

List of Abbreviations

AA : Algerian Arabic

CA : Classical Arabic

FR: French

MSA : Modern Standard Arabic

SA: Standard Arabic

H: High Variety

L: Low Variety

LP: Language Planning

Phonetic Symbols

ʏ	غ	غرفة	A room
ø	ظ	ظِل	Shadow
ħ	ح	حزام	A belt
ʒ	ع	عين	An eye
ʒ	ج	جبل	A mountain
h	ه	هدية	A present
j	ي	يَد	A hand
θ	ث	ثلاثة	Three
ø	ذ	ذكي	Inteligent
T	ط	طفل	A child

List of Maps

Map1 : Algeria : Geographical Location.....	6
Map 2: Geographical Dispersion of Berber Groups.....	11

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Some Examples of Borrowing from French into Algerian Arabic.....	29
Table 2.2: Some Examples of Borrowing from Berber into Algerian Arabic.....	30
Table 2.3: Some Examples of Berber/ French and Algerian Arabic/French Code Switching	36
Table 3.1: Status of Arabisation in Primary School (1973-74).....	59
Table 3.2: Status of Arabisation in Intermediate School (1973-74).....	59
Table 3.3: Status of Arabisation in Secondary School (1973-74).....	60

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	I
Dedication.....	II
List of Abbreviations.....	III
Phonetic Symbols.....	III
List of Maps.....	IV
List of Tables....	IV
Contents.....	V
Abstract	VIII
General Introduction	1
Scope of the Thesis.....	1
Research Questions and Hypothesis.....	2
Outline.....	4

Chapter One: The Sociolinguistic Profile in Algeria

1.1 Introduction	5
1.2 Geographical Situation	5
1.3 A historical Background of Languages in Algeria	6
1.4 The population	8
1.4.1 Arabophones.....	8
1.4.2 Berberophones.....	9
1.4.2.1 The Kabylia.....	11
1.4.2.2 The Chaouia.....	12
1.4.2.3 The Mozabites.....	13
1.4.2.4 The Touareg.....	13
1.5 The Linguistic Situation in Algeria	14
1.5.1 Standard Arabic.....	14
1.5.2 Algerian Arabic	17
1.5.3 Berber	19
1.5.4 French	22

1.6 Conclusion.....	25
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Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction	26
2.2 Some Language Contact Phenomena	26
2.2.1 Bilingualism.....	26
2.2.2 Borrowing.....	28
2.2.3 Language Maintenance and Shift.....	30
2.2.4 Diglossia	31
2.2.5 Code Switching.....	35
2.3 Language Planning Theories.....	37
2.3.1 Language Planning and Language Policy: Definitions.....	39
2.3.2 Language Planning Activities.....	42
2.3.2.1 Status Planning.....	43
2.3.2.1.1 Status Standardization.....	43
2.3.2.1.2 Officialization.....	43
2.3.2.1.3 Nationalization.....	43
2.3.2.1.4 Proscription.....	44
2.3.2.2 Corpus Planning.....	44
2.3.2.3 Acquisition Planning.....	47
2.3.2.4 Prestige Planning.....	47

2.4 Covert and Overt Policy.....	48
2.5 National Language and Official Language.....	49
2.6 Conclusion.....	50

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

3.1 Introduction	52
3.2 Definition of Arabisation and its objectives.....	52
3.3 The Setting up of the Arabisation Policy.....	56
3.3.1 Education.....	58
3.3.2 Administration.....	61
3.4 Problems of Arabisation.....	62
3.5 Conclusion.....	70

Chapter Four: Analysis of the Questionnaire

4.1 Introduction.....	71
4.2 Data Collection.....	71
4.3 Objectives of the Questionnaire	73

4.4 The Target Group	74
4.5 Analysis of the Questionnaire.....	74
4.5.1 Language Plurality and Language use in Algeria	75
4.5.2 Attitudes towards Arabisation Policy.....	77
4.5.3 Attitudes towards Tamazight.....	81
4.5.4 Attitudes towards French.....	84
4.5.5 Attitudes towards Algerian Arabic.....	87
4.5.6 The Sociolinguistic Future of Algeria.....	89
4.6 Conclusion	92

<i>General Conclusion.....</i>	94
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<i>Bibliography.....</i>	98
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Appendices

<i>Appendix I</i>	<i>109</i>
<i>Appendix II.....</i>	<i>112</i>
<i>Appendix III.....</i>	<i>119</i>
<i>Appendix IV.....</i>	<i>125</i>
<i>Appendix V.....</i>	<i>128</i>

Abstract

This dissertation describes the current language situation in Algeria while maintaining a historical perspective that is helpful in understanding how language-related changes have come about, and a prospective view which may illuminate future developments. Even though Algeria is an Arab country where Standard Arabic is the national official language, the current language situation is complex and dynamic. Over the last fifty years or so, and particularly since independence from France in 1962, different generations of Algerians have had different experiences with the languages used in the social and work environment, the educational system, government, and the media. Such experiences helped to shape different attitudes towards these languages. Language policy and language planning in Algeria have been both instrumental in shaping such experiences and attitudes and subject to their influence.

Algeria is a pertinent example of language contact and planning between a former colonial language (French), a language of national identity (Standard Arabic) and native languages (Algerian Arabic and Berber). Our primary objective in this work is to present the linguistic background of the country and offer an insight into the impact of past events on language policies and practices in post-independent Algeria. Arabisation was viewed as necessary for asserting the country's Arabo-Islamic identity, since it aimed at replacing French, the colonial language, by Standard Arabic the language of Islam. Though such a decision seems to be legitimate and natural, sociolinguistic considerations should actually take priority over all other goals. Decision-making on language policy matters should be kept free from the pressures of ideologies, clan warfare and corporatist or religious interests.

The study presents the linguistic challenges faced by language-planners in the processes of language planning and policy making. It gives a description of the state of the discipline and analyses the stages of the process of language planning and language policy in a broader frame. Even though there are conceptual difficulties in defining language planning and delimiting its activities, the language planning and policy field has reached solid findings

and gathered strong experience that may be useful for language planners and language policy-makers. Language policy is not a “value-free” or a “politically neutral” discipline. However, its rational and scientific bases should not be overlooked. Accordingly, there are reasons for a shift towards a more elaborated paradigm in the processes of language planning and language policy making. Indeed, language planning and language policy would gain much more credibility and reliability if the policy makers understood better the rational process and the coherent framework that organise the policy process.

General Introduction

In terms of decision-making on language-related matters, the Algerian language situation has proven to be challenging to language planners. In addition to the existence of two distinctly different mother tongues: Algerian Arabic used by the majority of Algerians and Berber the native language of approximately twenty five percent of the population, there are also Standard Arabic and French used mostly in formal settings. These languages may fulfill different or similar linguistic functions. For instance, Algerian Arabic and Berber cover the domains of home and street, while Standard Arabic is used in education, public administration, and the media. French is utilised to complement the picture, as it has functions and domains which overlap with those of Standard Arabic, in addition to covering the private sector, science, and technology.

Scope of the Thesis

This research falls within the field of applied linguistics particularly in the area of language planning and language policy. Within its framework, language planning is conceived as a multidisciplinary field of research where various linguistic, social, political and economic factors are extremely inter-related and are of great importance in the elaboration of language policies. The primary focus of language planning is language, which is of immense significance for humans. Language is certainly the most fundamental means of communication in all human societies. It is not only used for identity and solidarity between groups but, through language, ideas are communicated, feelings expressed, abstract thoughts conveyed, culture disseminated, and world view shared. The significance of language to human society has placed it at the heart of social, political, and economic struggles. Language planning is associated with the distribution and the management of language resources. The equal distribution of language resources has always been problematic in the sense that some groups (political, religious), some classes (rich people, educated people), or others endeavour always to confiscate the national wealth and deny access to others. As such, the control of language has meant power and domination.

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Algeria, like many multilingual nations in the world, is faced with a complex linguistic situation, mimoring the long colonial experience of the country, the multifaceted socio-demographic and linguistic make up of its population, and also the desire to meet national languages' demand and international communication needs. This complex linguistic situation has created genuine linguistic challenges for applied linguists, language policy-makers, decision-makers, and community leaders among others, in a word, all people who have an interest in language matters in the country.

The objective of this study is to find out more about the Algerian sociolinguistic situation in general, and language policy in Algeria in particular. The primary focus is to explore the linguistic context in order to identify the principles of language policy-making in Algeria that have produced the current situation. By means of a questionnaire, we tried to analyse the attitudes and perceptions of our informants towards the status, importance and future of the languages in Algeria. It is certain that other relevant topics and categories could have been included in the present research. For example, to understand language attitudes in the context of language planning and language policy requires one to deal with other important issues such as language needs (national and international) and also requires a gamut of other socio-economic categories based on cross-population and cross-sectional studies. However, due to limited time and space, the thesis has focused on the category and issues outlined above.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The thesis seeks to examine the sociolinguistic reality of the Algerian society, that is to say, this multilingual context where four languages (Standard Arabic, French, Berber and Algerian Arabic) reflect a situation of vitality and contact that provokes an extremely complex and conflictive situation. Contrariwise, the language policy pursued in the country since its independence denies totally this multilingual reality and asserts the linguistic homogeneity of the country. In fact, it is quite difficult or rather impossible to qualify Algeria as being monolingual or even bilingual.

From the above considerations, we can put forward some questions that will guide our research:

- To what extent could the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria be a positive factor for national development and inter-communication with other people of different cultures and languages?
- How will the Algerian government manage the linguistic resources of the country? In other words, will Algeria be able to meet ongoing scientific and technological challenges through the policy of Arabisation? How would this policy help the country to foster technical, scientific and economic cooperation with different countries?
- Or, will Algeria move towards a better language policy which constructs a consensus around the acceptance of pluralism? A policy that preserves and promotes the existing languages together with their social, cultural and political environment.
- Is the recent recognition of Berber a gate that would eventually lead Algeria to acknowledge multilingualism explicitly? What measures would be taken vis-à-vis status planning concerning Algerian Arabic and French, corpus planning and prestige planning with respect to Tamazight and Algerian Arabic, and acquisition planning towards all these languages?

Actually, multilingualism is a major characteristic of Algeria, which has become more prominent since the beginning of the twentieth century as a consequence of colonization and international processes, notably globalization. Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber, and French are all important agents in the transmission of the cultural and social values which are deeply anchored within the Algerian society. Each language has a particular socio-cultural facet. Such a position is the result of a historical development through which these languages have acquired different statuses of paramount importance at the sociolinguistic and political levels.

Therefore, Algeria has valuable linguistic resources that could be engineered profitably to build an internationally open country, but one whose people are immersed in their own cultures. To put it simply, the linguistic complexity of the country which is based on a solid experience with the French language and culture, besides, the growing attachment of the Algerian people to their national identity and their cultures that may, subsequently, lead to favourable attitudes towards their mother tongues. In addition, their openness to learn and

integrate the English language which will certainly contribute in moving back linguistic barriers and in promoting economic and intellectual cooperation between countries. These are all factors which pull us to presume that it is very likely that Algeria will change its self-definition and recognize its linguistic richness as a major constituent of the national identity.

Outline

Our work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter describes the social and linguistic diversity of the Algerian landscape through a historical and geographical overview of the country. This chapter briefly presents Algeria and provides the linguistic background of the country. It offers an insight into the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural reality of the Algerian society and shows the huge flaw between the real language practices and the current language policy of the country.

The second chapter discusses the concepts of diglossia, bilingualism, code-switching...as they are crucial to this study from a sociolinguistic perspective. That is to say, these language contact situations help understand how multilingualism operates in the Algerian linguistic context. This chapter also reviews the literature on language planning and language policy. It addresses the nature, stages and some basic tenets that the processes of language planning and policy making have to follow.

The third chapter deals mainly with the policy of Arabisation as an example of language planning in Algeria. It explains why Arabisation was seen as important and why its implementation was fraught with serious obstacles. It examines the background of Arabisation and its impact on education and administration. Finally, it exposes the different problems that the present language policy has created at different levels.

Our last chapter focuses on the overall analysis of the results based on the responses of the questionnaire. The latter highlights our informants' attitudes towards the linguistic situation and the linguistic future of the country. This chapter discusses the features of both quantitative and qualitative research. It also addresses the data collection technique in the study. A general conclusion ends the study; here we offer some recommendations, on the basis of our findings, for the improvement of language planning and language policy in Algeria.

1.1 Introduction

The current language situation in Algeria is largely the outcome of the different historical events as well as the geographical and ethnic diversity that characterizes the country. This situation provides us with an instance of the most culturally and linguistically diverse and rich contexts. Therefore, it would be interesting to have a close look at the historical development of the existing languages and the interplay between them in different domains facing the sociolinguistic, socio-cultural, political and educational issues.

Initially, a contextual background on the country and the population is presented to show its geographical and ethnic diversity. Then, a description of the Algerian language profile is provided to reflect the linguistic richness of the country. Lastly, we come to conclude that each language is a key component of the Algerian history and patrimony that should be preserved and promoted.

1.2 Geographical Situation

Strategically, Algeria is positioned on the Mediterranean border between Morocco and Tunisia with access to both Europe and the Middle East. Its geographical location has always aroused invaders' interests to settle on its land and exploit its natural resources. The country knew therefore a series of ceaseless invasions from different parts of the world.

Algeria is the largest country in the Maghreb. It covers a total area of 2,381,751 square kilometers. The northern part of the country is the most populated with its fertile coastal cities that are located on the shores and ports of the Mediterranean Sea, linked to various neighboring countries of the Maghreb (Tunisia and Libya to the east and Morocco to the west) and Europe (France to the north and Spain and Portugal to the north west of the Mediterranean Sea). In addition, Algeria has access to the riches of other African countries through its wide southern part that links it to the African surrounding nations from west to east Mauritania, Mali and Niger, continuing Algerian natives' deep relation to ancient Africa.

In the middle north of Algeria, the mountains of *Kabylia*, home of the major Berber ethnic group *Kabyle* and its influence on the urban mix of all cultures and dialects in the capital Algiers and its surroundings. In the north east lay the Mountains of *al-Awres*,

home of the proud Berbers (*Chaouia* ethnic group) and the ancient cities of Constantine and Annaba close to the Tunisian and Libyan cultures and dialects which are the route to the ‘Middle East.’ To the West, the great cities of Tlemcen and Oran that were influenced by the migrating Moors and Jews of Andalusia (Spain) and by their neighboring country Morocco in art, music, and some traditions. And finally to the south, the wide ‘Grand Sahara’ and its inhabitants who are so diverse in their various ethnic groups such as the Berber groups *Mezab* and *Touareg*, who are a mix of African, Berber, and Arab ideologies, religions, languages, and cultures. They are famous for their independent minds, love for tea and dates, living in the desert around oases which are symbols of life, stability, hospitality and intellectual and economic exchange.

Map1.1: Algeria: Geographical Location



Source: www.mappery.com

1.3 A Historical Background of Languages in Algeria

As stated in the recorded history, the early inhabitants of North Africa, including Algeria, were the Imazighen who spoke varieties of Tamazight ⁽¹⁾. Those people had contact for a long time with the various conquerors and traders who successively settled in North

⁽¹⁾ Although the use of the term “Berber” is widespread and well established in academic literature and public discourse, “Tamazight” is currently gaining wider currency. Both terms are used here.

Africa, and who left different extents of influences in the region, including the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Turks, the Spanish and the French.

It's worthwhile to note that before the Arab conquest the Tamazight-speaking population put up resistance to adopt the invaders' languages and religions and managed to preserve their linguistic heritage and cultural identity. Following the settlement of the Arab nomadic populations such as Banu Suleim, Banu Hilal and Banu Ma'quil in the 11th centuries, extensive interaction took place between the Berber tribes and Arabs through the Islamization of Berbers and the adoption of Arabic as the language of learning. Islam has had a great impact on Algerians, along with other inhabitants of North Africa. According to Camps (1987:135),

"The Berbers embraced Islam in less than two centuries; yet, thirteen centuries after the first Arab conquest they were still not completely arabised."⁽²⁾

The new faith permitted the Arabic language to infiltrate pervasively into the different spheres of the society through conversion to Islam and the practice of the religion. Yet, BR continued to be spoken in some mountainous regions. It remained the language of trade and daily communication. The spread of Arabic, particularly in its written form, is arguably one of the factors that prevented the BR language from developing a codified form. For many years, Tamazight, the oral indigenous language remained spoken and transmitted generation after generation. People in marriages between Berbers and Arabs would adopt either language or both depending on the social and regional milieu of the family.

Between 1830 and 1962, Algeria was well known to the world as being one of the French colonies. During this period, the French wanted to put an end to the use of Arabic. The colonial authorities had therefore implemented firm and continuous language policies to the detriment of Arabic language competence and status. The French language became the only language of administration and instruction. Its use reached into practically every field in the Algerian society.

⁽²⁾ *La Berbérie devient musulmane en moins de deux siècles alors qu'elle n'est pas entièrement arabisée, treize siècles après la première conquête arabe.*

1.4 The Population

The Algerian socio-cultural context embodies one of the richest and most diverse linguistic situations. Because of the country's various encounters, colonizers and settlers, the Algerian population is varied in languages, dialects and ways of life. Ethnically, it is fairly homogeneous, approximately 70-75% Arabs and 20-25% Amazigh. The Arabo-Berber population represents 99% and the non-Arabo-Berber community counts for 100,000 people (less than 1%), mainly of European descent, predominantly French, although there are minorities of Italian, Spanish, Maltese and Corsican extraction ⁽³⁾.

The two groups Arabs and Berbers are basically identified along linguistic lines i.e. on the basis of mother tongues “...people who are raised in the Arabic or Berber language respectively and who grow up in an environment where Arabic or Berber traditional customs prevail.” (Benrabah, 2007: 32). In fact, ethnic, religious and cultural connections between Arabs and Berber communities in Algeria are so intertwined that a true Arab/Berber divide is hardly possible. Gravel (1979:29) points out:

“Hence what has been commonly called the ‘Arabisation’ of the Berber traditions might with equal validity be called the ‘Berberisation’ of the Arabs because Berber traditions are quite strong, even among those whose ancestors have been Arabised for centuries”

Assuming that we can actually separate Arabs from Berbers, following Benrabah (2007), we are going to use the terms “Arabophones” to refer to those who mostly speak Arabic and “Berberophones” to refer to those who speak one of the several varieties of Berber.

1.4.1 Arabophones

The Algerian state has been formed as an Arab nation with a sense of Pan-Arab Identity. Moreover Algeria always associates itself with the Arab World (MiddleEast)

⁽³⁾ Atlapedia, 2003 in Benrrabah, 2007:32

more than it does with the African countries, for instance. In other words, the idea that all Arabic speakers should be united by a shared history, language, and culture has long influenced most of Algerian people, who accordingly identify themselves as Arabs. This identity is determined by language rather than ancestry.

Algerian Arabophones are a linguistic Arabic-speaking population. It is the most numerous ethnic group in Algeria which is primarily of Berber descent (Ibn Khaldun, 1995; Gabriel Camps, 1980; and Salem Chaker, 1984). They are the dominant group culturally and politically. Arabophones are found in almost all areas of the country with different modes of life from one region to another.

