based on its territory.

Businesspeople use French as an international business language dealing with Belgium, France, Luxembourg and West Africa countries. As odd at it seems, Somali is for doing business in the Horn of Africa. However, it is known that Arab businesspeople prefer English when dealing internationally, which is a missed opportunity for them to enforce the use of their language.

Language used for travelling abroad.

Somali is extremely useful for Djiboutians when travelling in the Horn of Africa as people from the Somali ethnic regions of Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia speak it fluently. Djiboutians visit these countries for business, tourism and go to see Somali community family members living there.

People of Eritrea and North of Ethiopia speak Afar not Somali and there are no travelling opportunities to go in these areas unless visiting relatives.

Everywhere else abroad, Djiboutians must speak English<sup>114</sup>, those who are not able, use instead French. Except with Francophone countries, Djiboutians use English when doing business with foreigners. Doing business in Djibouti requires speaking English, the language of business.

The classification of language domains’ usage as results.

The results are interesting when classifying languages according to their domain of usage. French dominates languages usage in the wider social environment. French is in more domains than any other language. French is mostly used as the first language in four domains such as classroom peers (28.8 %), studying at university (29.3 %), colleagues in the workplace (28.8 %), administration agents (40.5 %).

French is the second language in two domains, international business (12.1 %) and to travels abroad (17.7 %) and third to speak to neighbours (6.3 %).

Somali is mostly used as the first language in three domains; speaking to family and friends (42.8 %), neighbours (57.2 %) and shopkeepers (58.4 %). Somali is used as a second language in four domains; communicating with classroom peers (15.3 %), colleagues in the workplace (17.7 %), administration agents (10.2 %) and religious people (25.1 %). Somali is also used as the third language for International business (11.6 %).

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<sup>114</sup> See the frustration of participant Ifrah in the interviews.

English is mostly the first language in two domains: International business (25.1 %) and to travels abroad (23.3 %). English is the second language to studying at university (16.7 %) and third to speak to administration agents (8.1 %)

Arabic is only first language when speaking to religious people (41.6 %) but the third one, when speaking to shopkeepers (7.4 %) and studying at university (10.2 %).

Afar is the second language in three domains such as speaking to family and friends (16 %), neighbours (15.1 %) and shopkeepers (10.2 %). Afar is the third language for classroom peers (10.5 %), for colleagues in the workplace (7.7 %) and for religious people (7.7 %).

In conclusion, French dominates as the first language in four domains, Somali is just behind with three domains as the first language and four domains as the second one. English is in the third position leaving behind Arabic, an official language and Afar, the second important national language. Contrary to other languages, Amharic and Oromo have limited usage and not domains of use.

#### 4.1.2.9 From Question 9

Question 9 is about languages that should be taught in primary, secondary and university according to respondents' opinions and reasons.

According respondents' opinions;

Respondents think that national and regional languages should be taught specifically in primary schools. It is not a surprise as parents were demanding for the last seventeen years the teaching of national languages in primary schools. The surprise may come from the choice of teaching regional languages. That could mean two things, either that Djibouti society thinks that it is fair to teach all spoken languages or that Ethiopian languages are useful for the country.

French is an important language that respondents wish to keep in secondary schools and higher education.

About respondents' choices;

The choices of French and English concern specifically prestigious and international matters. Respondents may think that English is for business, studies, communication, Internet, films and music, and because of these usages, it is not prestigious. Its reputation costs English dearly as prestigious is not what respondents see in it.

What confirms this explanation about prestige is the anomaly respondents showed because respondents reported English as international language and French not.

The results show that French, Arabic and English kept their place in secondary schools and University. Respondents' opinions are that the French must share the task of educating university students with English. They are convinced that these languages can help them get a job, with French still important. No other language competed with French and English in that area. They also think that French should leave primary and secondary for national and regional languages. It is the first significance in favour of regional languages.

*4.1.2.10 From Question 10*

Question 10 is on language that respondents need to speak and reasons.

English and French are for Learning a trade and more needed more than Somali and Arabic.

English, French and Arabic are for finding a job in Djibouti.

English, Somali and French are for doing business, more than Arabic, it is about location.

English and Arabic are for success in life, more than French, for both words, one for spirituality and the other for career.

English and Amharic are to have relationships with neighbouring countries, more than French, it is about the growing importance of Ethiopia in Djiboutians life.

English and Arabic are for international relationships, more than French, which says a lot about with whom Djibouti diplomacy is in relations.

French and English are for higher Education, more than Arabic, which indicates a competition between the two European languages.

Afar and Somali are for communication with fellow Djiboutians, more than French. This shows that French is not used casually between Djiboutians

Arabic, Somali and Afar are for religion.

*4.1.2.11 From Question 11*

Question 11 is about classifying languages according to their importance in respondents' life

French, Arabic and English are all "of major importance" in the life of respondents. Educational languages in Djibouti are "of major importance" for respondents as they use them to access knowledge and jobs. The percentage of respondents are close in these three languages of education. French, Arabic and English are in this order "of major importance" for respondents who speak these languages.

4.1.2.12 *From Question 12*

Question 12 is about classifying languages according to the frequency with which respondents use them

Somali is the first language that respondents recognised as of “major frequency of use”, it is even leading English, French and Arabic simply because it is the language of 60 % of the population and mostly used in everyday communications.

English usage is in second position of “major frequency of use”.

Surprisingly, French is in third followed by Arabic, left behind in fourth position.

Amharic and Oromo have “no frequency of use”, which is understandable as Djiboutians do not use them. There is not a significant impact from Oromo and Amharic people as few respondents selected them.

compared to other languages such as English, which is progressing in its domains, French importance in respondents’ life is decreasing. French is still the first language used in higher education (26 %) but has not any more the monopoly as English (23.9 %) is just behind. French is still of major importance in respondents’ life (71.5 %). However, French is not any more a language of major frequency of use as it is in third position after Somali and English. English is of major frequency used than French. English (27.1 %) is the best language for finding jobs.

Djibouti is no different from African countries that have European languages as the language of education; for all matters concerning the politics of the country, they mostly use national languages. During political events or electoral campaigns Djiboutians use national languages. In the interviews participant Abdirachid confirmed this tendency for politicians and officials to speak national languages.

The results display that Somali, a national language, dominate several domains and is the second language in others, just after Arabic, English and French.

National languages dominate a domain normally in the sphere of official languages. This domain which is exclusively used in national languages is the political communications between the authorities and the population. This confirms that the function of French in politics and government business has shrunk.

To check if these results are reinforced with the interviews findings, the study is focusing on analysing the qualitative data in next section.

### 4.1.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative data of the interviews are used to answer the research questions. The qualitative data analysis is organised in themes and categories using NVivo 12, another software.

The researcher described the process and the method he used in the coding and the analysis of the data in the previous chapter (3.2.2.6). The 6 steps he uses for the analysis are: importing the transcripts, coding the themes, analysing the data, organising the nodes and cases, visualising findings and exporting them.

A case classification is created to hold the 16 participants demographic information (Appendix H). The case includes the names, attributes and values of the respondents and is linked to the responses of the interviews.

The four research questions are answered, from this point onwards, starting from the one about the way of helping the government of Djibouti setting up a multilingual language policy by supply knowledge and know-how (4.1.3.1).

Then, the second one on how the different languages are related to each other in education and official domains (4.1.3.2).

The next section considers whether national and regional languages are disadvantaged and inadequate when learning new knowledge or interacting in the workplace(4.1.3.3).

The last one explores whether French is still for Djiboutians a prestigious international language that gives access to education and jobs (4.1.3.4).

#### 4.1.3.1 *Research Question 1*

The researcher uploads the interview transcripts to NVivo and codes them to answer the research questions. He runs the codes to generates themes from the data to use them for the analysis. The technique for every research question, he uses to generates the themes is presented in each section. The technique displays the procedure he carries out to write the phrases used to code the nodes. He uses this technique, called “focus prompt”, to generate the themes as described in section (3.2.2.7), which consists of extracting thematic phrases from research questions.

In the research question: What is the knowledge required for the government of Djibouti to develop a national language policy?

The focus prompt is; the study helps the government of Djibouti to set up a multilingual language policy by providing knowledge. There are no regulations and languages policy in Djibouti. There is a law on languages. The nodes hold significant information gathered for the analysis to answer this first research question.



Participants answers to the question on regulations and languages policy in Djibouti were various, Ifrah, a Careers Adviser at the Ministry of National Education, said that there is not a policy of imposing a language;

« [...] si ce n'est pas l'heure du cours lors de la transmission du savoir qui oblige à s'adresser aux élèves dans la langue enseignée, le français n'est pas obligatoire. Il n'y a pas une politique d'imposition d'une langue. »<sup>115</sup>

Djama said that there are no rules;

« Je crois qu'à l'université de Djibouti, normalement ce n'est pas dans le cadre de ma responsabilité, mais je crois qu'il y a une liberté. C'est ça qui garantit le fait que tel ou tel parle une langue ou une autre par rapport soit à sa langue maternelle soit par rapport à une langue d'acquisition. [...] »<sup>116</sup>

Regarding the same question, Mohamed said;

« D'abord, il y a deux langues qui sont officielles à Djibouti c'est le français et l'arabe. En principe dans les bureaux, les gens doivent parler quand même le français et l'arabe. Pour le reste c'est juste pour se comprendre, mais les langues réglementées qu'on doit utiliser c'est le français et dans une moindre importance l'arabe dans mon service. »<sup>117</sup>

#### 4.1.3.2 *Research Question 2*

In the second research question: What functions do the seven languages spoken in Djibouti perform? The focus prompt is; the functions performed by languages spoken in different domains. The functions are investigated in the four domains of family and friends, religion, education and employment.

The set of thematical nodes to create for the French language are: French is the language used for Family and Friends, French is the language used for Religion, French is the language used for Education, French is the language used for Employment. The operation is repeated as a set of thematical nodes are created for Afar, Amharic, Arabic, English, Oromo and Somali. These phrases, elaborated from the prompt, are the themes labelled on the nodes. The nodes hold significant information gathered for the analysis to answer this research question. Only nodes that hold information are used for the analysis others are disregarded.

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<sup>115</sup> "... if it is not the teaching period, during the transmission of knowledge that requires addressing to pupils in the language taught, French is not mandatory. There is no policy of imposing a language."

<sup>116</sup> "I believe that at the University of Djibouti, normally it is not within the framework of my responsibility, but I believe that there is freedom. This is what guarantees the fact that such or such speaks a language or another in relation either to his mother tongue or in relation to a language of acquisition."

<sup>117</sup> "First, there are two languages that are official in Djibouti: French and Arabic. In principle in offices, people still have to speak French and Arabic. For the rest it is just to understand each other, but the regulated languages that we must use are French and, to a lesser extent, Arabic in my service."

Asked about languages spoken with friends and family, Isse, Director of Human Resources in a large state company, said;

« A la maison, on parle la langue maternelle le somali mais en même temps la langue française, on en parle mais peu mais surtout quand on étudie on parle en français. »<sup>118</sup>...

« On parle en français quand on est avec les enfants et surtout quand on les aide à étudier leurs devoirs en langue française. »<sup>119</sup>...

« Avec mon épouse on parle le somali mais on utilise des fois quelques mots français Plus ou moins, on mélange un peu. On parle majoritairement somali mais on mélange avec le français. »<sup>120</sup>

Isse answers illustrate the way languages are spoken at home with friends and family. Most of the Djiboutians speak at home French and a national language according to their ethnicity. Afars at home speak Afar. Saleh, an Administrative Director at the Ministry of Education, said; « Nous parlons surtout l'afar, et puis le français parce que les enfants sont scolarisés et donc ça fait partie aussi des langues parlées. »<sup>121</sup>

Chehem, an inspector of education, said; « Moi je parle le français, l'afar d'abord, ma langue maternelle. »<sup>122</sup>

Similarly, participants of Arab background speak Arabic and French. Roua, a Deputy Headteacher in a secondary school, said; « Oui, je ne parle que l'arabe. Des fois il y a entre guillemets « les français » qui travaillent à l'école et tout ça mais je parle essentiellement la langue arabe. »<sup>123</sup>

Moreover, mixed ethnic families speak French and two national languages.

Djama, a Director of Studies at the University of Djibouti, whose spouse is of Arab origin, said; « À la maison, on parle le français, on parle l'arabe et on parle le somali aussi. »<sup>124</sup>

Yacoub, a Technical Adviser to a Minister, married to a lady of Arab origin, said; « A la maison, on parle français, on parle arabe, on parle somali. Avec ma femme et avec mes enfants. »<sup>125</sup>

Some of the respondents reported to speak French mostly with friend and family. They even said that their children mainly speak French at home and only adult use national languages.

Abdallah, Head of Department at a Foreign Military Base, who is married to a lady of Somali origin, said;

<sup>118</sup> "At home, we speak Somali mother tongue but at the same time the French language, we speak it a little but especially when we study we speak in French." ...

<sup>119</sup> "We speak French when we are with the children and especially when we help them study their homework in French."

<sup>120</sup> "With my wife we speak Somali but sometimes we use a few French words More or less, we mix a little. We mainly speak Somali but we mix with French."

<sup>121</sup> "We mostly speak Afar, and then French because the children are schooled and therefore it is also part of the languages spoken."

<sup>122</sup> "I speak French, first Afar, my mother tongue."

<sup>123</sup> "Yes, I only speak Arabic. Sometimes there are in quotes "the French" who work in the school and all that but I mainly speak the Arabic language."

<sup>124</sup> "At home, we speak French, we speak Arabic and we speak Somali too."

<sup>125</sup> "At home, we speak French, we speak Arabic, we speak Somali. With my wife and with my children."

« A la maison, je communique avec mes enfants, ma femme en français sachant que je ne suis pas français de souche. Je suis disons entre guillemets « arabe de souche ». Je parle le français avec mes enfants et ma femme à la maison, et je parle également l'arabe avec ma famille, c'est-à-dire avec ma mère, mes frères, etc. »<sup>126</sup>

Ahmed, an Imam of a mosque, said that at home they have a rule;

« Il y a deux langues qui sont parlées en règle générale, il y a le français et le somali. Voilà. Les enfants parlent le français et le somali ce sont les grandes personnes. Quoique les enfants parlent aussi le somali mais en règle générale, ils parlent le français. »<sup>127</sup>

Some participants gave precise information on the proportion of languages use at home, like Ifrah who said that;

« Nous parlons le somali dans le cas de 80 % et le français parfois lorsque je discute avec mes enfants ou que je leur explique des choses dans le cadre de leurs études ou dans le cadre de leurs recherches. »<sup>128</sup>

Exceptional languages use is found in Nasser, a Program specialist who works with a foreign Governmental Organisation, who speak English with his family members. Nasser studied and obtained a master's from London University in UK. He said that;

“At home, I speak three languages. My children speak Somali, French and English. And my spouse also mainly [speak] French and English. With my children I speak English, in addition to French and Somali.”

Most participants use French because it is the language of education in Djibouti. French is the main language in schools and for that reason teachers use it exclusively to speak to pupils while teaching but outside the class nothing forces them to use French. Chehem recognised the problem and said; « [...] il n'y a pas de règlement mais c'est-à-dire, c'est une pratique que dans l'enceinte de l'école même les élèves doivent parler entre eux en français. »<sup>129</sup>

He said that speaking French is important in schools even if there is no obligation to do so in the playground;

« Donc c'est ça, c'est à dire le français doit être parlé au sein de l'école que ce soit par les professeurs, par nous-même, les encadrements (les gens qui encadrent les enseignants), même par les élèves, c'est le français qui doit être parlé. Après, dans le privé, là les gens parlent leur langue. »<sup>130</sup>

<sup>126</sup> “At home, I communicate with my children, my wife in French knowing that I am not of French origin. I am say in quotes “of Arab origin”. I speak French with my children and my wife at home, and I also speak Arabic with my family, that is to say with my mother, my brothers, etc.”

<sup>127</sup> “There are two languages that are spoken as a rule, there are French and Somali. Voila. The children speak French and Somali for grown-ups.

Although the children also speak Somali but as a rule, they speak French.”

<sup>128</sup> “We speak Somali in the case of 80 % and French sometimes when I chat with my children or explain things to them as part of their studies or as part of their research.”

<sup>129</sup> “There is no regulation but that is to say, it is a practice that within the school grounds even the students must speak to each other in French.”

<sup>130</sup> “So that's it, that is to say French must be spoken within the school whether by the teachers, by ourselves, the supervisors (the people who supervise the teachers), even by the students, it is French which must be spoken. Then, privately, there people speak their language.”

Chehem gave the reason, which is to help pupils practise French, and said that; « Parce que c'est une langue qu'ils sont là pour apprendre. S'ils ne la parlent pas, ils ne vont pas la maîtriser. »<sup>131</sup> They also use it with colleagues but in lesser proportion as mostly communicate national languages. Asked about the languages other than French that Roua uses with colleagues, parents and pupils. She said; « Avec mes collègues et les élèves je ne parle que le français. Quelques fois... Il y a toujours des langues qui s'introduisent... Quand on a une discussion normale. »<sup>132</sup> « [...] mais avec les parents, c'est surtout la langue somalie qui est plus utilisée ici. »

About the existence of rules or laws to force pupils to speak French, she said; « Avec les étudiants oui, on évite de parler autre langue que le français. »<sup>133</sup> Asked if such laws existed in the country, she said;

« Je ne sais pas. Mais avant, en tant qu'enseignante je n'ai pas remarqué s'il y avait cette politique là mais en tant qu'administrative cette année j'ai compris qu'il ne faut parler qu'en français avec les enfants. »<sup>134</sup>

She continued saying; « En fait c'est pour aussi améliorer la langue parce que si on introduit d'autres langues avec les élèves ça casse un peu le rythme d'apprendre la langue française. »<sup>135</sup> Asked if teachers communicate with colleagues in other languages than French, she said;

« Oui, oui, bien sûr, ils mettent [conversation] du français, des langues maternelles, la langue ..., ça veut dire tu vas voir un groupe des fois de la même tribu, arabes, ou si nous sommes somaliens ou si nous sommes afars, on va laisser un peu le français de côté quand on discute. »<sup>136</sup>

She explains further that; « On va parler notre langue maternelle, c'est-à-dire les afars l'afar, les somalis le somalien. »<sup>137</sup> In mixed groups, she said ;

« [...] mais quand c'est un groupe mélangé, si on arrive à se comprendre dans plusieurs langues, on va parler les plusieurs langues sinon on revient toujours après à la...[français] »<sup>138</sup>

Related questions on schools were asked to Saleh, an administrative direction in the Ministry of Education. Asked if other languages than French were used in his departments, he said;

<sup>131</sup> "Because it is a language they are there to learn. If they don't speak it, they will not master it."

<sup>132</sup> "With my colleagues and pupils I only speak French. Sometimes... there are always languages that come up... When we have a normal discussion."

<sup>133</sup> "With pupils yes, we avoid speaking any language other than French."

<sup>134</sup> "I do not know. But before, as a teacher I did not notice if there was this policy there but as an administrative this year I understood that it is necessary to speak only in French with the children."

<sup>135</sup> "In fact it is also to improve the language because if we introduce other languages with the students it breaks the rhythm of learning the French language a little."

<sup>136</sup> "Yes, yes, of course, they put [conversation] French, mother tongues, language..., that means you will see a group sometimes from the same tribe, Arabs, or if we are Somalians or if we are Afars, we are going to leave French aside a bit when we're chatting."

<sup>137</sup> "We are going to speak our mother tongue, that is to say the Afars Afar, the Somalis Somali."

<sup>138</sup> "[...] but when it's a mixed group, if we manage to understand each other in several languages, we will speak several languages otherwise we always come back to ...[French]"

« Oui bien sûr. Nous avons ce qu'on appelle les âgées de l'administration qui sont des fois... on a en face de nous des gens qui ne parlent pas le français, et donc on est obligé de parler avec eux dans leur langue nationale que ce soit l'afar, le somali ou l'arabe. »<sup>139</sup>

About the use of a language policy in the education, he said;

« L'éducation c'est un peu spécifique. Si on parle de l'administration comme je disais c'est le français, mais nous avons au niveau des établissements, une politique de développement des autres langues. Il faut savoir aujourd'hui comme vous savez, il y a de plus en plus des entreprises ou des consultants qui viennent de l'extérieur qui s'installent, et comme je disais, ils ne sont pas souvent tous francophones, et donc nous faisons tout aujourd'hui pour développer les autres langues au niveau des établissements, et en particulier l'anglais. »<sup>140</sup>

When asked how they were developing English and at what level, he said that;

« Oui, ça fait partie d'une des priorités du ministère de l'éducation nationale c'est de former ces jeunes. Je vais un peu vous expliquer. Il y a quelques années, le plus gros employeur du pays c'était l'état jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Il faut que maintenant, la politique c'est plutôt, c'est, l'administration est presque saturée, donc l'objectif maintenant c'est d'envoyer ces jeunes vers le privé, et pour aller vers le privé il faut répondre aux besoins de ces privés, et l'anglais fait partie de ces besoins. Il n'y a pas longtemps que cette année par exemple pour les jeunes qui ont le bac professionnel, on a organisé une formation de trois mois en anglais pour ces jeunes. »<sup>141</sup>

Asked if they were aware of the needs of the private sectors, Saleh, replied that;

« Oui bien sûr tout à fait, on est conscient. Nous faisons souvent ce qu'on appelle les études de marché pour les formations que nous mettons en place. On essaye de voir quelle sont les besoins des PME, les besoins des entreprises, les besoins de marché en général. L'éducation, l'objectif premier c'est de former des jeunes qui vont être insérés après dans la société, ils doivent trouver un travail. Il y a d'autres initiatives qu'on met en place. C'est souvent ces jeunes aussi d'aller [se] former à l'entrepreneuriat. On ne forme pas quelqu'un juste pour qu'il aille travailler pour une autre personne, mais cette personne aussi peut créer sa propre entreprise et travailler pour soi. »<sup>142</sup>

<sup>139</sup> "Yes of course. We have what call the elderly of the administration, who are sometimes... we have in front of people who do not speak French, and therefore we are obliged to speak with them in their national language, whether it is afar, somali or arabic."

<sup>140</sup> "Education is specific. If we talk about administration as I said it is French, but we have at the level of establishments, a policy for the development of other languages. We have to know, today as you know, there are more and more companies or consultants coming from outside who are settling in, and as I said, they are not often all French-speaking, and so we do everything today to develop other languages at school level, and in particular English."

<sup>141</sup> "Yes, it is part of one of the priorities of the Ministry of National Education, which is to train these young people. I will explain it more. A few years ago, the largest employer in the country was the state until today. It has to be now, the politic is rather, it is, the administration is almost saturated, so the objective now is to send these young people to the private sectors, and to go to the private sectors, the have to respondent to the needs of these privates, and English is one of those needs. It was not long ago than this year, for example, for young people with a vocational baccalaureate, we organised a three-month training course in English for these young people."

<sup>142</sup> "Yes, of course, we are aware. We often do what is called market research for the training we are providing. We are trying to see what are the needs of SMEs [Small and medium enterprises], the needs of businesses, the needs of the market in general. In education, the primary objective is to train young people who are going to be integrated into society afterwards, they must find a job. There are other initiatives that we are implementing. It is often these young people who also go to train in entrepreneurship. You don't train someone just to go and work for another person, but that person too can set up their own business and work for himself."

Saleh said that they have done market research, and when asked to reveal which language dominates the job market, he declared that; « On va dire la langue qui est demandée, c'est l'anglais en ce moment. »<sup>143</sup>

Saleh's policy on developing other languages and particularly English is active. To see it in action one must investigate the way pupils are advised and oriented to study at university level. When asked about pupils' orientation and advice given on English, Ifrah, a Careers Adviser at the Ministry of National Education, who is based at one of the higher secondary schools, said;

« Oui, l'anglais commence à devenir de plus en plus important dans le cadre de la mondialisation. Mais on essaye d'inciter surtout les bons élèves, ceux qui ont de bonnes moyennes, surtout les élèves qui sont en ES. En L et parfois ceux qui sont en S qui ne pourront pas faire des études scientifiques, on leur dit d'aller vers les langues, vers l'interprétariat, vers l'anglais surtout parce que c'est la langue la plus parlée maintenant dans le cadre des affaires. Il y a même une filière à l'université qu'on appelle le BBA qui est bilingue, c'est une licence bilingue, les enseignements se donnent en anglais, carrément en anglais. Donc les tests qu'ils passent pour accéder à cette filière sont faits en anglais. Donc pour les bons élèves, pour ceux qui aimeraient aller très loin dans leurs études, on leur dit d'aller vers les langues. Les langues sont de plus en plus importantes. »<sup>144</sup>

English is exclusively taught in some courses at the university. Asked about English perception at the university where Mahad is a Lecturer of English. Mahad, originally a Francophone, preferred to be interviewed in English, said that the student eagerness to speak it was overwhelming; "And even those who have not English background, try to speak to me in English." When asked about the future of English in Djibouti, he used himself as an example and said that French was losing its place;

"[...] And French, there is another powerful language, which came, which has come now which is English. And it starts losing its place because, you can take example... me. Before five years, I used to be a French student and now I choose English as an... I asked, I have requested you to... that I should speak, that I can speak English and I prefer English than French. So, it shows to you that French is going to lose its place. And I feel free when I speak in English."

Another lecturer of English at the University of Djibouti, Daoud, a Kenyan national, said that;

"There's a lot of thirst for English, most students like to do English courses. They would like to be fluent in English, because of employment and opportunities outside this country. Because now French is limited to France and francophone countries. And they would also like to go and excel in the US, Britain and other anglophone countries in Africa."

This eagerness to speak English is expressed and seen through every student at the university and the researcher of this study felt and experienced it with the students who helped him collect the data. Every

<sup>143</sup> "We are going to say the language that is requested, is English at the moment."

<sup>144</sup> "Yes, English is becoming more and more important in the context of globalisation. But we try to encourage especially the able pupils, those who have good marks, especially the pupils who are in ES [Humanities]. In L [Literature] and sometimes those in S [Sciences] who will not be able to do scientific studies, they are told to go to languages, to interpreting, to English especially because it is the most spoken language now in the business environment. There is even a university programme called BBA [Bachelor of Business and Administration] which is bilingual, it is a bilingual license, the lessons are given in English, totally in English. So, the tests they take to access this course are in English. So, for able pupils, for those who would like to go extremely far in their studies, they are told to go to languages. Languages are becoming more and more important."

year the university select the five best students from each programme and send them abroad to do their Masters.

Asked about the destinations of students going outside the country to study with Djibouti and foreign government scholarships, Mohamed, Director at the Ministry of Higher Education and Research, said that;

« Parce que les étudiants djiboutiens partent un peu faire... avant, les étudiants djiboutiens faisaient leurs études uniquement dans des pays francophones mais de plus en plus, les étudiants commencent à aller dans des pays anglophones tel que l'Asie par exemple ou l'Inde, la Malaisie, la Chine et ainsi de suite. La langue d'étude là-bas est l'anglais.[...] »<sup>145</sup>

To the question of the changes happening to students' habit of going to study in France universities, Mohamed, said;

« Parce que les gens ont compris la nécessité de faire les études en anglais parce que quand on fait les études en France, tout simplement c'est la culture et la langue française. Quand ils font leurs études en anglais, le monde s'ouvre plus que les étudiants qui font leurs études en Europe. Les étudiants ressentent de plus en plus le besoin maintenant de faire des études en anglais parce que Djibouti est tourné maintenant parce que l'économie, la culture, la politique djiboutienne est tournée maintenant vers les pays anglo-saxons. »<sup>146</sup>

When asked if France still offers scholarships to students, Mohamed said;

« De moins en moins. Chaque année, l'effectif des boursiers du gouvernement français s'est réduit à tel point qu'on peut dire que maintenant il est presque quasi nul. On le sent à peu près aux alentours d'une dizaine. Il y a dix, quinze ans c'était aux alentours de 40 à 50 bourses. »<sup>147</sup>

Regarding Arab countries scholarships, Mohamed said that they are offering more each year. The main Arab countries where the majority of Djiboutians are studying with bursary or scholarship or free university fees are Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Tunisia. He said that Djiboutians studies their university programmes in Arabic but also in French in Arab countries such as Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

Other countries such as China, Cuba, Japan and Turkey offer scholarships or free university fees in their educational languages, Chinese, Spanish and Turkish and in some cases exceptionally in English. The government of Djibouti offers bursary or scholarships to students going to English-speaking universities in China, Malaysia, India, Indonesia and some African countries. English-speaking

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<sup>145</sup> "Because Djiboutian students leave to do a little ... before, Djiboutian students studied only in French-speaking countries but more and more, students are start going to English-speaking countries such as Asia, for example or India, Malaysia, China and so on. The language of study there is English."

<sup>146</sup> "Because people understood the need to do their studies in English because when one study in France, it is simply French culture and language. When they do their studies in English, the world opens up more than to students who are doing their studies in Europe. Students are feeling more and more the need now to do their studies in English because Djibouti is turned now because the economy, the culture, Djibouti politics is now turned towards Anglo-Saxon countries."

<sup>147</sup> "Less and less. Each year, the number of French government scholarship recipients has shrunk to the point where it can be said that now it is almost zero. You can feel it roughly around ten. Ten, fifteen years ago it was around 40 to 50 scholarships."

countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and USA offer scholarships but the conditions of getting them are so difficult that only few students succeeded.

Concerning the proportion of students studying in Arabic, English and French, Mohamed said that; « Les arabophones on peut prendre de l'ordre de 30 % à 35 %, les anglophones 10 % à 15 %. » Half of the students who are abroad study in Arabic or English their university programmes. Regarding whether the trend in languages is changing, Mohamed said that;

« Le nombre des étudiants qui intègrent des universités arabes et l'effectif des étudiants qui intègrent des universités anglaise augmente d'année en année. Quand de ce côté ça augmente, de l'autre côté ça baisse. L'effectif reste toujours le même, mais on peut dire que les étudiants éprouvent de plus en plus le besoin de faire leurs études en anglais. »<sup>148</sup>

Mohamed also said that there are hundreds of students studying in Chinese, Turkish, Russian and Spanish languages.

He said that in general 95 % of students come back to Djibouti after graduating from foreign universities. Their numbers vary from 20 to 50 students a year. Back home, they must integrate into the employment market. The question to ask is how those who studied in Arabic and English are going to find a job in a francophone country.

In the interviews, the directors of human resources and head of departments explained the way they are selecting suitable job seekers for the right employment while considering the language matter. When asked if he offers a job to someone who does not speak Arabic and French, Isse, Director of Human Resources, said; « Ça dépend le niveau, la catégorie du travail qu'on va lui demander, il y a du travail manuel qui ne nécessite pas beaucoup l'emploi de la langue anglaise, français ou arabe. »<sup>149</sup> That is a yes, but what about an administrative job, the answer of Isse is; « Pour un administrateur, c'est obligatoire qu'il parle la langue française et un peu la langue arabe. »<sup>150</sup> That is a no.

What about technical jobs and Isse said that; « Le technicien ou technicien informatique ou technicien supérieur on n'a pas besoin parce qu'il y a l'anglais qui est rentré dedans aussi. »<sup>151</sup> That is also a yes, IT technicians do not need to speak French. What about engineers and Isse said; « Ingénieur, oui tout ce qui est ingénieur télécom, ingénieur de réseaux tout ça c'est déjà... L'anglais est favorisé. »<sup>152</sup> Engineers do not need to speak French, but English-speaking ones are preferred.

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<sup>148</sup> “The number of students who integrate Arab universities and the number of students who integrate English universities increases from year to year. When on this side it increases, on the other side it decreases. The enrollment remains the same, but it can be said that students are increasingly finding the need to study in English.”

<sup>149</sup> “It depends on the level, the category of work that we are going to ask him, there is manual work which does not require much the use of the English, French or Arabic language.”

<sup>150</sup> “For an administrator, it is compulsory that he speaks the French language and a little the Arabic language.”

<sup>151</sup> “The technician or computer technician or senior technician does not need it because there is English that has got into it too.”

<sup>152</sup> Engineer, yes everything that is telecom engineer, network engineer all that is already ... English is promoted.”



Yacoub, a Technical Adviser to a Minister, confirmed the way Isse is recruiting candidates, saying that;

« Généralement, les langues qu'on demande dans le travail sont le français, l'arabe, ou ces dernier temps, l'anglais puisque l'anglais prend de l'importance dans notre système, dans notre économie. »<sup>153</sup>

At the question of English is needed, Mohamed, a director, said that; « Parce que de plus en plus Djibouti est tourné un peu vers les pays arabophones et surtout asiatiques. Dans ces pays-là on parle en anglais. »<sup>154</sup>

What about teaching in schools and university? Do teachers and lecturers have to speak French to get a job? Roua said; « Voilà, la langue française, à part bien sûr le prof d'arabe où ils doivent parler correctement la langue arabe, et les profs d'anglais... »<sup>155</sup> She said that Arabic teacher jobs do not require French but English teachers needed to speak French as well.

In the higher education, Djama, director of studies, said;

« Alors dans le cadre de recrutement, ça dépend essentiellement des données de compétences concernées. Si nous recrutons un enseignant en anglais, qui enseigne en anglais, là pour un poste d'enseignement en anglais, là on exige une parfaite maîtrise de l'anglais, et essentiellement du domaine de compétences qui a été pourvu au poste. Si le poste pourvu est un poste d'enseignement français, dans ce cas-là on exige également une très bonne maîtrise du français en tant que langue. Et ensuite il y a tout un entretien qui se fait, il y a toute une procédure à suivre. Mais l'essentielle c'est qu'il ait une parfaite maîtrise et là c'est l'entretien qui permet de valider cela. »<sup>156</sup>

Asked about his recruitment as a lecturer at the University of Djibouti, Mahad said “As an English teacher, they wanted to know like, they wanted to assess or measure my level of English and they didn't ask me whether I knew another language or not?” Mahad is a Djiboutians who speak French but what about lecturers of Kenyan origin, asked if he speaks French, Daoud said that he does not speak French. Asked about the language of communication with the administration, he said; “English, when I'm speaking with them. But now, when it comes to writing at least I can read and translate using applications. Written correspondences, I try as much as possible to use French.”

English Kenyan and other foreign lecturers do not need to speak French.

Daoud, said that he was a Catholic, when asked about his access to a church and the language used, he said that; The Catholics, they speak English, but it was a Thursday. On the other days they use

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<sup>153</sup> “Generally, the languages we ask for at work are French, Arabic, and lately, English, since English is gaining importance in our system, in our economy.”

<sup>154</sup> Because more and more, Djibouti is turned a little towards Arabic-speaking countries and especially to Asians. In these countries one speaks English.

<sup>155</sup> “It is the French language, except of course Arabic teachers where they must speak the Arabic language correctly, and the English teachers ...”

<sup>156</sup> “So, in the context of recruitment, it essentially depends on the information of the skills required. If we recruit an English teacher, who teaches in English, there for a teaching position in English, there we require a perfect command of English, and essentially the area of skills that has been filled in the position. If the position provided is a French teaching position, in this case we also require a very good command of French as a language. And then there is a whole interview that takes place, there is a whole procedure to follow. But the main thing is that he has a perfect control and there it is the interview that allows to validate this.”

French.” Do they use other languages? He said; “I don’t know whether they have the other programs. I only know Thursday, it is English. Sunday, I wanted to go but I cannot, they say it is for French. Fridays, they offer the other languages. I’m not sure whether they use Somali.” Asked if people he have seen there were foreigners or nationals, he said; “All of them are foreigners. I think the only other people around the church are working. The people are employed, the cleaners, the technicians. They are Djiboutians.” He said also that he has not been in a mosque.

All other participants were Muslims and they were all asked whether they understand or not Fridays’ sermon<sup>157</sup> which is delivered in Arabic and mostly translated at the end of the religious service in national languages. Most of them do not understand the sermon and prefer it translated in a language they appreciate better.

What is the proportion of people who understand or do not understand the sermon? Here are some of the participants answers. Ifrah, said; « Je dirai pour moi 98 %, dans la mosquée où je vais ils ne comprennent pas l’arabe. »

Abdallah said; « Disons, à plus de 70 % »<sup>158</sup>

Abdirachid, a lecturer of Linguistics, said; « Je crois qu’il y a une majorité à ne pas comprendre. Il y a une majorité de gens qui vont qui ne comprennent pas surtout... »<sup>159</sup>

Chehem said; « Je ne pense pas. Je pense que si je n'exagère pas, je crois que c'est 60 % des gens qui sont là, ne comprennent pas. »<sup>160</sup>

Mahad said; “Majority of people don't understand what he [preacher] is talking about.”

Marwan, an IT instructor at the University of Djibouti who teaches in Arabic, said; “They understand most of it.”

Nasser said; “No. A lot of them don’t understand. Arabic is not widely spoken.”

Djama said; « Ça doit être difficile. Je crois que la majorité ne comprend pas. Si je pourrais effectuer ça en termes de pourcentage environ, je crois que seulement 20 ou 25 % comprennent, les autres non. »<sup>161</sup>

Mohamed said; « Je ne pense pas. Je pense que si je n'exagère pas, je crois que c'est 60 % des gens qui sont là ne comprennent pas. »<sup>162</sup>

There is an exception as in one mosque the sermon is delivered alongside Arabic. Ahmed, the iman of the mosque, said that; « [...] lorsque je donne un sermon je suis obligé de me baser sur trois langues principales. » Then, he added; « Qui est bien parlé à Djibouti, la langue française et la langue arabe.

<sup>157</sup> Weekly Islamic compulsory sermon on Fridays in mosques around the world.

<sup>158</sup> “Say, over 70 %”

<sup>159</sup> “I believe there is a majority that cannot understand. There is a majority of people who go who do not especially understand ...”

<sup>160</sup> “I do not think so. I think that if I do not exaggerate, I believe that it is 60 % of the people who are there that do not understand.”

<sup>161</sup> “It must be difficult. I believe the majority do not understand. If I could do that in terms of percentage, I think only 20 or 25 % understand, the others don't.”

<sup>162</sup> “I do not think so. I think that if I do not exaggerate, I believe that it is 60 % of the people who are there do not understand.”

Donc mon sermon commence par la langue arabe. »<sup>163</sup> He finished his explanation by saying; « Ensuite traduction de la langue somalie et le français... Pourquoi ces trois langues ? Parce que on sait qu'à Djibouti ce sont les trois langues qui sont parlées par la plupart des gens, [...]. »<sup>164</sup> At the question of why French, Ahmed said; « Minimum trois langues parce qu'en fait l'objectif c'est quoi, l'objectif c'est de faire passer le message. »<sup>165</sup> Then, continued ; « Pour que le message normalement qui est délivré chaque vendredi puisse arriver à toute personne. »<sup>166</sup>

#### 4.1.3.3 *Research Question 3*

In the research question: Is French still for Djiboutians a prestigious international language, which gives them access to education and jobs or is English overtaking its domains of usage and roles in higher education and employment by integrating the country into the global village and more importantly its region?

The focus prompts are; French is a prestigious language. French is an international language. French gives Djiboutians access to jobs. French gives Djiboutians access to education. English is overtaking French domains of usage in higher education. English is overtaking French roles in higher education. English is overtaking French domains of usage in employment. English is overtaking French roles in employment. English is integrating the country into the global village. English is integrating the country more importantly into its region. These phrases, elaborated from the prompt, are the themes labelled on the nodes. The nodes hold significant information gathered for the analysis to answer this third research question.

Roua explained that English was everywhere in Djibouti, she said; « Que ce soit au niveau éducatif, au niveau du travail on trouve. Mais dans le monde, les nouvelles générations c'est la langue anglaise qui peut-être au futur qui va dominer. »<sup>167</sup> She added that; « Parce que partout maintenant on veut quelqu'un qui parle l'anglais et comme on travaille avec d'autres pays, des sociétés qui sont créées aussi. »<sup>168</sup> She continued; « Voilà, qui investissent à Djibouti, ils ont eu, ils demandent toujours dans les offres d'emploi et tout ça à ce qu'on parle la langue anglais. »<sup>169</sup>

Same answers from Zeinab, a Head of Department at the Ministry of Labour and Administrative Reform, said that;

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<sup>163</sup> "Which [is] are well spoken in Djibouti, the French language and the Arabic language. So my sermon begins with the Arabic language."

<sup>164</sup> "Then translation of the Somali language and French... Why these three languages? Because we know that in Djibouti these are the three languages that are spoken by most people"

<sup>165</sup> "Minimum three languages because in fact what it is the objective, the objective is to transmit the message"

<sup>166</sup> "So, that the message normally delivered every Friday can reach anyone."

<sup>167</sup> "Whether it is at the educational level, at the work level one find it. But in the world, the new generations, it is the English language which, perhaps in the future, will dominate."

<sup>168</sup> "Because everywhere now we want someone who speaks English and as we work with other countries, companies that are created too."

<sup>169</sup> "That is it, who invest in Djibouti, they had, they always ask in the job offers, and all that, that we speak the English language."

« Oui. La plupart du temps on nous demande des gens qui parlent l'anglais et le français. Et maintenant la langue qui est demandée à Djibouti c'est surtout l'anglais. Même pour les serveuses on vous dit « l'anglais c'est un atout ».

She continued excitingly; « Qui parlent l'anglais également parce que même pour les agents de sécurité, on nous demande des fois des gens qui parlent anglais, les serveuses comme je vous ai dit, les secrétaires, les logistiques. »<sup>170</sup> Zeinab finished by saying that ; « Même nous avons maintenant collecté des données sur le marché et la plupart nous disent « on veut des gens qui parlent anglais couramment ». »<sup>171</sup>

Nasser, who has English as a working language, said; “Now we have a lot of Chinese investments in the ports, free zones and there are also other international companies to invest. Most of them... you know they speak English.”

He continued, saying that; “The tourism industry...people who would love to have a job in the tourism industry, they would need to speak English [...]”

Asked if English was important for his career, he said;

“Yes, yes. I think that for now and my current job, I think it's very important. Also, in my future job... because speaking in English is an asset for me [...]”

Same needs in Saleh's department in the education ministry, he said; « Nous avons besoin de l'anglais pour le travail avec les responsables qui viennent nous rendre visite, les responsables d'autres pays. »<sup>172</sup>

He continued, explaining his frustration for not speaking English well ;

« Oui tout à fait. Comme tout le monde, j'aime les langues, et franchement, l'anglais malheureusement à Djibouti n'est pas une langue pratiquée, mais on fait tout parce qu'aujourd'hui, souvent quand nous avons les pays amis qui sont là, les discussions sont en anglais, ont lieu en anglais, nous on répond souvent tant bien que mal dans notre anglais qui est très moyen. »<sup>173</sup>

English is integrating the country into the global village is true for some participants. The importance of English in the world or it is seen today as a global village has certainly an impact on everywhere.

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<sup>170</sup> “Who also speak English because even for security guards, we are sometimes asked for people who speak English, the waitresses as I told you, the secretaries, the logistics.”

<sup>171</sup> “Even, we have now collected market data and most of them tell us ‘we want people who speak English fluently’ ”

<sup>172</sup> “We need English for working with officials who come to visit us, officials from other countries.”

<sup>173</sup> “Yes, exactly. Like everyone, I love languages, and frankly, English unfortunately in Djibouti is not a spoken language, but we do everything because today, often when we receive friends countries that they come, discussions are in English, take place in English, we often respond as best as we can in our average English.”

Regarding English impact on participants, Yacoub said ;

« Plutôt dans ces pays dans lesquels on va, il y a une langue internationale qui s'est imposée à travers le monde, l'anglais est une langue que tout le monde parle, peut-être dans les régions rurales, on ne trouvera personne, mais principalement, l'anglais est un bon moyen de communication avec tout le monde. »<sup>174</sup>

Another participant who is convinced about English as a global language is Roua who said that; « Si on veut aller en Europe ou en Amérique, maintenant même en Europe la langue anglaise se développe donc on aura besoin de la langue anglaise. »<sup>175</sup>

English is integrating the country more importantly into its region. Concerning the languages that participants use while doing business or travelling for pleasure in the region, Nasser said that; “Also, the region, yeah... you know Dubai, Saudi Arabia... although they speak Arabic but when it comes to business, the medium of language is English... not Arabic or French.”

Ifrah said to be embarrassed in the region as; « Le français m'ai inutile, le somali m'ai inutile. J'ai besoin de parler l'anglais en premier parce que tout le monde... [...].<sup>176</sup> Surtout dans les hôtels [ils] parlent l'anglais et l'amharique. »<sup>177</sup> Then, she added ; « A Dubaï, les boutiques c'est plutôt l'anglais »<sup>178</sup>

Chehem as well has a problem communicating in the region, he said ; « Dans un pays où l'on parle l'anglais, ce n'est pas facile. »<sup>179</sup> Mohamed also said ; « Quand on va en Ethiopie, [...] dans les milieux amhariques ou tigréens ou Oromos, alors à ce moment-là c'est vrai il y a le barrage de la langue qui s'oppose et là on a besoin d'une autre langue comme l'anglais. »<sup>180</sup>

However, those who speak English felt different, Abdirachid said;

« Oui, quand je vais en Ethiopie, ces dernières années, je suis allé beaucoup, franchement, je n'ai pas eu de problème de communication parce que les gens parlent très souvent l'anglais, même les taximen parlent l'anglais. »<sup>181</sup>

Marwan speak English and does not have problem in the region, he said; “In Ethiopia, mostly I use English [...]” Because, he added; “The official places are mostly using English; in hotels, restaurants, markets, they use English.”

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<sup>174</sup> “In these countries we go to, there is an international language that has imposed itself around the world, English is a language that everyone speaks, perhaps in rural areas, we will not find anyone, but mainly, English is a good way to communicate with everyone.”

<sup>175</sup> “If one wants to go to Europe or America, now even in Europe the English language is developing so one will need the English language.”

<sup>176</sup> “French is useless to me, Somali is useless to me. I need to speak English first because everyone ...”

<sup>177</sup> “Especially in hotels [they] speak English and Amharic.”

<sup>178</sup> “In Dubai, the shops, it is rather English.”

<sup>179</sup> “In a country where English is spoken, it is not easy.”

<sup>180</sup> “When we go to Ethiopia, [...] in Amharic or Tigrayan or Oromos environments, then at that time it's true there is the language barrier which appears and there we need another language like English.”

<sup>181</sup> “Yes, when I go to Ethiopia, in recent years, I have been going a lot, frankly, I have not had a communication problem because people speak English very often, even the taximen speak English.”

Some participants proposed solutions to their frustration with situation, like Nasser who thinks that a “switch” to English will be easier than thought. He said;

“[...] because right now if we switch to English... 100 % in the official administration, there won't be any major change and because you know, people of Dubai who invested before and now the Chinese, they only need to speak in English.”

There is a long way to go financially for the government to switch from French to English as it is still the main public administration and school's language of instruction.

#### 4.1.3.4 Research Question 4

In the research question: Are national languages used for acquiring knowledge, interacting in the workplace, or doing government official business?

The focus prompts are; People use national languages to acquire knowledge. People use national languages to interact in the workplace. People use national languages to do government official business. These phrases, elaborated from the prompt, are the themes labelled on the nodes. The nodes hold significant information gathered for the analysis to answer this fourth research question.

Do djiboutians use national languages to acquire knowledge? Participants were asked about languages they use accessing internet, social media and listening to radio and reading newspapers and books. Abdirachid said that he uses several languages; « Oui. Quand il y a des ouvrages qui m'intéresse, soient écrits, d'ailleurs, soit en somali soit en français, je les lis. »<sup>182</sup>

Chehem prefers to read and write in one language as he said; « Ah ! là c'est exclusivement en français. »<sup>183</sup> Why not in Afar? He replied; « Je n'ai pas une grande maîtrise de l'afar. Ou à l'écrit, oui, c'est un peu plus difficile. »<sup>184</sup> He added; « Oui, donc je préfère le français que je maîtrise. »<sup>185</sup>

About reading books in Somali, Ifrah said; « En somali, j'en ai lu mais comme je ne suis pas très à l'aise je me fatigue assez facilement, mais j'en ai lu aussi. »<sup>186</sup>

Same question to Saleh who answered; « Ni en somali ni en afar. Comme je disais, j'arrive à lire mais difficilement. »<sup>187</sup>

Regarding languages used to surf internet. Ahmed replied; « C'est, en règle générale, moi je navigue sur le français et l'arabe. »<sup>188</sup>

When asked regarding the use of social media, Mohamed said ; « Oui, à peu près tel que Facebook et Twitter, Mésanger mais en français toujours. »<sup>189</sup> To the question: Do you know that national languages

<sup>182</sup> Yes. When there are [literary] works that interest me, either written elsewhere either in Somali or in French, I read them.

<sup>183</sup> “Ah! there it's exclusively in French.”

<sup>184</sup> “I don't have a great mastery of Afar. Or in writing yes it's a little more difficult.”

<sup>185</sup> “Yes, so, I prefer French which I master.”

<sup>186</sup> “In Somali, I have read it, but since I am not very comfortable I get tired too easily, but I have read it too.”

<sup>187</sup> “Neither in Somali nor in Afar. Like I said, I manage to read but with difficulty.”

<sup>188</sup> “It's, generally, I surf in French and Arabic.”

<sup>189</sup> “Yes, more or less like Facebook and Twitter, Messenger but always in French.”

are on Internet ? He replied ; « Oui mais ça ne m'intéresse pas. »<sup>190</sup> Do you read books written by Djiboutians? Mohamed answer was; « De temps en temps mais pas en somali mais de temps en temps comme Abdourahman Waberi, comme Ali Moussa Iye mais très rarement. »<sup>191</sup>

Regarding the language Roua uses to read newspapers, she said; « En français... les journaux. »<sup>192</sup>

About reading books in national languages, she said; « Je ne lis pratiquement pas de livres en d'autres langues. »<sup>193</sup> Why not? Roua said; « Non, je ne vois pas l'utilité. »<sup>194</sup>

Same question to Mahad who said; "I read only one time in Somali, it was written in Somali, [...]"

Concerning the languages use for accessing Internet, Marwan said: "So, when I try to surf, look for an information, I look for it in English because it's more rich, the content is more rich than Arabic."

Nasser uses English but was aware that national languages were on social media, he said; "On social media yes... when somebody forwards me an article in Somali I do [read it]. I go to Somali newspapers online... like Shinileh news"

Asked about teaching national languages in schools, participants said that it is a legitimate right for their children as they are facing many difficulties learning scientific subject in French which is not their mother tongue. Abdirachid, a doctor in linguistics, demands that nursery school teach exclusively national languages, he said that;

« La langue d'enseignement dans ces écoles maternelles c'est le français, et ça c'est catastrophique. Je considère que ça c'est vraiment un crime. C'est quelque chose qu'il faudra changer à un moment ou à un autre parce qu'on est en train de complètement transformer des enfants, ce n'est pas transformer, mais en tout cas on est en train de leur compliquer la vie. »<sup>195</sup>

Asked in which way it is a crime to teach children French in nursery and what he did as a member of the Somali language academy for the teaching of national languages, he said;

« [...] Développement cognitive. [...] On écrit. Dernièrement, j'ai fait une conférence au CERD. Le centre d'étude et de recherche de Djibouti, donc le 29 mars dernier, j'ai fait une conférence dont le sujet était « Enseigné les langues nationales, le choix d'un destin ». [...] Tout à fait. J'ai écrit là-dessus, j'ai publié un article sur l'enseignement des langues nationales. »<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> "Yes, but I'm not interested."

<sup>191</sup> "From time to time, but not in Somali, but from time to time, like Abdourahman Waberi, like Ali Moussa Iye but very rarely."

<sup>192</sup> "In French... the newspapers."

<sup>193</sup> "I hardly read books in other languages."

<sup>194</sup> "No, I don't see the point."

<sup>195</sup> "[...] The language of instruction in these nursery schools is French, and that is catastrophic. I consider that it is really a crime. This is something that will have to change at one time or another because we are completely transforming children, it is not transforming, but anyway we are complicating life for them"

<sup>196</sup> We write. Recently, I gave a conference at CERD. The Centre for Study and Research of Djibouti, so on March 29, I gave a conference and the subject was "Teaching national languages, the choice of a destiny ". [...] Absolutely. I wrote about it, I published an article on teaching national languages."

For Doctor Djama, teaching national languages will help children learning, he said;

« Je crois qu'à mon avis, pour que les enfants puissent avoir une parfaite acquisition des matières, ils doivent apprendre leur langue maternelle parce que le savoir passe essentiellement par la langue. Et quand les enfants ont un handicap par rapport à la langue, ils ont un double handicap par rapport à l'apprentissage. »<sup>197</sup>

Asked about the teaching of these languages in schools, Saleh said that one day the ministry of education will take over nursery schools. He added that according to studies they have, children taught in mother tongue learn better and get better results. Saleh who is administrator at the ministry, said

« Les études montrent que les enfants qui commencent à apprendre les langues nationales réussissent mieux que ceux qui apprennent dans les langues étrangères. [...] Voilà. Donc je pense que l'introduction de la langue nationale apportera un plus en tout cas pour nos élèves. C'est extrêmement important qu'on veille sur nos langues. »<sup>198</sup>

At the question of if it is the right time to introduce these languages, Saleh explained lengthily why not;

« [...] Nous sommes un tout petit pays, et nous avons besoin d'avoir ces langues étrangères parce que, non seulement on parlait des entreprises qui arrivent et qui s'installent, mais comme tout petit pays, [...] la richesse de Djibouti ce sont les hommes et les femmes. Nous sommes obligés d'exporter ces gens vers l'étranger qui vont aller travailler dans les pays arabes, dans les pays anglophones etc. Je pense qu'on risque si on enseigne les langues nationales de rétrécir. Il faut trouver un moyen. On est en train de réfléchir à l'éducation nationale. [...] »<sup>199</sup>

While the ministry thinks about how to introduce national languages, it is interesting to hear from participants about their use.

Do Djiboutians use national languages to interact in the workplace? At this question, Mohamed answered; « Au bureau en principe c'est le français, mais ça ne nous empêche pas de parler l'arabe pour ceux qui ne savent pas le français et le somali pour ceux qui ne savent pas le français et l'arabe. »<sup>200</sup> Regarding the most used language at work, Mohamed said; « C'est plutôt le somali puisque la plupart de mes collaborateurs sont somaliens donc ils parlent le somali. »<sup>201</sup>

At work Mahad said that his colleagues; “The first time that you see each other says; Salaam alaikum, and then they start speaking Somali which is a local language.”

<sup>197</sup> “In my opinion I believe that, for children to have a perfect acquisition of subjects, they must learn their mother tongue because knowledge comes mainly through language. And when children have a handicap with the language, they have a double handicap with the learning.”

<sup>198</sup> “Studies show that children who start to learn national languages do better than those who learn foreign languages. So I think that the introduction of national languages will bring a plus, anyway for our students. It is extremely important that we watch over our languages.”

<sup>199</sup> We are a very small country, and we need to have these foreign languages because, not only were we talking about companies arriving and setting up, but like any small country, [...] the wealth of Djibouti is men and women. We are forced to export these people abroad who will go to work in Arab countries, in English-speaking countries, etc. I think we risk if we teach national languages to shrink. We have to find a way. We are thinking about it at the national education [ministry].

<sup>200</sup> In the office, normally, it is French, but that does not prevent us from speaking Arabic for those who do not know French and Somali for those who do not know French and Arabic.”

<sup>201</sup> “It is rather Somali since most of my collaborators are Somali so they speak Somali.”



Marwan said about his colleagues;

“It comes to the situation, if they are all, for example, Somalis, they may start talking in Somali. If they have someone [who] is not Somali, they will have, they will have to move to French because it's the most common, so.”

About the most spoken language, Marwan said that his colleagues speak Somali; “Even if they're not all of them Somalis, but all Djibouti citizens [...] can understand Somali at least.”

Nasser said that with his colleagues he uses; “Somali and French, depending on the person you're talking to. If it is an Afar, then you know you switch to French because they will be more comfortable speaking to you in French, [...]”

Ifrah said that with her colleagues, she speaks Somali;

« Le somali, majoritairement. Parce que comme le somali est la langue dominante à Djibouti, beaucoup de personnes qui ne font pas partie de la communauté somalienne parlent le somali. Donc dans le travail, majoritairement ce n'est pas dans un cadre, donc si ce n'est pas pour le travail nous parlons, nous discutons en somali. »<sup>202</sup>

When speaking to his colleagues, Djama said;

« Au boulot, la langue officielle est le français. Les réunions se tiennent très souvent en français, le travail se fait en français, mais comme j'aborde mes collègues dans l'enceinte de l'établissement, on se parle en somali. »<sup>203</sup>

At work national languages are spoken, but what about government offices.

Do Djiboutians use national languages to do government official business? Explaining the use of national languages into official government business, Abdirachid said; « [...] Les langues nationales ont profité de deux phénomènes. Un, la mise en place du multipartisme politique et l'instauration du multipartisme et l'organisation des élections nationales. »<sup>204</sup> He continued saying that;

« Puisque les candidats à différents postes doivent s'exprimer dans ces langues-là. C'est la première fois que ces langues nationales dont on s'exprime rentrent dans une sphère qui était généralement réservé au français. Il y a une certaine valorisation de ces langues par ce biais-là. »<sup>205</sup>

Afar and Somali since then are exclusively used in politics and politicians are praised for the mastery of these languages. The study did not cover this is point but it is time to discuss the interview findings.

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<sup>202</sup> “Somali, mostly. Because as Somali is the dominant language in Djibouti, many people who are not part of the Somali community speak Somali. So, at work, mostly, it is not in the [official] setting, so if it is not for work, we speak, we discuss in Somali.”

<sup>203</sup> “At work, the official language is French. The meetings are often held in French, the work is done in French, but when I approach my colleagues on the premises of the establishment, we speak in Somali.”

<sup>204</sup> “National languages have benefited from two phenomena. One, the establishment of a political multi-party system and the establishment of a multi-party system, and the organization of national elections.”

<sup>205</sup> “Because candidates for different positions must speak these languages. This is the first time that national languages which we speak have entered a sphere that was generally reserved for French. There is a certain valorisation of these languages through this usage.”

#### 4.1.4 Discussion of the Interview Findings

The primary objective of this qualitative part of the research was to study the language situations of Djibouti from participants usage and experience. To fulfil this ambitious goal, the analysis focused on answering the four research questions.

##### 4.1.4.1 *Research question 1*

The first question is what is the knowledge required for the government of Djibouti to develop a national language policy?

The results of the analysis show that politicians speak national languages since the instauration of multipartyism in Djibouti. Thus, politicians representing the government use national languages to communicate with the population. It is time to draw conclusions from these findings that were given in interviews.

There are no regulations and languages policy in Djibouti. There are laws on official and national languages, but most participants were unable to talk about them. Participants expressed, in some setting particularly in education and employment, the need to regulate languages. For the study to help the government of Djibouti to set up a multilingual language policy, it must have a useful literature. The literature should be useful in setting up a language policy. The notions studied in this research must also satisfy the committee in charge of such a language policy. The researcher must make all the efforts needed to present and convince the government to use it work as the starting document for the future languages policy of the country.

The study produces literature, theoretical concepts and explanations on language policies and language planning. Djibouti government will have a basic working document in the preparation of the forthcoming language policy project. However, there is no guarantee that Djibouti decision-makers' will use it for the language policy.

##### 4.1.4.2 *Research question 2*

The second research question is what functions do the seven languages spoken in Djibouti perform.

The interviews revealed that most participants speak national languages and French with Family and Friends. At home with family, they speak mostly their mother tongues and French. They use French for teaching and helping their children with the homework and lessons.

French is used for family and friends, but the distinction to be made is that participants said to use it because it is the official and educational language. Participants said that at home French is used for helping children with their studies and at work to do what is needed to be done professionally. However,

participants said that for family and friends they use mother tongues. Somali is the numerically dominant language because of its large community.

Most participants said that French is the main language of education in Djibouti. The majority of Djiboutians are educated in French as it is the language of instruction in public schools. However, English is progressively getting into that domain as it is the language of instruction for students at Djibouti university and in English-speaking countries. French lost half of the students who are learning abroad as only 50 % per cent study in French-speaking countries contrary to all studying in France, 20 years ago. Arabic is also competing with French thanks to Arabs countries scholarships which are tenfold compared to France ones and their university admission facilities. Participants expressed their desire to keep French and increase Arabic and English learning in education. All the factors to facilitate this increase are in place and the prediction is that French will eventually have lesser importance in Djibouti. Participants answered positively when asked if national languages should be taught.

French is not any more the sole language used for employment as it was previously. It is an official language and for that reason is the main working and administrative language. French gives exclusively access to most administrative and government positions as this language is used for writing documents and conducting meetings. Arabic is still behind despite being official as only the ministry of Islamic affairs and Wagfs used it for its department and to communicate with Arabs countries. However, the language used by that ministry to communicate with other departments and Djiboutians is French. Despite dominating the administration French presence and usage is reduced in the private and foreign invested sectors where English is sought after.

Arabic is certainly the language used for religious purposes; however, it is not mastered by the majority who said no understanding the classic one used in the Fridays' sermons. 60 to 98 % of people who attend Fridays' sermon do not understand the Quranic Arabic used in the religious service according to participants. Most participants prefer listening the translation. The sermon is translated into the dominant language of the area and mostly Somali dominates other ones. French is used alongside Arabic and Somali by imam Ahmed who said its aim was to deliver the Fridays sermon messages to all Djiboutians as they all understand these three languages.

The study found out the functions performed by the seven languages spoken in Djibouti and therefore can classify them according to their importance.

National languages dominate oral communications everywhere Djiboutians interact and Somali particularly more than Afar.

French dominates primary and secondary schools as the language of instruction. French dominates the administration as the written language of communications. However French lost half of its roles and functions in higher education and employment as Arabic and English occupy the other half.

Arabic dominates religious interactions and is used in studying in higher education but the majority of Djiboutians do not use that language in any other situation.

English dominates the employment market and share half of the higher education domain with Arabic.

The classification for these languages is that French is first, English is second and Arabic third. English made a surprising progression.

#### *4.1.4.3 Research question 3*

The third question is whether French is still for Djiboutians a prestigious international language, which gives them access to education and jobs or is English overtaking its domains of usage and roles in higher education and employment by integrating the country into the global village and more importantly its region.

There was no doubt for participants during the interviews that French is a prestigious and an international language. However, they said to be facing some problems because French is not enough in this new world. They talked about the increasing needs that the country has for English in several domains that Djiboutians were using exclusively in French.

They said that French gives Djiboutians access to jobs, but English is dominating French in non-administrative and private employments subdomain. French gives Djiboutians access to education, but English is competing with French in higher education subdomain. English is taking 15 to 20 % of the role of French in higher education for scholarships outside the country. English is taking most of non-governmental roles of French in employment domain. Participants said that English is integrating the country into the global village. English is, as well for participants, integrating the country more importantly into its region. English is an ascending newcomer, which they said will dominate French in near future. This indicates that the English Language is progressively enabling more people securing jobs and to access higher education and more countries with English. These mean that French is gradually losing its foothold in important domains of usage which is impacting decreasingly on its prestige and influence on Djiboutians.

#### *4.1.4.4 Research question 4*

The fourth one is questioning if national languages are used for acquiring knowledge, interacting in the workplace, or doing government official business.

All participants said listening to radio, songs and watching films, theatre in French and in their mother tongue and mostly in Somali. Some of them said they were using Somali as their friends and colleagues use it and they do so while being with them. Most of Somalis and Arabs said not to understand Afar. There is one skill that they do not have at all; reading in national languages. Participants who said to be able to read recognised that they do not read books and newspapers because it is tiring or difficult. Even participants who were first educated in French and did their university studies in Arabic, prefer to read

in French or English. Only participants educated in Arabic read books in that language. National languages are not used to access knowledge. There is no way that Djiboutians use national languages to acquire knowledge as they were not able to read properly in Afar and Somali. To acquire knowledge with a language one must use it as a tool and be taught how to do that.

Participants said that at work they use French for official business and most of the writing is done in French as well. However, all participants said to use national languages communicating with colleagues. This practice is not limited to any profession or workplace. Participants said that Somali dominates their interactions with colleagues and friends in the workplace. Participants working at schools and university as well as those in charge of important departments said to use national languages at work when not teaching or engaged in formal meetings. Exceptionally some teachers said to use them in class to explain their lessons when French fail them. National languages are widely used in the workplace and Somali particularly dominates as users of that language outnumber others.

The government use national languages to communicate with the population and as Somali dominates, they speak mostly in it. Participants said that wherever they go, the first language interaction is in national languages, then according to the nature of the topic discussed they may use other ones. Politicians speak to people exclusively in Somali for Djibouti city and use Afar in the northern part of the country where Afars live. Even the president addresses the nation in Somali and uses Arabic and French for official business with foreigners of Arab and Francophone countries. Except some expressions, he does not speak Afar. Most of the diplomates use Arabic and French, but there are increasingly English-speaking diplomates that speak exclusively English in the UN and AU meetings and conferences.

National languages are present in every aspect of Djiboutians' life but are not recognised officially despite being used in official matters. Djiboutians do not see regional languages useful as they do not use them publicly. Amharic and Oromo are anonymously functioning in Djibouti. People know that Ethiopians spoke them in their vicinity but would not be able to give more information about these languages apart the Ethiopian refugees.

The results demonstrate that Djiboutians use native languages, Afar and Somali, in workplaces, for official government's business. This means that Arabic and French domains of usage and functions are declining in favour of these native languages in the first two domains of workplaces and government's business.

However, acquiring knowledge with these languages is impossible for the time being because Participants cannot read them properly. Moreover, the teaching of these languages is not in the ministry of education planning for the near future. The nuance in the use of these languages is significant as they are limited to oral communications while Arabic and French are used for the written ones. The situation of national languages is that they are used orally in most domains but because of Djiboutians lack of reading and writing them correctly, they will not take over in the foresee future.

The results have demonstrated some of the assumed language situations in Djibouti. They confirmed progress realised by some languages in domains normally held French, an official. The study now needs to conclude on these findings using Maurer's (1992) ones.

## Chapter 5 Conclusion

This chapter reviews, summarises and restates the research, presents the findings and discusses their implications. Then, it shows the limitations of the study.

The factor that first inspired the writing of this study from the beginning is the language conundrum in the Republic of Djibouti.

The discussions in Djibouti about the dominance of French, the use of Arabic or the advantages of adopting English specifically influenced the decision to embark on this project.

Another influential motive was the media questioning the president of Djibouti and its government on the linguistic situation, namely asking whether they would abandon French, and implement English as the language of education.

Countries that have English as official or educational language surround Djibouti, which is the only French-speaking nation in the Horn of Africa.

At the same time, Arab countries are pushing for Arabic use in every domain. Arabic has the same official status as French and as the language of Islam that most inhabitants practise, Arabs claim that it should have supremacy over all other languages. Yet, in the administration, Arabic is only on letterheads showing the republic and government names as most civil servants do not write or read it.

In these complex problems that Djibouti faces, this study aim was to show the language situations. To understand the language situations, the study adopted a mixed methods approach. On the quantitative side, the questionnaire was the main pillars of the data collection for the study. On the qualitative side, the interviews were a way of supporting the quantitative data by getting more precise information. Both methods were extremely useful for investigating the language situations. They were effective in generating significant data for the study. The data analysis brought the following conclusion.

### 5.1 Analysis and Findings Answering the Research Questions

The main finding on languages was that Djiboutians speak them freely as there are no regulations or a language policy in force. Still, in the first ten years of independence some habits worked as a self-censorship system but afterwards people freely used languages. According to Bourdieu, when people use languages freely without language policy interventions it means that the exchanges are occurring in language markets. Utterances have specific values in these language markets for people and more importantly users are the ones distributing the functions of languages and their values.

## 5.2 Regulating Languages

This study is producing the literature, theoretical concepts and explanations on language policies and language planning that can be used as a starter for linguistic projects. It lays the foundation for a language policy by providing the notions needed to set up and implement such policies. These notions include the language planning which has its ramifications into the status and corpus planning of the languages spoken in the country. They make up significant knowledges for the policymakers to begin working on a language policy.

This study can help Djibouti in setting up a multilingual language policy in fulfilling its African Union membership agreement, as the government has an obligation to develop a national language policy, in accordance with the AU's requirements.

### 5.2.1 Classifying the Functions Performed by Languages

The functions that the various languages spoken in Djibouti perform are uncovered in this study and therefore their classification according to their importance is known.

The findings on language usages were different between parents and children, wife and husband, and brother and sisters.

Respondents use mostly Somali, then Afar to speak to mothers. They use French, then Somali to speak to fathers and as it is also the case between siblings. Spouses talk to each other mostly in Arabic and they use also English and French.

The trend is that the combination of French and mother tongue with parents is shifting with the use of Arabic, English. In the private spheres, the origins, education and context of communication dictated the language to use.

Djiboutians use national languages, mostly Somali, verbally in informal way to interact in their daily exchanges.

French dominates primary and secondary education. French dominates schools as the language of instruction, and the administration as the state language.

Arabic and English are sharing the roles and functions French in higher education and employment.

Arabic dominates religious interactions but Djiboutians have problems understanding the variety used by religion.

English dominates employment markets.

The classification, all domains considered, is first French which is not anymore without competitors, then second is English, which is the favourite language of students and jobseekers, finally third is Arabic, a language that is not progressing enough to go beyond religious spheres.



### 5.2.2 Inward Competition Between English and French

French is still for Djiboutians a prestigious and international language, which gives them access to education and jobs, but English is overtaking its domains of usage and roles in higher education and employment. English is integrating the country into the global village, where it dominates at this age of business and internet, most international communications and more importantly regional ones, easing the relations with the Ethiopian giant.

The findings suggest not an outward competition between two world languages; English and French, but a complex language situation. The consequences for French are currently just beginning to appear. The study found that different domains require different languages.

### 5.2.3 A Traditional Usage for National Languages

National languages are useless for getting new knowledge other than oral traditions but is inescapable for interacting in the workplace and with the government officials. National languages are still in the traditional stage. The abilities of national languages, Afar and Somali, are hampered as most people do not read or write them, because schools do not teach them. Politicians communicate with people in these languages to win electors.

The study is comparing, in the next section, these findings with Maurer's (1992) ones.

### 5.2.4 Comparing with an earlier study

Twenty-eight years ago, Maurer (1992) understood and foresaw the enormous potential of the English language and predicted that it would be a vernacular language between different communities, particularly settled regional ones, in Djibouti if nothing was done to prevent it from happening.

The progress of English, particularly its penetration in family conversations, is astonishing for anyone comparing the current language situations in Djibouti with three decades ago. It is a new language habit since Maurer's (1992) study did not report Djiboutians speaking English to their children, husbands, wives, sisters and brothers. At that period speaking French was the only way to differentiate from the mass and there were no alternatives.

In less than thirty years, English started from zero and came to occupy a quarter of French domain in higher education. One thing is sure English is here not only to stay but to get more space in Djibouti education. That means that French and English will be sharing higher education equally in the next twenty years and the final push to the dominant one will depend on its international presence and political drive.

Both studies on Djibouti found that French is the language of instruction in public school and this thanks to France policy and financial aid to Djibouti government to support the teaching of its language. They differ in that this study found that despite all the financial aids that France put into the language, French did not conquer the heart of Djiboutians, which is their homes.

Maurer (1992) recognised that Arabic is for religion and but did not mention that it has an enormous impact on people life as 98 % of the population is Muslim. He did not see the coming of private nursery and primary schools.

Languages gain or lose importance or are completely abandoned in a country. There are not classic diglossic situations. It is difficult to see diglossia in the usage of French and national language as they are both used at workplace or while helping children study. There is a specific youngster language usage, which is not visible in the data but was mentioned by two participants and constitute a mix of French and national languages while communicating. Djiboutians, normally, do not mix languages and code mixing is not practised and was not met in the interviews. English may one day take over all the French domains, but it will not have profound changes in the language behaviours of Djiboutians as they were always loyal to tribal languages. It will not be the first time in the region.

In the last century, the Horn of Africa has seen the appearance and disappearance of Italian, a colonial language that was used in schools and administrative affairs in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia. Italian disappearance was linked with the change of prestige that English and French got in the Horn after World War II but particularly to the fact that the people of this region use native languages more than any other language. The use of native languages prepares them for any language change to be seen as transitory. English is today the language of instruction in these countries. However, Djibouti and France have forty-three years of relationship-building activities, which involve financial gain for the government.

Replacing French could involve a financial sacrifice and a country like the Republic of Djibouti cannot do without the financial help of English-speaking countries. It would strain its economy and deviate much needed finances from lifesaving projects. Shifting from one language of education to another not only puts a financial burden but would create huge complications that could take several years to resolve. Some people could argue that replacing French by English would enhance Djibouti's regional or international diplomacy. Not necessarily, as the study showed that most neighbouring entities speak Somali. Besides, French is one of the five official languages of the United Nations. Djibouti may not gain any significant boost by switching to English in diplomacy. English-speaking Djiboutians diplomates report that combining French and English is the best tool in diplomacy.

In the linguistic situation of Djibouti, there is not a noticeable impact of Ethiopian languages, Amhara and Oromo, mostly spoken by refugees. However, in next ten years, these languages may well have more importance as more Ethiopians are immigrating in Djibouti for economic reasons and commercial relations between both countries are growing.

### 5.3 Limitations

The study has met some limitations. The first shortcoming was that there is only one sociolinguistic study done on languages spoken in Djibouti. It is a study focused on French language in Djibouti (Maurer, 1992). The consequences were visible in the research and imposed some limitations on the data collection process. The participants did not have any survey experience and there was always the need to explain the process several times in different languages. The researcher was showing by examples the various stages to follow when answering the questionnaire. The limitation comes from the overestimation of the participants abilities to fill the questionnaire. The researcher should have supplied more guidance to the participants on how to fill the questionnaire.

The formulation of the questionnaire was not always adequate for the various participants' level of understanding. Respondents misunderstood some wordings on language used or taught in schools and some notions like mother tongue. There were limitations of the data as participants were not answering all the questions and particularly on the languages they did not speak. The prefect of Obock prevented the research to engage with the population and collect data for the study. However, overall, the study was welcomed by many services such as the University of Djibouti and most ministerial departments. The researcher promised to make the thesis available to all at Aston University website, as participants complained not able to hear about studies realised in Djibouti,

### 5.4 Ideas for further studies

The research has highlighted some topics on which further research would be beneficial. The first one is on the teaching of Afar and Somali in schools. This topic brings in the importance of teaching vernacular languages in primary and secondary schools and specifically in technical and vocational colleges for sustainable development. The information on the knowledge in agriculture and basic sciences should be in national languages. This would cut the need for every development project to supply the continuous supervision of interpreters and technicians that help farmers access the knowledge. Empowering these workers means to teach them to write and read their mother tongue.

The second one is to generalise the teaching of regional languages in Africa for the economic development. The idea comes from the belief that the continent cannot strive and develop using foreign languages. It would be interesting to study the possibility that each region adopts one or two common vernacular languages to teach in schools and used it officially. Further studies could to look into choosing Amharic, Oromo and Somali for the Horn of Africa (Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia), Swahili for the East (Burundi, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia), Lingala for the Central and South-west (Angola, Congo and Gabon), Fulani, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba and

Songhay for the West, Arabic for the North and Chewa Showa Sotho Xhosa for the South. These two broad topics on the teaching of national languages are interesting to study in the next ten years.

## 5.5 In conclusion

This study has uncovered the importance of French in the functioning of the state and in the education of young Djiboutians. It discovered the huge progress that English realised in higher education and the job market. Arabic has progressed in the educational domain but has not yet achieved its potential as a vernacular language for all Djiboutians. National languages, Afar and Somali, are the vernacular ones. Most people speak Somali, which is invading some of French usual domains. Since Maurer's study, the language situation has significantly changed and appears to change further in favour of English. Will Djibouti, this small French-speaking island, be submerged by the surrounding ocean of English-speaking countries? Will Djibouti switch to English? One thing is for sure: it will not be English for its own sake.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaires in English, French, Afar, Arabic and Somali

The Questionnaire

1. Information on the participant: Check the appropriate box (√)								
Profession				Sex	F <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/>	Reference		
Age	19/24 <input type="checkbox"/>	25/29 <input type="checkbox"/>	30/34 <input type="checkbox"/>	35/39 <input type="checkbox"/>	40/44 <input type="checkbox"/>	45/49 <input type="checkbox"/>	50/59 <input type="checkbox"/>	60 + <input type="checkbox"/>
Residence (If new location) new #1 ancient #2	Djibouti: Ras Dika <input type="checkbox"/>	Djibouti: Boulaos <input type="checkbox"/>	Djibouti: Balbala <input type="checkbox"/>	Arta <input type="checkbox"/>	Ali Sabieh <input type="checkbox"/>	Dikhil <input type="checkbox"/>	Tadjoura <input type="checkbox"/>	Obock <input type="checkbox"/>
Education	No formal schooling <input type="checkbox"/>	Primary <input type="checkbox"/>	BEF <input type="checkbox"/>	BAC <input type="checkbox"/>	Licence <input type="checkbox"/>	Master 1 <input type="checkbox"/>	Master 2 <input type="checkbox"/>	PhD <input type="checkbox"/>
Mother tongue (if more than one) 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Afar <input type="checkbox"/>	Amharic <input type="checkbox"/>	Arabic <input type="checkbox"/>	English <input type="checkbox"/>	French <input type="checkbox"/>	Oromo <input type="checkbox"/>	Somali <input type="checkbox"/>	Other, Specify .....

2. Medium Language of Education in school: (√)			
No Medium Language of Education			
	Nursery	Primary	Secondary
Arabic speaking			
French speaking			
Other, specify .....			

3. I speak: (√)				
Languages	Fluently	Enough to conduct a non-specialised conversation	Few words	Not at all
Afar				
Amharic				
Arabic				
English				
French				
Oromo				
Somali				
Other, specify .....				

Appendix A: Questionnaires in English, French, Afar, Arabic and Somali

4. I understand: (√)				
Languages	Perfectly	Enough for a non-specialised conversation	Few words	Not at all
Afar				
Amharic				
Arabic				
English				
French				
Oromo				
Somali				
Other, specify				

5. Languages learned at home, in school and at university: (√)					
Languages	Home	Nursery	Primary	Secondary	University
Afar					
Amharic					
Arabic					
English					
French					
Oromo					
Somali					
Other, Specify .....					

6. I would like to learn: (√)	And why? (Write below the chosen number from 1 to 12)	Possible reasons (Choose the number from this column).
Afar		<b>1</b> To live in harmony with my compatriots <b>2</b> To speak with my friends, neighbours or colleagues <b>3</b> To speak with family members <b>4</b> To make friends <b>5</b> To study at university level <b>6</b> To do politics <b>7</b> To do business <b>8</b> For my business travels <b>9</b> It is the language of my religion <b>10</b> To discuss or chat or get married <b>11</b> It is a language that dominates the world <b>12</b> It is an international language
Amharic		
Arabic		
English		
French		
Oromo		
Somali		

Use of languages at home

7. At home you speak to: (√)						
Languages	Mum	Dad	Brothers/Sisters	Children	Husband/wife	Servants
Afar						
Amharic						
Arabic						
English						
French						
Oromo						
Somali						
Other, specify .....						