1.4.2 Berberophones

In investigating the origin of Berbers, there has been a lot of lay and educated speculation; several places were mentioned including regions in Europe, Africa and Asia. Berbers' presence in North Africa is attested around 10.000 BC (Gravel, 1979). Current knowledge shows that ancestors of today's Imazighen left their mark on a vast area of Africa, stretching from the Canary Islands in the west to Egypt in the east, and from the Maghreb in the north to the Sahel in the south.

The name *Berber* is derived from the Greek word *Barbarus* that was used by Romans to refer to people who were refractory to the Roman civilization (Haddadou, 2000). Similarly, *Amazigh* is the indigenous, self-designating term used by Berbers. It means 'free man' or 'noble man', and is also used here as an adjective in the same way 'Berber' is used. *Imazighen* is the plural form of this word, used to describe the Berbers collectively. *Tamazight* is used to mean the language spoken by Berbers. *Tamazgha* is the 'land of the Berbers', not necessarily corresponding to any particular modern day nation, but to the perceived indigenous homeland of the Berbers in North Africa ⁽⁴⁾

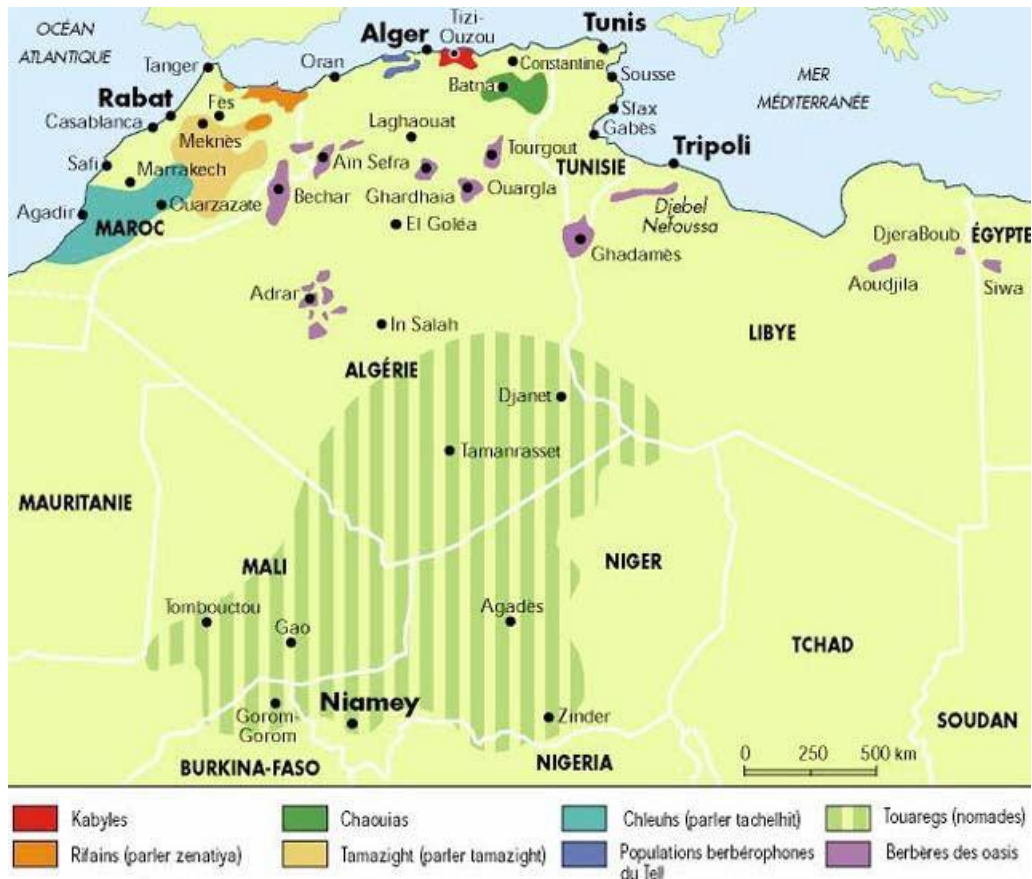
⁽⁴⁾ See Chaker 1987 for a detailed discussion of this terminology.

Recently, Ennaji has given indication of the number of Tamazight-speakers: *“Four major population groups may be distinguished. The first population group is in Morocco, where the Berber-speaking population totals about 15 million people. The second group is represented by Algeria, in which more than 6 million people speak Berber. Third, the Berber population in Libya and the Tuareg populations in the sub-Saharan countries, namely Mali and Niger are estimated to be about 1 million people. Fourth, there exist approximately 140,000 Berber speaking people scattered in isolated areas in Siwa (Egypt, about 30 000), Tunisia (nearly 100 000) and Mauritania (about 10 000). The regions where Berber is spoken are discontinuous, as they are usually surrounded by populations speaking other languages like Arabic. Berber populations are concentrated in mountainous regions whose isolation partially accounts for the incomplete penetration of Arabic”* (cf. Chaker 1983, Mustapha 1993 and Sadiqi 1997b, Berger 2002) ⁽⁵⁾.

Additionally, sizeable communities of Tamazight-speakers live in Western Europe, and also in North America. France, in particular, is home to perhaps 1.5 million Berberphones, two thirds being from Algeria and one third from Morocco, and Paris holds one of the largest urban concentrations of Amazighophones in the world (Chaker 2003).

⁽⁵⁾ In Ennaji, 2005:72

Map 1.2: Geographical Dispersion of Berber Groups



Source: MCB, at <http://www.mcb-algerie.org/langdonn.htm>. Accessed 9 December 2005.

Indeed, the majority of Berber descendants are primarily found in North Africa, mainly in Morocco and Algeria. The latter is home to four groups of Berbers:

1.4.2.1 The Kabylians

The Kabyles or the Kabylians form numerically the largest Berber-speaking group in Algeria. Between 2.5 and 3 million Berbers are Kabylians. They are found mainly in the coastal mountain regions of northern Algeria. The area is referred to as Kabylia, situated approximately 92Km from the capital Algiers.

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The name ‘Kabyles’ or ‘lqbayel’ in AA means ‘tribes’. Kabyles were given such a name because they tend to live in groups, maintaining a sense of ethnic identity and feelings of solidarity. Historically, they had actively participated in the Algerian war for independence, in addition, to their leading role in the different movements seeking political or linguistic autonomy for Berbers. Furthermore, Kabyles are especially renowned for their sense of persistence, loyalty and pride for their language and customs, for Maddy-Weintzman (2001:37):

“The Kabylis are unique among the Berbers in that they have a long history of corporate identity and have been intimately involved in major developments throughout Algerian history, since the time of the French conquest-from their fierce resistance to French rule, to being the subject of sustained French attention in an effort to wean them away from Algeria’s Arab Muslims (far more so than in Morocco), to their over-representation among both immigrant workers in France and in the Algerian state apparatus, to their essential role in the struggle for independence, at both the elite and mass levels”.

He adds about their strong attachment to their national identity

No less significant, from a contemporary perspective, is the fact that from the late 1940s, Kabyle intellectuals tendered an alternative, minority view to the dominant stream promoting an Arab-Muslim Algeria. They instead emphasised the need for an “Algerian Algeria” whose identity was, and should remain, intimately linked with the population’s employment of Berber dialects and Algerian colloquial Arabic, and not the modern standard Arabic being imported from the Arab East. Although their ideas fell on deaf ears, they served as a precursor to post-independence developments”

(Quoted in Benrabah 2007:33)

1.4.2.2 The Chaouia

The Chaouia population is roughly estimated to be half the size of the Kabyle. The Chaouia are found in the Awres Mountains of northeastern Algeria. They are traditionally the most isolated of all Algerian Berber communities. Their interaction with outsiders was limited to their neighbours of Kabyle traders who speak a closely related dialect. This

isolation however became less evident since their contribution to the Algerian Revolution against the French colonization.

Generally, the Chaouia are known to be a much closed, individual society. They are tightly knit together by certain commonly held beliefs, traditions and values which have been strictly preserved through generations. Unlike Kabyles, the Chaouia are politically less active and slow to develop a modern Amazigh identity.

1.4.2.3 The Mozabites:

The Mozabites, also called M'zab or Beni M'zab, are estimated between 80.000 and 100.000 ⁽⁶⁾. They live in the oasis area of southern Algeria, namely in Ghardaïa- their major town-and the M'zab region. They belong to the Kharijites sect of Islam. Moreover, they are referred to as "Puritans of the Sahara", as they took refuge in the desert to escape persecution in the tenth century.

Apart from the Sahara, the Mozabites are found in relatively small numbers in every town in Algeria, where they own businesses or keep stores. They are generally described as skillful, well-organised and hard-working people. As a matter of fact, they are reputed to be honest and astute businessmen.

1.4.2.4 The Touareg

The Touareg are nomadic tribes found in Libya, Algeria, Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso. They are often referred to as "Blue Men of the Desert" because they

⁽⁶⁾ Benrabeh *op cit*: 33

predominantly wear robes that are dyed indigo blue. A contrasting aspect of the Tuareg's culture is that men wear a type of facial covering veil called '*tagelmoust*', while women's face is uncovered.

In Algeria, they are by far the smallest Berber-speaking group. In 2000, they numbered around 33.700. They are also called the Ahaggaren Touareg, in reference to the southern Ahhagar and Tassili N'Ajjer highlands where they are mostly found.

In recent times, The Touareg have been taking up a sedentary way of life, but they still seek to maintain their ancient culture and nomadic lifestyle in the face of the modern influences of the twenty first century.

1.5 The Linguistic Situation in Algeria

In this section, focus will be on be on the statuses, domains of use, and functions of the four major languages (Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber and French) used by the Algerian speech community.

1.5.1 Standard Arabic

Standard Arabic ⁽⁷⁾ is a term which is widely accepted to denote the standardised variety of Arabic used for written and spoken purposes in formal settings. SA has the status of official language in some twenty countries, spanning from Morocco and Mauritania on the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the shores of the Arabian (Persian) Gulf States in the east. Yet, if we define "mother tongue" as the language that is acquired at home without formal instruction, there is no community of native speakers of SA. At the same time, it is the language of religion, instruction and culture.

Generally speaking, a popular distinction between two forms of SA has been made namely the classical and the modern form. But the differences between the two varieties are relatively small and the latter generally follows the same rules as the former. (Bentahila, 1983; Grandguillaume, 1990)

^[7]SA is used to avoid terminological problems between Classical Arabic and Modern Stanard Arabic.

For Arabic speakers, the two forms are indifferently called *`al`arabiyya alfus`ha* i.e., eloquent Arabic.

Classical Arabic, on one hand, is the codified and mostly written version of Arabic that is irrevocably associated with Islam, being the language in which the holy book- the Qur'an- was revealed and spread into different places including North Africa. At present, oral and written recitation of the Qur'an remains one of the main sources for the use of CA. Therefore, it's often referred to as a 'sacred' or 'pure' language.

Moreover, CA is restricted to religious settings and functions. It is used for prayers by all Muslims regardless of what their native language might be. Nonetheless, only few who have a fluent grasp of it because of its high level of lexical and syntactic codification, to the point that "when somebody says he does not speak Arabic well, he usually means the classical form" (Murphy, 1977:4).

Due to its divine function and religious aspect, CA has been considerably valued and highly respected. It enjoys an eminent and prestigious position among Arabic-speaking communities and even non-Arabic speaking Muslim communities around the world. Fleish (1964:3) gives an idea why CA is considered as the language of prestige:

"Classical Arabic has the prestige, an immense prestige which is multiplied by two because it is twofold: the prestige of a great language of culture... and that of a language of religion"⁽⁸⁾

Modern Standard Arabic, on the other hand, is the form that has emerged in the nineteenth century as a simplified version of CA. Efforts have been made to 'modernise' the latter and make it effective enough to meet the demands of modern life, mainly at the lexical level. It is seen today as more useful and readily comprehensible than CA.

"Modern Standard Arabic is standardised and codified to the extent that it can be understood by different Arabic speakers in

⁽⁸⁾ *"L'arabe classique, ... a pour lui le prestige, un immense prestige, qui se multiplie encore par deux, car il est double: prestige de grande langue de culture..., prestige de langue religieuse.*

the Maghrib and in the Arab World at large, it has the characteristics of a modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal culture”

(Ennaji 1990:9 quoted in Benali-Mohamed, 2007:28)

In the “modernisation of the language,” new methods were used to create new vocabulary such as borrowing foreign words, integrating others morphologically and/or phonologically, translating foreign words and extending the semantics of existing words and using analogy to extend existing roots (Versteegh 1996). MSA, as mentioned above, was derived from CA and with such lexicon reform and style modifications became the language of prestige and modernity. It is given other labels such as “*Literary Arabic*” or Journalistic Arabic (Shouby 1951), as Benrabah defines it:

“A written form of Arabic readily associated with the modern media which was developed in the 19 century as part of the cultural Revival, or Nahda, in the Middle East”

(Benrabah, 2007:46)

In addition to CA and MSA, there is also Middle Arabic, Inter-Arabic /al luYaalwuSTa/, which is usually called Educated Spoken Arabic ⁽⁹⁾. This form of Arabic plays an intermediary role between the high variety (SA), which may be incomprehensible for many illiterate Algerians, and the low variety (Colloquial Arabic), which is often stigmatized and by educated speakers. Educated Spoken Arabic is thus used by educated speakers in formal or semi-formal contexts, for example on radio or television. “It is a kind of compromise which lies half-way between the written and spoken forms of Arabic” (Benali-Mohamed,2002: 56; Benallou,2002:37, Mahmoud,1986:239; Queffélec et al., 2002: 34-5)⁽¹⁰⁾

⁽⁹⁾ More details can be found in Benali-Mohamed, 2007:31

⁽¹⁰⁾ In Benrabah, op cit: 46

1.5.2 Algerian Arabic

Although Arab countries claim that the Arabic language is a uniting factor and a symbol of Arab identity. Such claim is only true as far as SA is concerned; however one may argue that Arabs are not linguistically united in terms of spoken varieties used in everyday life for colloquial purposes and for personal interactions.

It should be noted that the spoken varieties of Arabic differ more and more significantly from one to another and their mutual intelligibility lessens the farther one goes from any given point of origin. Thus, Iraqi and Moroccan Arabic are almost entirely mutually unintelligible; Chejne (1958:14) observes that *"the Arabic spoken in the different Arab countries shows a disparity in the use of language as great as any of the divisive elements which separate the Arabs in the political, economic and governmental systems"*⁽¹¹⁾. Spoken Arabic has been classified into Eastern and Western varieties because *"there are marked differences between the linguistic situation in the Middle East countries and that in the North African countries"* (Bouamrane, 1986: 4). Moreover, *"there are points of vocabulary which place the Arabic dialects of the Maghrib in the clearest, if not the deepest, contrast to those of the Middle East"* (Marçais, 1958: 580).

Everyday interaction among Algerian speakers, in and out of home, is mostly done through Algerian Arabic (AA) or what is called Darija/Amiya. In fact, AA is the native language for the majority of the population. It shares many properties with SA that point to a common background⁽¹²⁾; but there are also significant differences between them at the lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels that they can be viewed as two independent languages that stand apart⁽¹³⁾..

According to Benrabah, "spoken Arabic in Algeria [...] is spread over four major geographical areas each with its own linguistic features:

⁽¹¹⁾ Quoted in Bentahila, 1983 : 4

⁽¹²⁾ CA and AA share many phonological and lexical items.

⁽¹³⁾ In AA, for example, there is neither dual form nor plural gender distinction.

- (1) *Western Algerian Arabic used in an area which extends from the Moroccan border to Tenes.*
(2) *Central Algerian Arabic spoken in the central zone which extends to Bejaia and includes Algiers and its surroundings.*
(3) *Eastern Algerian Arabic spoken in the High Plateaus around Setif, Constantine, Annaba and extends to the Tunisian border.* (4) *Saharan Algerian Arabic spoken by around 100,000 inhabitants in the Sahara Desert.*”

Ethnologue(2004) ;*Queffélec et al.* (2002; 35); *Taleb Ibrahimi* (1995: 3)⁽¹⁴⁾

Though AA is a non codified language, it is not always restricted to oral use; some write it using either Arabic or Latin script. This is often the case for internet chat rooms and mobile phone short messages. The paradox is that the speakers perceive AA to be less prestigious and informal, yet they use it on a daily basis in almost every context one would encounter, because the formal variety (SA) lacks the natural use in spontaneous conversations and cannot be claimed to be anyone's native language.

This negative attitude towards AA may be mainly due to the excess borrowing and code switching (see chapter 2) with other languages in contact. As a result of the country's colonial experience, a worth noticing amount of items from Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish are still used in AA. Words such as: *banio, mariou, Tobsi*, meaning *bath, wardrobe, plate* are consecutively from the previous languages. Besides, the major linguistic influence can be attested in those French words that have been largely adapted to AA, for example, /Tapi/tapi/ for tapis (carpet), /krijoun/ for crayon (pencil), /biru/ for bureau (office)...etc.

Nevertheless, some linguists have a more or less favorable attitude toward AA. They consider it the language that symbolises the authentic Algerian identity and the most practical instrument for teaching and achieving modernity (Benrabah; 1992b, 1993, 1999). In this respect, Dr.Rachedi, ex-ministerial delegate to the universities, expresses his view regarding AA as follows:

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Benrabah* (2007: 48)

“What is, in fact, Algerian Arabic? It is an Arabic that is stripped of its absolute declensions, its useless dual case endings, its heavy constructions, its frozen expressions, its syntax from another age, its antediluvian terminology. It is a spoken, lively Arabic, which bears the mark of the creative genius of Berber, of rural and urban Algeria, which integrates foreign terms harmoniously...”⁽¹⁵⁾

(Quoted in Saad, 1992: 18)

1.5.3 Berber/ Tamazight

In addition to AA, BR is the other native language spoken by a minority of Algerians. This language is known to be spoken in North Africa for over forty centuries. Despite this long history and strong cultural presence, BR has never been recognized to be an official language in any North African country. The Algerian state, in particular, has until recently accorded BR the status of a “national language” but not an official one.

Along with Arabic, the Berber language forms one subgroup of the large Hamito-Semitic (or Afro-Asiatic) language family. It is widely accepted that Tamazight is derived from a very old language called Libyan. However there has been considerable debate as to whether this latter was a single language or a group of languages, as Haddadou (2000:210) puts it:

“Present Berber descends from Libyan, a language which was spoken in North Africa since high antiquity. Ancient Greek and Latin authors signaled this language, which was distinct from that of the Phoenician colonizers, but unfortunately, no one of

⁽¹⁵⁾ *C’est quoi au juste l’algérien ? C’est l’arabe dépouillé de ses déclinaisons désuètes, de son duel inutile, de ses constructions lourdes, de ses expressions figées, de sa syntaxe d’un autre âge, de ses vocables antédiluviens. C’est un arabe parlé, vivant, qui porte la marque du génie inventif berbère, de l’Algérie profonde, de l’Algérie citadine, qui intègre harmonieusement les vocables étrangers... (L’Hebdo Libéré, 08/28-09/03, 1991 : 18-19).*

them [the authors] described it. In the 5th century, St Augustine noted that the indigenous tribes of North Africa spoke one language; however, we do not know if he hinted at the unity of the Libyan language of which he had known different spoken varieties, or a particular dialect which was widespread in his time or spoken in certain regions of the country”⁽¹⁶⁾

(Quoted in Benali-Mohamed; 2007: 38).

In Algeria, four major varieties of Tamazight can be distinguished: Taqvaylit is the Kabylis’ variety, Tashawit spoken by the Chaouia group, Mozabit and Tamashaq used by Mozabites and Touareg respectively. All four varieties are also spoken by sizeable communities in urban centres of Algeria. Besides, there are other small BR spoken varieties such as: Chenoua, Tarifit, Taznatit...etc; *“Yet, Berber as it is nowadays does not constitute a single unified language; rather it is a group of varieties which are different from each other mainly at the phonological and lexical levels while the grammatical structure remains the same in all the varieties” (Benali-Mohamed; 2007:44)*

Albeit the apparent common linguistic root of these BR varieties, one cannot speak of one Berber community in Algeria since these groups are divided by geographical and traditional differences. As a matter of fact, the standardisation of the Tamazight language has not yet been achieved. As explained by Roberts, (1980:117)

“As a consequence of their geographical separation from one another and the absence of both any sustained commercial intercourse between them and of a written language, there has been no tendency for their culture to become unified or for their language to become standardised in the course of their history”

⁽¹⁶⁾ *“Le berbère actuel descend du Lybique, une langue parlée en Afrique du Nord dès la haute Antiquité. Les auteurs anciens, grecs et latins, ont signalé cette langue, distincte de celle des colons phéniciens, mais malheureusement aucun d’eux ne l’a décrite. Au Vème siècle de l’ère chrétienne, Saint Augustin faisait remarquer que les tribus indigènes d’Afrique du Nord parlaient une seule langue, mais on ne sait s’il faisait allusions à l’unité de la langue Libyque dont il aurait connu plusieurs parlers, ou un dialecte particulier répandu de son temps ou encore parlé dans certaines régions du pays.” (Translated by Benali-Mohamed)*

Indeed, all BR varieties lack a written form except for the Touareg' variety (Tamashek) which is the only Berber variety that maintains the ancient script called *Tifinagh* (See appendix V). According to Tilmatine & Suleimane (1996), there are claims that its roots stem from the ancient Punic alphabet via Libyco-Berber alphabet.

Obviously, the presence of three scripts in Algeria has led to what has been called a “battle of the alphabets” (Tilmatine 2004), whereby various historical, cultural, religious, ideological and linguistic considerations have provided opposing sides with support for their choice of script. The Arabic script has been seen as a unifying force for Islamic Algeria and the key to improve literacy levels in Arabic; the Latin script is perceived by many to be a relic of French colonialism, but it is also seen as a link to modernisation and economic opportunity, and it is well-established in the domain of information technology; and Tifinagh, which is used amongst Touareg is said to express authentic and traditional Amazigh culture, and is perceived by some as a potent marker of identity. Yet, the Latin script is most commonly favoured

“Tamazight literature, originally oral, is now being written mostly in Latin script. Several novels, collections of short stories and poems, by contemporary writers, have become available in print since the 1970s. The majority of these works to date are in Kabyle”

(Abu-Haidar; 2003:153)

With regard to BR use in the media, we should recall that there is a public radio station broadcasting daily, it devotes some time to each variety. All the same, since very recently, the Algerian TV launched a public television station broadcasting in Tamazight. As for the teaching of Tamazight, A High Commission for Amazighet  (HCA) was set up on May 29th, 1995 and classes for Tamazight were introduced progressively in schools. However, the quality of teaching is highly affected by the status of the language itself and the lack of elaborated teaching material. Furthermore; *“education remains an addition to, not part of, regular education. It is not a useful language unless you should want to become a teacher in it yourself. There are no other areas where it is useful or a requirement. Even people who themselves speak Tamazight fail to study the language [...]. This lack of motivation is not due to the number of institutes or departments but that the language does*

not have a political status like French and Arabic, [...]. Tamazight is not a “langue de savoir”. This means that it is not the medium of teaching other subjects, such as history, mathematics, and other school subjects”, explains a lecturer from Mouloud Mammeri University of Tizi Ouzou⁽¹⁷⁾.

Actually, issues such as variation within Tamazight and the writing system stand as major impediments to any attempt to BR standardisation. Ultimately, Tamazight has until recently remained a language with a predominantly oral character, used in day-to-day social life and informal communication among a number of native speakers dwindling more and more over the years.

1.5.4 French

During French colonialism in the twentieth century, colonial authorities attempted to restructure the Algerian society according to Western ideals of modernity and economic progress. Among other projects, they initiated anti-Arabic, pro-French language policies that assigned symbolic value to these languages: the status of Arabic was weakened because it was perceived as inferior and random, while French was projected as being modern, prestigious, and desirable. Furthermore, if the French were to succeed in their colonial mission, the Algerian cultural identity was the first factor to get rid of. This identity, as it is the case all over the Arab world, was to a large extent molded around two fundamental elements: religion and language. They sought therefore to eradicate the use of the Arabic language which is the medium of Islamic teaching.

Indeed, their strategy aimed at spreading FR in order to be at the forefront of their political and economic domination over the country. This was done through introducing the French educational system in Algerian schools, a strategy that was best summed up by Gordan (1962: 7) who states:

⁽¹⁷⁾ Mouhleb;2005, 69

“When the Portuguese colonized, they built churches; when the British colonized, they built trading stations; when the French colonize, they build schools”.

The addition of FR to the already existing languages was to have profound cultural, linguistic, social and economic effects on the Algerian society; some of these effects are still felt today. The French language did not dominate Arabic in schools only, but also in the public sector. All government institutions and public services related to the various ministries functioned in French. So that one could get a respected job and move up to a more respected position in society, he had to master this language.

Thus, FR became entrenched in the linguistic repertoire of Algerian intellectuals and politicians and its use did not cease with independence. It has been maintained as an important medium of expression and education. Today, this language enjoys a prominent position in the Algerian society and shares with SA a high status, although it is used in different but sometimes overlapping domains, particularly in private and higher education, science, technology, business, tourism and the media. With regard to this latter, we should note that there is a radio station (Chaîne III) and a TV channel (Canal Algerie) that broadcast programmes mainly in French, in addition to a large literary production: books, magazines and newspapers that are published in FR.

“In fact, a lot of Algerians have some notions of French, receive French programmes by television and have relationships with emigrants settling in France. On another hand, a lot of teachers and institutors learnt in French and French universities still accept Algerians.”

(Eveno, 1994: 103)

As a result of the combined presence of FR and Arabic (SA/AA) in Algeria, speakers constantly mix or alternate between these two languages consciously and/or unconsciously in both formal and informal spheres. This has become part of their daily conversation. As Bencherfa (1987: 123) observes:

“By examining closely the different types of speech such as: political speech, the conversations on official or scientific subjects, the plays, personal letters from one person to another, courses given at University, at the college or at school and finally the conversation within the family, we notice in the majority of cases the alternation of passages in Algerian Arabic, passages in Modern Standard Arabic and in French”⁽¹⁸⁾

In present Algeria, scientific domains and industry continue to operate in FR, the language that is considered as a means to bring modern ideas and gain more prestige. In many ways, the French language provides Algeria with ties to modernity and Western models of economic, scientific and technological success –ties much needed in a country with great need for economic development. That is why Algerians prefer to speak FR more than Arabic as it is explained by Sebaa, (2002: 61)

“[...] speakers of French are perceptibly more numerous than forty years ago. Barely some thousands at independence, they are now nearly 9 million [...] the independent national and “Arab” authority has done more for French than French school and administration united during the colonial period”⁽¹⁹⁾

⁽¹⁸⁾ *En examinant de près divers types de discours tels que : les discours politique, les conversations sur un sujets officiel ou scientifique, les pièces de théâtre, les lettres personnelles d'individu à individu ; les cours donnés à l'Université, au lycée et à l'école et enfin les discussions au sein de la famille, nous constatons dans la quasi-totalité des cas une alternance des passages en arabe algérien, des passages en arabe moderne et parfois des passages en français.*

⁽¹⁹⁾ *[...] les parlants français sont sensiblement plus nombreux que ce qu'ils représentaient il y a une quarantaine d'années. A peine quelques milliers à l'indépendance, ils ne sont pas loin de neuf millions aujourd'hui. Le pouvoir national indépendant et “arabe” a plus fait pour la langue française que l'école et l'administration française réunies durant toute la période coloniale.*

Nevertheless FR is not given any official or institutional recognition; in other words, it is not present in the Algerian Constitution, neither as a national nor as an official language. Additionally, its functions have been changing due to the massive introduction of the policy of Arabisation which started in Algeria right after the independence, and recently, due to the spread of English as the ‘international language’. *‘[English] has been gaining dominance in a number of sectors: the oil industry, computing and scientific and technological documentation’ (Bouhadiba, 2002:16).*

1.6 Conclusion

After having explored the linguistic scene in Algeria, we can see that each of the constituent languages has acquired a prominent socio- cultural position that is the result of a long historical development marked by the country’s colonial past. Starting with Tamazight the ancestral language, Standard Arabic the official language, Algerian Arabic the spoken tongue, and finally French the language of modernisation are all strongly connected and inevitably making up a multilingual Algeria.

These languages are inseparable in the mind and life of Algerians. They constitute the Algerian linguistic patrimony and reflect the sociolinguistic richness and diversity of the country, in addition to the different phenomena that prevail in the country as a result of the interplay between these languages and which make of Algeria a very interesting and rich ground for studying language contact phenomena.

The following chapter aims to investigate language contact phenomena with evidence from the Algerian context. We try to show that multilingualism is a complex sociolinguistic phenomenon that entails language tension or conflict. Therefore, it is necessary to design an efficient language policy that would preserve this sociolinguistic richness and promote the multilingual nature of the country.

2.1 Introduction

Language planning and language policy activities have emerged as a consequence of a growing interest in topics related to language contact, particularly in countries that have been subject to colonial domination. The chief concerns were to provide well-researched information and strategic advice to the decision making processes and management of the linguistic resources. This chapter endeavours to discuss the different linguistic phenomena that are the result of the interplay between languages in Algeria; it shows how these languages have for many years interacted in interesting ways with one another and with some other European languages, and it provides a theoretical framework for interpreting the processes involved in, and the explicit and implicit goals of LP.

2.2 Some Language Contact Phenomena:

During the last decades, considerable interest has been devoted to language use in multilingual contexts, mainly to language contact situations such as: language maintenance and shift, bilingualism, code switching, diglossia....

In Algeria, for instance, there are four languages that share the linguistic space and that must be mentioned in any account of language issues in the Algerian society: SA, AA, BR and FR. Contact between these languages created a particular sociolinguistic situation characterised by different phenomena. Here we consider some of them:

2.2.1 Bilingualism

According to René Apple and Pieter Muysken (1987), language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism, a situation where two languages or more are used by an individual or a group of people. There are many definitions of bilingualism. Haugen (1956:9) defines bilingualism as *"a cover term for people with a number of different language skills, having in common only that they are not monolinguals"*. Haugen's definition refers to both bilingualism and multilingualism. The contact between different languages and cultures may bring about a bilingual or a multilingual situation. According to Bouamran (1986) bilingualism means:

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

“The use by an individual, a group or nation of two or more languages in all uses to which [they] put either”.

(A.Bouamrane 1986: 15)

Bilingualism is used here to refer to the functional use or knowledge of two or more genetically unrelated languages: SA or AA/ FR and BR/FR that prevail in the Algerian linguistic space.

In the linguistic literature, a bilingual speaker is identified in terms of the extent of bilingual competency and the degree of proficiency. In this scope, two extreme considerations are often mentioned: Bloomfield requires that a bilingual should have “*a native-like control of two or more languages*” (1933: 55-56). By contrast, a speaker who has, in addition to his first language, some command over productive or receptive skills of a second language is instinctively labeled a bilingual. As Spolsky (1988) states:

[...] if we count as a bilingual only someone with equal and native command of two or more languages, we exclude the vast majority of cases and are left with the least interesting. In practice, then, scholars in the field treat bilingualism as a relative rather than an absolute phenomenon, and consider anyone able to produce (or even understand) sentences in more than one language as the proper object of their study; the explanation of different levels of control of the two or more languages (or varieties) then becomes an issue of central theoretical concern.

Spolsky (1988:100-101)

A bilingual usually masters one language better than another and not many bilinguals have native-speaker competence and fluency in two languages. This is due to the fact that it is extremely difficult for an individual to be fully competent in two different languages to the extent that he or she can accurately use either of them in various contexts and domains. Nonetheless, many people are quasi perfect bilinguals because they are able to use the two languages appropriately in a number of situations, and because they have almost native speaker command of both languages. Generally, colonisation and immigration are the most significant factors that may lead to bilingualism. “*Immigrants to a new country bring their languages into contact with each other, and with those existing populations*” (Edward 1994: 33). In

Algeria, bilingualism is the result of the Arab conquest of North Africa in the eighth century which brought Arabic into contact with Berber, in addition to the French occupation which brought French into contact with Arabic and Berber. As a result multilingualism emerged.

During the colonial and post colonial periods, almost all Algerians, regardless of their educational level, were as proficient in French as the native speakers contrary to nowadays bilinguals who are less competent in this language because of the Arabisation policy which favours Arabic education and culture. AA/FR or BR/FR bilingualism prevails nearly everywhere in Algeria with a different degree from one region to another.

2.2.2 Borrowing

A primary impact of languages in contact is the phenomenon of borrowing. This latter is eminently studied by linguists such as Bloomfield (1930), and Weinreich (1953). It is used here following Gumpers (1982: 66) to mean:

“[Borrowing consists of] the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one language into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language and they are treated. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structure”.

Borrowing occurs when a given speech community incorporates some words or phrases from a foreign language^[20] into its native language^[21] as a consequence of: close contact between the two languages (e.g. FR/ AA), the domination of some languages by others (for cultural, economic, political, or other reasons such as English domination nowadays) or for a sense of need (in education or technology, e.g. the word ‘Scanner’ borrowed into SA).

^[20] also referred to as the source language or the guest language.

^[21] also referred to as the recipient language or the host language.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

Borrowing is a very common process to most bilingual societies, “*probably no language whose speakers have ever had contact with any other language is completely free from borrowed words*” (Campbell 1998: 57). However, the influence that one language has on the other differs relatively from simple and limited i.e., lexical borrowing (integration of nouns, verbs or adjectives), to complex and extensive i.e., structural borrowing (integration of phonological, morphological or syntactic features).

In Algeria, borrowing is a societal behaviour that may be noticed even in monolingual speakers’ speech (Benhattab 2005). From a lexical point of view, AA still includes many Turkish words such as *maà’dnous* (parsley), *Braniya* (aubergine), *Tobsi* (plate), etc. Spanish influence can be felt in some varieties spoken in the west of Algeria which were formerly occupied by Spain. This can be attested in words such as *fishTa* (fiest), *sberdina* (shoes), *bogado* (lawyer), etc. Although linguistically many European languages affected AA linguistically, their influence is not as powerful as FR. A great number of words and expressions have been adopted from FR into AA, as shown below:

AA	FR	Gloss
/risTora/	Restaurant	Restaurant
/srtafika/	Certificate	Certificate
/kuzina/	Cuisine	Kitchen
/dokt’or/	Docteur	Doctor
/kuli3/	College	Primary school
/pulis/	Police	Police
/pørTabl/	Portable	Mobile

Table 2.1: Some examples of borrowings from French into Arabic.

For instance, in /risTora/ the vowel /e/ of restaurant has changed to /i/, and the nasalised final vowel has been replaced by the oral vowel /a/. Similarly, the stress has shifted from the first syllable in the French term /’restoRà/ into the penultimate syllable in risT’ora. In the French loan word ‘certificat’, we notice that vowel /e/ in the first syllable has been

deleted, and the vowel /i/ has been substituted for /a/ in /srtafika/. Notice that this borrowing is accompanied by phonological and morphological changes from one system to another. For instance, stress shift, vowel change, intonation change, deletion are involved in such borrowings. The same changes can be noticed in some Arabic loans from BR in the examples below:

BR	AA	Translation in English
/rwaḥda/	/əl-waḥda/	One o'clock
/iləs/	/lsæn/	Tongue
/taḥzamt/	/ḥzæm/	Belt
ləbsəl	lbsal	Onion

Table 2.2: Some examples of borrowing from Arabic into Berber

2.2.3 Language Maintenance and Shift:

The understanding of language maintenance depends on the understanding of language shift and vice-versa, because each concept represents a background for the other and can only be defined vis-à-vis the other. The two phenomena are two sides of the same coin. Language maintenance occurs when a language, in a multilingual context, continues to be used successfully across all generations. Conversely, language shift refers to a situation where a minority group no longer holds on their language but adopt the dominant language as their first language (Fishman, 1980). This situation is acute in the case of migrant communities, where the language of the parents is not passed on to the next generation, which may result in language loss if no positive action is taken to remedy the situation and help maintain the language. According to Hoffman (1991, 1986):

“When a community does not maintain its language but gradually adopts another one, we talk about language shift [while] language maintenance refers to a situation where members of a community try to keep language(s) they have always used”.

The same factors that affect language maintenance may elsewhere determine language shift, among these factors we have: economic and social status, attitudes toward languages, educational level, mixed marriages, geographical distribution, mass media...etc.

Within the Algerian society, while language maintenance can be observed in relation to French which has been maintained since independence and the number of its speakers has grown substantially in spite of the massive and intensive programmes of the Arabisation policy which has as a primary objective replacing French with Arabic. One favourable condition that has led to the maintenance and spread of French is the historical and geographical proximity: around one million Algerian expatriates live in France, and French satellite TV channels are watched by 52% of Algerian households (Benmesbah 2003: 12). Language shift characterises the last few generations of Berber speakers, particularly in urban areas, who tend to displace (consciously or unconsciously) Berber by Algerian Arabic as a result of some factors that contributed to the spread of Algerian Arabic such as; public schooling, mass media, mixed marriages...etc. Similarly; Bentahila and Davies (1992: 209-210), in their research on language shift among Amazigh speakers in Morocco, noticed that

“...both Berber and non Berber speakers [i.e. those who switched completely to Arabic] expressed little sense of regret about the shift, and some described how their parents had actively encourage them to use Arabic in preference to Berber in childhood, with remarks such as ‘Berber won’t help you to earn your daily bread’[...] None of those who were not fluent in Berber reported that their parents were particularly disturbed by this”.

Studying language maintenance, shift, and loss is of paramount importance because it contributes to understanding specific linguistic situations and future language policies. Edwards (1992) argues that there are four main reasons for carrying out such studies: a) they are useful in studying languages in contact; b) they permit cross-linguistic and comparative approaches; c) they underline the sociological and political facets of multilingual societies; and d) they allow a predictive analysis of language shift and maintenance.