Use of languages in a wider social environment

8. What language do you use for: (√)							
	Afar	Amharic	Arabic	English	French	Oromo	Somali
Family and friends							
Neighbours							
Peers in the classroom							
Shopkeepers							
Colleagues at workplace							
Religious people							
International Business							
Studying at university							
Travels abroad							
Administration agents							

**Appendix A: Questionnaires in English, French, Afar, Arabic and Somali**

9. In your opinion, which languages that should be taught? (X)	Primary	Secondary	University	And why? (Write below the chosen number from 1 to 13)	Possible reasons. (Choose the number from this column.)
Afar					<b>1</b> It is an important national language that is spoken by the majority in Djibouti city. <b>2</b> It is a national language to communicate with Djiboutians. <b>3</b> It is a national language spoken by part of the Djiboutians. <b>4</b> It is a language spoken by domestic workers. <b>5</b> It is the language of Islam and the Arab League <b>6</b> It is a useful language to communicate with the Ethiopians, our neighbours. <b>7</b> It is a useful language for doing business with neighbouring countries. <b>8</b> It is a regional language <b>9</b> It is an African language <b>10</b> It is a prestigious language <b>11</b> It is an international language <b>12</b> It is an international and useful language to find a job in Djibouti. <b>13</b> It is an international language that is useful for learning about science and technology.
Amharic					
English					
Arabic					
French					
Oromo					
Somali					

10. We need: (√)	Afar for	Amharic for	Arabic for	English for	French for	Somali for	Oromo for
Learning a trade							
Finding a job							
Communicating with Djiboutians							
Doing business							
Higher Education							
Relationships with neighbouring countries							
International relationships							
Religion							
Success in life							

**11. Classify these languages according to the frequency with which you use them**

(0= no frequency of use  
 1= minor frequency of use  
 2= major frequency of use  
 3= great frequency of use).

Afar	
Amharic	
Arabic	
English	
French	
Somali	
Oromo	

**12. Classify these languages according to their importance in your life**

(0= of no importance,  
 1= of minor importance,  
 2= of major importance,  
 3 = of great importance).

Afar	
English	
Arabic	
French	
Somali	
Amharic	
Oromo	

**Le questionnaire**

1. Données personnelles: Cochez la case appropriée (x)								
Profession				Sexe :	M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/>	Reference :		
Age	19/24 <input type="checkbox"/>	25/29 <input type="checkbox"/>	30/34 <input type="checkbox"/>	35/39 <input type="checkbox"/>	40/44 <input type="checkbox"/>	45/49 <input type="checkbox"/>	50/59 <input type="checkbox"/>	60 + <input type="checkbox"/>
Domicile (si nouveau domicile) nouveau #1 ancien #2	Djibouti : Ras Dika <input type="checkbox"/>	Djibouti : Boulaos <input type="checkbox"/>	Djibouti : Balbala <input type="checkbox"/>	Arta <input type="checkbox"/>	Ali Sabieh <input type="checkbox"/>	Dikhil <input type="checkbox"/>	Tadjoura <input type="checkbox"/>	Obock <input type="checkbox"/>
Education	Sans <input type="checkbox"/> éducation formelle	Primaire <input type="checkbox"/>	BEF <input type="checkbox"/>	BAC <input type="checkbox"/>	Licence <input type="checkbox"/>	Master 1 <input type="checkbox"/>	Master 2 <input type="checkbox"/>	Doctorat <input type="checkbox"/>
Langue maternelle (si plus d'une langue) 1 et 2	Afar <input type="checkbox"/>	Amharique <input type="checkbox"/>	Arabe <input type="checkbox"/>	Anglais <input type="checkbox"/>	Français <input type="checkbox"/>	Oromo <input type="checkbox"/>	Somali <input type="checkbox"/>	Autre, svp précisez... .....

2. Langue d'enseignement à l'école: (x)			
<b>Pas de Langue d'enseignement</b>			
	Garderie	Primaire	Secondaire
Arabophone			
Francophone			
Autre, svp précisez			

3. Je parle l' (le): (x)				
Langues	Couramment	Suffisamment pour conduire une conversation non spécialisée	Quelques mots	Pas du tout
Afar				
Amharique				
Anglais				
Arabe				
Français				
Oromo				
Somali				
Autre, svp précisez .....				

4. Je comprends l' (le): (x)				
Langues	Parfaitement	Suffisamment pour suivre une conversation non spécialisée	Quelques mots	Pas du tout
Afar				
Amharique				
Anglais				
Arabe				
Français				
Oromo				
Somali				
Autre, svp précisez				

<b>5. Langues apprises à la maison à l'école et à l'université: (x)</b>					
<b>Langues</b>	Maison	Garderie	Primaire	Secondaire	Université
Afar					
Amharique					
Arabe					
Anglais					
Français					
Oromo					
Somali					
Autre, svp précisez .....					

<b>6. Je voudrais apprendre l' (le): (x)</b>	<b>Et pourquoi? (Ecrivez ci-dessous le numéro choisi de 1 à 12)</b>	<b>Les raisons possibles. (Choisissez le numéro dans cette colonne.)</b>
Afar		<b>1</b> Pour vivre en harmonie avec mes compatriotes <b>2</b> Pour parler avec mes amis, voisins ou collègues. <b>3</b> Pour parler avec les membres de ma famille <b>4</b> Pour se faire des amis <b>5</b> Pour faire des études universitaires. <b>6</b> Pour faire de la politique <b>7</b> Pour faire du commerce <b>8</b> C'est la langue de ma religion <b>9</b> Pour discuter, chatter ou se marier <b>10</b> Pour mes voyages d'affaires <b>11</b> C'est une langue qui domine le monde <b>12</b> C'est une langue internationale
Amharique		
Arabe		
Anglais		
Français		
Oromo		
Somali		

**Utilisation des langues à la maison**

7. A la maison vous parlez avec: (x)						
Langues	La mère	Le père	Les frères/ sœurs	Les enfants	Le mari/ femme	Les employés de la maison
Afar						
Amharique						
Arabe						
Anglais						
Français						
Oromo						
Somali						
Autre, svp précisez ..... ..						

8. Quelles langues parlez-vous avec: (x)							
	Afar	Amharique	Arabe	Anglais	Français	Oromo	Somali
La famille et les amis							
Les voisins							
Les camarades de classe							
Les vendeurs des boutiques							
Les collègues au travail							
Les religieux							
Les commerçants internationaux							
Les professeurs à l'université							
Les étrangers pendant vos voyages							
Les agents de l'administration							



Appendix A: Questionnaires in English, French, Afar, Arabic and Somali

9. Selon vous quelles langues doivent être enseignées? (x)	Primaire	Secondaire	Université	Et pourquoi? (Ecrivez ci-dessous le numéro choisi de 1 à 13)	Les raisons possibles. (Choisissez le numéro dans cette colonne.)
Afar					1 C'est une langue nationale importante qui est parlée par la majorité à Djibouti ville. 2 C'est une langue nationale pour communiquer avec les Djiboutiens
Amharique					3 C'est une langue nationale parlée par une partie des Djiboutiens.
Arabe					4 C'est une langue parlée par les travailleurs domestiques. 5 C'est la langue de l'Islam et de la Ligue Arabe
Anglais					6 C'est une langue utile pour communiquer avec les Ethiopiens, nos voisins.
Français					7 C'est une langue utile pour faire des affaires avec les pays voisins.
Oromo					8 C'est une langue régionale
Somali					9 C'est une langue africaine
					10 C'est une langue prestigieuse 11 C'est une langue internationale 12 C'est une langue internationale et utile pour trouver un emploi à Djibouti. 13 C'est une langue internationale qui est utile pour apprendre les sciences et la technologie.

**Utilisation des langues dans un environnement social étendu (large).**

<b>10. Nous avons besoin de l' (du): (x)</b>	Afar	Amharique	Arabe	Anglais	Français	Somali	Oromo
Pour apprendre un métier							
Pour trouver un emploi							
Pour communiquer avec les Djiboutiens							
Pour faire des affaires (business)							
Pour l'enseignement supérieur							
Pour les relations avec les pays voisins							
Pour les relations internationales							
Pour la religion							
Pour réussir dans la vie							

<b>11. Classez ces langues selon leur importance dans votre vie.</b> (0= aucune importance 1= de moindre importance, 2= d'importance moyenne, 3= de grande importance)	
Afar	
Amharique	
Arabe	
Anglais	
Français	
Oromo	
Somali	

<p>12. <u>Classer ces langues selon la fréquence avec laquelle vous l'utilisez.</u>                  (0= fréquence d'utilisation nulle,                  1= fréquence d'utilisation rare,                  2= fréquence d'utilisation moyenne                  3= fréquence d'utilisation élevée)</p>	
Afar	
Amharique	
Arabe	
Anglais	
Français	
Oromo	
Somali	

QUESTIONNAIRE AFAR

1. <u>Numtin</u> <u>attacawwenta:</u> (X)								
Taama :		Labnum <input type="checkbox"/>		Saynum <input type="checkbox"/>		Reference :		
Karma	19/24 <input type="checkbox"/>	25/29 <input type="checkbox"/>	30/34 <input type="checkbox"/>	35/39 <input type="checkbox"/>	40/44 <input type="checkbox"/>	45/49 <input type="checkbox"/>	50/59 <input type="checkbox"/>	60 + <input type="checkbox"/>
Guubu	Djibouti: Ras Dika <input type="checkbox"/>	Djibouti: Boulaos <input type="checkbox"/>	Djibouti: Balbala <input type="checkbox"/>	Arta <input type="checkbox"/>	Ali Sabieh <input type="checkbox"/>	Dikhil <input type="checkbox"/>	Tadjourah <input type="checkbox"/>	Obock <input type="checkbox"/>
Baritto	Sans éducation formelle <input type="checkbox"/>	Primaire <input type="checkbox"/>	BEPC <input type="checkbox"/>	BAC <input type="checkbox"/>	Licence <input type="checkbox"/>	Master 1 <input type="checkbox"/>	Master 2 <input type="checkbox"/>	Doctorat <input type="checkbox"/>
Inahafitte (Inki afak mangi tekkek ) 1 haytu kee 2 haytu)	Qafaraf <input type="checkbox"/>	Amcaraf <input type="checkbox"/>	Ingliizaf <input type="checkbox"/>	Qarabaf <input type="checkbox"/>	Faransaawihaf <input type="checkbox"/>	Oroomohaf <input type="checkbox"/>	Soomaalihaf <input type="checkbox"/>	Aki afitte, Sin magan baxxaqisa .....

2. <u>Iskool kee baritte af :</u> (X)			
	Alaaqa baritol	Naharsi barittol	Fanti barittol
Qarabaf			
Faransaawihaf			
Aki afitte, Sin magan baxxaqisa .....			

3. <u>Yaabah</u> (X)				
Afitte	meqannah	Baxxaqqa sinnuk	Dago qangooru	Inkinnah
Qafaraf				
Amcaraf				
Ingliizaf				
Qarabaf				
Faransaawihaf				
Oroomohaf				
Soomaalihaf				
Aki afitte, Sin magan baxxaqisa .....				

<b>4. Afhimeh (X)</b>				
<b>Afitte</b>	meqennah	Baxxaqqa sinnuk	Dago qangooru	Inkinnah
Qafaraf				
Amcaraf				
Qarabaf				
Ingliizaf				
Faransaawihaf				
Oroomohaf				
Soomaalihaf				
Aki afitte, Sin magan baxxaqisa .....				

<b>5. Buxal, iskoolul, hinnay gaamiqatal baritten afitte (X)</b>					
	Buxal	Alaaqa baritol	Naharsi barittol	Fanti barittol	Gaamiqat barittol
Qafaraf					
Amcaraf					
Qarabaf					
Ingliizaf					
Faransaawihaf					
Oroomohaf					
Soomaalihaf					
Aki afitte, Sin magan baxxaqisa .....					

<b>6. Bartam faxam (X)</b>	<b>Mahay kah bartam faxam ? (Siinit celta maqna leh an nibrook ugutak rankoysa 1 ilaa 12)</b>	<b>Ta xexarih addak doora (Siinit celta maqna leh esserog gahsa. Nibro kak uktuba)</b>
Qafaraf		1 Yi wadayalluk mano gexisuh 2 Kataysisiy, cugganey, taama kataysisiluk yaabuh 3 Yi ramadalluk edde yaabuh 4 Safaral edde yaabuh 5 Gamiqat barito edde abuh 6 Qaalamal edde yaaban afa 7 Qaalam afittetak daga raaga afa 8 Yi dinih edde oobe afa 9 Digbisam faxa sehadaytulluk edde walaluh 10 Qalla haysituh 11 Tirfi edde abuh 12 Siyaasa edde gexisuh
Amcaraf		
Qarabaf		
Ingilizaf		
Faransaawihaf		
Oromohaf		
Soomalihaf		

**Buxal afitte elle yastiqmilen inna**

<b>7. Buxal lih yabtaah, edde yabtam: (x)</b>						
<b>Afitte</b>	Ina	Abba	Tooboko	Xaylo	Baqala/barra	Buxal taamita mara
Qafaraf						
Amcaraf						
Qarabaf						
Ingliizaf						
Faransaawihaf						
Oroomohaf						
Soomaalihaf						
Aki afitte, Sin magan baxxaqisa .....						

Farakka le ayyuntih wahanih addal afitte elle yastiqmilen inna.

<b>8. Maa afitte yabtaanaah, miyyalih yabtanaa : (X)</b>							
<b>Afitte</b>	Qafaraf	Amcaraf	Qarabaf	Ingliizaf	Faransaawihaf	Oroomohaf	Soomaalihaf
Buxá mara kee kataysiisi							
Cuggaane							
Daas kataysis							
Tirfi caagiida							
Taamâ kataysiisi							
Diini							
Kulli saakih agxe							
Afah Caagiidah abto							
Fayyata Baritto							
Baad Safara							
Xinto taamiteyniiti							

Appendix A: Questionnaires in English, French, Afar, Arabic and Somali

9. Maa afitte barsaanam faxximtam siinit celtaa ? (X)	Naharsi barittol	Fanti barittol	Gaamiqat barittol	Macahay ? (Siinit celta maqna leh tan nibrook ugutak rankoysa 1 ilaa 13)	Ta xexarih addak doora (Siinit celta Maqna leh yan esserog gacsa. Nibro kak uktuba)
Qafaraf					1 Baaxoh afay yabuuti magalal mangi edde yaabana
Amcaraf					2 Baaxoh afay, yabuutih ayyunta luk edde walalan afa
Qarabaf					3 Baaxoh afay yabuutih ayyuntak gali edde yaaba afa
Ingliizaf					4 Buxaxih addal taamita mari edde yaaba afa
Faransaawihaf					5 Islam afay, arab eglah afa
Oroomohaf					6 Ethiopiah baaxoy cugganeh nek tanil edde yantifiqen afa
Soomaalihaf					7 Cuggane baaxooxal abto gexisuh yanfiqe afa
					8 Makafiteh afa 9 Afrikan afa 10 Saqalah raaqa afa 11 Qaalam afa 12 Qaalam afay, qilmi barito ke qusba technologie edde barituh 13 Qaalam afay, yabuutil taama edde geyuh yanfiqe afa

10. Kak natceegem (X)							
	Qafar afak	Amcar afak	Qarab afak	Ingliiz afak	Faransaawih afak	Oroomoh afak	Soomaalih afak
Taama barituh							
Taama geyuh							
Gabuuti xaylo lih edde yaabuh							
Qadaaga edde abuh							
Fayya itta baritto edde abuh							
Cuggaan ê Baaxol edde yaabuh							
Dolatini fantaaxa w ede gexisuh							
Diini barituh							
Mano aymaaqu h							

11. A afitte elle tastiqmilen yaakumik-ciggiilak rankoysa (0 = Num Miyastiqmila 1= Dagom yastiqmilen 2= Qaadik yastiqmilen 3= Kaxxam yastiqmilen )	
Qafaraf	
Amcaraf	
Qarabaf	
Ingliizaf	
Faransaawihaf	
Oroomohaf	
Soomaalihaf	



<p>12. A afitte sin garil leh tan muhimmataak ugutak rankoysa.                  (0= Muhimmik mayan                  1= Dagom muhimmik yan,                  2= Muhimmik yan,                  3= Kaxxam muhimmik yan)</p>	
Qafaraf	
Amcaraf	
Qarabaf	
Ingliizaf	
Faransaawihaf	
Oroomohaf	
Soomaalihaf	

إستبيان

1. معلومات شخصية للمشاركة : وضع علامة في الخانة المناسبة (x)							
الوظيفة :		جنس: الذكور <input type="checkbox"/> الإناث <input type="checkbox"/>		مرجع:			
العمر	<input type="checkbox"/> 19/24	<input type="checkbox"/> 25/29	<input type="checkbox"/> 30/34	<input type="checkbox"/> 35/39	<input type="checkbox"/> 40/44	<input type="checkbox"/> 45/49	<input type="checkbox"/> 50/59
العنوان ( إذا جديدة) جديد # 1 قديم # 2	جيبوتي رأيس ديكا <input type="checkbox"/>	جيبوتي : بلعوس <input type="checkbox"/>	جيبوتي بلبلا <input type="checkbox"/>	عرتا <input type="checkbox"/>	علي صبيح <input type="checkbox"/>	دخل <input type="checkbox"/>	تاجورة <input type="checkbox"/>
التعليم	دراسة <input type="checkbox"/> غير نظامية	إبتدائية <input type="checkbox"/>	اعدادية <input type="checkbox"/>	ثانوية <input type="checkbox"/>	جامعية/لس <input type="checkbox"/> ان	ماجستير 1 <input type="checkbox"/>	ماجستير 2 <input type="checkbox"/>
اللغة الأم (إذا أكثر من واحد) 1 و 2	عفرية <input type="checkbox"/>	أمهارية <input type="checkbox"/>	عربية <input type="checkbox"/>	إنجليزية <input type="checkbox"/>	فرنسية <input type="checkbox"/>	أرومية <input type="checkbox"/>	صومالية <input type="checkbox"/>
أخرى اذكرها من فضلك							

2. لغة الدراسة في المدارس والجامعة : (x)			
لا لغة الدراسة			
اللغات	الحضانة	الاعدادية	الثانوية
يتحدث العربية			
يتحدث الفرنسية			
أخرى اذكرها من فضلك			
.....			

3. اللغات التي أتكلم بها : (x)				
اللغات	فصيح	بما يكفي محادثة غير المتخصصة	كلمات قليلة	لا أفهم
عفرية				
أمهارية				
عربية				
إنجليزية				
فرنسية				
أرومية				
صومالية				
أخرى اذكرها من فضلك				
.....				

4. اللغات التي أفهم بها : (x)				
اللغات	ممتاز	بما يكفي محادثة غير المتخصصة	كلمات قليلة	لا أفهم
عفريية				
أمهارية				
عربي				
إنجليزية				
فرنسية				
أرومية				
صومالية				
أخرى اذكرها من فضلك .....				

5. اللغات التي تعلمتها في المنزل، في المدرسة والجامعة : (x)					
اللغات	البيت	الحضانة	في الابتدائية	في الثانوية	في الجامعة
عفريية					
أمهارية					
عربية					
إنجليزية					
فرنسية					
ارومية					
صومالية					
أخرى اذكرها من فضلك .....					

6. اود أن تعلم: (x) و لماذا؟ (1-12 كتابة أدناه عدد اختارت )	الأسباب المحتملة (اختر رقم من هذا العمود)
	1 لأعيش في الانسجام مع أبناء وطني
	2 للتحدث مع أصدقائي والجيران أو الزملاء
	3 للتحدث مع أفراد الأسرة
	4 لكسب الأصدقاء
	5 للدراسة في المستوى الجامعي
	6 لممارسة السياسة
	7 للتجارة
	8 لسفريات الأعمال
	9 لأنها لغة ديني
	10 للتحدث أو الدردشة أو الزواج
	11 لأنها اللغة التي تهيمن على العالم
	12 لأنها لغة عالمية

استخدام اللغات في البيت

7. أتحدث في البيت مع : (x)						
اللغات	الأم ب	الأب ب	الأخوة/الأخوات ب	الأولاد ب	الزوج/ الزوجة ب	العمال في البيت ب
عفرية						
أمهارية						
عربية						
انجليزية						
فرنسية						
أرومية						
صومالية						
أخري اذكرها من فضلك						

استخدام اللغات في البيئة الاجتماعية (الواسعة)

8. ما هي اللغات التي تتكلم مع : (x)						
اللغات	عفرية	أمهارية	عربية	انجليزية	فرنسية	أرومية صومالية
الأسرة والأصدقاء						
الجيران						
الزملاء في الفصل						
الباعة المحلات التجارية						
الزملاء في العمل						
ديني						
التجار الدوليين						
المعلمون الجامعة						
الأجانب أثناء السفر						
وكلاء الإداريين						

الأسباب المحتملة حدد العدد في هذا (.العمود)	ولماذا؟ اكتب أدناه) (1-13 الرقم المحدد	الجامعة	الثانوية	الأبتدائية	في رأيك ما هي 9 اللغات التي يجب أن تدرس؟ (x)
هذه هي لغة جيبوتي وطنية هامة التي يتحدث 1 بها الغالبية في مدينة هي لغة وطنية على التواصل مع الناس من 2 جيبوتين هي اللغة الوطنية التي يتحدث بها بعض 3 الجيبوتين هي اللغة التي يتحدث بها 4 العاملات في المنازل هي لغة الإسلام وجامعة 5 الدول العربية هي لغة مفيدة للتواصل 6 مع الإثيوبيين، الجيرانيين هذه هي لغة مفيدة لممارسة الأعمال التجارية 7 مع الدول الأخرى 8 هي اللغة الإقليمية 9 هذه هي لغة الأفريقية 10 هي لغة المرموقة 11 هي لغة عالمية هي لغة عالمية ومفيدة للعثور على وظيفة في 12 جيبوتي م والتكنولوجيا الحديثة هذه هي لغة عالمية يمكن أن يكون مفيدا لتعلم العلو 13					عفوية
					أهلية
					عربية
					إنجليزية
					فرنسية
					أرومية
					صومالية

10. نحتاج إلى : (x)	عفوية ل	أهلية ل	عربية ل	إنجليزية ل	فرنسية ل	أرومية ل	صومالية ل
لتعليم المهني							
حصول على الوظيفة							
التواصل مع الجيبوتين							
خلق الفرص (التجارة)							
لتعليم العالي							
لعلاقات الدول المجاورة							
لعلاقات الدولية							
الدين							
لنجاح في الحياة							

11. رتب هذه اللغات بتسلسل من حيث الأفضلية لحياتك	
ليس مهم = 0 مهم قليل = 1 مهم = 2 (مهم جدا = 3)	
	عفرية
	أمهارية
	عربية
	إنجليزية
	فرنسية
	أرومية
	صومالية
	أخري اذكرها من فضلك

12. رتب اللغات التالية مدى حسب استخدا مك لها	
لم تستخدم = 0 تستخدم إقليلا = 1 تستخدم عادة = 2 (تستخدم كثيرا = 3)	
	عفرية
	أمهارية
	عربية
	إنجليزية
	فرنسية
	أرومية
	صومالية
	أخري اذكرها من فضلك

**Su'aalaha Af-Soomaaliga**

1. Macluumaadka gaar ahaaneed ee ka qeebgalaha: Calaamadee sanduuqa ku habboon (x)								
Meheeradda			Qofka : Lab <input type="checkbox"/>	dhidig <input type="checkbox"/>	Reference:			
Da'da	19/24 <input type="checkbox"/>	25/29 <input type="checkbox"/>	30/34 <input type="checkbox"/>	35/39 <input type="checkbox"/>	40/44 <input type="checkbox"/>	45/49 <input type="checkbox"/>	50/59 <input type="checkbox"/>	60 + <input type="checkbox"/>
Daganaasho (haddad jadid tahay) halka dambe #1 halki hore #2	Djibouti: Ras Dika <input type="checkbox"/>	Djibout: Boulaos <input type="checkbox"/>	Djibout: Balbala <input type="checkbox"/>	Arta <input type="checkbox"/>	Ali Sabieh <input type="checkbox"/>	Dikhil <input type="checkbox"/>	Tadjoura <input type="checkbox"/>	Obock <input type="checkbox"/>
Waxbarasho	Taclin Dugsiyed la'an <input type="checkbox"/>	Dugsi Hoose <input type="checkbox"/>	BEFka <input type="checkbox"/>	Baagga <input type="checkbox"/>	Licenceka <input type="checkbox"/>	Master 1 <input type="checkbox"/>	Master 2 <input type="checkbox"/>	Doctor <input type="checkbox"/>
Afka hooyo (hadduu labo dhaafay) ka 1 iyo ka 2	Cafar <input type="checkbox"/>	Amxaar <input type="checkbox"/>	Carabi <input type="checkbox"/>	Ingiriis <input type="checkbox"/>	Fransiis <input type="checkbox"/>	Oroomo <input type="checkbox"/>	Soomaali <input type="checkbox"/>	Ku kale, sheeg fadlan ..... ....

2. Afka wax barashada tac'liinta dugsiyada: (x)			
Maleh Afka wax barashada tac'liinta			
	Xaddaanada/Bilowga	Dusiga hoose	Dugsiga dhexe
Caraboon			
Frankoon			
Ku kale, sheeg fadlan .....			

3. Waxaan ugu hadlaa: (x)				
Afafka	Fasiix	Dhedhexaad	Dhaawr midh baan fahma	Ma fahmo
Cafar				
Amxaar				
Carabi				
Ingiriis				
Fransiis				
Oroomo				
Soomaali				
Ku kale, sheeg fadlan .....				

**Appendix A: Questionnaires in English, French, Afar, Arabic and Somali**

<b>4. Waxaan u fahmaa: (x)</b>				
<b>Afafka</b>	Fasiix	Dhedhexaad	Dhowr kalmadood	Ma fahmo
Cafar				
Amxaar				
Carabi				
Ingiriis				
Fransiis				
Oroomo				
Soomaali				
Ku kale, sheeg fadlan				

<b>5. Afka aad ku baraatay guriga, iskuulka iyo jaamacadda: (x)</b>					
<b>Afafka</b>	Guriga	Xaddaanada/Bilowga	Dugsihoose	Dugsidhexe	Jaamacad
Cafar					
Amxaar					
Carabi					
Ingiriis					
Fransiis					
Oroomo					
Soomaali					
Ku kale, Sheeg fadlan ....					

<b>6. Waxaan jecelahay in aan barto: (x)</b>	<b>Waayo? ka dooro Nambarrada sababaha ee 1 illa 12)</b>	<b>Sababaha aad sheegan karto. Halkan ka dooro nambarka kaliya</b>
Cafar		<b>1</b> Si aan wanaag ugula noolado qeeyb kamid ah wadaniyiinta <b>2</b> Si aan ugula hadlo saaxiibaday, deriska iyo shaqaalaha <b>3</b> Si aan ugula hadlo qaar kamid ah xubnaha qoyskayga <b>4</b> Si aan saxiibo ugu yesho <b>5</b> Si aan ugu barto heer jaamacadeed <b>6</b> Si aan siyasadda ugu adeegsado <b>7</b> Si aan ugu ganacsado <b>8</b> Waa afka diintayda <b>9</b> Si aan ugu shukaansado, ugu sheekeysto amba ugu guursado <b>10</b> Si aad ugu isticmaalo safarada ganacsiga <b>11</b> Waa af dunida loogu taliyo <b>12</b> Waa af caalami ah
Amxaar		
Carabi		
Ingiriis		
Fransiis		
Oroomo		
Soomaali		



7. Guriga waxaad kula haadashaa: (x)						
Afafka	Hooyo	Aabbo	Walaalo	Caruurta	Niinkaaga/ Xaskaaga	Shaqaalaha guriga
Cafar						
Amxaar						
Carabi						
Ingiriis						
Fransiis						
Oroomo						
Soomaali						
Ku kale, sheeg fadlan .....						

**Adeegsiga afafka guriga**

8. Afafkee kula wanaagsan in lagu dhigo? (x)	Dugsiga hoose	Dugsiga dhexe	Jaamacad	Waayo? ka dooro nambarrada sababaha ee 1 illa 13)	Sababaha aad sheegan karto. Halkan ka dooro nambarka kaliya.
Cafar					<p>1 Waa luqad qaran ah oo muhim ah oo ay ku hadlaan intooda badan reer Jabuuti</p> <p>2 Waa af qaran ah oo aan kula xidhiidho dadka reer Jabuuti</p> <p>3 Waa luqad qaran oo ay ku hadlaan qeeyb reer Jabuuti ah</p> <p>4 Waa luqada shaqaalaha guryaha ay ku hadlaan</p> <p>5 Waa afkii Islaamka iyo Midawga Carabta</p> <p>6 Waa luqad faa'iido kuleh laxiriirka dadka reer Itoobia ee jaarkeenna ah</p> <p>7 Waa luqad faa'iido ku leh ganacsiga waddanada jaarka</p> <p>8 Waa af goboleed</p> <p>9 Waa af Afrikaan</p> <p>10 Waa luqad caalami ah oo sharaf u leh dalka</p> <p>11 Waa luqad caalami ah</p> <p>12 Waa luqad caalami ah oo faa'iido u leh shaqo helista Jabuuti</p> <p>13 Waa af caalami ah oo faa'iido u leh barashada sayniska iyo teknolojiyadda</p>
Amxaar					
Carabi					
Ingiriis					
Fransiis					
Oroomo					
Soomaali					

**Afafka la adeegsado bulshada dhexdeeda**

9. Afafkeed kula haadashaa? (x)							
	Cafar	Amxaar	Carabi	Ingiriis	Fransiis	Oroomo	Soomaali
Xaaska iyo asxaabta							
Jaarka							
Asxaabta dugsiiga							
Ganacsiga magalada							
Asxaabta shaqada							
Diinta							
Baahida shaqada							
Ganacsiga calamiiga							
Wax barashada saree							
Dalxiiska dibadda							
Shaqaalaha xafiisyada							

10. Waxaan u baahanna hay: (x)	Cafar si :	Amxaar si :	Carabi si :	Ingiriis si :	Fransiis si :	Soomaali si :	Oroomo si :
Shaqo loogubarto							
Shaqo loogu heelo							
Loogula xidhidho dadka reer Djibouti							
Loogu ganacsado							
Waxbarashada saree loogubarto							
Loogula xidhiidho wadanada jaarka							
Loogula xidhiidho wadanada adduunka							
Diinta loogubarto							
Loogu Horumariyo nolosha							

**11. Ukala horreysi afafkan sida ay muhiim ugu yihiin nooloshada.**

(0= muhiimad la'aan  
 1= muhiimad yar  
 2= muhiim caadi ah  
 3= muhiimad badan)

Cafar	
Amxaar	
Carabi	
Ingiriis	
Fransiis	
Oroomo	
Somali	

**12. Ukala horreysi afafkan sida adeegsigooda kuugu badan yahay**

(0= adeegsi la'aan  
 1= adeegsi yar  
 2= adeegsi caadi ah  
 3= adeegsi badan)

Cafar	
Amxaar	
Carabi	
Ingiriis	
Fransiis	
Oroomo	
Soomaali	

## Appendix B: First Draft Questionnaires' in English

**Questionnaire in English.**

1. <u>Information on the participant.</u>								<u>Reference:</u>
Profession	Businessman	Student	Teacher	Employee	Technicien /Nurse	Engineer	Homemaker	Jobless
Age	18/24	25/31	31/37	38/44	45/51	52/58	59/65	66/72
Residence	Djibouti : Ras Dika	Djibouti : Boulaos	Djibouti : Balbala	Arta	Ali Sabieh	Dikhil	Tadjoura	Obock
Education	Without education	Primaire	BEPC	BAC	Licence	Master 1	Master 2	PhD
Mother tongue	Afar	Anglais	Arabe	Français	Somali	Amharic	Oromo	other

2. <u>Languages learned in school and at home</u>				
	Home	Primary:	Secondary:	University:
Afar				
English				
Arabic				
French				
Somali				
Amharic				
Oromo				

3. <u>What languages do you use for: (√)</u>						
	Afar	English	Arabic	French	Somali	Other (Please, precise)
Watching a film						
Watching the news						
Listening to radio						
Reading newspapers						
Reading a book						
Writing a letter						
Writing an email						
Searching or learning on Internet						

<b>4. I speak (√)</b>	
Afar	
English	
Arabic	
French	
Somali	
Amharic	
Oromo	

<b>5. I understand (√)</b>	
Afar	
English	
Arabic	
French	
Somali	
Amharic	
Oromo	

<b>6. I would like to learn (√)</b>	
Afar	
English	
Arabic	
French	
Somali	
Amharic	
Oromo	

Use of languages at home

7. At home you speak to: (✓)					
	Mum	Dad	Brothers/Sisters	Children	Husband/wife
Afar					
English					
Arabic					
Somali					
French					
Amharic					
Oromo					

Use of languages in a wider social environment.

8. What languages do you use for: (✓)						
	Family and friends	Neighbours	Peers in the classroom	Shopkeepers	Colleagues at workplace	Administration agents
Afar						
English						
Arabic						
French						
Somali						
Amharic						
Oromo						

	Religion	Work matters	Doing Business	Studying	Science	Travels
Afar						
English						
Arabic						
French						
Somali						
Amharic						
Oromo						

<b>9. According to you what languages must be taught? (√)</b>					
	Afar	English	Arabic	French	Somali
At nursery					
In primary					
In secondary					
At university					

<b>10. We need Arabic for: (√)</b>	
Learning a trade	
Finding a job	
Communicating with Djiboutians	
Doing business	
Higher Education	
Relationships with neighbouring countries	
International relationships	
Religion	
Success in life	

<b>11. We need French for: (√)</b>	
Learning a trade	
Finding a job	
Communicating with Djiboutians	
Doing business	
Higher Education	
Relationships with neighbouring countries	
International relationships	
Religion	
Success in life	

<b>12. We need English for: (✓)</b>	
Learning a profession	
Finding a job	
Communicating with Djiboutians	
Doing business	
Education	
Relationships with neighbouring countries	
International relationships	
Religion	
Success in life	

<b>13. Classify these languages according to their importance in your life (1,2,3,4,5..).</b>		
Afar		
English		
Arabic		
French		
Somali		
Amharic		
Oromo		

<b>14. Classify these languages according to the frequency with which you use them(1,2,3,4,5..).</b>	
Afar	
English	
Arabic	
French	
Somali	
Oromo	
Amharic	



Appendix C: Second Draft Questionnaires' in English

Questionnaire in English.

1. Information on the participant.					Reference:			
Profession	Businessman	Student	Teacher	Employee	Technicien /Nurse	Engineer	Homemaker	Jobless
Age	18/24	25/31	31/37	38/44	45/51	52/58	59/65	66/72
Residence	Djibouti : Ras Dika	Djibouti : Boulaos	Djibouti : Balbala	Arta	Ali Sabieh	Dikhil	Tadjoura	Obock
Education	Without education	Primaire	BEPC	BAC	Licence	Master 1	Master 2	Ph.D
Mother tongue	Afar	English	Arabic	French	Somali	Amharic	Oromo	Other

2. Languages learned in school and at home				
	Home	Primary:	Secondary:	University:
Afar				
English				
Arabic				
French				
Somali				
Amharic				
Oromo				

3. What languages do you use for: (√)						
	Afar	English	Arabic	French	Somali	Other (Please, precise)
Watching a film						
Watching the news						
Listening to radio						
Reading newspapers						
Reading a book						
Writing a letter						
Writing an email						
Searching or learning on Internet						

**Appendix C: Second Draft Questionnaire in English**

<b>4. I speak (✓)</b>	
Afar	
English	
Arabic	
French	
Somali	
Amharic	
Oromo	

<b>5. I understand (✓)</b>	
Afar	
English	
Arabic	
French	
Somali	
Amharic	
Oromo	

<b>6. I would like to learn (✓)</b>	
Afar	
English	
Arabic	
French	
Somali	
Amharic	
Oromo	

Use of languages at home

7. At home you speak to: (✓)					
	Mum	Dad	Brothers/Sisters	Children	Husband/wife
Afar					
English					
Arabic					
Somali					
French					
Amharic					
Oromo					

Use of languages in a wider social environment.

8. What languages do you use for: (✓)						
	Family and friends	Neighbours	Peers in the classroom	Shopkeepers	Colleagues at workplace	Administration agents
Afar						
English						
Arabic						
French						
Somali						
Amharic						
Oromo						

**Appendix C: Second Draft Questionnaire in English**

	Religion	Work matters	Doing Business	Studying	Science	Travels
Afar						
English						
Arabic						
French						
Somali						
Amharic						
Oromo						

<b>9. According to you what languages must be taught? (✓)</b>					
	Afar	English	Arabic	French	Somali
At nursery					
In primary					
In secondary					
At university					

<b>10. We need Arabic for: (✓)</b>	
Learning a trade	
Finding a job	
Communicating with Djiboutians	
Doing business	
Higher Education	
Relationships with neighbouring countries	
International relationships	
Religion	
Success in life	

**Appendix C: Second Draft Questionnaire in English**

<b>11. We need French for: (√)</b>	
Learning a trade	
Finding a job	
Communicating with Djiboutians	
Doing business	
Higher Education	
Relationships with neighbouring countries	
International relationships	
Religion	
Success in life	

<b>12. We need English for: (√)</b>	
Learning a profession	
Finding a job	
Communicating with Djiboutians	
Doing business	
Education	
Relationships with neighbouring countries	
International relationships	
Religion	
Success in life	

<b>13. Classify these languages according to their importance in your life (1,2,3,4,5..).</b>		
Afar		
English		
Arabic		
French		
Somali		
Amharic		
Oromo		

14. <u>Classify these languages according to the frequency with which you use them(1,2,3,4,5..).</u>	
Afar	
English	
Arabic	
French	
Somali	
Oromo	
Amharic	

## Appendix D: List of the 16 Interviewees

Name/ alias and date	Sex	age	job title	Workplace	Educatio n	Language of Education	Address
Isse 4 March 2017 at 16.28	M	49	Director of Human Resources	A large State Company	BA	French & English	Boulaos
Yacoub 4 March 2017 at 10.47	M	55	Technical Adviser to a Minister	Ministry	BTS	French	Balbala
Mahad 6 March 2017 at 09.55	M	27	Assistant Lecturer of English	University of Djibouti	Master	French and English	Balbala
Ifrah 7 March 2017 at 19.06	F	50	Careers Adviser	Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training	Master 1	French	Balbala
Djama 8 March 2017 at 08.28	M	50	Director of Studies	University of Djibouti	PhD in Literature	French	Balbala
Nasser 11 March 2017 at 13.09	M	40	Program specialist	Foreign Government Organisation	Master	French and English	Balbala
Daoud 12 March 2017 at 15.33	M	40	Lecturer of English	University of Djibouti	Master	French	Boulaos
Marwan 14 March 2017 at 06.41	M	38	IT instructor	University of Djibouti	Master	Arabic and English	Boulaos
Saleh 18 March 2017 at 04.20	M	47	Administra tive Director	Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training	Master	French	Balbala
Chehem 18 March 2017 at 09.13	M	45	Inspector of Education	Ministry of National Education a nd Vocational Training	Master	French	Balbala
Roua 23 March 2017 at 07.12	F	35	Deputy Head Teacher of a secondary school	Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training	Bachelor	French	Balbala
Mohamed 16 April 2017 at 10.18	M	54	Director	Ministry of Further Education and Research	Master	French	Balbala
Abdirachid 16 April 2017 at 15.40	M	52	Lecturer and Member of the Somali Academy	Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Culture and Waqf	Ph.D. Linguistic s	French	Balbala
Abdallah 19 April 2017 at 15.49	M	33	Head of Departmen t	Foreign Military Base in Djibouti	Master	French	Balbala
Ahmed 27 April 2017 at 14.44	M	52	Imam of a mosque	Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Culture and Waqf	Master	French	Boulaos
Zeinab 23 March 2017 at 10.09	F	60	Head of Departmen t	Ministry of Labour and Administrative Reform.	Bachelor	French	Boulaos

## Appendix E: Consent and Information Form

*Please read the following information carefully. You can also request a copy for future reference.*

*Participants that can't read the consent form will have it verbally explained in Afar, Amharic, Arabic, English, French, Oromo, or Somali languages. The consent of participation will be recorded at the beginning of the interview.*

### Project Title

#### **Market Languages in the Horn of Africa**

This is a study based on what languages are spoken in Djibouti and how they are used in everyday life.

### Invitation

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

### What is the purpose of the study?

The objective of this study is to analyse the present active language choices in Djibouti. It will investigate what languages people use when communicating, accessing knowledge, televised information, films and Internet.

### Why have I been chosen?

The criteria for people to take part in this study are to be a citizen of Djibouti or neighbouring countries living in the territory. They should fit in a preselected group according to their age and place in the different communities and classes in the society at large. Participants from all walk of life, homemakers, jobless, the private sector and students will also be invited. People from different ministerial departments and at several work positions will be included in the invitation to participate in the research.

### What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree, you will have to answer some questions about the languages you speak, and the interview will be recorded. This conversation will last about one to two hours individually or by group. During the interview if there are any questions that you don't want to answer, feel free to say so. The recording will be used to transcribe the conversation, so that it can be studied in more detail. The results will be written into a research dissertation and in a book later, but your real name will never be used and all identifying information will be anonym.

### Are there any potential risks in talking part in the study?

There are no risks related to taking part in this study by giving interviews. Secured and comfortable rooms from the University of Djibouti or public premises or community halls will be used for all interviews, but other premises can be arranged if requested in advance. Access to premises will be facilitated for people with disabilities and their special needs taken care of during the interview.

### Do I have to take part?

There is no obligation on you to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time: before, during or after the recording. It is very important that you feel relaxed and as comfortable as possible during the recording.

### Expenses and payments:

No payments or expenses are offered.

### Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

Your name will not be used, and you will not be identified in any way other than in your consent form, which will be preserved securely. The processing of personal data will comply with the Data Protection Act 1998 in UK and Djibouti laws.

### What will happen to the results of the research study?

Recordings of your speech will be kept securely and used solely for research and teaching purposes. The results of the research may be published in the future in books and journals, but complete anonymity will always be respected. A copy of the published research will be available at the University of Djibouti and at Aston University in UK.

### Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is under the supervision of Dr Emmanuelle Labeau from the School of Languages and Social Sciences of Aston University and prepared by Said Djama Dirie, PhD student and teacher at the University of Djibouti.

### Who has reviewed the study?

The research has been approved by Aston University's Ethics Committee, and the University of Djibouti.

### Who do I Contact if Something Goes Wrong or I need Further Information?

Participants who would like to have more information or are concerned by the way interviews are conducted, can email to the researcher at [diriesd@aston.ac.uk](mailto:diriesd@aston.ac.uk) or post a letter to P.O Box 205 Djibouti.

### Who do I contact if I wish to make a complaint about the way in which the research is conducted?

Participants who have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted and would like to complaint should contact the Secretary of the University Ethics Committee on [j.g.walter@aston.ac.uk](mailto:j.g.walter@aston.ac.uk) or telephone 0044121 2044665.





## Appendix F: Description of the Interview procedure

The researcher used an interview guide and the information and techniques of Kvale (1996: 133-135).

### Types of interview questions with examples

- a. Introducing questions: “Can you tell me about....?”, “Do you remember an occasion when...?” “What happened in the episode mentioned?”
- b. Follow-up questions: Direct questioning of what has just been said, nodding, “mm”, repeating significant words,
- c. Probing questions: “Could you say something more about that?”, “Can you give a more detailed description of what happened?”, “Do you have further examples of this?”
- d. Specifying questions: “What did you think then?” “What did you actually do when you felt a mounting anxiety?”, “How did your body react?”
- e. Direct questions: “Have you ever received money for good grades? When you mention competition, do you then think of a sportsmanlike or a destructive competition?”
- f. Indirect questions: Projective questions such as ‘How do you believe other pupils regard the competition of grades?’
- g. Structuring questions: indicating when a theme is exhausted by breaking off long irrelevant answers: “I would now like to introduce another topic.”
- h. Silence: By allowing pauses the interviewees have ample time to associate and reflect and break the silence themselves. With significant information
- i. Interpreting questions: “You then mean that....?” “Is it correct that you feel that...?” “Does the expression.... Cover what you have just expressed?”

### Interview Guide in English

#### Presentation

- 1 Introduction, establish relationship, explain aim of interview.
  - 2 Who you are, what you are doing, again negotiate issues of anonymity and the boundaries of confidentiality, what will happen to any findings, how long will the interview last.
  - 3 Warm up
  - 4 Main body
- Please tell me your name, age, profession, responsibility or title, service and residence.  
What is your mother tongue? In what language do you like to be interviewed?  
(Here the researcher speaks different languages to encourage the participants to choose the one he feels comfortable with.)

#### Importance of languages

- Are you a French or Arabic speaker? (Francophone/Arabophone)  
What is your level of Education? In Secondary or at University? What language? Where?  
Paid by government bursary or privately?  
How many languages do you speak, understand and write?  
What is the level of these languages? Which language is important for you? Why?  
Do you feel the need to learn a new language? For business, employment or else? And why?

#### At home

- How many languages do you speak at home? How often do you use these languages? With your family? With neighbours or others? Are you comfortable using it?  
Do you have problem talking to some people in your neighbourhood?

#### At work

- What language do you use at work professionally? In speaking and writing?  
How many languages do you use at the office?  
What is the language you speak most of the time at the office with your colleagues? Or your colleagues use when having conversations? What is the second language after that one?  
Do you have a language policy that regulates languages usage at work?  
When hiring a new employee is the languages, he knows matter?  
Do you look in an employee to speak a specific language or several languages?  
Does he need or have to use these languages?  
Do employees have to speak and write both official languages? Is one official language acceptable? Which one is enough to get the job?

## Appendix F: Description of the Interview procedure

Do you (they) employ people that only speak and write national languages? For example, what about someone who only speaks Afar or Arabic or Somali?

Which one is not important? Do you (they) ask people to have Multilanguage skills?

What languages do people you are servicing or working for prefer to use?

What if at work no one speak that language? What do you do? Do you use an interpreting service or ask the user to bring his own interpreter?

### A Djibouti

What do you think about languages taught in primary and secondary schools?

What should be taught according to you? What languages should be taught at nursery, primary and secondary?

Do you have children going to schools? What languages are learning? What do you like them to learn in matter of languages?

What is the most used language in Djibouti streets? At public services and offices? Is it a national language?

Is there a language that is used more than others? In the streets or in the offices or elsewhere?

What language dominates all the others everywhere in Djibouti? Do people use particular language in certain areas of Djibouti? Why? Where are these areas? What languages are used?

Do you listen to the radio? What radio, Radio Djibouti? Others? Which programs?

Do listen to songs? In what language?

Do you watch TV? What TV, Television Djibouti? Others? Programs? Theatres? Films?

Do you surf Internet? In what language? Are you aware that national languages are present on Internet? Do you use social media like Facebook? WhatsApp?

Do you read newspapers? La Nation? Others?

Do you read books? Written by Djibouti authors?

Do understand at the mosque the Friday sermon which is in Arabic?

Do you feel comfortable with the sermon being given in Arabic?

### Abroad

Do you go abroad? For work, study or leisure? When travelling abroad do you have problem communicating with foreigners? What language do you use? Do you feel that there is a language you should have learnt? Why?

Do you travel to Ethiopia or Somalia? Do you feel comfortable in their languages' environment? Do you feel at home?

Do you have difficulty communicating with the people?

### Conclusion

Can you compare today to twenty years ago at how people used languages?

Do you have an advice or a comment for Djiboutians or the researcher in matter of languages spoken in Djibouti?

## Guide d'interview en français

### Présentation

1 Introduction, établir une relation, expliquer le but de l'entrevue.

2 Qui vous êtes, ce que vous faites, à nouveau négocier les questions de l'anonymat et les limites de la confidentialité, de ce qui adviendra des résultats et combien de temps durera l'entretien.

3 Réchauffement

4 Corps principal

Veillez, svp, me dire votre nom, âge, profession, responsabilité ou titre, service et résidence.

Quelle est ta langue maternelle ? Dans quelle langue aimez-vous être interviewé (e)?

(Ici, le chercheur parle différentes langues pour encourager les participants à choisir celle avec laquelle il se sent à l'aise).

### Importance des langues

Êtes-vous francophone ou arabophone ?

Quel est votre niveau d'éducation ? Secondaire ou Université ? Quelle langue ? Où ?

Payé par une bourse du gouvernement ou en privé ?

Combien de langues parlez-vous, comprenez-vous et écrivez-vous ?

Quel sont le niveau de ces langues ? Quelle langue est importante pour vous ? Pourquoi ?

Ressentez-vous le besoin d'apprendre une nouvelle langue ? Pour les affaires, l'emploi ou autre ? Et pourquoi ?

### À la maison

Combien de langues parlez-vous à la maison ? En quelle fréquence utilisez-vous ces langues ? Avec votre famille ?

Avec vos voisins ou d'autres ? Êtes-vous à l'aise pour l'utiliser ?

Avez-vous du mal à parler à certaines personnes de votre quartier ?

### Au travail

Quelle langue utilisez-vous au travail professionnellement ? En parlant et en écrivant ?

Combien de langues utilisez-vous au bureau ?

## Appendix F: Description of the Interview procedure

Quelle est la langue que vous parlez le plus souvent au bureau avec vos collègues ? Ou que vos collègues utilisent quand ils ont des conversations entre eux ? Quelle est la deuxième langue après celle-là ?  
Avez-vous une politique linguistique qui régleme l'utilisation des langues au travail ?  
Lors de l'embauche d'un nouvel employé, les langues qu'il connaît sont-elles importantes ?  
Est-ce que vous exigez d'un employé de parler une langue spécifique ou plusieurs langues ?  
A-t-il besoin ou doit-il utiliser ces langues ?  
Les employés doivent-ils parler et écrire les deux langues officielles ? Une seule langue officielle est-elle acceptable ?  
Laquelle est suffisante pour obtenir le travail ?  
Employez-vous des personnes qui parlent et écrivent uniquement des langues nationales ? Par exemple, que dire de quelqu'un qui parle seulement l'afar ou l'arabe ou le somali ?  
Laquelle n'est pas importante ? Demandez-vous aux gens d'avoir des compétences multilingues ?  
Quelles langues préfèrent utiliser les gens auxquels vous offrez vos services ou travaillez pour ?  
Et si au travail personne ne parle cette langue ? Que faites-vous ? Utilisez-vous un service d'interpréariat ou demandez-lui d'apporter son propre interprète ?

### A Djibouti

Que pensez-vous des langues enseignées dans les écoles primaires et secondaires ?  
Que faut-il enseigner selon vous ? Quelles langues faut-il enseigner à la maternelle, au primaire et au secondaire ?  
Avez-vous des enfants qui vont à école ? Quelles langues apprennent-ils ? Qu'aimez-vous qu'ils apprennent en matière de langues ?  
Quelle est la langue la plus utilisée dans les rues de Djibouti ? Dans les services publics et les bureaux ? Est-ce une langue nationale ?  
Y a-t-il une langue qui est utilisée plus que d'autres ? Dans les rues, dans les bureaux ou ailleurs ?  
Quelle langue domine tous les autres partout à Djibouti ? Les gens utilisent-ils une langue particulière dans certains quartiers ou régions de Djibouti ? Pourquoi ? Où sont ces zones ou régions ? Quelles sont les langues utilisées ?  
Écoutez-vous la radio ? Quelle radio, Radio Djibouti ? Autres ? Dans quelle langue ? Quels programmes ?  
Écoutez-vous des chansons ? Dans quelle langue ?  
Regardez-vous la télévision ? Quelle télévision, télévision Djibouti ? Autres ? Dans quelle langue ? Programmes ?  
Théâtres ? Films ?  
Naviguez-vous sur Internet ? Dans quelle langue ? Utilisez-vous les médias sociaux comme Facebook ? WhatsApp ?  
Savez-vous que les langues nationales sont présentes sur Internet ?  
Lisez-vous les journaux ? La Nation ? Autres ?  
Lisez-vous des livres ? Écrit par les auteurs de Djibouti ?  
Comprenez-vous à la mosquée le sermon du vendredi qui est en arabe ?  
Vous sentez-vous à l'aise avec le sermon qui est donné arabe ?

### À l'étranger

Allez-vous à l'étranger ? Pour le travail, les études ou les loisirs ?  
Lorsque vous voyagez à l'étranger, avez-vous des difficultés à communiquer avec les étrangers ? Quelle langue utilisez-vous ? Pensez-vous qu'il y ait une langue que vous auriez dû apprendre ? Pourquoi ?  
Voyagez-vous en Ethiopie ou en Somalie ? Vous sentez-vous à l'aise dans leur environnement linguistique ? Vous sentez-vous chez vous ? Avez-vous des difficultés à communiquer avec les gens ?

### Conclusion

Pouvez-vous comparer aujourd'hui à il y a vingt ans de la façon dont les gens utilisaient les langues ?  
Avez-vous un avis ou un commentaire pour les Djiboutiens ou le chercheur en matière de langues parlées à Djibouti ?  
Merci !

Appendix G: Djibouti linguistic landscape



An advertising billboard in Place Mahamoud Harbi, Djibouti city



Commercial Sign of a restaurant in Balbala, Hodan



Commercial sign of a spare parts shop at Boulaos, Gargar city



Twin advertising billboards in Place Mahamoud Harbi, Djibouti city



Commercial Sign of an exchange and money transfer in Ras dika business area.



Commercial Sign of a factory in Ras dika business area.

## Appendix H: Profiles of the Interviewees.

### Profiles of the Interviewees.

Isse is the Director of Human Resources in a large State Company. He studied and obtained a BA from London South Bank University of UK. His mother tongue is Somali, and he speaks fluently French and English. He lives in Boulaos.

Yacoub is a Technical Adviser to a Minister. He studied in France but has a Business Diploma from Djibouti. His mother tongue is Somali, and he speaks fluently Arabic and French. He lives in Balbala.

Mahad is a Lecturer of English at the University of Djibouti. He graduated from the French University of Grenoble with a Master. His mother tongue is Somali, and he speaks fluently French and English. He lives in Balbala.

Daoud is a Lecturer of English at the University of Djibouti. He is an expatriate who has a master's degree from a Kenyan university. He lives in Boulaos.

Nasser is a Program specialist who works with a foreign Governmental Organisation. He studied and obtained a Master from London University of UK. His mother tongue is Somali, and he speaks fluently French and English. He lives in Balbala.

Djama is a Director of Studies at the University of Djibouti. He graduated from the French University of Dijon with a Ph.D. in Literature. His mother tongue is Somali, and he speaks fluently Arabic and French. He lives in Balbala.

Ifrah is a Careers Adviser at the Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training. She graduated in Belgium from the Université Libre de Bruxelles with a Master. Her mother tongue is Somali, and she speaks fluently French. She lives in Balbala.

Marwan is an IT instructor at the University Djibouti. He graduated from a Malaysian university with a Master. His mother tongue is Arabic, and he speaks fluently Arabic and English. He lives in Boulaos.

Saleh is an Administrative Director at the Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training. He graduated from the French University of Poitiers with a Master. His mother tongue is Afar, and he speaks fluently Arabic, French and Somali. He lives in Balbala.

Mohamed is Director at the Ministry of Further Education and Research. He graduated from a French University with a Master. His mother tongue is Somali, and he speaks fluently French. He lives in Balbala.

Abdirachid is a Lecturer of Linguistics at the University of Djibouti and is member of the Intergovernmental Somali Academy at the Ministry of Muslim Affairs of Culture and Waqfs Assets. He graduated from the French

## Appendix H: Profile of the Interviewees

University of Nancy de Lorraine with a Ph.D. in Linguistics. His mother tongue is Somali, and he speaks fluently French and English. He lives in Balbala.

Ahmed is an Imam of a mosque in Djibouti where he delivers his sermons in Arabic, French and Somali. He works with the Ministry of Muslim Affairs of Culture and Waqfs Assets. He graduated from the French University of Paris with a master's in finance and account. His mother tongue is Somali, and he speaks fluently Arabic and French. He lives in Boulaos.

Roua is a Deputy Headteacher in a secondary school at Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training. She graduated from Djibouti university with a Master. Her mother tongue is Arabic, and she speaks fluently French. She lives in Balbala.

Chehem is an Inspector of Education at the Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training. He graduated from the French university of Bordeaux with a Master. His mother tongue is Afar, and he speaks fluently French. He lives in Balbala.

Abdallah is Head of Department at a Foreign Military Base in Djibouti. He graduated from the French University of Le Havre Normandie with a Master. His mother tongue is Arabic, and he speaks fluently French. He lives in Balbala.

Zeinab is a Head of Department at the Ministry of Labour and Administrative Reform. She graduated from a French University with a Bachelor. Her mother tongue is Arabic, and she speaks fluently Arabic and French. She lives in Boulaos.



## Appendix I: Adverts from the newspaper La Nation

**12** **Announces & PUBLICITES** **La Nation** **EDITION N° 44**  
du Jeudi 2 Mars 2017

**INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVE BID (ICB)  
PROCUREMENT REFERENCE  
NO: - MTS-08/2017**

1. Maritime and Transit Service (MTS) Invites sealed bids from eligible bidders for the supply of:

- 4 Units of Double Cabin Pickups.

2. A complete set of bidding Documents in English shall be obtained from MTS-Djibouti procurement & Property Administration Division starting from March 03/2017 up to March 18/2017 at working days and hours.

3. Bids must be delivered to the address below at or before March 18/2017, at 10:00 AM and will be opened in the presence of the bidders or their representatives who choose to attend at the address below same date at 10.30 AM.

4. Bidders should furnish 2% bid bond of value of the goods.

5. Manufacturer Authorization letter for dealer in Djibouti is mandatory


6. Bidders are seriously advised to read the instructions provided in the bidding document.

7. Bidders should submit their offer in a wax sealed envelope (i.e. Original & Copy) with two copies Financial & Technical separately.

8. Interested and eligible bidders may obtain further information from the office of procurement & property administration Division (MTS).

9. The Company (MTS) reserves the right to reject any or all bids.

**Maritime and Transit Service (MTS)**  
MTS Building Rue Marseille  
Tel: 21-353204  
DJIBOUTI

  
**APPEL D'OFFRE**

Le Programme mondial de service de la Fédération luthérienne mondiale intervient dans les domaines de l'Education et du service communautaire dans les camps de réfugiés d'Ali-Addeh, Holl-Holl et Markazi et dans le milieu urbain de Djibouti ville. Par la demande d'approvisionnement des biens et des services, La FLM invite les entreprises intéressées et admissibles à présenter leur candidature en tant que fournisseurs des biens et services pour la période 2017-2019.

Les intéressés sont priés de chercher les documents d'appel d'offres qui seront disponibles gratuitement au bureau de la ville de Djibouti (Heron, rue de mogadishu), au bureau d'Am-bouli (en face d'ancienne station Ali-Kouoah) au bureau d'Ali-Sabieh (quartier granoug) et à Obock (quartier plateau). Les entreprises intéressées devront déposer leurs offres dans les bureaux dont ils ont récupéré les demandes avant le **09 mars 2017 à 16h00**.

LWF Djibouti n'est pas tenue d'accepter aucune soumission et peut les accepter ou les refuser en tout ou en partie sans n'en donner aucune raison. Toute forme de tricherie entraînera la disqualification de l'offre.

**COMMUNIQUE**

**Le SERVICE NATIONAL DE L'EMPLOI communique  
pour le compte de l'ORGANISATION MONDIALE  
DU COMMERCE, l'avis de vacance du poste suivant :**

- UN ANALYSTE - PROGRAMMEUR pour le secrétariat de l'OMC à la section de l'élaboration de systèmes et de la production de la division de la recherche économique et des statistiques.

**1 - QUALIFICATIONS / COMPETENCES REQUISES :**

- Diplôme universitaire en informatique ou dans une discipline universitaire en informatique ou dans une discipline connexe connaissance théorique et/ou compétence professionnelle avérée équivalant à un diplôme universitaire supérieur ;
- Au moins cinq années d'expérience de l'analyse, de la conception, du développement, de la mise en œuvre et de la maintenance de systèmes d'information à grande échelle.
- Excellente connaissance de la programmation orientée objet, de la technologie de développement des composants, du travail client serveur à plusieurs niveaux et des systèmes des gestion de bases de données relationnelles ;

**LANGUES :** Excellente connaissance de l'anglais, la connaissance du français et /ou de l'espagnol serait un atout.

**II - CANDIDATURES :**  
Prière d'utiliser le formulaire de candidature en ligne qui peut être téléchargé à partir du site web de l'OMC - [www.wto.org](http://www.wto.org) - sous "

*vacances de poste "*

Au cas où il ne pourrait pas être téléchargé, prière d'envoyer un courrier électronique ou un fax à la division des ressources humaines pour le demander le formulaire dûment rempli peut aussi être envoyé à l'adresse suivante :

**DIRECTEUR, DIVISION DES RESSOURCES HUMAINES  
OMC  
Centre William Rappard  
154 ; rue de Lausanne  
1211 Genève 21  
Suisse**

Courrier électronique : [humanresources@wto.org](mailto:humanresources@wto.org)  
FAX : 41 22 739 5772

**DATE LIMITE POUR LE DEPOT DES CANDIDATURES :**  
5 Avril 2007

**AUCUNE CANDIDATURE NE SERA PRISE  
EN CONSIDERATION APRES CETTE DATE.**

**L'OMC est une organisation sans tabac.**

**La Nation** N°29 du Jeudi 8 Mars 2007 **13**

## Appendix J: Transcripts of the 4 interviewees in English and 12 in French

Interview with Daoud, Lecturer of English and Literature at the University of Djibouti.

12 March 2017 at 15.33 at Djibouti University in Balbala, Djibouti.

**The researcher**

Hello good afternoon

**Daoud**

Good afternoon

**The researcher**

Thank you for answering my request for an interview. As I explained to you, my thesis is on Djibouti languages. I can assure you that the anonymity and the confidentiality will be kept, and no one apart from the people who are working/helping me with the thesis, no one else will access this interview. And when used it is going to be anonymised.

**Daoud**

OK

**The researcher**

Can you introduce yourself

**Daoud**

Ok, my name is Daoud [...] I am a Kenyan, I'm a teacher at the university of Djibouti. I'm a trained teacher of English language and literature. My postgraduate studies were specialised in literature

**The researcher**

And now you live and work in Djibouti?

**Daoud**

I have been in Djibouti for the last 3 years and 4 months. So, I have been teaching in the university. I have also been teaching private students, men and women who are working from various places. So, when I'm free, I meet a number of them, in their houses.....

**The researcher**

Ok, you teach them, that's private tuition.

**Daoud**

Yes

**The researcher**

Ok. How many languages do you speak?

**Daoud**

Three languages, fluently. But right now, I'm struggling to understand French, I want to make it my 4th language. Otherwise I speak English, Swahili and my ethnic language which is called Kalenjin.

**The researcher**

Kalenjin? You speak these 3 languages?

**Daoud**

Yes, fluently.

**The researcher**

And now in Djibouti you are trying to learn the French?

**Daoud**

Yes

**The researcher**

Good, and which is the most important language for you between these 3?

**Daoud**

English

**The researcher**

English is very important for you?

**Daoud**

Yes

**The researcher**

Why?

**Daoud**

First of all, its where I get my daily bread. I'm employed because of English. The other reason is because I would say it's a global language. Although, Djibouti is a francophone society, still I find a number of people who can understand English. I have never been to a place where I have entirely lack of communication. One person will appear from somewhere who understands English. And I get assisted.

**The researcher**

Ok good. And you can communicate with people?

**Daoud**

Yeah, I communicate with people through English but as I have said, I did not say, Somalis getting into me even more than French by the way. My interest is towards French. But Somali is now, I know more Somali than I know French. Yes, because many people speak Somali.

**The researcher**

Do you feel the need to learn a new language?

**Daoud**

Yes,

**The researcher**

Apart from French you are trying to learn, which language would be...

**Daoud**

I would only talk about 2, the first one is English,

**The researcher**

The first one?

**Daoud**

Yes, I only talk about 2 languages which I feel that the Djiboutian can also explore. First one is English they have started but it's still at the...

**The researcher**

But for you, do you see the need to add another language

**Daoud**

Myself?

**The researcher**

Yes, yourself

**Daoud**

No

**The researcher**

Not Somali, Afar?

**Daoud**

My interest was to and I'm still doing it, French. But now it looks like by time I would be leaving this country, when I would be going to Kenya. I would be speaking more Somali than French

**The researcher**

Why is that? Is it because people speak more Somali than French?

**Daoud**

Yes, more Somali than French, in the house I have heard 4 house girls in the house. One of them, their English is low, the French they don't speak French. So, we have been struggling until somehow, we understand one another.

**The researcher**

Then you are trying in Somali?

**Daoud**

Yes, like "ken, kaley" those things. The basic Somali is what I know. When I go to the market to buy things, again I think about the numbers...

**The researcher**

You speak in Somali?

**Daoud**

Somali

**The researcher**

But when you are at home, you have your colleagues.

**Daoud**

When I am with my Kenyans, I speak another language.

**The researcher**

You speak English and Swahili.

**Daoud**

Yes

**The researcher**

Which one is more spoken while you are between you?

**Daoud**

Swahili

**The researcher**

You speak more Swahili than English?

**Daoud**

Yes, because we come from different ethnic backgrounds, we are not the same...

**The researcher**

Swahili

**Daoud**

The second language I wanted to say for this country, this a part of eastern Africa.

**The researcher**

Yes, Djibouti?

**Daoud**

It's part of my interest in literature studies and research, in African literature. I remember the language debate. About what was supposed to become the language of African literature. The leading scholars like Wallis Oyenga, they proposed Swahili should be the language of African literature. And later people from west Africa, they opposed it. But now Swahili is already in Tanzania, Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Kenya. I thought that eastern Africa can also have its own language. So that they can develop and attract people. And for identity purposes, Europeans, Russians they have their own language. We need a language of eastern Africa.

**The researcher**

And you think Swahili...

**Daoud**

Yes, because if you look at the numbers, you compare the numbers people speaking. There are three major languages in this region which are spoken Somali, Oromo, Amhara and now Swahili for that region. If you check the population of speakers, combine all of them, you will find that the speakers of Swahili are more than all of them.

**The researcher**

Ok, then you speak Swahili between you, and with your neighbours when you go out?

**Daoud**

No, not outside

**The researcher**

What language do you speak outside?

**Daoud**

English and now this broken Somali and broken French.

**The researcher**

**Ok, do you have a problem communicating with people, you said that you always have someone coming...**

**Daoud**

Yeah, initially it used to be a problem, after now anyway there are some situations, some cases there are problems, but with time there are reducing.

**The researcher**

**But what language do you use at work, officially?**

**Daoud**

English, but for communication and correspondence from the office, emails and other things, French.

**The researcher**

**And with the students?**

**Daoud**

English.

**The researcher**

**And with the administration, when you're talking to them?**

**Daoud**

English, when I'm speaking with them. But now, when it comes to writing at least I can read and translate using applications. Written correspondences, I try as much as possible to use French.

**The researcher**

**Ok, but the person who is dealing with the English classes is speaking and writing in English? Your emails, do you get them from the administration?**

**Daoud**

Yes, the assistant speaks very good English. All heads of department we've had, they speak English. And even the dean, he's improving every day, amazing.

**The researcher**

**Ok, the dean also, his English is improving. Do you hear people talking in another language?**

**Daoud**

In Djibouti?

**The researcher**

**No, at the work. With the dean or in the offices?**

**Daoud**

French and even Somali.

**The researcher**

They also speak in Somali.

**Daoud**

Yes

**The researcher**

**This is the 2 languages you hear when go around.**

**Daoud**

Yeah, I can hear, and I can tell what Somali is.

**The researcher**

**Do they use a third one? French Somali and then any other?**

**Daoud**

Among themselves. Except from the English departments where you also hear them speaking in English, everywhere is else is French or Somali. Even between Somali and afar, what I have noticed is that they will speak Somali. The afar will understand Somali. But the Somali guy does not understand afar. So afar and Somalis are kind of lingua franca in Djibouti.

**The researcher**

**Do you think all people speak Somali and they can communicate in Somali?**

**Daoud**

Most of them, in my estimation 90% of Afars understand Somali.

**The researcher**

**And Somalis don't understand, it's not vice versa?**

**Daoud**

The afar, ironically, they're not happy about it. They say our language is dying, because of Somali. But they still use it anyway.

**The researcher**

**They use Somali to speak to others?**

**Daoud**

Yes

**The researcher**

**At work, do you think they have a language policy? They would say don't speak this language, speak this, with the student don't speak, I don't know Somali? Did you hear any language policy where they say don't use this language or use this language?**

**Daoud**

I have been interested in finding out that question and up to now I don't know. Because Somali is spoken everywhere.

And at some point, I asked one of my students I was supervising to find for me the language policy in Djibouti. She even brought me a copy of a pdf. An official national language policy for Djibouti, it recognises Somali as a national language. So, I was lost because a national language can be spoken in the office. In Kenya Swahili is a national language and you can speak it even in the parliament, it's not a problem. But the other languages, Kalenjin, mine, which are not national languages, you are not supposed to speak to offices, institutions and so on.

**The researcher**

**Here in Djibouti, we have the Somali, the Afar and the Arabic languages.**

**They are national languages. And you have also Arabic is also official language, with the French. These languages are the only languages spoken in Djibouti, mainly. We have Amharic and Oromo from Ethiopia and sometimes, some of the community of east Africa who speak Swahili, its rare. You cannot see anywhere; you really have to look for them. But you're right it's a national language, Somali is a national language, and its spoken everywhere now. But do you see these people speaking Somali writing Somali?**

**Daoud**

Its only spoken; I have also raised issues with regarding to. How comes Somali for example, is not taught in higher institutions? For example, even in the university, because I have told you Swahili is studied at the university in Kenya. Almost every university, people are doing PhDs using Swahili language.

**The researcher**

**But here no. The main language is French, and Arabic is some kind of option, it's a second language. But the educational, main tool is the French language. In primary and secondary.**

**Do you think it would be good for Djibouti to teach in primary or nursery Somali or afar or national languages?**

**Daoud**

No, not at primary school level, it may not be necessary. Considering that, there are a few languages in Djibouti, you have Somali and afar. So, if they study Somali in schools, the political question is what about afar? So, it would be in high school if you try to bring more of them. It will load the timetable; it would be almost impossible to teach five languages to students. But at the threshold level it can be offered as an optional study course. So that people could choose.

**The researcher**

**At what level?**

**Daoud**

Let's say at the university level. So that when we could have been very good at doing research in afar or in Somali, like I have seen people from Somalia, I have seen people who have written books in Somali language.

**The researcher**

**You said in Djibouti you hear most of the places you go Somali?**

**Daoud**

Yes

**The researcher**

**Do you know any area where people in the street speak another language?**

**Like maybe afar? Have you been in the street in Djibouti to an area where people are speaking afar, and say oh this is not Somali? Did it happen to you?**

**Daoud**

Yeah, I have been at the port, there is a section in the port. I have been there because there are a number of Kenyans working there. There are some departments at the port where you would hear some afar only. Until you could ask. Looks like now there are no Somali around here, and they would tell you yeah, most of the people who are working here are afar. And then there are also places near Arhiba. That place also somehow you would think that you are out of Djibouti.

**The researcher**

**Because of the languages?**

**Daoud**

Yes not because of any other reasons.

**The researcher**

**Yes, that's also an area of people...**

**Daoud**

When you go to a number of places in Heron, you hear a lot of Amharic,

**The researcher**

**Some places, Amharic, the Ethiopian communities?**

**Daoud**

Yes.

**The researcher**

**What about Arabic? Do you hear any places where Arabic is more spoken?**

**Daoud**

Yeah in the shops, because

**The researcher**

**Small shops where people are buying food, and that kind of stuff?**

**Daoud**

Yeah

**The researcher**

**Yeah because they are originally from Yemen, most of the shopkeepers. But in residential areas like Arhiba for example. You said in Arhiba you heard afar. But have you been anywhere else in Djibouti where people speak in the street's Arabic, or French?**

**Daoud**  
Yeah, there are, you can hear Arabic and French. As I've told you, you would hear them in commercial places and not in a specific place. I've heard Arabic almost in every corner where there is commerce. I've heard French everywhere also. But I cannot say it is only in a particular place.

**The researcher**  
**Ok I understand that.**

**Daoud**  
But then again there is also, I don't whether it was part of your question, but there is another form of language. The mixed language. They are combining Arabic, English, and French and Somali.

**The researcher**  
**People are mixing.**

**Daoud**  
Yes, but that one is rampant especially among young people. Young people, they will always construct a sentence that has got all those languages. They mix all of them.

**The researcher**  
**Ok, I'm not working on that aspect of the languages. But it's true that sometimes people say, we mix French and Somali when talking to friends. That's true. If we come to media for example. Do you listen to radio will you live in Djibouti?**

**Daoud**  
No, I don't listen to radio, personally. But I listen to radios when I'm on the bus, whenever I walk in the streets, one thing Djiboutians really love is radio. They love radio so much.

**The researcher**  
**You hear radio everywhere?**

**Daoud**  
Along the street you will see they are sat down chewing khat quietly. The radio is on BBC Somali.

**The researcher**  
**BBC in Somali? That is everywhere**

**Daoud**  
Very common, one of the most common things I've noticed. Maybe because of their culture, where they're supposed to sit outside and relax. So probably they cannot watch the tv, they have to know the news.

**The researcher**  
**Ok, most of them, you said it's about information, about news.**

**Daoud**  
Yeah news.

**The researcher**  
**And songs?**

**Daoud**  
Yeah, there are also songs.

**The researcher**  
**Do you listen to songs in Djibouti?**

**Daoud**  
Yeah, I listen to songs...

**The researcher**  
**From Djibouti radio?**

**Daoud**  
No, I listen to recorded songs, for example you said in this paper that the

things I'm telling you are confidential?

You are keeping my information confidential.

**The researcher**  
**Yes**

**Daoud**  
Over the weekends, Kenyans like to go to social places, there are some clubs around here. So, the clubs now they play Somali music. I didn't know until I came with Ramarose

**The researcher**  
**That is the music, is it a special music for dancing? Inside the club?**

**Daoud**  
Yes,  
**The researcher**  
**Because they have bands, singing in Somali maybe?**

**Daoud**  
Yes, exactly

**The researcher**  
**You know that kind of music? On the radio, on tv, do you listen?**

**Daoud**  
No, I don't, because again, I rarely watch RTD, because I am connected to, I bought a decoder. It gets Kenyan channels, all of them. I watch Kenyan and international channels.

**The researcher**  
**In English?**

**Daoud**  
Yes.

**The researcher**  
**Ok, what about the internet? What language do you use on the internet?**

**Daoud**  
English mainly, and then French. I would say French because, before we came to Balbala, when it used to be.

**The researcher**  
**You mean this new campus?**

**Daoud**  
Before we came to the new campus, our computers, whoever decided to program it in French, almost all the applications were in French. So even my computer now still has the memory of French. It takes me back to French every then and now.

**The researcher**  
**And you use these two languages. Did you try to look up for information on Somali language?**

**Daoud**  
Yes, I have tried, I wanted to be aware, that whether google has included Somali. And I checked, it's there. All the time I'm trying to convert to Somali language and Swahili. Because Swahili is already there, Somali is there.

**The researcher**  
**Did you find out about it? Somali is there. Do you know that you can translate Somali from other languages?**

**Daoud**  
I've tried  
**The researcher**  
**Swahili to Somali?**

**Daoud**  
Even English to Somali

**The researcher**  
**Is it working?**

**Daoud**  
Yeah, it's working.

**The researcher**

**Ok, and about Djibouti? And information about Djibouti on the internet. For example, do you use social media? Like Facebook, WhatsApp?**

**Daoud**  
Twitter, Instagram almost all of them.

**The researcher**  
**Do you have the opportunity to get some information in Somali, through Facebook, if you have friends, Djibouti people?**

**Daoud**  
I have, I have even subscribed to... Life from Mogadishu. Those are pages. They post information in Somali.

**The researcher**  
**And you get them?**

**Daoud**  
Yes, there is another politician I follow from Somalia, he wanted to become the president, but he did not succeed. He is a very nice guy he was once the minister. He has a page, so again, in Somali there is also an association of Somalis in the US. They have a page, so I just like to see what is going on. I find them in Somali, but I translate and try to understand it.

**The researcher**  
**With google?**

**Daoud**  
Yes.

**The researcher**  
**But you don't understand anything from the Somali sentences?**

**Daoud**  
No  
**The researcher**  
**You don't get any of it.**

**Daoud**  
And I've also heard stories in Somali, people like Idris,

**The researcher**  
**Yes Idris, your colleague?**

**Daoud** Yeah  
**The researcher**  
**Do you read newspapers in Djibouti? The national one is written in French, but they have a translation, in English**

**Daoud**  
No, I have never, I don't even know where it is.

**The researcher**  
**The English one?**

**Daoud**  
Yeah even the French one, sometimes I see copies in offices, but I've never known where I can buy it.

**The researcher**  
**You don't see that in the street?**

**Daoud**  
No, where I come from, there are papers all over, but I've never seen here.

**The researcher**  
**Because I think it's a governmental paper. That's why most of the time, they have a system of dispatching all the newspapers around the country. But you have to go to special shops to get newspapers.**

**Daoud**  
Ah ok,

**The researcher**  
**And what about the books written by Djibouti authors, have you read any?**

**Daoud**

Yes, I have read Abdurahman Waberi, in English, the translation.

**The researcher**  
**And other books?**

**Daoud**  
There is a collection of stories which Idris gave me, and I've forgotten the name, initially it was also written in French,

**The researcher**  
**But do you know that some of your colleagues, French teachers, they have written some books? Do you know them? For example, Ilyas who was with you five minutes ago.**

**Daoud**  
He has written a novel.

**The researcher**  
**Yes, he wrote a novel.**

**Daoud**  
I'm not aware. But I'm aware that Doctor Hibo has written some books,

**The researcher**  
**Yes Hibo, it's based on her thesis, I think.**

**Daoud**  
I saw her having, her profile---

**The researcher**  
**But you have read also those ones from Abdurrahman?**

**Daoud**  
Yeah, I have read, I have even taught in the university. When I was teaching literature theory last year, I used one of the stories in Land Without Shadow it's called Daasbio

**The researcher**  
**Have you been anywhere in Djibouti where people are speaking only one language? For example, Somali or Arabic. You haven't been inside the mosque?**

**Daoud**  
No, I have never been inside the mosque.

**The researcher**  
**Have you been inside a church in Djibouti?**

**Daoud**  
Yes, I have been inside a church.

**The researcher**  
**And what language they were speaking?**

**Daoud**  
The catholic they speak English, but it was a Thursday. On the other days they use French.

**The researcher**  
**So, one day only for English?**

**Daoud**  
Yeah Thursday

**The researcher**  
**And do they speak other languages, Arabic or Somali?**

**Daoud**  
I don't know whether they have the other programs. I only know Thursday it is English. Sunday, I wanted to go but I can't, they say it is for French. Fridays, they offer the other languages. I'm not sure whether they use Somali.

**The researcher**  
**The priest, is he Djiboutian?**

**Daoud**  
No, they are not

**The researcher**  
**They are foreigners?**

**Daoud**

All of them are foreigners. I think the only other people around the church are working. The people are employed, the cleaners, the technicians. They are Djiboutians.

**The researcher**  
**Ok**

**Daoud**  
I am told there are some women also, those who have probably been abused and neglected. Those who have lost hope completely within their society. They are also there. But I would say foreigners only.

**The researcher**  
**When you were in Kenya, did you hear about Somali language or Arabic language like in Djibouti? Or do you know if there's a Djibouti community living in Kenya?**

**Daoud**  
Yes... No, I didn't know there was a Djibouti community living in Kenya, but I knew there are Somalis in Kenya. And actually, the population of Somalis in Kenya are more than Somalis in Djibouti. They are about 1 million.

**The researcher**  
**In Kenya, all the people living in the north?**

**Daoud**  
Not all of them, because we have some Oromos, and Rendiles but most of the majority are Somalis. And Arabic, there are so many Arabs in Kenya, businessmen. Arabic is also offered in some schools. I used to see the timetable for examination, you used to choose between the French and Arabic.

**The researcher**  
**And the Djibouti community, you haven't seen in Kenya?**

**Daoud**  
No, I did not know about the Djibouti community until when I was travelling here. When I went to the embassy. But now, after I have stayed here, I have known so many Djiboutians who are living in Kenya, but they are not living together. They are not like Somalis from Somalia and Kenyans, all of them live in a place called Eastleigh, but the Djiboutians, they would live elsewhere.

**The researcher**  
**Ok, but you were not aware when you were in Kenya....**

**Daoud**  
I did know about Djiboutians...

**The researcher**  
**But Somalis?**

**Daoud**  
Yes

**The researcher**  
**Have you been in a Somali community? Did you hear the Somali before?**

**Daoud**  
Yes, Eastleigh is a purely Somalian place. So, it is where we would buy things like clothes, and household items, cheaply in Nairobi.

**The researcher**  
**You were used to that Somali?**

**Daoud**  
Yeah.

**The researcher**

**And it was maybe because of that, when you came to Djibouti you are trying to speak?**

**Daoud**  
Yes, like "iskawaran" I used to know before I came here.

**The researcher**  
**Ok, what do you think when you compare Somalia and Djibouti? What do you think people should be doing in languages?**

**Daoud**  
In Somalia or in Kenya?

**The researcher**  
**In Djibouti, compared to Kenya. In Kenya you have a language policy.**

**Daoud** Yes  
**The researcher**  
**You have a national language; you have an official one. But in Djibouti also we have official ones, and we also have national languages. But because there is no such policy which regulates these languages. It's very difficult to teach or to implement anything in Somali, at the university level. What would you advise us?**

**Daoud**  
The first one regarding what I said before, that Somali language, a Somali centre at the university should be... A Somali language and cultural centre should be linked with the university. Because I am told there is one outside, it totally composes all the Somali nations. There is an academy. How comes now it is not linked with this university? So that research can be done to improve the language, the literature and the culture. So, such academies can help to promote these languages, especially the afar. Because afar is really phasing. It can go extinct in Djibouti. Because of Somali. Somali is stable, but again, it has been impacted negative by these other foreigners who just use English and French and Arabic. Because when Djiboutians are speaking in Somali, they want to say welcome, they would say "marhaba". I want to believe that is Arabic.

**The researcher**  
**Yes, "ahlan wa sahlan" in Arabic welcome and sometimes they say it in French, "bienvenue", in Somali "soo dhawow", but they would say also "tamam" that's Arabic also.**

**Daoud**  
Yeah, so you know, like the academy of Swahili in Dar Asalam, which has also been linked to all the universities in the region. So, word is always made sure that they remain Swahili. Things like, mobile phone, which people used to use, the academy now has words in Swahili. To make sure the language survives. And for the international languages, English and French, it is time the policy makers, the education and curriculum makers should pave way for enough time for English and French. There's a lot of thirst for English, most students like to do English courses. They would like to be fluent in English, because of employment and opportunities outside this country. Because now French is limited to France and francophone countries. And they would also like to go and excel in the US, Britain and other

anglophone countries in Africa. So, what I know is that French has more time in schools.

**The researcher**

**Yes, because it's a main language of education.**

**Daoud**

It is time now it should be allowed to .... I know that requires a lot of political influence, so it's something that could be put into plan.

**The researcher**

**Do you feel that Djiboutians want to learn more English than French?**

**Daoud**

They want to learn more English than French.

**The researcher**

**And at a university level, where you teach Djiboutians students, do you feel that they prefer to have more English than French?**

**Daoud**

Yes, when it comes to AS1,

**The researcher**

**AS1, that means the students that are doing English?**

**Daoud**

Yes, they're enrolment is so bigger, many students who are just trying themselves. And when you would ask them, because they come some of them, they cannot even communicate, I came because I want to speak.

**The researcher**

**They don't know any English.**

**Daoud**

Not know that they require some English before they come. They don't know that. But they just want to come and acquire the language. And then again for the other course that the university offers, BBA.

**The researcher**

**That's economy? Bachelor of Business Administration? That's also taught in English.**

**Daoud**

Yeah, the number of students applying for it, because I normally participate in the interviews.

**The researcher**

**They do the interview before enrolling them. They do an exam.**

**Daoud**

Yeah, they do an international exam. So, there's a lot of thirst for English language. So, if, as I have said, the students have proficiency at a high school level, this would also be enough for AS students. Because what we have enrolled is almost 200,

**The researcher**

**200 students for AS1?**

**Daoud**

Yes, but in level 2 they become 80, 60. The reason is because 50% or 70% are unteachable.

**The researcher**

**They didn't know anything.**

**Daoud**

They don't understand anything.

**The researcher**

**But with the other ones who have been through tests and exam to get into the university, for example the BBA, they have no problem. But these other**

**students are because they don't have any exam.**

**Daoud**

They don't have any background, they just come in thinking that it is a language acquisition centre, like Alliance Française, where you learn to speak. Not knowing that here we are teaching linguistics actually and literature, not language.

**The researcher**

**And then you have 50% of success...?**

**Daoud**

No, usually there are about 200, but by the time they reach level 2, they are less than 100.

**The researcher**

**But they want to learn English?**

**Daoud**

They want to learn English, so if either way, the schools can increase more hours for teaching English. Or, the university can provide a pre-intake courses for English, 6 months or 1 year.

**The researcher**

**Yes, they are aware of that. They were talking about opening a learning centre for English and Arabic but, yes these are also some problems.**

**Daoud**

After intake is done, I tell you there will be so many students in AS and they will maintain it up to the end.

**The researcher**

**What you are saying is at the university level, students want to be taught in English?**

**Daoud**

They really want to learn English. Even the workers, there is someone who is working with the finance department, he wants for me to give him the listening material, practise material, he wants to improve his English.

**The researcher**

**He is working inside the university.**

**And he is asking you for help?**

**Daoud**

Yes

**The researcher**

**And why do you think these people want to learn English? Where is this coming from**

**Daoud**

Because of opportunities outside.

**The researcher**

**Outside the country or inside?**

**Daoud**

Outside, for those who are working outside the university, even those who are working inside the university sometimes they also have issue, which require English. But I know a number of people who are outside.

**The researcher**

**Working outside the university?**

**Daoud**

Yes, they come and learn English with you. After some time, they go and do their masters and PhDs elsewhere, in anglophone countries.

**The researcher**

**In English?**

**Daoud**

Yeah,

**The researcher**

**Ok, that's maybe to further their education in English and sometimes to get a job.**

**Daoud**

A job and promotions.

**The researcher**

**That is what's pushing them.**

**Daoud**

Yeah, even those who are coming to study the nights. They are senior people.

**Researcher:**

**But why is there no job pushing them towards the French? French is an official language. And why we don't have the same needs for French?**

**Daoud**

The reason is because, you know this country, its strategically placed in a. It's a centre of so many economies and so many nations and so many cultures. In a certain centre. Especially after the collapse of Mogadishu, this port brings all these businesses here. And if you look around those stakeholders in Djibouti, they are not francophone. Even the greatest stakeholder, that is the Ethiopians.

**The researcher**

**The Ethiopians, they speak English?**

**Daoud**

Yes, and then now the others, across the sea, the Arabs. They speak Arabic, but again their schools, they speak English not French. And again, you see, they are coming in on these other foreign powers. For example, the Chinese and these other people. The Chinese don't speak English, but those who have struggled to learn a foreign language they would have learnt English not French. Because when I meet them around here, they are struggling to speak with Djiboutians. Then they would turn to English.

**The researcher**

**That's why English is so...**

**Daoud**

It's so convenient for trade, for communication and for culture exchange and a number of things. Because so many people are travelling here.

**The researcher**

**That's why the people need English, and not French? And do you think French would have a future here in Djibouti?**

**Daoud**

That is a big question, and people will shy away from it saying, but in my subjective view, I have been around here. This country will go the Rwanda way, very soon

**The researcher**

**You mean they will favour the English language over the French?**

**Daoud**

Yeah.

**The researcher**

**Ok, thank you very much, Mr. Daoud For giving me the opportunity to have an interview with you. And you would see in the future where we would go in Djibouti.**

**Daoud**

I will be willing to read your thesis.

**The researcher:**

**OK**

Interview with Mahad, Lecturer of English at the University of Djibouti.

6 March 2017 at 09.55 at Djibouti University in Balbala, Djibouti.

**The researcher**

Asalamu aleykum. Bonjour. Good Morning, good Day. Je voudrais avoir une interview avec vous pour ma thèse. Do you want us to speak in English or?

**Mahad**

English will be good.

**The researcher**

English Okay, that's good. Okay. I'm doing research with the University of Aston, in Birmingham. That's in England, United Kingdom. And the title of, the subject of my research is on languages spoken in Djibouti and I can I want you to I would like to remind you that for the, for what was on the form, the consent form, okay. You read, you understood, and I just want to assure you that the anonymity would be maintained only my teacher and people who are dealing with the thesis would only have access to our interview. Can you please tell me your name, age, profession, responsibility, title, residence, where you live?

**Mahad**

My name is Mahad, I'm 27 years, now I am assistant teacher, Professor at this Djibouti University. And I live in Djibouti, Balbala.

**The researcher**

What is your mother tongue?

**Mahad**

My mother's tongue is Oromo, but my mother doesn't live anymore with her family, she speaks Somali, she has never spoke to me in Oromo, she only speaks Somali but her mother tongue is Oromo which one of the Horn Africa languages, a Cushitic language, it is not that far from Somali languages.

**The researcher**

Yes, thank you. But you don't speak your mother tongue?

**Mahad**

I do, but not that much. I haven't been in Oromo community, so I can understand the words, I cannot speak fluency in it.

**The researcher**

Okay, good. That's good. And you said you teach at university?

**Mahad**

Yeah. New assistant teacher

**The researcher**

What do you teach?

**Mahad**

English.

**The researcher**

You teach English. Okay, good. You say you would like to be interviewed in English?

**Mahad**

Yes.

**The researcher**

Okay. Are you at the beginning where you a French or Arabic speaker when you were learning, are you arabophone what we call here in Djibouti or Francophone?

**Mahad**

French. I have a French background.

**The researcher**

Then you're from Francophone. What is your level of education?

**Mahad**

I've got my master's degree in France last year.

**The researcher**

From France.

**Mahad**

Last year. 2015/16 academic year.

**The researcher**

Okay.

**Mahad**

And I've got master's degree so far. I mean in languages.

**The researcher**

Okay. What language were you learning at the university? What language were you learning?

**Mahad**

English.

**The researcher**

Okay. English

**Mahad**

French as well because I was in France.

**The researcher**

In France, okay where exactly?

**Mahad**

Stendhal, University of Grenoble Alp, Grenoble city.

**The researcher**

Grenoble City. Okay, good. The bursary was paid by the government or?

**Mahad**

Yes. It was paid by the government.

Djibouti government.

**Mahad**

Ok. Djibouti government. How many languages do you speak or understand and what?

**Mahad**

I do speak Somali as a mother tongue. I do speak French, English, and Arabic not that much, but I do speak.

**The researcher**

Okay, that's four languages.

**Mahad**

Oromo. About 50%, 40%, Amharic as well but not that much 50%.

**The researcher**

Good. That's good

**Mahad**

And Afar but not that much like a little. I speak normally like four languages Somali, English, French and Oromo but not that much.

**The researcher**

Okay well that's very good.

**Mahad**

I can touch each language of we have seen horn of Africa

**The researcher**

Okay, your level of language, you have three, in Somali, in French, in English and you understand?

**Mahad**

Amharic, Oromo and Afar is like a second languages.

**The researcher**

Okay. Which language is important for you among these languages?

**Mahad**

Somali.

**The researcher**

Somali is very important for you?

**Mahad**

Somali is very important because it's my language I love it and English would be the second English. Third will be French.

**The researcher**

Even you are educated in French you prefer English.

**Mahad**

I do prefer English more than French.

**The researcher**

Do you feel the need to learn a new language? Do you sometimes say okay, I need to learn a Chinese or I don't know?

**Mahad**

Sometimes I tried to learn Arabic.

**The researcher**

Arabic, you want to learn for...?

**Mahad**

For religious purpose.

**The researcher**

Arabic?

**Mahad**

For religious purposes.

**The researcher**

Not for business or for?

**Mahad**

When it comes to business, I bled in English which is my second language good so it's enough.

**The researcher**

And at home, how many languages do you speak at home?

**Mahad**

At home, we speak mostly Somali.

**The researcher**

Somali?

**Mahad**

We speak Somali.

**The researcher**

And how often, all the time you use it inside your home you just speak Somali, no other languages?

**Mahad**

Somali mix it with French sometimes, with Djiboutians.

**The researcher**

Okay, you just mix with your family. With your neighbours, neighbours when you go out?

**Mahad**

Mostly we speak Somali.

**The researcher**

So, you speak Somali with them.

**Mahad**

Sometime when you have an Afar neighbours that time you have to speak French with him. So, you that you can understand each other.

**The researcher**

Okay good. You speak to your neighbours. Do you have some time problem talking to people, some people into your neighbours?

**Mahad**

I have no problem.

**The researcher**

You know all these languages, no problem.

**Mahad**

Yes, I have no problem.

**The researcher**

Okay. And at work what language do you use at work professionally?

**Mahad**

I use English as a profession and French is the official language of the country.

**The researcher**

Yes. Do you use inside the university?

**Mahad**

Yeah, I have to explain everything in French. I'm an English teacher of course but the students have no, most of these students have no English background. So, when I have to explain I must use French.

**The researcher**

You use French.

**Mahad**

To make understood what I'm teaching.

**The researcher**

Ok. Good. Do you sometimes speak Somali or Afar or Oromo?

**Mahad**

In the university?

**The researcher**

Inside the class?

**Mahad**

Inside the class I don't use any other language, sometime if some students, it happens that those who are Arabic background students sometimes they don't understand they need to understand French and English. So sometimes they will ask you in Somali and at time, I tried to speak Somali, I try.

**The researcher**

Ok, another language?

**The researcher**

You don't speak other languages. And what is the language most of the time you use inside the university, for example speaking to your colleagues or when you haven't got a session with the colleagues when the English teachers also talking between them?

**Mahad**

I use mostly English.

**The researcher**

You use?

**Mahad**

And even those who have not English background, try to speak to me in English.

**The researcher**

In English.

**Mahad**

So mostly I speak English.

**The researcher**

You speak to them in English. But other teachers when they talking?

Speaker 2

In French.

**The researcher**

They talk in French.

**Mahad**

Or in Somali.

**The researcher**

In Somali and the English teachers do they speak between them in French or?

**Mahad**

Mostly, they speak Somali.

**The researcher**

They speak Somali.

**Mahad**

The first time that you see each other says Salaam aleikum and then they start speaking Somali which is a local language.

**The researcher**

Ok. What is the second language after the Somali?

**Mahad**

The French.

**The researcher**

The French comes two.

**Mahad**

Yeah.

**The researcher**

Do you know if the university regulates languages use, okay? If the usage of the language inside the university is regulated, if you are allowed to speak some languages and not allowed to speak other languages. Is there any regulation or any policy, language policy inside the university?

**Mahad**

I haven't seen that sort of regulation. I have never seen but mostly since my childhood at the school we used to hear that it is not good to speak local language in this school sometimes.

**The researcher**

When you were young?

**Mahad**

The sort of perception that we have that it is not good to speak Somali in the school example if I try to speak Somali in the class everybody will look at me like it's like odd, it's worse.

**The researcher**

People don't like you to speak Somali.

**Mahad**

They like but it is sort of a surprise. Like "He is taking Somali in the class." Even though they're all Somalis and Afars, they will get surprise, they say "he's the only one who speak Somali in the class." And its sort of like it's not that good for your image to speak Somali.

**The researcher**

To speak Somali inside the class.

**Mahad**

Inside the class, yes.

**The researcher**

Okay. But when you were hired, when you came for the job, and, did they ask you about languages? Did they say we need to someone who speak English or someone who speak French? What did they say to you when they were hiring you?

**Mahad**

My interview with Dean and what they called "Directeur des etudes" with the responsible of the university were talking in English and they asked me questions in English to know my level of English, but they didn't tell me anything about whether they knew someone who speaks another language.

**The researcher**

They just were concern by your English.

**Mahad**

Yeah, as an English teacher they want to know like they want to assess or measure my level of English and they didn't ask me whether I know another language or not?

**The researcher**

They didn't say to you do you know English, French?

**Mahad**

Somali, French, they didn't say that.

**The researcher**

They didn't say that. They were just concerned by your English.

**Mahad**

It was apparent that I speak French because they had already seen my documents and I have a French background student so they already knew that I speak French because I have a Bac what they call a Baccalaureate of French and I have also a scientific background in French.

**The researcher**

Okay I understand. They didn't ask you okay, that's good. And you told me that the students also they don't see well if you speak Somali, you can speak in the class sometimes in French, that's good. But what do you think about languages thought in primary or secondary schools in Djibouti?

**Mahad**

French is taught mostly; in Arabic some 10% or 20% I could say. And but when I look at most of children, they don't understand French, they don't understand.

**The researcher**

In primary or secondary?

**Mahad**

In the primary school and even in the secondary school they learn a language that they do not understand well, that's we used to do right. So, and it is forbidden in the primary school and elementary school, secondary school to speak local language in schools, even in this school. So, I think they do in French.

**The researcher**

They teach in French.

**Mahad**

They teach in French mostly.

**The researcher**

Okay and what should be taught according to you?

**Mahad**

In Somali.

**The researcher**

Primary or secondary? Or

**Mahad**

Primary. Elementary school, then in high school, maybe in French and in English, and in Arabic as well. But mother tongue should be their language of teaching in the elementary school since they have to understand well what they are learning.

**The researcher**

Okay, then Somali should be taught according to you.

**Mahad**

Yes, in primary school. Like any other country...

**The researcher**

And what about?

**Mahad**

In the Horn of Africa. If you go to Somalia every student learns Somali in the elementary school. If you go to Ethiopia, Ethiopia is divided into nine different sections. It is a federal state. Somali community learn Somali in the elementary school. Afar community learn Afar, Amharic learn Amharic, Oromo learn Oromo. So, if you go to every single country in Horn of Africa, including Kenya as well, that you can find, Swahili and they speak Swahili and another language, the name is and Kikuyu, Somali as well, everyone learns his own language. But the problem, Djibouti is the only country that doesn't take its education with its own mother tongue.

**The researcher**

We have several mother tongues.

**Mahad**

We have several mother tongues. Can you imagine Ethiopia?

**The researcher**

Yes.

**Mahad**

Ethiopia has more than 80 languages.

**The researcher**

Okay, but in Djibouti, we have.

**Mahad**

Only two.

**The researcher**

We have 2 nationals.

**Mahad**



Two local languages and two official languages.

**The researcher**

But the Arabic also is sometime.

**Mahad**

The two official languages are already in the system, in education system.

**The researcher**

And you want two others?

**Mahad**

Afar and Somali, example, the North can be taught in Afar and South of the country which mostly is spoken in Somali should be taught in Somali, why not.

**The researcher**

In primary?

**Mahad**

In the capital city, we have to learn Somali and Afar together. We don't value our mother tongues as Djiboutians.

**The researcher**

Okay, good. I understand your point and, in the street, Djibouti street what is the most used language? When you're in street of Djibouti, inside Djibouti city.

**Mahad**

Somali.

**The researcher**

Somali is most spoken and number two?

**Mahad**

Afar.

**The researcher**

Number two is Afar. And at public services and offices?

**Mahad**

In the bank?

**The researcher**

Yes.

**Mahad**

In the offices they speak French.

**The researcher**

They speak French in the offices and another language?

**Mahad**

Somali.

**The researcher**

The second one is Somali. The French and then the second one is Somali in most of the public services and you have one national and one official.

**Mahad**

In Djibouti?

**The researcher**

Yes, that's the French is official, and the Somali is a national language.

**Mahad**

Yes. Local language when they call local language, "langue locale" in French.

**The researcher**

And in Djibouti, do you think there is one language which is used more than the others in everyday life?

**Mahad**

In terms of population yes, Somali could be as I have read so far there are more than 60% of the population, therefore Somali will be the first language which is spoken by most of the people.

**The researcher**

In the streets?

**Mahad**

Yes, in the streets.

**The researcher**

Offices?

**Mahad**

In the offices, As well, because imagine in the offices if there all like seven or nine

Somali people they will speak Somali they don't care French. So, but if there is a four Afar and five Somali at that time, they speak French to understand each other.

**The researcher**

Okay, then you mean Somali dominate.

**Mahad**

Yes, mostly.

**The researcher**

Mostly. And do they use particular language in certain area of Djibouti?

**Mahad**

There is yes, yes, there is Amharic.

**The researcher**

Which area?

**Mahad**

"PK douze"

**The researcher**

They use Amharic and where else?

**Mahad**

Quartier 2.

**The researcher**

What language do they use in quartier 2?

**Mahad**

Many languages. I have seen so far, they speak Oromo, Arabic, Somali, Amharic.

**The researcher**

Can you tell me another area where they only speak another language? And majority for example you said PK douze is Amharic.

**Mahad**

In Ambouli, Djebel mostly they speak Arabic.

**The researcher**

Mostly people speak Arabic in streets and Afar?

**Mahad**

Afars, mostly they're concentrated in Arhiba and some part of PK douze mainly.

**The researcher**

Somalis are everywhere?

**Mahad**

Somalis are most of the city, everywhere in the city.

**The researcher**

Okay, do you listen to radio?

**Mahad**

Yes, I do. Sometimes, not most of the time.

**The researcher**

What radio, Djibouti radio?

**Mahad**

I do listen, I don't listen Djibouti radio mostly. I do listen BBC and VOA.

**The researcher**

In which language?

**Mahad**

Somali language and English language.

**The researcher**

What kind of programs do you like?

**Mahad**

Mostly I listen Somali, in the morning because I get up early in the morning and I do listen news.

**The researcher**

News. Ok.

**Mahad**

I don't have another program to feel.

**The researcher**

Do you listen to songs?

**Mahad**

Songs I like it, I like Somali song.

**The researcher**

Somali songs?

**Mahad**

I don't listen most of my time but some time I like to listen Somali songs.

**The researcher**

Not in other languages?

**Mahad**

Not even in English.

**The researcher**

Not even in English ok. Do you watch TV?

**Mahad**

Yes, I watch but not every media.

**The researcher**

What's? Which one? Djibouti TV?

**Mahad**

Not Djibouti TV.

**The researcher**

Which one?

**Mahad**

Most of the time, mostly I watch Aljazeera News one and second one is.

**The researcher**

Aljazeera in which language?

**Mahad**

In English language.

**The researcher**

In English and what kind of program do you watch in Aljazeera?

**Mahad**

I watch most of the programs like I watch Witness. I watch stories. I watch the sites.

**The researcher**

The Porters And what about sort of what's about theatres and films?

**Mahad**

I don't watch films anymore. Sometimes I used to watch when I was in France. I used to go to the cinema in France, but that was like to have some, to relax sometime.

**The researcher**

But in Djibouti theatre and films in Djibouti?

**Mahad**

In Djibouti, there's no time. There's no theatre anymore now. But sometime when I'm boring. I watch previous theatres in Somali.

**The researcher**

Okay, do you surf internet?

**Mahad**

Sorry.

**The researcher**

Do you surf the internet?

**Mahad**

Internet yes, I do.

**The researcher**

And in what language?

**Mahad**

In English.

**The researcher**

In English. Mainly?

**Mahad**

Mainly.

**The researcher**

Is there another language you use?

**Mahad**

In English, sometime French but mostly in English.

**The researcher**

Okay but are you aware that national languages are present on internet, for example the Somali is present?

**Mahad**

Yes, there is sometimes.

**The researcher**

You are interested?

**Mahad**

I'm not interested.  
**The researcher**  
 And do you use social media like Facebook and WhatsApp?  
**Mahad**  
 I have Facebook.  
**The researcher**  
 You have and use it?  
**Mahad**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 What language do you use in Facebook?  
**Mahad**  
 In French.  
**The researcher**  
 You use French?  
**Mahad**  
 Yes, because most of my friends are French speakers.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay.  
**Mahad**  
 Even made my Facebook page is in French.  
**The researcher**  
 Is in French, okay? Do you read newspapers in Djibouti? La Nation?  
**Mahad**  
 I have never read.  
**The researcher**  
 Not at all, no newspapers in Djibouti?  
**Mahad**  
 Never in my life.  
**The researcher**  
 I know, we don't have a lot but no?  
**Mahad**  
 I don't read.  
**The researcher**  
 Do you read books written by Djiboutians authors?  
**Mahad**  
 I haven't read yet. I've read a book, some books written by Noor-e-Din Farah.  
**The researcher**  
 In Somali?  
**Mahad**  
 He is Somali, he is not a Djiboutian.  
**The researcher**  
 Yes, I know.  
**Mahad**  
 But I read.  
**The researcher**  
 In Somali language?  
**Mahad**  
 In English.  
**The researcher**  
 Yes, in English language.  
**Mahad**  
 I read only one time in Somali, it was written in Somali, it was a love story that was attracted me, and I read it was about 200 thieves and I read it.  
**The researcher**  
 Do you know the Djibouti authors?  
**Mahad**  
 Yeah, I know.  
**The researcher**  
 Do you know any author in Djibouti?  
**Mahad**  
 Yes, I know Abdourahman Waberi.  
**The researcher**  
 What languages does he use?  
**Mahad**  
 He uses French.  
**The researcher**  
 He writes in French.  
**Mahad**

He writes in French. He teaches in the US, he's in the US as well, in Washington.  
**The researcher**  
 Yes. Do you know any other Djibouti authors, who are in Djibouti?  
**Mahad**  
 I know a woman.  
**The researcher**  
 Who writes in Somali?  
**Mahad**  
 Mona, she writes in English.  
**The researcher**  
 Yes. In French.  
**Mahad**  
 In French and.  
**The researcher**  
 Any authors in Somali?  
**Mahad**  
 I know in Somali, a guy I cannot remember his name, but I know.  
**The researcher**  
 But in Somali. And the one who wrote Xeer Isse  
**The researcher**  
 "Rad Reeb! Yes, that was in Somali and it was by Ibrahim.  
**Mahad**  
 [Inaudible 23:35]  
**Mahad**  
 It was in French.  
**The researcher**  
 You know that author?  
**Mahad**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 And what about the mosques, you understand on Friday sermon. Do you understand the Arabic in the sermon?  
**Mahad**  
 Most of the preachers they speak Arabic mostly but I'm not okay with you.  
**The researcher**  
 Do you understand them?  
**Mahad**  
 I do understand, but I'm not ok with it.  
**The researcher**  
 You are not ok with them?  
**Mahad**  
 I am not ok.  
**The researcher**  
 Why?  
**Mahad**  
 Because, you know, when you are conveying a message, it should be, you know, in most understood, like the language that people use, examples you have a Somali community in front of you and you're talking Arabic. And I'm sure that even 4% of them don't understand what he's talking about.  
**The researcher**  
 Do you think that the majority of them don't understand Arabic?  
**Mahad**  
 Majority of people don't understand what he is talking about.  
**The researcher**  
 In Friday the sermon?  
**Mahad**  
 They don't understand.  
**The researcher**  
 They don't understand.  
**Mahad**  
 But they keen to speaking in Arabic.  
**The researcher**  
 And you don't like that?  
**Mahad**

Yeah, I don't like, I don't like.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay. Do you go abroad?  
**Mahad**  
 Yeah, I was in France.  
**The researcher**  
 And in France, you studied?  
**Mahad**  
 I went to Tokyo as well.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay. Do you have a problem communicating with foreigners?  
**Mahad**  
 No problem. What's languages you use when you were in abroad?  
**The researcher**  
 No.  
**Mahad**  
 Mostly I used Somali.  
**The researcher**  
 I mean when you are outside Africa or maybe?  
**Mahad**  
 I used French.  
**The researcher**  
 Not our neighbours.  
**Mahad**  
 I was in France. And mostly I used to speak English outside because most of that community I'm not French. So, I used to speak French and English.  
**The researcher**  
 And English. Okay. You feel that there is a language you should have learned when you go abroad, and you see people speaking different languages. Do you feel that you need to learn a new language?  
**Mahad**  
 That would be English, and I know it.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay, good. There's no other new. Do you travel to Ethiopia or Somali, you just say something about it?  
**Mahad**  
 Yeah. I went to Ethiopia.  
**The researcher**  
 And do you feel comfortable in the language of Vermont?  
**Mahad**  
 Yeah.  
**The researcher**  
 When you are in Ethiopia you feel comfortable.  
**Mahad**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 And in Somalia?  
**Mahad**  
 Yes, I do. I've never been to Somali?  
**The researcher**  
 Never been to Somalia.  
**Mahad**  
 No.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay, but in Ethiopia, you speak which language when you were in Ethiopia?  
**Mahad**  
 Amharic, Oromo and Somali.  
**The researcher**  
 And you feel at home?  
**Mahad**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 Do you feel at home?  
**Mahad**  
 I feel good. Dire Dawa is like, Djibouti.  
**The researcher**

You don't have difficulty communicating?  
**Mahad**  
 No personal.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay, that's good. Can you compare today Djibouti, to 20 years ago and how people use languages when you were maybe in primary school or secondary school?  
**Mahad**  
 If we go back not 20 years but even 10 years you could not find English.  
**The researcher**  
 In Djibouti?  
**Mahad**  
 Yeah.  
**The researcher**  
 No English. Okay, that's good. And what were about the other languages?  
**Mahad**  
 There was not that much foreign language like Oromo and Amharic, was not that much.  
**The researcher**  
 Not that much. Okay. You mean there are communities now, but they were no community at that time?  
**Mahad**  
 The number of foreigners is increasing day after day.  
**The researcher**  
 In Djibouti?  
**Mahad**  
 Yes, in Djibouti. And even you can find some other African communities like a Kenyan will teach that teach us at the University. Yes. If you go back to even five years, they wouldn't have any Kenyan in Djibouti mostly, so you can find Kenyan teachers right here, you can find most of West African countries here, most people of West African countries.  
**The researcher**  
 How were the languages? And then the languages?  
**Mahad**  
 Now, or before.  
**The researcher**  
 How were they using languages before?  
**Mahad**  
 Which language?  
**The researcher**  
 All the languages in Djibouti. The French was used as today?  
**Mahad**  
 Yeah, it's used us today. Better than today.  
**The researcher**  
 You mean?  
**Mahad**  
 People were clever than before. They were clever before than now.  
**The researcher**  
 Well, they were speaking better maybe you mean.  
**Mahad**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 You mean there were speaking better?  
**Mahad**  
 They were speaking better in French.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay. The Somali?  
**Mahad**  
 Somali, it was better before.  
**The researcher**  
 It was better also before.  
**Mahad**  
 Before.

**The researcher**  
 They using more Somali now or less?  
**Mahad**  
 It's more mixed with another language.  
**The researcher**  
 Now?  
**Mahad**  
 Yeah.  
**The researcher**  
 But are they use it more than before or is the same, nothing has changed? The position where Somali is?  
**Mahad**  
 Somali language has been changed by foreigner languages. Example you are Djiboutian Somali, in terms of his country he doesn't speak like his father used to speak.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay but what I need to know is the usage, were they using more or less Somali? Were they using more French or less French?  
**Mahad**  
 More before.  
**The researcher**  
 Before they're using more, now less Somali and French before?  
**Mahad**  
 More.  
**The researcher**  
 Less French?  
**Mahad**  
 Less French now.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay, and if you compare from that time and now, what do you think?  
**Mahad**  
 In terms of which language?  
**The researcher**  
 All languages.  
**Mahad**  
 All language. Somali has been mixed with another language. And French there is another powerful language, which came, which has come now which is English. And it starts losing its place because, you can take example me. Before five years, I used to be a French student and now I choose English as an, I asked I've requested you to that I should speak, that I can speak English and I prefer English than French so it shows to you that French is going to lose its place. And I feel free when I speak English.  
**The researcher**  
 Freer, than when you speak French. Okay. Do you have an advice or comment for Djiboutians or for the researcher in matter of languages spoken in Djibouti, recommend something to say about?  
**Mahad**  
 I have sort of request, I would say people should speak their own language, clearly, their national language Somali, and it is good. I would advise people to say that you have to learn English because in terms of research, and the amount of data that you could find in English, you will never find in French. So, because I've done research in English, so I was in France université de Grenoble Alpes, they asked me to do in French my research. I couldn't do it in French. So then I went to Head of that department and I asked her that I cannot do in French, I must do it in English and she accepted me she accepted

me and then I did it in English so I did it well so I could find many, many information in English than French. so, I would advise any researcher who is Djiboutian to have to learn English to do a good research.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay thank you very much for the interview... Vous avez appris le français, votre première langue, vous avez appris au primaire et au secondaire, le français et seulement a l'université que vous avez appris l'anglais.  
 Interview with Marwan, Information Technology Instructor at the University of Djibouti.  
 14 March 2017 at 06.41 at Djibouti University in Balbala, Djibouti.  
**The researcher**  
 A Salamu Aleykum wa rahmatulahi wa barakaat. Thank you very much for accepting my, to have interview with me on languages spoken in Djibouti. My name is Said Djama. I'm doing a thesis with the university of Aston in Birmingham. That's in England, United Kingdom. I just want to assure you that what we are going to talk about will be kept confidentially and will be also anonymised. Okay. Can you please tell me your name, age, profession, responsibility or title?  
**Marwan**  
 My name is **Marwan**. I am an IT instructor in the university of Djibouti, Faculty of literature and languages. My age is 34.  
**The researcher**  
 Where do you live?  
**Marwan**  
 I live in Djibouti, in city Wadajir.  
**The researcher**  
 That is in Boulaos  
**Marwan**  
 Boulaos  
**The researcher**  
 Thank you. What is your mother tongue?  
**Marwan**  
 My mother tongue is Arabic.  
**The researcher**  
 Arabic. And I told you that because you work as an IT teacher in English.  
**Marwan**  
 No, in Arabic  
**The researcher**  
 You're teaching in Arabic or in English in the IT.  
**Marwan**  
 IT for the Arabic department.  
**The researcher**  
 Arabic department and you teaching mainly in Arabic?  
**Marwan**  
 Really Not.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay good. Are you? Do you see yourself as an Arabic speaker when they are saying Arabophone? They say Arabophone and they say francophone.  
**Marwan**  
 Yes. I found myself in this category which is.  
**The researcher**  
 Which one?  
**Marwan**  
 Which is Arabophone.  
**The researcher**  
 Arabophone

**Marwan**  
Yeah.

**The researcher**  
Okay good. And because you have done your education in Arabic.

**Marwan**  
Not all of it, the primary study was in Arabic but in university.

**The researcher**  
And in the Secondary?

**Marwan**  
Secondary was in Arabic also. Bachelor was in English and also the Master was in English.

**The researcher**  
Okay then you have done your university studies in English.

**Marwan**  
In English.

**The researcher**  
Okay. Then for Djibouti you are an Arabophone. And your studies at the university level, you have done a bachelor?

**Marwan**  
I have done a bachelor and then I did a master.

**The researcher**  
You did a master. And was this paid by the government of Djibouti? Have you got a bursary for the university or did you do privately?

**Marwan**  
I didn't do privately. I got a scholarship from an ONG.

**The researcher**  
ONG.

**Marwan**  
Yeah.

**The researcher**  
Okay. Behalf of Djibouti or?

**Marwan**  
No, because on behalf of Saudi Arabia.

**The researcher**  
So that you have ONG helped you?

**Marwan**  
Yes. This is a bachelor but master I did it on behalf of myself.

**The researcher**  
You paid yourself for the master in Egypt?

**Marwan**  
No, it was in Malaysia.

**The researcher**  
In Malaysia. You did that in Malaysia.

Okay. Thank you. How many languages do you speak?

**Marwan**  
Fluently I speak Arabic and English.

**The researcher**  
And English?

**Marwan**  
Yes. French I can understand, I can speak also, but not as good as English and Arabic. Somali I can understand and speak also because it is a local language. Other language Afar and Amharic, maybe, I know some words I use it sometimes. I understand, I can understand in Amharic and can also understand enough but I can't speak.

**The researcher**  
You can understand that's okay, that's good. That's a list of languages. Which is important for you, which one is important for you?

**Marwan**  
The most important I think it's maybe in Djibouti, it will be of course the French.

**The researcher**  
The French but not for you. For you?

**Marwan**  
For me, I use English.

**The researcher**  
What is the most important language for you?

**Marwan**  
In my business, I do in English now. In my profession now I use the Arabic.

**The researcher**  
The Arabic.

**Marwan**  
Yes, but I think the most important to me would be Arabic.

**The researcher**  
Arabic

**Marwan**  
Of course, yes.

**The researcher**  
Why?

**Marwan**  
I teach in Arabic, my family's they all speak in Arabic. My neighbours also, I have a lot of Arabic neighbours. And I think it's more important.

**The researcher**  
More important for you. Do you feel the need to learn a new language?

**Marwan**  
Sure, definitely.

**The researcher**  
What language are you looking for?

**Marwan**  
I need to enhance my French.

**The researcher**  
Your French?

**Marwan**  
Yes, and also my Somali but I can't find someone. Someone that can teach Somali. I know, I can understand Somali, but I didn't learn it. I got it from the market, from hearing other people speaking but not I didn't take an official study.

**The researcher**  
You want to learn Somali properly?

**Marwan**  
Yes, why not?

**The researcher**  
At home how many languages do you speak?

**Marwan**  
Two, Arabic and Somali.

**The researcher**  
At home?

**Marwan**  
Yes.

**The researcher**  
Your family?

**Marwan**  
Yes.

**The researcher**  
Your spouse and kids?

**Marwan**  
Yes.

**The researcher**  
You speak in Arabic?

**Marwan**  
In Arabic.

**The researcher**  
And maybe Somali for the people who are working in.

**Marwan**  
Yes, exactly.

**The researcher**

Okay. For the lady who is working with your family. And your neighbour's which language do you use with my neighbours?

**Marwan**  
They are so different I have Arabic neighbours, I have Somali neighbours

**The researcher**  
And speaks to them in Somali.

**Marwan**  
Yes. Of course.

**The researcher**  
Okay.

**Marwan**  
I have some Amharic neighbours.

**The researcher**  
And what language do you use?

**Marwan**  
We need to find a middle language, me and them. They speak a little Arabic and speak a little Amharic, so we can find something in between.

**The researcher**  
Okay. You come to speak these two languages

**Marwan**  
Yes, mixed languages.

**The researcher**  
And are you comfortable using these languages with your neighbours?

**Marwan**  
In Djibouti, maybe in one session, a conversation you may use three or four languages without feeling that you are using these all four languages. Maybe Somali, French Arabic sometimes you put Afar words.

**The researcher**  
Afar.

**Marwan**  
Yes.

**The researcher**  
But do you have problem talking to some people in your neighbourhood, you have problem, you just don't understand them, and they don't understand you.

**Marwan**  
I have, some Afar neighbours who cannot understand me.

**The researcher**  
They don't understand you.

**Marwan**  
Yes, they don't understand Arabic or Somali and I don't understand Afar but I can't speak Afar.

**The researcher**  
What do you do then?

**Marwan**  
I get someone between us who can say understand either Arabic or Somali or speak Afar.

**The researcher**  
What language do you use at work professionally?

**Marwan**  
In the university we use French.

**The researcher**  
French. You use French when you're walking in?

**Marwan**  
For the administration I use French, with my students I use mostly Arabic.

**The researcher**  
Arabic with the students and.

**Marwan**  
because the Arabic department.

**The researcher**

And French with the administration. You communicate with them I mean, when you are writing as a communication, you doing in?

**Marwan**

No, I do it in English.

**The researcher**

in English.

**Marwan**

I am no good in French in writing might be speaking yes but in writing.

**The researcher**

You do in English.

So, if you have problem with the administration writing to them in English?

**Marwan**

I can understand how they're writing but when I write I prefer to write in English. I can.

**The researcher**

Are they happy with you? Are they happy with English?

**Marwan**

I did not face any problem

**The researcher**

There's no any problem okay good and how many languages do you use when you are inside the university for example when you talking to colleagues or other people was encouraged to use most of the time.

**Marwan**

Arabic.

**The researcher**

Most of it, most of the time use Arabic.

**Marwan**

Arabic, English and French.

**The researcher**

You use all these three.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

Which one is the?

**Marwan**

I use with, I have some Arabic colleagues because they have French.

**The researcher**

Which one you use most.

**Marwan**

If we come to middle language, we use French. If they are francophone.

**The researcher**

Most of the time.

**Marwan**

Yes, but we have some other teachers they're not speaking French. So, I have to communicate with them in English.

**The researcher**

Okay, good. And your colleagues when they are having conversations between them. Okay, when teachers are talking. What language do you hear most of the time? What language is used most of the time?

**Marwan**

It comes to the situation, if they are all for example Somalis, they may start talking in Somali. If they have someone is not Somali, they will have they will have to move to French because it's the most common so.

**The researcher**

But most of the time.

**Marwan**

They're all Somalis, speak Somali of course.

**The researcher**

Because most of the teacher Somalis.

**Marwan**

Even if they're not all of them Somalis but all Djibouti citizens, they can understand Somali at least.

**The researcher**

All the Djibouti citizens.

**Marwan**

Yes, of course.

**The researcher**

Okay then, then they communicate in Somali.

**Marwan**

In Somali.

**The researcher**

Okay, good. But when they were hiring a new employee, when you were hired. They asked you what language do you know?

What language do you understand, they ask you any question?

**Marwan**

They requested this in the CV, but they didn't give me a direct question about languages I am speaking.

**The researcher**

But do they have a language policy at the university or in Djibouti?

**Marwan**

Of course, as I was heard in the Arabic department, Arabic was required.

**The researcher**

They just tell you Arabic.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

But do you think at the university they still have a policy?

**Marwan**

No, I don't think to have a policy of hiring based on languages?

**The researcher**

To regulate languages

**Marwan**

No.

**The researcher**

Policy to regulate languages.

**Marwan**

I didn't hear that there is a policy like this.

**The researcher**

You didn't hear. Okay. Okay, good. And did you speak to parents? Did you meet parents? And what language do you use when you are speaking to people who come to the university to get information from you or need information on the students or?

**Marwan**

Also, it will be based on the situation I said if they come and they start speaking Arabic as because I'm an IT Arabic instructor, I will start speaking in Arabic but most of the time I think they start speaking French.

**The researcher**

Most of the time they start speaking French and you can speak, okay. Is there sometimes where you cannot understand what they're saying, and you need someone else?

**Marwan**

There is some situation like this, you are speaking in general or just in the university?

**The researcher**

Inside university.

**Marwan**

Inside university, no.

**The researcher**

With your job.

**Marwan**

You can't, most of the people are communicating in French or Somali.

**The researcher**

When they come to see you.

**Marwan**

Yes, if you can communicate in one of these languages, you have no problem.

**The researcher**

Then you can communicate with them and there is no problem. You have never used an interpreter.

**Marwan**

No.

**The researcher**

Okay, thank you. And Djibouti's, in Djibouti in general. What do you think about languages taught in primary and secondary schools?

You know that in secondary school and primary that teaching public schools the teaching of French language, and then Arabic is introduced earlier in primary, and then English in secondary.

What should be taught, according to you?

I mean, in matter of languages.

**Marwan**

Well, introducing these three languages is good, but I'm not involved in this process, but I think they have to,

**The researcher**

But you think, you said about this?

**Marwan**

Yes, I think they have to enhance the English. But the Arabic they're introducing it early. I think the third or the fourth class, the syllabus of Arabic is good and was supervised but I knew they have a problem with English. Because it starts late, I think in the second class. So, something like this, they are not, I don't think they are forcing the students to use the English language, but they are not encouraging them to use this language. Like Arabic if the students learn, they can use it in, in local, they can use it, but English they don't have somewhere. This is the problem they learn it, but they don't practise it.

**The researcher**

They don't have people to talk to them in English.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

But they have Arabic,

**Marwan**

They have Arabic. Yes, if they learn Arabic, because there is everything in Djibouti, they are Arabic, and they need to communicate with them in Arabic. Although they are using another language for communicating in French or Somali, but if they want, they can use Arabic. They have somewhere to use Arabic but the English I think they don't have somewhere they are forced or encouraged to use language.

**The researcher**

Okay and what do you think about that?

**Marwan**

We need to maybe we have conversation classes or English Community Development something like this to encourage people and students specially to use English.

**The researcher**

But what do you think about teaching national languages like the Somali or the Afar taught inside the class?

**Marwan**

Why not, they can be put as a choice.

**The researcher**

As choice.

**Marwan**

Yes, for example in the secondary level maybe they say may you choose two another or local language Somali, Afar, Amharic, Arabic it is included another language.

**The researcher**

To which level, secondary?

**Marwan**

Secondary, yes.

**The researcher**

Secondary. That's what they think it's better to introduce.

**Marwan**

Like in the United states in the secondary they have to choose French or Spanish as a third language.

**The researcher**

As a third language. Okay and then he thinks that secondary school here it's better to tell the top to give them the choice to have some other languages.

**Marwan**

Because you will find someone who look for this language to study it officially.

**The researcher**

Officially.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

Okay. You have children.

**Marwan**

I have two.

**The researcher**

Good and what's this is the program for what? What languages are they learning? And are you planning something for them in matter of languages?

**Marwan**

Yes. The first is now at the age of school she started in Arabic school.

**The researcher**

Arabic school.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

It's a private school.

**Marwan**

Private school.

**The researcher**

Where the main language is Arabic?

**Marwan**

And main language is Arabic.

**The researcher**

Okay.

**Marwan**

Others still is too young.

**The researcher**

Too young, then you think it's, she's going to learn in Arabic and later maybe you're going to see if there is another language.

**Marwan**

In the same school they're teaching the French earlier from the second or third class.

**The researcher**

Okay as an option?

**Marwan**

No.

**The researcher**

It's compulsory?

**Marwan**

Yes, yes.

**The researcher**

It is compulsory and that's what you want for your kids.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

Okay good. In Djibouti when you go around what is the most used language in Djibouti streets, when you go around and you walk on? What language do you hear people speaking?

**Marwan**

Most of it, it's Somali.

**The researcher**

Most of the time.

**Marwan**

It's official, you got to official place, you may use French

**The researcher**

When you go to you may use but when you go to offices, where people are asking services to the government, what language do you hear? Is it the same in street, in offices?

**Marwan**

Yes, I hear most of it Somali.

**The researcher**

You hear most of the time Somali.

**Marwan**

If you know Somali, you don't have any problem in any place.

**The researcher**

Okay if you are speaking in Somali, no problem any place you go, you use Somali.

**Marwan**

You will need it, if there is something you have to write or fill-up form writing the you need another language.

**The researcher**

The French.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

But when you are speaking in Djibouti.

**Marwan**

No problem, you speak Somali you have no problem.

**The researcher**

Then most of the language you hear is Somali, and what is the second language you hear?

**Marwan**

Afar and Arabic.

**The researcher**

In second language?

**Marwan**

Yes, in the street, in a market Yes.

**The researcher**

These two languages.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

Which comes second after the Somali?

**Marwan**

Maybe the Arabic because you know Arabic, the people, they use it as a middle language to communicate with each other.

**The researcher**

Then you can hear sometimes and are there areas where they speak mainly one language some areas for example, they speak maybe French or maybe some area where they speak English you say, anyway

you said to me there's no area when people speak English, but all other languages the national language are that areas in Djibouti?

**Marwan**

Is difficult to find somewhere that they speak only one language specially.

**The researcher**

Not only one but one language is dominating the others, for example you say Djibouti is dominated, everywhere people speak Somali. But is there some area where people mostly speak Arabic, when you go that area you hear Arabic? Or you hear another language?

**Marwan**

Maybe if you go to villages?

**The researcher**

Villages?

**Marwan**

Yes. There it's Somali village. You will hear mostly Somali, if it's Afar village.

**The researcher**

In the north, maybe on the south.

**Marwan**

Yes, something like this. But especially in Djibouti City, because to find someone just speak one language is.

**The researcher**

Not the people, I am talking about area.

**Marwan**

Area. Yes.

**The researcher**

For example, what do you think about Arhiba area?

**Marwan**

Arhiba, you find Oromo, you find Afar, you find Amharic.

**The researcher**

There's no one dominant language.

**Marwan**

No.

**The researcher**

Okay. And in Djabal?

**Marwan**

Djabal, you find Somali, you find Afar. you find Arabic.

**The researcher**

No language is dominating.

**Marwan**

No.

**The researcher**

Good, thank you, do you listen to radio?

**Marwan**

No, no, maybe in the market areas.

**The researcher**

When you are in the market.

**Marwan**

And don't do it on purpose.

**The researcher**

Okay, and with language do you hear then in the market?

**Marwan**

In the afternoon of course, you will hear BBC Somali.

Okay. I know that. For example, the local radio is dividing program in times in different languages, isn't it?

**The researcher**

Yes. And they have different channels.

Yes.

Do you watch? Do you listen to songs?

**Marwan**

No, I do not listen to songs.

**The researcher**

No. Do you watch TV?

**Marwan**

Yes, of course.  
**The researcher**  
 Yes, you watch TV and what TV? Djibouti ones or foreign?  
**Marwan**  
 I used Djibouti ones to follow some local programs.  
**The researcher**  
 Programs. Some local programs.  
**Marwan**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 In what language.  
**Marwan**  
 Could be French or Somali.  
**The researcher**  
 Some French or Somalia.  
**Marwan**  
 Arabic also. the Arabic was not something regular.  
 In other channels, I use Arabic and English.  
**The researcher**  
 Arabic and English  
**Marwan**  
 Arabic or English, I follow some.  
**The researcher**  
 Which channels?  
**Marwan**  
 In English I follow National Geographic, you heard about it?  
**The researcher**  
 National Geographic Channel.  
**Marwan**  
 Yes  
**The researcher**  
 And which language do you use?  
**Marwan**  
 Yes, in English.  
**The researcher**  
 And what about theatres or films?  
**Marwan**  
 Yes, of course no one, does not watch films.  
**The researcher**  
 Films. Okay. Which language do you prefer?  
**Marwan**  
 Of course, the best shows are in English, but I like the subtitles.  
**The researcher**  
 Subtitles, in what?  
**Marwan**  
 In Arabic.  
**The researcher**  
 Subtitles in Arabic. OK  
**Marwan**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 what about the internet? Do you surf internet?  
**Marwan**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 And which language?  
**Marwan**  
 Most of it in English  
**The researcher**  
 English. Internet when you use, you don't use Arabic, or you use?  
**Marwan**  
 From what I have learned the English content is rich, is more rich than Arabic, for me, yes, I did my study on Arabic and English so when I try to surf, look for an information I look for it in English

because it's more rich the content is more rich than Arabic.  
**The researcher**  
 Not in Arabic.  
**Marwan**  
 Sometimes if there is something specific in Arabic, I don't, I will not find it in English. So, I look in Arabic.  
**The researcher**  
 Do you look up in Somalia or in Afar?  
**Marwan**  
 No.  
**The researcher**  
 You know, the national languages are also present on internet.  
**Marwan**  
 Yes, I know but I can't read this is the problem.  
**The researcher**  
 You can't read it. Then you don't use it, you don't use these languages. Do you use social media like Facebook or WhatsApp?  
**Marwan**  
 Of course.  
**The researcher**  
 And in which language?  
**Marwan**  
 Mostly Arabic and English.  
**The researcher**  
 Mostly in Arabic and English. Good. Do you read newspapers there is one in Arabic Al Qarn, the National one, La Nation?  
**Marwan**  
 I read Al Qarn.  
**The researcher**  
 In Arabic?  
**Marwan**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay. And do you read books written by Djibouti's authors.  
**Marwan**  
 I did not have that chance.  
**The researcher**  
 You didn't have the chance okay the chance to read and even translated in Arabic or into...  
**Marwan**  
 You know, my problem is I am technical person.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay technical person.  
**Marwan**  
 When I read books, most of them are technical and more of the authors are not Djiboutians.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay. And when you go to the mosque, for example, the Friday sermon is in Arabic, for you there's no problem you understand everything that the Imam is saying.  
**Marwan**  
 Yes, of course.  
**The researcher**  
 In your area when you go in the mosque most of the time. Do you think people who are there all of them understand the Arabic?  
**Marwan**  
 They understand most of it.  
**The researcher**  
 Most of it, not completely.  
**Marwan**  
 Not completely.  
**The researcher**

Okay.  
**Marwan**  
 But I believe that they understand most of it.  
**The researcher**  
 Okay.  
**Marwan**  
 We used to have some mosque where they translate to other languages, sometime before, sometime after, maybe in Arabic, maybe in Somali, we used in the past we have khutbah (sermon) in Somali, was done but it was stopped by the government.  
**The researcher**  
 It was stopped by the government.  
**Marwan**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 What do you think the government said?  
**Marwan**  
 Because they need the khutbah (sermon) to be united and unified in all the mosques. Now it is unified the same subject in all mosques.  
**The researcher**  
 And who provide the sermon?  
**Marwan**  
 The message, the ministry of Waqf (religious affairs) okay  
**The researcher**  
 and after that they need to translate  
**Marwan**  
 Before or after the Khutbah.  
**The researcher**  
 But do you think, how many percentages will understand you think?  
**Marwan**  
 60.  
**The researcher**  
 60% understand or don't understand?  
**Marwan**  
 Understand.  
**The researcher**  
 Understand the khutbah, completely you mean.  
**Marwan**  
 Most of it.  
**The researcher**  
 Most of it and the rest, 40% really don't understand anything about it.  
**Marwan**  
 Not anything, they understand some of it.  
**The researcher**  
 They understand some of it.  
**Marwan**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 OK, thank you. When you go abroad when you travel. You were in Saudi maybe in Saudi Arabia.  
**Marwan**  
 I have been in Malaysia, Indonesia, Kenya and Tanzania.  
**The researcher**  
 When you travel for your studies or maybe for leisure? Do you have trouble communicating with foreigners?  
**Marwan**  
 If they have problems communicating with English. Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 With English. If they speak English, no problem.  
**Marwan**  
 No problem at all.  
**The researcher**

Okay if you go to a country where people speak French

**Marwan**

I can manage.

**The researcher**

You can manage most of the French and English okay an Arabic is okay. Have you been to Ethiopia or Somalia?

**Marwan:**

Yes, I have been to Ethiopia and Somalia.

**The researcher**

So, you have been to Somalia.

**Marwan**

North of Somalia.

**The researcher**

Okay, North of Somalia?

**Marwan**

Yes, in Hargeisa.

**The researcher**

In Hargeisa were you okay, did you feel okay with the language, the linguistic environment where people were speaking Somali.

**Marwan**

No problem you know I understand Somali I can speak a little, so I didn't have any problem by the opposite, I was welcome there because I speak Somali.

**The researcher**

You speak Somali. Okay. You felt at home?

**Marwan**

Yes. I felt at home. There is a difference between the accent here and there. Yes. It's not a big difference, they can understand me, and I can understand them.

**The researcher**

That's good for them. But when you went to Ethiopia.

**Marwan**

In Ethiopia, mostly I use English and little Amharic I can understand what they're saying.

**The researcher**

And you understand when they speak in Amharic.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

But you were using English and it was comfortable.

**Marwan**

The official places are mostly using English in a hotel, restaurants, markets, they use English.

**The researcher**

Okay? That's good. But now if we come to the conclusion can you compare today the way people are using languages to sometimes ago when you were a secondary school or maybe at the university 10 year or 15 years ago, in Djibouti how people are using languages.

**Marwan**

Maybe there is not a big difference.

**Marwan**

There is no big difference.

**Marwan**

Yes. But recently now with the crisis of Yemen. People of Djibouti, they are encouraged to speak Arabic.

**The researcher**

Arabic. You mean the new influx of Yemenis into Djibouti as refugees. They are becoming refugee because of the war in Yemen.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

You see that has changed and people have to speak more Arabic.

**Marwan**

Because for Arabic people of Djibouti, they can communicate another language. That's not problem, but those specially they can speak Arabic.

**The researcher**

The Yemenis they can only speak Arabic.

**Marwan**

Yes. They speak Arabic they can't speak another language okay. So, the locals here they have to enhance their language so they speak more Arabic now, in the market you can feel it.

**The researcher**

Okay, nice. But what do you think about English, English was the way people to use English or professionally or not, and now?

**Marwan**

From the past and now I think English was a little bit developed because now there are so many companies and smaller stations that are using English before English was not something required to get a job. But now maybe, I think.

**The researcher**

Now, it's required.

**Marwan**

Yes, it's required.

**The researcher**

And people can get a job with English now.

**Marwan**

They can get more chance if they have English.

**The researcher**

English. But before was the chance equal?

**Marwan**

Before it was if you have French. It's okay. Arabic is an addition.

**The researcher**

It was an addition again before. And now?

**Marwan**

And now, until now, the other is not required officially. We don't have something. Yeah, we don't have forms in Arabic to fill, we don't have something like this. So, if you speak Arabic, it's okay to say something. Yes, but now English No. English, you have exceptions.

**The researcher**

You have more opportunities

**Marwan**

Yes. You have more opportunities. To get a job.

**The researcher**

To get a job. Now, is English now more important than French, in the market, in the market

**Marwan**

I can't say that it is dominating.

**The researcher**

French?

**Marwan**

Yes, French is dominating everywhere.

**The researcher**

French is dominating now, even people hiring in the in the court where or most of the companies are speaking English they also need French.

**Marwan**

Because France is the official language of the country until now, but English became more important than before because all the countries in the world are communicating abroad in English, a few are getting the French, but most are communicating in English.

**The researcher**

Thank you, what will be your advice? Or if you have a comment for Djiboutians or for me myself as a researcher, the matter of languages spoken in Djibouti.

**Marwan**

Look Mister Said. Djibouti is a unique case. We are speaking so many languages, we are mixing so many languages, you don't find this in another country, difficult to find. Maybe you'll find two languages but for us we are mixing 2, 3, 4, in the same time. This is good. This is diversity in the culture. The language is not something we speak language is a culture because we have mixed cultures which is good for us. So, if you asked me for, I don't say it's an advice but the comments we have to encourage, we don't have to make some languages dominant other languages maybe officially we need to encourage English. This is now, it's a necessary we have to encourage English because world is going to English more than French. Now France is contracting. I don't know why the French in Djibouti and. French is contracting in the world. This is reflecting on Djibouti as well. Even now Djibouti is communicating with Arab countries and English countries more than communicating with France.

**The researcher**

France

**Marwan**

Yes, this is the problem. So, for instance is okay, we can change French in one night. That's the case, but we have to encourage the other languages, Arabic and English. English especially need to be encouraged. Now English became the international language with no border. So, going to the approach of English is necessary, that up time in the next time.

**The researcher**

Okay and you think that Djibouti is multicultural.

**Marwan**

Yes.

**The researcher**

People are multilingual and that is good, and you have to encourage. Okay. All right. Thank you very much Mr. **Marwan** for giving me the opportunity to have this interview with you.

Interview with Nasser, In Charge of Operations for a Foreign Government Organisation

11 March 2017 at 13.09 at home in Hodan, Balbala, Djibouti.

**The researcher**

A salaam aleykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakaatu, Bonjour, Good afternoon. I told you that I was... my name is ...sorry.

I have to introduce my myself first. My name is Said Djama. I'm doing a thesis with the University of Aston, in Birmingham in England, United Kingdom.



And I would like... I asked you for an interview you accepted thank you very much for that. And I told you that in the consent form that our interview will be kept secret. And it will be also an anonymised, your name will not appear, and no one would know, apart from the people who are working at the university and who are linked with my thesis, okay correctors and my supervisor.

I think your working language is English and you can talk in French if you like. Vous pouvez me parler en français ou en anglais si vous voulez. Je sais que vous travaillez pour [...] et que votre langue de travail est l'anglais. Donc, vous avez le choix.

Can you please introduce yourself?

**Nasser**  
Bismillahi rahmani Raheem. My name is Nasser and I work for [...] which is [...] agency for International Development, [...] agency for national government for national development.

So, and my working language is English, so and I'm ready to take your questions.

**The researcher**  
Okay, where do you live?

**Nasser**  
I live in Djibouti Ville, the Republic of Djibouti, capital of the Republic of Djibouti in a neighbourhood called City Hodan, in the greater Balbala area.

**The researcher**  
OK. Thank you. What is your mother tongue?

**Nasser**  
So, my mother tongue is Somali And my, you know, my medium of language at school was French, and then later English.

**The researcher**  
Okay then you are a Francophone.

**Nasser**  
Yes

**The researcher**  
Okay, your main language of education. For you up to the university was French.

**Nasser**  
Yes, and also in English, because I studied two years in the US.

**The researcher**  
In the US?

**Nasser**  
Yes

**The researcher**  
That's in secondary school.

**Nasser**  
No, no, no, the university.

**The researcher**  
Yes, yes. That's good. At the university, you studied English, but your main language was in primary and secondary was French.

**Nasser**  
Right.

**The researcher**  
And what is your level of education? You've been to university?

**Nasser**  
I hold a Master of Science degree in international development.

**The researcher**  
Yeah.

**Nasser**  
Which I graduated from University of London, Egham

**The researcher**  
of London?

**Nasser**  
Egham, yes. There is a campus at Egham on the outskirts of London and that's where I graduated; university of London.

**The researcher**  
Okay, and you studied in, the main language was English.

**Nasser**  
English. Yes.

**The researcher**  
**The language was English. Was it private? You paid for yourself or the government paid for you? The Djibouti government.**

**Nasser**  
You know, I, I had a scholarship from ... not from the government but from... international environment.

**The researcher**  
**Organisation**

**Nasser**  
Yeah, it's, basically it was a project. I funded my scholarship... my master's for two years, but my undergrad, I had a scholarship from the government,

**The researcher**  
From the Djibouti government?

**Nasser** 4:39  
Yes, that was for my bachelor's degree. I had a scholarship from Djibouti government. For my master's I had a scholarship from basically a marine environment project funded by UNDP. So, basically UNDP funded my scholarship.

**The researcher**  
For the Master's

**Nasser**  
Yeah, for the Master's.

**The researcher**  
And it was in English.

**Nasser**  
Yes.

**The researcher**  
OK. How many languages do you speak or understand all right?

**Nasser**  
Four languages

**The researcher**  
Four languages

**Nasser**  
Which are Somali, French, English and Arabic.

**The researcher**  
And Arabic, do you write, do you read?

**Nasser**  
I write and read all of them?

**The researcher**  
Then, the Somali language is your mother tongue, you studied secondary and primary in French and at the university in English. And then you have Arabic, which was ...

**Nasser**  
Arabic through the secondary system here in Djibouti.

**The researcher**  
That's good. Do you feel the need to learn a new language?

**Nasser**  
Yes, I do. I'm very interested in learning the Afar language.

**The researcher**

The Afar language, which is another national language,

**Nasser**  
Yes, in Djibouti, and also in the region,

**The researcher**  
You don't understand that language

**Nasser**  
No, I don't know. Yes, very...some words. Yeah, a few words.

**The researcher**  
Okay. You don't speak that language and would love to learn.

**Nasser**  
Yes.

**The researcher**  
Why?

**Nasser**  
I think it's very important because I used to work in the northern part of the country, mostly an Afar region. And so, I found that it was very difficult to communicate with the young people. We used to communicate in French. But with older people, which basically had a stake in our work there, it was very difficult because they don't speak French. So, they speak only Afar... and for a professional usage I'd like to speak but also for personal interest.

**The researcher**  
For personal interest?

**Nasser**  
Yes. So, it was because I think that basically there is a large population that will speak Afar in Djibouti and also in the region. And that it is I think really, I think it's, it's very important that that I understand that language because I could communicate, I could interact easily with those Djiboutians that speak...

**The researcher**  
That's why you want to learn Afar?

**Nasser**  
Yeah, you can see both professional and personal. But even in my work, my daily work sometimes we go to the Afar regions and yet you know...

**The researcher**  
Look for your job

**Nasser**  
It will be very easy for us; for my job and for my personal... or both,

**The researcher**  
Personal interest and for your job

**Nasser**  
Personal interest and professional.

**The researcher**  
Okay, but for the language you speak, which one is important for you, the Somali, the French, the English, which language is important for you?

**Nasser**  
Well, I would say, three are important for me.

**The researcher**  
The three languages you know,

**Nasser**  
Somali and French and English.

**The researcher**  
Which one is more important than the two others?

**Nasser**  
I would say English because if I can't speak English then I can't work.

**The researcher**  
Then English is more important for you.

**Nasser**

Yes. For professional, purely professional.

**The researcher**  
Professional, but on the whole... the three languages you **The researcher**... the English is more important for you.

**Nasser**  
Yes, yes. I think that for now and my current job, I think it's very important. Also, in my future job... because speaking in English is an asset for me. I could be for example, if I decide tomorrow to apply for a new job, as an expatriate, so I think that if I speak English in addition to French it's very important. And also, I think in the future; right now, but also in the future English will take big role,

**The researcher**  
**A big role in Djibouti**

**Nasser**  
For jobs. For employment in Djibouti.

**The researcher**  
For employment

**Nasser**  
For employment yes in Djibouti. I think the youth they will need to learn English because it would secure them a job.

**The researcher**  
Okay. For employment purposes.

**Nasser**  
For employment purposes. Not only from the... you know working at [...] like me; but they're also... I think you know... working at the port.

**The researcher**  
At the port of Djibouti

**Nasser**  
Now we have a lot of Chinese investments in the ports, free zones and there are also other international companies to invest. Most of them... you know they speak English. I think that for the youth it would be very important, and English will take a big role in the future in Djibouti. So, it would be very important to speak English to have a job in Djibouti in the years to come. I think even right now it's important to speak English.

**The researcher**  
If you want a job.

**Nasser**  
Yes, in the port areas which are now the powers of the government...the ports and the free zone.

**The researcher**  
It is important now. Okay.

**Nasser**  
Or even for people you know, in hotels,

**The researcher**  
Hotels... they need to speak in English

**Nasser**  
The tourism industry...people who would love to have a job in the tourism industry, they would need to speak English because you know, ...the hotels ...the business language now is English. It's no longer in French.

**The researcher**  
You mean in Djibouti?

**Nasser**  
No everywhere... I mean, if you go to Kenya... I used to go a lot to Kenya for my work. You see people speaking at the hotel...they won't speak to you in Kiswahili. They speak to you in English.

**The researcher**  
It's important

**Nasser**

Yeah, it's very important

**The researcher**  
Okay. How many languages do you speak at home?

**Nasser**  
At home, I speak three languages. My children speak Somali, French and English.

**The researcher**  
And with your spouse?

**Nasser**  
And my spouse also mainly French and English. With my children I speak English, in addition to French and Somali.

**The researcher**  
Okay. Good. And people who are working for you.

**Nasser**  
They speak Somali.

**The researcher**  
Okay. And how do you use these languages? You said with your children you speak three languages... and with your family?

**Nasser**  
Family? Yeah... My father speaks three languages

**The researcher**  
Two languages

**Nasser**  
No three languages.

**The researcher**  
Three languages and the neighbours

**Nasser**  
The neighbours only speak two languages... French or Somali

**The researcher**  
When you speak to them? Two languages?

**Nasser**  
Yeah, mainly French, mainly French Yes.

**The researcher**  
Because they don't speak Somali...

**Nasser**  
Yeah, because they don't speak Somali... They speak different languages like Arabic... So, we speak French. I speak French with them.

**The researcher**  
Okay, at work what language do you use at work professionally?

**Nasser**  
English...the two languages English and French... and Somali.

**The researcher**  
And Somali also. Do you write Somali? Do you write English? Do you write French?

**Nasser**  
Yes, I write all of them

**The researcher**  
And at work?

**Nasser**  
You mean at the workplace. No, we don't write in Somali. We write in French and English.

**The researcher**  
Okay, these are two working languages. Yes. But do you use Somali also for the work?

**Nasser**  
No, just to communicate with colleagues.

**The researcher**  
With the colleagues, you speak with your colleagues in Somali.

**Nasser**  
Yes.

**The researcher**  
And when your colleagues are talking or having a conversation between them at the office, do they speak Somali between them?

**Nasser**  
Yes. When we are in official meetings?

**The researcher**  
No, not official meetings. Normal... just when between you?

**Nasser**  
Yes. For social?

**The researcher**  
Yes, for social.

**Nasser**  
Yeah, yeah. They speak Somali.

**The researcher**  
You speak Somali between you.

**Nasser**  
Somali and French...depending on the person you're talking to. If it's an Afar, then you know you switch to French because they will be more comfortable speaking to you in French,

**Nasser**  
**Okay**  
**Nasser 14:00**  
Some don't mind. So, for those who don't mind you speak Somali? And the other ones in Somali.

**The researcher**  
And the second language is French, first Somali between you and then if not Somali, it's French.

**Nasser**  
Yes. It is French.

**The researcher**  
And at work. Do you have a language policy that regulates languages? Do for example, they say to you, you only have to speak English...don't speak another language ...or do they need the other languages? What I mean is, do they ask you? Do they ask people to speak several languages, or just one is enough?

**Nasser**  
I think that when we are in official meetings...of course, yeah, there is a policy...because when we are hired... when we have the announcement... The job announcement.

**The researcher**  
The job description.

**Nasser**  
The job description.... says that you need to speak English... You know like higher level... very fluent...fluently and also you need to be fluent in French. So that's basically the policy. The policy at work is to speak only English and French...but when you are at the office, the daily communications are all in English ...because, you know, the [...] supervisor and other colleagues. You know, your language is English. So, when we exchange emails, it's all in English. But because the Djibouti government...the language...official language is French here in Djibouti, then you need to basically be able to communicate with the ministries that we work with in French. So that's all right to them in French, because we can communicate and write letters to them in French. Yeah, but the language policy is English and French...but on a daily basis we speak only English at official meetings,

in communications, by emails, or otherwise.

**The researcher**

Okay, between colleagues you say Somali, do they have any problem, or they don't mind you to speak in Somali.

**Nasser**

They don't mind.

**The researcher**

They don't mind.

**Nasser**

As long as the official communication by emails is in English ...or when you talk to your supervisor you speak with him or her in English ...they don't mind. If you speak with your colleagues in Somali, there's no restriction. In fact, there is no discrimination. It's an equal opportunity employer.

**The researcher**

It is ok, then

**Nasser**

So, they don't discriminate your main language... It tolerated...no problem.

**The researcher**

Okay but for hiring they just need French and English.

**Nasser**

For hiring, they will not hire you.... well, if you speak Somali, that's assets... that's a plus for you. It is an advantage.

**The researcher**

They will ask you these two languages.

**Nasser**

Yes, they will focus on these two languages, English and French

**The researcher**

But they don't hire you if you only speak French?

**Nasser**

No, no... because you need to speak English... and you have to be very, very fluent.

**The researcher**

They need both

**Nasser**

Yes, they need both...specially they need English... I mean if you start speaking good English...and you speak very good French. And your English isn't intermediate. They won't hire you.

**The researcher**

They won't hire.

**Nasser**

They want to hire a person who can write a report in English... write an email in English

**The researcher**

Okay, then the priorities are for English

**Nasser 17:56**

Yes, and someone who can write correctly and without any...without any errors... grammatical errors. So, their first priority is English... Your English is good...If your French is not good, you won't be hired, because you will need to communicate with the ministries with the government in French. All the staff of ministers' work in French because they don't speak English yet... so then if you can't speak and can't write in French then you won't be hired.

**The researcher**

That's the second condition. First English and then they say you have to know French.

**Nasser**

Yes, but you know if your English is good ... and within that group of candidates for that position ...if you are the best applicants for the position... then if your French is not after the level... maybe you have a chance to be accepted, because the other ones are also bad in French...But they also mean... let's say the other candidates English would be intermediate...then you have the best chance to be hired because the other guys don't speak good English

**The researcher**

Okay then it is according to the market if there are people who are fluent in both languages, if the first person is fluent in English, but their French is not good. Yes. Then they will hire them anyway.

**Nasser**

Yeah, if you are the best speaker in English and your French is intermediate, and the other ones are bad in English, you have a best chance to be hired... but I think they put emphasis on English.

If you're English is good, and your French is intermediate... You know, I think they don't mind you taking courses in French.

**The researcher**

Improving your French...

**Nasser**

Improve your French...and as long as you're communicating in good English.

**The researcher**

That's okay. But you said you [...] works with the Djibouti government.

**Nasser**

Yes.

**The researcher**

And you communicate with them in French

**Nasser**

Yes, in French...Let's say, most ministries communicate in French, but we don't have that many ministries we have only... I think four ministries

**The researcher**

Four ministries

**Nasser**

For ministries yes... Ministry of Energy, ministry of Family, ministry of Education, ministry of Health and ministry of Labour; that makes it five.

Minister of human yes family Ministry of Education, Minister of Health,

**The researcher**

You work with those five ministries.

**Nasser**

Those five ministers in French...whatever we write to them... it's in French.

**The researcher**

In French

**Nasser**

But when we write to the Foreign Affairs... we use the official

**The researcher**

Channel

**Nasser**

Channel yes... we use what we call a diplomatic note, which is like a letter, but signed by the ambassador. That one will be in English... because the official language of the (US) government is English... and we write in English too to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the ambassador. The ambassador issues a diplomatic note and we add a letter in

French... Only for the ministry Foreign Affairs it can be in English.

**The researcher**

But do you also have projects with civil partners with associations or voluntary associations... or I don't know, some kind of other people who are not...who are not governmental.

**Nasser**

Non-governmental

**The researcher**

Yes, non-governmental...Do you work with them?

**Nasser**

Yes, work with organizations such as UNICEF?

**The researcher**

I mean, Djibouti ones...the national ones.

**Nasser**

Djiboutians not directly...we work through our partners.

**The researcher**

Partners

**Nasser**

Yeah, we have partners

**The researcher**

Partners in Djibouti government?

**Nasser**

Yes, sometimes through the Djibouti government...sometimes through the UN agencies...sometimes through other international NGOs, like, for example, [...] NGOs, or private companies can come... and basically work for us... for health projects... or education projects or workforce drama project. So, they come... they work with us... but they also work with local associations

**The researcher**

Local associations...

**Nasser**

So, it's not us working directly. It's us working through our partner

**The researcher**

But you don't work directly with Djiboutians....Associations.

**Nasser**

No, we don't work directly with the Djiboutians ... we work through our partners or partners...So our partners...we tell them...work with them, train them in their capacity...organizational capacity, their financial capacity. And so, they have been... we've been doing that through our partner ...because what we say, you know, it's basically the business ...our business process is international tender...like when we have a project they want to fund. So, we put out what we call a tender.

**The researcher**

Okay. So, for companies who are interested to do that.

**Nasser**

Yes, private companies... international NGOs...but then they have to qualify because envy takes the best...I mean, they can be held accountable.

**The researcher**

The Djiboutians participate

**Nasser**

No, because right now they're not capable... because what we're giving you is a lot of money,

**The researcher**

A lot of money... then you are asking for more conditions.

**Nasser**

Yeah...I mean they have to respond to the application... cost for application there's a request for application... and it's competitive... so it's bidding. So, you know, so we put out a bid ...so they compete and Djiboutians are too weak. They cannot compete... [...] NGOs, [...] NGOs, they know the government process. So, they are better equipped. But also, there is no Djiboutian NGO that can manage for example \$1 million project. It's a lot of money...they don't have the staff. So, this NGOs that we are hiring are people who have can hire experts... the national expat and you know, very qualified people and you have to have a like an account in the [...]... you have to be registered with the [...] government...procurement system. And so, there are a lot of conditions... so the Djiboutians what they do is to take subcontracts from these companies.

**The researcher**

Yes, I understand.

**Nasser**

So, associations apply for small grants like seventy thousand dollars.... some as low as \$5,000...So it is up to the NGO... international NGO to manage those grants

**The researcher**

Okay, that's clear. Thank you.

**The researcher**

In Djibouti you know that languages are taught in primary and secondary schools, mainly French, and then you have options, Arabic and English. What should be taught, according to you, in schools?

**Nasser**

I think in schools, what should be taught is from my experience at the [...] we are helping. ... we are assisting the government of Djibouti. you know, to basically provide quality education for children... for school children. So, we started in 2003... you know, education we invested like more than like \$30 million.

**The researcher**

In education

**Nasser**

Education yes...alone

**The researcher**

For English language or for

**Nasser**

No for the French education French...the current system The French medium education system... and also, we support English language and secondary...But in 2012 we did a test what we call them early grade reading test. And the test showed that at grade five, only 40% can read French.

**The researcher**

40% of school children

**Nasser**

40 % of school children...so we took like a sample...you know, from each grade. So, grade five... it's the last grade I think before secondary... At grade five like 60% that cannot read... So that's not, you know...that's not something that's peculiar to Djibouti, but it's all Francophone Africa...bad results. The test was conducted all over Francophone Africa, sending in all the countries like those back ... Yes, it was bad. So, there was some

research done. And what I think now, they found is that because Djiboutian children don't have the opportunity to be taught in native language... their mother tongue at the first grade. So basically, at disadvantage compared to other countries like Anglophone Africa, wherever for example, in Kenya, where the mother tongue is introduced... first grade and then progressively the English is introduced. You know for some of the first grade...the education community...they're saying that we should teach mother tongue... first grade

**The researcher**

First grade in Djibouti

**Nasser**

Yes, everywhere. When the first-grade children are introduced, so, whatever skills they have acquired at the end of the grade...the end of the year... then they will replicate that for the foreign language like French or English. So, I think right now, because the French is not mastered properly by Djibouti's children THAT should be introduced... the mother tongue. It will take a while...because you need... you need politically, political decision.

**The researcher**

But the [...] says that from the research...they advise the government to teach Somali tongue

**Nasser**

Mother tongue...Not only Somali... In Afar region Afar... In Somali region Somali... and in the Arab neighbourhoods...Arabic schools

**The researcher**

The mother tongue, that's what they advise

**Nasser**

For each community their mother tongue...the first year... the second year it continues but French is introduced. So whatever skills they acquire by learning their mother tongue, they would also transfer them to acquire the French skills or English

**The researcher**

In primary or secondary... the French will come.

**Nasser**

French will come in the primary...progressively introduce...starting from the second grade... and then third grade...fourth grade.

**The researcher**

That's how it goes

**Nasser**

Right now, the children they don't speak French very well...because the first time they experience this language is when they enter school.

**The researcher**

Okay, public school in Year one

**Nasser**

Year one...but they have never heard it at home... those that have enough money, they can take them to French schools...kindergarten schools. And so those have the advantage when they reach the first grade... they already know, French, but the majority they don't have this chance. So, I think that it would be more appropriate if they were taught with

their mother tongue... So that's what we're proposing at [...].

**The researcher**

With you personally what do you think French all the way to secondary, or do you think they should have other languages in primary and secondary school?

**Nasser**

I think native language should be taught in primary along with the French.