2.2.4 Diglossia:

Charles Ferguson (1959) is usually the most accredited and influential scholar with respect to describing and defining the term ‘diglossia’, referring to situations where two varieties of the same language are used for different social functions. However, “*Ferguson did not invent the term diglossia; he borrowed it from the French Arabist W. Marçais*” (Huebner, 1996:17) who was the first to put forward the concept of diglossia in the thirties when he described the large gap between spoken Arabic varieties and Classical Arabic in North Africa:

“The Arabic language appears... under two perceptibly different aspects: 1) a literary language so-called written Arabic... or regular, or literal, or classical , the only one that had always and everywhere been written in the past, the only one in which still today are written literary or scientific works, newspaper articles, judiciary acts, private letters, in a word everything that is written , but which exactly as it is, has perhaps never been spoken anywhere; 2) spoken idioms, patois..., none of which has ever been written..., but which everywhere and perhaps for a long time are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultured circles.”

(Marçais, 1930:40).^[22]

We can notice that Marçais’s description of diglossia is mainly based on the distinction between the two varieties of Arabic in terms of function; each variety is used for special purposes namely speech and writing. Nevertheless, Marçais’s observation on diglossia sets the pace for the one presented by Ferguson in 1959. While Marçais’s research was precisely restricted to Arabic, Ferguson endeavoured to define this type of language contact

^[22] “*La langue Arabe se présente... dans deux aspects sensiblement différents : 1) une langue littéraire dite arabe écrit... ou régulier, ou littéral, ou classique, qui seule a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passé, dans laquelle seule aujourd’hui encore sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires et scientifiques, les articles de presse, les actes judiciaires, les lettres privées, bref tout ce qui est écrit, mais qui exactement telle qu’elle se présente à nous, n’a peut être jamais été parlée nulle part, et qui dans tout les cas ne se parle aujourd’hui nulle part ; 2) des idiomes parlés, des patois..., dont aucun n’a jamais été écrit..., mais qui partout et peut être depuis longtemps sont la seule langue de la conversation dans tous les conversations dans tous les milieux populaires et cultivés*”

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

through four distinct linguistic settings: Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole. He suggests 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 largely learned by formal education and is used for most written and formal speech purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.” (Ferguson; 1959).

According to Ferguson, in diglossic situations, two varieties of the same language exist side by side. Each variety plays a pre-designated role and fulfills a particular communicative function. He calls one the ‘High’ (H) and the other the ‘Low’ (L) variety. The H variety is considered as the standard one, which is culturally and literarily richer. It is used in official and formal settings in both of its forms- oratory as well as writing. The L variety, on the other hand, is to some degree related to the H variety. It is an unwritten and structurally simplified variety with limited literary heritage; its use is limited to informal day-to-day social matters and dealings.

However, the term diglossia has been further extended to cover not only societies where the two varieties of the language are genetically related, but also situations where totally unrelated languages are used. Joshua Fishman uses the term diglossia to refer to:

“not only multilingual societies which officially recognize several ‘languages’ and not only societies that use vernacular and classical varieties, but also societies which employ separate dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind”. (Fishman 1972b:92).

It seems that Fishman’s extension is an attempt to integrate diglossia into the field of bilingualism without giving any importance to the structural linguistic perspective of the phenomenon. In this respect, he refers to Paraguay as a case of diglossia, *“although the High and the Low varieties are respectively Spanish and Guarani, an Indian language totally*

unrelated to Spanish". (Fishman, 1971 in Hudson, 1996:50). Thus, although diglossia and bilingualism are different, they "can occur separately or together in a speech community" (Bell, 1976: 135).

Arguably, one can consider a distinction between 'interlingual diglossia' and 'intralingual diglossia' suggested by Wexler (1971). Interlingual diglossia refers to a diglossic situation where two unrelated varieties are used in a complementary distribution. Whereas, intra-lingual diglossia represents the classical diglossia as dealt with by Marçais and Ferguson.

In the Arabic speaking communities generally, and in Algeria particularly, interaction between the two varieties of Arabic i.e. H (Standard Arabic) and L (Algerian Arabic), gave birth to an intermediate variety referred to as 'Modern Standard Arabic' 'MSA'. The latter was defined by McLaughlin (1972:58) as:

"That variety of Arabic that is found in contemporary books, newspapers, and magazines, and that is used orally in formal speeches, public lectures, learned debates, religious ceremonials and in news broadcasts over radio and television".

MSA is a simplified version of CA in terms of lexis and style. It is the result of the several changes that CA has witnessed at the level of the linguistic structure in order to be effective enough to meet the demands of modern life and the ever-renewed communicative needs of the Algerian speech community. MSA therefore serves for written and formal spoken purposes. Gumperz explains the need for such a variety:

"Members of the same speech community need not all speak the same language nor use the same linguistic forms on similar occasions. All that is required is that there be at least one language in common and that rules governing basic communicative strategies be shared that speakers can decode the social meaning carried by alternative modes of communication". (Gumperz 1972: 16).

The emergence of MSA has two major sources: the need to be intelligible to the masses, (2) the (educated) speaker's inability to master the complex rules of the H variety. (Benali-Mohamed, 2002 cited in Benrabah, 2007, 119)

2.2.5 Code-Switching:

Code-Switching is a sociolinguistic feature whereby the speaker alternates between words or sentences of two languages in such a way to fulfill a communicative purpose in a conversation. This happens very often among bilinguals who switch between their two languages in their speech. Haugen (1956) defines code switching as a linguistic process "which occurs when a bilingual introduces completely unassimilated words from another language to his speech" (Haugen 1956: 40, quoted in Benhattab2004).

Two types of code switching have been recognized by most researchers: Intra-sentential code switching, used to refer to alternation within sentences, and Inter-sentential code switching, when switches occur between sentences. The use of code switching is governed by social, cultural, psychological, phonological, and morphosyntactic indicators. In this study we use the term Code Switching to refer to all instances where two or more languages are used in both intra-sentential and inter-sentential situations regardless of constraints.

In Algeria, code switching is so commonplace that it has become part of the daily language behaviour ^[23] of the Algerian speech community. People switch between AA/FR and BR/FR within the same conversation or even the same sentence. As shown in these examples:

^[23] A notion dealt with by Parkinson (1999).

BR/ FR Code-Switching:	AA /FR Code-Switching:
<p>1. /trɔ:hæŋ esæ niʏ/ demain Do you go now or tomorrow?</p> <p>2. Je me demande /æjən jeθexðm eka/ I wonder why she did that!</p>	<p>1. Elle n'était pas sûre /ila tʒi wela la/ She was not sure whether to come nor not</p> <p>2. Voilà! /hada li kunt nħawes 3lih/ That's it! it's the one I was looking for</p>

Table 2.3: Some Examples of BR/FR and AA/FR Code Switching

Code-switching may be seen as equating with education, open mindedness or social prestige, in the sense that it can be used to show one's linguistic skills and helps the speaker to change his or her tone throughout the conversation. It is also used as a strategy to signal and emphasize one's sense of identity and belonging to the community through partial use of AA or BR in the case of Algeria. Furthermore, code switching facilitates communication and ensures clarification particularly when there is a lack of lexical items or expressions in a language.

Code-switching is perceived with mixed feelings (Bentahila, 1983). While some view it as a linguistic skill to be able to freely produce a speech composed of two varieties or more, others see it as a lack of competence or inability to fully express oneself in a particular linguistic variety. Hymes describes it as follows:

“Used as a strategy of communication to compensate his lack of competence by using sometimes one language, sometimes the other to maximize the efficiency of the communication”
(Hymes, 1968: 200).^[24]

^[24] “ Utilisé(e) comme une stratégie de communication pour compenser (son) manque de compétence en faisant appel tantôt à une langue, tantôt à l'autre pour maximiser l'efficacité de la communication”

2.3 Language Planning Theories

LP has grown out of the practical need to solve language problems arising from the nation-state formation in the aftermath of the Second World War. However, these problems occur under different forms and at various levels, and differ across countries. It is, therefore, always difficult to come up with a comprehensive theory of LP that encompasses the full range of tasks it seeks to serve.

Fasold (1984) points out two approaches with regard to LP. The first is the instrumentalist view, as expressed by its forceful advocate Tauli (1968), who sees language fundamentally as a tool or an instrument (for communication, socio-economic development...etc), which implies that language is subject to evaluation, change, regulation and improvement in order to be suitable for the task it is used for. For this language, being learned for instrumental purposes, it is considered inherently better than other languages, as Tauli outlines:

“...Evaluation of concrete linguistic features from the point of economy, clarity, elasticity, etc. It is essential to stress that such an evaluation is possible and is objectively verifiable, in many cases quantitatively measurable. Thus we can say that a certain linguistic feature or language is better than another from certain point of view” (Tauli, 1968:11).

Tauli stressed the methodological and structural improvement of the linguistic system based on an ideal language which is characterized by clarity, economy and beauty. (Tauli,1968: 29). Accordingly, language planning is a mere technical activity as Tauli succinctly describes it:

“The higher and more difficult task of...the methodological activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national or international languages. Language planning comprises all spheres of oral and written forms of language: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicography (vocabulary) and orthography” (Tauli 1968: 27).

However, this approach was sharply criticized for not considering the social and symbolic context of language use and the importance of language attitudes. Haugen (1969b) argues that “language is not as easy to discard as a tool nor can one buy a new language at the store” (Haugen, 1969: 946). Furthermore, Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) considers Tauli’s instrumentalist stance as conflicting with the more empirically based approach adopted by most linguists.

The second approach Fasold distinguishes the sociolinguistic approach which integrates both the linguistic and social aspects to account for LP. The latter cannot proceed effectively without considering the relevant linguistic, social, cultural, political and historical variables. In this respect, Haugen emphasizes the social nature of language and he rejects the classical language thesis that languages are structurally equal; he regarded the rich diversity of human languages and dialects as part of the human condition. (Haugen 1971: 288).

Ferguson (1968) sees that there is no way to rank languages in terms of their structural complexity. He suggests, however, that LP or what he calls “language development” can be compared along three non-structural dimensions which involve societal attitudes and functions with respect to language: Graphisation, standardisation, and modernisation.

Graphisation is the development of a writing system for a previously unwritten language. Ferguson (1968a: 28) states it quite simply: “Graphisation [is] reduction to writing”. Standardisation i.e., the development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects, it is defined as:

“The process of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm-the ‘best’ form of the language rated above regional and societal dialects, although these may be felt appropriate in some domains” (Ferguson 1968: 31).

By modernisation, Ferguson means “*the process of becoming the equal of other ‘developed’ languages as a medium of communication*”. (Ferguson 1968:32), i.e.,the attempt to bring a language up-to-date with new technologies and current styles. But this last feature has been

disapproved by other linguists because it implies that “*there are ‘undeveloped languages that are not equal to developed languages as media of communication’*” (Fasold, 1985:248)

Language planning can be said to have started formally with Fishman’s intensive research on language-related problems in the United States (Eastman 1983). As a result of his research, he published *Language Loyalties in the United States* in 1966, a landmark in the history of LP. Fishman’s main findings incisively contradicted the common description of the United States as a “melting-pot”. Moreover, he argued that indigenous population and the immigrants in the United States are enthusiastically and emotionally attached to their own languages and cultures.

Incidentally, Fishman’s continued research in the field (1971b, 1972, 1973, 1974), led to the growth of LP as a major component of the sociology of language. He believes that LP should consider the entire range of social, cultural, political and economic factors in the community. He also stresses the need for additional micro studies and comparative work to establish a general theory of LP, as he notes “*micro analysis of language planning has not yet received the attention it deserves.*” (1974: 86).

2.3.1 Language Planning and Language Policy: Definitions

It is only in the late 1950s that the early version of language planning and language policy was born within sociolinguistics. Joseph (1987: 14) points out that LP as an academic field is the product of the sociolinguistic attention to language standardisation in the 1950’s and 1960’s. In Fact, Haugen (1959) was the first to use the term ‘language planning’^[25] to refer to the process of developing a new standard national language in Norway, following independence from Denmark. Haugen defined LP as follows:

“[By language planning I understand] the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-

^[25]Haugen (1965:188) tells that Uriel Weinreich used the term language planning for a 1957 seminar at Colombia University, but it was Haugen himself (1959) who introduced the term to the literature.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

homogeneous speech community. In this practical application of linguistic knowledge we are proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where judgment must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms.” (Haugen 1959:8).

Initially, he viewed the activity of preparing orthography, grammar and dictionary as the actual process of LP, but he later came to see these activities as outcomes of language planning, part of the implementation of decisions made by language planners. (Haugen, 1966: 52).

In a review of LP, a variety of definitions have been proposed such as the “attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by planners” (Haugen, 1966), or the “organized pursuit of solutions to language problems at the national level” (Fishman, 1972b). In fact the term LP has been referred to broadly as a language problem solving activity in a community:

“Language planning is deliberate language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes. As such, language planning is focused on problem-solving and is characterized by the formulation focused and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision” (Rubin and Jernudd 1971: xvi).

Other scholars from a variety of disciplines including education, political sciences, anthropology, and sociology, have continually contributed with new insights and elaborate frameworks to describe and explain how and why policies have certain effects in particular contexts. Accordingly terms such as “language stansardisation” (Ray, 1963), “language development” (Ferguson, 1968), and “language treatment” (Neustupny, 1970), were used to refer to LP.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

Most of language planners have been using the terms language planning and language policy synonymously to refer to activities and decisions dealing with language issues with regard to linguistic diversity, language development, language teaching.... It's essential, however, to note that an important proportion of LP scholars maintain that the two concepts describe two distinct aspects of language change process. Kaplan & Baldauf, for example, consider LP as:

"[Language planning is] an activity, most visibly undertaken by government (simply because it involves such massive changes in a society), intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers. The reasons for such lie in a reticulated pattern of structures developed by government and intended to maintain civil order and communication, and to move the entire society in some direction deemed 'good' or 'useful' by the government" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997:xi).

As for policy, it is defined as:

"A body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system" (ibid.).

For Schiffman (1996) also, LP and language policy denote two senses:

"The term language policy here refers, briefly, to the policy of a society in the area of linguistic communication-that is, the set positions, principles and decisions reflecting that community's relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential. Language planning is understood as a set of concrete measures taken within language policy to act on linguistic communication, typically by directing the development of its languages". (Bugarski quoted in Schiffman 1996)

From the above definitions, the term 'language policy', in this study, is understood as an expression of the ideological measures and regulations to modify the linguistic environment at the societal level, and 'language planning' is the actual

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implementation of this policy, usually undertaken by political, social or linguistic institutions to solve problems related to language or communication, with the effect of influencing or changing behaviours and attitudes toward language.

2.3.2 Language Planning Activities:

By activities one means what Kloss calls LP foci (1969) and Cooper subsumes under 'what' (1989: 31), i.e. *what do language planners do?* These activities are (1) status planning, (2) acquisition planning, (3) corpus planning, and (4) prestige planning.

Haugen (1966) proposed the first model of language planning. Since then, he has revisited both his model and his definitions following the insights and criticisms of many fellow LP scholars. Subsequently, various other typologies and dichotomies emerged to describe LP processes.

Haugen's well-known fourfold model (1966[1972]:252) comprised: (1) norm selection, which involves the choice of a language or language variety to serve a national or official role. (2) Codification, which consists of stabilisation and standardisation of the norm selected; involving procedures such as: setting grammar, orthography and pronunciation rules. (3) Implementation or acceptance, involves the activities of adoption and use of the selected and codified norm such as: the production of news papers, textbooks, books, and other publications. Finally, (4) Elaboration, concerns the expansion of language functions to meet the new demands which are placed upon it, e.g. scientific or technological needs.

Haugen's model of LP has been the focus of interest among linguists and become a theoretical framework in the literature on LP. Yet, Haugen acknowledged some imperfection in his model and revisited it in 1983, as he said, in order to "harmonise" it with other models. He emphasizes:

"I cannot claim that it amounts to a theory of language planning. It provides a description of what language planners have done, but it does not tell us why they have done it, or what goals they have hoped to attain." (Haugen 1983:274)

Following Haugen's first model (1966) and the subsequent revisions he made to his own work, other LP models have been developed. Kloss (1968) introduced an illuminating dichotomy that offered a great degree of explanatory adequacy and provided clarity for research of this nature. This dichotomy is, in fact, a methodological framework which is widely used in LP today. He differentiated between two branches of activity in LP, one dealing with the extra linguistic component, and the other with the linguistic component of LP. He labels them: Status Planning and Corpus Planning respectively.

2.3.2.1 Status Planning

Status planning refers to the recognition of the importance and/or position of a language vis-à-vis other languages in a speech community. An alternative term is language allocation, i.e. 'authoritative decisions to maintain, extend, or restrict the range of uses (functional range) of a language in particular settings' (Gorman 1973: 73). As these are policy decisions, taken by governments and reinforced with the support of the apparatus of the state rather than linguists, they are obviously related to politics. The output of status planning is laws, clauses in constitutions and regulations prescribing the official standing of languages, and their use in social domains of public administration (Lo Bianco 2004: 742). Under status planning, Hornberger (1994) places four major language planning goals: status standardization, officialisation, nationalization, and proscription. I discuss each in turn

2.3.2.1.1 Status Standardisation

Hornberger (1994: 81) defines status standardisation as 'language planning activities that accept or impose a language as the standard'. I take this to mean the selection of a particular language as the societal norm, whether or not that language is also made the official and national language (see officialisation and nationalisation below)

2.3.2.1.2 Officialisation

Officialisation refers to a government's decision to make a language or languages the official language of the country. Cooper (1989: 100) distinguishes between three senses of the term officialisation: *statutory*, a language declared official by law; *working*, a language which the government uses for its everyday activities; and *symbolic*, a language which is designated a symbol of the state. A language can be official in one, two, or all three senses

2.3.2.1.3 Nationalisation

Nationalization is a term which can be used in two senses (Garvin, 1974: 71). First, in the “emotionally more neutral” one that a given language can “serve the entire territory of a nation rather than just some regional or ethnic subdivision” (ibid). Second, in the “emotionally more powerful” sense that a language serves as a national symbol. This is the sense in which the term is commonly used in emergent countries; it is then often contrasted with the language of the former colonial overlord. Thus the term nationalization can have a territorial or a symbolic connotation. One salient example that combines Cooper’s symbolic officialization with Garvin’s symbolic nationalization is Berber in Algeria; a situation where the language is a symbolic national language without being officially symbolic.

2.3.2.1.4 Proscription

Proscription is banning the use of a given language. In Algeria, proscription is noticeably absent at the government policy level.

2.3.2.2 Corpus Planning

Corpus planning, on the other hand, deals with activities aimed at the promotion of the form of the language to function as the medium of education, administration, scientific research.... Corpus activities are usually undertaken by language experts resulting in the production of grammars, dictionaries, literacy manuals... (Lo Bianco 2004: 742). It can be, and in some cases, done by linguists, but only after the major policy decisions about language allocation have been taken. Once the decision-makers have decided which language is to be used for administration, judicial processes and education, linguists or other people can be commissioned to spread its use. While doing so, they will standardize the script and the spellings for ease of communication, and prepare dictionaries to facilitate the translation of modern knowledge created in other cultures. This modernization of vocabulary will then help to create new knowledge and disseminate existing knowledge.

Although Kloss initially presented status planning and corpus planning separately, other linguists claimed the interdependence between them and viewed the distinction between them as “...an oversimplification; it is, in fact, virtually impossible, in practice, to separate the two activities. The fact that any change in the character of a language is likely to result in a change in the use environment, and any change in the use

environment is likely to induce a change in the character of the language” (Kaplan, Robert B. 1977:42).