**The researcher**

Other options or our main language...the Somali or the Afar.

**Nasser**

No, the first grade should be completely in a native language. Completely the first grade,

**The researcher**

**First year**

**Nasser**

The first year... either Afar, Somali or Arabic, according to the community needs.

**The researcher**

And secondary school.

**Nasser**

Secondary school... I think the French continue...The French main language of instruction and English.

**The researcher**

And what about the national languages?

**Nasser**

I think it should be an option...like we used to have in old days.

**The researcher**

Arabic an option?

**Nasser**

Yes.

**The researcher**

The French and....

**Nasser**

Arabic or a native option

**The researcher** 33:08

Okay national languages optional.

**Nasser** 33:11

National languages optional. Yes. Okay... And then in the first grade...like those five years it should be taught in native language.

**The researcher**

You mean national languages.

**Nasser**

Yes, mother tongue

**The researcher**

You have you have children. What language do you think? Do your kids are learning? What do you like them to learn?

**Nasser**

My children, they learn...At school they speak in English and French.

**The researcher**

What other language do you want them to master?

**Nasser**

Somali of course

**The researcher**

Somali but English and French is enough.

**Nasser**

Yes, for now...and they go to Arabic school... the weekends

**The researcher**

On weekends, okay. And you think you're planning for them to learn French English, Arabic and Somali.

**Nasser**

And Somali earlier... because they didn't have a chance to learn Somali their mother

## Appendix J: Transcripts of the Interviews

tongue... at schools... Okay for them to learn Somali later

**The researcher**

What do you think in Djibouti the language that is most used?

**Nasser**

I think in Djibouti Ville it's Somali.

**The researcher**

In Somali when you go to the offices of public service... what language do you hear?

**Nasser**

Mostly Somali.

**The researcher**

And what is the second language you hear?

**Nasser**

Afar

**The researcher**

The second language you heard is Afar

**Nasser**

Yes.

**The researcher:** 35:13

In Djibouti city ...everywhere Somali dominate... or do you have some places where another language dominates... maybe Afar...maybe Arabic or

**Nasser** 35:26

Or yeah, geographically, I think...There are some areas which is mixed communities. So, no language dominates there... so it depends on the geographical location. So, if you're looking at Arhiba... it's Afar...but if you look at the other areas, you know, neighbourhood number six, number seven, number five, number three...it's all Somali. And in Balbala, I think ...predominantly Somali... And what do you find within Barbara some neighbourhoods where you have also mixed communities...Usually I would say in Djibouti ...on a global scale...Somali dominates... But you have areas that are also other language you have also language.

**The researcher** 36:29

What is the second language... other than the Somali? Second Language in Djibouti city

**Nasser** 36:36

I think it's Afar.

**The researcher** 36:44

The North is Afar, and the South is Somali.

**Nasser**

Right.

**The researcher**

And do they have second language...for example, in the north of Djibouti, what language do they speak

**The researcher** 37:04

Afar first and second one?

**Nasser** 37:07

Small Arabic,

**The researcher** 37:08

And in the south

**Nasser**

In the south, Somali

**The researcher** 37:12

And the second one.

**Nasser**

I found Somali only... and maybe some French

**The researcher** 37:18

Maybe some French. Okay, good.

**The researcher** 37:22

Do you listen to radio?

**Nasser**

Not much. Only to the BBC...just the news

**The researcher**

In what language?

**Nasser** 37:30

In Somali... and also in English

**The researcher** 37:35

Do you listen to Djibouti radio? RTD?

**Nasser:**

I don't listen. It's not interesting

**The researcher**

Okay. Do you listen to songs?

**Nasser** 37:46

Not much... no

**The researcher** 37:50

Okay. And do you watch TV?

**Nasser** 37:54

Yes, a lot.

**The researcher**

What TV? The Djibouti one?

**Nasser** 38:01

Djibouti one, rarely...but I usually watch English and French channels like France 24... like the BBC.

**The researcher** 38:09

And the Djibouti one... in which language?

**Nasser** 38:17

French and English

**The researcher**

News in Somali

**Nasser**

Rarely... On the RTD but rarely

**The researcher**

And international TVs... What language?

**Nasser**

French and English

**The researcher**

Which English channels

**Nasser**

BBC...Al Jazeera...A Nigerian channel called CBS news

**The researcher**

Do you go to Somali theatre?

**Nasser**

Somali theatre yeah on occasions

**The researcher**

Films

**Nasser**

There are no Somali films

**The researcher**

**Nasser** 39:29

Do you surf the internet?

**Nasser**

A lot yes.

**The researcher**

What language?

**Nasser** 39:39

Depends. It's French or English. Some articles I do in French ...some are English.

But usually I'm on Facebook... and also social media. But I also go to English newspapers...WhatsApp.

**The researcher** 39:59

Okay. Do you read newspapers online?

**Nasser**

Yes. English and French

**The researcher**

Do you read newspapers in Djibouti? La Nation?

**Nasser** 40:11

Sometimes Yes. At the office we have a subscription.

**The researcher** 40:16

Okay, and you read the Djibouti one... in French... La Nation...and there is another one called Al Qarn in Arabic.

**Nasser** 40:22

Only the French one,

**The researcher** 40:24

Okay. Do you read books?

**Nasser** 40:28

Yes. Sometimes?

**The researcher** 40:30

Written by Djibouti authors?

**Nasser** 40:33

Yeah. Sometimes like Waberi.

**The researcher**

In which language?

**Nasser** 40:37

It's in French.

**The researcher** 40:39

Do you read books in Somali...? written by Djibouti authors?

**Nasser**40:47

Djibouti authors? No.

**Nasser** 40:50

Yeah, each one I read it's in French.

**The researcher** 40:52

Okay you read Djibouti authors in French.

Do you know for that Somali and Afar are present on the internet? You don't anything in Somali on the internet.

**Nasser** 41:09

On social media yes... when somebody forwards me an article in Somali I do. I go to Somali newspapers online... like Shinileh news

**The researcher**41:36

Now, I would like you to talk about something different. It's the mosque, the sermon for example, do you understand most of the Friday sermon, which is in Arabic?

**Nasser**

I do

**The researcher**

Do you understand totally. Do you feel comfortable with the sermon being given in Arabic?

**Nasser** 42:00

I don't understand totally I understand maybe like 70% of the sermon. It depends... sometimes you have good preachers and they tend to speak very clearly...sometimes some are not very clear.

**The researcher** 42:26

You don't understand them.

**Nasser**

Those I have difficulty understanding... like the majority of what they are saying... during the sermon... It depends on the Sheik. If the Sheik speaks clearly

**The researcher**

The imam

**Nasser**

If he has no accent, I can understand everything... But sometimes like Sheik Robleh... I can't understand... It's kind of difficult to understand

**The researcher** 43:03

What do you think about people who are at the Friday mosque? The Friday Sermon? Do they understand? Do they all understand Arabic

**Nasser**

No. A lot of them don't understand.

Arabic is not widely spoken.

**The researcher** 43:17

It is not widely spoken in Djibouti.  
**Nasser**  
 Yeah.  
**The researcher**  
 You think that the majority of people don't understand Arabic?  
**Nasser**  
 Yes.  
**The researcher**  
 At the sermon  
**Nasser** 43:25  
 Yes.  
**The researcher** 43:26  
 What percentage do you think?  
**Nasser**  
 I would say 70-80  
**The researcher** 43:29  
 80% don't understand Arabic... and they're just there  
**Nasser**  
 Yeah  
**The researcher** 43:32  
 Do you know that sometimes after the sermon, someone translates the sermon...in Somali...but people don't stay?  
**Nasser** 43:48  
 Yeah. I think the majority stays ... and especially in the modern mosque. Yeah, some leave... but the majority stay.  
**The researcher** 44:01  
 Now you went abroad...you lived in UK... and you said you had done your study there...do you communicating with foreigners when you go outside the country...when you go abroad  
**Nasser** 44:21  
 No issue  
**The researcher** 44:22  
 What language do you use?  
**Nasser** 44:24  
 English? Like at the faculty for example I speak English.  
**The researcher** 44:29  
 Then it's okay when you go outside the country... you don't feel like oh, I need to learn another language.  
**Nasser**  
 No, no  
**The researcher**  
 You don't feel that  
**Nasser**  
 No  
**The researcher** 44:36  
 Do you travel to Ethiopian Somali? Do you go to Somalia and Ethiopia?  
**Nasser** 44:47  
 Yes, yes, I do.  
**The researcher** 44:50  
 When you go there do you feel comfortable in the language environment? For example, when you go to Somalia people everywhere will speak Somali. Do you feel comfortable?  
**Nasser** 45:01  
 Yes, I feel very comfortable  
**The researcher** 45:02  
 Do you understand what they're saying? So, you're feeling at home.  
**Nasser** 45:04  
 I understand everything  
**The researcher** 45:06  
 When you go to Ethiopia... do you feel at home also? Do you understand what people are saying?  
**Nasser**  
 It depends on the place. If it is in the Somali area... I feel like home.

**The researcher** 45:19  
 In Somali cities like Dire Dawa  
 Yes, I feel like in so many cities for example like giardia yes you feel at home  
**Nasser** 45:25  
 Yes. I feel at home.  
**The researcher** 45:26  
 You understand the language they speak  
**Nasser** 45:28  
 Some people speak Somali... others speak Amharic... but even the Amharic people that live in that area they understand Somali ... so it's very easy to communicate. But if I am in Addis, I need to speak English because I don't understand what's going on.  
**The researcher** 45:44  
 And that's okay. With English you can communicate  
**Nasser** 45:47  
 Communicate, yes.  
**The researcher** 45:53  
 I would like you to compare today... okay to 20 years ago... how people use the languages in Djibouti. Can you compare because we have seen that also Arabic before was not important...now it is becoming important ... and English was most important... now English is becoming important. And French was very important before and now, is it still very important or not? Can you compare 20 years ago and now? Languages in Djibouti?  
**Nasser** 46:27  
 I think French was important 20 years ago... it was very important. Now, I think French is still important.  
**The researcher**  
 Yes.  
**Nasser**  
 But English is also taking a bigger role... so now it's becoming more and more important.  
**The researcher** 46:47  
 Is English getting more important than French or less important?  
**Nasser** 46:50  
 I think it's getting more important than French  
  
 Or less important. I think more important than French... because right now if we switch to English... 100% in the official administration there won't be any major change and because you know people Dubai who invested before and now the Chinese... they only need to speak in English  
**The researcher**  
 That's about jobs. You're talking about companies.  
**Nasser**  
 I am talking about the business environment... and now the businesspeople they want to speak in English  
**The researcher** 47:29  
 And people are learning English because they want to work for these companies.  
**Nasser** 47:35  
 Yes...and also, I think that the business language now is English in Djibouti. It's no longer in French.... I think the Chinese and the other people they want to speak in English....there's no chance they will ever speak French... because here now they are

big players... and even communicating with Ethiopians it's in English  
**The researcher** 48:08  
 You mean our neighbours.  
**Nasser**  
 Yeah, we have a lot of economic relations.  
**The researcher**  
 And the region?  
**Nasser** 48:18  
 Also, the region, yeah... you know Dubai, Saudi Arabia... although they speak Arabic but when it comes to business, the medium of language is English... not Arabic or French.  
**The researcher** 48:35  
 What happened to French? Why are French companies not investing? What happened?  
**Nasser** 48:46  
 I think there may be a lack of interest  
**The researcher** 48:49  
 Lack of interest from the French... they are not interested?  
**Nasser** 49:01  
 There are still French companies here... there was one company that opened... a maritime company CMA CGM like in back 2003. I think they left. I think they wanted to make Djibouti their main port.  
**The researcher** 49:22  
 What about Colas  
**Nasser** 49:27  
 Yes, Colas they left.  
**The researcher** 49:32  
 What other companies are still here, French companies?  
**Nasser** 49:35  
 We have Marill, Massida  
**The researcher**  
 They are not Djiboutian nationals  
**Nasser** 49:40  
 They are not Djibouti nationals. They're both French and Djiboutians  
**The researcher** 49:45  
 I mean, foreign French companies who are here now in Djibouti  
**Nasser**  
 I would say now the new old distribution companies... The (unintelligible) is it French  
**The researcher**  
 I don't know  
**Nasser**  
 I heard it's French. It invested recently... It's a gas company... and very few companies... they are into the service market... Dubai took over from the French... and now Dubai is no longer the major investor... now it's the Chinese... all these people they engage in English... That's why English has become very important... compared to 20 years ago.  
**The researcher** 51:08  
 This is the last one I'm going to ask you. Do you have an advice or comment for Djiboutian or researchers in matter of languages spoken in Djibouti?  
**Nasser** 51:18  
 I would recommend to researchers that they need to basically put an importance on the mother tongue... it's an important issue because from what we have seen... the quality of teaching French is not good. Using my experience, you need to focus on how we can convince the Education ministry to introduce the mother tongue  
**The researcher**

The mother tongues

**Nasser**

Because it's very important... and the results of that reading test came, it was not accepted by the ministry of Education at that time...(who is) With the current minister of Health (???) he refused totally, although it was not a test we did on our own. It was in collaboration with the Department of Education, with the inspectors, with pedagogical advisors, with teachers and used the classrooms; but the results were so bad ... they acted like politicians. They were afraid of losing their jobs, because a new minister... he was, I think, two months there... so they were very afraid of him... to say 'yes this is the reality... we have to respond to this... We have to take corrective measures.' That was the right decision for education teachers, inspectors; that's their role you see... because the system needs to be corrected... So, they acted like politicians: 'Oh I am going to lose my job, because this minister will be mad... he will point fingers, then dismiss those guys.' And now it's very sad because we still have not implemented corrected measures. We know that these children they don't master French... they're sacrificing these children. Now it's four years down the road... we still have the same issue and nobody's paying attention to that

**The researcher**

For you it is important that...

**Nasser**

Important that we use the mother tongue to, basically, avoid this bad.... to sacrifice the children... they don't speak good French... they will not succeed in the secondary or...

**The researcher**

Okay, that's recommendation... Thank you very much, Mr Nasser for this interview

**Nasser**

Thank you

**The researcher**

Yes, I wish you in the future to get what you want. I mean the mother tongue into primary.

**Nasser 55:14**

Okay, thank you very much. Thank you Interview avec Ifrah, conseillère d'orientation au Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle.

07 March 2017 at 19.06 dans sa maison à Hodan à Balbala à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

**Bismillah Al Rahman Al Rahim.**

**Bonjour, je m'appelle Monsieur Saïd Djama. Comme je vous l'ai dit, je fais une thèse avec Aston à Birmingham, en Angleterre, au Royaume-Uni. Et je vous rappelle ici que tout ce que vous allez me dire sera anonymisé et restera gardé confidentiel, gardé en endroit sûr. Donc personne ne saura de ce que nous allons dire. L'interview va durer environ une trentaine de minutes, au maximum une heure, aux alentours de 40 minutes. Donc c'est bon, alors vous avez lu le formulaire de consentement. Donc, veuillez-vous présenter, veuillez nous dire votre nom, âge, profession ou responsabilité...**

Ifrah

Je suis Ifrah, je suis responsable, je suis conseillère d'orientation. Ma formation est une formation universitaire, j'ai un master I en social. J'ai déjà travaillé comme enseignante au primaire, ensuite maître d'application, puis ensuite professeur de français et finalement je travaille comme conseillère d'orientation à l'Éducation Nationale.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord, merci. Vous habitez...**

Ifrah

J'habite à la cité Hodan. J'habite à la cité Hodan, la zone A.

**Le chercheur**

**C'est à Balbala.**

Ifrah

J'habite à Balbala, Balbala cité Hodan et à la zone A.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc, quelle est votre langue maternelle ?**

Ifrah

Ma langue maternelle est le somali.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc vous êtes confiante, on va parler en français ? C'est la langue que vous avez choisie ?**

Ifrah

J'ai choisi ma langue de profession.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord. Est-ce que vous vous considérez comme francophone ou arabophone ?**

Ifrah

Je suis francophone.

**Le chercheur**

**Vous vous considérez comme francophone.**

Ifrah

Je me considère comme francophone.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc, votre niveau d'éducation, vous avez dit universitaire ?**

Ifrah

Un master I en sciences sociales obtenu à l'université de l'ULB, à Bruxelles, l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, en 2004 et un master I en sciences social, science du travail : orientation et gestion de la formation.

**Le chercheur**

**En quelle langue ?**

Ifrah

En français.

**Le chercheur**

**En français, d'accord. Et c'était une bourse payée par le gouvernement Djiboutien ou c'était en privé ?**

Ifrah

C'était dans le cadre d'un exil en Belgique. Je n'ai pas bénéficié d'une bourse, j'ai payé moi-même mes études.

**Le chercheur**

**Combien de langues parlez-vous, ou comprenez-vous, écrivez-vous ?**

Ifrah

Je parle très bien le français, le somali qui est ma langue maternelle et l'arabe de Djibouti si je peux dire. Ces trois langues là je les maîtrise dans une conversation normale. J'ai aussi des notions en anglais. J'arrive à me faire comprendre en anglais même si je ne le parle pas couramment.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord, merci. Et quelle est la langue la plus importante pour vous ?**

Ifrah

Ma langue maternelle bien sûr.

**Le chercheur**

**Qui est ?**

Ifrah

Le somali. Je considère le somali comme la langue la plus importante puisque c'est ma langue maternelle et c'est la langue que j'utilise pour communiquer dans mon pays avec ma famille et mon entourage.

Ensuite, vient le français puisque c'est la langue de ma profession, c'est la langue avec laquelle j'ai enseigné, c'est la langue que j'utilise dans mon milieu professionnel. C'est la langue avec laquelle j'écris des rapports et c'est la langue avec laquelle je transmets quand j'anime des séances d'orientation avec les lycéens.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord. Est-ce que vous sentez le besoin d'apprendre une nouvelle langue ?**

Ifrah

Oui, j'ai toujours voulu apprendre une ou deux autres langues. Parce que ces besoins sont sentis lors des déplacements à l'étranger.

**Le chercheur**

**Pour les affaires ou pour l'emploi ?**

Ifrah

Euh, non c'est plutôt dans le cadre de mes études universitaires et aussi dans mes déplacements en tant que touriste.

**Le chercheur**

**Quelles langues ?**

Ifrah

Dans le cadre du tourisme, l'anglais pour le tourisme, le voyage d'agrément si je puis-je dire.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord.**

Ifrah

Et l'espagnol j'ai été confronté à cette langue lors d'un déplacement en Espagne.

**Le chercheur**

**Combien de langues parlez-vous à la maison ? Avec votre famille.**

Ifrah

Nous parlons le somali dans le cas de 80% et le français parfois lorsque je discute avec mes enfants ou que je leur explique des choses dans le cadre de leurs études ou dans le cadre de leurs recherches.

**Le chercheur**

**Et vos voisins, en quelle langue ?**

Ifrah

Nous communiquons en français aussi et en somali parce que comme Djibouti est composé de plusieurs tribus, de plusieurs communautés. Par exemple la communauté Afar, j'ai beaucoup de voisins Afars de cette communauté qui parfois ne maîtrisent pas ma langue maternelle.

**Le chercheur**

Le somali.

**Ifrah**

Donc on éprouve parfois le besoin de communiquer en français pour bien se comprendre.

**Le chercheur**

**Et vous, vous parlez en afar ?**

Ifrah

Non, je ne parle pas l'afar.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc c'est pour ça que vous êtes obligée d'utiliser le français. D'accord.**

Et dans le quartier, est-ce que vous avez quelque fois des difficultés à parler à certaines personnes ? Par exemple, l'arfa vous avez dit que vous trouvez le français.

**Ifrah**  
Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres personnes, des gens avec qui vous ne pouvez pas parler parce qu'ils ne parlent pas français et qu'ils ne parlent pas votre langue maternelle ?

**Ifrah**  
Oui, on a des voisins d'origine Ethiopienne et il y a du personnel, des émigrés de l'Ethiopie qui se trouvent dans mon quartier, par exemple la personne qui nettoie ma voiture et est un éthiopien.

**Le chercheur**  
Quelle langue il parle alors ?

**Ifrah**  
Il parle l'éthiopien, l'oromo.

**Le chercheur**  
Et l'amharique ?

**Ifrah**  
L'amharique aussi, on en a de cette langue là aussi. Mais j'ai plutôt des notions qui me permettent de communiquer même si je ne peux pas tenir une vraie conversation.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Ifrah**  
L'amharique, je suis plutôt, je peux me faire comprendre avec le langage des signes.

**D'accord, et au boulot, au travail, quelle langue utilisez-vous ? Professionnellement.**

**Ifrah**  
Le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Le français, exclusivement ?

**Ifrah**  
Exclusivement.

**Le chercheur**  
En parlant, en écrivant...

**Ifrah**  
En parlant, en écrivant, en animant, en transmettant. Je n'utilise que le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous n'utilisez pas d'autres langues. D'accord, quelle est la langue la plus... Par exemple, comme vos amis enseignants parlent entre eux, quelle langue est-ce qu'ils vous parlent, qu'est-ce qu'ils utilisent comme langue ?

**Ifrah**  
Les langues maternelles.

**Le chercheur**  
Les langues maternelles. Par exemple ?

**Ifrah**  
Le somali, majoritairement. Parce que comme le somali est la langue dominante à Djibouti, beaucoup de personnes qui ne font pas partie de la communauté somalienne parlent le somali. Donc dans le travail, majoritairement ce n'est pas dans un cadre, donc si ce n'est pas pour le travail nous parlons, nous discutons en somali.

**Le chercheur**  
Quelle est la langue qui vient en deuxième alors ?

**Ifrah**  
Le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Le français vient en deuxième. Et les autres ? Les autres langues nationales ?

**Ifrah**  
L'arabe peut-être.

**Le chercheur**  
Peut-être l'arabe.

**Ifrah**  
Moins l'afar...

**Le chercheur**  
L'arabe...

**Ifrah**  
L'arabe oui, mais moins l'afar.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc les profs qui sont là au lycée où vous travaillez, donc il y a ces gens-là qui parlent en somali quand ils parlent entre eux ou en français mais rarement en afar. D'accord. Est-ce que là où vous travaillez, c'est le lycée de Djibouti, est-ce que vous avez une politique linguistique où vous avez une espèce de règlement qui vous dit « ne parlez pas ces langues-là, parlez ces langues ci » avec les étudiants ou avec les parents ou entre vous est ce que vous avez une réglementation pour les langues ?

**Ifrah**  
Je ne travaille pas au lycée, mon bureau se trouve dans l'enceinte du lycée mais je suis, je fais partie du personnel de l'éducation nationale. Historiquement mon bureau d'orientation se trouve ici mais en ce qui concerne le lycée, si ce n'est pas l'heure du cours lors de la transmission du savoir qui oblige à s'adresser aux élèves dans la langue enseignée, le français n'est pas obligatoire. Il n'y a pas une politique d'imposition d'une langue.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Ifrah**  
Si ce n'est pas dans le cadre de la transmission du savoir.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Ifrah**  
Quand on enseigne l'anglais, c'est obligatoire de parler aux élèves en anglais. Quand on enseigne le français, c'est obligatoire de parler en français avec les élèves.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais ce n'est pas interdit d'utiliser une autre langue ?

**Ifrah**  
Non, ce n'est pas interdit. Dans le cadre des explications, si on voit que les élèves n'ont pas bien compris, on peut utiliser des termes de langue nationale.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, mais quand on embauche les profs, est-ce qu'on leur demande de connaître certaines langues ? Est-ce qu'on leur dit, vous aller enseigner le français, il faut connaître le somali ou l'arabe ou il faut connaître l'anglais ? Est-ce qu'on les embauche parce qu'ils vont enseigner le français et on ne va pas regarder les autres langues ?

**Ifrah**  
Oui, dans le cadre de l'embauche du personnel de l'Education Nationale, surtout pour ce qui les enseignants, on leur fait passer un examen, un concours et ce concours est basé sur les langues officielles, si je puis-je dire, sur la langue de l'administration.

**Le chercheur**  
Qui sont ?

**Ifrah**  
Que sont le français et l'arabe. S'il y a le prof d'anglais, ces profs-là eux subissent un test en anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
En anglais, on ne leur demande pas du français ?

**Ifrah**  
Non, exclusivement en anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Et ceux qui vont enseigner le français ?

**Ifrah**  
Exclusivement du français.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce qu'on va leur demander de calculer des mathématiques ?

**Ifrah**  
Oui, quand on passe un examen à Djibouti, un concours pour une profession, on regarde l'aptitude de la personne, on regarde son niveau, on leur fait passer tout un, par exemple un licencié, ils doivent maîtriser aussi bien le français, l'arabe, l'anglais et les mathématiques. Si je me rappelle bien, les thèses sont comme si c'était un examen où toutes les aptitudes sont examinées.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, mais il y a un plus pour le français ?

**Ifrah**  
Pour le français bien sûr.

**Le chercheur**  
Et un plus pour l'anglais ?

**Ifrah**  
Bien sûr, les coefficients vont...

**Le chercheur**  
Vont changer. D'accord. Donc on va les embaucher en fonction de ça ?

**Ifrah**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
On ne leur demande pas les langues officielles ? Pardon, on va leur demander les langues officielles mais pas les langues nationales ?

**Ifrah**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
On ne va pas leur demander d'écrire le somali ou de faire...

**Ifrah**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
De l'afar...

**Ifrah**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Donc, mais si la personne par exemple va enseigner du français et ne parle pas l'anglais, est-ce qu'on va l'embaucher pour enseigner le français ?

**Ifrah**  
Oui, oui si elle réussit. Par exemple, si elle a un 2 en anglais et qu'elle a un 15 en français, elle sera plutôt jugée sur le 15.

**Le chercheur**  
En français. Donc elle va enseigner le français mais pas de l'anglais et on va...

**Ifrah**  
Elle n'enseignera jamais deux langues.

**Le chercheur**  
Voilà.



**Ifrac**

Un prof de français il enseigne que le français.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord, je comprends. Mais vous, pour les étudiants, quand vous orientez les étudiants, quelle langue est-ce que les étudiants maîtrisent et quelle langue est-ce qu'ils aiment apprendre ?**

**Ifrac**

En fait, moi quand passe, quand je transmets mes informations en ce qui concerne l'orientation, je m'adresse en français, exclusivement en français avec eux mais parfois le niveau est tellement bas en français que quand ils me posent des questions, surtout en privé, je ne peux pas le faire dans le cadre de lorsqu'on est tous ensemble, les élèves viennent me voir tous seuls et là quand je vois qu'ils éprouvent des difficultés pour s'exprimer en français je leur demande de parler dans leur langue maternelle.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc ils ont ce besoin de parler dans leur langue maternelle.**

**Ifrac**

Parce que leur niveau en français ne permet pas de formuler des questions, parfois.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc, est-ce que ça c'est nouveau ou ça existait ça ?**

**Ifrac**

Non, ces 10 dernières années, on voit ces difficultés, à des élèves qui sont en terminale de s'exprimer correctement en français. C'est flagrant mais si je regarde, si j'essaie de voir, c'est la majorité du pays. 60% de nos élèves en fin de cycle ont des difficultés à s'exprimer en français.

**Le chercheur**

**Pour s'exprimer. Et est ce qu'ils préfèrent une autre langue ? Est ce qu'ils disent « on aimerait étudier dans une autre langue, ou on ne veut pas de français » ou pourquoi ils ne veulent pas parler correctement ?**

**Ifrac**

Non, ce n'est pas parce qu'ils ne le veulent pas mais parce que la qualité de l'apprentissage a tellement baissé à Djibouti, que c'est...

**Le chercheur**

**Problème de qualité.**

**Ifrac**

Problème de qualité.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord.**

**Ifrac**

Problème de qualité de l'enseignement. Ce n'est pas un problème de performance. C'est un problème de qualité d'enseignement.

**Le chercheur**

**Mais quand vous orientez des étudiants de niveau BAC vers l'université, quel est leur besoin, qu'est-ce qu'ils demandent pour aller étudier à l'université ?**

**Ifrac**

D'abord on essaie de faire comprendre à l'élève, l'importance de la formation qu'ils vont étudier parce que cette formation va déboucher sur une profession. C'est-à-dire majoritairement l'objectif de l'école à

Djibouti, c'est s'occuper une profession, c'est avoir une formation pour occuper une profession. Donc l'élève a besoin d'abord de comprendre, savoir ce que c'est cette formation, de savoir les différents choix de formation qu'on lui propose à l'intérieur du pays surtout parce qu'on essaye de dire aux élèves d'aller vers les études proposées, ici dans le pays. Et après on essaye de leur dire quelles sont les débouchés de la filière qui a des débouchés bien spécifiques.

**Le chercheur**

**Oui, mais est-ce qu'ils demandent ou est-ce qu'ils expriment le besoin d'apprendre une langue, ou une nouvelle langue, l'anglais ou l'arabe ?**

**Ifrac**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

**L'arabe, ils ont déjà fait ça en secondaire. Mais est-ce qu'ils expriment le besoin d'apprendre ou d'approfondir des langues ?**

**Ifrac**

Oui, l'anglais commence à devenir de plus en plus important dans le cadre de la mondialisation. Mais on essaye d'inciter surtout les bons élèves, ceux qui ont des bonnes moyennes, surtout les élèves qui sont en ES. En L et parfois ceux qui sont en S qui ne pourront pas faire des études scientifiques, on leur dit d'aller vers les langues, vers l'interprétariat, vers l'anglais surtout parce que c'est la langue la plus parlée maintenant dans le cadre des affaires. Il y a même une filière à l'université qu'on appelle le BBA qui est bilingue, c'est une licence bilingue, les enseignements se donnent en anglais, carrément en anglais. Donc les tests qu'ils passent pour accéder à cette filière sont fait en anglais. Donc pour les bons élèves, pour ceux qui aimeraient aller très loin dans leurs études, on leur dit d'aller vers les langues. Les langues sont de plus en plus importantes.

**Le chercheur**

**Et les ingénieurs ?**

**Ifrac**

L'ingénierie c'est spécifiquement maintenant en anglais. Et l'anglais, l'ingénierie ? A l'université ?

**Le chercheur**

**Oui**

**Ifrac**

Il n'y a d'enseignements en français ?

**Le chercheur**

**La première année seulement.**

**Ifrac**

Donc on leur dit d'aller vers langues. Donc il y a le AS aussi, il y a le LEAA qui sont des élèves francophones qui se dirigent vers l'arabe, des licences en arabe. J'ai vu des élèves qui sont intéressés par la comptabilité en arabe, ils nous disent « je suis très bon en arabe », « je suis mieux en arabe ». Donc on a leur dit « pourquoi ne pas y aller ? ». Parce qu'ils vont être non seulement francophone mais ils vont être aussi arabophone mais aussi anglophone ».

**Le chercheur**

**Je sais, très bien. Donc si on parle du Djibouti, que pensez-vous des langues enseignées dans les écoles primaires ? Et secondaires ?**

**Ifrac**

On enseigne le français et il y a aussi l'arabe qui est enseigné.

**Le chercheur**

**Mais la langue principale, la langue d'enseignement ? C'est le français.**

**Ifrac**

C'est le français, mais malheureusement...

**Le chercheur**

**Pour vous, selon vous, qu'est-ce qu'il faudrait enseigner ?**

**Ifrac**

Moi, je dirais, que puisque nous nous trouvons dans un espace très anglophone, je dirai de, je ne dirais pas d'abandonner le français parce que culturellement, on est francophones. C'est une spécificité.

On ne voudra, personne, je ne voudrais pas perdre le français.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord.**

**Ifrac**

Mais, je dirai d'accentuer les autres langues, de mettre à l'accent.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc de garder la langue d'éducation du français et d'ajouter d'autres langues.**

**Ifrac**

La langue maternelle d'abord et ensuite l'anglais et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

**L'anglais et l'arabe. Et quelles langues nationales ?**

**Ifrac**

Les trois langues. Il faut faire en sorte que l'enfant quand il est tout petit dans les premières classes, il faut d'abord qu'il maîtrise sa langue maternelle et s'il y a beaucoup d'échecs d'apprentissage, je dirai que beaucoup sont liés du fait que l'enfant ne maîtrise pas sa langue maternelle.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord, donc vous proposez...**

**Ifrac**

Les langues maternelles en plus du français.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord. Le français comme langue d'éducation mais les autres langues aussi, les langues maternelles, l'anglais, l'afar, le somali et l'arabe.**

**Ifrac**

L'arabe existe, l'arabe est très étudié à l'école primaire mais je dirais d'ajouter plutôt les deux autres tranquillement.

**Le chercheur**

**C'est-à-dire le somali et l'afar.**

**D'accord. Et vous avez des enfants qui vont à l'école, quelle langue est-ce qu'ils apprennent ?**

**Ifrac**

Moi d'abord avant que mes enfants ne partent à l'école, je vais faire en sorte d'abord que mes enfants maîtrisent d'abord leur langue et après quand je les ai mis à l'école, j'ai choisi une école où on enseigne très tôt l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

**L'anglais, d'accord.**

**Ifrac**

Et l'arabe aussi.

**Le chercheur**

**C'est une école privée ?**

**Ifrac**

Une école privée. Mon fils a commencé l'anglais en grande section. Quand il avait 5 ans il avait déjà des notions d'anglais et

maintenant je continue, ils étudient l'anglais et l'arabe dans des écoles privées en soirée.  
**Le chercheur**  
**C'est bien, d'accord. Donc vous, vous pensez à l'apprentissage de leur langue maternelle et après vous voulez qu'ils commencent très tôt l'anglais ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Très tôt l'anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et le somali, et donc je veux dire l'arabe et le français, comme langue d'éducation toujours le français. Et dans la ville de Djibouti quelle est la langue la plus utilisée ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 La langue maternelle.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Par exemple quand vous entendez, quand vous êtes par exemple dans votre quartier, quelle est la langue la plus utilisée ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et dans les rues de Djibouti, quand vous circulez ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Majoritairement somali  
**Le chercheur**  
 Le somali.  
**Ifrah**  
 Si ce n'est pas un quartier chic comme à Arhiba où l'afar est dominant.  
**Le chercheur**  
**L'afar est dominant. Et est ce qu'il y a d'autres quartiers où il y a une langue...**  
**Ifrah**  
 A Djébal par exemple, l'arabe est dominant.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, est ce qu'il y a un autre endroit où il y a**  
**Ifrah**  
 Le quartier d'Ambouli.  
**Le chercheur**  
**C'est quel...**  
**Ifrah**  
 Le secteur appelé Cheikh Habib.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Qu'est ce qui domine, quelle langue ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 La langue arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
**La langue arabe. Et est ce qu'il y a un endroit où par exemple l'afar, vous avez dit...**  
**Ifrah**  
 C'est Arhiba.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres endroits où il y a l'oromo peut être ou l'amharique peut-être. Est-ce qu'il y a des endroits où on ne parle que le français dans les rues ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**A Djibouti.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Non ce n'est pas, dans des écoles, le français...  
**Le chercheur**  
**Dans la rue ? Des gens qui parlent...**  
**Ifrah**

Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Non, d'accord.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Dans des écoles, on peut rencontrer à la sortie des écoles privées, ce n'est même pas des écoles publiques. A la sortie des écoles privées, entendre des élèves qui ne discutent qu'en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Normalement, dans les quartiers c'est le somali qui domine.**  
**Ifrah**  
 C'est le somali qui domine.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et quel est la deuxième langue dans le quartier qu'on entend ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 La deuxième langue des quartiers est spécifique.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, par exemple si ici à Arhiba on parle afar, quelle serait la deuxième langue ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Je dirais peut-être l'oromo.  
**Le chercheur**  
**L'oromo.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Parce qu'il y a une grande communauté d'immigrés.  
**Le chercheur**  
**L'oromo d'accord. Et par exemple à Ambouli où il y a l'arabe qui domine ? La deuxième langue ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 C'est le somali mais il y a une petite partie où il y a l'arabe, ce n'est pas tout Ambouli.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ce n'est pas tout Ambouli.  
**Ifrah**  
 C'est une petite partie où l'arabe domine et la deuxième langue c'est le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ? Quelle radio ? La Djiboutienne, ou ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Euh non, j'essaie d'écouter et c'est surtout quand je suis en voiture que j'écoute la radio.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Oui, la Djiboutienne ou laquelle ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 La Djiboutienne, VOA.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc ça c'est en anglais ou en français ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 En français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Vous écoutez en français d'accord.**  
**Ifrah**  
 La BBC en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**La BBC aussi en français. D'accord. Et quels programmes vous aimez ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 C'est surtout les informations.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Les informations, d'accord. Et est-ce que vous écoutez des chansons ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Oui. Mais pas beaucoup maintenant.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Dans quelle langue ?**  
**Ifrah**

J'en écoute en français et en anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
**En anglais et en français vous écoutez, pas dans votre langue maternelle ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Oui. D'abord quand j'écoute une chanson maintenant c'est d'abord dans ma langue maternelle. Mais par exemple il y a 20 ans, c'était plutôt des chansons étrangères mais maintenant c'est dans ma langue maternelle, dans le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord. Donc, la majorité des chansons que vous écoutez maintenant c'est en somali.**  
**Ifrah**  
 En somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc ok, et la télévision, est ce que vous regardez la télévision ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Quelle télévision ? La Djiboutienne ou ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**La chaîne Djiboutienne ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Je regarde plutôt les chaînes étrangères.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Quelle chaîne ? Laquelle par exemple ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 M6  
**Le chercheur**  
**C'est en français ou en anglais ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 En français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**En français. Et d'autres chaînes ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Quand le bouquet est coupé, j'essaie de regarder des chaînes anglophones.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Anglophones, d'accord, en anglais.**  
**Ifrah**  
 En anglais, oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Parlant anglais, d'accord. Est-ce que, alors, quel genre d'émissions vous regardez ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Spécialement pas des émissions mais des films.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, est-ce que vous regardez du théâtre traduit ou en somali ou film somali ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Oui, j'ai toujours aimé le théâtre.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Le théâtre, juste en langue somali ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Euh non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Ou en anglais ? En quelle langue ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Avant c'était français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et maintenant ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Il y en a presque plus maintenant à Djibouti mais le théâtre... Quand je regardais une pièce de théâtre avant c'était en français. Maintenant, ce sont plutôt des sketches si vous voulez.

**Le chercheur**  
**En français ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 En somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**En somali, donc sketches en somali.**  
**Est-ce que vous utilisez internet ?**  
**Dans quelle langue ? Vous utilisez le français ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 En somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, donc quand vous voyez du somali vous lisez aussi ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord. Sur Facebook ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Sur Facebook et sur WhatsApp.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Vous envoyez des messages sur WhatsApp ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 J'envoie des messages  
**Le chercheur**  
**En français ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 En français, en anglais et en arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
**En arabe aussi, pas de somali sur WhatsApp ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Non non, en français arabe et somali. Pas d'anglais. Quand je vois de l'anglais je le traduis.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Ok, traduit avec Google ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Traduit directement sur Facebook ou traduit sur Google. Je lis des articles écrits par des anglophones mais je les traduis.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord en français, vous utilisez le français. Mais est-ce que vous savez que les langues nationales sont présentes sur internet, l'afar, le somali et qu'il y a des articles en somali, des articles ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Oui oui. Je vais rarement sur des sites somalis, c'est quand il y a infos très importantes y ai là-dessus.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Mais je ne suis pas aussi à l'aise qu'en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous lisez les journaux à Djibouti ? Par exemple, on a le journal La Nation, en français...**  
**Ifrah**  
 Non, je lis plutôt des journaux électroniques sur internet.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Pas sur papier ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Pas papier.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, est ce que vous lisez des livres ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Oui  
**Le chercheur**  
**Par des auteurs djiboutiens ?**  
**Ifrah**

Des auteurs djiboutiens ? Oui j'en ai beaucoup lu des auteurs djiboutiens. J'ai l'habitude de lire aussi des auteurs...  
**Le chercheur**  
**Dans quelle langue ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 En français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Dans la langue française.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que ça vous arrive de lire des livres écrits en somali ou en afar ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 En somali, j'en ai lu mais comme je ne suis pas très à l'aise je me fatigue assez facilement, mais j'en ai lu aussi.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, donc français d'accord.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Mais les auteurs sont d'expression somali traduits en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**En français, d'accord, des livres traduits donc. Comme Abdourahman Waberi.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Balbala, les Etats-Unis d'Afrique, j'ai déjà lu... Je crois que j'ai déjà lu 5 ou 6 œuvres d'Abdourahman Waberi.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord. Quand vous allez à la mosquée, vous voyez le sermon du vendredi, est ce que vous comprenez le sermon du vendredi qui est en arabe ? Ou vous ne comprenez pas, le sermon.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Je le comprends mais je ne le comprends pas vraiment.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Pas vraiment, d'accord. Vous sentez vous à l'aise avec le sermon ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Non, non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Parce qu'il est en arabe. Est-ce que vous avez...**  
**Ifrah**  
 Pour moi un sermon c'est pour que je puisse en tirer une leçon mais comme je ne comprends pas. Je suis obligée d'être là parce qu'il y a la prière obligatoire qui est dispensée mais je ne me sens pas du tout à l'aise et je n'en tire pas un...  
**Le chercheur**  
**Oui, je comprends. Est-ce que vous pensez que les gens qui sont là avec vous au sermon, est ce qu'ils comprennent ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Non, ceux qui sont d'expression arabophone mais alors là quand je dis d'expression arabophone, pas même l'arabe familier que moi je connais.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, l'arabe littéraire.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Ceux qui sont arabophones vraiment, l'arabe littéraire comprennent. Les autres...  
**Le chercheur**  
**Ils ne comprennent pas. Quel serait le pourcentage des gens qui comprennent et les gens qui ne comprennent pas ?**  
**Ifrah**

Je dirai pour moi 98%, dans la mosquée où je vais ils ne comprennent pas l'arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, donc il y a qu'environ 2% des gens qui comprennent ce que dit le cheikh, l'imam, le jour du sermon. Donc ce n'est pas intéressant.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Ce n'est pas intéressant. D'ailleurs c'est pour ça que j'allais, que j'avais d'habitude d'aller dans des mosquées où ils se faisaient en somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et il y a des mosquées à Djibouti qui font le sermon ou ils traduisent ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Non, il y en avait.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et maintenant, est-ce qu'il y en a ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Maintenant... Il y avait un monsieur à l'aéroport et ce monsieur n'y est plus.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Il n'y est plus d'accord.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Mais ce que fait le cheikh après les deux raka'a obligatoires, il essaie de traduire.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Il essaie de traduire après quand il finit la prière, c'est après. Donc les gens...**  
**Ifrah**  
 A ce moment-là, on est obligés de partir parce que...  
**Le chercheur**  
**Les gens donc partent, ce n'est pas intéressant...**  
**Ifrah**  
 Ce n'est pas du tout intéressant.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et ça se fait dans toutes les mosquées les traductions, ou certaines ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 La traduction...  
**Le chercheur**  
**Certaines mosquées ou toutes les mosquées font de la traduction après ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Je crois que c'est maintenant systématique puisque le sermon est préparé par l'état.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Par l'Etat. Donc le sermon est déjà préparé, on donne aux cheikhs le sermon qui est écrit en arabe et il le lit en arabe.**  
**Ifrah**  
 Ce sont des sermons uniformes.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Je comprends. Quand vous allez à l'étranger ou quand vous étiez à l'étranger, est ce que vous avez senti le besoin d'apprendre d'autres langues ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 J'ai vécu en Belgique et j'ai senti le besoin d'apprendre le néerlandais dans le cadre. Quand j'allais en Hollande, quand je côtoyais des néerlandophones, j'avais ce besoin.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'apprendre cette langue-là. Je comprends. Et est-ce que ça vous arrive d'aller en Ethiopie ou en Somalie ?**  
**Ifrah**  
 Je voyage beaucoup, enfin j'aime voyager beaucoup, je ne sais pas si je voyage beaucoup...

**Le chercheur**  
**Quand vous allez en Somalie, est ce que vous vous sentez à l'aise dans leur environnement linguistique ? Par exemple en Ethiopie ou en Somalie ?**  
**Ifrac**  
 En Ethiopie, dans la partie où j'ai l'habitude. Dans la partie où je vais-je suis à l'aise parce que c'est majoritairement parlé en somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**En somali.**  
**Ifrac**  
 A Dire Dawa par exemple, j'ai l'habitude d'aller ces derniers temps à Dire Dawa. 60% de la communauté est somalophone. Donc je suis à l'aise.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, donc vous êtes à l'aise.**  
**Ifrac**  
 Je suis à l'aise.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Vous vous sentez à la maison, chez vous. D'accord, et quand vous allez en Somalie ?**  
**Ifrac**  
 Je n'ai jamais été en Somalie.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Ah, jamais été.**  
**Ifrac**  
 Mais par exemple à Addis Ababa, là j'ai le besoin de parler, je ressens un besoin de parler une autre langue que celle que je parle.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord. Et quelle est cette langue ?**  
**Ifrac**  
**Ifrac**  
 Le français mais inutile, le somali mais inutile. J'ai besoin de parler l'anglais en premier parce que tout le monde...  
**Le chercheur**  
**Le parler...**  
**Ifrac**  
 Surtout dans les hôtels parlent l'anglais et l'amharique.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et l'amharique ? Donc vous sentez plus le besoin d'apprendre l'amharique, l'anglais. Quand vous revenez, vous dites ah je vais...**  
**Ifrac**  
 A Dubaï aussi c'est la même chose.  
**Le chercheur**  
**A Dubaï aussi, quand vous allez à Dubaï.**  
**Ifrac**  
 A Dubaï aussi, même avec l'arabe que je maîtrise assez bien je n'arrive pas à m'en sortir parce que la majorité des personnes que je fréquente, c'est-à-dire des boutiques, ils ne parlent pas arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Ah, ils ne parlent pas arabe.**  
**Ifrac**  
 A Dubaï, les boutiques c'est plutôt l'anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc, vous avez besoin là aussi d'apprendre l'anglais. D'accord, très bien. Est-ce que vous pouvez comparer aujourd'hui comment les gens utilisent les langues aujourd'hui à il y a 20 ans par exemple ; ou à quand vous étiez enseignante par exemple.**  
**Ifrac**

Oui, il y a 20 ans on croyait que le français pouvait nous suffire parce qu'il n'y avait pas cette mondialisation, il n'y avait pas cette globalisation.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord.**  
**Ifrac**  
 Maintenant, on a remarqué que le français, c'est dans le cadre de Djibouti ou peut-être la France.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Oui.**  
**Ifrac**  
 Et maintenant on voit que l'anglais est la langue dominante, que c'est la langue de la mondialisation.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc à Djibouti, il y a une différence c'est vrai de mentalité, bon les gens sont...**  
**Ifrac**  
 Avant, on croyait que c'était bon.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, avant quand les gens parlaient français ou somali, est-ce qu'ils le parlent de la même manière maintenant ? Est-ce que par exemple, avant le français était parlé dans les quartiers beaucoup plus ou est-ce que c'est toujours la même chose ou est-ce que maintenant le somali est parlé beaucoup ?**  
**Ifrac**  
 Le somali est beaucoup parlé. Parce qu'avant quand on était étudiants, on était élèves, on avait plutôt tendance à discuter au moins si je peux dire dans une conversation d'une heure une quinzaine de minutes, une vingtaine de minutes en français. Maintenant c'est exclusivement dans la langue nationale.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Dans la langue nationale, les gens quand ils parlent.**  
**Ifrac**  
 Le français est en recul.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Quand les gens vont aller dans les services publics ?**  
**Ifrac**  
 En somali encore.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Ils parlent la plupart du temps... En somali.**  
**Ifrac**  
 La langue nationale.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et avant ?**  
**Ifrac**  
 Avant c'était naturel de s'adresser directement en français à une personne.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord.**  
**Ifrac**  
 Maintenant, quand tu t'adresses à une personne en français, on a l'impression qu'on snobe la personne. Parce que le français n'est pas très bien maîtrisé maintenant à Djibouti.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Parler djiboutien. Donc il y a un changement.**  
**Ifrac**  
 Il y a un recul.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Il y a un recul du français. **D'accord.**  
**Est-ce que vous avez un avis ou un**

**commentaire aux djiboutiens ou aux chercheurs que je suis en matière de langue parlée, dire des choses ou un commentaire ?**  
**Ifrac**  
 Oui, mon avis ce serait à ce que la politique des langues soit changée à Djibouti. Il faut que les chercheurs, je ne vais pas dire dénoncent, mais mettent un cri d'alarme sur le fait que la langue d'enseignement n'est plus maîtrisée à Djibouti.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, de ce côté-là, la langue n'est plus maîtrisée, c'est ça qui vous inquiète ?**  
**Ifrac**  
 La langue n'est plus maîtrisée. Parce que les élèves, la majorité des étudiants courent à l'échec. Quand ils ne maîtrisent pas leur langue d'enseignement, ils ne peuvent pas apprendre, ils ne peuvent pas faire de formation.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, merci Ifrac, ce sera tout. Cela a été agréable de vous interviewer et merci encore.**  
 Interview avec Saleh, Directeur au Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle.  
 18 March 2017 at 04.20 dans la maison du chercheur à Hodan à Balbala à Djibouti.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Merci de m'accorder un interview pour, comme je vous l'ai dit, ma thèse. Avec laquelle... Je fais en ce moment avec l'université d'Aston, en Angleterre, dans la ville de Birmingham, en Angleterre, au Royaume Uni. Donc je vous assure ici que l'anonymité et la confidentialité sera gardée et que seuls les gens qui corrigent ma thèse et moi-même y auront accès à cette interview. Donc, ça c'est une assurance pour l'anonymité. Et là vous allez parler en français. Donc, merci, monsieur. Pouvez-vous dire votre nom, âge, profession, et votre responsabilité, et où vous habitez ?  
**Saleh**  
 Bismillahi Rahmani Rahim. Je m'appelle Saleh, je suis au ministre de l'éducation nationale. J'occupe le poste de directeur [...]. J'ai 46 ans. Voilà pour ma présentation.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc vous êtes responsable précisément de l'administration.  
**Saleh**  
 Tout à fait. Ma direction s'occupe de tout ce qui est en direct administratif au niveau de l'éducation nationale. Elle est composée de cinq directions qui sont à savoir une direction des ressources humaines, la direction financière, la direction des projets, la direction de la planification, et enfin une direction dédiée à l'informatique.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Quelle est votre langue maternelle ?  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ma langue maternelle est l'afar.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Quand vous avez fait vos études. Est-ce que vous vous considérez comme francophone ou arabophone ?  
**Saleh**

Moi je suis francophone parce que j'ai suivi un cursus à Djibouti qui est normal. J'ai fait l'école primaire publique, puis collège, lycée, et après j'ai continué mes études en France dans la ville de Poitiers.

**Le chercheur**

Et quel a été ce niveau, au niveau universitaire ?

**Saleh**

Je suis titulaire d'une maîtrise d'histoire.

**Le chercheur**

Faite en français.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait, complètement en français.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que ça a été payé par une bourse du gouvernement ou vous l'avez financé en privé ?

**Saleh**

J'ai bénéficié d'une bourse du gouvernement ?

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Combien de langue vous parler, vous comprenez, ou vous écrivez ?

**Saleh**

On va un peu séparer. On va dire comprendre, et je comprends les différentes langues parlées dans notre pays qui sont ma langue maternelle l'afar, la langue somalie, le français, et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Vous parlez et vous comprenez ces langues-là.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous ressentez le besoin d'apprendre d'autres langues ?

**Saleh**

Oui tout à fait. Comme tout le monde, j'aime les langues, et franchement l'anglais malheureusement à Djibouti n'est pas une langue pratiquée, mais on fait tout parce qu'aujourd'hui, souvent quand nous avons les pays amis qui sont là, les discussions sont en anglais, ont lieu anglais, nous on répond souvent tant bien que mal dans notre anglais qui est très moyen.

**Le chercheur**

Donc pour le travail, vous avez besoin de l'anglais.

**Saleh**

Nous avons besoin de l'anglais pour le travail avec les responsables qui viennent nous rendre visite, les responsables d'autres pays.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que ce sont des gens de pays qui viennent bilatéralement vous voir, ou est-ce que ce sont des gens d'organisations internationales qui viennent chez vous à l'administration de l'éducation nationale et qui vous parlent en anglais ?

**Saleh**

Souvent c'est plus bilatéral que multilatéral à ce qui est la coopération. Les organismes onusiens, on voit souvent des personnes pour la plupart qui parlent parfaitement le français, mais souvent ce sont des pays comme la Turquie ou la Chine ou l'Ethiopie etc. avec qui nous avons des coopérations.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est l'anglais qui vous attire pour le travail. Combien de langues vous parlez à la maison avec votre famille, votre épouse, vos enfants ?

**Saleh**

Nous parlons surtout l'afar, et puis le français parce que les enfants sont scolarisés et donc ça fait partie aussi des langues parlées.

**Le chercheur**

Et avec vos voisins ?

**Saleh**

Franchement, je suis à l'aise. Comme j'ai dit, en fonction des voisins, je parle en afar, en français, en somali, ou en arabe, mais je suis assez à l'aise dans ces langues aussi, sans problème.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous avez des problèmes avec les langues que les voisins utilisent, ou est-ce que vous arrivez à communiquer avec vos voisins malgré les différentes langues que les gens utilisent à Djibouti ?

**Saleh**

Comme je le disais, je n'ai pas de problème au niveau surtout de compréhension avec mes voisins puisque je parle on va dire assez couramment les différentes langues parlées à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Au travail, quelle langue vous travaillez professionnellement ?

**Saleh**

La langue de l'administration qui est le français.

**Le chercheur**

Vous travaillez professionnellement avec le français en parlant, en écrivant.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait. Aussi bien à l'écrit qu'à l'oral c'est le français qui est utilisé dans l'administration.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous utilisez d'autres langues dans le bureau ?

**Saleh**

Oui bien sûr. Nous avons ce qu'on appelle les âgées de l'administration qui sont des fois on a en face de nous des gens qui ne parlent pas le français, et donc on est obligé de parler avec eux dans leur langue nationale que ce soit l'afar, le somali ou l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous parlez toutes les langues au bureau, le gens qui viennent vous voir donc vous parlez avec eux toutes les langues. On a vu l'anglais qui est aussi, par les pays étrangers, qui est sollicité par les pays étrangers. Et vos collègues entre vous ou les gens qui travaillent chez vous, quelle langue est-ce qu'ils parlent ?

**Saleh**

Entre collègues administratives, nous parlons en français.

**Le chercheur**

C'est la langue qui domine. Est-ce qu'il y a une deuxième langue qui se fait entendre dans les couloirs où les gens parlent ?

**Saleh**

Certainement oui.

**Le chercheur**

Ce serait ?

**Saleh**

Oh. Ça dépend. Comme je disais, entre les gens qui parlent. Si c'est des arabes, on entend l'arabe. Si c'est des somalis, on entend le somali, et quand c'est des afars on entend l'afar.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est en fonction des communautés, des gens qui communiquent entre eux.

Normalement, c'est le français qui domine quand les collègues discutent entre eux. Est-ce que vous avez une politique linguistique au ministère de l'éducation qui réglemente les langues ?

**Saleh**

L'éducation c'est un peu spécifique. Si on parle de l'administration comme je disais c'est le français, mais nous avons au niveau des établissements, une politique de développement des autres langues. Il faut savoir aujourd'hui comme vous savez, il y a de plus en plus des entreprises ou des consultants qui viennent de l'extérieur qui s'installent, et comme je disais, ils ne sont pas souvent tous francophones, et donc nous faisons tout aujourd'hui pour développer les autres langues au niveau des établissements, et en particulier l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

À quel niveau ?

**Saleh**

Souvent au niveau des... à tous les niveaux mais souvent en particulier au niveau des lycées qui est pour nous les dernières années que l'enfant ait soit faire ses études supérieures soit dans la vie active.

**Le chercheur**

Donc votre politique au niveau de l'enseignement ce serait que les étudiants ou les élèves du secondaire apprennent les langues comme l'anglais.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ça c'est une politique de langue que vous avez langue d'enseignement. Donc enseigner les langues, on sait que par exemple l'éducation nationale, vous avez langue d'éducation vous avez le français, et après il y a au primaire, il y a l'introduction de l'arabe et au secondaire, l'introduction de l'anglais en sixième.

**Saleh**

Pas tout à fait. L'arabe commence, en fait au primaire, le français, c'est la langue d'enseignement, et l'arabe c'est une langue.

Elle commence pratiquement dès la première année. Quand l'enfant rentre à l'école, il y a ce qu'on appelle

l'enseignement islamique, donc l'arabe commence dès la première année. Après, dès que l'enfant arrive en classe de 6ème ce qu'on appelle l'enseignement

fondamental. L'enfant apprend l'anglais. Aujourd'hui, il y a une nouveauté qui est là, il n'y a même pas quelques jours de cela, on a fait le lancement. Nous sommes

en train de développer aussi d'autres types d'écoles qui sont des écoles où on va enseigner ou la langue d'enseignement

sera, on appelle ça les écoles bilingues, il y a une école qui est là qui existe maintenant depuis maintenant huit années, c'est

l'école de Hassan Gouled, à Arta qui très connue. L'enseignement est différent, il y a deux langues d'enseignements. Il y a le français et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Qui sont les langues d'enseignement.

**Saleh**

Pour toutes les matières scientifiques qui sont enseignées en français, et après tout ce qui est ce qu'on appelle les disciplines

littéraires comme l'histoire-géo sont enseignées en arabe, et l'enfant à partir de la troisième année commence déjà à apprendre l'anglais en troisième année du primaire. Nous essayons maintenant de...

**Le chercheur**

D'installer ce genre d'école.

**Saleh**

Voilà. Et donc ça permet de voir à la fin des enfants qui parlent plusieurs langues.

**Le chercheur**

Vous êtes en train de le faire en pilote, ou vous avez démarré deux écoles ?

**Saleh**

Nous avons cette école pour l'instant et nous avons bientôt avec la banque islamique de développement construite dans chaque région une école et à Djibouti aussi. Il y a aussi un certain nombre d'écoles qui ne sont pas des écoles publiques qui sont passées aussi à ces systèmes de bilingues. Pour nous, nous sommes persuadés que l'avenir de Djibouti passe par ces trilingues. Il faut que l'enfant soit capable de parler ces trois langues.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ça c'est votre priorité pour les langues. Pour les gens qui travaillent chez, est-ce que vous leur dites ; il faut parler ces langues, c'est interdit d'utiliser ces langues-là, est-ce que vous avez une politique linguistique qui peut-être vous vient du gouvernement ? C'est vrai que vous avez une politique pour les langues enseignées, est-ce que vous avez une politique dans l'enceinte de votre administration au ministère où vous dites on ne doit pas parler ces langues, vous devez parler ces langues ?

**Saleh**

Non.

**Le chercheur**

Et quand vous embauchez des nouveaux administrateurs qui vont travailler pour le ministère, est-ce que vous exigez des langues ? Est-ce qu'il y a des langues par exemple vous dites il faut que la personne parle le français pour peut-être parle l'anglais ?

**Saleh**

Pour aller travailler à l'administration, la première langue qui est exigée c'est le français, mais ce n'est pas que le français parce que nous avons beaucoup aujourd'hui des jeunes qui sont arabophones, et puis les arabophones aussi sont recrutés. Il n'y a pas vraiment ces spécificités, mais on encourage souvent les jeunes arabophones à apprendre le français et par le biais de l'alliance française, nous avons beaucoup d'enseignants qui sont aujourd'hui des bilingues parfaitement parce qu'ils ont continué à apprendre le français ici à Djibouti à l'alliance française.

**Le chercheur**

Mais vous ne les embauchez pas, seulement quand ils parlent l'arabe et pas le français.

**Saleh**

Si, nous embauchons. C'est par la suite.

**Le chercheur**

C'est par la suite que vous les former et ils deviennent bilingues, et c'est à ce moment-là qu'ils peuvent travailler dans l'administration.

**Saleh**

Non. J'ai dit ils travaillent et en même temps ils se forment.

**Le chercheur**

Donc le but c'est quoi ? Pourquoi ils sont embauchés, pour être former et parler les deux langues, ou est-ce qu'il y a déjà un travail pour eux en tant qu'arabophones ?

**Saleh**

Il y a un travail important en tant qu'arabophone parce que nous avons, comme je disais, travaillé aussi avec les pays arabes, et donc il y a des échanges aussi bien au niveau des courriers etc. Nous avons besoin au niveau de l'administration des arabophones.

**Le chercheur**

Pour cette partie de communication avec les pays arabophones. Est-ce que quand vous communiquez avec ces pays arabophones, vous communiquez en arabe ?

**Saleh**

Oui, on communique en arabe et la plupart du temps quand la personne responsable ne parle pas l'arabe, nous avons comme je disais ces jeunes qui servent de traducteurs lors des réunions.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ils traduisent lors des réunions quand il y a des personnes étrangères qui parlent arabe. Et quand vous avez une communication par lettre ou par email, comment ça se passe quand un pays arabe vous écrit un courrier, vous recevez le courrier en arabe.

**Saleh**

Ces personnes arabophones qui sont souvent des gens très expérimentées qui ont été... il y a même des conseillers techniques qui sont arabophones au ministère, le conseil de ministres qui sont arabophones et qui sont chargés de rédiger ces courriers.

**Le chercheur**

Ceux qui rédigent ceux qui... Est-ce qu'ils interprètent, est-ce que vous les mettez en français ?

**Saleh**

Ils ne sont pas obligés de les mettre en français, mais ils vont expliquer le contenu.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'ils vont traduire en français ?

**Saleh**

Non, ils ne sont pas obligés de traduire, mais ils veulent nous expliquer le contenu de lire au moins le courrier. La plupart comprennent l'arabe donc ils vont nous lire.

**Le chercheur**

Il n'y a pas une traduction systématique des informations que vous recevez des pays arabes traduites en français et qui est disponible au ministère.

**Saleh**

Non, ce n'est pas une obligation. Comme vous savez, l'arabe, la langue officielle du pays est comme le français. Dans la constitution, il n'y a pas cette obligation.

**Le chercheur**

Ces conseillers qui travaillent avec le ministère répondent à ce genre de courrier et travaillent sur ce genre de travail.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Là on va parler un peu de l'éducation et de l'environnement éducatif. Est-ce que vous exigez par exemple que les gens qui viennent dans vos écoles s'adressent aux gens qui travaillent dans les écoles, par exemple, les parents qui viennent, est-ce qu'ils s'adressent à une certaine langue ou est-ce que les enseignants sont supposés de répondre aux parents dans les langues sollicitées ?

**Saleh**

C'est très compliqué. Les parents quand ils viennent, ils parlent leur langue, il n'y a aucun problème, et donc l'enseignant comme je disais, s'il comprend la langue, il n'y a aucun problème. Quand il ne comprend pas, ils font souvent appel à des collègues qui sont à côté qui comprennent cette langue. Mais les parents ne sont pas tenus de parler une langue donnée, ils parlent la langue qu'ils maîtrisent. L'objectif premier c'est informer les parents sur le travail que son enfant a fait dans la langue que les parents comprennent.

**Le chercheur**

À Djibouti ville, vous voyez que les gens utilisent plusieurs langues dans les rues, par exemple quand ils viennent dans le service comme dans les écoles, les gens parlent, qu'est-ce que vous en pensez ? À votre avis, quelle est la langue que les gens utiliseraient le plus souvent dans les rues ou quand ils viennent demander service dans l'administration ? Est-ce qu'ils utilisent souvent le français ou le somali ou l'afar ou l'arabe, ou dans la rue par exemple quand vous entendez les gens discuter ou parler ?

**Saleh**

Comme je disais, ça dépend de beaucoup de choses. On entend toutes les langues. Souvent peut-être plus le somali que dans les rues que les autres langues, mais après ça dépend dans quel quartier on est. Comprenez. Vous êtes dans un quartier donné, vous allez entendre plus le somali. Vous êtes dans un autre quartier donné, vous allez entendre plus l'afar. Vous êtes dans un autre quartier, vous entendrez les gens beaucoup plus communiquer en arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Par exemple, il y a des quartiers où les langues nationales dominent, mais est-ce qu'il y a les quartiers où le français domine.

**Saleh**

No

**Le chercheur**

Il y a des endroits par exemple où l'afar domine. Il y a des quartiers où les gens parlent en majorité l'afar.

**Saleh**

Oui, afar.

**Le chercheur**

Par exemple comme Arhiba, ou Wahledaba.

**Saleh**

Oui, c'est ça.

**Le chercheur**

Et puis il y a des quartiers où l'arabe domine, comme Ambouli. Et puis il y a des quartiers où le somali domine. La plupart de ces quartiers la deuxième langue qu'on entendrait serait par exemple si c'est à Arhiba la deuxième langue qu'on

entendrait serait l'amharique, l'oromo, le somali, le français.

**Saleh**  
Là je ne sais pas, plus peut-être aujourd'hui franchement, plus peut-être le somali que les autres langues, mais c'est vrai comme vous dites, l'oromo est, quand même aujourd'hui, est assez présent.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce qu'il y a un quartier où l'oromo domine ?

**Saleh**  
Non, pas officiellement.

**Le chercheur**  
Je ne vous parle pas officiellement, mais est-ce que ça vous est arrivé d'aller dans un quartier...

**Saleh**  
Moi je ne comprends pas cette langue. Je n'ai pas vu un quartier où on parle cette langue.

**Le chercheur**  
Il n'y a pas de quartier où ...

**Saleh**  
Non. En fonction de quartier où ils sont, ils sont souvent amenés à parler les langues nationales comme on a dit le somali, l'arabe, ou l'afar.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc c'est les langues nationales qui dominent dans ces quartiers-là. Pas de langues de région ou pas de langues internationales.

**Saleh**  
Ni les langues internationales ni les langues...

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ?

**Saleh**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans quelle langue et quelle radio ?

**Saleh**  
Je vais vous étonner. Mais c'est vrai, j'écoute les informations. Ça dépend de l'heure et dans les trois langues ; le français, le somali, et l'afar.

**Le chercheur**  
Quelle radio ? La Radio Djiboutienne, les radios étrangères ?

**Saleh**  
J'écoute notre radio nationale, mais j'écoute aussi beaucoup la BBC.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans quelle langue ?

**Saleh**  
En somali et en français et des fois aussi ça m'arrive en arabe aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce qu'il y a des programmes que vous préférez ou ce sont des informations ?

**Saleh**  
Les informations.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous écoutez les chansons ?

**Saleh**  
Pas vraiment.

**Le chercheur**  
Et quand ça vous arrive, dans quelles langues ?

**Saleh**  
Pratiquement pas. Comme je disais, la radio c'est allumé et il y a des informations, et puis des fois il y a des chansons. Je cherche plus les informations que les chansons.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous regardez la télévision ?

**Saleh**  
Je regardais beaucoup avant mais maintenant très peu.

**Le chercheur**  
Quand vous regardez, quelle télévision et dans quelle langue ?

**Saleh**  
On va dire souvent la RTD. Ça dépend. On arrive, j'écoute les informations, donc ça dépend l'heure à laquelle j'arrive. Il n'y a pas une langue que je privilège. En fonction du moment où j'arrive. En français aussi j'écoute les chaînes françaises surtout France 2 ou bien souvent même beaucoup plus que France 2, France 24.

**Le chercheur**  
Ça se sont les informations ou est-ce que vous avez des programmes privilégiés ?

**Saleh**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous naviguez sur internet ?

**Saleh**  
Oui. Comme je disais, je suis quelqu'un qui souvent cherche des informations, donc je lis des articles les journaux.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans quelle langue ?

**Saleh**  
En français.

**Le chercheur**  
Exclusivement ou ça vous arrive de...

**Saleh**  
Exclusivement 99% c'est le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Et le 1% ?

**Saleh**  
L'arabe, le somali... des fois il y a des émissions sur laquelle on tombe par hasard, donc ça peut être l'afar, l'arabe, ou le somali après.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous utilisez les media comme Facebook ou WhatsApp ou...

**Saleh**  
Je ne suis pas Facebook, je n'ai pas ça du tout. Je n'ai pas ça du tout.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous regardez des films ?

**Saleh**  
Des films oui je les regarde de temps en temps à la télé en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Pas en somali ni en afar.

**Saleh**  
Les pièces de théâtre en somali et en afar.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc en langues nationales. Est-ce que vous savez que les langues nationales sont aussi présentes sur internet ?

**Saleh**  
Oui je sais, mais plus ce que je cherche sur internet c'est lire les informations que ce soit dans le domaine économique ou sport ou autre.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous les trouvez plus accessible en français qu'en afar ou qu'en somali.

**Saleh**  
Surtout pour la lecture.

**Le chercheur**  
Parce que vous avez des problèmes avec la lecture.

**Saleh**

Je lis le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous lisez l'afar et le somali ?

**Saleh**  
Oui je lis l'afar et le somali mais difficilement.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous lisez les journaux ?

**Saleh**  
Beaucoup.

**Le chercheur**  
La Nation de Djibouti et la presse étrangère.

**Saleh**  
Oui la Nation et les autres, mais aussi Jeune Afrique, le Monde et aujourd'hui sur internet tous les articles possibles.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous lisez des livres écrits par des Djiboutiens ou quel genre de livres vous lisez et dans quelle langue ?

**Saleh**  
Oui. Je lis les livres mais de moins en moins parce que nous avons avec le travail beaucoup moins de temps mais en français que ce soient les auteurs djiboutiens ou autres.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous lisez en français pas en d'autres langues nationales. Est-ce que vous savez qu'il y a des livres écrits par des djiboutiens en français et en langues nationales ?

**Saleh**  
Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**  
Et vous avez lu des livres écrits par des djiboutiens ?

**Saleh**  
Oui bien sûr.

**Le chercheur**  
En français pas en somali ni en afar.

**Saleh**  
Ni en somali ni en afar. Comme je disais, j'arrive à lire mais difficilement.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc pour cette raison vous ne lisez pas, mais vous lisez des livres écrits en français des djiboutiens. Quand vous allez à l'étranger pour le travail ou pour les loisirs, est-ce que vous avez des difficultés à communiquer avec les étrangers quand vous allez en Europe surtout ?

**Saleh**  
Comme je le disais, si c'est un pays francophone, on est très à l'aise, mais quand il s'agit d'un pays anglophone, la communication se fait mais un peu plus difficilement.

**Le chercheur**  
Et dans un pays arabophone ?

**Saleh**  
Plus facilement que l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous leur parlez en arabe.

**Saleh**  
Oui. Comme on sait que l'arabe aussi n'est pas le même dans tous les pays arabes. Il y a des particularités.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui, c'est le standard ou le régional ... D'accord. Donc vous n'avez pas de problème à l'étranger. Est-ce que quand vous allez à l'étranger, vous vous dites il faut que j'apprenne cette langue-là ?

**Le chercheur**  
Comme nous avons une bonne coopération avec les chinois, je suis sûr

que vous êtes parti en Chine, est-ce que vous vous êtes dit pourquoi je n'ai pas appris le chinois ou je vais apprendre le chinois ?

**Saleh**

Pas vraiment. J'étais en Chine plutôt c'est à ce moment-là que je me dis peut-être il faut que j'améliore et je perfectionne mon anglais. Plus l'anglais que le chinois.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres langues que vous vous dites il faut que j'apprenne ?

**Saleh**

Non.

**Le chercheur**

Vous allez en Ethiopie et la Somalie nos pays voisins, est-ce que vous vous sentez à l'aise dans leur environnement linguistique quand vous allez en Ethiopie ou en Somalie parce que les gens parlent soit par exemple en Somalie le somali, et par exemple en Ethiopie il y a une partie où les gens parlent l'afar et il y a une partie où les gens parlent le somali beaucoup plus que les autres langues ?

**Saleh**

Très à l'aise. La langue ne change pas beaucoup donc je suis très, très à l'aise.

**Le chercheur**

Et comment vous communiquez avec les Ethiopiens quand vous allez à Addis par exemple ? Vous ne parlez pas l'amharique, vous ne parlez pas l'oromo.

**Saleh**

Je comprends l'amharique un peu, mais comme j'ai dit, je fais tout. Un peu d'anglais, un peu—l'oromo non, je ne comprends pas, je n'ai aucune notion d'oromo.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Mais quand vous allez là-bas, vous comprenez l'amharique.

**Saleh**

C'est souvent mes vacances en Ethiopie.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous pourrez comparer aujourd'hui comment les gens utilisent les langues à Djibouti aujourd'hui, d'il y a 20 ans ou quand vous étiez en secondaire ou quand vous avez passé votre bac.

**Saleh**

Oui tout à fait. Je crois que notre langue on va dire un peu se créolise. C'est plus une langue aujourd'hui où on retrouve un peu de tout. Les langues nationales. C'était déjà mais un peu moins. Moi j'ai dit comme en parlaient nos grands-parents et nous, il y a une différence. Aujourd'hui, nous mélangeons. A l'intérieur, on trouve des mots quand on parle les langues nationales, des mots français, des mots arabes, alors quand on discutait, c'était le pure.

**Le chercheur**

Ils demandaient à ce que les gens parlent du bon somali ou du bon afar. Ils parlent en tout cas le bon somali ou le bon afar.

**Saleh**

En tout cas ils parlaient le bon somali ou le bon afar. Ils n'avaient souvent pas été à l'école donc ils ne parlent pas le français, et donc ils utilisaient la langue et vraiment c'était une langue encore telle quelle était.

**Le chercheur**

Et maintenant comme les langues par exemple... et les langues étrangères, est-ce qu'elles avaient une importance comme

maintenant ? Les langues nationales comme l'arabe et le français ou la langue étrangère ou la langue anglaise.

**Saleh**

C'est différent. Ils n'ont pas été à l'école, donc comme je disais c'était vraiment uniquement leur langue maternelle qui dominait.

**Le chercheur**

Donc maintenant les gens parlent plus français qu'avant.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Ou est-ce qu'avant les gens parlaient beaucoup plus français, et maintenant, il y a d'autres langues en compétition ?

**Saleh**

Aujourd'hui, il y a vingt ans, on parle beaucoup plus en français. On essaye même au niveau de l'école aujourd'hui le nombre d'écoles qu'on avait il y a 20 ans et le nombre d'écoles qu'on a aujourd'hui n'a rien à voir.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous connaissez les statistiques, combien d'écoles il y avait ?

**Saleh**

Bien sûr. Il y a une chose. Vous savez en 99, il y a eu les états généraux, après les états généraux, il y a eu une loi d'orientation qui a été mise en place, et cette loi rend l'école obligatoire de 6 à 16 ans. Avant, il y avait l'école qu'on avait c'était l'école des élitistes, c'est-à-dire tout le monde n'y allait pas. Il n'y avait pas des écoles dans les endroits reculés rurales. Pas d'école en brousse. Aujourd'hui, nous avons des écoles partout.

**Le chercheur**

Donc l'alphabétisme aussi a reculé alors comme vous scolarisez beaucoup plus

**Saleh**

Exactement reculé. Aujourd'hui, nous sommes au-delà des 80% des enfants djiboutiens sont scolarisés.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est un taux qui n'existe pas en Afrique.

**Saleh**

Si, dans la plupart des pays africains parce que c'était l'objectif du millénaire. Nous nous sommes en retard, normalement on devait être à 100%. La scolarisation de masse, elle est au début très facile, mais après à la fin elle est difficile parce qu'il reste des petites poches de résistance qui sont très compliqués. Nous avons une population qui est nomade, et la scolarisation des nomades est très compliquée parce que c'est des gens qui en fonction des pluies se déplacent, et après aussi il faut mettre en place les écoles ce que nous appelons les EABS, les enfants à besoin spéciaux, nous essayons maintenant de développer ces écoles, mais c'est des écoles... il faut surtout arriver à sensibiliser les parents pour que les parents amènent ces enfants à l'école parce qu'on connaît notre culture. Souvent les parents ont tendance à garder des enfants qui sont fragiles. Ici on parle des enfants des non-voyants, on va parler des enfants qui sont sourds. Des enfants à besoins spécifiques.

**Le chercheur**

Mais aussi les enfants de nomades, vous leurs donner des cantines, vous avez des cantines aussi gratuites. Vous leurs donnez à manger.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait. Les cantines existent aujourd'hui dans toutes les écoles qui sont situés en dehors de Djibouti ville.

**Le chercheur**

Et c'est gratuit.

**Saleh**

Et c'est gratuit.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'ils dorment ou c'est seulement ils mangent ?

**Saleh**

Il y a des dortoirs mais surtout c'est des cantines.

**Le chercheur**

Ça aussi c'est une première en Afrique. Il n'y a pas beaucoup de pays qui ont la scolarité gratuite, une cantine où les enfants peuvent manger qui est gratuite, et quelque fois des dortoirs qui sont offerts.

**Saleh**

Ça c'est vrai.

**Le chercheur**

C'est une première en Afrique. Il n'y a pas beaucoup de pays qui font ça.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait. Nous faisons partie des rares pays où l'éducation est totalement prise en charge par l'état. Les enfants mangent gratuitement. Quand il y a une nécessité, les dortoirs sont là, ils dorment aussi gratuitement. Aucune participation n'est exigée des parents.

**Le chercheur**

Ce sont des choses que vous avez arrivées... si je comprends bien, ça dure longtemps, ce n'est pas quelque chose de nouveau.

**Saleh**

Depuis notre indépendance.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous formez. Vous avez dit au début vous m'avez parlé de l'anglais qui est renforcé. Est-ce que vous voyez l'importance de l'anglais auprès des entreprises à Djibouti ? Parce qu'en ce moment, beaucoup d'entreprises parlent l'anglais, ce sont des investisseurs du monde anglophone. Est-ce que vous avez une politique où vous devez former les étudiants ou les élèves à travailler sur le marché parce qu'en ce moment, le marché demande plus d'anglophone que de francophones, est-ce que vous avez une certaine politique pour ça ?

**Saleh**

Oui, ça fait partie d'une des priorités du ministère de l'éducation nationale c'est de former ces jeunes. Je vais un peu vous expliquer. Il y a quelques années, le plus gros employeur du pays c'était l'état jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Il faut que maintenant la politique c'est plutôt, c'est l'administration est presque saturé, donc l'objectif maintenant c'est d'envoyer ces jeunes vers le privé, et pour aller vers le privé il faut répondre aux besoins de ces privés, et l'anglais fait partie de ces besoins. Il n'y a pas longtemps que cette année par exemple pour les jeunes qui ont le bac professionnel, on a organisé une formation de trois mois en anglais pour ces jeunes.

**Le chercheur**



Ce sont des gens qui sont dans le système scolaire de l'état. Ils préparent un bac professionnel, donc ces étudiants vous leur avez donné trois mois d'anglais.

**Saleh**

Oui après le bac. On met en place une formation en anglais, ces jeunes perfectionnent leur anglais et aillent travailler dans les entreprises étrangères présentes à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Qui parlent anglais.

**Saleh**

Ou allez travailler aussi dans les bases aujourd'hui étrangères qui sont à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

C'est une bonne initiative. Donc vous leur donnez un diplôme aux normes de Djibouti, et après vous avez renforcé leur anglais pour qu'ils puissent aller travailler dans les bases américaines et des entreprises ou on parle anglais. Est-ce que vous avez d'autres initiatives de ce genre à d'autres niveaux où vous pensez que les gens ont vraiment besoin d'aller au travail en langue anglaise ?

**Saleh**

Oui. Dans la réforme qu'on a mis en place, l'anglais est renforcé aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous êtes conscient que l'anglais en ce moment est en train de prendre une importance auprès des jeunes qui veulent, qui cherchent du boulot ?

**Saleh**

Oui bien sûr tout à fait, on est conscient. Nous faisons souvent ce qu'on appelle les études de marché pour les formations que nous mettons en place. On essaye de voir quelle sont les besoins du PMEs, les besoins des entreprises, les besoins de marché en général. L'éducation, l'objectif premier c'est de former des jeunes qui vont être insérés après dans la société, ils doivent trouver un travail. Il y a d'autres initiatives qu'on met en place. C'est souvent ces jeunes aussi d'aller former à l'entrepreneuriat. On ne forme pas quelqu'un juste pour qu'il aille travailler pour une autre personne, mais cette personne aussi peut créer sa propre entreprise et travailler haut.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous avez fait des études de marché. Est-ce que vous pouvez me dire les dernières retrouvailles que vous avez par exemple comme se comporte le marché, quelle est la langue qui domine le marché du travail en ce moment ?

**Saleh**

Le marché de travail est de plus en plus exigeant, et donc ils demandent que la personne parle plusieurs langues. Au moins le français, anglais et arabe pour que ces personnes puissent à la limite travailler avec les différentes entreprises. Nous allons voir des entreprises des pays arabes qui parlent arabe. Il faut voir après, il y a des entreprises qui sont là qui parlent anglais. Il faut que les jeunes parlent tous ces langues, et puis encore quand il va travailler pour son propre compte et qu'il va être en contact avec ces entreprises, il faut qu'il soit en mesure aussi de parler ces langues-là.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ces trois langues importantes, il y a une langue qui est nationale, l'arabe, les deux autres sont des langues européennes. Est-ce que vous pouvez me dire quelle est la langue qui domine la plus.

**Saleh**

C'est le français.

**Le chercheur**

D'après les trouvailles que vous avez faites pour ces études de marché à Djibouti où le marché demande à employer des gens ou les investisseurs sur le marché en ce moment, quelle est la langue qui domine ?

**Saleh**

On va dire la langue qui est demandée c'est l'anglais en ce moment.

**Le chercheur**

Mais ils aussi demandent à ce qu'ils connaissent d'autres langues ?

**Saleh**

Oui bien sûr. Nous sommes même en train d'aujourd'hui tout faire pour que nos jeunes apprennent aussi le chinois, parce qu'il y a de plus en plus d'entreprise chinoise et le turc aussi, parce qu'il y a de plus en plus d'entreprise turque. On les encourage à apprendre ces langues.

**Le chercheur**

Mais vous les enseignez pas dans l'éducation à Djibouti.

**Saleh**

Non, mais il y a quand même au ministère des affaires étrangères, l'institut de langues étrangères.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est l'institut des diplomates où ils acceptent aussi les...

**Saleh**

Pas que les diplomates.

**Le chercheur**

Donc les gens qui travaillent au gouvernement sont formés dans cet institut en chinois, le français, l'anglais, et peut-être le turc aussi.

**Saleh**

Le turc va très bientôt être enseigné parce que nous allons avoir très bientôt à Djibouti même une école qui va être construite par des turcs, une fondation turque, et on enseignera les langues dont on va parler, et on enseignera également le turc. Le turc comme le chinois ou comme les autres langues est important parce que nous avons beaucoup de jeunes étudiants djiboutiens qui partent aujourd'hui étudier en Chine qui partent étudier en Turquie, et ce qu'on a remarqué c'est qu'ils perdent souvent six mois à une année parce que quand ils arrivent dans pays, il faut que d'abord... surtout moi je connais mieux la Turquie, ils sont obligés d'apprendre le turc en six mois.

**Le chercheur**

Ils doivent parler turc avant d'accéder aux études.

**Saleh**

Ils sont là mais on leur donne six mois de turc, après ils commencent après les études.

**Le chercheur**

Donc pour éviter ça...

**Saleh**

C'est déjà ici de former les jeunes qui sont intéressés par la suite de faire des études en Turquie comme ça ils ne perdront moins de temps.

**Le chercheur**

Donc maintenant vous avez des pays comme la Turquie et la Chine qui offrent des bourses au gouvernement à l'éducation, et ces étudiants partent dans ces pays apprendre dans leurs langues, par exemple les étudiants qui sont dans les universités chinoises qui apprennent le chinois en Turquie. Il y a aussi des pays arabes. Maintenant, il y a beaucoup plus d'étudiants qu'avant qui vont dans ces pays-là alors qu'avant on avait que la France.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que cette importance avec la France elle a diminué, ou est-ce que on a toujours ces étudiants djiboutiens qui vont en France qui ont une bourse de l'état français, est-ce que c'est toujours la même chose, ou est-ce qu'on a de moins en moins d'étudiants qui vont en France ?

**Saleh**

On a de moins en moins pour une raison très simple parce que comme je disais, moi j'ai fait mes études en France parce qu'à une époque, il n'y avait pas d'universités à Djibouti, et donc systématiquement une fois qu'on a fini le secondaire, on partait à tous continué nos études pour la grande majorité en France et pour les autres dans les pays francophones.

**Le chercheur**

Les pays francophones de l'Afrique ? Donc maintenant.

**Saleh**

Les djiboutiens s'internationalisent.

**Le chercheur**

Parce que la France n'offre plus de bourses ou est-ce que les gens ne veulent pas aller ?

**Saleh**

La France offre des bourses.

**Le chercheur**

Pour ceux qui ont le bac.

**Saleh**

Maintenant les bourses pour aller en France, c'est plutôt après la licence.

**Le chercheur**

Donc plus à partir du bac où tout le monde partait, maintenant c'est après la licence les étudiants peuvent partir en France. Est-ce que c'est un nombre limité ou est-ce que beaucoup de gens peuvent partir en France et obtenir de bourses du gouvernement français ?

**Saleh**

Je ne peux pas savoir parce que les bourses ce n'est plus du ressort de l'éducation nationale, c'est plutôt géré par l'enseignement supérieur. Je suis content de voir aujourd'hui les interprètes sont des djiboutiens quand nous avons des turcs qui viennent avec les interprètes sont aujourd'hui des djiboutiens donc on a aussi...

**Le chercheur**

Qui parlent en turc et qui vous traduisent ça en français.

**Saleh**

Tout à fait. C'est une fierté. On s'adapte et on a compris l'importance des langues aujourd'hui dans notre pays.

**Le chercheur**

Merci pour cette interview. Est-ce que vous avez un avis ou un commentaire

pour les djiboutiens ou pour les chercheurs que je suis. Ou pour ?

**Saleh**

Je disais que c'est une bonne chose de s'internaliser, de parler les langues étrangères, mais moi je crois qu'il faut qu'on garde aussi une langue. C'est notre culture et je pense que nos chercheurs continuent... je sais qu'à l'université il y a des chercheurs qui continuent encore à travailler sur les langues nationales et moi je pense que c'est une richesse et il faut bien sur apprendre les langues étrangères, mais pas laisser de côté la langue maternelle.

**Le chercheur**

Elles ne sont pas enseignées dans les écoles ces langues nationales.

**Saleh**

Non elles ne sont pas enseignées, mais dans les... ce qu'on appelle les préscolaires, elles sont enseignées.

**Le chercheur**

Oui, dans le privé. Est-ce que vous voyez à l'avenir ces langues être enseignées dans les écoles ?

**Saleh**

Dans l'éducation nationale ? Je pense que certainement qu'un jour on va être amené.

**Le chercheur**

Personnellement, vous auriez préféré tout de suite ou plus tard, pour l'introduction de ces langues ou le plus tôt ?

**Saleh**

Les études montrent que les enfants qui commencent à apprendre les langues nationales réussissent mieux que ceux qui apprennent dans les langues étrangères.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous avez ces études-là.

**Saleh**

Voilà. Donc je pense que l'introduction de la langue nationale apportera un plus en tout cas pour nos élèves. C'est extrêmement important qu'on veuille sur nos langues.

**Le chercheur**

Mais personnellement, vous pensez qu'on pourrait les introduire comme langue optionnelle ou comme langue d'éducation ces langues nationales ?

**Saleh**

Je ne pense pas parce que comme je le disais, ça va encore restreindre... nous sommes un tout petit pays, et nous avons besoin d'avoir ces langues étrangères parce que, non seulement on parlait des entreprises qui arrivent et qui s'installent, mais comme tout petit pays, nous avons la richesse de Djibouti ce sont les hommes et les femmes. Nous sommes obligés d'exporter ces gens vers l'étranger qui vont aller travailler dans les pays arabes, dans les pays anglophones etc. Je pense qu'on risque si on enseigne les langues nationales de rétrécir. Il faut trouver un moyen. On est en train de réfléchir à l'éducation nationale. Comment faire pour que... il y a un département et avec la réforme, il y a un service qui s'occupe de ça, il s'appelle service de langues. Au niveau du CRIPEN il y a des choses qui ont été fait. On est en train de réfléchir comment trouver l'équilibre entre tout ça. C'est plus compliqué.

**Le chercheur**

Il me reste plus qu'à vous remercier.

C'était très bien. Merci, monsieur le directeur, Saleh Alwan.

Interview avec Abdallah, Chef du personnel, dans une base d'une Armée Etrangère

19 Avril 2017 à 15.49, dans sa maison à Hodan à Balbala à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Salem alaikum, bonjour.

**Abdallah**

Bonjour Professeur.

**Le chercheur**

Monsieur, je me présente, Monsieur Saïd Djama, je suis en train de faire une thèse avec l'université d'Aston à Birmingham, en Angleterre, au Royaume-Uni. Et je vous ai demandé une interview dans le cadre de ma thèse qui a pour sujet les langues parlées à Djibouti. Alors, vous avez lu les informations sur ma recherche et vous savez que vous avez parfaitement le droit de quitter à tout moment si vous sentez que vous ne voulez pas participer à cette recherche. Vous savez aussi que l'anonymité va être, que tout ce que nous allons dire aujourd'hui va rester anonymisé et confidentiel et que seulement, auront accès seulement à ces informations moi-même et les responsables de l'université qui vont m'aider à faire ma thèse. Donc, merci de m'avoir permis d'avoir cet entretien. Pouvez-vous vous présenter s'il vous plaît.

**Abdallah**

Très bien, en fait je vous remercie de m'avoir choisi en tant que candidat ou intervenant. Donc, je vous accorde effectivement cette interview, cet entretien. Je me permets de me présenter, donc je m'appelle Abdallah et je travaille au sein du Ministère de la Défense [...] en tant que responsable des rémunérations de salaire, ceci étant mon emploi à plein temps et parallèlement à cela, j'interviens en tant que professeur vacataire à l'université de Djibouti. D'accord ? Donc j'essaierais de répondre à vos questions le plus clair possible, de sorte à ce que mes réponses puissent être exploitées et qu'elles puissent vous aider dans votre travail de recherche. Donc allez-y.

**Le chercheur**

Merci Monsieur Abdallah. Alors, vous voulez dire vous travaillez comme, dans le service de ressources humaines.

**Abdallah**

Voilà, c'est exactement ça.

**Le chercheur**

Ou personnel comme on appelait avant, donc vous travaillez dans ce service.

**Abdallah**

Voilà, je travaille dans le service administration du personnel et plus précisément le personnel civil.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ça c'est l'Armée [...] ?

**Abdallah**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est les forces [...] stationnées à Djibouti ?

**Abdallah**

Voilà, qui m'emploient pour cette activité.

**Le chercheur**

En tant que...

**Abdallah**

Que responsable de la paye.

**Le chercheur**

De la paye. Et vous êtes un civil ?

**Abdallah**

Je suis un civil.

**Le chercheur**

Djiboutien ?

**Abdallah**

J'y travaille depuis le 1<sup>er</sup> mars 2004 et cela fait presque 13 ans que je suis au sein du Ministère [...] de la Défense.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, à Djibouti ?

**Abdallah**

A Djibouti, exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Merci, quelle est votre langue maternelle ?

**Abdallah**

Ma langue maternelle est l'arabe puisque mes parents sont tous deux originaires du Yémen, je suis né à Djibouti et mes parents vivent à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, merci. Donc vous avez une langue maternelle donc l'arabe et vous avez choisi d'être interviewé en français.

**Abdallah**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Parce que c'est votre langue d'éducation.

**Abdallah**

Voilà, de travail, d'éducation et de parler de tous les jours. Je parle le français tous les jours, y compris avec mes enfants.

**Le chercheur**

Et vous êtes un...

**Abdallah**

Je suis un francophone.

**Le chercheur**

Un francophone, merci. Vous êtes un francophone, vous avez fait vos études en français.

**Abdallah**

En français, exactement.

**Le chercheur**

A Djibouti dans le système... Quel est votre niveau d'éducation ?

**Abdallah**

J'ai fait des études supérieures. Mon niveau d'éducation c'est un master II, de l'ancienne appellation le DEA (Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies).

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Abdallah**

Où je l'ai eu dans une université française et précisément au Havre.

**Le chercheur**

Au Havre, d'accord. Et c'était

complètement en français ?

**Abdallah**

C'était en français.

**Le chercheur**

C'était en français. Donc qui est-ce qui a financé votre bourse ? Le gouvernement djiboutien ou vous l'avez financé vous-même ?

**Abdallah**

Les ressources ou les sources de financement de mes études supérieures ont été purement privées, c'est-à-dire ce sont mes parents qui ont financé mes études, en aucun cas le gouvernement djiboutien.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, merci. Combien de langues vous parlez ?

**Abdallah**  
Disons, combien de langues je maîtrise...  
**Le chercheur**  
Ou écrivez-vous ? Ou comprenez-vous ?  
**Abdallah**  
Je maîtrise l'arabe, le français et quelques notions d'anglais, et également je parle correctement le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
Le somali, d'accord, qui est une langue nationale.  
**Abdallah**  
Qui est une langue locale, nationale.  
**Le chercheur**  
Nationale, d'accord. Ressentez-vous le besoin d'apprendre une nouvelle langue ?  
4.58 min  
**Abdallah**  
Je pense que c'est très important d'apprendre une langue de plus puisque ça vous permet tout simplement de mieux communiquer avec son entourage.  
**Le chercheur** Et quelle serait cette langue ?  
**Abdallah**  
J'ai une tendance de perfectionnement dirais-je de l'anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
De l'anglais.  
**Abdallah**  
Je souhaite perfectionner l'anglais de sorte à ce que ça soit une langue acquise.  
**Le chercheur**  
Une langue acquise. Et pourquoi ?  
**Abdallah**  
Parce que c'est une langue universelle, partout là où on est le besoin est ressenti fortement pour communiquer.  
**Le chercheur**  
Pour communiquer, d'accord, merci. A la maison, combien de langues parlez-vous à la maison ?  
**Abdallah**  
A la maison, je communique avec mes enfants, ma femme en français sachant que je ne suis pas français de souche.  
**Le chercheur**  
Oui.  
**Abdallah**  
Je suis disons entre guillemets « arabe de souche ». Je parle le français avec mes enfants et ma femme à la maison, et je parle également l'arabe avec ma famille, c'est-à-dire avec ma mère, mes frères, etc.  
**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Et avec vos voisins ?  
**Abdallah**  
Avec mes voisins, j'ai une préférence pour le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
Pour le français. Et vous êtes à l'aise avec le français ?  
**Abdallah**  
Justement avec la langue française.  
**Le chercheur**  
Ok, avez-vous du mal à parler avec certaines personnes de votre quartier ?  
Qui ne parlent pas français.  
**Abdallah**  
Voilà, j'essaye en fait de parler le français qu'avec les personnes qui peuvent me répondre en français sans bien sûr les offenser, c'est-à-dire je ne cherche pas à m'exprimer en français par plaisir. Au contraire, je m'exprime en français pour que les gens puissent comprendre ce que

je dis et qu'ils me répondent en français. Sinon, je parle une autre langue.  
**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, avec quelle langue vous pouvez-vous comprendre, vous pouvez vous faire comprendre avec les gens du quartier par exemple ?  
**Abdallah**  
Voilà, sachant que j'habite à Balbala, je parle également, disons un peu plus souvent le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
Le somali, d'accord. Donc vous parlez aussi le somali avec ces gens-là et ça va. Au travail, quelle langue utilisez-vous au travail à part le français qui est votre langue professionnelle ?  
**Abdallah**  
Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
Combien de langues vous utilisez au bureau, par exemple avec les djiboutiens, est-ce que vous parlez somali ou arabe ?  
**Abdallah**  
Donc, il faut savoir que notre bureau, comme c'est un bureau ressources humaines et loi d'administration du personnel, la langue qui est autorisée c'est le français. Mais par contre, nous avons parfois une population qui vient rechercher des informations et qu'on est obligés de les informer, ceux sont les ouvriers, les femmes de ménage, etc. Ceux-là parlent très peu le français ou très mal donc on est obligé de leur parler dans la langue nationale qu'ils maîtrisent, c'est-à-dire je suis amené parfois au travail à parler le somali et l'arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
Dans vos bureaux, est-ce que vous avez une politique linguistique qui règlemente l'utilisation des langues au travail ?  
**Abdallah**  
Oui, sachant déjà à la base que la langue de l'administration djiboutienne c'est le français, même si l'arabe est également mentionné mais les gens font très rarement référence à l'arabe dans l'administration sauf pour certaines administrations bien précises. Mais en français sachant que je travaille dans un domaine purement militaire français, la seule langue autorisée c'est le français. D'ailleurs, pour des raisons de confidentialité on est obligés de parler en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, donc quand on embauche un nouveau personnel, le français exigé.  
**Abdallah**  
Voilà, donc on peut retracer si vous voulez l'évolution du français dans le travail notamment dans le travail là où je suis, c'est-à-dire dans l'administration militaire [...], effectivement aujourd'hui si nous cherchons à embaucher un personnel, peu importe sa catégorie socio-professionnelle. Aujourd'hui il est amené à faire un test linguistique c'est-à-dire nous cherchons à évaluer sa capacité de communication en français, ce qui n'était pas le cas les années antérieures. Donc, si vous voulez la personne viendra travailler dans un domaine français alors il doit parler au minimum le français.  
9.58 min  
**Le chercheur**

Comment est-ce que vous le contrôlez, je veux dire comment vous le testez, est-ce que vous l'envoyez passer un examen ou est-ce que vous-même vous lui donnez un petit test de langue ?  
**Abdallah**  
Voilà, le bureau en fait, le bureau d'administration du personnel a mis en place des tests linguistiques tels que la dictée, l'expression écrite, tout simplement pour évaluer la personne.  
**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, c'est bon, donc ça s'est fait à votre nouveau, d'accord merci. Et les gens qui travaillent chez vous, est-ce qu'ils ont des problèmes pour parler entre eux, est-ce qu'on exige qu'ils parlent entre djiboutiens en français ou est-ce qu'ils peuvent parler dans leur langue maternelle ou les langues nationales ?  
**Abdallah**  
Les djiboutiens entre eux sont libres de parler avec la langue qu'ils souhaitent, c'est-à-dire s'ils se rencontrent le somali va parler dans sa langue somali, l'afar va parler dans sa langue afar mais à condition que la personne qui est face à lui comprenne sa langue, sinon il est obligé de parler en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, merci. Mais en ce moment, en ce moment on dit que l'armée [...] est en train de licencier les gens qui travaillent chez eux parce qu'ils ont plus besoin de leurs services. Comme l'armée [...] a été réduite, les effectifs de militaires ont été réduits, après ce qu'on dit aujourd'hui à presque 1000. Est-ce que maintenant vous embauchez ou est-ce que vous mettez les gens en retraite ou est-ce que vous les licenciez ?  
**Abdallah**  
Il y a quelques années de cela, il y a eu une politique de déflation, c'est-à-dire il y a eu des licenciements économiques donc c'était un programme bien arrêté, bien défini, c'était un licenciement économique entre guillemets mais « volontaire », c'est-à-dire tout individu qui cherchait à quitter l'entreprise, l'administration militaire le disait volontairement, il percevait ses indemnités mais des indemnités également complémentaires et majorées et il pouvait quitter l'entreprise. C'était bon, dans un souci de déflation, de souci de restriction budgétaire, aujourd'hui on commence petit à petit à recruter.  
**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, donc les effectifs ont diminué, presque de 50% ?  
**Abdallah**  
Les effectifs ont diminué, certes, suite à ce programme de déflation.  
**Le chercheur**  
Mais je me rappelle il y a 10 ans ou il y a 15 ans par exemple l'armée [...] employait quelques 700 personnes si je ne me trompe pas.  
**Abdallah**  
Ils étaient à peu près de cet effectif mais aujourd'hui avec la politique de déflation c'est un peu moindre.  
**Le chercheur**  
C'est un peu moindre, d'accord, merci. Si maintenant on parle de Djibouti ville ou Djibouti état donc pays, que pensez-vous des langues enseignées dans les écoles

primaires et secondaires ? Le système à Djibouti c'est le français qui est enseigné, l'arabe vient en option, après en secondaire l'anglais vient en option. Que faut-il enseigner selon vous ?

**Abdallah**

Donc, moi je pense à mon avis que Djibouti a été imprégné de la colonisation, c'est-à-dire le pays colonisateur étant le français, aujourd'hui si l'on peut remarquer ou si l'on remarque on constate que le français est véhiculé, c'est-à-dire parlé dans pratiquement, partout. Donc je pense que puisque le système de base, c'est-à-dire lors de la création de l'enseignement de base à Djibouti c'est le français et comme nous avons pas mal d'influences françaises économiques je parle, bien entendu donc il est préférable que le pays ou le système éducatif de base puisse continuer en français certes, mais renforcer également l'arabe et l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, merci. Donc pour vous, c'est bon comme c'est en ce moment il faut garder le cap.

**Abdallah**

Moi je suis un francophone et un francophile.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Abdallah**

C'est-à-dire j'ai toujours la préférence de la langue française.

**Le chercheur**

Donc, enseigner ces langues-là. Est-ce que vous pensez qu'on pourrait enseigner les langues nationales ? Dans les écoles.

**Abdallah**

Oui, nous pouvons l'enseigner mais encore il ne faudrait pas perdre du temps. Il faut enseigner quelque chose qui est utile.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Abdallah**

D'accord. Sachant que les langues nationales sont déjà des langues maternelles, c'est-à-dire celui qui est de parents somalis il parle le somali et l'afar ; celui qui est de parents arabes il va parler l'arabe, etc. Donc je pense qu'il n'y a pas lieu de les enseigner à l'école.

**15.00 min**

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, d'accord. Donc vos enfants, qu'est-ce que vous avez programmé pour eux, qu'est-ce qu'ils vont apprendre comme langues ?

**Abdallah**

Moi, personnellement, comme je viens de vous le dire je suis francophone et francophile, c'est-à-dire j'ai une attache particulière avec la France, là où j'ai fait mes études supplémentaires, d'ailleurs, financées par moi et par l'Etat français si je puis-je dire. Aujourd'hui j'ai choisi pour mes enfants un enseignement français voire même dans un établissement catholique français.

**Le chercheur**

Français.

**Abdallah**

Donc ça ne me dérange absolument pas, l'essentiel c'est d'apprendre le français correctement.

**Le chercheur**

Quand on circule dans la ville de Djibouti, quelles sont les langues les plus utilisées dans les rues, qu'on entend ?

**Abdallah**

Je pense que la langue est utilisée proportionnellement à la population djiboutienne mais je constate que la langue somalie, puisqu'il y a beaucoup plus de somaliens que d'arabes, et d'afars et de français, etc. Je pense que le somali est la langue la plus couramment utilisée.

**Le chercheur**

Dans les rues de Djibouti ?

**Abdallah**

Dans les rues de Djibouti ville.

**Le chercheur**

Et donc quand les gens aussi vont au service public, les bureaux ou les gens qui veulent obtenir des services de l'état par exemple, quand on va dans ces endroits-là aussi, est-ce que c'est le somali qui domine ou c'est... ?

**Abdallah**

Normalement, à partir du moment où on se présente dans une administration on doit parler le français ou dans le pire des cas l'arabe. Mais aujourd'hui si par exemple moi je pars à l'administration, certes je parlerai en français parce que j'ai une préférence pour le français mais ce n'est pas le cas de tout le monde. Par exemple, si un somali rentre dans une administration il ne va pas chercher à parler en français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Abdallah**

Il va parler en somali par rapport à l'interlocuteur qu'il y a devant lui.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, donc le somali est beaucoup plus utilisé ?

**Abdallah**

Je pense à mon avis, oui.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y a des endroits où par exemple l'arabe domine à Djibouti ou le français domine ou l'anglais domine ou je ne sais pas l'afar domine ? Est-ce que vous pouvez nous parler de ça, est-ce qu'il y a des endroits où une langue domine les autres ?

**Abdallah**

Je pense que dans la majorité de l'administration c'est le français qui domine, sauf pour une partie de l'administration précisément la partie qui a lien avec la religion telle que par exemple le Ministère de la Culture et des Affaires Musulmanes.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, dans ces endroits-là.

**Abdallah**

Voilà dans ces endroits-là.

**Le chercheur**

Et dans les quartiers ?

**Abdallah**

Ou le Tribunal de la Première Instance de la Sharia.

**Le chercheur**

Et dans les quartiers ?

**Abdallah**

Dans les quartiers, chacun parlera sa langue maternelle, c'est-à-dire soit le somali, soit l'afar, soit l'arabe, etc.

**Le chercheur**

Et quelles sont les langues qui dominent dans les zones ? Par exemple, est-ce qu'on aura une zone où le somali domine...

**Abdallah**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Où l'afar domine ?

**Abdallah**

Par exemple, on peut constater dans des quartiers tels que le quartier 2 ou Ambouli les gens ne parlent que l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, beaucoup...

**Abdallah**

Beaucoup plus, beaucoup plus l'arabe c'est-à-dire vous constatez ou vous observez des enfants de parents somalis, de parents afars parler en priorité l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Parce que ?

**Abdallah**

Parce que leur entourage, leur voisinage, tout le monde communique en langue arabe et vous avez d'autres quartiers tel que le quartier 6 par exemple ou Balbala où les gens ont une préférence, on ne parle que le somali. Et vous avez un autre quartier celui d'Arhiba ou Wahledaba où les gens ne parlent que l'afar.

**Le chercheur**

Mais est-ce qu'il y a une zone où l'on parle anglais ou alors l'amharique ou français, est-ce qu'il y a des zones ?

**Abdallah**

Bon anglais, les gens ne sont pas encore complètement anglophones.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Abdallah**

C'est-à-dire si on veut parler anglais, je dirais même qu'on n'a pas le choix pour communiquer, on parlera en anglais ; mais il y a des zones par exemple au-delà du K12, là où les éthiopiens sont assez présents, on parle également l'amharique.

**Le chercheur**

L'amharique, donc c'est des gens qui viennent pour faire du business ?

**Abdallah**

Voilà, du business. Exactement.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, merci. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ?

**Abdallah**

La radio très rarement, juste le laps de temps où je suis dans ma voiture.

**Le chercheur**

La radio djiboutienne ? Ou la radio étrangère ?

**Abdallah**

La radio djiboutienne presque jamais.

**Le chercheur**

Presque jamais.

**Abdallah**

Presque jamais.

**Le chercheur**

Et dans quelle langue est-ce que vous écoutez cette radio alors ?

**Abdallah**

J'ai une préférence toujours pour le français mais il m'arrive d'écouter en arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est rare peut être ou est-ce qu'il y a des programmes que vous aimez ?

**Abdallah**

Je n'ai pas de programme particulier puisque le temps que je me déplace ce n'est pas beaucoup.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Abdallah**  
Donc, je cherche juste un petit programme de divertissement audio.

**Le chercheur**  
Audio d'accord. Est-ce que vous écoutez les chansons ?

**Abdallah**  
Il m'arrive très rarement d'écouter des chansons.

**Le chercheur**  
Et dans quelle langue ?

**Abdallah**  
Si j'écoute, s'il m'arrive d'écouter des chansons je préfère mieux les écouter en arabe.

20.01 min

**Le chercheur**  
En arabe d'accord. Regardez-vous la télévision ?

**Abdallah**  
La télé je regarde mais rarement.

**Le chercheur**  
Rarement, et quelle télévision, la djiboutienne ou une autre ?

**Abdallah**  
J'utilise le câble Canal+

**Le chercheur** Canal+ d'accord. Et quels programmes, dans quelles langues ? Et quel programme ?

**Abdallah**  
Lorsque j'ai le temps, j'essaye de me... Enfin, j'essaye d'être à jour et j'écoute les informations.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans quelle langue ?

**Abdallah**  
Toujours le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Toujours le français.

**Abdallah**  
Toujours le français.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

Est-ce que vous allez regarder des films ou le théâtre ou... A Djibouti ?

**Abdallah**  
Quelques films parfois à la télé mais je ne me déplace pas pour regarder, pour les cinémas à Djibouti ou les pièces de théâtre ou autre.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, tout ça, les films en français alors ?

**Abdallah**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Ok, est-ce que vous naviguez sur internet ?

**Abdallah**  
Je navigue sur internet mais purement pour des raisons professionnelles.

**Le chercheur**  
Pour des raisons professionnelles. Et dans quelle langue ?

**Abdallah**  
Toujours le français.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Est-ce que vous utilisez les médias sociaux ?

**Abdallah**  
Très, très rarement. Très, très rarement.

**Le chercheur**  
Comme Facebook, WhatsApp.

**Abdallah**  
Voilà très rarement et je communique toujours en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Toujours en français.

**Abdallah**  
En français. Je reçois quelques messages en arabe mais je réponds en français.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Et est-ce que vous savez que les langues nationales sont présentes sur internet ?

**Abdallah**  
Oui, oui, je sais qu'on peut également surfer avec le somali mais disons pour l'instant je n'ai pas d'intéressement pour ces langues-là. Je ne vois pas l'utilité puisque tous les gens avec lesquels je communique sont capables de me répondre soit en français ou en arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, est-ce que vous lisez les journaux ? Par exemple à Djibouti il y a le journal arabe Al Qarn et il y a La Nation en français.

**Abdallah**  
Al Qarn je ne le lis pratiquement jamais, quant à La Nation, oui il m'arrive de lire La Nation pour chercher quelques offres de consultants là-dedans.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, vous utilisez pour les offres d'emploi ?

**Abdallah**  
Tout à fait, tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, d'accord, c'est bien. Bien, est-ce que vous lisez la presse étrangère ?

**Abdallah**  
La presse étrangère oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Laquelle ?

**Abdallah**  
Par exemple, l'Océan Indien donc c'est écrit en français et ça m'arrange.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, en français. Euh, est-ce que vous lisez des livres ?

**Abdallah**  
Des livres.

**Le chercheur**  
Des livres par exemple, écrits par des auteurs djiboutiens...

**Abdallah**  
Des livres par des auteurs djiboutiens non mais je lis beaucoup des livres écrits en arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui en arabe.

**Abdallah**  
Beaucoup plus pour me cultiver dans le cadre de la religion, de la pratique de la religion.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, des livres en arabe.

**Abdallah**  
En arabe. Exactement.

**Le chercheur**  
Sur la religion. D'accord, donc c'est... Pour vous, quand c'est le sermon du vendredi il n'y a pas de problème en arabe, vous le comprenez ? Vous êtes à l'aise ?

**Abdallah**  
Sans aucun problème puisque c'est ma langue maternelle.

**Le chercheur**

Mais, est-ce que vous êtes conscients que pour certaines personnes on les traduit après le sermon ?

**Abdallah**  
Oui, oui. On traduit en somali la plupart du temps.

**Le chercheur**  
J'ai constaté cela et je pense que c'est intéressant pour que les gens puissent sortir en fait de ce prêche avec des informations qu'ils peuvent retenir, pourquoi-pas ?

**Abdallah**  
Dans leur langue.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, dans leur langue. Ça veut dire qu'il y a beaucoup de gens qui ne comprennent pas la langue arabe ?

**Abdallah**  
Absolument, absolument.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous pourriez dire que c'est une majorité ou une minorité ?

**Abdallah**  
Disons que c'est une majorité.

**Le chercheur**  
C'est une majorité des gens.

**Abdallah**  
A mon avis c'est une majorité.

**Le chercheur**  
A combien de pourcentage vous pouvez les estimer ?

**Abdallah**  
Disons, à plus de 70%

**Le chercheur**  
A 70% voilà, merci.

**Abdallah**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Quand vous allez à l'étranger, pour le travail ou peut-être pour le loisir, est-ce que vous avez des problèmes pour communiquer ou des difficultés à communiquer avec les étrangers ?

**Abdallah**  
Voilà, généralement lorsque je me déplace je me déplace en famille.

**Le chercheur**  
En famille.

**Abdallah**  
Mais j'aimerais vous souligner le fait qu'il y a une complémentarité également entre ma femme et moi, dans le sens où ma femme est anglophone donc elle parle l'anglais, c'est-à-dire que lorsqu'on est ensemble s'il y a une nécessité de parler en anglais c'est ma femme qui prend le relais.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, c'est bien donc vous n'avez pas de problème de communication ? (Rires)

**Abdallah**  
Non je ne pense pas pour l'instant, voilà (rires).

**Le chercheur**  
Si vous utilisez son anglais, elle utilise votre français et votre arabe, donc pas de problème.

**Abdallah**  
Exactement.

**Le chercheur**  
Et vous ne vous dites pas que vous voulez apprendre une autre langue, vous ne vous dites pas « ah, je vais apprendre l'anglais ».

**Abdallah**  
Comme je vous l'ai dit tout à l'heure, je cherche toujours à perfectionner l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, et quand vous allez en Ethiopie, quand vous allez en Ethiopie, est-ce que vous vous sentez comme chez vous à Djibouti ou peut être en Somalie aussi parce que les gens parlent le somali... Mais est-ce que vous vous sentez chez vous ? Ou alors vous, c'est peut-être quand vous allez au Yémen.

**Abdallah**

En fait, on ne se sent bien que chez soi.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Abdallah**

C'est-à-dire à partir du moment où vous quittez votre pays, vous êtes toujours dans un pays hôte, dans un pays étranger.

**Le chercheur**

Ok.

**Abdallah**

Et effectivement là-bas, en dehors du barrage linguistique, c'est-à-dire les gens.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà, tu parles de l'environnement linguistique.

25.00 min

**Abdallah**

Il y a, je pense qu'il y a un barrage linguistique puisque, bon, je ne maîtrise pas très bien l'anglais ; j'essaie et d'ailleurs je suis obligé par exemple lorsque je rentre dans un restaurant, je dois commander en anglais, donc je suis obligé de parler l'anglais mais je ressens effectivement que je dois améliorer mon anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ça c'est en Ethiopie, notre pays voisin.

**Abdallah**

Voilà, exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Et la Somalie ?

**Abdallah**

En Somalie, je n'ai jamais été.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, et le Yémen ?

**Abdallah**

Par contre le Yémen effectivement lorsque je pars dans le pays natal de mes parents, je n'ai guère le choix, c'est-à-dire je ne parle qu'en arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Donc, vous vous sentez à l'aise dans l'environnement linguistique du Yémen ?

**Abdallah**

Exactement, exactement.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Vous vous sentez comme chez vous. D'accord, merci. Est-ce que vous pouvez comparer aujourd'hui à il y a 20 ans quand vous étiez au secondaire par exemple, vous devez avoir 30-34 ans ?

**Abdallah**

A peu près.

**Le chercheur**

A peu près 34 ans, donc il y a par exemple quand vous étiez au primaire, au secondaire je veux dire il y a 20 ans par exemple est-ce que vous pouvez le comparer à aujourd'hui ? Comment les gens utilisent les langues, les langues somali, français...

**Abdallah**

Je pense qu'aujourd'hui, si on observe les étudiants qui sont au collège, on le voit, on le ressent que les gens parlent moins bien en français qu'à notre époque.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, ils parlent moins bien.

**Abdallah**

Exactement, ils ont une préférence de mieux communiquer dans les dialectes locaux.

**Le chercheur**

Dans les langues nationales.

**Abdallah**

Voilà, dans les langues nationales.

**Le chercheur**

Donc les gens utilisent beaucoup plus les langues nationales qu'avant.

**Abdallah**

Qu'avant, exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que c'est le cas seulement au lycée ou à l'université, ou alors dans les bureaux peut-être ?

**Abdallah**

Je pense d'abord d'une manière générale dans tous les établissements publics scolaires, les gens ont une préférence pour les langues locales.

**Le chercheur**

Ils parlent plus les langues locales.

**Abdallah**

Locales, exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Les langues locales qu'avant.

**Abdallah**

Exactement, tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Et leur niveau de français ?

**Abdallah**

Je pense que ça a baissé effectivement.

**Le chercheur**

Donc les djiboutiens aujourd'hui parlent moins bien.

**Abdallah**

Le français qu'à l'époque.

**Le chercheur**

Qu'il y a 20 ans.

**Abdallah**

Exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Et, est-ce que l'importance du français est toujours la même ?

**Abdallah**

L'importance du français n'est pas toujours la même, pourquoi ? Parce que tout simplement aujourd'hui nous avons beaucoup plus d'étrangers qui vivent chez nous et ces étrangers ont une préférence pour parler qu'en anglais. C'est-à-dire vous avez les américains, qui eux parlent en anglais, les japonais qui parlent en anglais, les chinois qui ont une préférence pour leur propre langue, c'est-à-dire un chinois ne va chercher d'abord qu'à vous parler en chinois mais s'il connaît l'anglais, il va essayer de vous parler en anglais mais jamais en français.

**Le chercheur**

Jamais en français.

**Abdallah**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Donc tout ça ?

**Abdallah**

Donc aujourd'hui la présence étrangère à Djibouti fait que le français, je ne dirais pas qu'il est évincé mais qu'il est un peu, il est parlé moins que les autres langues étrangères.

**Le chercheur**

Et qu'est-ce qui a pris sa place ?

**Abdallah**

Je pense que les gens aujourd'hui cherchent au mieux à acquérir la langue anglaise.

**Le chercheur**

La langue anglaise, pourquoi ?

**Abdallah**

Parce qu'ils pensent qu'ils ont des meilleures opportunités pour trouver un emploi dans ces forces étrangères qui sont basées à Djibouti, comme on vient de le dire soit les américains ou les italiens, les espagnols, les chinois, etc. Donc ils pensent qu'ils ont beaucoup plus de chance d'avoir un emploi en parlant en anglais.

**Le chercheur**

En parlant anglais, d'accord. Donc il y a beaucoup plus d'opportunités...

**Abdallah**

D'opportunités, exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Pour les gens qui parlent anglais.

**Abdallah**

Anglais, voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Donc du fait qu'il y a des étrangers qui ont investi à Djibouti...

**Abdallah**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Et qui ont des entreprises et des... Et il y a ces bases-là.

**Abdallah**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Ils demandent de plus en plus l'anglais.

D'accord, c'est ça, c'est à cause de ça que l'anglais est devenu...

**Abdallah**

Disons que l'anglais aujourd'hui il menace le français, c'est-à-dire que la francophonie doit investir dans ce petit pays qu'est Djibouti puisque nous sommes entourés par des pays qui parlent que l'anglais. Par exemple les somaliens, leur langue des affaires c'est l'anglais, les éthiopiens c'est l'anglais, les soudanais c'est l'anglais, les érythréens c'est l'anglais. Donc ce petit pays qu'est Djibouti avec le français, si la francophonie n'investit pas pour renforcer le français, je pense que le français à Djibouti laissera la place à une langue étrangère qui est l'anglais. Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous avez un avis pour les djiboutiens en matière de langue ?

**Abdallah**

Je pense qu'aujourd'hui puisque le monde des affaires il est dominé par la langue anglaise, le français tend à reculer devant cette langue-là, je pense que je conseillerais les djiboutiens à améliorer l'anglais, c'est-à-dire à acquérir l'anglais mais en aucun cas à abandonner le français. Le français c'est la langue qui nous permet de nous identifier si vous voulez en tant que djiboutiens. C'est mon avis personnel de toute façon, donc pour moi un djiboutien doit parler le français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, merci Monsieur Mohamed de m'avoir accordé cette interview.

**Abdallah**

Je vous en prie, donc tout le privilège est pour vous. Je vous remercie.

Interview avec Dr Abdirachid, Maître de conférences en linguistiques and membre

de l'Académie Inter-gouvernementale de la Langue Somalienne  
16 avril 2017 à 15.40 à l'université à Balbala à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Salam alaïkum, bonjour je me présente je suis monsieur Said Djama je suis en train de faire une thèse avec l'université d'Aston à Birmingham en Angleterre aux Royaumes Unis. Le sujet est sur les langues parler à Djibouti, je vous avais demandé une interview parce que vous êtes un personnage intéressant pour ma recherche, vous avez été [...] de l'académie de langue somalienne à Djibouti. Est-ce que vous pouvez vous présenter et me dire votre nom, adresse, responsabilité, services et tout ?

**Abdirachid**

D'accord, donc je m'appelle Abdirachid [...]. J'ai 51 ans. Je suis née à Djibouti et je suis toujours à Djibouti même si j'ai fait quelques déplacements à l'étranger. Actuellement, je suis professeur à l'université, je suis enseignant en linguistique, maître de conférences en linguistiques. J'ai occupé différentes fonctions à l'université. J'ai été chef de département en lettres, et puis ensuite j'ai été [...] du centre de formation continue, et ensuite j'ai été confié la mission de mettre en place une académie inter-gouvernementale de la langue somalienne, donc ça signifie un organisme dont partage les différentes régions parlant le somali dans la corne de l'Afrique. On m'a confié cette mission. Jusqua présent, je suis encore [...] de cette académie dont le siège est à Mogadishu. L'objectif principal de cette académie est de renforcer cette langue sur un certain nombre d'aspects un certain nombre de plans à savoir la normalisation, la standardisation de cette langue au niveau grammatical, au niveau de la transcription, au niveau lexical. Également, promouvoir cette langue aussi bien dans ces différentes régions pour que cette langue soit enseignée dans les différents niveaux du système éducatif. Voilà très brièvement une présentation de la personne.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est l'Académie de la Langue Somalienne.

**Abdirachid**

L'Académie Inter-gouvernementale de la Langue Somalienne.

**Le chercheur**

Ça veut dire que c'est une académie qui appartient à plusieurs gouvernements ?

**Abdirachid**

C'est ça.

**Le chercheur**

C'est le gouvernement Djiboutien, le gouvernement de la Somalie, de l'Éthiopie, il y a une partie de l'Éthiopie qui parle le somali, donc ils ont un état fédéral. C'est une région qui est fédérale, c'est tous ces pays plus Djibouti, et je pense que le premier siège était à Djibouti.

**Abdirachid**

C'est ça. Djibouti est le pays fondateur initiateur du projet et fondateur du projet, donc le lieu de création de l'institut ça a été Djibouti, et c'était le siège, le premier siège de cette institution. En fait, il y a ces cinq régions qui partagent cette académie.

Donc c'est le Somaliland, c'est la Somalie, c'est l'Éthiopie, le nord du Kenya, ce qu'on appelle les régions somalophones. Ces régions ont différents statuts politiques. Certaines régions sont autonomes. Ces deux pays, Djibouti et Somalie, une région qui recherche une reconnaissance qui n'est pas reconnue qui est, qui a donc un statut un peu particulier, mais pour justement faciliter peut-être l'intégration linguistique pour lesquelles, il a été fait de facilité pour qu'elle puisse intégrer cette institution en tant qu'une entité autonome, et puis la région somali du Kenya qui n'ont pas un représentant unique étant donné qu'ils sont composés de trois canton différents, et donc ça aussi c'est une situation assez particulière, donc c'est quelque chose qui est en formation. En fait, il y a deux états solides qui sont la Somalie et le Djibouti qui soutiennent cette institution.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous étiez le premier responsable pour cette institution. Votre langue maternelle est le somali ? je pense.

**Abdirachid**

Oui, ma langue maternelle de père de mère, ma langue maternelle c'est le somali, et mon père aussi à la langue maternelle le somali.

**Le chercheur**

Vous avez fait tous vos études en français, vous êtes donc un francophone.

**Abdirachid**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Et vous vous êtes retrouvé dans une académie en langue somali. Est-ce que vous vous êtes inspiré de l'académie française par exemple ?

**Abdirachid**

En fait, on ne s'est pas inspiré de l'académie française. L'apparition de langues dans le processus de développement d'une langue est assez commune. Quand on veut renforcer une langue, quand on veut la faire développer, il y a des phases. La première phase c'est d'abord décrire cette langue, sa grammaire sa structure etc... Ensuite ça ne devient pas forcément après, ça peut venir plus tard, mais en tout cas généralement la deuxième phase, c'est de lui doter un alphabet, ce qui a été fait au Somali. Ensuite dans ces développements, il peut y avoir une troisième phase qui est d'introduire l'enseignement de cette langue dans le système éducatif, donc ça a été fait. Ensuite, il y a généralement une certaine variation, différenciation de cette langue dans une région, donc il y a un processus de normalisation qui se met en place. C'est généralement dans ce cadre-là que l'on met en place une académie qui est, dont l'objectif principal est de renforcer cette langue, son étude, sa normalisation, son développement, sa promotion, donc on est dans cette phase-là.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous travaillez sur cette phase. Vous avez parlé d'enseigner la langue somalienne, mais elle n'est pas enseignée à Djibouti, je veux dire officiellement par le gouvernement dans les écoles publiques, elle n'est pas enseignée.

**Abdirachid**

Pas du tout. Le somali comme l'afar ne sont pas enseignés à Djibouti en tout dans le système éducatif ordinaire public et même privé. Il y a à l'université, on a une matière qui s'appelle linguistique de langue nationale qui est enseigné. La partie somalienne, c'est moi qui l'enseigne, la partie afar c'est un autre collègue qui l'enseigne, c'est Kamil. C'est vraiment des choses très, très restreints à une certaine population, groupe d'étudiants qui font la littérature, la filière littéraire, et l'option linguistique en troisième au deuxième semestre, donc actuellement par exemple pour cette matière, je n'ai que 14 étudiants pour cette année. Avant, c'était encore moi. Le somali n'est pas enseigné à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Vous êtes aussi docteur en linguistique. Vous avez fait vos études où ?

**Abdirachid**

J'ai fait toutes mes études supérieures en France.

**Le chercheur**

Dans quelle région ?

**Abdirachid**

À Nancy en Lorraine. J'ai fait mes études de... d'abord j'ai commencé par des études en anglais ensuite par des études de linguistique ce qu'on appelle les sciences du langage, et par la suite j'ai fait des études dans le domaine du commercial, et après je suis revenu à mes premiers amours comme on dit, la linguistique.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous avez fait ça avec une bourse du gouvernement ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui, j'ai eu une bourse pour... à l'époque c'était comme ça, dès qu'on avait le bac, toute personne qui avait le bac avait droit à Djibouti avait droit à une bourse pour faire ces études supérieures en France. Je faisais partie de ce groupe, je fais tous mes études supérieures...

**Le chercheur**

Toutes vos études ont été financées par le gouvernement. Combien de langues parlez-vous ?

**Abdirachid**

Trois langues. Le somali, l'anglais, le français.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous sentez le besoin d'ajouter une autre langue ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui. Réellement, j'aurais bien aimé apprendre l'afar, une deuxième langue nationale, et maintenant malheureusement par rapport à mon âge, j'ai un peu de mal à mémoriser les choses. Mais c'est un grand regret d'autant plus que j'avais à une certaine époque une facilité étant donné qu'on a vécu dans quartier multiculturel, multilinguistique.

**Le chercheur**

C'était où ce quartier.

**Abdirachid**

Cite Einguella

**Le chercheur**

Donc il y a plusieurs communautés qui vivent dans ce quartier. À la maison, combien de langues vous parlez ?

**Abdirachid**

Généralement deux, le français et le somali.

**Le chercheur**

Avec la famille, avec votre femme

**Abdirachid**

Oui avec mon épouse, mon enfant, et parfois mes frères mes amis etc.

**Le chercheur**

Et vos voisins ?

**Abdirachid**

J'ai un voisin afarophone donc on parle en français, en arabe, et du somali, donc on mélange les trois pour me faire comprendre, mais la langue principale reste quand même le somali avec lui.

**Le chercheur**

Il n'y a pas de problème de communication.

**Abdirachid**

La plupart ce sont des somalis je crois. J'ai des gens par exemple un personnel qui travaille à la maison, la femme de ménage, celui qui nettoie la voiture les choses comme ça. Ils ont leur langue maternelle Oromo mais ils parlent le somali.

**Le chercheur**

Donc pas de problème de communication. Et au travail, vous travaillez avec la langue française, et vous avez aussi des collègues. Quelle langue est-ce que vous utilisez avec vos collègues au boulot ?

**Abdirachid**

Avec les somalophones, on peut parler français, somali. Ceux qui ne parlent pas somali on parle en français. Et ceux qui ne parlent pas le français comme les Kenya, on parle en anglais.

**Le chercheur**

La plupart des langues qui sont parlées entre les profs entre les enseignants à l'université ou autre, quelle est la langue qui domine ?

**Abdirachid**

Je crois qu'il y a une façon assez particulière qu'on les djiboutiens de parler. D'ailleurs, il y a une collègue doctorante qui travaille là-dessus. Même si elle travaille sur le parler des jeunes somalis de Djibouti qui parlent une langue un peu mixte entre le français et le somali. Ce n'est pas forcément du « code-switching » c'est vraiment une langue en formation, c'est une langue mixte, donc les enseignants ont aussi tendance à parler de cette façon. Parfois, quand on parle sur des sujets techniques ou quand on parle de façon approfondie, donc on peut étudier le français plus facilement.

**Le chercheur**

Mais l'autre qui domine c'est le somali.

**Abdirachid**

Donc voilà, Ce mélange de français et somali est le parler dominant.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y a ici à l'université une politique linguistique ? Est-ce que vous êtes conscient qu'il y a une politique linguistique de parler une certaine langue et pas d'autre ?

**Abdirachid**

Pas du tout.

**Le chercheur**

Il n'y a pas ?

**Abdirachid**

Non

**Le chercheur**

Et les gens quand ils sont embauchés, est-ce qu'on leur demande une certaine langue ou est-ce qu'on peut des gens qui ne

parlent pas français ou qui ne parlent pas anglais ou qui ne parlent pas arabe ?

**Abdirachid**

Non. Généralement, en tout cas à ma connaissance, je crois que c'est comme ça dans la fonction publique et même dans le privé, c'est que le français c'est la langue de référence, donc on s'attend à ce que la personne puisse parler le français correctement, c'est tout. Bien sûr, il y a des fonctions spécifiques pour lesquelles on demande une certaine compétence particulière soit le français soit l'arabe, mais ça c'est pour des fonctions bien spécifiques, sinon c'est le français.

**Le chercheur**

À Djibouti ville, tout à l'heure vous avez dit à Einguella par exemple il y a une communauté, il y a une différente langue. Quelles sont les langues parlées dans les rues par exemple surtout la langue qui domine. Par exemple on est en ville dans l'administration les gens qui vont là-bas pour avoir, pour obtenir un service du gouvernement ou de l'administration et dans les rues les gens qui parlent dans les marchés, quelle est la langue qui domine ?

**Abdirachid**

C'est très simple. À Djibouti, il y a différents quartiers, et dans différents quartiers il y a un groupe ethnique qui est plus dominant, donc il y a dans les rues de ces quartiers, il y a une certaine langue qui est véhiculaire. Si vous allez à Arhiba, ce sera naturellement la langue afar qui sera la langue véhiculaire. Si vous allez à quartier 1 ou quartier 2, il est beaucoup plus probable que ce soit l'arabe qui soit la langue véhiculaire, mais par contre si vous allez par exemple à quartier 7 ou par exemple à quartier 3, je suppose que c'est très présent et c'est le cas. C'est le somali qui est la langue véhiculaire.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y a un endroit où les gens parlent anglais ou le français plus que le somali par exemple ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui, dans les administrations, on a tendance à parler le français. C'est la langue officielle dans l'administration, donc c'est le français qui domine. Ceci dit, les djiboutiens ont tendance à parler cette langue mixte qui est faite de l'afar/français ou bien du somali/français. C'est vraiment très particulier par rapport aux autres espaces somalophones.

**Le chercheur**

Que pensez-vous des langues enseignées dans les écoles primaires et secondaires ? Tout à l'heure vous avez confirmé que le somali n'est pas enseigné dans les écoles publiques. Que faut-il enseigné selon vous dans ces écoles ?

**Abdirachid**

Les choses sont très claires pour moi. Il y a une situation linguistique qui devient de plus en plus vraiment dangereuse parce que la société djiboutienne est en train de changer fondamentalement et profondément. Les jeunes mamans tout autant que les jeunes pères travaillent aujourd'hui de plus en plus, et comme les parents travaillent, ils ont tendance à amener les enfants dans les écoles maternelles. Il y a de plus en plus d'écoles maternelles et donc on envoie ces enfants

dans ces écoles maternelles. La langue d'enseignement dans ces écoles maternelles c'est le français, et ça c'est catastrophique. Je considère que ça c'est vraiment un crime. C'est quelque chose qu'il faudra changer à un moment ou à un autre parce qu'on est en train de complètement transformer des enfants, ce n'est pas transformer, mais en tout cas on est en train de leur compliquer la vie. Des enfants de deux trois ans quatre ans qui n'ont pas encore un système linguistique bien établie, donc on les perturbe avec un système linguistique étranger. Ça ne s'est jamais vu, ça ne se voit pas ailleurs dans le monde. On est en train d'expérimenter ça à Djibouti et c'est très grave. Il faudra changer à un moment. Il faut enseigner à l'école maternelle les langues maternelles, même pas les langues nationales, ça doit être les langues maternelles qui doivent d'être enseignées, donc il faut mettre en place un autre système une autre politique là-dessus. Après, je pense pour ma part qu'il ne faut changer le système primaire. C'est trop compliqué d'introduire les langues nationales. D'autres pays ont essayé. Ils ont eu du mal à y arriver, vraiment les problèmes sont complexes, donc il ne faut pas trop chambouler le système primaire, mais il faut commencer à introduire les langues nationales dans le secondaire et dans la dernière partie de l'enseignement secondaire en tant que matières, et ensuite renforcer ces matières dans le supérieur et progressivement petit à petit, on pourra faire descendre ces matières jusqu'à l'école primaire, et puis voilà. Il y aura une autre dynamique qui va se mettre en place, mais il faut vraiment commencer à enseigner ces langues dans le système éducatif et enseigner ces langues à l'école maternelle.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous êtes contre l'utilisation du français à la maternelle pour les enfants djiboutiens qui ont une langue maternelle autre que le français.

**Abdirachid**

Exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Ce serait pour vous à ce niveau, vous voulez qu'on leurs enseigne le somali ou l'afar ou l'arabe selon la langue maternelle de l'enfant.

**Abdirachid**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Et vous dites que c'est dangereux pour ces enfants pour leur...

**Abdirachid**

Développement cognitive.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que l'Académie a essayé de soulever ce genre de problème au niveau du gouvernement ou des pays ?

**Abdirachid**

On écrit. Dernièrement, j'ai fait une conférence au C E R D.

**Le chercheur**

Le C E R D c'est...

**Abdirachid**

Le Centre d'étude et de recherche de Djibouti, donc le 29 mars dernier, j'ai fait une conférence dont le sujet était « Enseigné la langue nationale, le choix d'un destin ».



**Le chercheur**

Et vous avez aussi écrit plusieurs fois au ministère de l'enseignement.

**Abdirachid**

Tout à fait. J'ai écrit là-dessus, j'ai publié un article sur l'enseignement de langues nationales.

**Le chercheur**

Pour lancer un cri d'alarme contre...

**Abdirachid**

Contre cette situation principalement à l'école maternelle, puis après l'autre aspect ça c'est le plus urgent. Je pense que depuis les indépendances, tous les états africains ont voulu enseigner les langues nationales les langues africaines, introduire ces langues dans le système éducatif parce que c'est pour plusieurs raisons. On ne peut pas maintenant à part ici c'est assez clair. Ils ont rencontré un certain nombre de difficultés, il faut tenir compte de ces difficultés. J'en ai parlé dans cette conférence aussi dans un article. Il faut tenir compte de ça de ce retour d'expérience pour agir autrement. Aujourd'hui ce qui se passe à Djibouti c'est qu'on a décidé en 1999 à la suite des états généraux de l'éducation nationale d'introduire les langues nationales dans le système éducatif. 18 ans après, on en n'ait pas encore arrivé.

**Le chercheur**

C'est-à-dire il n'y a pas eu d'implémentation, donc le projet s'est arrêté au niveau...

**Abdirachid**

Au niveau uniquement projet, il y a même eu un décret de 2000 qui stipule l'introduction de ces langues dans le système éducatif parce que c'est compliqué. Parce qu'en fait pour une raison très simple c'est qu'on pense toujours introduire la langue nationale à l'école primaire comme ça se fait dans tous les pays africains. Or il y a des problèmes très importants des obstacles très importants à ce niveau. Au niveau du coût économique, au niveau de la cohésion nationale, au niveau de l'organisation technique parce qu'il y a des écoles mixtes. Donc organisation technique pour qu'un enfant aille dans une autre école pour pouvoir... et en plus, déjà notre système primaire et éducatif primaire secondaire ont des difficultés de qualité. Aujourd'hui ajouter encore d'autres langues etc. ça va affaiblir. Il y a vraiment des obstacles très clairs qui sont là et qui dissuadent les décideurs d'aller en avant par rapport à ces projets. Il faut changer, il faut faire autrement.

**Le chercheur**

Proposer la maternelle.

**Abdirachid**

Maternelle ! Ça c'est une obligation, pourquoi ? Pour une raison simple, c'est très simple, c'est très facile de le faire parce que la maternelle aujourd'hui, les écoles maternelles sont tous quasiment privés, c'est-à-dire l'état ne paye pas 1 franc pour les écoles maternelles.

**Le chercheur**

C'est ce qu'on appelle les garderies.

**Abdirachid**

Ce sont les garderies mais ce sont des écoles. L'école aujourd'hui, comme Farandole, ils sont vraiment des écoles. Ils

sont vraiment de qualité. Voilà, ce sont des écoles... Ils ne sont pas vraiment pas pour amuser seulement, pour maintenir, ce n'est pas une crèche, ce sont des écoles avec des enseignements etc.... Ces écoles qui sont enseignées en français pour les petits, l'état veut les intégrer aujourd'hui dans le système public. On veut que la maternelle fasse partie du cursus public de l'enseignement du primaire. Ça veut dire que ce coup-là qui est aujourd'hui prit en charge par les parents va se répercuter dans le budget national, et ça va amputer une partie importante du budget national premièrement, deuxièmement, si on continue à enseigner en français, c'est totalement contradictoire et puis sans parler des problèmes psycho-cognitives qui se posent à la fin. Cette partie aujourd'hui n'est pas dans le système. Qu'est-ce qui est possible de faire ? Très simple. Il suffit que l'état aujourd'hui contrôle ces écoles maternelles matériellement, pour le matériel pédagogique les écoles qui répondent à un certain objectif, par exemple enseigner la langue maternelle. Il leur donne leur homologation. Il y aura des écoles homologuées qui répondent à un certain nombre d'objectifs.

**Le chercheur**

Je comprends. Merci pour cet éclaircissement. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui, oui, j'écoute.

**Le chercheur**

Vous écoutez en quelle langue ?

**Abdirachid**

En français et en somali.

**Le chercheur**

Et les radios étrangères ?

**Abdirachid**

J'écoute la BBC ça m'arrive surtout dans la voiture.

**Le chercheur**

Dans quelle langue ?

**Abdirachid**

En somali et en anglais. La VOA en anglais, BBC en anglais et en somali.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y a des programmes particuliers ?

**Abdirachid**

Ce sont en fait des informations. La BBC et la VOA ce sont des informations qui sont données en langues somali, ce sont des informations générales, donc c'est vraiment des radios d'actualités et en anglais aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous écoutez des chansons ?

**Abdirachid**

Très rarement mais ça m'arrive.

**Le chercheur**

En quelle langue ?

**Abdirachid**

En somalie. Ce qui est claire c'est que je n'écoute plus de chansons dans d'autres langues.

**Le chercheur**

Donc somali, c'est bien. Regardez-vous la télévision djiboutienne ou les chaînes étrangères ?

**Abdirachid**

Très peu. Quand je regarde des émissions, je sais qu'il y a un événement et une

émission que ça peut être le journal pour avoir un certain nombre d'information qui est basé sur l'actualité. C'est vraiment épisodique.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous écoutez ce genre de programme, et est-ce que vous naviguez sur internet ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Dans quelle langue ?

**Abdirachid**

En anglais et en français et en somali.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous utilisez les media sociaux aussi comme Facebook.

**Abdirachid**

Pas beaucoup. Facebook oui un peu mais je ne suis pas très réseaux sociaux.

**Le chercheur**

Les chaînes étrangères, la télévision étrangère, est-ce que vous regardez les informations ou d'autres programmes ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui ça m'arrive de temps en temps de regarder soit CNN soit France 24 mais vraiment... pour les informations, je navigue plutôt sur internet.

**Le chercheur**

Lisez-vous les journaux ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui très peu. Pour les journaux nationaux, je regarde plutôt sur internet, la nation sur Dj et puis aussi ADI.

**Le chercheur**

L'ADI, l'agence djiboutienne de l'information. Est-ce que vous lisez des livres écrits par des djiboutiens ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui. Quand il y a des ouvrages qui m'intéresse, soient écrits d'ailleurs soit en somali soit en français, je les lis.

**Le chercheur**

Vous les lisez en français écrits par des djiboutiens.

**Abdirachid**

Voilà, tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que quand vous allez à la mosquée, est-ce que vous comprenez le sermon du Vendredi qui est arabe ?

**Abdirachid**

J'ai énormément de difficultés c'est pour ça que je vais à une mosquée où il y a une traduction en somalie.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous vous ne sentez pas à l'aise avec le sermon.

**Abdirachid**

Je ne comprends pas. Je comprends des concepts généraux parce que c'est l'arabe littéraire, donc je peux comprendre l'arabe de Djibouti, mais l'arabe littéraire, je ne comprends pas beaucoup, mon arabe est très, très faible, donc je vais à une mosquée où il y a une traduction.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est après quand ils finissent.

**Abdirachid**

Exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Quand ils finissent, vous attendez la traduction. Est-ce que vous pensez que les gens sont comme vous ne comprennent pas, ou est-ce qu'il y a un certain pourcentage des gens qui comprennent.

Est-ce que vous êtes une minorité à ne pas comprendre ?

**Abdirachid**

Je crois qu'il y a une majorité à ne pas comprendre. Il y a une majorité de gens qui vont qui ne comprennent pas surtout...

**Le chercheur**

Combien de pourcent environ ?

**Abdirachid**

Franchement, c'est difficile. Je ne vais pas me risquer mais en tout cas je pense qu'il y a une majorité de personnes qui ne comprennent pas le sermon en arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Quand vous allez à l'étranger pour le travail ou le loisir, est-ce que vous avez des difficultés à communiquer avec des étrangers ?

**Abdirachid**

Pas du tout. Si c'est en Chine oui. Dans les pays où je vais, en Italie ça a été un peu difficile. Quand on va dans le contexte du travail, il y a une situation dans laquelle la communication est possible.

**Le chercheur**

Donc, soit vous parlez l'anglais ou le français. Ces deux langues vous arrivent à vous en sortir.

**Abdirachid**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous vous dites je vais apprendre l'italien comme vous avez eu des problèmes en Italie ?

**Abdirachid**

Non. Si j'avais 25 ans de moins, j'aurais eu certainement le désir d'apprendre plus de langues et surtout par rapport à ce que je sais de la structure de la langue aujourd'hui, je sais qu'on peut apprendre très facilement les langues, mais il faut quand même avoir une facilité de mémorisation, un certain degré de facilité.

**Le chercheur**

Et quand vous allez en Ethiopie ou en Somalie, est-ce que vous vous sentez à l'aise dans leurs environnements linguistiques ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui, quand je vais en Ethiopie, ces dernières années, je suis allé beaucoup, franchement, je n'ai pas eu de problème de communication parce que les gens parlent très souvent l'anglais, même les taximen parlent l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Le somali dans la région ? La langue somalie parlée en Ethiopie ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui. Si je vais par exemple à Jijiga, oui aucun souci, mais c'est surtout à Addis Ababa où on peut avoir...

**Le chercheur**

Anglais ou amharique ou peut-être oromo. Donc avec votre anglais c'était bien.

**Abdirachid**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous vous êtes senti chez vous quand vous avez été en Ethiopie. En Somalie c'est que le somali donc il n'y a pas eu de problème. Est-ce que vous pouvez me dire la langue la plus importante à Djibouti en ce moment où les différences des problèmes de langues à

Djibouti que vous voyez surgir comparé à il y a 20 ans par exemple ?

**Abdirachid**

D'abord, c'est difficile d'une langue la plus importante. On peut dire que la langue la plus importante dans un sens ça peut être le français puisque c'est la langue qui permet la communication, c'est vraiment la langue véhiculaire quand on regarde dans tous l'espace djiboutien, donc c'est vraiment la langue véhiculaire d'une façon globale. C'est aussi la langue qui facilite quand même jusqu'à présent l'ascension sociale. C'est celle qui permet quand même de, qui est la langue teste pour pouvoir avoir du travail principalement. Dans ce sens oui. Mais il y a des paysages linguistiques qui sont en train de changer profondément.

**Le chercheur**

À Djibouti ?

**Abdirachid**

À Djibouti. C'est un fait. Sur ces 25 dernières années, et tout principalement ces 20 dernières années, on a un renforcement de trois langues. On a un renforcement de l'arabe qui se fait institutionnellement par exemple l'homologation des écoles d'arabes, maintenant le bac arabe qui est délivré par les établissements privés sont aujourd'hui homologués, donc le bac arabe est au même niveau que le bac français.

**Le chercheur**

Ils sont tous deux djiboutiens ?

**Abdirachid**

Tous les deux djiboutiens exactement, et donc c'est pour ça qu'on a une communauté d'étudiants arabophones qui est de plus en plus importante. On a quand même aujourd'hui de plus en plus d'investisseurs arabes de pays du golfe. Il y a une offre de travail pour les arabophones qui est de plus en plus importante, donc elle est incitative. Aussi, la religion est de plus en plus présente dans notre pays, donc à travers la construction des mosquées, la place de la religion qui est de plus en plus large plus en plus importante dans l'espace. Donc forcément qui dit religion dit apprentissage, c'est l'apprentissage aussi la mise en contact avec l'arabe, donc de plus en plus des personnes qui apprennent l'arabe par ces biais. Il y a aussi le fait que la langue arabe est devenue une langue officielle depuis les années 90.

**Le chercheur**

Depuis le début de l'indépendance.

**Abdirachid**

Non, langue officielle depuis 90, depuis la constitution 90. Je crois que c'est la constitution de 1992. Donc la langue arabe a acquis un certain renforcement. Il y a eu plus de cela un renforcement très visible de l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Qui n'était pas présent dans les années 90.

**Abdirachid**

Dans les années 90 et avant.

**Le chercheur**

Peut-être qui a été seulement enseigné au secondaire.

**Abdirachid**

Tout à fait, c'était vraiment quelque chose secondaire, et aujourd'hui on voit la place qu'il occupe à Djibouti. On a aujourd'hui

des filières qui se font totalement en Anglais à l'université depuis l'installation de ce Camp Lemonnier.

**Le chercheur**

La base américaine.

**Abdirachid**

La base américaine. Qui est devenue à un moment le premier employeur de la république de Djibouti, donc les gens se sont mis quand même à l'anglais, et puis après, de plus en plus l'arrivée d'investisseurs étrangers qui parlent l'anglais sont dans un espace qui est plutôt anglophone et arabophone, donc le français est très peu présent, et en plus également le première partenaire économique l'Ethiopie est un pays anglophone.

**Le chercheur**

Le COMESSA aussi ?

**Abdirachid**

Donc le renforcement de l'anglais, renforcement aussi de l'amharique.

**Le chercheur**

La langue nationale ou la deuxième langue de l'Ethiopie.

**Abdirachid**

La langue de travail principale de l'Ethiopie. On parle plus de langue officielle en Ethiopie maintenant, on parle de langue de travail, donc c'est la première langue de travail en Ethiopie et anciennement langue officielle. La langue amharique est de plus en plus présente du fait de l'immigration qui est de plus en plus importante, et puis également le fait de ces échanges et puis surtout ce cordon ombilical qui relie Djibouti à partir du port de Djibouti jusqu'à Addis Ababa.

**Le chercheur**

La capitale de l'Ethiopie.

**Abdirachid**

Exactement. Donc par ce biais aussi, on voit l'élargissement de l'espace amharophone de plus en plus grand. Il y a un collègue qui travaille aussi sur ce sujet.

**Le chercheur**

Je pense que c'est Idris.

**Abdirachid**

Non, c'est Nour Robleh. Idris en avait fait un article mais c'était juste un article. On a ça, et on a aussi quelque chose qui est de l'ordre de l'informel mais qui est très visible et qui est aussi important à signaler c'est quand même aussi le renforcement dans l'ordre national indirectement. Les langues nationales ont profité de deux phénomènes. Un, la mise en place du multipartisme politique et l'instauration du multipartisme et l'organisation des élections nationales.

**Le chercheur**

Tout ça se passe dans les langues du pays.

**Abdirachid**

Puisque les candidats à différents postes doivent s'exprimer dans ces langues-là. C'est la première fois que ces langues nationales dont on s'exprime rentrent dans une sphère qui était généralement réservé au français. Il y a une certaine valorisation de ces langues par ce biais-là.

**Le chercheur**

À l'orale ?

**Abdirachid**

À l'orale.

**Le chercheur**

À l'orale surtout puisque on nous dit que le somali domine partout. Les gens parlent plus le somali que la langue officielle.

**Abdirachid**

Oui voilà. Et ça effectivement c'est un fait de la différence numérique entre les afarophones et les somalophones dans la ville de Djibouti, donc il y a une tendance bien sur des gens à parler leur langue maternelle, et en fait c'est quelque chose d'assez naturel même avec un collègue afarophone, celui qui parle la langue de l'autre, et ben par affinité linguistique va se mettre à parler dans la langue de l'autre. C'est vraiment pour des raisons assez... ce sont des sociolinguistes qui peuvent utiliser ça. On sort du cadre normal pour parler de la langue de l'autre pour créer une certaine affinité facilite la communication etc. Installer une certaine proximité, une certaine empathie, donc on se parle la langue qu'on comprend. C'est pour ces raisons que les gens peuvent avoir tendance à parler une langue qui est locale. Dès qu'on parle une langue étrangère, on est dans le formel, on installe donc une communication formelle, on est dans les règles, par contre on est dans l'affinité, on est dans l'informel, on est dans la proximité, on est dans le social etc. quand on parle une langue locale dans le domaine informel.

**Le chercheur**

Mais dans tout ça le français, vous avez dit que l'anglais progresse que l'amharique arrive, pourquoi le français alors ne fait pas cet élan que les autres font ?

**Abdirachid**

Le français est la langue qui est la plus en difficulté à Djibouti aujourd'hui.

**Le chercheur**

Et pourquoi ?

**Abdirachid**

Parce que d'abord, on est dans un environnement où le français est vraiment très peu présent, dans un environnement géopolitique très peu présent.

**Le chercheur**

Le fait que nous sommes situés sur la corne d'Afrique et que les pays qui nous entourent parlent l'arabe et l'anglais.

**Abdirachid**

Exactement. Ce sont nos premiers partenaires économiques.

**Le chercheur**

C'est quels pays ?

**Abdirachid**

L'Ethiopie, la Somalie.

**Le chercheur**

Sont nos partenaires économiques.

**Abdirachid**

Les pays du moyen orient.

**Le chercheur**

Et le français dans tout ça ?

**Abdirachid**

En fait, la présence française n'a pas cessé de se réduire depuis la fin des années 90.

Aussi bien militairement qu'économiquement. Le français se réduit de plus en plus et on risque à un certain moment d'être comme il en a été le cas, il y a que les lettrés à une certaine époque, il y a que le lettré qui va parler le français.

**Le chercheur**

Les autres ne pourront pas.

**Abdirachid**

Les autres auront appris peut-être l'amharique surtout on parle anglais et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ce sera une langue de bourgeoisie.

**Abdirachid**

Une langue de bourgeoisie comme ça a été le cas de Somalie du sud où il y a que les anciens, les lettrés qui parlent italien.

**Le chercheur**

Donc tu prédis un exemple de l'italien en Somalie. Donc le français, comme ils n'investissent pas, et que les entreprises de langue anglaise investissent, donc c'est un problème au niveau du marché.

**Abdirachid**

Exactement. Les langues ont une valeur économique. Il y a une valeur symbolique, il y a une valeur sociale etc. mais surtout ils ont une valeur économique. Les gens investissent leur énergie leur temps dans une langue où ils pensent que ça peut leur apporter quelque chose dans leur carrière dans leur futur.

**Le chercheur**

Donc l'anglais ici est la langue...

**Abdirachid**

La langue porteuse.

**Le chercheur**

Qui donne du boulot.

**Abdirachid**

Exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Qui fait gagner son pain à celui qui la parle.

**Abdirachid**

Aujourd'hui, les gens en plus ils disent, quand de temps en temps je les questionne mes étudiants comme ça, en disant quelle langue ils aimeraient parler, ils disent le chinois ou l'amharique.

**Le chercheur**

Donc le chinois on a maintenant de plus en plus d'entreprises chinoises, donc les djiboutiens commencent à penser à étudier ou apprendre à parler le chinois.

**Abdirachid**

Parce qu'il se représente que le chinois est la langue du futur, économiquement, c'est une économie porteuse. Il y a un investissement considérable à Djibouti, donc les jeunes pensent qu'ils pourront trouver plus facilement un travail en parlant le chinois qu'en parlant le français.

**Le chercheur**

Donc tout ça c'est le marché qui fait moteur. Les opportunités d'emplois.

**Abdirachid**

Tout à fait. Juste prendre un exemple très frappant c'est qu'aujourd'hui, le français est parlé tout principalement dans le secteur public pour les emplois public, or, l'état à tendance à réduire les offres publiques les postes publics, donc la part du français se réduit de plus en plus, et la part des autres langues grandit.

**Le chercheur**

Donc le marché privé, les entreprises privées embauchent que des gens qui parlent anglais et l'état réduit—à l'embauche des gens qui parlent français parce qu'il y a que l'état qui a besoin des gens qui parlent français. C'est très clair, merci pour ça. Est-ce que vous avez eu un avis ou un commentaire pour les Djiboutiens ou le chercheur que je suis pour les langues ?

**Abdirachid**

Oui. Il y a quelque chose qui me préoccupe. Je suis un peu dans le domaine. Il faut vraiment réfléchir à cela. Est-ce qu'on valorise les langues nationales, ou est-ce qu'on ne valorise pas ? Les langues construisent une identité. Les langues nous enracinent vers une histoire, une culture, projettent vers un certain avenir certain futur. Aujourd'hui, si on continue à faire en sorte qu'une langue autre émerge, cette langue qui est fait en quelque sort du français et d'une langue nationale. Cette langue mixte qui est en train de se faire qui est en quelque sorte une prémices. Un début d'une langue qui sera un jour un créole. Le créole est une langue, toute est créole, il faut savoir. Ce sera cette langue, mais les représentations qui sont liés à la langue créole. Cette façon de parler et sa langue maternelle etc. a certainement un impact psychologique sur les êtres. La langue qui se représente, la langue qu'ils parlent, la langue qui est leur langue maternelle à un certain impacte sur eux, un impact psychologique, la façon dont ils se représentent, s'ils ont confiance, ils n'ont pas confiance etc. Il est très important qu'on s'interroge sur les langues que l'on veut enseigner les langues que l'on veut renforcer. Si on ne s'interroge pas, ça veut dire que c'est la loi du marché, ce sont les langues du marché qui vont s'imposer, et là on fait un choix d'un destin.

**Le chercheur**

Merci monsieur Abdirachid. C'est très aimable de votre part de m'avoir accordé cette interview.

**Abdirachid**

C'était avec plaisir, merci à toi.

Interview de M. Ahmed, Imam d'une mosquée à Djibouti

27 avril 2017 à 14.44 à son bureau à la mosquée à Boulaos à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Salam alaikum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. Bonjour Monsieur, merci de m'avoir accordé cette interview, donc vous avez, vous savez que comme je vous l'ai dit je fais de la recherche sur les langues parlées à Djibouti. Et donc je me présente, je m'appelle Saïd Djama. Je fais de la recherche au niveau, avec l'université d'Aston à Birmingham, en Angleterre, au Royaume-Uni. Et je voudrais particulièrement avoir une interview avec vous parce que vous êtes un imam, vous représentez, vous êtes un imam de la mosquée, d'une mosquée de Djibouti, d'une des mosquées de Djibouti. Et si je ne me trompe pas, la mosquée s'appelle [...]. Donc, j'ai la particularité que vous avez, vous, vous parlez quelques fois en français dans les mosquées. Vous vous adressez aux djiboutiens, aux musulmans djiboutiens qui viennent écouter vos sermons, vous leur parlez quelques fois en français. Donc c'est ça qui m'intéresse et j'aimerais vous parler des langues parlées aussi à Djibouti. Donc s'il vous plaît présentez-vous et dites-moi votre nom, adresse, profession, âge, voilà.

**Ahmed**

Bien, je me présente tout d'abord, je m'appelle Ahmed [...]. Euh, j'assume en fait la responsabilité de la mosquée comme vous l'avez bien dit. De

Gachamaleh, ça s'appelle [...] aussi. J'ai la responsabilité de, la responsabilité de la gestion de la mosquée mais également la responsabilité de diriger les prières, de la responsabilité de donner des sermons chaque vendredi. Euh, je suis, euh, je suis mes études en français et je suis du domaine de la finance et de la comptabilité mais également j'ai des connaissances au niveau de la religion, concernant la religion musulmane, en termes de sciences, de fiqh, de la jurisprudence, en termes de la connaissance en règle générale de la religion musulmane. C'est pour cela que le ministère de waqfs m'a confié la responsabilité de l'imamat de cette mosquée. Mais également ceci dit, je, quand chaque vendredi, comme vous l'avez bien dit je donne des sermons dans cette mosquée et vous savez que les langues officielles à Djibouti, officielles comme on dit, la langue de l'administration sont de deux, c'est-à-dire à savoir le français et l'arabe. Du coup, ce qui a été quand même un peu la spécificité de Djibouti c'est qu'il y a des communautés qui vivent à Djibouti. Des communautés issas, des communautés afars, des communautés qu'on peut dire somali. Je vais... bon, les deux grandes communautés c'est Issa et afar mais également quand on parle aussi des Issas, ils se forment dans une grande communauté qui s'appelle somali, qui parlent la langue somalienne.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà.

**Ahmed**

Et les afars qui parlent la langue afar ; donc ce sont les deux grandes communautés. Ça c'est un, mais également il y a d'autres langues qui sont parlées à Djibouti, c'est-à-dire l'arabe...

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Ahmed**

Qui lui est une langue officielle, il y a aussi les Amharas, c'est-à-dire les gens qui viennent de l'Éthiopie. Il y a le oromo

**Le chercheur**

Oui, l'oromo.