Another distinction between approaches to LP has been suggested by Neustupny (1970), who recommended two points of reference for LP: “Policy” and “Cultivation”. The policy process is characterized by interest in determining language problems, for instance, issues related to the selection of a national language, standardisation, orthographies, registers, literacy levels...etc. While the cultivation process is seen as a separate stage which focuses on treating problems of correctness, efficiency, style and constraints on communicative competence: “...a sequentially later and more advanced stage of language planning, dealing primarily with stylistic varieties of the national standard focused upon during previous stages of language planning” (cited in Fishman, 1974:16). Neustupny suggested that policy approach to LP is characterized by a high level of ethno-political concern and it is typically found in connection with developing countries. The cultivation approach, on the other hand, prevails in developed countries.

Neustupny’s model is seen as a two-stage operation consisting of problem-process correspondences adapted by Sirles (1985:35) as:

Problem		Process
i. Selection of norm	----->	i. Policy decision
ii. Stability of norm	----->	ii. Codification procedures
iii. Expansion of functions	----->	iii. Elaboration of norm
iv. Differentiation of function	----->	iv. Cultivation of norm.

Sirles (1985) viewed Neustupny’s model as the best general outline of LP process for two reasons: “*first, it separates problem areas from process ones and gives planners a mechanism for addressing specific troubles spots without interrupting other aspects of the communities linguistic repertoire*”. Second, “*it sets up a hierarchy of language priorities, especially for developing countries*” (1985:36)

Rubin (1971), who has written widely in the field of LP (1971, 1973, 1975, 1976 ...), viewed LP as ‘decision making about language’ (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971: xii). Thus, she listed four main stages to successful planning:

- I- Fact-Finding: before any planning decisions are made, a considerable amount of background should be available; all parameters of society should be investigated; social, cultural, political and economic. Language planners should scrutinize the “existing setting to ascertain what the problems are, as viewed both by persons who will execute the plan and by persons who will be the targets of the plan”. (Rubin 1971:218)
- II- Actual Planning: here “the planner will establish goals, select the means (strategies), and predict the outcomes”. (Rubin 1971:219)
- III- Implementation: involves carrying out the planning procedures.
- IV- Feedback (Evaluation): continued evaluation and revision is necessary to find out how well the plan has worked and whether the goals have been attained or not. For Rubin (1971) this step is quite valuable for LP process, however, there seem to be “a negative attitude in linguistic circles toward all problems of evaluation.” (Rubin 1971: 235).

Rubin (1971) built up her classification of LP on the basis of aims; she outlined three principle aims of LP process: extra-linguistic, semi-linguistic and pure linguistic aims. (1) Extra-linguistic aims deal with social and regional language variation, as well as the diachronic process of language especially regarding language revival, language death, and/or creation of new languages. (2) Semi-linguistic aims represent “most frequent types of planned language change”, such as the invention of a writing system, the development of grammar and punctuation rules, and the elaboration of a spelling system. (3) Pure linguistic aims involve activities related to the structural, stylistic or lexical aspects of language such as: vocabulary enlargement and development, choice of style, structure systematization.... (Rubin, 1971:277-179).

Jernudd (1971) also subsumed his classification of LP into three types. These are: (1) Language determination; “decisions referring to the functional distribution of language varieties in a community”. (2) Language development; “decisions concerning

standardisation, unification of language use by means of grammars, spelling manuals, word lists, etc.” and (3) Language implementation; “the more or less systematic attempts to influence language use by propagating the results of decision on language determination and language development” (Jernudd, 1971: 16).

2.3.2.3 Acquisition Planning

More recently, Cooper (1989) suggested a third additional process to the status/corpus dichotomy, ‘Acquisition Planning’ which refers to “organized efforts to promote the learning of a language” (Cooper 1989:165). He argues for acquisition planning as a separate major type of LP, rather than the major activity of ‘Implementation (educational spread)’. Cooper claims that this stage of LP is needed because it serves language spread, since it is closely associated with language learning and literacy skills development as well as literature production and language use in the media. He neatly summarizes the difference between status and acquisition planning “status planning is an effort to regulate the demand for given verbal resources whereas acquisition planning is an effort to regulate the distribution of those resources” (1989; 120)

2.3.2.4 Prestige Planning

All previously mentioned LP typologies have paid little attention to a more fundamental but hidden factor, human behaviour and psychological aspects in receiving the planned language. Until very recent time the LP implementation began to be examined from a recipient perspective, taking into consideration the approval of the public as well as the recipients’ attitudes toward the planned result.

In this view, Haarmann (1990) proposed ‘Prestige Planning’ as a separate range of LP activities, which aim at promoting a positive view of language. Moreover, he brought a dichotomy between aspects of LP, in the sense that, corpus planning and status planning are productive activities (i.e. activities articulated by the planners), and Prestige planning is “*receptive, required for both status and corpus planning, and required by both the actors and the targets of planning*” (Haarmann, 1990: 105). Prestige planning influences how the productive planning activities are acted upon by policy makers and received by the people, as Haarmann stated:

“Any kind of planning has to attract positive values, that is, planning activities must have such prestige to guarantee a favorable engagement on the part of the planners, and, moreover on those who are supposed to use the planned language” (Haarmann, 1990:104).

In short, these differing typological frameworks of LP offered by language planning scholars cover almost the same stages and practices in LP. The latter, however, may vary considerably according to its underlying aims and the ways in which it operates within societies. It has attracted differing categorisations according to the ethno-linguistic environment of territories or countries into which it is implemented. The diversity of political, ethnic and linguistic situations can greatly influence the formation and outcomes of language planning.

2.4 Covert and overt policy:

Regarding language policies, a dichotomy has been frequently made between overt and covert language policy. The dichotomy is insightful as it makes clear that language policy is not always overt, meaning stated explicitly or codified in constitutional laws, official documents or legal texts i.e. ‘*de jure* embodiment of rules or constitutions’ (Shiffman, 1996). For example, in France, the status of French is defined and entrenched in legislation, it is stated unequivocally in the French constitution: “the language of the Republic is French”. (Ager, 1996). A language policy may also be covert, meaning implicit or unstated policy i.e. *de facto* practices, a matter of usage by people. For example, in the Unites States, English has the status of the national language, used in education, courts, government..., though it’s not backed up by any official, formalised, overt language policy (Schiffman, 1996).

Language policy-making and LP are generally initiated by top-down agencies such as government or other official institutions. This approach is also known as ‘macro-level’ component of language policy and LP. However, recently due to the failure of governments to cater for all language needs, particularly to preserve and maintain endangered languages in some parts of the world, ‘bottom-up’ initiatives or ‘micro-level’ planning has

been given more attention. A bottom up approach takes place when local groups, family units and individuals undertake the language policy initiatives or activities to reverse shift or preserve their languages. Nevertheless, many of the people involved in creating, implementing and supporting language planning are unaware of their contribution:

'...language teachers, materials developers, curriculum specialists, information scientists, advertising writers, personnel officers, and other human resource development planners at all levels of the public and private sectors have been asked to engage in micro language planning activities, although they would often not be aware that this is what they were doing.' (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:xii).

As far as the linguistic situation in Algeria is concerned, language policy is implicit, stated in the Algerian Constitution that SA, is the sole national and official language of the country; "Arabic , which is the *de facto* language of government" (Benrabah 2007:46). This policy was decided by political leaders in the aftermath of independence i.e. a top-down policy.

2.5 National Language and Official language:

It's important to distinguish between official languages, which are given an official status in the country and are usually designated for use as the means of a national government i.e. used in official contexts such as: courts, parliament and administration, and national languages which may be also recognized officially as such, to unify the country and represent its identity. A national language is generally native to the country or spoken by the majority of the people and it is usually used for cultural and ethnic purposes. Holmes (1992) defines the two concepts as following:

"In sociolinguistics the distinction between a national language and an official language is generally made along the effective-referential dimension, [...]. A national language is the language of a political, cultural and social unit. It is generally

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

developed and used as a symbol of national unity. Its functions are to identify the nation and unite the people of the nation. An official language, by contrast, is simply a language which may be used for government business. Its function is primarily utilitarian rather than symbolic. It's possible, of course, for one language to serve both functions". (Holmes, 1992:105).

In addition to the symbolic function of the national language, it should fulfill two other functions: (1) communicative, i.e. serving as an effective means of communication, and (2) participatory, i.e. having a certain number of speakers around the world.

In Algeria article 5 of the 1963 constitution made SA the only national and official language of the Algerian state. The importance of this language in the definition of the cultural identity of the Algerian people has been even more stressed in the National charter of 1976 and it is only in 2002 that Berber has been recognized as the second national language.

2.6 Conclusion

The first part of this literature review highlighted some situations of language use, in Algeria, which are mainly due to the phenomenon of language contact such as; borrowing, bilingualism, code- switching.... This reveals the dynamics of languages and the influence that one language may exercise upon the other. It also shows that the current Algerian language policy (i.e. Arabisation) has failed to attain its objectives simply because it has ignored the linguistic diversity of the Algerian society. In other words these phenomena which characterize the Algerian speech community are a real reflection of the multilingual reality of this country.

The second part provided a brief description of LP and language policy theory and exposed the main stages of the process to help understand how LP is essential to carry out language related missions and resolve specific societal language problems. It emphasized that the basic focus of LP is language, which acts as a significant instrument for shaping and

describing reality. It is through language that we determine our view of ourselves, our surroundings, relationships and ideologies. Simply, language helps determine who we are.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

Dealing with LP and language policies is not an easy task for decision makers. Various political, historical, economic and socio-cultural obstacles and constraints should be overcome before policies and strategies are effectively implemented. In addition to that, particular attention has to be paid to the emerging technologies, international communication constraints and globalization in general.

In the next chapter we will attempt to explain why the Arabisation policy in Algeria was viewed so important and why it has not always been easy to implement. This will be done through determining and defining the Arabisation process, specifying its measures and objectives and assessing its problems. It is therefore fundamental for language planners and policy-makers to consider the importance of LP stages and activities as well as the different linguistic needs of the people for a successful implementation of a language policy.

3.1 Introduction

In the wake of political independence in Algeria, the newly designated leaders of the country set out to rectify the linguistic and cultural situation prevailing in the pre-independent era. Moreover, they intended to pursue a total eradication of the system set up by colonial authorities, particularly French influence in relation to linguistic and cultural matters. They aimed at restoring the national unity and Arab identity of the country, and language was an essential prerequisite to attain their objectives. Consequently, a very extensive and strict Arabisation programme, favoring SA as the sole national and official language in Algeria, has been initiated.

It was believed that the continuing presence of FR would allow a form of colonialism to live on i.e., as if the country had not fully attained its independence. As a matter of fact, efforts were made to promote the standard form of Arabic as a source of authenticity and identity, as well as a means to transcend the divisive role of the prevalent spoken varieties in Algeria particularly and the Arab world generally. This chapter is concerned with the Arabisation language policy, its objectives and the process of its implementation at the level of education and administration particularly, with the aim of focusing on the paradoxes and contrasts in the case of Algeria's sociolinguistic situation.

3.2 Definition of Arabisation and its objectives

Arabisation, or taà'rib in Arabic, is a term that refers to the linguistic process that has been launched in the first years of independence, mainly in North African countries, as part of the drive towards political and linguistic unity among all Arabic-speaking people. It aimed at replacing French which was imposed during colonialism as the official language, by SA as a means to recapture a sense of identity that the French colonisers have dismantled. Above all, Arabisation was an impulsive reaction to French imperialism and hegemony that lasted for more than a century, during which France included Algeria as an inseparable part of the French patrimony and this is what makes Algeria's colonial experience distinctly distinguishable from many others (Stora, 2001). In this respect Ennaji (1991: 17-18) says:

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

"By contrast, in Algeria the place of French is a paradoxical subject of conflict for historical reasons. Because France attempted to assimilate Algeria (more than Morocco and Tunisia) into the French cultural community, officials in independent Algeria react in a hostile way to French and are very keen on seeing it replaced by the national language, Arabic." (Quoted in Dendane 2006: 88)

Unsurprisingly, Algeria has adopted a centralized Arabic-only policy to recover its pre-colonial past and to retrieve its Arab-Muslim characteristics as expressed in the well known slogan of the leader Abdelhamid Ben Badis during the Algerian struggle for independence ‘*Islam is our religion, Arabic is our language and Algeria is our nation*’. Consequently, SA was promoted as the language of literacy, administration and wider communication. Article five of the 1963 Constitution made SA the sole national and official language of the Algerian state.

Pratt (1978) points out that most linguistic work during the structuralist and generative periods has assumed that a language or language variety has a homogeneous, unified structure in which everything has its place. Much research in linguistics and sociolinguistics especially quantitative sociolinguistics (i.e. the Labovian paradigm) focuses on what is shared among speakers or rather what analysts assume speech communities and speakers to share.

A fundamental presupposition that Saussurian and Chomskyan theoretical approach to language made, for example, is based on the notion that language is an autonomous and homogeneous object for research. In the case of Saussure, the distinction is that between *langue* and *parole* while Chomsky draws a distinction between *competence* and *performance*. In the Saussurian theory, language is a collective ‘treasure’ shared by all members of a community. In the Chomskyan tradition it is a maximally homogeneous and discrete resource lodged in the construct of the ideal speaker whose competence is an innate, discrete resource that all humans share. In both distinctions, language is posited as a shared patrimony, and the speech community is perceived as a unified homogeneous social world.

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

Likewise, political leaders in newly independent nations portray these nations as entities consisting of people with a shared culture, a shared history, and a shared language. The notion of one nation/one language i.e. one nation should have only one language, was a very popular one and it was one way whereby post-colonial societies have often grappled with cultural and linguistic legacies of colonialism. SA came then to invigorate the bonds that tie them to the larger entity, i.e. the Arab Nation.

Arabisation has been promoted from virtuous ideological motives. First and foremost, it was based on the idea that Algeria is an Arab country and that it should be firmly bound to other Arab countries and should aspire to Arab unity. An objective that is not attainable as long as SA is not reinstated as the only official language of the Algerian state. Overall, Arabisation was seen as a necessary condition that would assert the country's Arab-Islamic identity which had been stripped away by colonialism.

Accordingly, Arabisation was synonymous with unity and homogenisation mainly as far as the religious aspect is concerned. It was believed that SA, being the language of divine revelation, is the only language that would appropriately represent the religious identity of Algeria as a Muslim state. As such, establishing SA as the official language was an essential prerequisite to confirm Algeria's allegiance to the Arab-Muslim world. One of the fervent advocates of Arabisation, Mouloud Kassim Nait Belkacem, asserts that:

"The Arabic language and Islam are inseparable. Arabic has a privileged position as it is the language of the Koran and the prophet, and the shared language of all Muslims in the world, language of science, language of culture" (26)

(Rouadjia, 1991: 111)

Culturally, Arabisation was pre-eminently associated with the so-called cultural independence, i.e. it was deemed as the cultural counterpart of political and economic independence. K. Taleb Ibrahimi, (1997) points out that Arabisation is an essential procedure of the Cultural Revolution after the industrial one. As stated in the 1976 National Charter

⁽²⁶⁾ In Benrabah 2007 : 67

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

“Arabic is an essential component of the cultural identity of the Algerian people. One cannot separate our personality from the language which expresses it. Therefore, the widespread use of the Arabic language and its mastery as a creative and functional instrument, is a primordial task for the Algerian society at every level of cultural manifestations and of socialist ideology”⁽²⁷⁾

The same view was also expressed by Bentahila, 1987:235a :

“It seems to be generally agreed that CA is the most appropriate vehicle for Arabisation, for two main reasons: its links with the religious and cultural heritage, and its role as a unifying factor in the Arab world”

From a political point of view; Arabisation ‘serves two contradictory, though not incompatible purposes’ (El Biad, 1985:130-131). On the one hand, the elite classes, who were greatly influenced by the French language and system of values, knew that French will continue to be necessary for social and economic development. Yet, they promoted Arabisation in an attempt to keep the masses away from political power. The mass of the population, on the other hand, who were mostly illiterate, were persuaded to support Arabisation as they believed it would lead to a greater equality of opportunities for them Grandguillaume (1983: 36) writes:

“What class calls for Arabisation, in whose interest is it? In reality, the poor classes call for Arabisation, hoping that it will establish equal opportunity, whereas the privileged classes grant it [Arabisation], knowing that it will not affect their children, and that it will keep the children of the other classes out of the competition”⁽²⁸⁾

⁽²⁷⁾ Saàd 1992 : 59

⁽²⁸⁾ Ibid 1992 :58

In Gordon's words (1966:161):

"The quest for cultural independence involves both a return to an alienated identity and the fulfillment of a personality in a large part moulded by the colonial experience itself. This double aspiration... is particularly complex for the Algerians. This is so because Algeria's alienation has been so great and, on the level of her élite, she has moved so far into the culture of the colonial power and into the culture of the modern west"

3.3 The Setting up of the Arabisation Policy

After independence, the prevailing debates about which language to be chosen as the official language and what language was to be used as the language of education became debates of fundamental importance. Magherbi (1977) ⁽²⁹⁾, in a chapter significantly entitled *'The misadventures of the Arabic Language in Algeria'* mentions four different groups with distinct views towards the policy of Arabisation. The first group had favourable attitudes to the choice of Arabic which they narrowly associated with Islam. They advocated a total exclusion of FR and a generalisation in the use of Arabic. The second group included mainly the proponents of a modern and westernised trend who wanted to maintain FR as the language of technology and modern life whereas Arabic, with its close association to Islam, represents spiritual life and tradition. The third group was in favour of a balanced bilingualism whereby Arabic would be restricted to cultural, literary and religious domains while FR would be used for any work in the domains of science, technology and medicine. The fourth and last group *'advocates an integral but a long term Arabisation, a process which should take into account human as well as material resources. This group advocates a 'circumstantial bilingualism'*. (Bouamrane 1986: 255).

It is worth mentioning a further group that Magherebi did not consider. This group was constituted of some intellectuals (see 1.5.2), notably Kateb Yacine, the famous

⁽²⁹⁾Bouamrane 1986: 254

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

Algerian novelist and playwright. They were for a policy of Arabisation that promotes AA as the national language instead of SA because they felt that AA was more representative of the Algerian culture and identity, as they argued:

“The future of Algeria lies, in our opinion, in the recognition without any kind of complex, of the Maghrebi language... Teaching in the elementary level will take place in the native tongue and would offer Classical Arabic as the first language of wider communication. The French language will, in this case, find its proper place and can be in competition with English. Finally, knowledge of a foreign language will contribute to the blossoming of Algerian children, finally reconciled with themselves.”

(Eliman, A-A, No 1262, 11/21-27/89 quoted in Saad, 1999: 57)

The pace and scope of Arabisation has depended largely on which of these groups has had more power in the government at a given time. For this reason, the history of arabising the different sectors has been marked by ambivalence and discontinuity. In fact, the attempt by the government to stress Algerian unity and identity via language was particularly strong and mediated to a considerable extent through the educational system. The latter was the context where Arabisation was centrally implemented and where it has made great strides.

As from 1962, one of the major reforms made in newly independent Algeria was to restore the Arabic language in education. In the *Tripoli Programme* of June 1962, *The Revolutionaries restated in regard to Arabic, what they did in constant manifestos before: [the role of the revolution] ... is above... all to restore to Arabic—the very expression of the cultural values of our country—its dignity and its efficacy as a language of civilisation.* (Gordon, 1978: 149). Algeria could not begin to reconstruct itself without strengthening the position of the Arabic language, which remains the vivid symbol of its Arabic identity and Muslim values. Boumediène (1968) says:

“Without recovering that essential and important element which is the national language, our efforts would be vain, our personality incomplete, and our entity a body without a soul”

Quoted in Mostari, (2004:26)

3.3.1 Education

From 1962 to 1975, following the principle that SA was both the national and official language, and FR a language to be used temporarily and provisionally, the Arabisation of the Algerian educational system was pursued. In 1971, the *punctual system* –a step-by step system– (Gordon, 1978: 153) was adopted, that is arabising all subjects on a given level rather than arabising geographically (according to regions) or vertically (all levels at the same time). The geographic solution would have led to inequalities of opportunity, it was felt, adds Gordon (ibid), the *vertical* one was impossible because of a lack of qualified teachers. The country was marked by Arabisation campaigns: laws, decrees, ordinances were enacted, reinforced, and applied aiming at implementing SA and strengthening its position in all public fields. (see appendices).

Starting from 1962, seven hours a week of SA were introduced in all schools. The following year (1963) three more hours were added. The first grade of primary school was arabised in 1964 and the second grade was arabised in September 1967. Due to a shortage in the teaching staff, educational authorities decided to recruit some low-skilled teachers who often had only elementary level to teach in primary schools. This decision was coupled with the fact that some teachers with different educational backgrounds and different teaching methods were recruited from various Arab countries mainly from Irak, Egypt and Syria (Kadri, 1992). The process of Arabisation continued and by 1975, the primary school was fully arabised with French being taught in the fourth grade. In secondary education, the humanities section (*série littéraire*) was totally arabised, together with one-third of the maths (*série mathématique*) and sciences sections (*série scientifique*). In 1971, the teaching of SA was gradually introduced in Higher Education. The degrees in Arabic Literature, Philosophy and History had been arabised by 1968. In 1973, Geography, Sociology and Pedagogy were also arabised. In other subjects, 58 per cent of the students were in arabised sections. In the sciences, the policy of Arabisation was only moderately applied. In 1973, only 19 per cent of all students were in arabised sections, and Medicine and Engineering continued to be taught in French. All students, however, were obliged to attend Arabic lessons.

In primary education (1973-1974)

Grade	Status of Arabisation
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Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

1st	Totally arabised.
2nd	Totally arabised.
3rd	Totally arabised ; French is a foreign language.
4th	Totally arabised ; French is a foreign language.
5th	1/3 of the classes totally arabised; French is a foreign language.
6th	1/3 of the classes totally arabised; French is a foreign language.

Table 3.1: Status of Arabisation in primary school (1973-74) (Adapted from Grandguillaume, 1983: 100)

In intermediate education (1973-1974)

Grade	Status of Arabisation
1st 2nd 3rd	In each of the first three grades, 1/3 of the classes were totally arabised, whilst the remaining 2/3 were bilingual. Scientific subjects were taught in French
4 th	All subjects were taught in Arabic, except mathematics, natural sciences and geography.

Table 3.2: Status of Arabisation in intermediate school (1973-74) (Adapted from Grandguillaume, 1983: 100)

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

In secondary education (1973-74)

Grade	Humanities Sections	Mathematics and Science Sections
Première	Totally arabised	1/3 of the classes arabised, 2/3 bilingual. Scientific subjects were taught in French.
Seconde	Totally arabised.	1/3 of the classes arabised, 2/3 bilingual.
Terminales	All subjects were taught in Arabic, except mathematics and geography.	1/3 of the classes arabised, 2/3 bilingual. Philosophy, geography and science subjects were taught in French.

Table 3.3: Status of Arabisation in secondary school (1973-74) (Adapted from Grandguillaume, 1983: 100).

Increasing Arabisation led to concerns about standards, and in 1977, President Boumediène appointed M. Lacheraf the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education and A. Rahal as Minister of Higher Education, to call a moratorium on Arabisation, although this was to be of short duration, interrupted by the death of the president. In 1993, the introduction of a foreign language into primary school was postponed to the fourth grade. The same year, the advocates of Arabisation pressed for the use of English to replace French in primary schools (Kadri, 1992). However, for various reasons, only a small percentage of parents chose English, the majority favoured French as a foreign language for their children in the fourth grade. From the 1980's to 2002, there was the total Arabisation of the school system; a reform gave birth to the Basic School (*Ecole Fondamentale*). All subjects were taught in SA, French was introduced in the third grade of primary school. As for university, in 1980 a decree introduced the total Arabisation of the 1st year of Social and Political Sciences, Law and Economics (before 1980, students chose the language of their instruction, either Arabic or French, in addition to a permanent Committee for Arabisation that supervised the three universities — Algiers, Constantine, and Oran in order to accelerate and coordinate Arabisation efforts (Gordon, 1978). It was then necessary to arabise the university science curricula in order to meet the needs of the students who had had their high schooling in Arabic, the fact that completed the transition of the whole educational system into Arabic. On 22 July 1991, the Minister for universities announced the total arabisation of higher education for the start of the academic year (following the 16 January 1991 law which focused on the

generalised use of Arabic in Algeria [See appendix II]). The latest reform (2002) planned the reintroduction of the foreign language (FR) into the second grade of primary school. English would be taught in the sixth grade (intermediate school), two grades earlier than in the past. Some subjects, as Sciences and Mathematics would be partly taught in French. These are the major changes that are taking place with the new reform.

3.3.2 Administration

All official documents such as birth, marriage and death extracts, nationality certificate, identity cards..., have been arabised since 1983 (Boukli-Hacene 2006) and passports are provided in the three languages SA, FR and English, in addition to the 91-05 January 16, 1991 law which stipulated the exclusive use of Arabic in the different institutions. The law contained six chapters and 41 articles preventing the use of any language other than Arabic (See appendix II and III). Article 4, for instance, states that:

The public administrations, the institutions, the companies and associations, whatever their nature, are held to use only the Arabic language in the whole of their activities such as the communication, administrative, financial, technical and artistic management.

(Article 4, law N° 91-05 of January 16, 1991)

In case of violation of the provisions of the law, prohibitive fines (from 5000 to 10 000 dinars) were imposed.

As a result of these serious actions undertaken by the Algerian government, Arabic has become widespread in different settings such as ministries (Defence, Education, Justice...), parliament and the media. This spread was mainly at the expense of the French language. However, the latter, which more and more Algerians no longer seem to associate with the colonial past, is still widely used in many contexts. Almost all banking, insurance and medical documents are still in French, regardless of whether one is dealing with a private or a public agency or service provider. Most Algerians write their cheques in French and everyone gets their medical prescriptions and laboratory reports in French as well. Wholesale and retail shops usually issue invoices and receipts in French, even when they are written by hand. Many companies names are apparently conceived first in French, then translated into Arabic, often literally and awkwardly, and their French acronyms are then transliterated into

Arabic and used in advertising. This is also the case of many institutions and programmes in the administration and the educational system. For instance, all Algerians refer to the national water, power and telecommunications companies by their French acronyms or labels (*SEOR*, *SONALGAZ*, *Algerie Telecom*) respectively. Although some of these companies have recently switched their bills to Arabic, most of them still issue their documents (contracts, invoices, etc.), which involve contact with the public, in French or in both languages. (See appendix IV).

3.4 Problems of the Arabisation Policy

Grandguillaume (1983) shows that the problem of Arabisation is plotted along three dimensions: 1) linguistic, 2) sociological or socio-political and 3) anthropological. At the linguistic level, the question of Arabisation appears to meet serious problems related to the strong presence of other languages serving different and sometimes similar roles within the Algerian society. As such, the implementation of the process of immediate and total Arabisation sharpened the gap between written languages, that is, SA, FR and sometimes English, on the one hand, and spoken languages : AA and BR on the other hand. Furthermore, the attempt to introduce SA in all fields of activity heightened the problem of which language should be used for what purpose. It is partly due to the fact that SA has never been naturally or spontaneously spoken by Algerians. It has always been regarded as a foreign language that is learnt at school only, as it cannot be used as a natural means for self-expression or daily communication. That is why, in some respects, replacing Fr by SA simply substitutes one non-native language for another, as Hadjarab (2000 :2) confirms *'This leads to absurd situations. Politicians... who badly express themselves in Classical Arabic jabber and desperately look for their classical words on television instead of speaking the language of the people'*⁽³⁰⁾.

It is also due to the situation of Arabic diglossia in which the official standard variety is significantly different from the spoken variety. This diglossic relationship between

⁽³⁰⁾ The original text reads as follows :*“ cela donne des situations absurdes. Des hommes politiques...qui s'expriment très mal en arabe classique baragouinent et cherchent désespérément leurs classiques à la télévision au lieu de parler la langue du peuple”*

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

SA and AA created a major sociolinguistic and educational problem; it contributed to a higher school dropout among a whole generation of AA and BR speaking pupils who were forced to begin their formal education in a language other than their native language. In this respect Grandguillaume (1997:8) states '*L'école Algérienne se porte mal*' (the Algerian school is in bad health). As it is known, teachers still find it necessary to resort to the spoken varieties in teaching and explaining SA to learners⁽³¹⁾, because it is not their first acquired language but it is formally taught in school. Talmoudi (1984:32) suggests:

"Dialect/ Classical Arabic bilingualism calls for the introduction of dialect teaching at compulsory schools during the first two years, where the children learn to master their own mother tongue and to write a language adequate to their cognitive development. When learning to write their own vernaculars they also get the ability to express their thoughts and emotions in a nuanced way and thereby avoid falling into illiteracy"

However, this aspect of the linguistic situation has not received enough objective attention though it was hinted at by some Algerian intellectuals like Taleb El Ibrahimi (1973:19) who explains:

"In order to succeed, Arabisation has to bridge the gap between the spoken and the written forms of the language. Diglossia, although not characteristic of Algeria, presents particular aspects because some 'orientalists' want to turn dialectal Arabic into a real Maghrebi language, as far removed as possible from literary Arabic"⁽³²⁾

⁽³¹⁾See the article on teacher demands for modern, dialectal Arabic to be taught in schools, "*Il faut enseigner l'arabe vivant: des enseignants demandent l'utilisation de la langue dialectale dans l'enseignement*", in the news weekly *Jeune-Afrique*, issue 418, 5-13 January 1969.

⁽³²⁾*Pour réussir enfin, l'arabisation doit combler le fossé qui sépare la langue parlée de la langue écrite. La diglossie, tout en étant pas caractéristique à l'Algérie, y présente des caractères particuliers du fait de la volonté de certains 'orientalistes' de faire l'arabe dialectal une véritable langue maghrébine, éloignée le plus possible de l'arabe littéraire.*(Saàd, 1992 translation).

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

Given the prestige and supremacy that SA enjoys, being the language of divine revelation, means that it is relatively easy to persuade people that it is the only appropriate language for use, whilst the spoken varieties are synonymous with inferiority and ignorance. Speakers of Arabic have been reported to ‘deny the existence of the low variety and claim that they only use the high variety’ (Versteegh 1997:190), because the low varieties are usually stigmatized and disregarded. In the literature on Arabic speech communities, spoken varieties come to be equated with the speech of uneducated people, as Versteegh puts it:

“The low variety of the language is associated with low education, since the standard is taught and learnt at school, and hence with illiteracy and poverty, since people with a poor education cannot make a career. The standard language, on the other hand, is associated with higher education, success in society and a high socio-economic class”

(Versteegh, 1997: 195)

Nevertheless, many linguists advocate the use and promotion of the speaker’s native language because they are aware of its significant role as a medium of expression and development of conceptual formation. The language policy that demotes the mother tongue has an impact on the socialization of individuals. As their languages are underestimated they would feel socially excluded, according to Halliday (1968:165):

“ A speaker who is made ashamed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being: to make anyone, especially a child, feel so ashamed is as indefensible as to make him feel ashamed of the colour of his skin.”

(Quoted in Bouamrane 1986 :293)

Along the same line, Gill (1999) argues that monolingual Berber or dialectal Arabic speakers may feel at disadvantage or under constraint because their languages are frowned upon by the State. For them, a language barrier, and thereby a social barrier still exists despite the departure of colonialism. Those who are in favour of the native languages argue that:

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

The future of Algeria lays, in our opinion, in the recognition without any kind of complex of the Maghrebi language... Teaching in the elementary level will take place in the mother tongue and would offer classical Arabic as the first language of wider communication. The French language will, in this case, find its proper place and can be in competition with English. Finally, knowledge of a foreign language will contribute to the blossoming of Algerian children, finally reconciled with themselves.⁽³²⁾

(Eliman, A-A, No 1262, 11/12-27/89)

What is more, a group of American sociolinguists from Berkeley University were involved in 1963-1964 in order to draw up the sociolinguistic map of Algeria. The group came up with the advice to promote the use of Algerian Arabic and Berber: most used and consensual languages. Disregarding these recommendations, the government in position went as far as to conclude an agreement with the sociolinguists, by virtue of which the survey results would not be publicized. (Benrabah, 2002).

Of equal importance are the problems of corpus planning and the need for new vocabulary so that SA would fit as a vehicle of modern culture and would be adequate for social and scientific expression. Grandguillaume (1991 : 49) says in this respect :

“In order to meet the needs and uses of the language it replaced, the Arabic language should be modernised, somehow reshaped into the image of the language it replaced: the fact that would lead to profound changes, semantic and functional”⁽³³⁾

⁽³³⁾ *Pour satisfaire aux usages et aux nécessités de la langue qu'elle remplaçait, cette langue arabe devrait être modernisée, en quelque sorte, remodelée sur l'image de la langue qu'elle remplaçait : ce qui devait entraîner pour elle des mutations profondes, sémantiques et fonctionnelles.*

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

Some agencies such as The Maghrebi Consultative Committee (created in 1966) and The Permanent Bureau of Arabisation (created in 1961, but activated only in 1973) were in charge of coordinating the Arabisation activities in the Arab World, but they began operation only after the different countries had already started developing their own lexicons (Grandguillaume, 1983; Al-Shalabi, 1984). Obviously, the lack of co-ordination and agreement between the various Arabic-speaking countries in the field of terminology affected the process of creating a unified modern lexicon, an example of such a view given by Bentahila (1983: 131)

'in 1936 the Arabic Academy of Cairo decided to supplement the Arabic alphabet with new letters to represent such sounds as [v] and [g] which were needed to transcribe foreign place names. However, other countries such as Syria adopted different symbols for the same purposes, while in others like Morocco two symbols may be used interchangeably'.

During the second Arabisation congress held in Algeria in 1973, Abdelhamid Mountasir denounced the Arab countries' failure of co-ordination in the field of terminology.

Furthermore, the process of developing a flexible vocabulary, to meet the needs of modern bureaucratic, financial and intellectual affairs, was subject to resistance from some proponents of Arabic because of the purist concept they have of Arabic, especially that the influence of FR can still be seen in the new lexicon, namely the process described by Grandguillaume (1990) as '*Arabisation-translation*' when he claims that newly created words '*can only be understood through the French words that they translate and not through Arabic's own semantic context*'. For instance, the SA expression *maa'ida mustadiira* is direct translation of French *table ronde* ('round table (talks)') (Benrabah, 2007).

At the sociological or socio-political level, Arabisation raised issues related to social selection and the maintenance of the elites who used it as a tool in their fight for power. This can be seen from the contradictory attitudes they held toward the Arabisation policy. There were members of the elite, many of whom were active in the different agencies to promote Arabisation, who nevertheless send their own children to French schools, while preaching Arabisation as best for the masses. In essence, they did not send their children to arabised schools, preferring bilingual and French schools. They created and maintained inequalities within the society on which they imposed monolingualism. This is referred to as

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

elite closure by Myers-Scotton (1993), whereby the persons in power establish and maintain their power and privileges via linguistic choices. The society, thus, discredited—consciously or unconsciously—this kind of schooling, considered it as a regression, and concluded that they were denied access to progress. For most Algerians, French remains the essential tool to modernity (Benrabah, 2002). FR insured access to disciplines and academic specialisations which were most rewarded in the economic field. This led to a long-lasting depreciation of arabised schools, which gave rise to dissatisfaction of arabised students who were passed over in favour of bilingual graduates, as asserted by Entellis (1981:203):

“Indeed, increased arabisation of primary and secondary school curriculum without concurrent language uniformity at the higher levels has created enormous tensions and frustrations for those “arabisants” unprepared to cope effectively with French-language instruction, and therefore destined to “dead-end” jobs, since nearly all openings in the public and private sectors require some level of bilingualism and, in certain fields, trilingualism”

Similarly, concern is expressed about the deteriorating level of FR which is expected to have a negative impact on the achievement and ultimate qualifications of Algerian students, particularly those enrolled in mathematics and science. Many researchers attribute the poor levels produced by the schooling system to the Arabisation policy; it produces generations of illiterate people who master neither Arabic nor French (Beaugé, 2004). The lack of documentation and total Arabisation contributed to the collapse of the arabised education (Grandguillaume, 2002). Grandguillaume asserts further, quoting Viratelle (1970), that:

“He [Viratelle] feared that students were being badly trained in both Arabic and French and might be ending up without an adequate command of either” (Grandguillaume, 2002: 158) ⁽³⁴⁾

This opinion was shared by Entellis (1981: 197),

“Too many young people may be emerging from secondary schools with an incomplete command of both literary Arabic and functional French” ⁽³⁵⁾

⁽³⁴⁾ In Lekehal Ayat Benmati 2008: 148

⁽³⁵⁾ *ibid*

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

As well as by Taleb-Ibrahimi K. (1997: 50):

“The Algerian school does not produce bilinguals but semilinguals without a good command of either language”⁽³⁶⁾

And Miliani (2003: 25):

“This semilinguism is one of the major causes of the loss of the young people's cultural points of reference and their linguistic codes impairment”⁽³⁷⁾

The problems remain at the level of the commitment to Arabisation and its implementation. The relatively slow development and promotion of the use of SA in many fields is the major reason for the ineffectiveness and malfunction of Arabisation. This is so largely because political priorities often take precedence over applied linguistics requirements for successful implementation and because financial and human resources do not always match plans for language planning. *“Indeed, Arabisation as a goal is one thing and its implementation in a society is quite another thing”* (Mostari, 2005: 45).

In this spirit, Rubin (1971: 218) stressed the ‘fact finding’ stage as an essential precondition in determining any language policy. At this stage, language planners with other specialists in the use of language such as linguists, writers and human scientists should co-ordinate their efforts to carry out thorough and conscientious investigations into the different aspects of the society. The entire range of social, economic, political and cultural factors in the community have to be examined. Also considerable efforts must be devoted to consult the different opinions and views that the target speech community holds about the existing languages and the intended language policy, to bring out adequate plans and efficient policies and thus to avoid haphazard results and potential conflicts among the several linguistic communities within any society.