**Ahmed**

L'oromo c'est-à-dire c'est très fréquent parce que c'est dû à la proximité parce que ce sont des gens que nous sommes voisins.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Pays voisins.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Donc voilà, donc à peu près les langues qui sont en moindre mesure, c'est-à-dire que quand on parle de amharas ou de oromo, c'est-à-dire ça ne concerne pas la majorité de la communauté djiboutienne.

**Le chercheur**

Ce sont les immigrés.

**Ahmed**

Les immigrés. Donc ce qu'il faut voir aussi, c'est que ce qui m'amène quelques fois, parce que je, lorsque je donne un sermon je suis obligé de me baser sur trois langues principales.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Qui est bien parlé à Djibouti, la langue française et la langue arabe. Donc mon sermon commence par la langue arabe. 05.02 min

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Ensuite traduction de la langue somalie et le français. Pourquoi ces trois langues ? Parce que on sait qu'à Djibouti ce sont les trois langues qui sont parlées par la plupart des gens, même si la communauté afar, même s'ils ont une langue particulière, ils parlent le somali, mais ce n'est pas, mais ce n'est pas vrai de l'autre côté, c'est-à-dire les communautés somaliennes ont du mal à s'adapter à la langue afar.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Donc c'est pour cela qu'on donne notre sermon en langue somali parce que même les afars comprennent, même les arabes comprennent d'accord ? Et on sait que le français et l'arabe sont deux langues officielles.

**Le chercheur**

En fait, en fait, vous traduisez dès lors que vous parlez en arabe.

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Le sermon est en arabe parce que c'est...

**Ahmed**

Quand je dis la langue arabe, c'est la langue du Coran, c'est la langue de la religion.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà, voilà. Donc vous parlez, quand vous vous adressez en arabe et la nouveauté chez vous, je veux dire, la particularité de votre mosquée c'est que dans le sermon, sans vous interrompre, sans interruption vous passez d'une langue à une autre.

**Ahmed**

Voilà. Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

C'est-à-dire, vous parlez en somali, vous parlez en arabe et vous parlez quelques fois en français.

**Ahmed**

En français, voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est le sermon qui est totalement délivré en différentes parties.

**Ahmed**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

En différentes langues.

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est ça qui est la particularité, parce que dans les autres mosquées aussi quelques fois parce que dans les autres mosquées et aussi quelques fois il y a une traduction qui suit après avoir fini le sermon et la prière, on fait une traduction dans une autre langue.

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ça c'est ce qui existe à Djibouti, mais la particularité dans votre mosquée

c'est que vous faites ça dans toutes les langues, dans trois langues.

**Ahmed**

Trois langues voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà, minimum trois langues.

**Ahmed**

Minimum trois langues parce qu'en fait l'objectif c'est quoi, l'objectif c'est de faire passer le message.

**Le chercheur**

Le message, d'accord.

**Ahmed**

Pour que le message normalement qui est délivré chaque vendredi puisse arriver à toute personne.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Quel que soit la compréhension de la langue dans laquelle il utilise dans la vie. Donc c'est pour cela que nous sommes obligés de faire des efforts là-dessus pour pouvoir essayer de préparer le sermon en minimum trois langues.

**Le chercheur**

Donc, qu'est-ce qui gêne les autres imams ou qu'est-ce qui empêche les autres mosquées qu'on puisse utiliser le français dans la mosquée ? Parce que ça fait maintenant quelques années que vous êtes toujours la même personne à parler en français dans la mosquée. Qu'est-ce qui empêche les autres imams ou les autres mosquées à ce que des gens utilisent la langue française pour s'adresser aux musulmans de Djibouti ?

**Ahmed**

En fait, c'est un problème d'orientation.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

D'orientation. Dès le départ, il y a eu en fait une orientation à Djibouti, c'est-à-dire qu'au niveau de l'éducation, ça remonte dans les années 78, c'est-à-dire c'est une orientation dans l'éducation qui avait fait ses preuves parce qu'à Djibouti n'était toléré que l'éducation en langue française. Ensuite, qu'est ce qui est arrivé, c'est-à-dire en parallèle, il y a des petites écoles coraniques qui se sont créées à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

De langue arabe ?

**Ahmed**

De langue arabe, coranique de langue arabe. Du coup, ce qui c'est, qu'est ce qui s'est passé, c'est que nous avions une éducation en langue française qui poursuivait son chemin mais également il y avait l'apparition de petites écoles coraniques où on parlait l'arabe. Et ces petites écoles n'intéressaient pas quand même les jeunes ou les enfants qui avaient, qui étaient djiboutiens, qui avaient les papiers djiboutiens.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà. Pièce d'identité ?

**Ahmed**

Pièce d'identité djiboutienne. Alors que ceux qui s'intéressaient au niveau de l'école coranique c'est ceux qui venaient comme immigrés à Djibouti c'est qu'ils venaient de la brousse et qui n'avaient pas de papiers.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Donc voilà, déjà il y a eu une éducation parallèle.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Où les deux populations ne se mélangeaient pas. Donc ça se poursuivait comme ça, jusqu'au, les écoles coraniques se sont transformées en madrasas, des écoles en arabe. Ensuite il y a eu l'Institut Arabe Saoudien qui est venu en 78. Les gens ont pu préparer leur baccalauréat en arabe et ils ont poursuivi dans les universités arabes.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

09.54 min

**Ahmed**

Pour faire de la théologie et ils sont revenus. Du coup, qu'est-ce qu'il s'est passé ? Et les autres, c'est-à-dire ceux qui suivaient une éducation française ont poursuivi leur chemin aussi. Mais ce qui est arrivé c'est qu'on en trouve plus ; c'est-à-dire soit on trouve des francophones soit des arabophones, qui connaissent la religion.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Et rare et c'est difficile jusqu'à aujourd'hui, de quelqu'un comme moi qui a fait des efforts dès le bas âge, parce que moi j'ai poursuivi un peu cette étude de l'islam dès mon bas âge, donc quelqu'un qui a appris à accompagner et c'est rare à Djibouti d'y trouver donc c'est pour cela qu'on n'arrive pas à trouver, et ce que, jusqu'à aujourd'hui on n'a pas trouvé une solution.

**Le chercheur**

Pour ça. Mais vous, vous êtes francophone ?

**Ahmed**

Moi je suis francophone dès ma base.

**Le chercheur**

Vous avez fait vos études primaires, secondaires...

**Ahmed**

Tout ça.

**Le chercheur**

Et parallèlement vous avez étudié l'arabe et la religion musulmane. Et votre langue maternelle ?

**Ahmed**

La langue somalie.

**Le chercheur**

La langue somalie. Votre langue maternelle est somalie. Vous avez fait vos études universitaires aussi en français.

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Vous les avez faits en France ?

**Ahmed**

En France.

**Le chercheur**

Dans quelle région ?

**Ahmed**

Paris.

**Le chercheur**

Vous avez fait ça à Paris ?

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Vous avez fait des études d'économie ?

**Ahmed**

Non, j'ai fait des études en finances/comptabilité.

**Le chercheur**

En finances/comptabilité. Et vous avez été jusqu'à la licence ?

**Ahmed**

Non, au master.

**Le chercheur**

Vous avez...

**Ahmed**

Bac+5

**Le chercheur**

Bac+5 d'accord. Donc vous, vous avez fait un parcours complètement différent des autres imams.

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Et vous êtes, quand vous êtes revenu à Djibouti, vous étiez responsable des finances au service...

**Ahmed**

Oui, en fait...

**Le chercheur**

Au ministère des transports, au ministère des télécommunications.

**Ahmed**

Non avant, moi je, en fait avant, c'était au niveau de, ce n'était pas au ministère des télécommunications.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

C'était l'OPT, c'est-à-dire l'office de poste de télécommunications.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

C'est un établissement public.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

A caractère industriel et commercial.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Ce n'était pas au niveau de l'administration du ministère.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, vous avez travaillé avec eux.

**Ahmed**

Voilà, j'ai travaillé avec eux.

**Le chercheur**

Vous avez travaillé avec eux et récemment, et récemment, même quand vous travailliez comme, comme responsable...

**Ahmed**

Oui, moi j'étais directeur administratif et financier mais travaillant aussi, travaillant aussi, exerçant cette fonction au sein de Djibouti Telecom, qui est devenu Djibouti Telecom.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Ahmed**

J'ai en parallèle également donné des conférences en français dans la religion.

**Le chercheur**

Sur la religion.

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous avez donné aussi des sortes de sermons dans les mosquées en français ?

**Ahmed**

Voilà, dans les mosquées, à la télévision, à la radio-télévision aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Moi-même j'ai vu aussi des émissions à la télévision.

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Et jusqu'à maintenant, vous êtes le seul à avoir ce privilège de vous exprimer en français sur la religion. Donc je n'arrivais pas à comprendre pourquoi, donc vous dites c'est un problème d'arabophone et de francophone ; donc les arabophones ne veulent rien à voir avec les francophones ou alors ne veulent pas parler de...

**Ahmed**

Non, non, ce n'est pas cela en fait, parce qu'en fait c'est, c'est un résultat né d'une circonstance ; c'est-à-dire, c'est à dire ce n'est ni la faute des gens qui, des francophones ni des arabophones mais c'est la structure de l'éducation qui a été comme ça. Elle se définit et se définit naturellement. On ne va pas dire que c'est le fait de...

**Le chercheur**

Donc, tous les imams sont des arabophones, ils ne peuvent pas parler français, ils ne peuvent pas utiliser de...

**Ahmed**

Le problème il est là, c'est-à-dire que c'est cela qui pose un problème parce que dès qu'ils rentrent, maintenant il y a un ministère des affaires musulmanes et des waqfs, donc on voit des arabophones alors que l'administration est francophone, d'où la difficulté.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà, une grande difficulté.

**Ahmed**

Une grande difficulté, donc ce qui veut dire que, et là on n'a pas essayé de, de, et quand, ce qui est intéressant c'est que, c'est de voir un peu cette, c'est ce clivage en fait se perpétuer parce qu'il n'y a pas une solution qui est...

**Le chercheur**

Voilà, il n'y a pas de solution. Mais par exemple, vous vous travaillez avec le ministère des affaires religieuses et les autres ministres communiquent en français mais je me demande comment, dans quelle langue le ministère de...

**Ahmed**

Le ministère en fait, communique comme les autres, en langue locale somali.

**Le chercheur**

En somali, avec les autres.

**Ahmed**

Avec les autres.

**Le chercheur**

Mais et les courriers ?

**Ahmed**

Le courrier, il est fait en français.

**Le chercheur**

En français.

**Ahmed**

Parce qu'ils ont une assistante au secrétariat...

**Le chercheur**

Donc ils le font en français

**Ahmed**

C'est normal parce qu'eux...

**Le chercheur**

Eux, ce sont des francophones, ils travaillent en français.  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 En arabe, et toute l'administration...  
**Ahmed**  
 Imaginez, qu'ils l'envoient au ministère des finances pour faire valider son budget. S'ils l'envoient en arabe, il va le mettre dans la poubelle, il ne va rien comprendre... (rires)  
**Le chercheur**  
 Le directeur de Djibouti il ne va rien comprendre (rires).  
**Ahmed**  
 Bien sûr, qu'est-ce qu'il va comprendre ?  
**Le chercheur**  
 Mais il a des interprètes le ministre, il doit avoir des interprètes arabes ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Qui ?  
**Le chercheur**  
 Au Budget.  
**Ahmed**  
 Non, non, non, ça n'a rien à voir, y'en a pas.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Il ne peut pas, tout à fait.  
**Ahmed**  
 C'est-à-dire, la langue de l'administration est le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ils utilisent le français.  
**Ahmed**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc le ministère des affaires musulmanes, même si la majorité des gens qui travaillent chez lui ne parlent pas français, ils sont obligés de traduire.  
 15.02 min  
**Ahmed**  
 Oui, oui. En français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc c'est un problème et il n'y a pas de solution.  
**Ahmed**  
 Pour le moment il n'y a pas de solution.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Mais est-ce qu'ils interdisent de parler dans une langue au ministère, est-ce qu'on dit « cette langue là il ne faut pas la parler... ».  
**Ahmed**  
 Non, non il n'y a pas une interdiction.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Il n'y a pas une interdiction. Et il n'y a pas une politique linguistique ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Non, non, il n'y a pas une politique linguistique. Et puis, en fait c'est à la base qu'il faut faire. L'essentiel aussi c'est à la base qu'il faut faire.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Ahmed**  
 C'est-à-dire, les enfants, ceux qui ont grandi ont grandi, et ceux qui veulent faire des efforts ils peuvent faire des efforts même en étant grand, le problème n'est pas là ; mais ça demande plus d'efforts. Par contre les enfants dès leur bas-âge, moi je pense qu'il faut qu'ils maîtrisent les langues locales. Il n'y a pas que le français et l'arabe mais également le somali et l'afar dès le bas-âge, on doit leur faire comprendre.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Par exemple, pour vous à la maison, quelle langue vous parlez ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Il y a deux langues qui sont parlées en règle générale, il y a le français et le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 A la maison ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà. Les enfants parlent le français et le somali ce sont les grandes personnes.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Ahmed**  
 Quoique les enfants parlent aussi le somali mais en règle générale, ils parlent le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Mais est-ce que vous, dans quelle langue vous parlez avec vos voisins ?  
**Ahmed**  
 En somali, en langue somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 En langue somali, donc vos voisins c'est en langue somali et vous n'avez pas de problèmes avec les gens ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Dans votre quartier, les gens parlent en majorité quelle langue ?  
**Ahmed**  
 100% le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 100% le somali et il n'y a pas de problème avec le somali, donc il n'y a pas de problème. Mais pour vos enfants, le système scolaire de Djibouti, il est francophone, donc c'est le français, le système, je parle public et l'arabe est introduit au milieu du primaire, et le secondaire, au secondaire il y a l'anglais qui est introduit.  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et, selon vous, qu'est-ce que vous voudriez qu'on enseigne dans les écoles ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Dans les écoles... Moi, tu sais, ce que j'ai toujours désiré, c'est que les enfants apprennent les langues locales.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Ahmed**  
 Dès le bas-âge.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Dès le bas-âge, donc dès le primaire.  
**Ahmed**  
 L'anglais, l'arabe, on peut attendre.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Ahmed**  
 Au moins les langues locales, le somali, comment écrire le somali...  
**Le chercheur**  
 A quel niveau ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Au niveau primaire.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Au niveau primaire.  
**Ahmed**  
 Oui, oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Ahmed**

On est au primaire. Mais comment on écrit en somali ? Ils apprennent comment écrire en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Ahmed**  
 Comment faire la syllabisation ?  
**Le chercheur**  
 Langue maternelle.  
**Ahmed**  
 Oui, oui, comment faire la syllabisation.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Voilà.  
**Ahmed**  
 Syllabisation, comment comprendre, comment écrire, comment prononcer...  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. La langue nationale au primaire ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Au primaire, voilà, c'est-à-dire en même temps que le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Pas de français.  
**Ahmed**  
 Non, non, non, les deux.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Les langues nationales.  
**Ahmed**  
 Bon il y a une prédomination, prépondérance dans la langue française mais quand même il y a, quand même une éducation concernant la langue maternelle.  
**Le chercheur**  
 La langue maternelle, ah. D'accord.  
**Ahmed**  
 Et c'est très important.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et au niveau secondaire vous voyez le somali et l'afar ? Ou...  
**Ahmed**  
 Non, le somali et l'afar peuvent toujours continuer mais ce sera après dès que les enfants ont appris.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Une langue d'option.  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà. D'accord.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc, et au niveau de l'université ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Non, c'est fini, c'est fini.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Ahmed**  
 Donc, c'est-à-dire il faut savoir continuer jusqu'au secondaire. Et jusqu'au secondaire ce sera une langue d'option.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Ahmed**  
 Une fois à l'université, il pourra étudier selon la langue qu'il l'intéresse, soit l'anglais, soit le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc vous vous parlez l'arabe, le français, le somali.  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc vous parlez ces trois langues  
**Ahmed**  
 Et l'anglais aussi.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Voilà. D'accord. Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de l'anglais maintenant à Djibouti, est-ce que c'est nouveau, est-ce que c'est,

est-ce que ça a toujours existé, comment vous voyez le français, euh, l'anglais ?

**Ahmed**

En fait l'anglais a dû mal à s'imposer à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Malgré l'effort que le gouvernement essaye de faire, malgré des centres qui sont apparus. Il y a des centres comme par exemple j'ai vu... Il y a une académie de...

**Le chercheur**

Pour l'administration ? Vous parlez du public ou privé ?

**Ahmed**

Non du privé.

**Le chercheur**

Du privé, vous parlez de...

**Ahmed**

Oxford

**Le chercheur**

Oxford Académie, c'est privé. Il y a des écoles privées.

**Ahmed**

Mais Oxford, ils ont du mal à s'imposer.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Ils ont eu du mal. Pourquoi, parce qu'en fait il y a aussi une barrière, le problème aussi à Djibouti il y a la barrière des frais.

**Le chercheur**

Ah, l'argent.

**Ahmed**

L'argent.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Donc les gens ne peuvent pas se le payer.

**Ahmed**

Le problème il est là. Parce qu'en fait il y a des gens qui veulent apprendre mais si on leur dit « tu vas payer 1000 dollars par année », mais où est-ce qu'il va ramener les 1000 dollars par l'année ?

**Le chercheur**

Donc ils ne peuvent pas se le permettre.

**Ahmed**

Voilà, le problème il est là.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est un problème financier.

20.00 min

**Ahmed**

Problème financier. Moi, ce que j'ai analysé c'était ça.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà.

**Ahmed**

Parce que tu sais les gens qui opèrent, les opérateurs, Oxford, c'est vrai que c'est...

**Le chercheur**

C'est des étrangers.

**Ahmed**

Ils opèrent. Mais ils doivent payer quoi, ils doivent payer le loyer, ils doivent payer l'électricité qui est trop chère. Ils doivent payer les enseignants.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Ahmed**

Alors, ils calculent ça, ce n'est pas de leur faute. Eh bien cette barrière-là.

**Le chercheur**

Ça revient cher.

**Ahmed**

Voilà, ça revient cher. Alors que si on enlevait cette barrière-là, en fait si la langue elle est subventionnée.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Ahmed**

Ça peut marcher.

**Le chercheur**

Ça peut marcher à Djibouti, les gens pourraient changer.

**Ahmed**

Changer complètement. En anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Oui, en anglais.

**Ahmed**

Tu sais comment ça... Au Rwanda, ils ont changé.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Ahmed**

Comment ils ont changé ? Comment ils ont changé, parce qu'il y a une facilité.

**Le chercheur**

Une facilité. Donc, vous voulez dire que la volonté est là pour les gens mais il leur manque l'argent.

**Ahmed**

La plupart c'est un problème financier.

**Le chercheur**

C'est un problème financier.

**Ahmed**

La plupart.

**Le chercheur**

Donc les gens aiment la langue anglaise.

**Ahmed**

La langue anglaise. Les gens aiment apprendre l'anglais et surtout la langue arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Ahmed**

Mais ils n'ont pas de centre spécialisé qui sont à leur bourse.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Si, il y a des petites écoles qui vont te prendre 3000 francs, 5000 francs mais on ne va rien t'apprendre, tu ne vas rien apprendre. Ce n'est pas la qualité.

**Le chercheur**

Pour 10 dollars, 20 dollars ou moins, ce n'est pas intéressant.

**Ahmed**

Il n'y a pas la qualité.

**Le chercheur**

Ah, d'accord.

**Ahmed**

L'enseignant n'est pas très apte et n'a pas le même niveau.

**Le chercheur**

Ah d'accord, donc ça c'est un problème d'argent. Et, est-ce que...

**Ahmed**

La barrière c'est financier.

**Le chercheur**

Mais, ce que je pense pour le moment, les gens qui travaillent, les gens qui cherchent du boulot, avec quelle langue est-ce qu'ils peuvent trouver du boulot à Djibouti en ce moment ?

**Ahmed**

En fait ce qui est vraiment bien avec la langue française ils peuvent trouver du boulot. Ils cherchent du boulot c'est vrai que c'est difficile. Et aujourd'hui, la problématique à Djibouti, aujourd'hui il y

a le français qui domine, à tous les niveaux.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Certes, il y a quelques sociétés étrangères qui se sont installées à Djibouti, les sociétés chinoises, des sociétés turques. La langue de communication pour ces gens-là c'est l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Ce sont des sociétés qui ont investi à Djibouti.

**Ahmed**

Des sociétés qui ont investi à Djibouti. Les investisseurs à Djibouti préfèrent communiquer en anglais mais il y a toujours le français qui domine.

**Le chercheur**

Donc en ce moment il y a un problème, vous avez dit l'anglais. Et là, les gens veulent apprendre l'anglais mais il y a un problème vous avez dit de, vous avez dit il y a un problème d'argent, il y a un problème financier et on pourrait...

**Audio Partie 2**

**Le chercheur**

Donc, il y a des sociétés qui ont investi et qui préfèrent eu communiquer en anglais, vous avez dit.

**Ahmed**

Oui, parce qu'en fait la langue qu'ils peuvent, la langue, la langue de communication ou la langue de travail pour eux ça sera la langue anglaise donc le jeune djiboutien qui veut du travail doit maîtriser la langue anglaise. Cela va de soi. Ça c'est une opportunité, c'est de nouvelles opportunités pour les gens qui sont au chômage.

**Le chercheur**

Pour ceux qui sont au chômage et qui parlent l'anglais.

**Ahmed**

Qui parlent l'anglais, c'est une opportunité, ça. Mais aussi il y a la base américaine.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Ahmed**

Il y a la base, il y a des bases étrangères, des bases occidentales.

**Le chercheur**

Oui

**Ahmed**

Cela demande aussi en règle générale qu'ils communiquent, des gens qui communiquent, qui parlent la langue anglaise.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Donc il y a des opportunités. Du coup aujourd'hui c'est vrai qu'il y a, qu'il y a une certaine, un certain engouement et le fait d'avoir une seconde, la langue anglaise c'est un atout pour trouver du travail.

**Le chercheur**

En plus du français ?

**Ahmed**

En plus du français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Mais est ce que sans le français, on peut travailler avec l'anglais ?

**Ahmed**

C'est difficile.

**Le chercheur**

C'est difficile.  
**Ahmed**  
 C'est difficile.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Ahmed**  
 C'est difficile. C'est comme on a parlé des arabophones, parce qu'à partir du moment que l'administration est française.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Ahmed**  
 Toute l'administration au niveau du ministère, au niveau des services, au niveau de la Présidence même, tout est français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Toute l'administration travaille en français.  
**Ahmed**  
 Bien sûr.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et dans le privé alors ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Dans le privé aussi, la majeure partie travaille en français. Mais tu ne peux pas, en fait, en fait ce qui donne, parce que quand une société s'installe, elle a besoin de services.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Ahmed**  
 Elle a besoin de téléphone pour communiquer avec Djibouti Telecom en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 En français, d'accord.  
**Ahmed**  
 Elle a besoin de l'EDD, on peut le faire en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 De l'électricité.  
**Ahmed**  
 Elle a besoin par exemple s'il y a un problème fiscal, s'il y a un problème fiscal on leur dit « écoute, vous ne déclarerez pas l'impôt de vos employés ».  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, donc ils ont besoin des gens qui parlent français.  
**Ahmed**  
 Obligatoire.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Et l'administration Djiboutienne quelque fois emploie des gens qui ne parlent que l'arabe par exemple.  
**Ahmed**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ou des gens qui ne parlent que le français mais pas l'arabe.  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et là récemment, on voit que des gens parlent au public dans des langues qui ne sont pas officielles.  
**Ahmed**  
 Par exemple ?  
**Le chercheur**  
 Par exemple, pendant la campagne électorale, on voyait que les gens s'adressaient en langue nationale par exemple, ils parlaient en afar ou en somali, vous voyez, et rarement en français. Ou peut-être pas du tout. Non, mais ils parlaient avec le peuple.

**Ahmed**  
 Oui mais c'est normal parce qu'en fait. Comme je vous ai dit, ils parlaient en grande partie en somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Voilà.  
**Ahmed**  
 Parce que la langue locale qui est comprise par tout le monde est la langue somalie aujourd'hui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Donc, la majorité le parle vraiment.  
**Ahmed**  
 Si vous voyez les arabes, qui parlent arabe, les arabes.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Ahmed**  
 Par exemple les arabes, les arabes de souche.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Ahmed**  
 Les afars qui parlent afar.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Ahmed**  
 Ils comprennent et parlent le somali. Voilà. C'est ça.  
**Le chercheur**  
 C'est un fait certes.  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà. Parce que comme, par exemple, dans l'Ethiopie, dans l'Ethiopie vous avez les Tigrés, vous avez les Oromo, vous avez l'Amharique, vous avez d'autres langues mais l'Amharique est une langue vraiment de base.  
**Le chercheur**  
 L'amhara.  
**Ahmed**  
 L'amhara, oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 L'amharique.  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 L'amharique, c'est l'amharique qui est parlé le plus.  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Vous êtes d'accord, c'est bon j'ai compris.  
**Ahmed**  
 Donc c'est exactement la même chose que le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Mais est-ce qu'il y a des quartiers à Djibouti où les gens parlent plus l'afar ou plus l'amhara ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Il y a certains quartiers, par exemple le quartier ici qu'on appelle Arhiba, on parle l'afar.  
**Le chercheur**  
 La majorité des gens parlent afar.  
**Ahmed**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et l'arabe ?  
**Ahmed**  
 L'arabe par exemple quand on est au quartier 1, au quartier 2 on parle arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, ça c'est des langues qui dominant. La majorité c'est le somali.

**Ahmed**  
 C'est le somali, mais ces gens-là même au quartier 1, quartier 2, ils parlent en somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ils parlent en somali. Est-ce qu'il y a un quartier où les gens parlent que le français ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Il n'y en a pas.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et l'anglais ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Il n'y en a pas.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc c'est le genre de choses qui arrivent. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Bien sûr.  
**Le chercheur**  
 La radio djiboutienne ? Où ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Non, non, pas tellement la radio djiboutienne, pas tellement.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc et la télévision ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Quelques fois.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Quelques fois la télévision. Est-ce que vous regardez des programmes culturels ? Des chansons ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Quelques fois, c'est très rare.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Dans quelle langue ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Ce qui nous attire plus c'est en langue somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 C'est en langue somali. Et est-ce que vous utilisez, est-ce que vous naviguez sur internet ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Bien sûr.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Dans quelle langue ?  
**Ahmed**  
 C'est, en règle générale, moi je navigue sur le français et l'arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et l'arabe d'accord.  
 5.00 min  
**Ahmed**  
 Parce que quand on fait des recherches sur la religion, on est obligés de naviguer en arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 En arabe, donc pour la religion en arabe.  
**Ahmed**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Pas en somali ? où ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Pas en somali, quelques fois en somali ça permet de... En somali par exemple, tu essayes d'écouter...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ecouter, pas lire ?  
**Ahmed**  
 Non, écouter.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Pas lire.  
**Ahmed**  
 Pas lire non, c'est différent.  
**Le chercheur**  
 C'est plus difficile  
**Ahmed**



Ecouter, tu as raison, parfaitement. C'est pour écouter un peu les informations de la Somalie, des somaliens qui sont à l'étranger, c'est juste ça quoi, la BBC, la VOA... La section Somalie.

**Le chercheur**  
Les chaînes internationales.

**Ahmed**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Et la télévision internationale ?

**Ahmed**  
Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**  
En somali

**Ahmed**  
Oui, oui

**Le chercheur**  
En somali, les chaînes comme...

**Ahmed**  
Non, non moi je n'écoute pas.

**Le chercheur**  
En somali. Vous ne regardez pas ça. Et les journaux ?

**Ahmed**  
Il n'y a pas de journaux somalis à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**  
Il y a le journal français.

**Ahmed**  
Il y a le journal français La Nation, il y a en arabe Al Qar'n.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc et c'est tout.

**Ahmed**  
Il n'y a pas énormément.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais est-ce que vous lisez ces journaux ?

**Ahmed**  
Quelques fois avant de trouver l'occasion.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Et est-ce que vous utilisez par exemple Facebook sur internet ? Les médias sociaux.

**Ahmed**  
Facebook ? oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous communiquez avec les gens sur Facebook ?

**Ahmed**  
Oui, Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, et est-ce que quand vous allez à l'étranger par exemple si vous allez en Ethiopie ou en Somalie, par exemple quand vous y allez, est ce que vous vous sentez dans des endroits où on parle en somali comme chez vous à Djibouti ou vous vous sentez différent ? Je parle de l'environnement linguistique.

**Ahmed**  
Oui. Quand on part à l'étranger ?

**Le chercheur**  
Oui, à l'étranger par exemple, en Somalie ou en Ethiopie.

**Ahmed**  
Mais il y a des Somaliens en Ethiopie.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui mais quand vous allez dans leur zone où ils parlent le somali, comment est-ce que vous vous sentez ? Dépayés ou...

**Ahmed**  
Non pas dépayés du tout.

**Le chercheur**  
Ah d'accord, puisque...

**Ahmed**  
Ça, dans ce genre d'endroit, c'est-à-dire la personne en fait, c'est très agréable de

rester avec des gens qui parlent la langue somalie.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Ahmed**  
C'est la langue locale.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc c'est agréable de parler, et si vous partez dans un pays arabe comme le Yémen, vous vous sentez aussi...

**Ahmed**  
Non, parce qu'en fait à partir du moment que je parle l'arabe ce n'est pas très... Bon, toujours il y a la langue. En fait il y a deux choses, il y a la langue mais il y a aussi la culture. C'est vrai, c'est ça, c'est deux choses différentes.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Ahmed**  
Autant on peut parler en langue arabe, comprendre la langue arabe, autant on n'a pas la même culture arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
C'est vrai.

**Ahmed**  
On n'a pas la culture arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
C'est vrai.

**Ahmed**  
C'est ça.

**Le chercheur**  
Et quand vous allez en Europe par exemple ?

**Ahmed**  
Oui, il y a une culture occidentale aussi, il y a un changement.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui, il y a un changement.

**Ahmed**  
Malgré que tu parles le français, la même chose mais il y a une culture occidentale que tu ne peux pas t'éclipser quand tu vois ces choses-là.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Donc vous ne vous sentez pas à l'aise ?

**Ahmed**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
A cause de la culture ?

**Ahmed**  
Bien sûr, bien sûr.

**Le chercheur**  
Ou vous vous sentez différent ?

**Ahmed**  
Tu n'es pas à l'aise sur certains points, pas à l'aise parce qu'à partir du moment que les gens ou les femmes, ou les filles en fait sont torse-nues.

**Le chercheur**  
Pas torse-nu quand même. Les hommes même à Djibouti sont torse-nus, il n'y a pas un problème mais les femmes en Europe.

**Ahmed**  
Si, si, si, il y a des femmes qui sont torse-nues en Europe. Je les ai vues.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous étiez sur les plages alors ? (rires)

**Ahmed**  
Que ce soit sur les plages ou sur les marchés, c'est la même chose.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous avez été sur les plages. Donc il y a ce problème que ça vous gêne, les femmes qui ne sont pas voilées.

**Ahmed**  
Pas voilées. Non, non, avoir des habits décents.

**Le chercheur**  
Ah ! d'accord.

**Ahmed**  
C'est quelque chose de très important.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui, donc ça c'est important. Donc il y a cette différence, mais à propos des langues quand vous allez dans ces pays d'Europe. Si vous parlez le français et que vous parlez l'anglais, donc vous n'avez pas de problème ?

**Ahmed**  
Il n'y a pas de problème de communication parce qu'en fait, voilà ce qui, la problématique c'est quand il n'y a pas quelque chose que tu n'as pas, un outil pour communiquer, pour dire ce que tu veux, pour dire ce que tu ne veux pas. Tu vois, c'est ça ce dont tu as besoin, c'est ça la part mais à partir du moment qu'il y a un canal de communication, tout est parfait.

**Le chercheur**  
C'est bien, donc vous avez, vous n'avez pas de problème à communiquer avec ces gens-là. Bon en conclusion j'aimerais que vous puissiez comparer, si vous pouvez comparer les langues aujourd'hui parlées à Djibouti des langues parlées d'il y a 20 ans-25 ans, quand vous étiez en secondaire peut être, ou quand vous avez commencé à travailler. Euh, est-ce que les langues ont changé, est-ce que les gens, est-ce que l'utilisation des langues a changé, est-ce qu'on parle plus l'anglais maintenant en Somalie qu'en 77 ?

10.17 min.

**Ahmed**  
Vous parlez de rapport de la langue par rapport à la langue, du rapport des gens par rapport aux langues qui existent, dans l'utilisation, quel rapport ils ont parce qu'ils étaient. En fait, il y a un changement c'est vrai. Avant quand on parle de la langue locale par exemple, le somali, auparavant les gens ne s'intéressaient pas à faire attention quand même au niveau de la structure de la phrase ou les mots utilisés. Ils parlaient comme c'était du... Comment on appelle ?

**Le chercheur**  
Ce n'était pas bien...

**Ahmed**  
Oui un mot somalien, un mot de français, un mot somali, un mot en français, un mot machin. C'était du charabia.

**Le chercheur**  
Voilà. Pour communiquer

**Ahmed**  
Pour communiquer. Mais avec le temps les gens ont pu corriger ça.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Ahmed**  
Et qu'est ce qui a aidé ça c'est au niveau de la télévision.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Ahmed**  
Au niveau de la radio.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Et là les gens font attention. Avant les gens ne lisaient pas les livres somali. Ils ne croyaient même pas qu'il y ait des livres qui sont écrits en somali.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Mais maintenant le rapport a changé par rapport à la lecture aussi. Les gens ont appris l'alphabet somali, ils essaient d'apprendre. Et maintenant ils essaient de lire.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Des livres.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Parce qu'en fait il y a eu quand même il y a eu quand même un véritable programme qui a été institué par le gouvernement concernant le, la, ce qu'ils appellent la revitalisation des langues locales, la revivification des langues locales, c'est-à-dire ils ont mis des centres. Vous avez ce qu'on appelle Pen, qui s'appelle...

**Le chercheur**

Groupe Afar Pen

**Ahmed**

Groupe Afar Pen, Groupe Somali Pen

**Le chercheur**

Ce sont des groupes

**Ahmed**

Voilà

**Le chercheur**

Qui s'occupent des langues

**Ahmed**

Des langues voilà, de la promotion des langues. Parce qu'ils disent qu'en fait les langues vont disparaître.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Et pour ne pas disparaître auprès des gens qui essaient à chaque fois de les revivifier, ils ont même créé une académie de langues.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà.

**Ahmed**

Donc le rapport a complètement changé par rapport à ce moment-là, on avait tendance un peu à délaissier, et de partir vers d'autres langues le français, l'anglais, ainsi de suite... Mais il y a eu vraiment un sursaut et ça c'est très intéressant par rapport à ça. Les langues locales aujourd'hui sont entretenues, que les gens parlent, les gens vraiment font attention aussi lorsqu'ils parlent.

**Le chercheur**

Ah, d'accord.

**Ahmed**

Ils essaient de trouver le mot juste.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ils utilisent beaucoup plus le somali qu'avant.

**Ahmed**

Qu'avant voilà.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Et le français, est-ce qu'ils l'utilisent beaucoup plus qu'avant ou moins qu'avant ?

**Ahmed**

Le français il est quand même un peu, le rapport, n'est pas très, très important.

Parce qu'en fait, avant ce qui était très privilégié c'était la langue française, c'est un rappel. On lisait des bandes dessinées, des petites bandes dessinées.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà.

**Ahmed**

Des livres.

**Le chercheur**

Oui voilà.

**Ahmed**

Et les gens étaient des accros. Quand ils finissaient un truc ils disaient « est-ce que tu as... ? ». Ils passaient par quartiers. Les gens cherchaient à lire.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà. Maintenant, ils...

**Ahmed**

Maintenant c'est fini, ils ne cherchent plus à lire.

**Le chercheur**

Les gens ne lisent plus.

**Ahmed**

Parce qu'en fait, les gens ne lisent plus parce que la lecture au niveau du français, par rapport au français a disparu au détriment, et au détriment de la télévision ; parce que ce que les gens font maintenant. Les jeunes vont... des émissions au niveau d'un canal de télévision, ils préfèrent regarder, écouter, regarder que de lire un livre.

**Le chercheur**

Le rapport a changé.

**Ahmed**

C'est pour cela qu'ils font beaucoup de fautes en français maintenant. Avant, vous voyez, vous êtes au courant, parce qu'en fait avant la personne quand elle finissait le secondaire écrivait bien.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà.

**Ahmed**

Il y avait quelques difficultés mais son français était bien, il était bien. Il faisait une phrase correcte, structurée, plus ou moins, il peut y avoir des fautes d'orthographe mais aujourd'hui, même les gens qui sont à l'université ils ont des problèmes.

**Le chercheur**

Des problèmes de grammaire.

**Ahmed**

De grammaire et d'orthographe.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Des problèmes de langue.

**Ahmed**

Voilà, cela parce qu'il n'y a pas la lecture.

**Le chercheur**

Ah d'accord. Et l'anglais ? L'anglais les gens l'utilisent beaucoup plus maintenant qu'avant ?

**Ahmed**

Voilà. Parce qu'en fait, et moi je pense que le fait de diversifier les langues c'est une bonne chose.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

En conclusion je peux dire. La diversification des langues est une bonne chose pour la population. Pourquoi ? Diversifier une langue n'est pas oublier la langue orale ni une autre parce qu'il ne faut pas délaissier les langues locales pour pouvoir après s'intéresser un peu aux langues qui peuvent te procurer du travail,

de te donner un bon stand. Parce que maintenant, tu vois qu'il y a toute une population somalienne qui s'est déplacée, la diaspora.

**Le chercheur**

La diaspora somalienne.

**Ahmed**

Qu'est ce qui s'est passé, c'est que les enfants qui sont nés de cette diaspora ne comprennent plus la langue somalienne.

**Le chercheur**

Ah, ils ont perdu le...

**Ahmed**

Ils ont perdu la langue. Au détriment d'une langue qui s'appelle la langue anglaise, qui s'appelle la langue française, qui s'appelle n'importe, là où ils sont.

**Le chercheur**

Dans les pays où ils sont.

**Ahmed**

Donc moi je pense que c'est bien de diversifier les langues mais il faut les entretenir, il faut entretenir la langue locale.

**Le chercheur**

Les langues nationales

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Ou alors les langues maternelles.

**Ahmed**

Les langues maternelles, surtout c'est ça.

**Le chercheur**

C'est surtout les langues maternelles, les gens doivent maintenir ces langues-là.

**Ahmed**

Parce que c'est bizarre parce moi quelque fois, je regarde au niveau de YouTube, j'essaie de voir un thème par exemple.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Ahmed**

Et je me dis, même en comptabilité, ils le font en somali.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Ahmed**

Même en comptabilité, j'étais étonné.

**Le chercheur**

Des gens de la Somalie.

**Ahmed**

Oui, oui en comptabilité.

**Le chercheur**

En Somalie, d'accord.

**Ahmed**

C'est des anglophones c'est vrai, bon c'est la comptabilité anglaise ils utilisent ; mais quand ils expliquent tu comprends en somali. Il suffit juste de comprendre les mots. Et ça c'est... Mais il te le dit en somali. Mais la personne comprend.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Mais il y a aussi, il faut aussi des programmes, softwares.

**Ahmed**

Juste ! J'étais en train de venir, au niveau de l'informatique, moi quelques fois je comprends mieux comment ils le font en somali que quand je lis, j'ai appris l'informatique.

**Le chercheur**

En français.

**Ahmed**

En français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, donc vous vous sentez à l'aise ?

**Ahmed**

Mais bien sûr, c'est vraiment ce que j'ai senti.

**Le chercheur**

Ah d'accord.

**Ahmed**

Je suis plus à l'aise.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Donc c'est parce que c'est votre langue maternelle.

**Ahmed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Donc, il y a, alors, en résumé, la conclusion c'est : maintenez aussi vos langues maternelles.

**Ahmed**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Merci Monsieur Ahmed, imam Ahmed, merci de m'avoir accordé cette interview. Jazaak Allahou kheir.

**Ahmed**

Merci, à toi aussi.

Interview avec Chehem, inspecteur de Géographie et d'Histoire au Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle.

18 March 2017 at 09.13 dans la maison du chercheur à Hodan à Balbala à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Bonjour, merci de m'avoir permis de vous interviewer. Je me présente monsieur Saïd Djama. Je suis en train de faire une thèse avec l'université d'Aston à Birmingham, en Angleterre, au Royaume-Uni. Et le sujet de ma thèse est sur les langues parlées à Djibouti. Donc j'aimerais que nous puissions parler des langues de Djibouti. Pouvez-vous vous présenter et me dire votre nom, âge, profession, responsabilité ou titre.

**Chehem**

Merci monsieur Saïd de cet honneur, je suis très honoré de participer à cette étude sur les langues parlées à Djibouti. Moi je m'appelle Chehem, je suis inspecteur de l'éducation nationale, option histoire et géographie, de l'enseignement secondaire, secondaire et général. Voilà, donc ça fait maintenant presque 16 ans que je suis inspecteur. J'ai 45 ans.

**Le chercheur**

Merci. Et vous habitez à...

**Chehem**

À Hodan, j'habite à Hodan.

**Le chercheur**

À Balbala.

**Chehem**

À Balbala, à Balbala, à Balbala exactement.

**Le chercheur**

Merci. Quelle est votre langue maternelle ?

**Chehem**

Ma langue maternelle est la langue afar.

**Le chercheur**

La langue afar. Donc nous allons faire l'interview en langue française. Et, est-ce que vous vous considérez comme un francophone ou comme un arabophone ?

**Chehem**

Moi je suis un francophone, même si je parle l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Même si vous parlez l'arabe.

**Chehem**

Voilà. Je parle l'arabe couramment mais je suis un francophone. C'est-à-dire je travaille en français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

Voilà, c'est ça qui est important parce que l'arabe n'est pas une langue d'administration chez nous.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, et vous avez fait votre éducation...

**Chehem**

En français, en français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, merci. Quel est votre niveau d'éducation maintenant à ce stade ?

**Chehem**

Oui, moi j'ai une maîtrise de géographie tropicale

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

Que j'ai obtenu à l'université de bordeaux en 1993, il y a longtemps.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, vous avez fait vos études à bordeaux.

**Chehem**

À bordeaux.

**Le chercheur**

Et c'était payé par une bourse du gouvernement ou vous avez fait ça en privé ?

**Chehem**

J'ai fait avec une bourse du gouvernement de Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, combien de langues vous parlez maintenant, ou comprenez ou écrivez ?

Aujourd'hui.

**Chehem**

Moi je parle le français, l'afar d'abord, ma langue maternelle.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

Le français, l'arabe, le somali. Je ne peux pas dire que je parle l'amharique mais je...

**Le chercheur**

Comprend...

**Chehem**

Je peux dire quelques mots en amharique.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

Voilà, mais les langues que je maîtrise c'est l'afar, le français, l'arabe et le somali.

Quatre langues.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Que ces quatre langues.

**Chehem**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Et quelle est la langue la plus importante parmi ces quatre ?

**Chehem**

Importante dans quel sens ?

**Le chercheur**

Euh, que vous aimez ou que vous chérissez ou je ne sais pas comment...

**Chehem**

Importante pour nous c'est bien sûr la langue afar.

**Le chercheur**

La langue afar est la plus importante pour vous.

**Chehem**

Oui, parce que c'est la langue culturelle pour nous.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, c'est la langue culturelle.

**Chehem**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, donc vous la parlez. Est-ce que vous l'écrivez cette langue ?

**Chehem**

Oui, j'écris en afar, oui, oui. J'écris en afar.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, et quelle est votre langue professionnelle ?

**Chehem**

Ma langue professionnelle est le français.

**Le chercheur**

Le français. C'est le français. Donc vous utilisez le français pour le travail.

**Chehem**

Pour le travail, voilà. Pour le travail on utilise le français qui est une langue d'administration à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Vous travaillez avec les professeurs d'enseignement du secondaire et vous êtes inspecteur, vous inspectez...

**Chehem**

En français. En français, voilà.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

Ce qu'ils font en français, c'est-à-dire l'histoire géographie est enseignée en français.

**Le chercheur**

En français. D'accord. Donc vous êtes, vous voulez, vous les inspectez dans cette langue ?

**Chehem**

Absolument.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'avec vos collègues ou avec les enseignants est-ce que vous parlez une autre langue ?

**Chehem**

Non, non. Avec les enseignants on ne parle que le français.

**Le chercheur**

Vous parlez avec eux...

**Chehem**

Voilà, que le français.

**Le chercheur**

Avec le français. Mais quand vous êtes entre amis ou les collègues et que vous discutez entre vous

**Chehem**

Voilà...

**Le chercheur**

En dehors de l'école...

**Chehem**

Oui, bien sûr, en dehors de l'école, on parle soit en afar, soit en somali.

**Le chercheur**

Dans la langue somalie.

**Chehem**

Voilà, ce sont des langues...

**Le chercheur**

Avec vos collègues.

**Chehem**

Avec nos collègues oui.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Et quelle est la langue la plus utilisée parmi vos collègues ? La langue somali, afar, les langues nationales ?

**Chehem**

Ça dépend de l'endroit où on se trouve.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Ici, à Djibouti ville on parle plus somali.

**Le chercheur**  
Plus souvent somali

**Chehem**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Si tu es en dehors du pays ?

**Chehem**  
Si tu es à Tadjourah, là c'est l'afar partout.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Mais ça dépend aussi, même à Djibouti quelquefois, ça dépend des gens. S'il y a plus des afars tu vas parler en afar, s'il y a plus des somalis tu vas...

5.01 min

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
C'est ça.

**Le chercheur**  
La plupart du temps c'est le somali ?

**Chehem**  
C'est le somali.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Est-ce que vous avez une politique linguistique qui régleme les langues à l'éducation ? Ou alors dans votre travail d'inspecteur, est-ce que vous avez une politique qui dit « il ne faudrait pas parler ces langues-là, pas de langues nationales, il faut parler le français, il ne faut pas ceci... », est-ce que vous avez une langue, une certaine...

**Chehem**  
Oui, ce sont des pratiques en fait. Il n'y a pas de loi mais c'est des pratiques dans les pratiques. C'est-à-dire à l'école comme les enfants doivent étudier en français, les collègues c'est-à-dire professeurs, nous même nous sommes obligés de parler en français. Parce que le but... sinon les...

**Le chercheur**  
C'est la profession.

**Chehem**  
Voilà. C'est la profession parce que...

**Le chercheur**  
Il n'y a pas de règlement.

**Chehem**  
Voilà, il n'y a pas de règlement mais c'est-à-dire, c'est une pratique que dans l'enceinte de l'école même les élèves doivent parler entre eux en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Voilà. D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Voilà, c'est ça qui. Parce que c'est une langue qu'ils sont là pour apprendre. S'ils ne la parlent pas, ils ne vont pas la maîtriser.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Donc c'est ça, c'est à dire le français doit être parlé au sein de l'école que ce soit par les professeurs, par nous-même, les encadrements (les gens qui encadrent les enseignants), même par les élèves c'est le français qui doit être parlé. Après, dans le privé, là les gens parlent leur langue.

**Le chercheur**  
La langue nationale.

**Chehem**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Mais, pour les profs quand vous les embauchez, est-ce que vous demandez ou est-ce que vous exigez qu'ils parlent d'autres langues ? Ou est-ce que seulement quand ils ont besoin de travailler avec le français, vous leur demandez de parler français ?

**Chehem**  
On peut leur demander l'anglais notamment.

**Le chercheur**  
L'anglais.

**Chehem**  
L'anglais, voilà, l'anglais. Ou l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc la personne qui enseigne le français, des fois on peut leur demander...

**Chehem**  
Voilà. S'ils maîtrisent l'anglais ou l'arabe parce que c'est des langues dont on a besoin à l'école aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Et qui sont enseignées à l'école, l'anglais et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc ça leur permet d'enseigner ?

**Chehem**  
Voilà, ça leur permet d'enseigner s'ils ont un bon niveau.

**Le chercheur**  
Un bon niveau

**Chehem**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc...

**Chehem**  
En même temps, dans les petits collèges, au lieu d'envoyer deux profs, si quelqu'un maîtrise parfaitement l'anglais il va enseigner et le français et l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
L'anglais, d'accord.

**Chehem**  
Ou l'inverse. Il peut enseigner l'arabe et le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Ah d'accord, donc vous avez besoin de quelques profs, des professeurs polyvalents.

**Chehem**  
Polyvalents voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Pour qu'ils puissent...

**Chehem**  
Oui, qu'ils puissent maîtriser les deux... les langues internationales.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Surtout l'anglais et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, donc ça c'est un plus.

**Chehem**  
C'est un plus.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais vous quand vous embauchez, vous ne regardez pas si la personne parle les langues nationales ou...

**Chehem**  
Non, non. Cà, les langues nationales ne sont pas encore enseignées à l'école.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Donc, donc ces langues là c'est un plus, mais les langues aussi nationales ne sont pas importantes.

**Chehem**  
À l'école, pour l'embauche elles ne sont pas importantes.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Est-ce que ces gens-là qui viennent vous demander service dans les écoles, est-ce que vous avez besoin de leur parler dans leur langue nationale ? Par exemple, quand un parent d'élève vient se renseigner auprès des enseignants ou de vous-même, l'inspecteur de l'éducation ; est-ce que vous leur parlez dans leur langue nationale ou est-ce que vous utilisez des interprètes, ou est-ce que... ou comment ça se passe ?

**Chehem**  
On leur parle directement dans les langues nationales.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans les langues nationales.

**Chehem**  
En afar ou en somali.

**Le chercheur**  
Et il n'y a pas de problème ?

**Chehem**  
Il n'y a pas... Non, non.

**Le chercheur**  
La langue de communication.

**Chehem**  
Pour les personnes extérieures, on leur parle la langue qu'ils maîtrisent parfaitement, donc ça peut être des fois l'arabe, l'afar ou le somali. Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, dans nos écoles à Djibouti, la langue d'enseignement c'est le français ?

**Chehem**  
C'est le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Au primaire, au secondaire.

**Chehem**  
Au secondaire.

**Le chercheur**  
Au primaire on introduit l'arabe.

**Chehem**  
L'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Et...

**Chehem**  
L'arabe on l'introduit en troisième année.

**Le chercheur**  
En troisième année, et au secondaire après ?

**Chehem**  
Au secondaire, l'anglais en sixième année.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans la sixième année.

**Chehem**  
L'anglais est introduit en sixième année du collège.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, donc après il n'y a pas de langues nationales ?

**Chehem**  
Non. Pas encore, il y a un projet.

**Le chercheur**  
Il y a un projet.

**Chehem**  
Il y a un projet d'introduire les langues nationales mais plutôt dans l'enseignement préscolaire

**Le chercheur**  
Préscolaire.

**Chehem**  
C'est-à-dire en garderie.

**Le chercheur**  
En garderie.

**Chehem**  
 Pour l'instant ce n'est pas... ce n'est qu'un projet.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ce n'est qu'un projet.  
**Chehem**  
 Ce n'est qu'un projet.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc est-ce que personnellement vous voyez ou vous pensez ou vous aimez que les langues nationales soient enseignées au niveau du primaire ou même du secondaire ?  
**Chehem**  
 Au niveau du primaire, c'est important que les langues nationales soient enseignées.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Chehem**  
 C'est très important parce que ça permet à l'élève de mieux apprendre.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Chehem**  
 Parce que l'élève réfléchit dans sa langue maternelle.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Chehem**  
 Donc quand tu lui expliques dans sa langue maternelle le mot en français ou en anglais c'est plus facile. Donc c'est un intermédiaire pour accéder au savoir la langue maternelle. Mais le problème, le risque, monsieur Saïd, dans les langues nationales, on a vu dans d'autres pays d'Afrique quelquefois ça créé l'école à deux vitesses.  
 10.05 min  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Chehem**  
 Donc le problème aussi ça demande énormément de moyens, il faut former les profs qui maîtrisent l'afar, le somali, l'arabe et ça alourdit un peu le système et ça créé un système à deux vitesses.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc, pour le moment vous voyez, vous-même, vous voyez ces langues être introduites.  
**Chehem**  
 Au niveau de l'enseignement primaire.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Primaire, pas ailleurs ?  
**Chehem**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Pas en secondaire ?  
**Chehem**  
 Pas en secondaire ni à l'université. Et vous pensez que ce serait une langue optionnelle ?  
**Le chercheur**  
 Optionnelle ce serait plutôt une langue de base ?  
**Chehem**  
 De base.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Voilà de base.  
**Chehem**  
 Voilà, une sorte d'intermédiaire quoi, pour accéder au savoir.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Une langue d'éducation.  
**Chehem**  
 Voilà, une langue d'éducation

**Le chercheur**  
 Au primaire. D'accord. Et on changerait de langue au secondaire ou on continuerait ?  
**Chehem**  
 Non, on continuerait en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 On continuerait avec le français.  
**Chehem**  
 Avec le français. On continuerait avec le français. Le français, l'arabe et l'anglais ; trois langues.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Chehem**  
 Mais on introduirait les langues, juste pour que les enfants apprennent plus vite.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Optionnellement ?  
**Chehem**  
 Optionnellement.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ce n'est pas une langue d'enseignement...  
**Chehem**  
 Non, non, ce n'est pas langue d'enseignement. C'est juste pour option et culturel.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Chehem**  
 Voilà, ce serait plutôt ça.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Vous avez-vous-même des enfants. Quelle langue est-ce qu'ils apprennent et qu'est-ce que vous aimeriez qu'ils apprennent en matière de langue ?  
**Chehem**  
 Moi j'aimerais bien qu'ils maîtrisent l'anglais honnêtement, mes enfants.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Chehem**  
 Parce que l'anglais c'est la langue universelle.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, l'anglais.  
**Chehem**  
 Et l'anglais et très présent maintenant à Djibouti aussi.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Chehem**  
 Donc pour mes enfants, je les encourage à perfectionner leur anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc l'anglais, vous dites parce que c'est présent à Djibouti ?  
**Chehem**  
 Oui, c'est très présent à Djibouti et surtout au niveau régional.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Dans quel domaine ?  
**Chehem**  
 Dans le domaine des activités surtout portuaires. C'est-à-dire dans les entreprises...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ça offre...  
**Chehem**  
 Oui, ça offre plus d'opportunités aux enfants.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ah...  
**Chehem**  
 L'anglais ouvre plus de portes...  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'emploi.

**Chehem**  
 D'emploi que...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Que le français à Djibouti.  
**Chehem**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Est-ce que ça a toujours été le cas ?  
**Chehem**  
 Non, non, c'est ces dernières années qu'on voit ça.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ces dernières années. Et avant c'était quoi la langue de...  
**Chehem**  
 Plutôt, c'était l'arabe avant.  
**Le chercheur**  
 La langue du travail c'était l'arabe avant.  
**Chehem**  
 La langue du travail c'était l'arabe. Voilà. Et maintenant les gens ont plutôt tendance à travailler en anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
 L'anglais.  
**Chehem**  
 Parce qu'il y a beaucoup d'entreprises étrangères.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et le français à quel moment il a été, il a été la langue du travail pour les gens, la langue d'embauche, le français, la langue française ?  
**Chehem**  
 Le français est toujours une langue d'embauche mais plutôt dans l'administration.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Dans l'administration.  
**Chehem**  
 Dans les entreprises privées, le français existe mais il y a aussi, c'est-à-dire les entreprises exigent également la maîtrise de l'anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
 De l'anglais. Donc pour cette raison vous aimeriez que vos enfants maîtrisent l'anglais.  
**Chehem**  
 Voilà.  
 Qu'ils maîtrisent parfaitement l'anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Parce qu'après ils auront du boulot.  
**Chehem**  
 Oui, plus d'opportunités.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Plus d'opportunités.  
**Chehem**  
 Plus d'opportunités, c'est ça qui est important. C'est-à-dire ils ont plus de chances à maîtriser en anglais. De trouver du travail dans des grandes entreprises étrangères que quelqu'un qui ne maîtrise que le français ou l'arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc, vous allez mettre le... vous voulez qu'ils apprennent d'abord l'anglais, il y a le français aussi.  
**Chehem**  
 Voilà. Le français déjà ils l'apprennent à l'école, voilà ils l'apprennent à l'école et en plus du français je voulais qu'ils apprennent la langue anglaise.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, et l'afar et le somali ou...  
**Chehem**  
 L'afar n'amène pas très loin mon ami (rires).

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, d'accord.

**Chehem**  
C'est plus culturel mais bon, en termes d'emploi et tout ça il n'y a pas d'opportunités.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
C'est pour ça que les parents sont réticents quand on a fait les états généraux, moi j'ai participé aux états généraux...

**Le chercheur**  
C'était en 1900....

**Chehem**  
En 1999. C'était en décembre 99.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
On avait posé la question aux parents d'élèves lors des états généraux.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Chehem**  
Ils nous ont dit que pour l'instant ils ne souhaitent pas l'introduction des langues nationales afar et somali à l'école.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Ce sont leurs parents qui ont écarté. Les gens ils disent parce que l'enfant apprend sa langue chez lui.

**Le chercheur**  
Chez lui.

**Chehem**  
Donc à l'école, ils voulaient qu'ils maîtrisent les langues internationales.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Français, anglais, arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc c'étaient les parents...

**Chehem**  
Oui, oui, c'étaient les parents qui ont écarté. Le ministère nous, en tant que représentants du ministère, nous, on avait introduit, on voulait introduire les langues nationales dès l'enseignement primaire en 99. Et là, ils nous ont demandé un moratoire de 10 ans.

**Le chercheur**  
Ah, un moratoire de 10 ans. En 99, 10 ans ça fait...

**Chehem**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc ça fait... bientôt vous pensez réintroduire, reprendre.

**Chehem**  
Voilà, il y aura une discussion à nouveau. Donc on verra mais dans les petites écoles sachant que les parents sont un peu réticents à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**  
À Djibouti ville.

**Chehem**  
À Djibouti ville, ils sont très réticents.  
15.00 min

**Le chercheur**  
Où trois quarts de la population habite, où vivent ¾ de la population.

**Chehem**  
Ce que j'étudie en termes d'opportunités, d'emplois, tout ça parce que le somali qu'est-ce qu'il va en faire après...

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
L'afar pareil, en dehors de, si tu sors de Djibouti les gens vont te parler. Même il y a d'autres opportunités, d'autres langues, même l'amharique aussi offre des opportunités aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
L'amharique, la langue éthiopienne.

**Chehem**  
Voilà. Parce qu'il y a des entreprises éthiopiennes, ceux-là ils exigent la maîtrise de l'amharique.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais à Djibouti ville, quelle est la langue la plus parlée dans les rues ? A Djibouti ville.

**Chehem**  
À Djibouti ville, c'est le somali.

**Le chercheur**  
C'est le somali qui est parlé. Et en deuxième ?

**Chehem**  
En deuxième l'afar.

**Le chercheur**  
L'afar est parlé en deuxième. Est-ce qu'il y a des endroits où une langue domine plus qu'une autre ?

**Chehem**  
Par exemple dans des quartiers.

**Le chercheur**  
Par exemple, quels quartiers ?

**Chehem**  
Les quartiers par exemple somalis c'est le somali qui domine.

**Le chercheur**  
C'est le somali qui domine. Et ?

**Chehem**  
Ou si tu vas à Arhiba, ou maka moukaram

**Le chercheur**  
Où on parle afar.

**Chehem**  
Einguella, c'est une majorité afar.

**Le chercheur**  
Voilà donc c'est, il y a des régions comme ça.

**Chehem**  
Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Il existe plus un endroit où par exemple il y a un quartier les gens parlent français, où les gens parlent arabe, où les gens parlent peut-être l'amharique, ou je ne sais pas. Est-ce que vous avez des quartiers comme ça ?

**Chehem**  
Amharique, oui le pk12, a pk12

**Le chercheur**  
Là où les gens...

**Chehem**  
Voilà, voilà, a pk12 les gens parlent l'amharique mais parce qu'il y a beaucoup, une forte présence éthiopienne dans ce quartier.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Depuis, avec le corridor, donc là où l'amharique est parlé. Mais il n'est pas en concurrence c'est-à-dire il est, parce que c'est un quartier où il y a les deux langues afar et somali.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Chehem**  
En plus, il y a l'amharique qui s'est implanté.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, pour le besoin du commerce.

**Chehem**  
Voilà, pour le besoin de commerce. Exactement.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Mais ce qui est bien maintenant dans les quartiers depuis une dizaine d'années, il y a une grande mixité.

**Le chercheur**  
Entre ?

**Chehem**  
Voilà, entre les populations.

**Le chercheur**  
Les populations.

**Chehem**  
Donc les langues sont un peu. C'est-à-dire les gens parlent deux langues

**Le chercheur**  
Les langues nationales...

**Chehem**  
Voilà, de langues nationales, c'est-à-dire afar et somali et ils maîtrisent les somalis parlent afar et les afars parlent le somali, donc ce qui fait que quelquefois tu ne sais même pas...

**Le chercheur**  
Donc c'est nouveau ça ?

**Chehem**  
Oui, c'est nouveau depuis quelques années avec les créations de nouveaux quartiers, il y a une mixité.

**Le chercheur**  
Avant les quartiers étaient séparés.

**Chehem**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc les gens étaient séparés.

**Chehem**  
Voilà. Et la politique coloniale, les gens étaient, il y avait, c'était communautaire alors que maintenant les gens sont mélangés. Les nouveaux quartiers comme Hodan, là c'est vraiment... même si la majorité ce sont des afars, il y a beaucoup de somalis, des arabes ; ce qui fait que les gens parlent un peu toutes les langues. C'est ça qui...

**Le chercheur**  
C'est bon.

**Chehem**  
C'est intéressant. C'est une nouvelle évolution.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, c'est bien ça.

**Chehem**  
À pk12 c'est pareil aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
À pk12.

**Chehem**  
À pk12 c'est un quartier mixte : afars et somalis.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
En plus, il y a l'amharique qui s'est implanté avec le commerce par rapport aux corridors Djibouti-éthiopiens.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc pour ces langues là c'est bon. Mais est-ce que c'est toutes les langues, est-ce que ce changement de langues d'importance maintenant ça concerne

toutes les langues ou est-ce que seulement ça concerne l'anglais pour le travail et le business pour l'amharique...	Pour les langues nationales pas du tout, parce que ce n'est pas un critère d'embauche.	<b>Chehem</b> Non, pas les informations. Les informations c'est mieux à la télé.
<b>Chehem</b> L'amharique, l'amharique.	<b>Le chercheur</b> D'accord.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Et les chansons ? Il y a des chansons...
<b>Le chercheur</b> Ou par exemple est-ce que le français aussi a fait un progrès dans cette situation ?	<b>Chehem</b> Parce que ça ne va pas l'amener loin.	<b>Chehem</b> Non, je n'écoute pas les chansons
<b>Chehem</b> Oui. Le français a progressé aussi dans cette situation parce que bon il y a plus de scolarisation.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Je comprends. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ?	<b>Le chercheur</b> Pas de chansons.
<b>Le chercheur</b> Ah.	<b>Chehem</b> Oui, énormément.	<b>Chehem</b> Pas du tout, je n'écoute jamais les chansons ni en afar ni en somali, ni en français (rires)
<b>Chehem</b> C'est ça qui voilà. Donc avec l'augmentation de la scolarisation il y a plus de gens qui parlent français, numériquement.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Laquelle ?	<b>Le chercheur</b> D'accord. Est-ce que vous regardez la télévision, la djiboutienne ?
<b>Le chercheur</b> Numériquement.	<b>Chehem</b> Moi, j'écoute en afar.	<b>Chehem</b> Surtout les informations. Je regarde les informations à la télévision.
<b>Chehem</b> Donc le français a beaucoup progressé parce qu'il y a beaucoup d'écoles maintenant.	<b>Le chercheur</b> La radio djiboutienne.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Il n'y a pas de programmes de théâtre ou de films ?
<b>Le chercheur</b> D'accord.	<b>Chehem</b> La fréquence djiboutienne.	<b>Chehem</b> Il n'y a pas grand-chose d'intéressant à la télévision.
<b>Chehem</b> C'est-à-dire, avant l'école était très sélective. Donc voilà.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Aussi en afar ?	<b>Le chercheur</b> Ni dans les langues nationales ?
<b>Le chercheur</b> D'accord.	<b>Chehem</b> Oui.	<b>Chehem</b> Même en langue nationale, ce sont juste les informations que j'écoute. Que ce soit en somali ou en afar ce sont juste les informations mais il n'y a pas des choses vraiment...
<b>Chehem</b> Vous connaissez monsieur Saïd. Il y a beaucoup plus d'élèves.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Est-ce que vous écoutez d'autres radios, d'autres chaînes ?	<b>Le chercheur</b> Des choses vraiment intéressantes. Pour vous peut-être ?
<b>Le chercheur</b> Oui.	<b>Chehem</b> Pas vraiment, honnêtement non. 20.00 min	<b>Chehem</b> Oui, pour nous, parce que c'est fait pour des gens qui n'ont pas de niveau culturel.
<b>Chehem</b> Pratiquement tous les élèves d'une génération vont jusqu'en terminale.	<b>Le chercheur</b> D'ordre culturel.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Ah ! d'accord.
<b>Le chercheur</b> D'accord.	<b>Chehem</b> D'ordre culturel, ce sont des émissions éducatives.	<b>Chehem</b> C'est destiné à un grand public.
<b>Chehem</b> Ce qui fait que dans les quartiers pratiquement tous les enfants qui sont nés dans les années 80 parlent français. Et c'est en plus du français, qu'ils apprennent l'anglais ou l'amharique donc c'est ça en fait.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Sur l'afar.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Au grand public. Donc vous n'êtes pas intéressés...
<b>Le chercheur</b> Donc pour l'embauche, vous avez dit qu'il y a que le gouvernement qui embauche les gens en français.	<b>Chehem</b> Voilà. Bon c'est destiné surtout aux enseignants et...	<b>Chehem</b> C'est pas du tout fait pour les gens qui ont un niveau assez intellectuel.
<b>Chehem</b> En français.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Ah ! d'accord.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Je comprends.
<b>Le chercheur</b> Et vous avez dit que les entreprises embauchaient en majorité en anglais.	<b>Chehem</b> C'est destiné aux enseignants. C'est la radio scolaire éducative qui est diffusée en afar, dans toutes les langues. En somali, en afar, en arabe.	<b>Chehem</b> Voilà, c'est ça.
<b>Chehem</b> En anglais voilà.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Oui.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Est-ce que vous naviguez sur internet ?
<b>Le chercheur</b> Et est-ce qu'il y a des entreprises qui embauchent en majorité en arabe ?	<b>Chehem</b> Ce sont des émissions à caractère éducatif. Moi j'y participe souvent aussi.	<b>Chehem</b> Oui, oui.
<b>Chehem</b> Très peu, très peu.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Ah ! d'accord, donc vous êtes intéressés.	<b>Le chercheur</b> En quelle langue ?
<b>Le chercheur</b> Et en somali ou en afar ?	<b>Chehem</b> Voilà et on va voir l'impact de ces programmes sur les élèves, on parle des sujets à caractère éducatif, on parle des nouveaux programmes.	<b>Chehem</b> En français.
<b>Chehem</b> Non. Là il n'y a pas.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Donc c'est la branche de la radio scolaire ?	<b>Le chercheur</b> En français.
<b>Le chercheur</b> Il n'y a pas.	<b>Chehem</b> Scolaire mais c'est diffusé sur les antennes de la radio nationale.	<b>Chehem</b> Ah ! là c'est exclusivement en français.
<b>Chehem</b> Pas du tout.	<b>Le chercheur</b> D'accord.	<b>Le chercheur</b> Donc, vous utilisez les médias sociaux comme Facebook ?
<b>Le chercheur</b> Donc, d'accord merci.	<b>Chehem</b> Voilà c'est ça. J'écoute souvent ces émissions.	<b>Chehem</b> Oui.
<b>Chehem</b>	<b>Le chercheur</b> Pas les informations.	<b>Le chercheur</b> WhatsApp ?
		<b>Chehem</b> Voilà WhatsApp.
		<b>Le chercheur</b> Et vous communiquez dans quelle langue ?

**Chehem**  
En français.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous communiquez avec les autres en français. Mais est-ce que vous savez que les langues nationales sont présentes sur internet ?

**Chehem**  
Oui, je sais, je sais.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais vous n'utilisez pas l'afar ?

**Chehem**  
Je n'ai pas une grande maîtrise de l'afar. Ou à l'écrit oui c'est un peu plus difficile.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. La lecture ça va ?

**Chehem**  
Oui, donc je préfère le français que je maîtrise.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Voilà, sur les réseaux sociaux, tout ça c'est en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Ok, vous lisez les journaux ?

**Chehem**  
Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Par exemple, celui de Djibouti, La Nation.

**Chehem**  
La nation, oui je lis.

**Le chercheur**  
Et les autres, des journaux de la presse étrangère ?

**Chehem**  
La presse étrangère je lis surtout le courrier international.

**Le chercheur**  
Le courrier international.

**Chehem**  
Parce que ça ça résume...

**Le chercheur**  
Sur internet.

**Chehem**  
Souvent sur internet, mais quelquefois j'achète aussi le papier.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Le courrier international parce qu'il résume un peu la situation.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc c'est en français ?

**Chehem**  
En français, en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc les journaux vous les lisez en français.

**Chehem**  
En français.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous lisez des livres ?

**Chehem**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Écrits par des djiboutiens ?

**Chehem**  
Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Des auteurs djiboutiens ?

**Chehem**  
Des auteurs djiboutiens.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans quelle langue ?

**Chehem**  
En français.

**Le chercheur**  
En français aussi.

**Chehem**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous savez que c'est écrit aussi en afar et... ?

**Chehem**  
Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**  
En somali aussi.

**Chehem**  
Oui, oui, oui, je sais que c'est écrit.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais vous n'avez pas lu ce genre de livres ?

**Chehem**  
Non, pas lu en afar ni en somali mais je les lis en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Les livres de certains...

**Chehem**  
Voilà, les auteurs djiboutiens, je les lis en français, quand c'est publié en français.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Je sais que c'est écrit en afar, en somali.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Chehem**  
Mais ce n'est pas facile.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Ce n'est pas facile. Parce qu'il faut avoir un certain niveau de compréhension. Moi je suis plus à l'aise en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Ok, je comprends. Est-ce que quand vous allez à la mosquée le vendredi, le sermon du vendredi, parce que le sermon est en arabe, est-ce que vous comprenez tout ?

**Chehem**  
Absolument, oui. Je comprends parfaitement.

**Le chercheur**  
Ce qu'il se dit, ce que l'imam dit.

**Chehem**  
Oui, oui. Oui, absolument.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous pensez que les djiboutiens qui sont là comprennent tout ?

**Chehem**  
Pas vraiment.

**Le chercheur**  
Ou tout le monde comprend ?

**Chehem**  
Non, non, très peu comprennent.

**Le chercheur**  
Très peu comprennent l'arabe.

**Chehem**  
L'arabe. Parce que c'est l'arabe littéraire.

**Le chercheur**  
L'arabe littéraire, donc une majorité des gens qui vont au sermon ne comprennent pas l'arabe.

**Chehem**  
Ils ne comprennent pas l'arabe mais on leur traduit en fait.

**Le chercheur**  
Après.

**Chehem**  
Après, quand le prêche est fini, on leur traduit en afar et en somali.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, donc il y a une traduction après.

**Chehem**  
Il y a une traduction.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, quand vous allez à l'étranger, par exemple en Europe, est-ce que vous avez des problèmes de communication avec les gens ? Ou vous arrivez à vous en sortir avec le français ?

**Chehem**  
Oui avec le français oui mais en anglais j'ai des difficultés.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, quand vous allez dans un pays où on parle l'anglais.

**Chehem**  
Dans un pays où l'on parle l'anglais ce n'est pas facile.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais vous vous faites comprendre ou... ?

**Chehem**  
J'ai du mal honnêtement.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous avez du mal.

**Chehem**  
Voilà, j'ai du mal.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, et... ?

**Chehem**  
Parce que je n'ai pas la maîtrise de l'anglais je ne l'ai pas.

**Le chercheur**  
Et est-ce que vous vous dites quand vous revenez « je vais maîtriser l'anglais, je vais essayer d'apprendre l'anglais » ?

**Chehem**  
Oui, j'aimerais bien apprendre l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Qu'est-ce qui vous en empêche ? C'est... 25.00 min

**Chehem**  
Le problème ici, comme personne ne parle anglais, j'ai oublié si vous voulez le peu d'anglais que j'avais appris à l'université.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
C'est une langue, il faut la parler.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Pour au moins, même tenir le niveau.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Sinon, on oublie.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
On oublie, c'est ça le problème. Donc on n'a pas l'occasion de parler anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Soit on parle comme je te disais en afar, soit on parle en somali, soit on parle en français. Quelquefois en arabe aussi avec les populations arabes. C'est ça, mais on n'a pas l'occasion de parler anglais, couramment. C'est ça le...

**Le chercheur**  
Le problème.

**Chehem**  
Le problème est là.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord je vois. Est-ce que quand vous voyagez en Ethiopie, nos voisins, l'Ethiopie, la somalie ; quand vous allez



chez eux, est-ce que vous vous sentez à l'aise dans leur environnement linguistique ? Est-ce que peut être en Ethiopie vous parlez l'afar, en somalie vous parlez le somali ; quand vous allez dans ces pays-là vous vous sentez chez vous ?

**Chehem**  
Oui, oui, non en termes de dépaysement il n'y a pas de problème, on se sent chez nous mais quelquefois il y a des difficultés linguistiques, ça c'est certain. Parce qu'eux ils te parlent en amharique et nous on ne maîtrise pas parfaitement avec les éthiopiens. Mais avec les somaliens il n'y a pas de problème parce qu'on se comprend.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, le somali.

**Chehem**  
Le somali il n'y a pas de problème parce qu'on se comprend.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. La somalie...

**Chehem**  
La somalie il n'y a pas de problème, c'est comme si on était chez nous.

**Le chercheur**  
Et en Ethiopie, la région afar...

**Chehem**  
Non, les régions afar il n'y a pas de souci mais dès que tu dépasses la région afar...

**Le chercheur**  
Par exemple la capitale...

**Chehem**  
Par exemple la capitale *Addis-Abeba*, il faut maîtriser l'amharique. Eux, ils ne comprennent même pas l'anglais. Oui, la majorité parle l'amharique. Si tu ne maîtrise pas soit l'amharique soit le oromo ce n'est pas facile chez eux de communiquer. Mais ils n'ont pas d'agressivité, ils nous considèrent vraiment comme des gens... on est éthiopiens quand on va là-bas.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Ils ne te demandent pas de papiers ou...

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Il n'y a pas de problème.

**Chehem**  
Il n'y a pas de problème.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Franchement il n'y a pas de problème.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc linguistiquement il y a ce petit problème quand on dépasse les régions où les gens parlent le somali.

**Chehem**  
Voilà afar, même si on part à Hargeisa ou...

**Le chercheur**  
Ça c'est en somalie ?

**Chehem**  
Oui, ça c'est en somalie, ça nous pose aucun problème. On arrive à nous débrouiller en somali. Même si bon, ce sont des variantes un peu régionales. Donc, on arrive à se comprendre.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**

Mais en Ethiopie, il y a ce petit problème. Juste ça mais sinon au niveau social il n'y a pas de problème.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, c'est bien. Est-ce que vous pouvez comparer aujourd'hui à il y a vingt ans de la façon dont les gens utilisaient les langues avant à aujourd'hui par exemple ?

**Le chercheur**  
La langue française, les langues nationales, comment les gens utilisent maintenant et il y a vingt ans quand vous étiez peut-être à l'université ou au secondaire ou après peut être quand vous avez commencé à travailler. Comment est-ce que vous voyez ça ?

**Chehem**  
Ce qu'on voit au niveau des langues internationales, il y a l'importance de l'anglais qui prend du poids, ça c'est certain.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Il y a vingt ans, on ne parlait pas un mot anglais à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**  
À Djibouti, d'accord.

**Chehem**  
Maintenant, il y a des écoles qui offrent des formations en anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
En anglais.

**Chehem**  
Des écoles djiboutiennes donc ça c'est intéressant.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
C'est parce qu'il y a une opportunité derrière.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc il y a des écoles en primaire, en secondaire...

**Chehem**  
Même les secondaires

**Le chercheur**  
Qui enseignent ?

**Chehem**  
Voilà, qui apprennent l'anglais en...

**Le chercheur**  
Ils enseignent. Le cursus est en anglais.

**Chehem**  
C'est en anglais mais c'est destiné surtout à des gens qui travaillent.

**Le chercheur**  
Qui travaillent.

**Chehem**  
Pas beaucoup, souvent des étudiants. C'est destiné pour des cadres qui veulent apprendre.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Mais il y a une école de sœurs...

**Chehem**  
Oui, oui, il y a une école des sœurs.

**Le chercheur**  
Eux, ils enseignent la langue.

**Chehem**  
Même il y a l'institut américain.

**Le chercheur**  
L'institut américain.

**Chehem**  
Oui, l'institut américain, eux ils font les langues même pour les enfants.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Oui, surtout des lycéens.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Donc ils leur apprennent la langue.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, donc l'anglais est devenu plus important.

**Chehem**  
Oui, l'anglais ça c'est incontestable ces dernières années, l'anglais prend de plus en plus du poids.

**Le chercheur**  
La façon dont les langues, les gens utilisent les langues nationales, est-ce qu'ils l'utilisent de la même manière qu'il y a vingt ans ?

**Chehem**  
Moi, je dirais qu'ils utilisent mieux qu'avant.

**Le chercheur**  
Mieux qu'avant.

**Chehem**  
Mieux qu'avant parce qu'ils ont appris à écrire.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Chehem**  
Il y a, tu vois, il y a eu ce qu'on appelait les symposiums, la langue afar et somali et ces symposiums a quelque peu fait évoluer les langues, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont transcrit des termes techniques en afar et en somali et ça ça a permis aux gens de véhiculer la langue maintenant à la radio, à la télévision. Les gens utilisent mieux la langue qu'avant.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Il y a le vecteur religieux aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Donc il y a...

**Chehem**  
Il y a le coran qui est traduit en afar et en somali et ça aussi ça a un impact sur l'utilisation des langues. Les langues sont mieux utilisées.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Elles sont mieux utilisées par les populations qu'avant.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
30.02 min

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que les endroits, est ce que les langues nationales ont pénétré des endroits où avant on ne les voyait pas ?

**Chehem**  
Absolument.

**Le chercheur**  
Par exemple ?

**Chehem**  
Par exemple, là où on ne les voyait pas c'est par exemple l'espace médias. Rien qu'à la télévision en Ethiopie tu as le somali et l'afar.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
Qui ont pénétré, qui ont fait une percée.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Chehem**  
C'est très important ça.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Dans ces pays-là...

**Chehem**

Oui, justement, nous on regarde la télévision en afar depuis la télévision éthiopienne.

**Le chercheur**

Sur la chaîne.

**Chehem**

Sur les chaînes.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

Donc ça il y a eu vraiment un progrès important. Parce qu'en Ethiopie, ils enseignent carrément dans les langues nationales.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Donc c'est un avantage.

**Chehem**

Un énorme avantage.

**Le chercheur**

Mais à Djibouti ville, est-ce qu'il y a des endroits où les gens n'osaient pas parler ces langues nationales et maintenant le parlent ?