⁽³⁶⁾ *ibid*

⁽³⁷⁾ *ibid*

Chapter Three: The Algerian Language Policy

At the anthropological level, Grandguillaume asks the lingering question: "*Which societal model are we aiming for [not only] from the linguistic, but also the cultural and ideological point of view?*" (Grandguillaume, 1983: 44) ⁽³⁸⁾. Apparently, Algeria has retained much of the French assimilationist model in the political system and administration referred to as the Jacobin model⁽³⁹⁾ (Grandguillaume, 1997). In fact, Arabisation aims at the linguistic unity of the country as a fundamental factor of national unity; meanwhile, it constitutes a factor of exclusion of the Berber speaking people, the French speaking people and even the speakers of Algerian Arabic. This is the plural nature of Algeria's landscape, which made

'Guilt-ridden Algerians wonder about the legitimacy of such a [multilingual] legacy. They ask themselves: Is it a feature of a thriving society or of an alienated one? Should they continue to use all their languages? Might they lose themselves, or rather, find themselves, in so doing?' Saadi-Mokrane(2002 : 57).

Henceforth, the language policy pursued in Algeria has always been a source of linguistic and political conflicts. There were many reactions from the part of Berber speakers against Arabisation whereby they tried to pressure the government for recognition of their rights, one of which the right to have their tongue declared national and official language in the country. They have sought the restoration of the Berber identity within the framework of linguistic and cultural autonomy. Many rebellions and violent protests have been recurrent, essentially in the Kabylia region, against the state. This was particularly evident in the spring of 1980 and 2001 which have come to be referred to as *Tafsut Imazighen* and *Tafsut Taberkant* ; 'Berber Spring' and 'Black Spring' respectively, when violent riots led to the death of a big number of civilians. Language has been seen as one of the main constituents of the identity of the Imazighen, and has been used by them as a unifying force, that is why there has been a steady increase in Amazigh cultural associations (about 300 Amazigh cultural associations in Kabylia alone, according to Chaker 1995) and print media in and about Tamazight.

⁽³⁸⁾ In Daoud 1992

⁽³⁹⁾ The Jacobin model stems from the French Third Republic. The model was built on modernist universalism and an elimination of regional idioms and eradication of minority cultures. This is sometimes referred to as an 'internal imperialism' by critics (Gill, 1999: 124).

3.5 Conclusion

After independence, the Algerian society could not begin to reconstruct itself without restoring its identity presented as Muslim and therefore Arab and Arabic speaking. Hence intensive efforts have been made to arabise the Algerian population and the different sectors in the country. Standard Arabic was to elbow out the French language as a reaction to cultural and linguistic imperialism but the result was a controversy; Arabisation not only failed to bring an end to the use of French which had pervaded all walks of life, but it also brought about sociolinguistic, socioeconomic and educational problems that have thrown the country into a constant turmoil. It has notably resulted in discontinuities in language mastery and use and different attitudes towards the languages on the scene among the generations and social classes living in Algeria today.

The official language policy has been unsatisfactory and inconsistent because it did not take into consideration some important variables such as the country's ethnic and linguistic make up and colonial history. In fact, the multilingual nature of the country and the absence of a single and independent body which has the responsibility to organize, conduct and implement language policy matters are among the principal factors that work against Arabisation and lead to its malfunction.

The next chapter addresses the research methodology in this thesis. It also deals with the instrument used for the data collection, and the analysis of attitudes of Algerian people towards present linguistic situation in Algeria.

4.1 Introduction

In addition to what has been exposed in previous chapters, namely the literature review on LP and the language policy pursued in Algeria, it is worth reminding ourselves that strategic language planning should be facts and evidence based. A policy should follow a clear and well-articulated framework, and implementation should be systematic, rigorous, and result oriented. Research of this type should be underpinned by the principle that efficient language policy does not take into consideration only linguistic parameters but also extralinguistic, cultural, sociological, anthropological, psychological and pedagogical parameters.

To provide well-researched-data for advice on language planning and language policy in Algeria, we devoted this chapter to examine the different perceptions and attitudes of Algerians towards the languages they use and the Arabisation language policy. Our study focuses mainly on quantitative research for data collection and data analysis. For this purpose, a questionnaire highlighting the place, importance and future statuses of the languages was constructed for data collection for this research.

4.2 Data Collection

Quantitative research, defined as ‘a formal, objective, systematic process in which numerical data are utilised to obtain information about the world’ (Burns and Grove cited by Cormack 1991:140). This research paradigm is preferred in most studies for a number of reasons. First, as supported by a number of researchers (including Kumar1996, Creswell 1994, Merriam 1988, Lincoln and Guba 1985), quantitative research is thought to be objective because analyses, interpretations, and conclusions are based solely on numbers. Second, its results can be generalised if conducted properly with appropriate sampling techniques, relevant methods, and, among others, appropriate data analysis tools. Results, though based on a limited but represented sample, can be generalised to the whole population.

The qualitative approach, however, is based on the naturalist paradigm which claims that reality and truth are multiple i.e. there is no single reality or truth. Therefore, both can be captured from different angles which make the qualitative research a subjective inquiry process (Marshall and Rossman 1980) because, as emphasised by Munhall (1989), *'truth is an interpretation of some phenomenon; the more shared that interpretation is the more factual it seems to be, yet it remains temporal and cultural'*. Besides, this process of inquiry is subjective in its approach and holistic in its process (Glesne and Peshkin 1992) because qualitative research is descriptive and the researcher is concerned with process rather than outcomes (Marshall and Rossman 1980; Cresswell 1994). Also, it can be added that qualitative research is an inductive activity in the sense that the researcher can develop a theory based on results that are made up of multiple realities or pieces of truth (Creswell 1994; Merriam 1988). However, in this type research, results, even though they can be theorised, cannot be generalised in the sense that variables such as perceptions, opinions or views vary from person to person and they can change over time and geographical spread. Qualitative data have meaning only within a given situation or context.

Even though qualitative research and quantitative research are based on different theoretical assumptions, they share similar research patterns, namely the principles of validity and reliability among others. However, there are scholars, such as Kerlinger, who tend to reject qualitative in favour of quantitative research. He believes that 'there is no such a thing as qualitative data. Everything is either 1 or 0' (Kerlinger quoted from Miles and Huberman 1994: 4) but a close scrutiny shows that these two research methods are not exclusive because one type entails the other as argued by Campbell 'all research ultimately has a qualitative ground' (Campbell quoted from Miles and Huberman 1994:40). Also, Sherman (1988) asserts that the integration of both approaches is desirable. Eisner and Peshkin (1990) have argued that both methods are complementary. Salomon, (1991:17) who refers to this mixture as a rapprochement, concludes,

"As with the case of quantitative and qualitative research in education, cohabitation is not a luxury, it is a necessity if any fruitful outcomes are ever expected to emerge"

Recently, there is a research trend, called multi-method approach, which aims at combining both quantitative and qualitative research and rejecting the narrow separation of these two research paradigms.

Since the main purpose of this research is to formulate facts-based recommendations for strategic language planning and language policy, the quantitative research is the most appropriate in the sense that the method used in this research is objective because results are facts-based. The quantitative data used in this study are mainly obtained from the responses provided by the respondents on the questionnaire. The responses were categorised and were given a numerical value to highlight the outcomes of the research and to illustrate trends in the data. As for the qualitative data referred to in our survey, they are primarily obtained from official government documents and reports on language policy-making and LP in Algeria. In the data analysis, the qualitative data are mainly used to illustrate and elucidate the responses provided in the quantitative data.

4.3 The Objectives of the Questionnaire

The data was collected by means of a questionnaire. As all our data was collected in the same way, the design of the questionnaire was obviously crucial. A successful questionnaire would be designed in such a practical and time saving way. For this reason our questionnaire was made up of a set of multiple-choice questions. In this kind of questions, respondents choose, among a number of possibilities for a particular question, one item that reflects best their answer. As such, the answers are in front of the informants, the fact that helps them answering the questionnaire efficiently.

The questionnaire was mostly administered face-to-face. Though this was constraining and time consuming, it ensured high return rates. It sought information on the following:

- Perceptions towards the language situation in Algeria
- Attitudes towards the use of languages; Algerian Arabic, Berber, Standard Arabic and French and the statuses they should be given.
- Views on the importance, place and future of these languages in Algeria.

- The intensity of the desire of respondents to promote multilingualism and their awareness of the importance of English in the long term.

4.4 The Target Group

For methodological clarity and research accuracy in our attempt to address the issue of language planning and language policy in Algeria, we limited our sample to a micro level category .The informants are 100 university teachers who are overwhelmingly multilingual; using at least three languages (Arabic, Berber, French and English). Their view is seen noteworthy on account of their teaching experience and intellectual level. In fact, teachers' role in the language policy formulation and implementation should be more prominent because they possess the skills and the knowledge to offer sound expertise rooted in their linguistic concerns. According to Howlett and Ramesh the formulation of language planning decisions should be

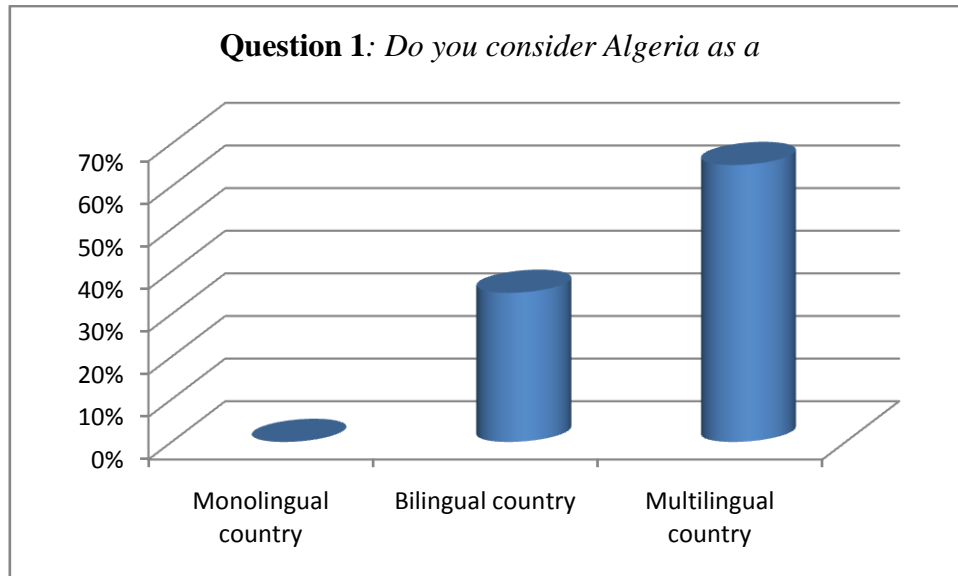
"[...] Restricted to those who have some minimal knowledge in the subject area, allowing them to comment, at least hypothetically, on the feasibility of options put forward to resolve policy problems. (Howlett and Ramesh 1996:135)"

Cross-discipline collaboration is highly desirable in language policy formulation i.e., linguists, language planners, and language specialists should work in close collaboration with teachers, sociologists, economists, anthropologists and the like. Here, our informants are a representative sample of the people whose opinion is most likely to influence language policy decision making.

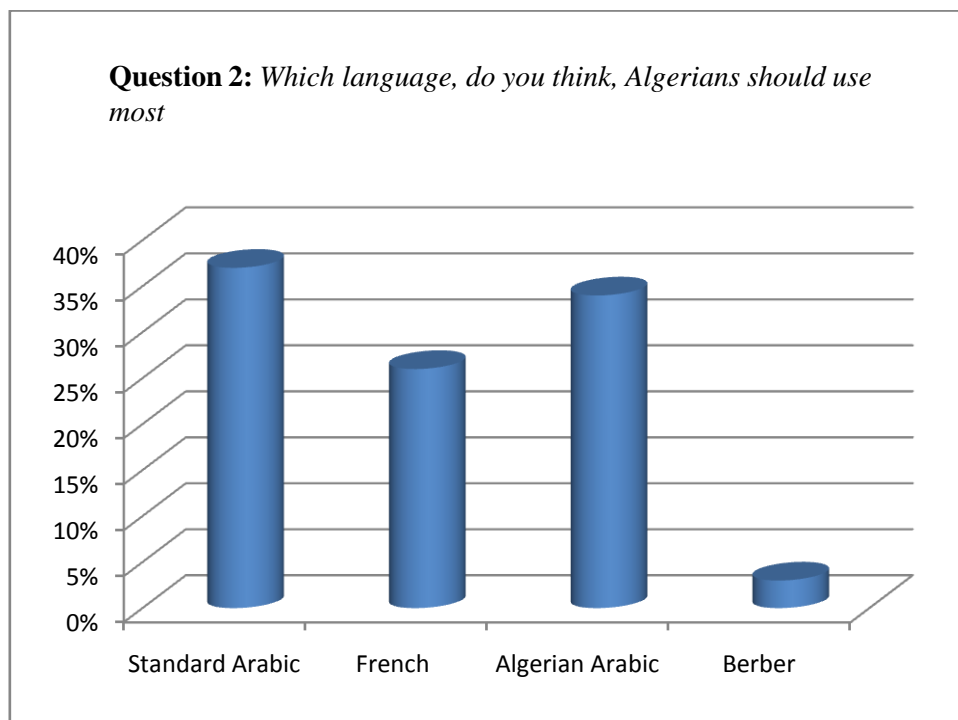
4.5 Analysis of the Questionnaire

Our questionnaire is grouped into six sections. The results obtained for each section are given numerical value on the basis of graphs.

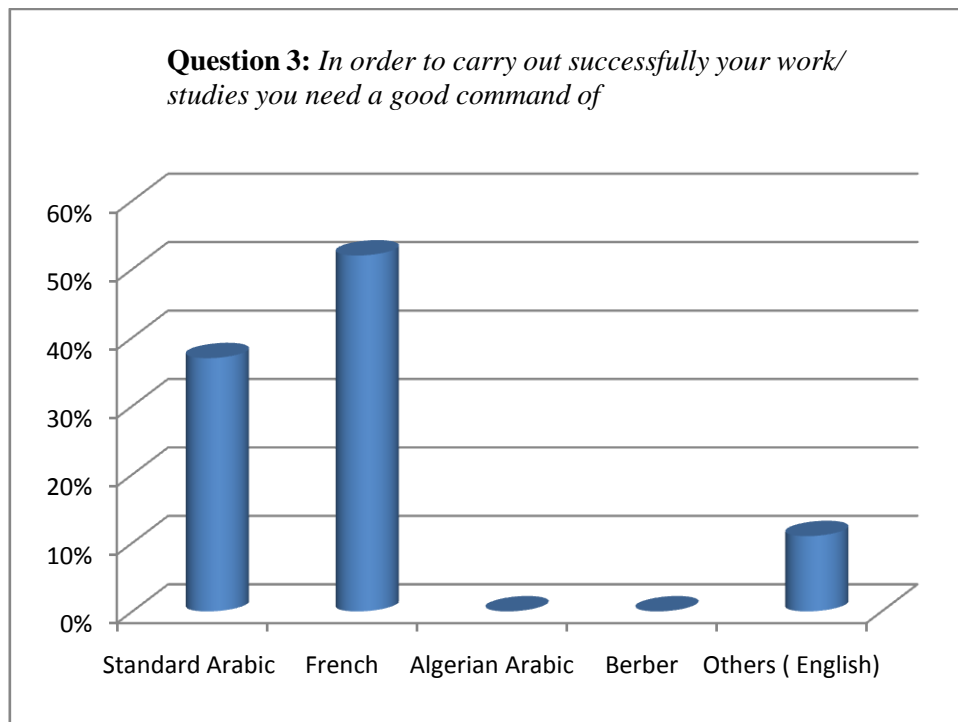
4.5.1 Section I: Language Plurality and Language Use in Algeria



Graph 1



Graph 2



Graph 3

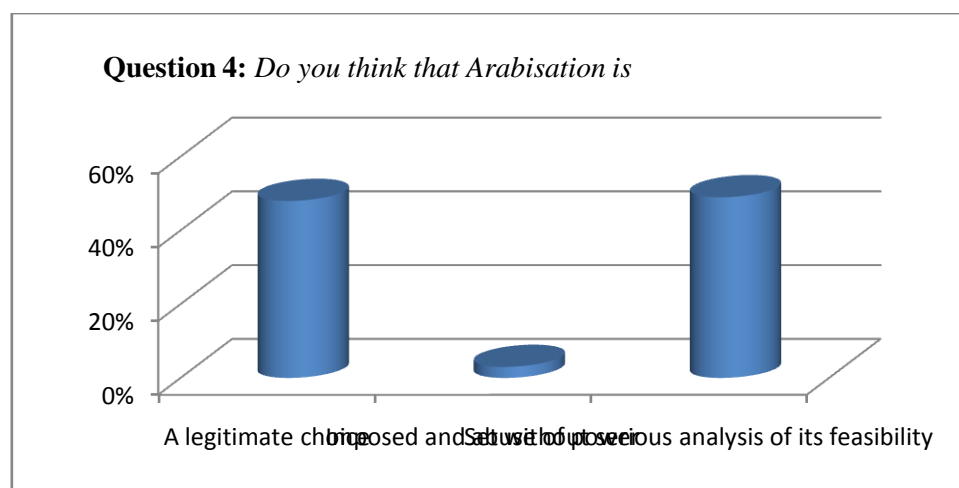
The first question was asked in attempt to observe the respondents' view on language plurality in Algeria. Interestingly, a large number of respondents 65% affirm that Algeria is a multilingual country. Besides, 35% of the respondents believe that Algeria is a bilingual country, probably because they do not really consider BR and AA to be languages on a par with FR and SA. A striking fact here is that no one of the respondents claimed that the country is monolingual as it is officially stated in the Algerian constitution (Act N° 91-05 of 16 January 1991).