**Chehem**

Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**

Par exemple ?

**Chehem**

Par exemple dans les quartiers un peu riches.

**Le chercheur**

Ah, dans les quartiers riches, on n'entendait pas...

**Chehem**

On n'entendait pas parler l'afar et somali. Maintenant, ils n'hésitent pas à parler.

**Le chercheur**

Donc avant...

**Chehem**

Voilà, c'était un peu délaissé. Voilà, parce qu'à l'époque c'était un peu mal vu dès qu'on est dans la haute sphère c'était plutôt le français ou l'arabe qui étaient les langues d'usage. Maintenant il y a l'afar et le somali qui ont pénétré ces milieux-là donc ils commencent à faire une percée aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ça change.

**Chehem**

Oui à ce niveau-là. Donc il y a aussi ce qu'on appelle afar Pen il y a des...

**Le chercheur**

Des associations.

**Chehem**

Voilà, des associations qui font la promotion des langues surtout dans les médias. Les journalistes sont formés aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Dans les langues.

**Chehem**

Dans les langues nationales. Donc c'est mieux qu'avant.

**Le chercheur**

Oui, c'est mieux qu'avant.

**Chehem**

Franchement c'est mieux qu'avant.

**Le chercheur**

Où tout se faisait en français.

**Chehem**

Oui, oui, oui. Avant il y avait un très grand mélange entre les langues. Maintenant les journalistes qui travaillent sur les langues afar et somali, ils sont mieux formés donc ils ont plus d'outils linguistiques et outils

de télécommunication. Ils l'écrivent donc c'est mieux qu'avant. Honnêtement, c'est mieux qu'avant.

**Le chercheur**

Donc les langues maintenant... le somali et l'afar...

**Chehem**

Ont une plus grande place dans la société qu'avant. Oui, ça c'est certain, ça c'est certain.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, merci. Merci, est-ce que vous pouvez nous donner, monsieur Chehem, est-ce que vous pouvez me donner un avis ou commentaire pour les djiboutiens ou le chercheur que je suis, en matière de langues parlées à Djibouti ? Est-ce que vous avez quelque chose pour moi, un commentaire ou un avis ou quelque chose que vous pouvez dire concernant les langues nationales ou les langues parlées en général à Djibouti ?

**Chehem**

Moi je ne suis pas un expert dans le domaine des langues mais bon, ce qui serait intéressant à mon avis.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Chehem**

Ça, c'est mon point de vue.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Chehem**

C'est surtout, il faut essayer de comprendre dans quelle mesure les langues facilitent les apprentissages.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

À l'école primaire, ça serait un sujet scientifique intéressant.

**Le chercheur**

L'apprentissage.

**Chehem**

L'apprentissage, est-ce que c'est un outil qui facilite l'apprentissage ou au contraire ça alourdit l'enfant ? Parce qu'on lui introduit la langue nationale, on lui demande d'apprendre le français, l'anglais. Ça ça serait une problématique à mon avis intéressante pour la recherche.

**Le chercheur**

Le français et l'anglais ont fait leurs preuves mais là je pense que parler les langues nationales.

**Chehem**

Oui voilà les langues nationales, c'est-à-dire l'afar et le somali. Si par exemple, jusqu'à 6 ans, le petit afar apprend parfaitement l'afar, est-ce qu'il aura un meilleur accès à la langue française, à la langue arabe, à la langue anglaise ? C'est ça qu'il faut à mon avis que les chercheurs travaillent.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

Dans ce sens-là.

**Le chercheur**

Voilà.

**Chehem**

C'est l'apport qualitatif des langues nationales dans l'apprentissage des langues étrangères.

**Le chercheur**

Des langues étrangères.

**Chehem**

C'est ça à mon avis.

**Le chercheur**

Donc pour les chercheurs djiboutiens.

**Chehem**

Pour les chercheurs djiboutiens c'est un sujet d'étude qui pourrait vraiment nous éclairer, nous les éducateurs.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

Après on s'appuiera sur les études pour expliquer aux parents, on s'appuiera sur les études des chercheurs djiboutiens pour leur dire « regardez, une étude a été faite, on voit que celui qui maîtrise l'afar apprend plus vite le français, plus vite l'anglais, plus vite l'arabe ». Parce que la particularité, monsieur Saïd des djiboutiens, nous on doit maîtriser les trois langues.

**Le chercheur**

Les trois langues.

**Chehem**

Maintenant, dans le nouveau baccalauréat qu'on a fait, la maîtrise des trois langues pour nous est un impératif. Le nouveau bachelier qui sort de l'école djiboutienne doit maîtriser les trois langues : le français, l'arabe et l'anglais. Parce que sur le marché du travail c'est ça qui fera la différence.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Chehem**

Parce qu'on prendra un djiboutien justement parce qu'il est un parfait trilingue.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous cherchez à ce qu'il devienne.

**Chehem**

Voilà, pour qu'il devienne un parfait trilingue, il faut déjà qu'il ait, que sa langue maternelle lui facilite l'apprentissage de cela. Est-ce le cas ? Ça c'est aux scientifiques de le prouver à mon avis.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, c'est très ambitieux.

**Chehem**

C'est très ambitieux, mais c'est intéressant à partir des échantillons on peut se baser sur les enfants. En prenant un échantillon des élèves qui maîtrisent au moins la langue maternelle et en partant des élèves qui maîtrisent parfaitement. Par exemple on voit en brousse, des élèves de brousse qui maîtrisent parfaitement la langue maternelle alors que les enfants de la ville, parce qu'ils sont baignés dans des, plusieurs langues, ils n'ont pas aussi cet environnement aussi culturel qui fait que, ils ne maîtrisent pas souvent les langues afar et somali. Voilà le projet d'études que je proposerais à nos chercheurs que vous êtes.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Merci monsieur Chehem.

C'était très agréable d'avoir fait cette interview avec vous et je vous remercie infiniment de m'avoir permis.

**Chehem**

Merci à toi Saïd, et bonne chance et bon courage surtout.

Interview avec Dr Djama, Directeur des études à l'université de Djibouti.

8 March 2017 à 08.28 dans son bureau à l'université à Balbala à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Bismillah al Rahman al Rahim. Salama Alaikum. Bonjour.

**Djama**

Wa Alaikum Musalaam. Bonjour.

**Le chercheur**

Je me présente monsieur Said Djama. Je fais une thèse à l'université d'Aston en Angleterre, Aston est à Birmingham dans la ville de Birmingham, en Angleterre, au Royaume Uni. Ma thèse est basée sur les langues parlées à Djibouti, donc j'aimerais avoir un interview avec vous. Pouvez-vous vous présenter, me dire votre nom, profession, responsabilité et titre de responsabilité et résidence.

**Djama**

Bismillah al Rahman al Rahim. Merci beaucoup pour l'interview. Je me présente d'abord, dans un premier temps je m'appelle docteur Djama de nationalité djiboutienne. Je suis spécialiste de littérature générale comparée, j'ai fait mes études à l'université de Dijon. Je suis actuellement directeur des études, des lettres, langues et d'art à l'université de Djibouti. Ma direction est rattachée à la faculté de lettres, langues et science humaine. Je suis résident à la cité Hodan, un quartier qui regroupe la classe moyenne de Djibouti, et actuellement je suis en même temps enseignant et j'interviens en littérature française et littérature francophone et littérature comparée à l'université de Djibouti. J'ai en même temps la direction et j'interviens en qualité d'enseignant.

**Le chercheur**

**De quelle langue ?**

**Djama**

En littérature française et en littérature comparée et en littérature francophone aussi. Donc c'est en française.

**Le chercheur**

**Tout ça en français.**

**Djama**

Exactement.

**Le chercheur**

**Quelle est votre langue maternelle ?**

**Djama**

Le somali, je parle le somali. Mon père et ma mère ont été somalis tous les deux, de facto donc ma langue maternelle est le somali.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord. Donc vous avez préféré je pense parler en français. Considérez-vous comme un francophone ou comme un arabophone ?**

**Djama**

Mon statut linguistique est essentiellement francophone. J'ai fait mes études depuis mon plus jeune âge jusqu'à aujourd'hui en langue française et j'ai fini mon parcours en français. Effectivement, j'ai fait des modules d'arabe au collège et au lycée, des modules d'anglais aussi, mais tout ce qui est en rapport avec approfondissement et perfectionnement, je l'ai fait en français, donc mon statut, c'est effectivement francophone.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc vous avez fait votre langue d'éducation a été le français. Tout au long de votre parcours.**

**Djama**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

**Est-ce que vous parlez d'autres langues ?**

**Djama**

À part ma langue maternelle, j'ai un niveau intermédiaire en anglais, je comprends bien je parle un peu. Je parle suffisamment l'arabe et l'arabe de par la religion que j'ai acquise, la religion musulmane, le coran et le hadith. Et puis de par ma relation maritale parce que je suis marié avec une femme qui appartient à la communauté arabe et je parle suffisamment bien l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

**Est-ce que vous sentez le besoin d'apprendre une nouvelle langue pour les affaires ou peut-être pour le travail ?**

**Djama**

Effectivement. Mon statut de directeur m'invite à parler couramment l'anglais et l'arabe et également d'autres langues. Je suis à la tête d'un grand département d'une grande direction dans laquelle sont regroupées 3 catégories de langues, français, anglais, arabe. Donc forcément.

**Le chercheur**

**À la maison, combien de langues parlez-vous ? Le somali votre langue, ou bien madame qui parle l'arabe la langue maternelle ? Alors combien de langues vous parlez à la maison ?**

**Djama**

À la maison, on parle le français, on parle l'arabe et on parle le somali aussi.

**Le chercheur**

**Les trois langues. Et quelle est la langue la plus utilisée ?**

**Djama**

L'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

**Vous parlez avec les enfants. Et avec les voisins, quelle langue vous utilisez ?**

**Djama**

Mes voisins sont majoritairement issus de la communauté Afar. Je les salue en Afar. Il y a une voisine qui est assez vieille qui sollicite que je lui parle souvent en Afar. J'ai fait beaucoup d'effort pour lui rendre le salut pour la saluer. Sinon avec le voisinage je parle somali couramment.

**Le chercheur**

**Est-ce qu'il y a une deuxième langue que vous utilisez quand vous parlez avec les voisins pour mieux vous comprendre comme ce sont des Afars ?**

**Djama**

Oui pour les intellectuelles, pour ceux qui ont appris le français, là on parle français aussi.

**Le chercheur**

**Et au boulot, qu'est-ce que vous utilisez comme langue ? Le français ou d'autres langues ?**

**Djama**

Au boulot, la langue officielle est le français. Les réunions se tiennent très souvent en français, le travail se fait en français, mais comme j'aborde mes collègues dans l'enceinte de l'établissement, on se parle en somali.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc quand vous discutez avec les amis, est-ce que ça vous arrive en réunion de parler en somali ?**

**Djama**

Non. Les réunions se font en français. C'est dans le cadre du travail.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc quand les profs entre eux quand ils discutent, ils parlent en somali.**

**Djama**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc vous leur parlez en somali.**

**Djama**

Alors si je rencontre des enseignants Somalis dans l'enceinte de l'établissement, je leur parle en somali. Mais si je rencontre des enseignants Afars, je peux leur parler en arabe ou en français.

**Le chercheur**

**Mais quand vos collègues discutent entre eux ?**

**Djama**

Majoritairement somali oui.

**Le chercheur**

**Et quelle serait la deuxième langue qu'ils parlent ?**

**Djama**

Ça dépendra de ce qu'ils ont appris. Il y a des anglophones, il y a des francophones, il y a des arabophones. Quand je parle de Abdillahi Said Hersi et de Abdoukader Ali Hamadou, ils parlent en arabe.

**Le chercheur**

**Avec les autres ?**

**Djama**

Oui. Abdoukader Hamadou c'était une compagnie arabophone.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc ce sont les gens qui enseignent l'arabe et qui sont Afars.**

**Djama**

Et qui appartiennent à des communautés linguistiques d'afar et somali, donc entre eux il y a somali et afar donc ils parlent l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

**D'accord. Donc la deuxième langue serait l'arabe parmi les djiboutiens quand ils parlent entre eux, la première langue est le somali donc la deuxième langue entre eux ce serait le somali.**

**Djama**

Je ne dirais pas ça parce que peut-être mais ça dépend aussi. S'il y a des gens qui appartiennent à des communautés linguistiques différentes et qui sont anglophones, alors ils vont parler en anglais aussi. Donc ça dépend des circonstances.

**Le chercheur**

**Est-ce que ça vous arrive de faire des réunions dans d'autres langues, par exemple l'anglais ? Quand il y a des profs d'anglais qui sont là dans les réunions, s'il y a des profs d'anglais qui sont là, est-ce que vous leur parlez en anglais, ou est-ce qu'il y a un traducteur ?**

**Djama**

Moi donc là c'est un problème que j'ai psychologiquement. Je n'aime pas blesser la langue des autres. Comme je ne maîtrise pas suffisamment l'anglais, moi je parle en français, et je mets à ma disposition un traducteur qui leur traduit en anglais.

**Le chercheur**

**Donc un des profs.**

**Djama**

Oui un des enseignants. Le jeune Idriss ou Daoud ou Salah.

**Le chercheur**

**Le prof qui enseigne l'anglais.**

**Djama**  
Voilà et qui eux ont aussi ont une bonne maîtrise du français.

**Le chercheur**  
**Donc cela vous sert d'interprète. C'est très bien. Est-ce que ça vous arrive de réunir des étudiants et de leur parler en français ou autre langue ?**

**Djama**  
Oui. Alors comme je fais des réunions de déléguer, là je m'exprime en français.

**Le chercheur**  
**Avec les étudiants. Est-ce que ça vous arrive de parler une autre langue avec les étudiants ?**

**Djama**  
Non. Essentiellement français. Parce que même les anglophones ici ont un parcours francophone.

**Le chercheur**  
**Qu'est-ce que vous utilisez comme langue professionnellement ?**

**Djama**  
C'est le français.

**Le chercheur**  
**Et quand vous embauchez des enseignants, est-ce que vous exigez qu'ils connaissent les langues nationales ou les langues officielles ?**

**Djama**  
Quand on embauche des enseignants, on exige une parfaite maîtrise de langues officielles.

**Le chercheur**  
**Les deux officielles, le français...et l'arabe.**

**Djama**  
Alors si l'enseignant doit enseigner...

**Le chercheur**  
**Je voulais dire quand vous embauchez des nouveaux profs, est-ce que vous exigez qu'ils connaissent une seule langue ou les deux langues officielles ou alors les langues nationales ?**

**Djama**  
Alors dans le cadre de recrutement, ça dépend essentiellement des données de compétences concernées. Si nous recrutons un enseignant en anglais, qui enseigne en anglais, là pour un poste d'enseignant en anglais, là on exige une parfaite maîtrise de l'anglais, et essentiellement du domaine de compétences qui a été pourvu au poste. Si le poste pourvu est un poste d'enseignement français, dans ce cas-là on exige également une très bonne maîtrise du français en tant que langue. Et ensuite il y a tout un entretien qui se fait, il y a toute une procédure à suivre. Mais l'essentielle c'est qu'il ait une parfaite maîtrise et là c'est l'entretien qui permet de valider cela.

**Le chercheur**  
**Vous ne demandez pas à ce qu'ils savent parler les langues nationales. Par exemple, l'afar ou le somali, non.**

**Djama**  
Non ce n'est pas exigé. Si c'est un contrat local, un contrat à durée déterminée quand on embauche quelqu'un de l'extérieur, dans ce cas-là on n'exige pas qu'il maîtrise les langues nationales.

**Le chercheur**  
**Mais si c'est un djiboutien, vous demandez à ce qu'ils connaissent...**

**Djama**

Un djiboutien forcément je crois que...

**Le chercheur**  
**Il parlera le somali.**

**Djama**  
Oui et l'afar, mais on ne l'exige pas.

**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous avez une politique linguistique à l'université pour les étudiants pour les profs de langues qu'ils doivent parler, des langues qu'ils doivent utiliser ou pas. Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose d'interdit ?**

**Djama**  
Je crois qu'à l'université de Djibouti, normalement ce n'est pas dans le cadre de ma responsabilité, mais je crois qu'il y a une liberté. C'est ça qui garantit le fait que tel ou tel parle une langue ou une autre par rapport soit à sa langue maternelle soit par rapport à une langue d'acquisition. Dans l'ensemble de l'établissement, en dehors des cours, les étudiants peuvent librement parler la langue maternelle ou la langue qu'ils ont appris ce qui est autre que celle du travail et de l'enseignement. Concernant les enseignants, c'est pareil mais la politique linguistique, je crois que, là, peut-être, les gens qui sont habilités à répondre à cette question, pourraient répondre à cette question.

**Le chercheur**  
**Donc vous leur donnez la liberté.**

**Djama**  
Exactement.

**Le chercheur**  
**Et si on parle de Djibouti par exemple, vous savez qu'il y a des langues qui sont enseignées dans les écoles primaires et secondaires. Que pensez-vous de ces langues qui sont enseignées dans les écoles au primaire et secondaire ?**

**Djama**  
Je crois en ma connaissance c'est d'abord la langue officielle le français. Les langues officielles, le français et l'arabe qui sont enseignées à l'école primaire. Depuis longtemps ça a été le cas. L'arabe classique et puis le français standard. Je crois que c'est dans les orientations stratégiques fixées par le système et plus précisément l'éducation nationale. Je crois qu'à mon avis, pour que les enfants puissent avoir une parfaite acquisition des matières, ils doivent apprendre leur langue maternelle parce que le savoir passe essentiellement par la langue. Et quand les enfants ont un handicap par rapport à la langue, ils ont un double handicap par rapport à l'apprentissage.

**Le chercheur**  
**Donc vous pensez qu'il faudrait enseigner les langues nationales.**

**Djama**  
Oui ! effectivement.

**Le chercheur**  
**A quel niveau, au secondaire ou... ?**

**Djama**  
Dès la base. Dès l'enseignement fondamental, je ne sais pas si dans les dernières assises, il y a une réflexion qui a été engagée dans ce sens, mais je crois que pour pallier aux défaillances et aux obstacles liées à l'apprentissage de langue déjà, il faudrait que l'enfant puisse déjà maîtriser sa langue maternelle et puis s'acquérir beaucoup de matières à travers

cette langue qui pourrait lui faciliter l'acquisition des matières et des autres langues aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
**Donc vous préconisez l'apprentissage des langues nationales au niveau du primaire, du secondaire...**

**Djama**  
A mon avis oui.

**Le chercheur**  
**Vous voulez que ces langues soient des langues d'éducation, des langues d'enseignement, ou alors des options seulement ?**

**Djama**  
Pour l'instant, je crois que le chemin est long pour que les langues nationales puissent devenir des langues d'enseignement parce qu'il faudrait que le pays à lequel appartient la langue soit économiquement puissant. Je crois que dans un premier temps, ça doit être des options des modules qui puissent parallèlement parachever l'apprentissage de l'enfant dans un premier temps. Par la suite développer sa langue maternelle et faire en sorte qu'elle soit une langue d'enseignement nécessaire, je crois, une puissance économique.

**Le chercheur**  
**Donc vous avez des enfants qui vont à l'école, qu'elle langue apprennent-ils vos enfants ?**

**Djama**  
Le français.

**Le chercheur**  
**Qu'aimez-vous qu'ils apprennent en matière de langues ?**

**Djama**  
Moi j'aurais aimé déjà pour assumer leur identité et contribuer à une culture et de principes forts qu'ils déjà maîtrisent leur langue maternelle. Là c'est important. Déjà leur langue maternelle ce n'est même pas ma langue, c'est la langue de leur mère. La première langue de socialisation c'est généralement...

**Le chercheur**  
**Donc ils ont l'arabe.**

**Djama**  
Voilà. Qu'ils apprennent parfaitement l'arabe, le somali, les langues parlées à Djibouti, et parallèlement qu'ils apprennent le français. Moi je suis pour l'apprentissage de multitude de langues pour que l'enfant à la base soit polyglotte.

**Le chercheur**  
**Donc les langues nationales, le français, l'anglais aussi. À quel niveau vous voulez qu'on commence à enseigner l'anglais aux enfants ? Parce que là je crois qu'en ce moment, c'est à partir de la 6ème je crois.**

**Djama**  
Oui dès le niveau CE1, l'enfant doit commencer à apprendre l'anglais. Parce que je pense qu'à certain âge, les enfants ont l'aptitude nécessaire et la capacité d'apprendre plusieurs langues.

**Le chercheur**  
**Revenons maintenant toujours à Djibouti, quelle est la langue la plus utilisée dans les rues, quelle est la langue que vous entendez le plus ?**

**Djama**  
Le somali.

**Le chercheur**  
**Dans les services publics, les gens qui demandent par exemple à faire des papiers...**  
**Djama**  
 Le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**La plupart du temps vous entendez le somali. Quelle serait la deuxième langue ?**  
**Djama**  
 Je crois que dans toujours le même cadre...  
**Le chercheur**  
**Dans les bureaux dans les rues, là on a dit c'est une langue nationale, le somali.**  
**Djama**  
 J'entends quelque part l'afar et l'arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et le français ?**  
**Djama**  
 Le français aussi.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc dans les bureaux, la première langue que les gens communiquent ou dans les rues...**  
**Djama**  
 Hors du travail, les gens communiquent généralement en somali. Donc en afar, en arabe, et en français aussi, majoritairement, en somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce qu'il y a des endroits où une langue domine plus que dans d'autres ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui effectivement. Dans les quartiers dits aisés, moi mes enfants sont à la Nativité et aux alentours de la Nativité.  
**Le chercheur**  
**C'est une école privée.**  
**Djama**  
 Oui c'est une école privée, pour l'instant considérée comme une école élite. Puis, c'est dans un quartier résidentiel. À ce niveau-là, je crois que les gens parlent beaucoup français.

**Le chercheur**  
**Dans quelles autres langues, les langues nationales par exemple ?**  
**Djama**  
 Si je vais à Arhiba, c'est quasiment afar. De temps à autre, j'y vais pour voir des amis, et tout le monde presque, tout le monde, parle l'afar.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce qu'il y aurait une deuxième langue après l'afar où les gens on pourrait entendre...**  
**Djama**  
 À Arhiba, si ce n'est pas l'afar, c'est le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et est-ce qu'il y a des zones où il y a de l'arabe qui domine ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui. Alors si je vais à Djebel, a Ambouli, les gens parlent majoritairement arabe, donc arabe et somali, parce que là ils cohabitent.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce qu'il y a des endroits où il y a que le somali qui dominant ?**  
**Djama**

Oui essentiellement Balbala, je crois quartier 7 bis, dans les bidons villes, c'est le somali qui domine.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc la langue qui domine à Djibouti c'est le somali. Après on entend le français, de l'afar.**  
**Djama**  
 Oui. L'afar est je crois géographiquement circonscrit à Arhiba à Wahledaba aussi, il y a une zone où les gens parlent majoritairement afar.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Très bien merci. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ?**  
**Djama**  
 Non, pour ne pas vous mentir. Quand je suis dans ma voiture, effectivement j'écoute la radio, mais à la maison, non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Vous écoutez en quelle langue ?**  
**Djama**  
 En somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous regardez la télévision ?**  
**Djama**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**À la radio, est-ce que vous avez des programmes ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui, j'écoute la chaîne 104. C'est une chaîne qui est essentiellement dédiée à la lecture du Coran, et dans laquelle il y a effectivement des hadiths.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Ils parlent en quelle langue ?**  
**Djama**  
 En somali. Mais le matin c'est en afar aussi. En fait, il y a des créneaux.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous allez aux théâtres, les langues nationales ?**  
**Djama**  
 Le théâtre n'existe plus je crois. En tout cas, ce n'est plus animé comme avant.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous naviguez sur internet ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Quelle langue vous utilisez ?**  
**Djama**  
 Le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous utilisez d'autres langues ?**  
**Djama**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous utilisez les médias sociaux, Facebook ou WhatsApp ?**  
**Djama**  
 En fait pas très souvent mais oui pour avoir les infos.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Les langues que vous utilisez ?**  
**Djama**  
 Le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous savez que les langues nationales sont présentes sur internet ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**

**Vous êtes conscient mais vous utilisez le français mais vous ne regardez pas les autres.**  
**Djama**  
 Effectivement.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous lisez les journaux ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**En quelle langue ?**  
**Djama**  
 En français, la Nation, le Figaro, le Jeune Afrique...  
**Le chercheur**  
**Quel journal national ?**  
**Djama**  
 La Nation.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Il est en français.**  
**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous lisez d'autres journaux ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui le Figaro, le Monde, l'Intelligence qui est toujours en français, le Canard Enchaîné.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Vous utilisez ça en français.**  
**Djama**  
 Oui voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous lisez des livres ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que c'est écrit par des auteurs djiboutiens ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui effectivement. C'est dans le cadre aussi d'une matière que j'ai en charge intitulé la littérature francophone djiboutienne. C'est des auteurs djiboutiens qui l'ont écrit.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc ce sont des auteurs djiboutiens mais en français.**  
**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous avez des auteurs djiboutiens en langue somali ? Est-ce que vous lisez en langue somali ?**  
**Djama**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc vous lisez en français uniquement les auteurs djiboutiens comme Abdurahman Waberi.**  
**Djama**  
 Abdurahman Waberi, Abdi Ismail Abdi, Idriss Youssouf Elmi, Ilias Ahmed Ali, prof de littérature comparée, et puis Osman Omar Hussein qui a actuellement soutenu sa thèse de doctorat aussi.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc ces auteurs djiboutiens qui écrivent en français, donc vous enseignez même...**  
**Djama**  
 Leurs œuvres à l'université.  
**Le chercheur**  
**C'est bien. À la mosquée, le sermon du vendredi est majoritairement en arabe.**  
**Djama**

Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous comprenez à la mosquée ?**  
**Djama**  
 Parfaitement.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Vous vous sentez à l'aise avec le serment en arabe ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et vous pensez que les gens qui sont là le vendredi comprennent en majorité le sermon ?**  
**Djama**  
 Je ne pense pas. C'est la raison pour laquelle d'ailleurs il y a une traduction qui est lancée après la prière.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Mais les gens ne restent pas souvent même s'ils n'ont pas compris. Combien de gens en pourcentage qui comprennent, le pourcentage qui comprennent rien du tout de l'arabe au sermon ?**  
**Djama**  
 Ça doit être difficile. Je crois que la majorité ne comprend pas. Si je pourrais effectuer ça en termes de pourcentage environ, je crois que seulement 20 ou 25% comprennent, les autres non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord, 20% comprend. C'est un peu bizarre la majorité ne comprend pas et on continue à donner en arabe. À l'étranger, quand vous allez à l'étranger, vous avez fait vos études en France, vous avez fait dans quelle ville ?**  
**Djama**  
 À Dijon.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que c'était avec une bourse djiboutienne ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui, dans le cadre d'une bourse djiboutienne.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Et quand vous allez dans d'autres pays par exemple ou quand vous voyagez, est-ce que vous avez des difficultés à communiquer avec les étrangers dans ces pays-là s'ils ne parlent pas français ?**  
**Djama**  
 S'ils ne parlent pas français, oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous sentez le manque d'une langue, par exemple, j'aurais dû apprendre cette langue ?**  
**Djama**  
 Oui. Mon anglais intermédiaire ne me permet d'être à l'aise en communiquant avec les autres. En arabe je suis à l'aise, mais en anglais, comme j'aime bien la parler, pour moi c'est un handicap. Je peux échanger avec quelqu'un mais je n'aime pas mal parler la langue.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc vous sentez le besoin d'améliorer.**  
**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous allez en Ethiopie ou en Somalie ?**

**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Est-ce que vous vous sentez à l'aise dans leur environnement linguistique ?**  
**Djama**  
 En Somalie, il n'y a pas de soucis. Je ne suis pas dépaycé. En fait, je n'y vais même pas. Je suis parti une fois il y a très, très longtemps, mais à Hargeisa, je n'étais pas dépaycé. Je crois que ça remonte à 1990.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc les gens parlaient...**  
**Djama**  
 Les gens parlent comme à Djibouti en Somalie, il n'y a pas de soucis. Mais en Ethiopie, il y a un réel souci. Soit ils parlent en amharique, soit ils parlent en oromo soit ils parlent en anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc vous ne vous sentez pas à l'aise.**  
**Djama**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Même si dans les villes où il y a...**  
**Djama**  
 En fait, je me sens à l'aise il n'y a pas de soucis, mais linguistiquement c'est vrai, là je ne me sens pas à l'aise.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Vous ne parlez pas l'amharique.**  
**Djama**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc c'est très bien. J'aimerais vous demandez une autre question sur un peu, sur le temps aujourd'hui les langues à Djibouti, la façon dont les djiboutiens utilisent aujourd'hui, par exemple, les langues sont parlées à Djibouti, quand vous les comparez d'il y a 20 ans, quand vous étiez peut-être étudiant au lycée ou par exemple quand vous étiez peut-être enseignant au primaire...**  
**Djama**  
 Vous voulez parler du français ?  
**Le chercheur**  
**De toutes les langues. Si vous les comparez, le français avant, le français maintenant, est-ce que les gens parlent plus maintenant en français ou est-ce qu'ils parlent moins, ou est-ce que les djiboutiens parlent plus somali maintenant qu'avant si vous faites des comparaisons ?**  
**Djama**  
 Je crois qu'avant, les gens avaient une bonne maîtrise d'une langue et la parlaient suffisamment bien.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Quelle langue ?**  
**Djama**  
 Soit le somali, soit l'afar. Aujourd'hui, au fur et à mesure que les gens apprennent plusieurs langues en même temps et qu'il y a cohabitation d'accord de surcroît ils apprennent aussi le français qui est très utilisée dans les réseaux sociaux, je crois qu'aujourd'hui les jeunes ont tendance à mélanger. Il y a longtemps, les gens parlaient suffisamment bien une seule langue et pouvaient soutenir une communication dans une seule langue. Aujourd'hui je crois que non. Les jeunes mélangent. En communiquant, ils parlent plusieurs langues. Ils peuvent commencer

à parler française et finir par parler afar ou somali ou arabe ou l'inverse. Je crois qu'aussi les réseaux sociaux facilitent cela parce que les gens ne se soucient pas de la qualité de la langue mais se soucient du message qu'ils transmettent, et du coup, ça ramène finalement une baisse du niveau de la langue. Les gens ne parlent pas bien surtout les jeunes. L'essentielle, ce n'est pas de se soucier de la qualité de la langue qu'ils parlent mais du message qu'ils transmettent, et du coup ça rabaisse du niveau.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Donc est-ce que vous avez un avis ou un commentaire pour les djiboutiens ou les chercheurs en matière de langues parlées à Djibouti ?**  
**Djama**  
 Je crois que les chercheurs doivent se pencher sur une dynamique de réflexions qui consisteraient à mettre dans les programmes ou dans les orientations stratégiques l'apprentissage des langues maternelles. Ça je crois c'est fondamental, c'est important pour l'avenir de Djibouti, pour l'avenir des jeunes. Imagine, un enfant qui n'a même pas une bonne maîtrise de sa langue maternelle, on le ramène à l'école et on commence à lui apprendre une autre langue qu'il a beaucoup de difficultés à acquérir. Du coup, je crois que psychologiquement ça génère un trouble d'identité aussi. Il n'a pas assumé son identité intérieure, et il commence à réfléchir dans une autre langue et à acquérir par la même occasion une culture d'une autre langue alors que sa culture il n'a pas bien maîtrisé. Du coup, cela je crois à mon sens, génère dans la psychologie de l'enfant une confusion et finalement devient un handicap. À mon sens, il faudrait je crois réfléchir sur cette problématique qui est aujourd'hui essentielle.  
**Le chercheur**  
**Ce serait un axe de recherche.**  
**Djama**  
 C'est un axe de recherche. Ça permettrait à l'enfant d'assumer son identité et par la même occasion d'acquérir tout en dépassant l'obstacle lié à l'apprentissage d'une langue. Est-ce qu'il va apprendre la langue ou est-ce qu'il va apprendre les matières que cette langue faciliterait.  
**Le chercheur**  
**D'accord. Merci Dr. Djama. C'était très bien de m'avoir accordé cette interview. Je vous remercie et vous souhaite beaucoup de succès dans votre carrière de directeur des études. Merc monsieur.**  
**Djama**  
 Merci à vous.  
 Interview avec Isse, directeur de ressources humaines dans une grande entreprise d'état.  
 4 March 2017 at 16.28 dans son bureau à l'entreprise à Ras dika à Djibouti.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Bonjour, as salamu alaikum, Monsieur, je m'appelle Monsieur Saïd Djama, je fais une recherche sur les langues parlées à Djibouti avec l'université d'Aston de Birmingham, au Royaume-Uni, en Angleterre, au Royaume-Uni et je vous assure comme c'est écrit sur le formulaire

de consentement une anonymité de ce que nous allons discuter. Le contenu de l'interview ne sera, sera gardé anonyme, sera anonyme et gardé secret sauf les responsables de l'université d'Aston qui travaillent sur la thèse et moi-même y auront accès. Donc, je vous rappelle aussi que vous avez parfaitement le droit d'arrêter et de quitter l'interview et que vous n'êtes pas obligé de le faire si cela ne vous plait pas. Alors j'aimerais bien que vous vous présentiez, si vous pouvez nous dire votre nom, profession et titre de service. Allez-y Monsieur.

**Isse**

Bonjour, je m'appelle Issa, je suis djiboutien et j'habite à Djibouti et je travaille à [...] en tant que Directeur des Ressources Humaines, voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Merci. Directeur des Ressources Humaines. Merci, euh, quelle est votre langue maternelle ?

**Isse**

Ma langue maternelle est le somali, euh... Je parle aussi le français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, en quelle langue vous voulez qu'on fasse cette interview ? Est-ce que vous voulez qu'on la fasse en somali ou en français ?

**Isse**

Euh, pour l'instant on continue en français déjà, on est en train de parler en français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, merci. Merci, est-ce que vous vous considérez comme francophone ou arabophone ?

**Isse**

Personnellement je me considère francophone mais je comprends un peu l'arabe mais je ne parle pas l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, combien de langues vous comprenez ou écrivez ?

**Isse**

Euh... Je comprends et je parle et j'écris le français, l'anglais mais je parle simplement, je lis un peu le somali.

**Le chercheur**

Le somali, d'accord. Et l'arabe, vous le parlez ?

**Isse**

Euh, l'arabe je ne le parle pas mais j'arrive à lire.

**Le chercheur**

Vous arrivez à lire. Merci, merci, d'accord. Alors, combien de langues vous parlez à la maison ? A la maison, quand vous êtes chez vous, combien de langues vous parlez ?

**Isse**

A la maison, on parle la langue maternelle le somali mais en même temps la langue française, on en parle mais peu mais surtout quand on étudie on parle en français.

**Le chercheur**

Donc, avec vos enfants ?

**Isse**

On parle en français quand on est avec les enfants et surtout quand on les aide à étudier leurs devoirs en langue française.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Donc, et avec votre épouse ?

**Isse**

Avec mon épouse on parle le somali mais on utilise des fois quelques mots français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, mais, euh, donc la majorité du temps avec vos enfants vous parlez somali ou vous parlez français ?

**Isse**

Plus ou moins, on mélange un peu. On parle majoritairement somali mais on mélange avec le français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, et avec vos voisins ?

**Isse**

Avec mes voisins, c'est plutôt le somali.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Quand vous allez par exemple à la boutique à côté, vous parlez en somali ou une autre langue ?

**Isse**

Pour le voisinage et tout ce qui est les boutiques aux alentours, on parle en somali.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, et quand vous êtes dans la rue, quelle langue vous utilisez ?

**Isse**

Euh, la langue somalie.

**Le chercheur**

Partout où vous allez à Djibouti ou il y a des endroits où vous ne pouvez pas parler somali ?

**Isse**

Il y a des endroits où on ne peut pas parler somali parce que les gens ils parlent en français alors on est obligés de répondre en français.

**Le chercheur**

En français, d'accord. Est-ce qu'il y a par exemple au travail, est-ce que par exemple au travail là où vous êtes le Chef des Ressources Humaines, est-ce que quand vous embauchez quelqu'un vous exigez que cette personne parle une ou deux langues ? Obligatoirement.

**Isse**

Euh, ce n'est pas obligatoire de parler une ou deux langues mais normalement il doit au moins parler le somali ou l'afar (qui est la langue nationale) et au moins connaître une des langues français ou arabe.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Isse**

Mais ce n'est pas obligatoire s'il n'a pas de niveau d'études...

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, si quelqu'un ne parle pas le français et l'arabe, est-ce que quand même vous l'embauchez ?

5.00 min

**Isse**

Euh, ça dépend le niveau, la catégorie du travail qu'on va lui demander, il y a du travail manuel qui ne nécessite pas beaucoup l'emploi de la langue anglaise, français ou arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Donc, on ne demande pas, mais si c'est par exemple un niveau élevé ?

**Isse**

Pour un niveau élevé c'est obligatoire au moins qu'il parle la langue...

**Le chercheur**

Quelqu'un qui travaille dans un bureau...

**Isse**

Pour un administrateur c'est obligatoire qu'il parle la langue française et un peu la langue arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Mais s'il ne parle pas français mais qu'il parle, qu'il a étudié en arabe par exemple, seulement l'arabe et qu'il ne connaît pas le français, est-ce que vous pouvez-vous l'embaucher en tant qu'administrateur ?

**Isse**

Non, c'est difficile parce que tous les documents se font en français à l'embauche.

**Le chercheur**

Administrateur vous voulez dire c'est quelqu'un qui travaille dans l'administration.

**Isse**

Qui travaille dans l'administration, oui.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Donc on ne peut pas l'embaucher s'il ne connaît que l'arabe.

**Isse**

Oui, voilà, c'est très difficile pour l'embauche, surtout au niveau administratif.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, donc la personne doit connaître absolument le français.

**Isse**

C'est obligatoire pour certains domaines comme dans l'administration mais pour d'autres domaines ce n'est pas obligatoire de connaître...

**Le chercheur**

Donc ouvrier.

**Isse**

Ouvrier on n'a pas besoin.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Isse**

Le technicien ou technicien informatique ou technicien supérieur on n'a pas besoin parce qu'il y a l'anglais qui est rentré dedans aussi.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Isse**

Ce n'est pas obligatoire le français.

**Le chercheur**

Donc, si la personne parle que l'anglais est-ce que vous l'embauchez ? Et qu'il ne parle pas français.

**Isse**

C'est comme... C'est pareil comme l'administration, au niveau administratif c'est très difficile, ça va être difficile pour lui de travailler au niveau administratif s'il parle que l'anglais mais au niveau technique, toujours...

**Le chercheur**

Ingénieur.

**Isse**

Ingénieur, oui tout ce qui est ingénieur télécom, ingénieur de réseaux tout ça c'est déjà... L'anglais est favorisé.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, vous n'exigez pas le français ?

**Isse**

Non. Ce n'est pas obligatoire de parler français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Et les gens qui viennent, les clients, quand ils viennent les clients chez vous à [...], est-ce que vous devez leur parler dans leur langue ? Par exemple s'il y a quelqu'un qui vient qui parle que le

somali, est-ce que vous allez lui communiquer, est-ce que vous allez communiquer en somali ?

**Isse**  
 Quand on parle de clients au niveau de la Direction Ressources Humaines c'est le personnel qui travaille à [...], alors les personnes qui travaillent à [...] il y a deux catégories, il y a les somaliens et les afars plus les arabes. Mais dans tous les cas on parle français qui est la langue de communication entre les communautés.

**Le chercheur**  
 Au travail.

**Isse**  
 Au travail. Mais sinon, si la personne elle ne comprend pas, on essaie de parler sa langue maternelle avec lui.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, donc si au niveau des clients s'il y a quelqu'un qui vient et qui parle l'afar et qu'il n'y a personne pour parler avec lui en afar, qu'est-ce que vous faites ? Ou qu'est-ce qu'ils font ?

**Isse**  
 Si la personne par exemple parle l'afar et moi personnellement je ne parle pas l'afar, on essaie de trouver une personne qui travaille au service personnel qui parle afar sinon on essaie de faire de sorte que l'on parle en français s'il parle français.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Est-ce que vous, est-ce que ça arrive que vous appeliez ou que vous faisiez appel à un interprète ?

**Isse**  
 Oui, mais c'est si la personne elle ne parle pas français.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, donc vous embauchez un interprète qui vient ?

**Isse**  
 Non, c'est plutôt un du personnel qui parle français-afar ou français-somali ou français-arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.

**Isse**  
 Qui interprète.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, mais vous n'appelez pas des interprètes personnels privés ?

**Isse**  
 Non.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Donc les gens qui travaillent chez vous, quelle est la langue la plus utilisée pour le travail ?

**Isse**  
 La langue la plus utilisée au niveau administratif c'est le français.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.

**Isse**  
 Mais c'est fort probable que les gens quand ils discutent entre eux parlent leur langue maternelle.

**Le chercheur**  
 Entre eux ils parlent la langue maternelle. Et quelle est la langue maternelle qui est la plus parlée ?

**Isse**  
 Euh, c'est le somali, après il y a l'afar, après il y a l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
 Donc ça ce sont des langues nationales.

**Isse**

Nationales.

**Le chercheur**  
 Donc les langues nationales sont parlées mais en majorité chez vous les gens parlent français ?

**Isse**  
 Français c'est la langue administrative.

**Le chercheur**  
 Oui, oui, je sais vous avez dit ça mais j'aimerais savoir quelle est la plus langue parlée parmi les travailleurs ? Quand les travailleurs entre eux discutent, quelle est la langue la plus utilisée ?

**Isse**  
 Le somali.

**Le chercheur**  
 Le somali, d'accord. Et est-ce que le somali chez vous est aussi écrit, est-ce que les gens écrivent le somali ou travaillent avec les somalis ?

**Isse**  
 Non, on ne travaille pas avec le somali, on travaille avec la langue française.

**Le chercheur**  
 Avec la langue française. Est-ce que vous utilisez l'arabe aussi ? Est-ce que vous écrivez l'arabe ?

**Isse**  
 A mon service non.

**Le chercheur**  
 Non et à [...] est-ce que ça vous arrive d'employer quelqu'un où on va vous dire celui-là il va écrire en arabe nos textes ?

**Isse**  
 A mon service non. Non, on n'a jamais vu ou employé quelqu'un.

**Le chercheur**  
 Oui. D'accord. Dans les rues de Djibouti, est-ce que, tout à l'heure vous avez dit que vous parlez dans la rue somalie et vous avez dit que dans les rues il y a des gens qui parlent d'autres langues aussi, mais la plupart des rues à Djibouti, quelle est la langue la plus utilisée à Djibouti dans les rues ?

**Isse**  
 A Djibouti ville, je constate que la langue la plus utilisée est le somali.

**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.

**Isse**  
 Mais il y a des endroits où on parle la langue afar aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord des endroits, donc il y a des endroits où on parle que l'afar.

**Isse**  
 Que l'afar.

**Le chercheur**  
 Donc ce sont des quartiers ?

**Isse**  
 Ce sont des quartiers...

**Le chercheur**  
 Par exemple ?

**Isse**  
 Où la communauté afar est nombreuse.

**Le chercheur**  
 Par exemple à Djibouti ?

**Isse**  
 C'est le quartier Arhiba.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.

**Isse**  
 Et d'autres quartiers mais c'est parce que la majorité de la population qui habite là-bas sont de la communauté afar.

**Le chercheur**  
 Donc eux ils parlent en afar, et est-ce que dans d'autres quartiers est-ce qu'il y a des gens qui parlent uniquement où on entend dans les quartiers que de l'arabe ?

**Isse**  
 Oui, il y a deux, trois, deux-trois quartiers je pense.

**Le chercheur**  
 Où les gens dans la rue parlent que l'arabe ?

**Isse**  
 Où les gens dans la rue parlent que l'arabe mais en mélangeant avec la langue somalie.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, donc parmi ces quartiers à Djibouti ville, quelle est la langue la plus parlée alors ?

**Isse**  
 C'est la langue somalie.

**Le chercheur**  
 C'est la langue somalie. Et après ?

**Isse**  
 Le français parce que c'est un moyen pour se comprendre entre les communautés.

**Le chercheur**  
 C'est la deuxième langue qui est la plus parlée, ce n'est pas l'afar...

**Isse**  
 Ce n'est pas l'afar ni l'arabe, c'est la langue française.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, d'accord, donc pour les écoles par exemple les gens apprennent à Djibouti ville les deux langues officielles (l'arabe et le français), est-ce que vos enfants, est-ce que vous avez des enfants qui sont au primaire ou au secondaire ?

**Isse**  
 Oui, j'ai des primaires et des secondaires.

**Le chercheur**  
 Donc, au primaire vos enfants apprennent, sont dans un système scolaire français ou dans un système scolaire arabe ?

**Isse**  
 Euh, ils sont dans un système français.

**Le chercheur**  
 Et au secondaire ?

**Isse**  
 Français pareil.

**Le chercheur**  
 Pareil. Donc est-ce qu'ils apprennent l'anglais ou est-ce qu'ils apprennent l'arabe ou...

**Isse**  
 Ils apprennent le français...

**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.

**Isse**  
 Qui est la langue d'enseignement mais ils apprennent en même temps l'arabe qui est la seconde langue vivante.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, c'est bon. Et l'anglais dans ça, dans tout ça ?

**Isse**  
 Ça arrive au secondaire, au niveau secondaire ils apprennent la langue vivante 2, ils apprennent la langue niveau 2.

**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, et est-ce que vous vous avez envie d'enseigner à vos enfants une autre langue ? Ou est-ce que vous pensez que...

**Isse**  
 Pour l'instant...

**Le chercheur**



Ce serait mieux qu'ils apprennent au primaire une certaine langue ?  
**Isse**  
 Pour l'instant ils apprennent déjà deux langues plus la langue maternelle qu'ils parlent à la maison, moi je pense que c'est déjà suffisant.  
**Le chercheur**  
 C'est déjà suffisant, est-ce que vous pensez qu'il faudrait ajouter une autre langue au primaire ? Ou enseigner les langues nationales au primaire ou au secondaire ou est-ce que vous pensez que le français est assez ?  
**Isse**  
 Je pense que le français c'est assez comme langue d'enseignement.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Isse**  
 Mais une deuxième langue comme langue vivante, moi je pense que la langue maternelle serait mieux, comme le somali ou l'afar.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Qu'on enseigne ?  
**Isse**  
 Qu'on enseigne.  
**Le chercheur**  
 A quel niveau ?  
**Isse**  
 Au niveau primaire.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Au niveau primaire.  
**Isse**  
 Comme langue vivante 2. Comme ça...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et non la langue principale ?  
**Isse**  
 Et non la langue principale.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Comme langue, comme option ?  
**Isse**  
 Comme option de langue.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, d'accord, au primaire ?  
**Isse**  
 Au primaire.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Les langues nationales, vous voulez dire l'afar...  
**Isse**  
 L'afar et le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et le somali. Et l'arabe est déjà enseigné comme option...  
**Isse**  
 Il est déjà enseigné comme option, langue vivante 2.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, c'est bien. Donc vous vous parlez français, vous parlez somali, quand vous parlez français ou quand vous parlez somali, est-ce que vous vous sentez confortable dans ces deux langues ?  
**Isse**  
 Oui, je me sens confortable dans les deux langues somali...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Est-ce qu'il y a une langue qui domine l'autre en vous ? Est-ce que vous sentez que vous êtes porté plus par le français ou porté plus par le somali ?  
**Isse**  
 Au niveau parlé ça dépend avec qui je communique, mon interlocuteur, s'il parle plus somali je parle somali mais je parle

français si c'est nécessaire. Au niveau écrit et administration c'est toujours le français qui l'emporte.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, donc ça ne vous gêne pas de parler français ? Tout le temps.  
**Isse**  
 Non, ça ne me dérange pas.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ça ne vous dérange pas. Et vous pensez que dans la vie que vous utilisez beaucoup plus le français ou beaucoup plus le somali ?  
**Isse**  
 Ça dépend ma position, si je me trouve à la maison avec ma famille...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ça dépend des journées.  
**Isse**  
 Des journées, voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc il y a des jours où vous parlez plus...  
**Isse**  
 Plus français que de somali ou plus de somali que de français.  
 15.03 min  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Alors, à la radio par exemple, est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ?  
**Isse**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Qu'est-ce que vous écoutez à la radio ?  
 Quelle langue ?  
**Isse**  
 La langue que j'écoute le plus c'est le français parce que les infos y passent en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Isse**  
 Et j'écoute en somali, quand ça passe en somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc, pour les informations.  
**Isse**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Est-ce que vous écoutez les chansons, les variétés ?  
**Isse**  
 Euh, je n'écoute plus de chansons de variétés dans les deux langues.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Dans les deux langues, quelles langues ?  
**Isse**  
 Français ou somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Français ou somali.  
**Isse**  
 J'écoute peu.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, peu. Et tout ce qui est télévisé ?  
**Isse**  
 Tout ce qui est télévision, j'écoute le français et un peu de somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc tu regardes les informations ?  
**Isse**  
 Les informations en français et s'il y a des films je regarde des documentaires en français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Dans quelle langue ?  
**Isse**

En français et je regarde un peu en somali mais je regarde aussi.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ok, les chansons ?  
**Isse**  
 Les chansons, je ne suis pas porté pour les chansons mais bon j'écoute des fois...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Le théâtre ?  
**Isse**  
 Le théâtre je préfère écouter en somali que du français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Le théâtre en français. Et les émissions religieuses ?  
**Isse**  
 Les émissions religieuses j'écoute en somali que le français et j'écoute des fois à la radio du français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Est-ce que les émissions religieuses en arabe vous écoutez ?  
**Isse**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Est-ce que vous comprenez ?  
**Isse**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Est-ce que la prière de Jour'a la plupart des mosquées utilisent l'arabe seulement ?  
**Isse**  
 Je ne comprends pas l'arabe mais j'écoute la partie somalie.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, et il y a une partie somalie dans le...  
**Isse**  
 Oui, dans ma mosquée.  
**Le chercheur**  
 A la mosquée le vendredi.  
**Isse**  
 Il y a une partie somalie et j'écoute cette partie.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, et internet ? Et internet, quelle langue vous utilisez sur internet ?  
**Isse**  
 Que le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Que le français. Vous n'utilisez pas d'autres langues ? Pas le somali, pas...  
**Isse**  
 Pas le somali, pas l'anglais, pas arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Et qu'est-ce qui... Qu'est-ce que vous... Internet... Qu'est-ce qui vous intéresse dans internet ? Est-ce que vous utilisez le français pour apprendre des choses ? Ou pour vous informer ?  
**Isse**  
 C'est plutôt pour m'informer et pour mon travail j'utilise internet.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Est-ce que vous voyagez à l'étranger ?  
**Isse**  
 Oui, des fois.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Des fois ? Et quelle langue utilisez-vous quand vous êtes en voyage ?  
**Isse**  
 Ça dépend dans quel pays je suis, si je suis dans un pays francophone j'utilise le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.

**Isse**  
Si je suis dans un pays anglophone j'utilise l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Isse**  
Dans les pays arabes, et ben... Ils parlent anglais alors j'utilise l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, l'anglais. Est-ce que vous avez fait vos études à l'étranger ?

**Isse**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que ça a été payé par le gouvernement ou vous-même ?

**Isse**  
Euh, moi-même.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous-même d'accord. Vous avez donc appris à l'université quelle langue ?

**Isse**  
La langue euh... Bah, j'ai continué avec la langue française.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Isse**  
Et après j'ai été en Angleterre pour la langue anglaise.

**Le chercheur**  
La langue anglaise, d'accord. Donc vous êtes... Vous parlez trois langues, donc vous parlez le somali, le français, l'anglais.

**Isse**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Et quand vous êtes à l'étranger, est-ce que vous vous sentez, est-ce que vous sentez l'envie d'apprendre une autre langue ?

**Isse**  
Mmhh, non.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, est-ce que vous croyez que les djiboutiens devraient apprendre une autre langue pour pouvoir par exemple voyager à l'étranger ou faire des affaires à l'étranger ? Ou est-ce que le français est suffisant ?

**Isse**  
Non, je ne pense pas que le français est suffisant parce que déjà dans le coin en Afrique on le parle. On est le seul pays qui parle le français, moi je pense qu'ils doivent tous apprendre une deuxième langue surtout l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, est-ce que le français est un handicap, est-ce que c'est un plus ? Si dans la région on ne le parle pas.

**Isse**  
C'est un plus au niveau d'études.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Isse**  
Mais au niveau des voyages, du business c'est un handicap parce qu'il n'y a personne qui le parle dans la région.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, merci. Est-ce que vous pouvez me donner votre opinion sur ce qui, en matière de langues, ce que Djibouti devrait faire, par exemple pour la... Est-ce qu'il devrait y avoir une politique linguistique, est-ce que d'abord vous avez un règlement ou des règlements chez vous à [...] sur les langues ? Comment on parle, est-ce que

c'est régulé la langue, est-ce que c'est régulé à [...] ou est-ce que les gens sont libres d'utiliser la langue qu'ils préfèrent ?

**Isse**  
Euh... Normalement la langue officielle qu'ils doivent tous parler c'est le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Isse**  
Mais ce n'est pas obligatoire qu'ils parlent le français surtout au niveau technique et tout ce qui est technicien. Euh, ils parlent la langue qu'ils se comprennent le mieux.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Isse**  
Qu'ils peuvent transmettre leur message.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, il n'y a pas de politique derrière ?

**Isse**  
Non, il n'y a pas de politique linguistique.

**Le chercheur**  
De langues. Qu'est-ce que vous allez alors... Est-ce que vous pouvez nous dire votre opinion sur ça, sur les langues à l'enseignement ou sur les langues à Djibouti même ? Quelle langue pourrait être intéressante ?

**Isse**  
Moi je pense que Djibouti devrait avoir une politique linguistique au niveau que c'est la deuxième langue l'arabe ou l'anglais. C'est qu'ils commencent... L'arabe déjà ils commencent très tôt en primaire, mais l'anglais il commence très tard. Moi je pense qu'ils devraient commencer les deux très tôt pour permettre aux djiboutiens d'avoir une deuxième langue qu'ils parlent mieux, parce que même l'arabe et l'anglais quand ils finissent le secondaire ils ne le maîtrisent pas bien.

**Le chercheur**  
Et les langues nationales ?

**Isse**  
Euh, les langues nationales pour l'instant moi je... C'est un peu délaissé ce qui est triste mais on devrait surtout l'apprendre au niveau primaire aussi pour qu'ils arrivent à parler et écrire la langue somali ou afar qui sont les deux langues parlées à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Et quelle langue est la plus parlée sur le territoire djiboutien ?

**Isse**  
Le somali.

**Le chercheur**  
Le somali. D'accord, merci Monsieur Isse, ce sera tout pour aujourd'hui.

**Isse**  
Merci, c'était un plaisir.

Interview avec M. Mohamed, Directeur au Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche  
16 April 2017 at 10.18 au bureau à Boulaos à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**  
Bonjour. Je me présente, monsieur Said Djama. Je fais actuellement une thèse avec l'université d'Aston à Birmingham, en Angleterre au Royaume Unis, et je vous ai demandé de me donner une interview sur un sujet de ma thèse qui est actuellement sur les langues parlées à Djibouti. Est-ce que vous pouvez vous présenter et nous

dire votre nom, âge, profession, responsabilité et résidence ?

**Mohamed**  
Je m'appelle Mohamed. Je suis le responsable de la direction [...] du ministère de l'enseignement supérieur.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous êtes le responsable [...] du gouvernement Djiboutien.

**Mohamed**  
C'est ça.

**Le chercheur**  
[...] djiboutiens qui font des études à l'étranger.

**Mohamed**  
Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**  
Votre service s'appelle...

**Mohamed**  
[...]].

**Le chercheur**  
Quelle est votre langue maternelle ?

**Mohamed**  
Le somali comme la plupart de gens ici à Djibouti, ma langue maternelle c'est le somalie.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous aimez être interviewée en français qui est votre langue de travail.

**Mohamed**  
C'est ça.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous êtes un francophone ou un arabophone ?

**Mohamed**  
Moi je suis plutôt un francophone.

**Le chercheur**  
Quel est votre niveau d'éducation ?

**Mohamed**  
Disons dans le premier cycle universitaire.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous avez une certaine éducation. Dans quelle langue vous avez fait votre éducation ?

**Mohamed**  
Les études en Français.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous avez fait les études qu'en français.

**Mohamed**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
A Djibouti ou à l'étranger ?

**Mohamed**  
A Djibouti et à l'étranger.

**Le chercheur**  
Et à l'étranger en français.

**Mohamed**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans quel pays à part Djibouti ?

**Mohamed**  
En France.

**Le chercheur**  
Et vous avez utilisé une bourse du gouvernement ?

**Mohamed**  
Non, plutôt à ma charge.

**Le chercheur**  
Combien de langues vous parlez ou écrivez ?

**Mohamed**  
D'abord il y a la langue maternelle. Alors la langue maternelle, c'est le somali j'écris et je la parle. Après, il y a le français je l'écris et je la parle aussi. Il y a l'arabe je ne l'écris pas mais je la parle un petit peu.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous ressentez le besoin d'apprendre une nouvelle langue ?

**Mohamed**

Ça ne me déplairait pas. C'est toujours bien d'apprendre surtout pour... je suis amené un peu à voyager dans le cadre de mes études dans le cadre de mon travail, donc je voudrais bien apprendre une autre langue et ce serait peut-être l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Et à la maison, combien de langues parlez-vous ?

**Mohamed**

Une seule langue, le somalie.

**Le chercheur**

Vous utilisez que le somali à la maison.

**Mohamed**

Le somalie avec mes enfants le français puisqu'ils font des études en français.

**Le chercheur**

Quelle est la langue la plus importante pour vous ?

**Mohamed**

Importante dans quel sens ?

**Le chercheur**

L'utilisation à la maison ou dans les lieux publics. Quelle est la langue la plus importante ?

**Mohamed**

Là où nous sommes, la langue la plus importante c'est le français parce que nous sommes quand même à mener à utiliser cette langue dans le travail et peut être dans la vie de tous les jours comme la plupart de gens ne parlent pas somalie. La seule langue intermédiaire ou on se comprend c'est le français. Pour moi la langue la plus importante pour moi c'est le français à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Au travail, vous utilisez donc le français.

**Mohamed**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Combien de langues vous utilisez au bureau ?

**Mohamed**

Au bureau en principe c'est le français, mais ça ne nous empêche pas de parler l'arabe pour ceux qui ne savent pas le français et le somali pour ceux qui ne savent pas le français et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez le plus souvent avec vos collègues ?

**Mohamed**

C'est plutôt le somali puisque la plupart de mes collaborateurs sont somaliens donc ils parlent le somali.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est des gens qui parlent... quelle est la deuxième langue qui vient après ?

**Mohamed**

Le français incontestablement.

**Le chercheur**

Et en troisième position ?

**Mohamed**

En troisième position l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Qui est aussi...

**Mohamed**

De travail puisque nous sommes amenés aussi à envoyer des dossiers pour des étudiants qui font leurs études en arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous travailler votre service travaille avec des documents en arabe.

**Mohamed**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous avez des gens qui travaillent pour vous qui sont arabophones ?

**Mohamed**

Oui, il y a un service qui est chargé de la gestion des étudiants qui font leurs études en arabe, donc j'ai un chef de service qui s'occupe de ça et qui est arabophone lui aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Il fait la correspondance avec les pays arabes.

**Mohamed**

Avec les pays arabes, avec les étudiants, avec nos ambassades avec tous nos partenaires.

**Le chercheur**

Communication en arabe. Et comment il le fait pour communiquer à votre ministère ? Est-ce qu'il le traduit ou est-ce que vous les garder les correspondances en arabe ou est-ce que vous les traduisez en français ou dans une autre langue ?

**Mohamed**

On garde d'abord les documents en arabe puis ce que l'arabe est une langue officielle. C'est la deuxième langue officielle de Djibouti, mais ça ne nous empêche pas aussi de le traduire et surtout puisque pour se comprendre nous utilisons le somali, donc lui, il traduit en somali, et de là on le traduit en français. L'écrit en somali on le traduit après.

**Le chercheur**

Le somali n'est pas une langue de travail en Djibouti.

**Mohamed**

Entre nous dans mon service pour que le message passe mieux.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est très spécial ça.

**Mohamed**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous utilisez ces trois langues et vous avez de gens qui travaillent pour ce service et qui sont des arabophones. Les gens qui travaillent chez vous, vous avez une politique linguistique qui réglemente l'utilisation de langue.

**Mohamed**

Dans quel sens ?

**Le chercheur** Réglementation de l'utilisation de langue, est-ce qu'il y a des langues qu'il faut utiliser, ou est-ce qu'il y a des langues qu'il ne faut pas utiliser, est-ce que vous avez une politique linguistique ?

**Mohamed**

D'abord, il y a deux langues qui sont officielles à Djibouti c'est le français et l'arabe. En principe dans les bureaux, les gens doivent parler quand même le français et l'arabe. Pour le reste c'est juste pour se comprendre, mais les langues réglementées qu'on doit utiliser c'est le français et dans une moindre importance l'arabe dans mon service.

**Le chercheur**

Donc il n'y a pas quelque chose qui interdit les langues nationales ?

**Mohamed**

Non.

**Le chercheur**

Quand vous recrutez des gens qui vont travailler dans vos services de bourse, est-ce que vous cherchez à savoir si les gens parlent des langues plutôt que d'autres ?

**Mohamed**

C'est incontestable. D'abord il faut que la personne maîtrise le français, c'est un des points essentiels. Si en plus du français... je parle juste pour mon service. Si en plus du français ils maîtrisent l'arabe, c'est bien. Alors de plus en plus le besoin s'est fait ressentir aussi de recruter des gens qui savent en même temps parler l'anglais en plus de ces deux langues.

**Le chercheur**

Donc une troisième langue qui se fait sentir le besoin c'est l'anglais. Pourquoi vous auriez besoin de l'anglais ?

**Mohamed**

Parce que de plus en plus Djibouti est tourné un peu vers les pays arabophones et surtout asiatiques. Dans ces pays-là on parle en anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Vous avez besoin de gens qui correspondent avec ces pays dans la langue anglaise.

**Mohamed**

Parce que les étudiants djiboutiens partent un peu faire... avant, les étudiants djiboutiens faisaient leurs études uniquement dans des pays francophones mais de plus en plus, les étudiants commencent à aller dans des pays anglophones tel que l'Asie par exemple ou l'Inde la Malaisie la Chine et ainsi de suite. La langue d'étude là-bas est l'anglais. Et juste pour comprendre un tout petit peu le résultat scolaire ce qui est écrit en anglais que les personnes puissent parler l'anglais et le comprendre.

**Le chercheur**

Je me rappelle qu'il y a 20 ans, les étudiants allaient qu'en France.

**Mohamed**

Tout à fait.

**Le chercheur**

Qu'est-ce qui s'est passé ?

**Mohamed**

Parce que les gens ont compris la nécessité de faire les études en anglais parce que quand on fait les études en France, tout simplement c'est la culture et la langue française. Quand ils font leurs études en anglais, le mode s'ouvre à plus que les étudiants qui font leurs études en Europe. Les étudiants ressentent de plus en plus le besoin maintenant de faire des études en anglais parce que Djibouti est tourné maintenant parce que l'économie la culture la politique djiboutienne est tournée maintenant vers les pays anglo-saxons.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que nous avons toujours le nombre de bourses, est-ce que vous obtenez toujours le nombre de bourses que la France d'habitude octroyait à Djibouti ?

**Mohamed**

De moins en moins. Chaque année, l'effectif des boursiers du gouvernement français s'est réduit à tel point qu'on peut dire que maintenant il est presque quasi nul. On le sent à peu près aux alentours d'une dizaine. Il y a dix, quinze ans c'était aux alentours de 40 à 50 bourses.

**Le chercheur**

A 50 boursiers français.

**Mohamed**

Du gouvernement français.

**Le chercheur**

Et maintenant il y a 10. Est-ce que vous avez des bourses des autres pays par exemple des pays arabes ?

**Mohamed**

Oui les pays arabes nous donnent des bourses aussi, tel que le Soudan le Yémen qui malheureusement maintenant est en guerre, l'Égypte, et puis la Jordanie ces derniers temps.

**Le chercheur**

Et l'Arabie Saoudite.

**Mohamed**

Oui mais dans le domaine de la théologie tout simplement pas dans le domaine scientifique.

**Le chercheur**

Et ces bourses par exemple que ces pays arabes offrent, combien ça fera, par exemple, le Soudan vous offre combien ?

**Mohamed**

L'effectif.

**Le chercheur**

Si ce n'est pas un secret professionnel.

**Mohamed**

Il n'y a pas de secret, ce sont de choses qui sont connu de tous, donc les djiboutiens obtiennent à peu près une vingtaine de bourses par an du Soudan. Quand on dit une bourse Soudanaise, c'est la gratuite des études et les soins. La vie et le séjour sont à la charge soit de l'étudiant soit de l'état djiboutien.

**Le chercheur**

L'état djiboutien qui prend en charge sous forme d'une bourse.

**Mohamed**

Sous forme d'un complément.

**Le chercheur**

Et l'Égypte ? une cinquantaine ?

**Mohamed**

C'est la même chose. On n'a pas une cinquantaine, une trentaine.

**Le chercheur**

Et la Jordanie ?

**Mohamed**

C'est quelque chose qui vient de commencer depuis l'année dernière, donc pour l'instant nous sommes aux alentours de cinq, six.

**Le chercheur**

Donc dans les pays arabes, c'est aux alentours de cinquantaine. Est-ce que le Maroc vous offre des bourses ?

**Mohamed**

Oui, mais pas pour faire des études en langue arabe, c'est pour étudier en français.

**Le chercheur**

Il y a des pays francophones qui vous offrent des bourses.

**Mohamed**

Oui tel que la Tunisie, le Maroc, la France.

**Le chercheur**

Le Sénégal ?

**Mohamed**

Non, ce sont des places mais pas de bourses.

**Le chercheur**

L'Algérie ?

**Mohamed**

Oui ils nous donnent.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ces pays francophones en tout, combien de bourses vous recevez ?

**Mohamed**

Une dizaine de France, une cinquantaine de Maroc, une quinzaine de l'Algérie, et une dizaine de la Tunisie.

**Le chercheur**

Donc tous ces bourses j'imagine sont à partir de la licence ? Ce sont des étudiants qui ont des licences qui partent ?

**Mohamed**

Pas forcément. 80% ce sont des étudiants qui ont la licence et donc qui intègrent le master, mais ça n'empêche pas que des étudiants qui ont le baccalauréat puisse bénéficier aussi, il arrive.

**Le chercheur**

Et les pays qui font des études... les étudiants qui font des études dans des pays d'Asie, ceux-là sont complémentent à la charge de Djibouti.

**Mohamed**

Pris en charge par le gouvernement djiboutien.

**Le chercheur**

En Malaisie, vous avez combien d'étudiants par exemple ?

**Mohamed**

En Malaisie maintenant nous avons un peu moins d'une soixantaine d'étudiants.

**Le chercheur**

Et en Indonésie ?

**Mohamed**

Une dizaine.

**Le chercheur**

Et en Chine ?

**Mohamed**

Il y a deux sortes de boursiers là-bas. Il y a les boursiers du gouvernement chinois qui eux sont beaucoup plus nombreux. Ils sont aux alentours de la soixantaine. C'est les chinois qui les prennent entièrement en charge, et il y a les boursiers du gouvernement djiboutien qui eux sont aux alentours de 20 à 25 et c'est Djibouti qui prend en charge tout.

**Le chercheur**

Ils apprennent dans quelle langue ?

**Mohamed**

Les étudiants qui sont boursiers du gouvernement chinois font leurs études en chinois. Les étudiants qui sont boursiers du gouvernement djiboutien font leurs études en chinois mais ça ne les empêche pas de faire des études en anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Ils ont le choix.

**Mohamed**

Oui, ils ont le choix.

**Le chercheur**

Si maintenant on disait que Djibouti, les étudiants formés jusqu'à maintenant, par exemple les 20 derniers années, les gens qui ont eu une bourse, les djiboutiens qui ont eu une bourse et qui sont revenu au pays ou peut-être qui ont seulement eu une bourse, on pourrait les chiffrer à combien ?

**Mohamed**

Je n'ai pas très bien compris la question.

**Le chercheur**

Les 20 derniers années, combien de bourses ont été attribué à des étudiants djiboutiens à l'étranger ?

**Mohamed**

Je n'ai pas maintenant le nombre exact, mais on pourrait peut-être dire à peu près

une centaine d'étudiants par an, vous multipliez par 20 vous avez le nombre d'étudiants qui sont partis faire leurs études. Maintenant en fonction de la spécialité en fonction des études suivis par chaque étudiant, il y en a qui rentrent assez vite, il y en a qui tarde un peu. En partant d'ici, un étudiant intègre à la médecine, c'est normal qu'il fasse sept ou huit ans d'études. Maintenant celui qui intègre un cycle court tel que le BTS ou un DUT, il rentre plus vite que celui qui intègre un enseignement général. En général, 90% à 95% reviennent.

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est très intéressant si vous avez un taux de perte de 5%.

**Mohamed**

Et surtout ces 5% concernent ceux qui vont en avant, qui vont en Asie et en Afrique.

**Le chercheur**

Vous avez dit une centaine par an, donc 10 ans c'est 1000, environ 20 ans c'est 2000 étudiants qui sont partis faire des études à l'étranger. Quel est le pourcentage d'arabophone ou d'anglophone.

**Mohamed**

Les arabophones on peut prendre de l'ordre de 30% à 35%, les anglophones 10% à 15%.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que ces nombres ont changé récemment ou est-ce qu'ils ont été toujours...

**Mohamed**

Le nombre des étudiants qui intègrent des universités arabes et l'effectif des étudiants qui intègrent des universités anglaise augmente d'année en année. Quand de ce côté c augmente, de l'autre côté ça baisse. L'effectif reste toujours le même, mais on peut dire que les étudiants éprouvent de plus en plus le besoin de faire leurs études en anglais.

**Le chercheur**

C'est un nouvel engouement pour ces étudiants. Maintenant, si nous revenons à Djibouti, qu'est-ce que vous pensez des langues enseignées dans les écoles primaires et secondaires personnellement ?

**Mohamed**

Le système éducatif djiboutien, ce sont des études qui se font dans le public soit en français soit en arabe même si maintenant il n'y a pas des établissements publics arabophones. Dans le public c'est le français. C'est enseigné l'arabe mais dans une moindre illusion.

**Le chercheur**

Comme option.

**Mohamed**

Voilà. C'est juste une petite option, ce n'est pas vraiment des études en arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Au primaire on a l'arabe, et au secondaire après on apprend l'anglais en deuxième option.

**Mohamed**

En deuxième langue.

**Le chercheur**

Selon vous, qu'est-ce qu'il faudrait enseigner ?

**Mohamed**

A mon avis, enseigner le français c'est bien, mais il faudrait peut-être aussi augmenter la plage d'horaire de l'arabe et

surtout commencer aussi l'anglais dès le primaire. C'est ce que j'aurais aimé que mes enfants fassent.

**Le chercheur**  
Vos enfants qu'est-ce qu'ils font ?

**Mohamed**  
Font du français et j'aurais aimé que dès le primaire qu'il fasse de l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il faudrait enseigner au primaire les langues nationales comme le somali ?

**Mohamed**  
Oui, ce serait bien parce que ça permettrait quand même aux enfants de comprendre un peu plus leur culture.

**Le chercheur**  
Comme option ou comme langue de...

**Mohamed**  
Comme option.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Donc vous pensez qu'il faudrait juste renforcer l'arabe et l'anglais et commencer plutôt l'anglais.

**Mohamed**  
Voilà. Renforcer l'anglais et l'arabe et enseigner les langues nationales tel que le somali et l'AFar comme option en primaire.

**Le chercheur**  
Quand vous allez dans les rues à Djibouti, quelle est la langue que vous entendez souvent les gens parler même si vous allez dans un lieu public par exemple dans les services publics ou l'état offre des services ?

**Mohamed**  
Ça dépend du milieu ou vous êtes. Si vous êtes dans le milieu de travail, c'est le français qui est le plus parlé. Si vous êtes dans les quartiers populaires, ce sont les langues nationales.

**Le chercheur**  
Et dans les quartiers, quelle langue vous entendez souvent ?

**Mohamed**  
Tout dépend du quartier, c'est le somali et l'AFar.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans quels quartiers le somali domine, ou dans quels quartier l'AFar domine ?

**Mohamed**  
Dans le quartier 7 dans le quartier 6 dans le quartier 5 quartier 3, c'est le somali qui domine. Dans le quartier d'Arhiba et une partie de Balbala c'est l'AFar.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc c'est l'AFar qui domine. Est-ce qu'il y a des endroits ou d'autres endroits qui dominant ? Par exemple le français, est-ce qu'il y a des endroits où on va on entend que du français ?

**Mohamed**  
Oui dans les quartiers favorisés tel que l'Heron Haramous la plupart des gens parlent le français parce que ce sont des gens de différentes cultures et pour se comprendre, donc ils sont contraints d'utiliser le français. Il y a aussi dans le quartier d'Ambouli, c'est l'arabe qui domine dans le quartier 2 et le quartier 1, c'est à peu près l'arabe et l'amharique qui domine. Ça dépend du quartier et du milieu ou on est.

**Le chercheur**  
Et vos voisins ?

**Mohamed**

Le somali dans mon quartier.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous avez de problèmes de communication avec vos voisins ou quand vous êtes dans les rues de Djibouti.

**Mohamed**  
Pas du tout parce que je suis dans un quartier à majorité somalien donc on se comprend.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ?

**Mohamed**  
J'écoute les chansons en somalie.

**Le chercheur**  
Quelle chaîne vous écoutez ?

**Mohamed**  
La chaîne somalie.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous regardez la télévision ?

**Mohamed**  
Je suis les infos.

**Le chercheur**  
En quelle langue ?

**Mohamed**  
En français.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que c'est la télévision djiboutienne ou la télévision étrangère ?

**Mohamed**  
La télévision étrangère.

**Le chercheur**  
Quelle chaîne ?

**Mohamed**  
France 24.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous allez au théâtre ou film à Djibouti ?

**Mohamed**  
Au Djibouti il n'y a même pas de films. Il n'y a pas de grands écrans. Les théâtres honnêtement ça ne m'attire pas. Je n'ai pas entendu quelque chose comme un théâtre qui m'attire.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous naviguez sur internet ?

**Mohamed**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans quelle langue ?

**Mohamed**  
En français.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous utilisez d'autres langues ?

**Mohamed**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous utilisez les médias sociaux ?

**Mohamed**  
Oui, à peu près tel que Facebook et Twitter, Mésanger mais en français toujours.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais vous savez que les langues nationales sont bien présentes

**Mohamed**  
Oui mais ça ne m'intéresse pas.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous lisez les journaux à Djibouti ?

**Mohamed**  
A Djibouti il n'y a qu'un seul journal, la Nation.

**Le chercheur**  
Il y a aussi l'arabe.

**Mohamed**

Mais comme je ne sais pas lire l'arabe, donc je ne prends pas. Il n'y a que la Nation mais en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous lisez ?

**Mohamed**  
Oui.

**LE CHERCHEUR**  
Est-ce que vous lisez des livres surtout écrits par des auteurs djiboutiens ?

**Mohamed**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Pas en français, ni en somalie.

**Mohamed**  
De temps en temps mais pas en somali mais de temps en temps comme Abdourahman Waberi, comme Ali Moussa Iye mais très rarement.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous savez qu'il y a des livres en somali par exemple Ibrahim qui travaille au CERD a récemment publié un livre ?

**Mohamed**  
Non. Je n'avais pas entendu.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous ne lisez pas le somalie.

**Mohamed**  
Je lis mais...

**Le chercheur**  
Pas de livre en somalie écrits par des Djiboutiens.

**Mohamed**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Quand vous allez à la mosquée, est-ce que vous comprenez l'imam, le serment du vendredi par exemple ?

**Mohamed**  
Oui je comprends quand même quelque chose, dans l'ensemble oui mais pas dans le détail.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous comprenez une partie.

**Mohamed**  
Une partie. Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous sentez à l'aise ?

**Mohamed**  
Non. J'aurais aimé qu'on le fasse dans une autre langue.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous croyez que les gens comprennent ?

**Mohamed**  
Je ne pense pas. Je pense que si je n'exagère pas, je crois que c'est 60% des gens qui sont là ne comprennent pas.

**Le chercheur**  
Ne comprennent pas l'arabe, le serment. Et quand vous allez à l'étranger pour le travail ou le loisir, est-ce que vous avez des problèmes ou des difficultés à communiquer avec les étrangères ?

**Mohamed**  
Oui, quand je ne suis pas dans un pays francophone.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc les pays francophones c'est bon.

**Mohamed**  
Quand je suis dans un pays anglophone ou dans un pays arabophone ou autre, c'est quand même difficile de faire passer le message.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous vous dites ah je vais apprendre cette langue ?

**Mohamed**

Je veux que mes enfants apprennent l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Et vous vous dites la langue à apprendre maintenant c'est...

**Mohamed**

C'est l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous croyez qu'à Djibouti l'anglais a de plus en plus d'importance ?

**Mohamed**

Oui. Il y a de plus en plus d'importance dans la mesure où Djibouti s'ouvre de plus en plus vers les pays asiatiques.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que à Djibouti le français a perdu du terrain ou est toujours même nouveau ?

**Mohamed**

Je pense que partie comme c'est partie, les français sont en train de perdre du terrain au profit de l'anglais de l'arabe ou peut-être même un jour du chinois parce qu'il y a pas mal d'étudiants qui partent faire leurs études en chinois et il y en a aussi d'autres qui font leurs études en anglais. Donc de plus en plus de djiboutiens partent faire leurs études dans ce monde autre que le français, et donc il ne peut que perdre du terrain les années à venir.

**Le chercheur**

Pourquoi l'anglais est important à Djibouti ?

**Mohamed**

C'est une langue internationale quel que soit le pays ou on va, l'anglais les gens le comprennent, donc c'est une langue internationale, donc qui connaît l'anglais peut toujours faire passer ces messages ou peut se faire comprendre dans n'importe quel pays au monde, donc c'est la langue la plus importante.

**Le chercheur**

Et à Djibouti ?

**Mohamed**

A Djibouti c'est normal puisqu'il y a pas mal de gens qui sont rentrés. Maintenant des gens de l'Asie, des pays arabes et ces gens-là parlent l'anglais et c'est aussi la langue de business.

**Le chercheur**

Donc le business à Djibouti...

**Mohamed**

A Djibouti maintenant se fait de plus en plus en anglais. Comme Djibouti est un peu tourné aussi... comme Djibouti s'ouvre vers l'Ethiopie, l'Ethiopie est un pays anglophone, donc le business c'est l'anglais maintenant à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Et les étudiants, qu'est-ce qu'ils ont comme débouchés qui viennent ici avec un diplôme en anglais ?

**Mohamed**

Je crois que les étudiants qui... d'abord les étudiants qui font leurs études en français, ils ne peuvent intégrer que l'administration. Les étudiants qui font leurs études en anglais, ils ont beaucoup plus de choix, c'est-à-dire ils peuvent aussi intégrer l'administration certes mais aussi c'est le secteur privé qui a besoin de gens qui parlent l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Pas de français ?

**Mohamed**

De moins en moins pour les pays quand on va en Asie de moins en moins, vers les pays arabes de moins en moins. On n'a pas besoin de gens qui parlent le français.

**Le chercheur**

Les gens qui travaillent à Djibouti, vous allez dans le privé, on a besoin de l'anglais.

**Mohamed**

Parce que le commerce à Djibouti s'est fait vers les pays arabe comme Dubaï vers les pays asiatiques comme l'Inde et la Chine.

**Le chercheur**

Vous parlez de business, moi je parle du privé. Vous avez dit ils vont travailler dans le privé.

**Mohamed**

Le privé c'est à peu près du business.

**Le chercheur**

Je pensais les compagnies les entreprises étrangères ?

**Mohamed**

Oui ce sont des entreprises qui font du commerce. Il n'y a pas d'entreprises qui font dans le domaine de l'éducation ni dans le domaine de la santé. Ce sont des entreprises de commerces.

**Le chercheur**

Ils ont plus de choix.

**Mohamed**

Plus de choix voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Quand vous aller par exemple en Somalie ou en Ethiopie, est-ce que vous vous sentez confortable ? Je veux dire parce qu'on a les mêmes langues qui se parlent en somalie.

**Mohamed**

Oui, quand on va en Somalie, il n'y a pas de problèmes puisque les gens parlent somalie. Quand on va en Ethiopie, l'Ethiopie aussi il y a une partie de somalien. Quand je suis dans leur milieu il n'y a pas de problèmes, mais quand on va dans les milieux amhariques ou tigréens ou Oromos, alors à ce moment-là c'est vrai il y a le barrage de la langue qui s'oppose et là on a besoin d'une autre langue comme l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

On a besoin de l'anglais, pas de français ?

**Mohamed**

Pas de français.

**Le chercheur**

Je voudrais vous demander si vous pouvez comparer aujourd'hui Djibouti aujourd'hui d'il y a 20 ans de la façon dont les gens utilisent les langues.

**Mohamed**

Djibouti il y a 20 ans ou 25 ans, Djibouti était tourné vers les pays francophone et donc vers la France. Aujourd'hui, on peut dire que Djibouti est tourné plus vers les pays asiatiques et arabophone plutôt que la France d'où un changement de mentalité un changement de point de vue un changement de culture aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous dites maintenant il y a un changement de langue aussi.

**Mohamed**

Dans le domaine de la culture.

**Le chercheur**

Avant c'était seulement le français, maintenant il y a les autres langues. Donc vous avez parlé du chinois vous avez parlé le turc que les étudiants apprennent.

**Mohamed**

Il y a de plus en plus l'arabe aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Avez-vous maintenant un avis ou un commentaire pour les djiboutiens ou les chercheurs que je suis en matière de langues parlé en Djibouti ?

**Mohamed**

C'est-à-dire ?

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous avez un message pour moi ou pour les djiboutiens ?

**Mohamed**

C'est normal parce que les chercheurs doivent quand même se pencher un peu plus vers leurs langues nationales parce que les langues européennes comme l'anglais comme le français ou même comme l'arabe. Les gens peuvent trouver de plus en plus de livre de plus en plus de la documentation, ce qui manque ce sont la documentation dans les langues nationales. Je crois qu'il faudra peut-être un peu faire des recherches dans son domaine-là écrire de plus en plus de livres dans les langues nationales et donc faire comprendre à la génération qui vient maintenant qu'ils ont une langue, il la parle c'est vrai mais il faut aussi qu'ils passent à la deuxième phase c'est-à-dire l'écrit.

**Le chercheur**

Oui c'est vrai. Vous avez dit un point très important, mais comment cela se ferait sans une politique de langue, linguistique du gouvernement ? Il faudrait une politique derrière ça puisque ce travail ne pourra pas se faire puisque les langues nationales n'ont aucun statut à Djibouti à part qu'elles sont nationales. On ne peut pas travailler sur ces langues-là sans une politique du gouvernement.

**Mohamed**

Oui tout à fait vous avez raison. La politique c'est très important. C'est de la que les choses doivent partir, mais dans l'attente, je crois qu'il ne faut pas non plus baisser les bras et se dire écoutez, voilà il n'y a pas de politique on va s'arrêter. Vous en tant que chercheur en tant que les têtes pensantes du pays, mais il faudra aussi sensibiliser un peu les jeunes à aller vers la.

**Le chercheur**

Les initiatives privées.

**Mohamed**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Merci, monsieur Mohamed, c'était un plaisir d'avoir eu cette interview avec vous.

**Mohamed**

C'est moi qui vous remercie.

Interview avec Roua, Principale adjointe d'un Collège d'Enseignement Moyen, Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Formation Professionnelle.

23 Mars 2017 à 07.12 dans son bureau dans un Collège d'Enseignement Moyen à Ras dika à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**

Salem alaikum, bonjour Madame. Merci d'avoir accepté mon invitation pour une interview. Je m'appelle Saïd Djama, je fais une thèse actuellement avec l'université d'Aston à Birmingham, en Angleterre, au Royaume-Uni. Et je vous ai dit que le sujet était sur les langues parlées à Djibouti. Vous avez reçu et lu les informations sur ma thèse, sur la recherche que je suis en

train de faire. Donc merci, pouvez-vous vous présenter et me dire votre nom, votre titre de fonction et où vous habitez.

**Roua**  
Bien, bonjour Monsieur Saïd, je suis Roua, principale adjointe du Collège d'Enseignement Moyen de [...], j'ai lu votre...

**Le chercheur**  
Sur les informations, l'information.

**Roua**  
Voilà vos informations sur votre courrier et j'ai consenti à répondre à vos questions.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, quelle est votre langue maternelle ?

**Roua**  
L'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
L'arabe est votre langue maternelle.

**Roua**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Et là, vous vous sentez confortable pour être interviewée en français ?

**Roua**  
Oui, bien sûr.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. C'est... Je crois que vous êtes francophone ? Ou vous considérez vous vous-même arabophone ?

**Roua**  
Mais je suis francophone parce que...

**Le chercheur**  
Vous avez fait vos études...

**Roua**  
Voilà, mes études en français.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Et donc vous êtes responsable adjointe dans cet établissement ?

**Roua**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Et vous avez fait des études peut être en France, peut-être à Djibouti...

**Roua**  
Non, j'ai fait mes études à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**  
A Djibouti.

**Roua**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
A l'université de Djibouti.

**Roua**  
Oui, à l'université de l'ancienne CFPN.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Roua**  
Et on a eu, en fait c'était une université française qui était basée à Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**  
A Djibouti.

**Roua**  
Donc les diplômés sont des diplômés français.

**Le chercheur**  
Français, avec l'université de Montpellier, ou...

**Roua**  
Avec Besançon.

**Le chercheur**  
Avec l'université de Besançon. Donc vous avez fait des études en sciences ?

**Roua**  
Voilà, j'ai fait MIAS (Maths Informatique Appliquée en Sciences).

**Le chercheur**  
En français, complètement.

**Roua**  
Oui, en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Complètement en français.

**Roua**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Et vous avez ensuite travaillé dans l'éducation comme enseignante.

**Roua**  
Oui, comme enseignante de maths, professeure de maths.

**Le chercheur**  
Ok, avant de devenir responsable ?

**Roua**  
Oui, c'est ma première année en fait comme principale adjointe.

**Le chercheur**  
Principale adjointe, d'accord. Donc, votre langue maternelle c'est l'arabe ?

**Roua**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous avez fait vos études en français ?

**Roua**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Et vous avez fait l'université, les études, vos études universitaires à Djibouti ?

**Roua**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
En langue française ?

**Roua**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Tout ça a été payé par le gouvernement ?

**Roua**  
Voilà, c'est... les études ... le gouvernement djiboutien qui a payé.

**Le chercheur**  
Qui a... D'accord. Est-ce que vous sentez le... Combien de langues vous parlez et écrivez ?

**Roua**  
J'écris la langue arabe et français.

**Le chercheur**  
La langue arabe, et...

**Roua**  
Je la parle et je l'écris. L'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
L'arabe et le français. L'arabe et le français, ces deux langues ?

**Roua**  
Oui. Et je sais parler comme tout djiboutien la langue somalie aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
La langue somalie.

**Roua**  
Voilà (rires).

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, la langue somalie. Est-ce que vous avez envie d'apprendre une autre langue ?

**Roua**  
Oui bien sûr, surtout la langue internationale, la langue anglaise.

**Le chercheur**  
La langue anglaise, d'accord, l'anglais, vous voulez apprendre l'anglais. Mais ces langues que vous connaissez, vous m'avez dit vous écrivez et parlez le français et l'arabe.

**Roua**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Qui sont les langues officielles du pays.

**Roua**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
Et vous parlez le somali.

**Roua**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Quelle est la langue la plus importante pour vous ? Dans ces langues, que vous connaissez.

**Roua**  
Les deux et l'arabe et le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Elles sont très importantes pour vous.

**Roua**  
Voilà.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, et si vous apprenez l'anglais ce serait pour le travail ou pour autre chose ?

**Roua**  
Pour le travail, pour communiquer aussi si je pars dans d'autres pays parce que maintenant c'est la langue internationale.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Donc, est-ce qu'il y a... (sonnerie de téléphone) ... Donc ces langues, vous avez dit ces deux langues sont les plus importantes pour vous. Et à la maison, à la maison combien de langues vous parlez ? Avec votre...

**Roua**  
Je ne parle que l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Que l'arabe à la maison, voilà. Avec votre époux...

**Roua**  
Avec mon époux et mes enfants...

**Le chercheur**  
Avec votre époux, avec vos enfants.

**Roua**  
Oui, je ne parle que l'arabe. Des fois il y a entre guillemets « les français » qui travaillent à l'école et tout ça mais je parle essentiellement la langue arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, la langue arabe. Et avec votre famille, large famille aussi ?

**Roua**  
L'arabe parce que la majorité de ma famille aussi sont arabophones.

**Le chercheur**  
Et les gens, les domestiques qui travaillent chez vous ?

**Roua**  
L'arabe aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
L'arabe aussi, d'accord. Au travail, au travail aussi, parce que vous travaillez dans un collège, donc la langue de travail c'est le français, votre langue de travail. Donc est-ce que vous utilisez d'autres langues avec vos collègues ou avec les parents ou avec les élèves du collège ?

**Roua**  
Avec mes collègues et les élèves je ne parle que le français. Quelques fois il y a toujours des langues qui s'introduisent...

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Roua**  
Quand on a une discussion normale.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui la langue du pays.

**Roua**  
Oui, mais avec les parents c'est surtout la langue somalie qui est plus utilisée ici.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, avec les parents.  
**Roua**  
 Oui, mais on n'a pas toujours des parents éduqués.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Roua**  
 Qui parlent le français et la majorité comme je ne connais pas aussi l'afar et une autre langue je parle soit le somali, la majorité c'est le somali et quelques fois le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Le français.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et l'afar est rare ?  
**Roua**  
 Je ne sais pas parler donc seulement quand je vois des parents afars, eux ils savent un peu le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc vous utilisez le somali ?  
**Roua**  
 Donc on utilise le somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, et ceux qui comprennent l'arabe c'est bon ?  
**Roua**  
 Voilà, s'ils comprennent l'arabe ils me parlent en arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc vous évitez donc l'afar que vous ne connaissez pas.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et vous n'avez pas de problèmes avec ce genre de communication ?  
**Roua**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Vous n'avez pas besoin d'un interprète ?  
**Roua**  
 C'est rare.  
**Le chercheur**  
 C'est rare.  
**Roua**  
 Jusqu'à présent je n'ai pas eu besoin de ça.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, c'est rare. Est-ce qu'au collège ou dans un autre pays, est-ce qu'il y a une langue, une politique, une politique linguistique ? Par exemple ici au lycée, au collège, est-ce qu'on vous dit « il ne faut pas parler cette langue, il faut que les étudiants parlent cette langue, il faut parler avec les parents cette langue, il ne faut pas parler ces autres langues », est-ce qu'il y a une certaine politique linguistique qui régleme l'utilisation des langues ?  
**Roua**  
 Avec les étudiants oui, on évite de parler autre langue que le français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc c'est une politique linguistique...  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Que vous avez dans votre établissement ou dans le pays ? Ou est-ce que c'est...  
**Roua**  
 Je ne sais pas. Mais avant, en tant qu'enseignante je n'ai pas remarqué s'il y avait cette politique là mais en tant qu'administrative cette année j'ai compris

qu'il ne faut parler qu'en français avec les enfants.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Avec les étudiants.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Avec les élèves.  
**Roua**  
 Avec les élèves, voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Merci, donc ça c'est une politique implicite.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Vous utilisez le français  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Tout le temps.  
**Roua**  
 En fait c'est pour aussi améliorer la langue parce que si on introduit d'autres langues avec les élèves ça casse un peu le rythme d'apprendre la langue française.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Donc c'est un souci d'enseignant.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà. Voilà, d'enseignant.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Souci d'enseignant d'enseigner le français qui est votre métier de... Qui est votre langue de travail.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Au collège. C'est très bien, est-ce que vous, au collège, quand on embauche un enseignant ou une enseignante chez vous ou quand ils viennent travailler avec vous, est-ce que vous vous inquiétez de la langue que la personne parle ? Si elle parle bien le français, si elle parle le somali ou l'afar ou l'arabe, est-ce que vous...  
**Roua**  
 Dans l'ensemble, parce que la majorité des profs qui doivent venir ici c'est des profs qui doivent parler la langue française donc...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ils doivent parler français ?  
**Roua**  
 Voilà la langue française, à part bien sûr le prof d'arabe où ils doivent parler correctement la langue arabe, et les profs d'anglais...  
**Le chercheur**  
 L'arabe. On ne lui demande pas le français ?  
**Roua**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Le prof d'arabe on ne lui demande pas le français ?  
 Non parce qu'ils sont arabophones et la majorité vient des pays où ils étudient l'arabe (l'Arabie Saoudite, le Yémen et tout ça) donc la majorité ne parle pas français, ils ne parlent que la langue arabe et le seul prof où ils sont bilingues c'est le prof d'anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Prof d'anglais.  
**Roua**

Voilà, ils parlent le français et ils parlent l'anglais.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Roua**  
 Et bien sûr la langue française elle est essentielle dans le collège, quoiqu'il soit la matière qu'on enseigne.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Roua**  
 Un prof qu'il soit maths doit toujours parler correctement la langue française.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, parce que c'est la langue de l'enseignement, du collège, d'accord. C'est bien, merci, et quand les... Donc ces gens qui viennent, donc comment vous faites pour communiquer avec eux alors, les profs d'arabe, pour les profs qui ne connaissent pas l'arabe ?  
**Roua**  
 On leur parle en arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Non, par exemple, vous vous parlez l'arabe mais il y a des profs qui ne comprennent pas l'arabe, pardon qui ne comprennent pas l'arabe quand ils veulent parler avec le prof d'arabe.  
**Roua**  
 Vous savez, ici à Djibouti tout le monde parle à peu près, tout à peu près, même si on n'arrive pas vraiment à communiquer correctement mais ils savent ce que la personne dit donc et comme dans nos études d'école il y a la langue arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Roua**  
 Donc sûrement les gens administratifs ou les enseignants ils savent un peu ou comprennent un peu la langue arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Roua**  
 Donc je crois qu'on parle tous avec eux en arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 En arabe.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Il n'y a pas de problème.  
**Roua**  
 Même si on n'arrive pas à répondre peut-être des fois parce qu'eux ils parlent, ils parlent la langue arabe...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Littéraire.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà, la vraie langue, on leur répond avec...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Le standard.  
**Roua**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 La langue du pays.  
**Roua**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 La langue arabe du pays de Djibouti.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Roua**



Sauf si c'est un prof, par exemple un prof d'arabe mais qui est somalien

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Roua**

Là il communique, si la personne concernée elle est somalienne elles communiquent entre leurs langues maternelles.

**Le chercheur**

Dans leur langue maternelle. Donc ils se comprennent avec toutes ces langues-là.

**Roua**

Voilà, voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que, quand les profs entre eux, par exemple le prof qui enseigne le français ou, est ce quand ils discutent entre eux ils parlent une autre langue que le français, entre eux, dans l'école ?

**Roua**

Oui, oui, bien sûr, ils mettent du français, des langues maternelles, la langue..., ça veut dire tu vas voir un groupe des fois de la même tribu, arabes, ou si nous sommes somaliens ou si nous sommes afars, on va laisser un peu le français de côté quand on discute.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

On va parler notre langue maternelle, c'est-à-dire les afars l'afar, les somalis le somalien.

**Le chercheur**

Quand ils sont entre eux.

**Roua**

Oui, mais quand c'est un groupe mélangé, si on arrive à se comprendre dans plusieurs langues, on va parler les plusieurs langues sinon on revient toujours après à la...

**Le chercheur**

Mais quelle langue va revenir alors...

**Roua**

Le français, la majorité c'est le français.

**Le chercheur**

Quelle langue va venir en second ?

**Roua**

L'arabe, parce que s'il y a des profs d'arabe qui ne comprennent pas le somali, donc on est obligé...

**Le chercheur**

D'y venir. Donc après, en troisième c'est les langues nationales ?

**Roua**

Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**

Les langues nationales.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. Sur les langues nationales, qu'est-ce qui va venir en troisième ?

**Roua**

Le somali (rires).

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

C'est bon, donc les gens arrivent à se comprendre avec toutes ces langues qu'ils parlent.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Roua**

Et dans les écoles, par exemple les écoles primaires, nous à Djibouti nous avons le français qui est la langue d'enseignement.

**Le chercheur**

Oui. Selon vous, qu'est-ce qu'il faudrait enseigner dans ces écoles, est-ce que vous pensez que c'est bon comme ça ou vous pensez qu'on pourrait rajouter les langues nationales ou est-ce que vous avez...

**Roua**

Moi je dirais déjà je dirai déjà renforcer la langue, les deux langues qui sont avec la langue française c'est-à-dire l'arabe et l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Roua**

Parce que c'est vrai notre langue de base à l'école c'est le français mais maintenant on utilise aussi beaucoup l'arabe et l'anglais partout dans tous les domaines, donc je demande qu'on renforce ces deux langues avant.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Roua**

Peut-être les langues nationales. Mais...

**Le chercheur**

Les langues nationales donc, avant les langues nationales donc il faut renforcer ce que nous avons.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

En primaire, en secondaire.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Donc...

**Roua**

Renforcer la langue arabe et la langue anglaise.

**Le chercheur**

Renforcer ce que nous avons comme système.

**Roua**

Voilà, comme système.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, d'accord. Vous vous avez des enfants, quelles langues est-ce que vous voulez qu'ils maîtrisent, qu'ils apprennent, les enfants ; est-ce que vous avez un programme pour eux en fonction des langues à Djibouti ?

**Roua**

Là, les trois langues, c'est-à-dire français, arabe et anglais.

**Le chercheur**

L'anglais.

**Roua**

Pour base. Mais dans le pays aussi je veux qu'ils apprennent les langues nationales somali et, si jamais ils arrivent à s'en sortir, donc le somali et l'afar.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord. D'accord, c'est très bien. Quand vous allez dans les rues ou quand vous allez à l'administration que vous avez besoin d'un service, quelle est la langue qu'on entend le plus souvent dans la rue ?

**Roua**

Le français et le somali.

**Le chercheur**

Le français et le somali. Quand on va dans les services publics, pareil ?

**Roua**

Quand on va dans des services pour demander un service de travail...

**Le chercheur**

Voilà.

**Roua**

C'est en français qu'on parle.

**Le chercheur**

Vous allez par exemple...

**Roua**

Je demande en français.

**Le chercheur**

Vous demandez en français.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Mais quelle est la langue que vous entendez souvent, les gens qui viennent ? Les clients, les clients qui viennent quelle langue souvent ils utilisent ?

**Roua**

Ça dépend, comme je vous ai dit précédemment ça veut dire s'ils comprennent la langue française...

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Roua**

Ils vont la dire en français...

**Le chercheur**

En français.

**Roua**

Et s'ils ne comprennent pas c'est toujours la langue somalie qui vient...

**Le chercheur**

Qui vient après.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, donc les gens utilisent ce genre de langues.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Et dans les quartiers, quelle est la langue quand on est dans les quartiers, quelle est la langue qui domine ? Par exemple, là où vous habitez, vous habitez à Hodan ?

**Roua**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Donc à Balbala. Par exemple à Balbala, quand vous êtes à Balbala quelle est la langue que vous entendez souvent ?

**Roua**

Le somali (rires).

**Le chercheur**

Le somali souvent.

**Roua**

Le somali voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Et quand vous allez, par exemple quand vous allez dans le quartier I ou II ou III...

**Roua**

L'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Donc au quartier I c'est l'arabe qui domine.

**Roua**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y a des langues qui dominent comme ça les quartiers ?

**Roua**

Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**

Par exemple ?

**Roua**

A Balbala c'est le somali qui domine.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Roua**

Parce que je crois que la majorité sont des somaliens et entre eux ils communiquent, on est obligés d'apprendre la langue qu'ils communiquent entre eux même si on est étranger...

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

On n'est pas de la même...

**Le chercheur**

Même si on n'est pas de la même communauté.

**Roua**

Voilà, si on est d'une autre communauté, mais en quartier I, II c'est vrai aussi ce n'est pas des arabes mais je ne sais pas, ils parlent plus la langue arabe que la langue somalienne et ou afar...

**Le chercheur**

Peut-être qu'il y a une histoire derrière qui...

**Roua**

Voilà, peut-être que les arabes nos anciennes, nos anciens sont venus directement au quartier I et II c'est pour ça.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, dans cette, dans ces quartiers on parle, et l'afar est-ce qu'on le parle souvent ?

**Roua**

L'afar c'est je crois c'est Arhiba et je ne sais pas...

**Le chercheur**

Là à Ariba ça domine l'afar.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Et après la deuxième langue serait dans ces endroits où l'arabe domine et où l'afar domine ?

**Roua**

Les deux langues qui dominent vraiment dans ces quartiers c'est l'arabe et le somali.

**Le chercheur**

L'arabe et le somali.

**Roua**

Les afars c'est rare.

**Le chercheur**

Exceptionnellement.

**Roua**

Parce que même les afars ils parlent souvent arabe comme nous.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Donc s'ils communiquent ils parlent en arabe.

**Le chercheur**

En arabe souvent. Et donc il n'y a pas...

Est-ce qu'il y a des zones où il y a l'amharique ou l'oromo qui dominent ?

**Roua**

Dans les quartiers ?

**Le chercheur**

Dans notre quartier, dans les quartiers à Djibouti.

**Roua**

Oui, oui, quartier I, II.

**Le chercheur**

Ça domine ? Ou vous entendez quelques fois ?

**Roua**

Oui, on entend beaucoup parce qu'il y a beaucoup de femmes de ménage qui sont, qui habitent là-bas.

**Le chercheur**

Mais est-ce que ça domine ?

**Roua**

Oui, même maintenant les gens du quartier ils parlent la langue amharique...

**Le chercheur**

L'amharique.

**Roua**

Et l'oromo, et tout ça.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, vous entendez aussi.

**Roua**

Voilà, j'entends.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio ?

**Roua**

Pas du tout (rires).

**Le chercheur**

Pas du tout, d'accord, la radio. Et la télévision ?

**Roua**

La télévision oui.

**Le chercheur**

Quelle télévision, la djiboutienne...

**Roua**

J'écoute la djiboutienne s'il y a des informations...

**Le chercheur**

La télévision, vous regardez celle de Djibouti ou les chaînes étrangères ?

**Roua**

J'ai le digital mais il y a la chaîne djiboutienne.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, la djiboutienne.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

En quelle langue ?

**Roua**

En somali, en arabe, en français.

**Le chercheur**

Vous écoutez, vous regardez dans ces langues.

**Roua**

Oui, voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Et quel genre de programme vous aimez regarder ?

**Roua**

La majorité c'est les infos et le sport.

**Le chercheur**

Et le sport.

**Roua**

Parce comme mon conjoint est... il s'intéresse beaucoup au sport (rires).

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, donc sport et, est-ce que...

Dans quelle langue vous regardez le sport et... ?

**Roua**

Le sport, bon le sport c'est toujours en français, même s'il y a des petits reportages et tout ça c'est en français.

**Le chercheur**

En français.

**Roua**

Les infos des fois je regarde le somali ou l'arabe comme le français vient quelques fois tard et l'heure est passée donc euh...

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est bon, vous vous contentez de, des langues qui passent. Est-ce que vous

écoutez, vous regardez des chansons qui passent sur la télé ou... ?

**Roua**

Oui, avant oui j'écoutais les...

**Le chercheur**

Dans quelle langue ?

**Roua**

Plus on grandit, plus on... (rires).

**Le chercheur**

Mais on n'a pas le temps peut-être ?

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Mais dans quelle langue vous écoutez quand vous regardez les chansons ?

**Roua**

Je regarde beaucoup plus les chansons arabes.

**Le chercheur**

Arabes.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Et après peut être les chansons américaines et tout ça.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, d'anglais, anglaises, de langue anglaise je veux dire.

**Roua**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Et est-ce que vous regardez des films ou du théâtre ou... ?

**Roua**

Je regarde des films américains traduits.

**Le chercheur**

Traduits.

**Roua**

Traduits, pas traduits en fait.

**Le chercheur**

L'original sous-titré peut-être ?

**Roua**

Voilà, en français.

**Le chercheur**

Sous-titré en français.

**Roua**

Voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Donc ce genre de films donc c'est bien et vous les regardez sur quelle chaîne, euh sur quelles chaînes, sur les chaînes étrangères ou...

**Roua**

Oui, des fois sur digital, par exemple dans les chaînes MBC2 ou bien il y a des chaînes Aurore et tout ça

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Roua**

Que ce soit sous-titré en arabe ou en français.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Des fois des CDs.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, d'accord, merci. Est-ce que vous naviguez sur internet ?

**Roua**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Sur internet, en quelle langue ?

**Roua**

En français.

**Le chercheur**

En français. Vous n'utilisez pas d'autres langues ?  
**Roua**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Pas l'arabe ?  
**Roua**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ni le somali ?  
**Roua**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, en français seulement. Est-ce que vous utilisez les médias sociaux comme Facebook ou WhatsApp ou... ? Et toujours dans la langue ?  
**Roua**  
 Non, sur Facebook et WhatsApp j'utilise les deux langues arabe et français.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Sur Facebook d'accord. Donc est-ce que vous savez que les langues nationales aussi sont présentes sur internet ?  
**Roua**  
 Oui, bien sûr.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Le somali, euh...  
**Roua**  
 Oui, oui, oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. L'afar...  
**Roua**  
 Des fois, sur Facebook bon je suis liée à des amis  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Roua**  
 Et ils donnent quelque chose écrit en somali.  
**Le chercheur**  
 En somali.  
**Roua**  
 Mais comme je ne sais pas lire (rires).  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord. Donc vous n'arrivez pas à lire...  
**Roua**  
 Mais si c'est des vidéos je vais regarder parce que la langue je la comprends mais je ne connais pas les alphabets, la lecture somalienne.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, lire voilà. Donc ça c'est...  
 Donc, je comprends ça. Et est-ce que vous lisez les journaux ?  
**Roua**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 A Djibouti, les journaux.  
**Roua**  
 Des fois.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Les journaux La Nation en français.  
**Roua**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Est-ce que vous lisez Al Qar'n en arabe ?  
 Non vous ne lisez pas ?  
**Roua**  
 Le seul journal que je lis c'est La Nation.  
**Le chercheur**  
 En français. Est-ce que vous lisez des livres ? Des livres écrits surtout par des djiboutiens.  
**Roua**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**

Non vous ne lisez pas. Vous connaissez qu'il y a des auteurs djiboutiens qui ont écrit beaucoup de livres ?  
**Roua**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Vous n'avez jamais lu un djiboutien, le livre d'un djiboutien ?  
**Roua**  
 Mais je n'ai pas eu l'occasion.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Vous n'avez pas eu l'occasion. Ça se voit que... (rires). Donc vous avez été formée en sciences...  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Roua**  
 On est plus scientifiques que littéraires.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Voilà, je comprends. Ok, est-ce qu'à la mosquée, pour vous il n'y a pas de problèmes, vous comprenez l'arabe, comme vous savez le sermon est en arabe, en arabe. Quelques fois après c'est traduit en somali ou dans la langue nationale.  
**Roua**  
 Oui.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il y a beaucoup de gens qui comprennent l'arabe dans ces, dans les mosquées quand l'imam présente le sermon ?  
**Roua**  
 Non, non, il y a sûrement des gens qui ne comprennent pas tout à fait la langue arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Roua**  
 Même, c'est mieux que lorsqu'on fait un sermon il faut le traduire.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Oui.  
**Roua**  
 Que ce soit dans la langue somali ou dans la langue afar ou...  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, est-ce qu'il y a une majorité qui comprennent ? Et est-ce qu'il y a la majorité qui ne comprend pas ou est-ce que c'est une minorité ?  
**Roua**  
 La majorité comprennent la langue arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ils comprennent la majorité...  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Il y a une minorité des gens qui ne comprennent pas.  
**Roua**  
 Oui, une minorité.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Ne comprennent pas le sermon...  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et qui ont besoin de traduction.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, est-ce que quand vous allez à l'étranger pour loisir ou pour travail, est-ce que vous avez des difficultés à

communiquer avec les étrangers ? Si vous êtes dans d'autres pays...  
**Roua**  
 En Ethiopie ?  
**Le chercheur**  
 Non, surtout en Europe, ou dans d'autres pays.  
**Roua**  
 Je suis partie que dans deux pays où ils parlent la langue française donc je n'ai pas eu de problème de communication en Europe. En Asie aussi bon c'est ma langue, donc je parle l'arabe couramment. En Afrique, par contre quand je suis partie en Ethiopie là j'ai eu des difficultés parce que je ne parlais pas la langue.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, donc en allant dans ces pays d'Europe donc vous n'avez pas eu besoin, vous ne vous êtes pas dit « pourquoi je n'ai pas appris cette langue ? ».  
**Roua**  
 Non.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc vous avez le français là où vous avez été le français. Donc, et là, en Asie, en arabe c'était bon mais vous dites en Ethiopie, vous vous êtes pas sentie chez vous en Ethiopie ?  
**Roua**  
 Mmh...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Vous n'êtes pas allée dans une zone où les gens parlent une langue que vous connaissez ?  
**Roua**  
 Si, si. Par exemple je suis partie à Dire Dawa, à Harar aussi les gens parlaient un petit peu arabe.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Arabe.  
**Roua**  
 Mais pas nombreux.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord.  
**Roua**  
 Donc aussi si je veux faire moins de transport ou discuter du prix...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Voilà.  
**Roua**  
 Il me fallait un interprète.  
**Le chercheur**  
 D'accord, un interprète.  
**Roua**  
 Mais à Addis c'est catastrophique.  
**Roua**  
 Catastrophique à Addis, parce que là-bas ils parlent l'amharique.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Voilà. Et l'anglais.  
**Roua**  
 Voilà. Et qu'ils ne savent pas...  
**Le chercheur**  
 Et l'anglais. Pas de français, pas d'arabe.  
**Roua**  
 Et comme je ne suis pas forte en anglais aussi.  
**Le chercheur**  
 Donc vous avez, donc est-ce que vous avez senti le besoin d'apprendre l'anglais ?  
**Roua**  
 Oui, c'est pour ça (rires).  
**Le chercheur**  
 Mais à Djibouti, est-ce que vous pensez que les gens qui apprennent l'anglais ont beaucoup plus d'opportunités quand il

s'agit de travail ou est-ce que vous pensez toujours qu'avec le français les gens peuvent trouver du boulot à Djibouti ?

**Roua**

Mais voilà, à Djibouti avec du français on trouve du boulot, c'est notre langue de base.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Que ce soit au niveau éducatif, au niveau du travail on trouve. Mais dans le monde, les nouvelles générations c'est la langue anglaise qui peut-être au futur qui va dominer.

**Le chercheur**

Qui va dominer.

**Roua**

Parce que partout maintenant on veut quelqu'un qui parle l'anglais et comme on travaille avec d'autres pays, des sociétés qui sont créées aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Qui investissent à Djibouti.

**Roua**

Voilà, qui investissent à Djibouti, ils ont eu, ils demandent toujours dans les offres d'emploi et tout ça à ce qu'on parle la langue anglais.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, donc si les gens apprennent l'anglais, ils ont ces opportunités.

**Roua**

Voilà, ils auront peut-être plus d'opportunités après.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y a des soucis à votre niveau, au niveau du collège, pour dire aux enfants « attention les enfants, vous aurez besoin de l'anglais, il faut apprendre l'anglais parce que vous risquez de ne pas trouver du boulot » ?

**Roua**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Sans l'anglais.

**Roua**

Oui, je n'ai pas trouvé de boulot sans l'anglais. Non

**Le chercheur**

Non.

**Roua**

Mais vous aurez besoin de la langue anglaise. Comme vous aurez besoin aussi de la langue arabe parce que rester dans le pays peut-être avec ce qu'on a.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Roua**

Mais si on veut aller à l'extérieur.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Que ce soit en Asie, on aura sûrement besoin de la langue arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Roua**

Si on veut aller en Europe ou en Amérique, maintenant même en Europe la langue anglaise se développe donc on aura besoin de la langue anglaise. Donc, j'ai dit et c'est un conseil que je donne à tous les élèves que j'ai ici il faut renforcer les langues qu'on a, il faut apprendre.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, il faut apprendre les langues que vous avez. Donc, merci. Est-ce que vous pouvez comparer la manière dont les gens parlent les langues à Djibouti, les langues surtout nationales d'il y a quand vous étiez au secondaire ou quand vous aviez eu votre Bac, je sais pas il y a 10 ans ou il y a 15 ans, est-ce que vous pouvez comparer et dire « ah, avant les gens maîtrisaient cette langue, maintenant ils ne la maîtrisent plus ; avant les gens parlaient majoritairement cette langue, maintenant ils ne la parlent plus »... Les changements que vous sentez.

**Roua**

Oui, j'ai vu un changement, avant chacun parlait que sa langue.

**Le chercheur**

Que sa langue nationale. Voilà.

**Roua**

C'est-à-dire chacun parlait sa langue maternelle mais maintenant avec les mélanges qu'on a tout le monde à peu près parle toutes les langues nationales « on se débrouille, même si on ne connaît que quelques mots mais on essaye d'apprendre ».

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Toutes les trois langues nationales qu'il y a à Djibouti, parce qu'il y a trois langues dominantes à part l'école.

**Le chercheur**

Il y a deux langues qui sont officielles (l'arabe et le français) et il y a trois langues qui sont nationales (donc l'arabe, l'afar et le somali).

**Roua**

Je parle des langues nationales, pas des langues officielles. Voilà, les langues nationales entre les peuples là maintenant tout s'apprend, ça veut dire si on vit avec une communauté un peu différente, au bout d'un an on va parler la langue que cette communauté parle.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Et ça je trouve que c'est bien parce que les communications seront plus faciles, la compréhension aussi entre les gens et tout ça.

**Le chercheur**

Donc les gens parlent maintenant beaucoup plus de langues qu'avant.

**Roua**

Voilà, c'est ça que je remarque.

**Le chercheur**

Et quelle langue les gens parlaient avant plus et maintenant quelle est, est-ce que c'est la même langue, avant les gens parlaient plus quelle langue ? Peut-être avant les gens parlaient français quand vous étiez jeune ou alors...

**Roua**

Oui, voilà, moi quand j'habitais dans mon quartier je ne parlais que l'arabe entre nous et la langue française qui est la langue officielle.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Mais maintenant quand je descends dans mon quartier toujours, avec la petite famille, je vois que tout le monde passe, quand on discute y a du somali, y a de

l'arabe, y a du français, y a tout, un peu de tout là.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, donc les gens sont devenus polyglottes.

**Roua**

Voilà, ça c'est bien je trouve que c'est très bien.

**Le chercheur**

C'est très bien oui. C'est très bien, donc beaucoup de gens maîtrisent les langues parlées...

**Roua**

Et ça créé pas une différence aussi quand tout le monde parle je veux dire les langues nationales qu'il y a dans le pays ça ne créé pas la différence entre les êtres.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, c'est bien. Est-ce que vous pouvez nous donner un avis ou un commentaire, me donner à moi aux djiboutiens qui parlent ces langues-là, est-ce que vous avez quelque chose à dire ?

**Roua**

Sur quelle langue, les langues officielles ?

**Le chercheur**

Pour clôturer, les langues nationales ou les langues officielles ou l'anglais qui est aussi...

**Roua**

Moi c'est ce que je dis, il faut apprendre toutes les langues.

**Le chercheur**

Il faut apprendre...

**Roua**

Toutes les langues.

**Le chercheur**

Toutes les langues, c'est bon.

**Roua**

Dans la possibilité, il faut apprendre que ça soit les langues officielles et les langues nationales.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Parce que plus on apprend des langues et plus la compréhension et plus la communication entre les êtres est facile donc si on a la possibilité et la capacité d'apprendre après...

**Le chercheur**

Donc c'est bien. Vous dites c'est bien d'apprendre ces langues. Donc Madame **Roua** Ibrahim, merci.

**Roua**

Je vous en prie.

**Le chercheur**

De m'avoir permis de vous parler des langues parlées à Djibouti. Merci, c'était bien de votre part.

**Roua**

De rien je vous en prie et je vous remercie aussi de m'avoir donné aussi cette chance là aussi (rires).

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Roua**

Je ne sais pas si j'ai bien répondu.

**Le chercheur**

C'est bon, c'est bon.

Interview de M. Yacoub, conseiller technique du Ministre.

4 March 2017 at 10.47 dans sa maison à Hodan à Balbala à Djibouti.

Le chercheur

Bismillahi Rahmani Rahim. Bonjour, Salam Alaikum. Mon nom est Said Djama.

Je fais une recherche sur les langues à Djibouti, et j'aimerais pouvoir vous interviewer. Vous avez lu le formulaire de consentement. Cette recherche je la fait avec l'université d'Aston en Grande Bretagne en Angleterre, le Royaume Uni. Donc, Je vous rappelle que ce que vous allez me dire sera et restera entre nous, c'est-à-dire entre vous et moi et les responsables qui travaillent sur la thèse. Tout sera anonyme et vous ne risquez rien de cette interview. Vous avez aussi comme c'est écrit sur le formulaire, abandonnez ou arrêtez de faire cette interview à tout moment. L'interview va durer environ 1h. Monsieur, s'il vous plaît, présentez-vous, dites-moi votre nom, votre profession, la responsabilité ou le titre avec lequel vous occupez. La parole est à vous monsieur.

**Yacoub**  
Bonjour de ma part aussi. Je m'appelle Yacoub. Je suis conseiller technique au ministère [...] de Djibouti. J'habite à la cité Hodan

**Le chercheur**  
Vous travaillez--

**Yacoub**  
Au ministère [...].

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord... vous habitez à cité Hodan c'est-à-dire à la municipalité de Balbala, D'accord merci

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce vous vous considérez comme francophone ou arabophone.

**Yacoub**  
Les deux.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous êtes les deux, c'est à dire vous êtes bilingue. Vous avez appris l'arabe au primaire ou au secondaire ?

**Yacoub**  
Du primaire au lycée.

**Le chercheur**  
Du primaire au lycée vous avez appris l'arabe et ensuite vous avez appris le français.

**Yacoub**  
Non, J'ai appris le français dès la primaire.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous avez été dans une école de langue, d'éducation française.

**Yacoub**  
D'abord en français de la primaire au lycée, et après, pas après mais en même temps, on a commencé en CM2 ce qu'on appelle CM1.

**Le chercheur**  
Dans le system scolaire

**Yacoub**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous êtes un francophone qui a appris l'arabe et qui a amélioré son arabe.

**Yacoub**  
Oui, on peut dire comme ça...

**Le chercheur**  
Le système éducatif français !

**Yacoub**  
Français.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord merci. Quel est votre niveau d'éducation ?

**Yacoub**  
Moi. J'ai un BTS de commerce international.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous l'avez obtenu à Djibouti ?

**Yacoub**  
À Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous avez fait l'université à Djibouti ?

**Yacoub**  
À Djibouti.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Vous n'êtes pas allé à l'étranger ?

**Yacoub**  
À l'étranger, oui mais ça n'a pas marché. Pour faire des lettres modernes.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. C'était où ?

**Yacoub**  
Reims

**Le chercheur**  
Vous êtes allé à Reims en France pour une année.

**Yacoub**  
Deux années pour faire lettres modernes.

**Le chercheur**  
Des études de lettres modernes. Et c'était vous qui payez ou c'était le gouvernement ?

**Yacoub**  
Le gouvernement.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous avez eu une bourse.

**Yacoub**  
Une bourse mais l'orientation n'était pas appropriée. J'ai dû l'abandonné, je suis rentré à Djibouti, et j'ai dû faire commerce international, et j'ai abouti en ce sens.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, Quelle langue est importante pour vous. Dans votre vie, quelle est la langue la plus importante pour vous ?

**Yacoub**  
C'est avec laquelle on travaille est le français, le français d'abord.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Yacoub**  
Ensuite pour le reste.

**Le chercheur**  
Les autres langues. Pourquoi le français est très important pour vous ?

**Yacoub**  
C'est celle qu'on a étudié, c'est avec laquelle on parle. En premier, c'est dans laquelle on réfléchit même.

LE CHERCHEUR  
D'accord, Est-ce que vous sentez le besoin d'apprendre une autre langue ?

**Yacoub**  
Oui, C'est toujours important d'apprendre des langues. Plus on a de langues plus on est--

**Le chercheur**  
Pour le travail.

**Yacoub**  
Pour le travail, pour la communication, pour la compréhension du monde. Les langues sont très importantes

**Le chercheur**  
Quelle langue aimeriez-vous apprendre ?

**Yacoub**  
Moi personnellement, l'allemand.

**Le chercheur**  
Et pourquoi ?

**Yacoub**  
L'allemand, je pense que ce sont des gens pragmatiques, ce sont des gens qui dominant actuellement le mode au niveau

économique, et j'aimerais apprendre cette langue-là.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, merci. Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez des langues enseignées dans nos écoles à Djibouti, au primaire, au secondaire ?

**Yacoub**  
À Djibouti, on apprend d'abord le français et l'arabe Il y a d'autres langues qui sont enseignées. Je pense qu'on devrait apprendre aussi aux élèves les langues maternelles.

**Le chercheur**  
À quel niveau ?

**Yacoub**  
À partir du primaire aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
Les langues maternelles. Quelles sont ces langues maternelles ?

**Yacoub**  
L'arabe, le somali, afar, oromo...

**Le chercheur**  
Ces quatre langues sont des langues maternelles que vous voulez voir enseignés à Djibouti au niveau primaire.

**Yacoub**  
Parce qu'il y a une thèse qui dit que celui qui maîtrise une langue maternelle pourra maîtriser d'autres langues.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc c'est... Pourquoi vous voulez ça ?

**Yacoub**  
Pour que les gens maîtrisent-- c'est celui qui maîtrise sa propre langue qui va maîtriser les autres langues aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
C'est ça votre raison. Ces langues seraient à enseigner

**Yacoub**  
Normalement, comme les langues vivantes.

**Le chercheur**  
Comme les langues vivantes ou comme--

**Yacoub**  
Comme l'anglais comme le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Pas au primaire, pas une langue à part.

**Yacoub**  
Pourquoi ? Qu'est-ce qui oblige, qu'est-ce qui nous oblige à faire apprendre uniquement les langues au collège ?

**Le chercheur**  
Pourquoi les collèges, pourquoi pas aussi très tôt.

**Le chercheur**  
Quelle langue voulez-vous qu'on enseigne par exemple comme langue d'enseignement au primaire ?

**Yacoub**  
Tout va rester telle quelle est.

**Le chercheur**  
Le français. Les autres langues devraient être ajoutées.

**Yacoub**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, merci. Au niveau de la garderie, le français toujours ou--

**Yacoub**  
Je suis contre les garderies moi. L'enfant doit apprendre tout ça avec sa mère chez lui.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc pas d'école maternelle, pas de garderie.

**Yacoub**  
Pas de garderie, non.

**Le chercheur**

Combien de langues vous parlez à la maison ?

**Yacoub**

A la maison, on parle français, on parle arabe, on parle somali.

**Le chercheur**

Vous parlez ces trois langues à la maison avec vos enfants, avec votre épouse.

**Yacoub**

Avec ma femme et avec mes enfants.

**Le chercheur**

Vous parlez ces trois langues.

**Yacoub**

Avec les employés.

**Le chercheur**

Et les employés au travail ?

**Yacoub**

Non, les employés à la maison.

**Le chercheur**

Et avec vos voisins, vous parlez quelle langue ?

**Yacoub**

Ça dépend de la proximité. Si je rencontre un Arabe, je lui parle en arabe, si je rencontre un Somali je lui parle en somali. Ça dépend de la personne.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que vous avez des problèmes à parler avec des gens dans la rue ou avec vos voisins ?

**Yacoub**

Pas de problème.

**Le chercheur**

Pas de problème pour les langues.

**Yacoub**

Langue n'est pas une barrière.

**Le chercheur**

Quelle est la langue la plus utilisée dans la rue à Djibouti, dans les rues à Djibouti ?

**Yacoub**

Ce sont les langues maternelles.

**Le chercheur**

Quelle est la langue, la plus utilisée ?

**Yacoub**

Le somali.

**Le chercheur**

Le somali. Merci. Et dans les services publics ?

**Yacoub**

Le français.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que cette langue qui est parlé par exemple à Djibouti dans les villes, est-ce que c'est une langue nationale ?

**Yacoub**

Dans la rue ?

**Le chercheur**

Dans la rue, la langue qui est parlée dans la rue c'est une langue nationale ?

**Yacoub**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Et la langue qui est parlée dans les bureaux et dans les services ?

**Yacoub**

C'est une langue étrangère.

**Le chercheur**

C'est la langue française, ce n'est pas une langue étrangère aussi puisqu'elle est notre langue officielle.

**Yacoub**

C'est une langue officielle mais ce n'est pas la langue-- on peut dire c'est la langue maternelle.

**Le chercheur**

Non mais c'est la langue officielle du pays.

**Yacoub**

Mais c'est une langue étrangère, c'est celle de l'occupant.

**Le chercheur**

Non. Je pense que c'est une langue officielle

**Yacoub**

Oui elle est officielle parce qu'on l'a hérité du système colonial parce que les français nous ont appris leur langue.

**Le chercheur**

Oui mais parce que aussi peut-être Djibouti veut garder cette langue.

**Yacoub**

Je ne sais pas. Il faut demander aux politiciens. Moi je dis c'est une langue étrangère.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord monsieur. Est-ce que vous utilisez donc ces deux langues, le français et le somali.

**Yacoub**

L'arabe aussi.

**Le chercheur**

Et l'arabe en plus. Est-ce que vous sentez confortable, à l'aise avec ces langues-là ?

**Yacoub**

Oui, pas de problème.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que à Djibouti partout on parle cette langue « le somali », ou est-ce qu'il y a des endroits où on parle d'autres langues maternelles ou nationales ou internationales plus que par exemple--

**Yacoub**

Le somali, oui bien sûr. Il faut comprendre que Djibouti est composé de plusieurs entités. Il y a les Somalis, il y a les Afars, il y a les Amharas, il y a les français, il y a les Amharas, il y a les Oromos. Il y a plusieurs entités, il y a enfin des gens de différentes nationalités à Djibouti, de différentes langues. Tous ces gens-là habitent à Djibouti, donc forcément quelque part il y aura des occupants qui vont parler par exemple à Arhiba on parle l'afar.

**Le chercheur**

C'est la langue qu'on parle le plus.

**Yacoub**

Dans notre quartier, on va parler le somali, a quartier 4, quartier 2 on va parler un peu l'arabe. Donc il y a des poches. Chaque langue a sa propre localisation.

**Le chercheur**

Par exemple l'arabe, elle est parlée où ?

**Yacoub**

Quartier 1, Quartier 2, Djabal, Ambouli

**Le chercheur**

Et par exemple le somali, serait parlé où ?

**Yacoub**

Quartier 3 quartier 4 quartier 5 & 6 et Balbala.

**Le chercheur**

Donc le somali domine tous ces endroits-là. Et l'afar ?

**Yacoub**

L'afar est parlé Arhiba, Wahledaba, et dans les régions de Tadjourah et d'Obock.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y aurait d'autres langues ?

**Yacoub**

Oui il y a l'Oromo.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y a un endroit où il y a le français, les gens du quartier parlent que le français ?

**Yacoub**

Non je ne pense pas. Les enfants pour communiquer entre les djiboutiens avec toute cette diversité, pour communiquer entre eux, ils utilisent le français ou l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Mais il n'y a pas un endroit ou-- Est-ce qu'il y a un endroit pour les autres langues par exemple ? Est-ce qu'il y a un endroit pour les gens qui parlent le Oromo ou les gens qui parlent amharique ?

**Yacoub**

Ils sont intégrés. Peut-être avec--ils ont plus d'affinité avec là où on parle l'afar, donc plus de proximité entre ces gens-là.

**Le chercheur**

Et au travail, est-ce qu'au travail à Djibouti, les gens ont un règlement linguistique, est-ce qu'ils ont des règles pour les langues ? Comment parler, quelle langue parler au travail.

**Yacoub**

La langue au travail d'abord est le français et l'arabe, mais tout ce qui est écrit se fait en français. Toutes les réunions sont menées en français, tous les rapports se font en français. Peut-être dans l'oral, on peut dire qu'on met d'autres langues. Tout ce qui est écrit, tout ce qui est rapport, tout ce qui est courrier, tout ce qui est lettre ce fait en français, et les réunions se font généralement en français, principalement c'est en français.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'il y a quelquefois où vous parlez une autre langue dans les réunions ?

**Yacoub**

Pas souvent.

**Le chercheur**

Mais si c'est une autre langue, quelle est cette autre langue.

**Yacoub**

Ça dépend des gens qui sont là.

**Le chercheur**

Quelle est la langue la plus parlé ?

**Yacoub**

Le somali.

**Le chercheur**

Le somali. Après le français ?

**Yacoub**

Après le français. Il y a d'autres gens à Djibouti qui travaillent avec une autre langue. La communauté arabophone travaille en arabe, ils font leurs réunions en arabe, c'est aussi une langue officielle. Il y a deux communautés et deux façons de travailler, deux langues, le français et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce que quand on embauche quelqu'un, est-ce qu'on lui demande de parler les langues officielles, ou est-ce qu'une seule suffit, ou est-ce que s'ils parlent une langue nationale et pas les langues officielles, est-ce qu'on l'embauche ?

**Yacoub**

Généralement, les langues qu'on demande dans le travail sont le français, l'arabe, ou ces dernier temps, l'anglais puisque l'anglais prend de l'importance dans notre système, dans notre économie.

**Le chercheur**

Dans la fonction publique.

**Yacoub**

L'anglais, le français et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

Et si la personne ne connaît pas une langue, on ne peut pas l'embaucher.

**Yacoub**  
Mais c'est un plus. Ça ne veut pas dire qu'on ne peut pas l'embaucher, mais ça va être un plus, un critère en plus.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais s'il connaît seulement le français, est-ce qu'on peut l'embaucher ?

**Yacoub**  
Oui on l'embauche oui.

**Le chercheur**  
S'il connaît seulement l'arabe, est-ce qu'on peut l'embaucher ?

**Yacoub**  
On l'embauche oui.

**Le chercheur**  
S'il connaît que l'anglais ?

**Yacoub**  
En fonction public comporte tous ces gens-là, l'anglais l'arabe et le français. Des gens qui connaissent que le français que l'arabe ou que l'anglais travaillent dans la fonction publique.

**Le chercheur**  
Si la personne connaît que le somali, est-ce qu'il peut travailler ?

**Yacoub**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Si la personne connaît que l'afar ?

**Yacoub**  
Non. Ce ne sont pas des langues de travail.

**Le chercheur**  
Et si la personne connaît seulement le l'amharique.

**Yacoub**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Et l'oromo ?

**Yacoub**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc il faut que la personne connaisse--

**Yacoub**  
Soit le français, l'arabe, ou l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, merci. Donc c'est très important, ces langues-là sont très importantes. Quelle langue les gens qui viennent travailler, les gens qui demandent un service qui viennent vous demander le service, les gens du public, quelle langue préfèrent-ils s'adresser à vous ?

**Yacoub**  
Ce n'est pas qu'ils préfèrent, chacun va parler sa langue maternelle quand il vient s'adresser à un service. L'Afar vas parler en l'afar, Le Français en français, le Somali en somali et l'Arabe en arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc les gens qui travaillent chez vous qui vont recevoir ces clients doivent parler ces langues-là ?

**Yacoub**  
Si j'appelle..., si je ne parle pas, j'appelle un collègue qui va répondre en anglais ou en afar. Il y a toujours un collègue qui est à côté qui parle, qui est Afar ou...

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que s'est exigé par l'emploi ?

**Yacoub**  
Pas exigé.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais c'est un plus.

**Yacoub**  
Un plus.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord merci. Et si le client qui vient, la langue qu'il parle, personne ne la connaît, qu'est-ce que vous faites dans ce cas-là ?

**Yacoub**  
Il arrive qu'un chinois arrive.

**Le chercheur**  
Il vous en a parlé en chinois. Alors qu'est-ce que vous avez fait ?

**Yacoub**  
Langage de signes.

**Le chercheur**  
Ah ! Vous vous êtes débrouillé avec lui.

**Yacoub**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que ça vous arrive d'amener un interprète ?

**Yacoub**  
Pas souvent.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que ça ne vous est jamais arrivé ?

**Yacoub**  
Ça arrive des fois avec les chinois.

**Le chercheur**  
Pas avec les langues nationales.

**Yacoub**  
Non. On se comprend. Même si tu ne réponds pas, on comprend ce que tu dis, donc facilement.

**Le chercheur**  
Ça vous est arrivé de lui demander aller chercher quelqu'un qui parle la langue ?

**Yacoub**  
Non pas du tout. Pas pour les langues nationales.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous allez à l'étranger pour le travail ?

**Yacoub**  
Oui, pour le travail, pour les vacances.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que quand vous allez à l'étranger, est-ce que vous avez des problèmes de communication avec les étrangers, des problèmes pour parler ?

**Yacoub**  
Non. Principalement on parle l'anglais. Si tu communique en anglais, les gens te comprennent.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc avec l'anglais, vous arrivez à vous faire comprendre. Est-ce qu'il y a une langue ou des langues que vous vous dites je devrais apprendre ? Une fois que vous êtes à l'étranger, est-ce que vous vous dites ah, cette langue-là je devrais l'apprendre. Vous allez dans un pays par exemple où les gens parlent une langue par exemple aux indes où les gens parlent l'Hindi, est-ce que vous ne dites pas cette langue-là je devrais l'apprendre ?

**Yacoub**  
Plutôt dans ces pays dans lesquels on va, il y a une langue internationale qui s'est imposée à travers le monde, l'anglais est une langue que tout le monde parle, peut-être dans les régions rurales, on ne trouvera personne, mais principalement, l'anglais est un bon moyen de communication avec tout le monde.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous ne sentez pas le besoin d'apprendre une autre langue.

**Yacoub**  
Non. Les vis à vis peuvent te faire comprendre en anglais, pourquoi chercher ailleurs. Peut-être en Chine où des fois ça

nous arrive. On se dit pourquoi ne pas apprendre le chinois quand on voit aussi le niveau de leur investissement et leur présence à Djibouti. On doit se dire cette langue demain, peut-être elle aura--

**Le chercheur**  
Donc le chinois est la seule langue vous vous dites peut-être—elle aura

**Yacoub**  
De l'avenir.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc le chinois et la seule langue que vous vous êtes dit... Vous avez dit c'est parce que--

**Yacoub**  
Parce qu'ils sont de plus en plus présents à Djibouti, on a de plus en plus d'interférence à Djibouti, c'est juste pour ça.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous voyez le besoin d'enseigner cette langue au niveau scolaire ?

**Yacoub**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
À quel niveau vous vous souhaiteriez ?

**Yacoub**  
Peut-être au niveau du collège, à partir de la sixième leur enseigner ceux qui veulent.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc ce serait une option. Et les autres langues ? Tout à l'heure vous avez dit que vous voudriez que les langues maternelles à Djibouti puissent--

**Yacoub**  
Ceux-là, j'aimerais qu'ils soient enseignés dès le primaire. Celui qui veut apprendre l'afar qu'il apprenne l'afar.

**Le chercheur**  
Comme option ?

**Yacoub**  
Come option, oui. Quelqu'un qui veut apprendre le somali qu'il apprenne le somali. Quelqu'un qui veut apprendre l'Oromo qu'il apprenne l'Oromo.

**Le chercheur**  
Et au niveau secondaire.

**Yacoub**  
Ça continue jusqu'au lycée. Jusqu'à ce que la personne trouve le besoin de dire tiens maintenant je comprends et j'ai plus besoin de continuer.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous avez des enfants qui vont à l'école ?

**Yacoub**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
À quel niveau ?

**Yacoub**  
Au lycée et au collège.

**Le chercheur**  
Combien de langues par exemple les enfants qui sont au lycée, vos enfants combien de langues parlent-ils ?

**Yacoub**  
Ils apprennent l'anglais le français et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce qu'ils les parlent fréquemment ?

**Yacoub**  
Ils parlent l'arabe et le français, l'anglais c'est peut-être plus quand ils sont en cours.

**Le chercheur**  
Et ceux qui sont en collège ?

<p><b>Yacoub</b> Parcille. <b>Le chercheur</b> Est-ce que vous avez des enfants au primaire ? <b>Yacoub</b> Oui, le primaire c'est l'arabe et le français, pas d'anglais. <b>Le chercheur</b> Et c'est la langue d'enseignement est le français ? <b>Yacoub</b> Oui. <b>Le chercheur</b> Donc ce sont des gens qui parlent plusieurs langues, au moins deux langues. Et votre langue maternelle ? <b>Yacoub</b> Le somali. <b>Le chercheur</b> Quelle est la langue maternelle de vos enfants ? <b>Yacoub</b> Le somali principalement, après il y a l'arabe. <b>Le chercheur</b> Après il y a l'arabe qui vient en deuxième. Merci. Vous pensez à Djibouti par exemple, vous pensez qu'il y a une langue qui domine toutes les langues à Djibouti ? <b>Yacoub</b> Oui. <b>Le chercheur</b> C'est quelle langue ? <b>Yacoub</b> Le somali. <b>Le chercheur</b> Est-ce que vous pourriez me dire combien de langues vous utilisez par exemple par jour la plupart du temps ? <b>Yacoub</b> Deux ou trois. <b>Le chercheur</b> Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez la plus ? <b>Yacoub</b> Le français, <b>Le chercheur</b> Le français. <b>Yacoub</b> Le somali, et l'arabe. <b>Le chercheur</b> Donc ces trois langues, la langue vous utilisez la plus c'est le <b>Yacoub</b> Français. <b>Le chercheur</b> Quand vous êtes au boulot, c'est laquelle la plus utilisé ? <b>Yacoub</b> Le Français. <b>Le chercheur</b> Quand vous êtes à la maison, quelle est la langue la plus utilisé ? <b>Yacoub</b> Le somali. <b>Le chercheur</b> Et quand vous êtes dans la rue parler avec les gens ? <b>Yacoub</b> C'est toujours le somali, et le français... <b>Le chercheur</b> Un mélange de français et d'arabe. <b>Yacoub</b> Arabe, français et somali <b>Le chercheur</b></p>	<p>Et vous pensez qu'à Djibouti, la majorité des gens parlent le somali ? <b>Yacoub</b> Oui. <b>Le chercheur</b> La langue somalie est la langue qui domine dans le pays les autres langues. <b>Yacoub</b> Oui au niveau du parler. <b>Le chercheur</b> Quelle est la deuxième langue qui suit cette langue au niveau parler ? <b>Yacoub</b> Peut-être l'afar, je ne sais pas... <b>Le chercheur</b> Le français ou l'afar qui est parlé dans les rues de Djibouti ou dans les maisons. L'afar est la deuxième langue qui domine à parler. À l'écrit ? <b>Yacoub</b> C'est le français et l'arabe. <b>Le chercheur</b> C'est le français et l'arabe qui dominent. <b>Yacoub</b> Français en premier, en second l'arabe. <b>Le chercheur</b> Est-ce que le somali vient en troisième en écrit ? <b>Yacoub</b> Personne ne l'écrit. <b>Le chercheur</b> Est-ce qu'il y a des journaux à Djibouti en somali ? <b>Yacoub</b> Non je ne pense pas. <b>Le chercheur</b> Est-ce qu'il y a des écrivains djiboutiens qui écrivent en somali ? <b>Yacoub</b> Il y en a, on peut en trouver. Ça se compte sur les bouts des doigts. <b>Le chercheur</b> Est-ce que vous ça vous arrive de lire des livres en somali. <b>Yacoub</b> Oui. <b>Le chercheur</b> Combien de livres par an ou par mois ? <b>Yacoub</b> Par an non, je ne dirais pas ça. C'est occasionnel. <b>Le chercheur</b> Mais les livres que vous lisez. <b>Yacoub</b> En français... les journaux. <b>Le chercheur</b> Sont la plupart du temps en français. Et la deuxième langue ? <b>Yacoub</b> L'arabe. <b>Le chercheur</b> Et en troisième langue les livres que vous lisez ? <b>Yacoub</b> Je ne lis pratiquement pas de livres en d'autres langues. <b>Le chercheur</b> Pas de Somali. Pas d'afar. <b>Yacoub</b> Somali, occasionnellement. <b>Le chercheur</b> Donc il y a des écrivains qui écrivent en somali et vous lisez rarement. Est-ce qu'il y a des écrivains en afar ? Est-ce que vous connaissez des écrivains en afar qui écrivent des livres en afar à Djibouti ? <b>Yacoub</b></p>	<p>Oui il y en a. <b>Le chercheur</b> Et des Djiboutiens qui écrivent en arabe ? En français ? <b>Yacoub</b> Oui il y en a aussi. <b>Le chercheur</b> Est-ce que ça vous arrive d'écouter la radio ou télévision djiboutienne ? <b>Yacoub</b> Oui. <b>Le chercheur</b> À la radio, quelle est la langue que vous écoutez ? <b>Yacoub</b> Le français. <b>Le chercheur</b> À la radio. <b>Yacoub</b> Le somali. <b>Le chercheur</b> Et quand c'est la télévision ? <b>Yacoub</b> Le français et le somali. <b>Le chercheur</b> Le français, pourquoi ? <b>Yacoub</b> Pour les infos. <b>Le chercheur</b> Vous utilisez les informations en français de la radio et télévision Djibouti. <b>Yacoub</b> De la télévision le français, de la radio le somali. <b>Le chercheur</b> Quelle chaîne, en français, quelle chaîne vous utilisez ? <b>Yacoub</b> Celle du Djibouti, ou France 24 ou tv5 monde ou Euronews. <b>Le chercheur</b> Donc ça vous utilise pour le-- <b>Yacoub</b> Pour le français. <b>Le chercheur</b> Et le somali ? à la télé ? <b>Yacoub</b> A la radio. <b>Le chercheur</b> Pour les émissions d'entraînement ? Pour les variétés, les chansons ? <b>Yacoub</b> Je ne suis pas très télévision. Je regarde peut-être de temps en temps les images et le programme Tihmal. <b>Le chercheur</b> C'est en arabe ou en somali ? <b>Yacoub</b> En somali. <b>Le chercheur</b> Donc c'est une émission religieuse ou c'est une émission traditionnelle. <b>Yacoub</b> C'est une émission qui traite des poésies, de la culture. <b>Le chercheur</b> Donc cette émission en somali, vous la regardez les autres en français c'est les informations. Est-ce que vous écoutez les chansons, les variétés ? <b>Yacoub</b> En somali. <b>Le chercheur</b> Vous écoutez les chansons en somali. À la radio ? <b>Yacoub</b> Non, pas à la radio.</p>
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**Le chercheur**  
À la télévision ?

**Yacoub**  
Même pas, des fois sur internet.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc vous écoutez quelques fois les chansons sur internet. Donc ce sont des vidéos.

**Yacoub**  
Audio.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous écoutez les chansons somalies. Et les chansons somalies sont faites par des djiboutiens et chantés par des djiboutiens ou c'est des chansons de la Somalie ?

**Yacoub**  
Des djiboutiens et de la Somalie, les deux.

**Le chercheur**  
Et quand vous utilisez internet, quelle langue vous utilisez ?

**Yacoub**  
Le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous utilisez la langue française pour vous servir--

**Yacoub**  
La recherche tout ce qu'on veut.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous utilisez une autre langue sur internet ?

**Yacoub**  
Pas tellement.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que ça vous arrive d'utiliser l'arabe ?

**Yacoub**  
Oui, l'arabe, ça m'arrive pour faire des traductions, ça m'arrive.

**Le chercheur**  
Et est-ce que vous l'utilisez pour le somali ?

**Yacoub**  
Non, je ne vois pas l'utilité.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous n'avez pas besoin, vous voulez dire.

**Yacoub**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous savez que sur internet le somali aussi est présent et que le somali aussi à des traductions comme ceux que vous utilisez par exemple, que tout ce qui se fait en anglais ou en français, le somali aussi existe et est présent sur internet ?

**Yacoub**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous êtes conscient mais vous ne l'utilisez pas. D'accord. Pour les langues à Djibouti, qu'est-ce que vous avez comme conseilles à donner aux djiboutiens ou conseilles à me donner en tant que chercheur pour les langues parlées à Djibouti ?

**Yacoub**  
C'est-à-dire les renseignements ou...

**Le chercheur**  
Qu'est-ce que vous voulez dire ? Je ne vois pas la question.

**Le chercheur**  
Alor, je vais répéter la question. Est-ce que vous avez un commentaire à faire après tout ce que nous avons parlé des langues à Djibouti. Quelle est la langue qui vous intéresse, laquelle vous utilise la plus, et par rapport aux djiboutiens. Est-ce que les djiboutiens aussi parlent tous ces langues là ou est-ce qu'il y a des gens qui parlent qu'une seule langue ?

**Yacoub**

On peut dire que les djiboutiens, on peut trouver certains qui parlent qu'une seule langue. Il y en a. Mais au niveau de l'enseignement, je pense qu'on doit de plus en plus pousser les jeunes à maîtriser de plus en plus de langues. Plus ils vont maîtriser de langues, plus ils seront mieux compris plus ils vont mieux communiquer. Je pense déjà ils apprennent l'arabe le français et l'anglais. On doit leur ajouter aussi d'autres langues maternelles comme tu disais, le somali ou l'afar, ou l'oromo ils doivent apprendre parce que ça va favoriser l'intégration, la communication. À l'école, on doit pousser plus vers ces langues-là. On doit aussi trouver à côté tout ce qui est écrit, tous ces langues écrites ils doivent avoir des supports écrits pour aussi lire et développer ces langues. Jusqu'à présent on se base uniquement sur le français et l'arabe et secondairement l'anglais, ces langues aussi doivent avoir leurs propres supports et leurs propres canaux, leurs propres systèmes de développement et permettre à ces gens-là de les acquérir plus facilement.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord merci monsieur Yacoub. C'était un plaisir de vous avoir interviewé.

**Yacoub**  
Merci à vous.

Interview avec Zeinab, Chef de service de l'emploi.  
23 Mars 2017 à 10.09 dans son bureau à l'Agence Nationale de l'Emploi à Ras dika à Djibouti.

**Zeinab**  
Je suis Madame Zeinab, je suis la chef de service de l'emploi. Alors nous on s'occupe de l'intermédiation entre les demandeurs d'emploi et les employeurs. Dès qu'on reçoit une offre d'emploi, on appuie sur le site web et on publie sur le site web, sur notre affichage qui est dans le couloir et puis pour les offres internationales on passe par le journal La Nation.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous avez des feuilles, est-ce que vous les imprimez, vous les distribuez dans les quartiers ?

**Zeinab**  
Non, non, non, malheureusement non mais on affiche ici.

**Le chercheur**  
Ici seulement.

**Zeinab**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Vous n'avez pas d'autres supports ?

**Zeinab**  
Non, on n'avait pas pour le moment mais on va travailler avec les CDD.

**Le chercheur**  
Les CDD.

**Zeinab**  
Oui et comme ça...

**Le chercheur**  
Et dans quelle langue vous pouvez...

**Zeinab**  
La langue officielle normalement c'est le français et l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Et l'arabe.

**Zeinab**  
Voilà, on travaille en français.

**Le chercheur**

Vous travaillez en français, vous publiez en français...

**Zeinab**  
Oui, oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Et en arabe ?

**Zeinab**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Pas en arabe.

**Zeinab**  
Non, c'est surtout en français.

**Le chercheur**  
Pas en anglais ?

**Zeinab**  
Non, non, non.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, est-ce que...

**Zeinab**  
Si on reçoit les offres d'emploi, des fois il y a des employeurs qui nous envoient les offres en anglais par exemple. On lui dit nous la langue officielle du pays c'est le français et on lui dit de nous faire... Mais on a aussi les jeunes qui sont là, qui parlent aussi les deux langues et ils traduisent.

**Le chercheur**  
Ils traduisent, ils traduisent. Donc vous les affichez en français ?

**Zeinab**  
En français.

**Le chercheur**  
Jamais une autre langue ?

**Zeinab**  
Si, en anglais, mais des fois.

**Le chercheur**  
En anglais quelques fois.

**Zeinab**  
En anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc les employeurs qui recrutent des gens qui parlent en anglais, ils vous demandent de mettre en anglais

**Zeinab**  
En anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Mais quand vous traduisez en français ça veut dire qu'ils ont besoin de deux langues ?

**Zeinab**  
Oui. La plupart du temps on nous demande des gens qui parlent l'anglais et le français. Et maintenant la langue qui est demandée à Djibouti c'est surtout l'anglais. Même pour les serveuses on vous dit « l'anglais c'est un atout ».

**Le chercheur**  
C'est un atout.

**Zeinab**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Est-ce que vous pensez que la majorité d'emplois qui sont...

**Zeinab**  
Sur le terrain ?

**Le chercheur**  
Sur le terrain oui, les gens qui sont sur marché en ce moment on embauche beaucoup plus les gens qui parlent en anglais ou seulement les gens qui parlent en français ?

**Zeinab**  
Qui parlent l'anglais également parce que même pour les agents de sécurité, on nous demande des fois des gens qui parlent

anglais, les serveuses comme je vous ai dit, les secrétaires, les logisticiens.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, donc en majorité ?

**Zeinab**  
Non, non oui, français-anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Français, anglais.

**Zeinab**  
Même nous avons maintenant collecté des données sur le marché et la plupart nous disent « on veut des gens qui parlent anglais couramment »

**Le chercheur**  
Couramment.

**Zeinab**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, maintenant les opportunités c'est en anglais ?

**Zeinab**  
Oui.

**Le chercheur**  
Et est-ce qu'il y a des emplois où l'on ne demande que le français ?

**Zeinab**  
Non soit le français et l'arabe, soit le français et l'anglais.

**Le chercheur**  
Pas le français tout seul ?

**Zeinab**  
Non, pas le français.

**Le chercheur**  
Pas le français tout seul.

**Zeinab**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Et est-ce qu'ils vous demandent arabe-anglais seulement, arabe-anglais seulement ?

**Zeinab**  
Oui, non c'est surtout on nous demande français-anglais ou français-arabe. Bon, il y en a qui nous demandent les trois langues, mais là dit aussi nous les c'est vrai les LEA c'est des gens qui apprennent les trois langues mais on n'a pas des gens qui peuvent traduire ou bien faire de français à l'anglais, de français à l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**  
Ah d'accord.

**Zeinab**  
C'est difficile.

**Le chercheur**  
C'est difficile. Mais nous, nous avons une formation à l'université...

**Zeinab**  
Vous avez une formation mais il faut...

**Le chercheur**  
LEA, je crois que j'ai vu le Monsieur qui était tout à l'heure venu, il avait fait le LEA chez nous.

**Zeinab**  
Oui, oui j'en ai plein, j'en ai une au guichet.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Zeinab**  
Et aussi, les deux qui sont au guichet.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, d'accord, oui, je l'ai vue. Et donc ces gens-là ne sont pas vraiment, vous voulez dire au point.

**Zeinab**  
Non, il faut, il leur manque de petites... Il faut renforcer ces...

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Zeinab**  
Leurs capacités.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Zeinab**  
Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord. Donc vous vous affichez en français, vous les affichez dans vos bureaux ici. Pour le moment vous n'avez pas...

**Zeinab**  
Site web.

**Le chercheur**  
Voilà, sur le site web aussi vous avez mais tout à l'heure j'ai vu une dame appeler des gens et leur dire...

**Zeinab**  
Oui, pourquoi ça ce sont les demandeurs d'emploi...

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Zeinab**  
Qui sont inscrits chez nous. Donc dès qu'on a une offre d'emploi, on prend de la base de données mais on demande s'ils sont toujours à la recherche d'un emploi ou bien s'ils ont trouvé du travail. Parce qu'on n'a pas les informations, le problème c'est le manque d'informations.

**Le chercheur**  
Quand ils sont embauchés.

**Zeinab**  
Même quand l'emploi est libéralisé, les gens ils trouvent du travail, il y'en a, il y en a qui se conforment aux textes.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Zeinab**  
Parce que le code du travail oblige les employeurs à régulariser leur situation même s'ils embauchent directement, ils doivent nous communiquer soit la liste mensuelle soit d'envoyer leur personnel à venir ici régulariser leur situation.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, donc s'ils ne régularisent pas, vous vous ne savez pas si cette personne a trouvé du travail ?

**Zeinab**  
Non, non. Et des fois les gens ils nous disent qu'on ne travaille pas pourtant ils travaillent, c'est difficile.

**Le chercheur**  
C'est difficile, donc quand ils rentrent, quand les gens sont embauchés et que le gouvernement paye, normalement ils sont, ils passent à la caisse ?

**Zeinab**  
Ils passent à la Caisse, il y a la Fonction Publique.

**Le chercheur**  
A la CNS, la CNS c'est la fonction publique donc ces gens-là devraient vous envoyer les informations

**Zeinab**  
Normalement.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc ça ne se fait pas à ce niveau-là ?

**Zeinab**  
Non.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc c'est vrai que c'est vraiment difficile. Et donc il faut les contacter personnellement ces gens-là.

**Zeinab**

Oui. C'est difficile.

**Le chercheur**  
Et leur demander s'ils n'ont pas d'emploi.

**Zeinab**  
On ne va pas envoyer une liste...

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, donc votre base de données n'est pas fiable dans ce cas-là.

**Zeinab**  
Oui, oui. Il faut oser dire la vérité.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, oui. Donc vous savez, ça c'est un problème...

**Zeinab**  
C'est par manque de communication.

**Le chercheur**  
Par manque de communication entre les Ministères. Donc votre Ministère s'appelle l'ANEFIP.

**Zeinab**  
L'ANEFIP Agence Nationale de l'Emploi, de la Formation et de l'Insertion Professionnelle.

**Le chercheur**  
Donc, est-ce que vous offrez des stages ?

**Zeinab**  
Oui, on offre des stages, maintenant on a un service insertion professionnelle, je peux donc vous orienter et on s'occupe des stages rémunérés et non rémunérés.

**Le chercheur**  
Ah d'accord, ces gens-là vous les prenez de votre base ?

**Zeinab**  
Oui, bien sûr.

**Le chercheur**  
Où vous faites appel...

**Zeinab**  
Non, non, on les prend de la base de données pour inciter les gens à venir s'inscrire aussi.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Zeinab**  
Parce que si les gens viennent s'inscrire et qu'on ne les appelle pas et qu'on ne fait rien pour eux, les gens ils vont se décourager.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord.

**Zeinab**  
Mais une fois qu'on prend de la base de données, tout le monde sera incité à venir s'inscrire chez nous.

**Le chercheur**  
D'accord, merci Madame, c'est gentil de votre part de me donner ces informations.

**Zeinab**  
On est là pour aussi pour travailler ensemble avec tous nos partenaires parce que quand vous êtes enseignant, vous pouvez remédier à certaines choses. Vraiment, moi je vois des fois des filles qui me disent secrétaire.

**Le chercheur**  
Oui.

**Zeinab**  
Et des fois, si vous leur donnez un petit courrier...

**Le chercheur**  
A faire.

**Zeinab**  
C'est difficile oui. Donc c'est pour ça il faut toujours bien former les jeunes qui sortent avec des diplômes vraiment et qui seront pour servir le marché.

**Le chercheur**

Le marché. Est-ce que les langues, par exemple la langue française, est-ce que les gens qui viennent vous voir maîtrisent la langue française ?

**Zeinab**

Moi je ne vais pas généraliser tout le monde...

**Le chercheur**

En majorité ?

**Zeinab**

Mais il y en a qui s'en sortent, qui s'expriment bien, qui rédigent bien.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Zeinab**

Et d'autres, ça c'est dès la base.

**Le chercheur**

Dès la base.

**Zeinab**

C'est le niveau qui est un peu...

**Le chercheur**

Et quand ils viennent communiquer avec vous les gens qui cherchent du boulot...

**Zeinab**

Oui, on essaye de les corriger.

**Le chercheur**

Est-ce qu'ils vous communiquent en français ?

**Zeinab**

On n'est pas obligés...

**Le chercheur**

Ils communiquent en français.

**Zeinab**

Oui, il y en a des gens qui nous parlent en français, d'autres en langue somali.

**Le chercheur**

Les langues nationales.

**Zeinab**

D'autres aussi les langues locales voilà.

**Le chercheur**

Les langues locales.

**Zeinab**

Voilà, oui, oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**

En majorité quand vous voyez les gens...

**Zeinab**

Mais moi je leur dis euh...

**Le chercheur**

De plus en plus...

**Zeinab**

Moi je leur dis il faut parler en français parce que moi je peux leur parler en langue nationale.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord.

**Zeinab**

Mais un employeur étranger...

**Le chercheur**

Il ne peut pas.

**Zeinab**

Non.

**Le chercheur**

Vous, votre langue maternelle c'est, c'est...

**Zeinab**

Moi ma langue maternelle c'est l'arabe.

**Le chercheur**

L'arabe.

**Zeinab**

Oui.

**Le chercheur**

Donc vous êtes francophone, vous avez fait vos études en français ?

**Zeinab**

Oui, oui, en français.

**Le chercheur**

Ah, d'accord, d'accord.

**Zeinab**

Mais moi je dis aux jeunes comment on fait même des fois à des présentations de formations aux jeunes pour leur dire comment faire les C.V., comment se présenter devant un employeur.

**Le chercheur**

Des ateliers.

**Zeinab**

Voilà. Oui, oui, on essaie de les préparer. Lorsqu'ils voient une offre d'emploi il faut faire des recherches sur la société.

**Le chercheur**

Oui.

**Zeinab**

Et ne pas se présenter comme ça devant un employeur sans aucune information.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, d'accord. Donc c'est intéressant ça pour nos étudiants.

**Zeinab**

Bien sûr.

**Le chercheur**

Peut-être pour leur dire allez là-bas vous aller trouver de l'aide.

**Zeinab**

Oui, oui.

**Le chercheur**

D'accord, merci, merci.