With regard to the language that Algerians should use most, 37% of the respondents chose SA. This can be interpreted as a favorable attitude towards Arabisation and its elusive aim of unifying the country under one language (Standard Arabic). In addition, there are 34% of the responses for AA since it is predominantly used in Algeria. Also, a substantial number of respondents 26% point out that FR is the language that Algerians should use most. This preference for FR can be explained not only by the prominent role this language plays in a number of domains but also by the fact that Algeria *'remains a quite*

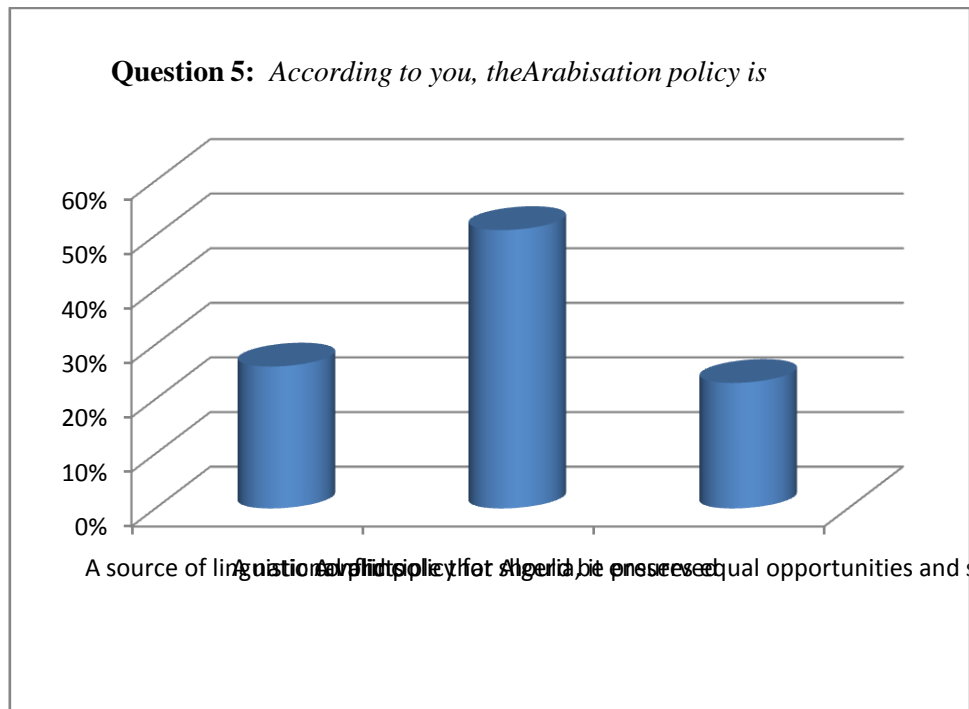
distinct sub-culture within the Arabo-Islamic world, and one which is in close geographical proximity to Europe' (Bentahila, 1983:147). Therefore, Algeria has had to face the question of which societal model it is aiming for, not only from the linguistic but also the cultural and ideological point of view. Given that the study took place in a non-Berber speaking region, it is perhaps not surprising that only 3% of the respondents feel that Tamazight is useful.

A comparison of the results obtained for the second question and the third one, shows that respondents want Arabic (SA/ AA) to be the language that represents the national identity of Algerians; meanwhile French continues to play a major communicative role in the society. Whereas SA got the highest rating as the language that should be used most in Algeria (question2), more than half of the respondents 52% claim that FR is the language that is mostly needed to carry out successfully their work or studies, it is clear that FR continues to be regarded as necessary for social and professional success. We can also notice that SA got a considerable rating in this question 37% since there are some Algerians who still associate FR with colonialism and advocate the total eradication of the French language. However, the spoken tongues AA and BR, are not viewed important neither in education nor in the workplace. A small proportion of respondents 11% say that English is important in their work/studies, given that the overwhelming majority of our respondents are teaching English.

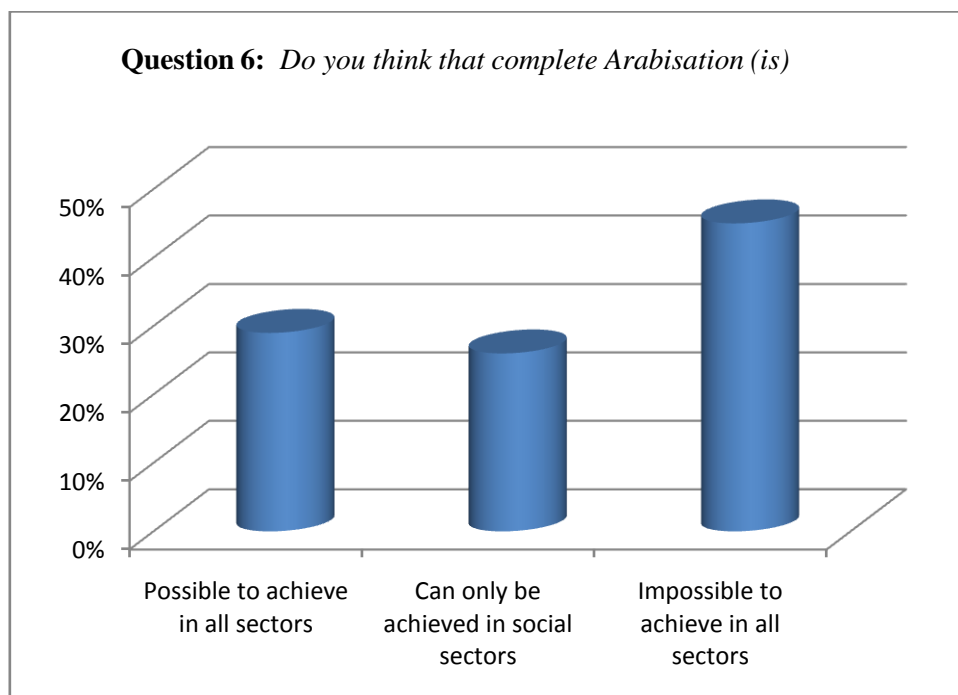
4.5.2 Section II: Attitudes towards the Arabisation Policy



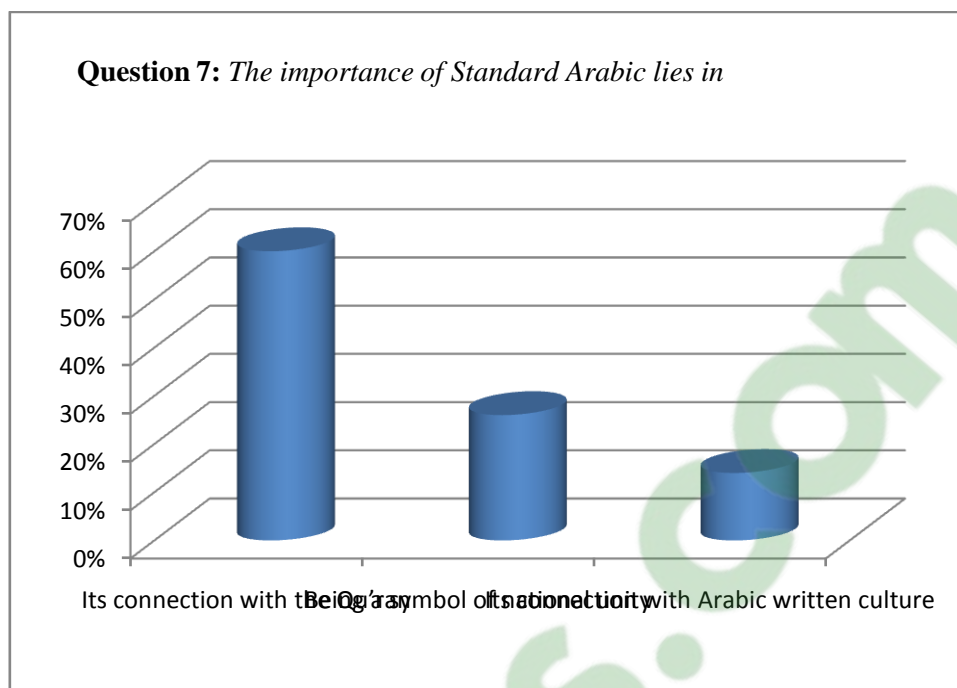
Graph 4



Graph 5



Graph 6



Graph 7

This section is particularly important in our questionnaire, since it attempts to consult the respondents' view on the Arabisation policy. Thus, we notice that almost half of the respondents 49% think that Arabisation was set without serious analysis of its feasibility i.e. the established language policy was promoted only to the extent that it serves ideological interests without giving much importance to the sociolinguistic context or the target population. Also, there are 42% who say that Arabisation is a legitimate choice since it is quite natural to replace FR, the colonial language, with SA which is a symbol of the country's Arab-Islamic identity. Only 3% of the informants claim that the present language policy is imposed and abuse of power because decisions related to language tended to come directly from the political leaders without any objective assessment of the situation and the implications of changing it.

When we asked our informants about how they perceive the Arabisation policy, we obtained 51% of the responses for Arabisation as a national principle that should be preserved and 23% of the respondents consider Arabisation as a valid language policy for Algeria; it ensures equal opportunities. The two scores show that the respondents' attitudes

towards Arabisation are generally positive. Nonetheless a total of 26% of the informants view this policy as a source of linguistic conflicts. This is particularly due to the fact that Arabisation is solely concerned with the promotion of SA without taking any measures to protect and develop the other existing languages. This may result in violent reactions to grant legal status to other existing languages and to recognize the linguistic rights to their speakers.

The results obtained on the extent of applying Arabisation reveal that around 45% of the respondents think this policy is impossible to achieve in all sectors. More precisely, a total of 26% believe that Arabisation can only be achieved in social sciences. There are important areas, particularly in the domains of science, technology and business, where French continues to be widely used. According to Hammoud (1982: 228):

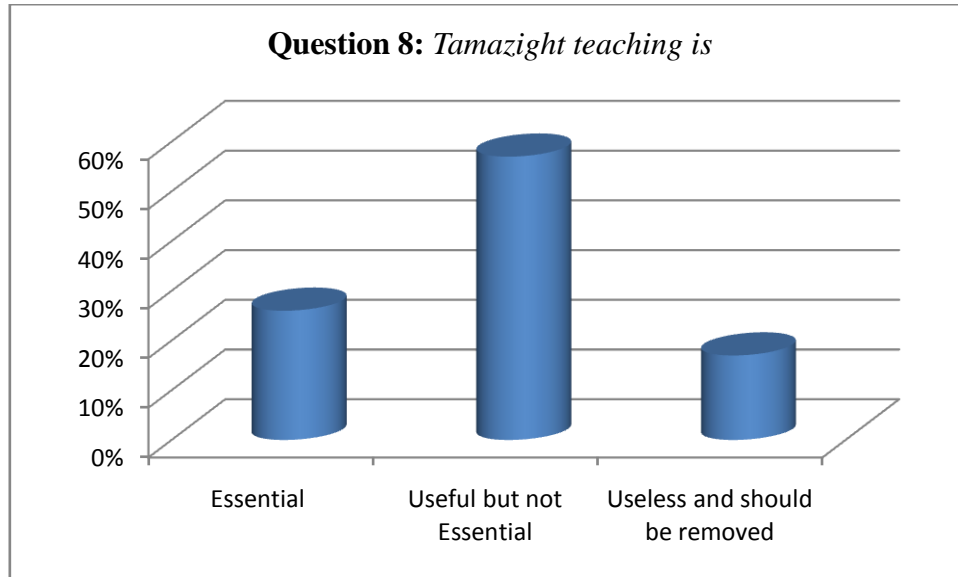
The convenient long-term reliance on French as an advanced language of wider communication and a medium facilitating access to the modern world of science and technology has made Arabisation harder and harder to achieve.

Nevertheless, 29% of the respondents maintain a pessimistic view and say that Arabisation is possible to achieve in all sectors though the attempt to replace FR totally by SA the process has always been marked by ambivalence and discontinuity.

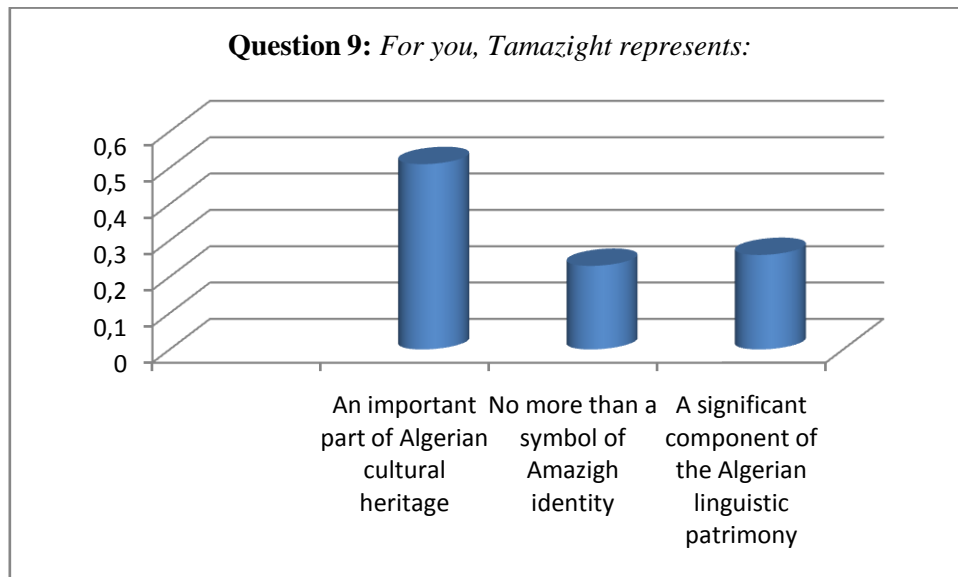
Question 7 relates to the representation that respondents have of the importance of SA. The results reflect that most of the respondents 60% attribute the importance of SA to its connection with the Qu'ran. Moreover, since the colonial period, there was a determination among Algerians to restore not only the linguistic but more importantly the religious aspect of the Algerian society. Thus, SA is highly esteemed by Algerians because of its nature: being the language associated with Islam and the sacred book, the Qu'ran. Although this language lacks the natural use that the mother tongues (Algerian Arabic and Berber) have, it is largely symbolic; 26% of the informants see that SA is important because it is a symbol of national unity, and 14% believe that the importance of SA lies in its connection with Arabic written

culture. It has always been the most potent symbol of Arab-Islamic culture and its transmission from one generation to another.

4.5.3 Section III: Attitudes towards Tamazight

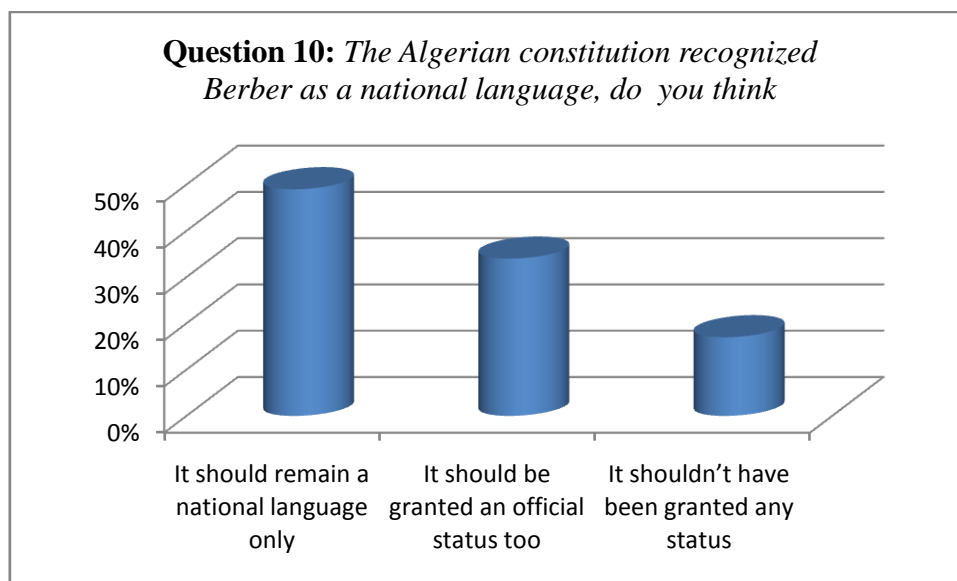


Graph 8



Graph 9

Clicours.COM



Graph 10

The graph for question 8 clearly shows that the majority of informants 57% believe that Tamazight teaching is useful but not essential. Such a view can be explained by the fact that Tamazight has not been introduced as a compulsory subject but it remains an elective course at school. Even when it has been formally recognized in the Algerian constitution as a national language, no positive action has been undertaken in favour of this language. BR has until recently remained a language with a predominantly oral character through which a vibrant oral culture is transmitted. Yet, the creation in 1990 of two departments for the study of BR language and culture in Algeria certainly opened more doors to students interested in this field (See Appendix). The universities of Tizi Ouzou (since 1990) and Bejaia (since 1991) have been responsible since then for a number of graduations in the field of BR language and literature.

There are 26% of the respondents who think that BR in teaching is essential, probably because they are aware that teaching this language would protect it and contribute to its maintenance. Furthermore, *'a close look at the situation reveals that if there is no official protection of this language, within the next few generations, its speakers will be scarce to find.'* (El Aissati, 2001: 9). Though the processes of language endangerment and language shift have threatened the vitality of Tamazight in many areas of North Africa, *'the immediate counter argument one hears is that a language that survived for thousands of years cannot disappear in such a short period of time'* (*ibid*). However, there are 17% of the

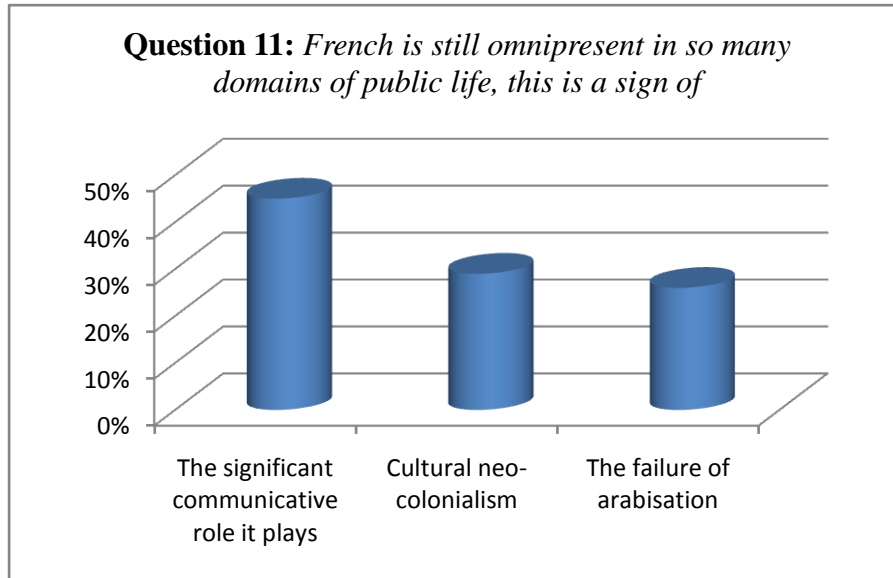
respondents who think that Tamazight in teaching is useless and should be removed. They also believe that Tamazight should not have been given any formal status in the Constitution (question 10). This rejection is, to a greater extent, the consequence of the marginalisation of Algeria's most authentic identity presented in the mother tongues: AA and BR.

According to the responses obtained for question 9, BR is seen as an important part of the Algerian cultural heritage (51%) and a significant component of the Algerian linguistic patrimony (26%). Indeed, Tamazight is a language with a rich oral tradition (songs, proverbs, riddles and stories), which is now moving closer to a literate – and possibly post-literate – culture transmitted through the modern mass media. Still, there are 23% who consider this language as no more than a symbol of Amazigh identity. There are 49% of the respondents who think Berber should remain a national language only. And 34% who think it should be granted an official status too. This last possibility is certainly in line with efforts on the part of Kabyle political activists to shape their linguistic and cultural autonomy. However, in September 2005, president Bouteflika publicly said: *'Arabic will remain the only official language of Algeria. No country in the world has two official languages and it will never be the case in Algeria where the only official language, recognised by the constitution, is Arabic. I cannot accept things that work against Algeria's interests'*. (Benchabane,2005)⁽⁴¹⁾ In response, Berber activists made public the following statement: *'[We] consider that the arguments used by the head of state to deny Tamazight the right to be an official language are complete nonsense and full of untruths. There are many states with several official languages: South Africa, with its eleven languages, is the most enlightening example'*⁽⁴²⁾ (ibid).

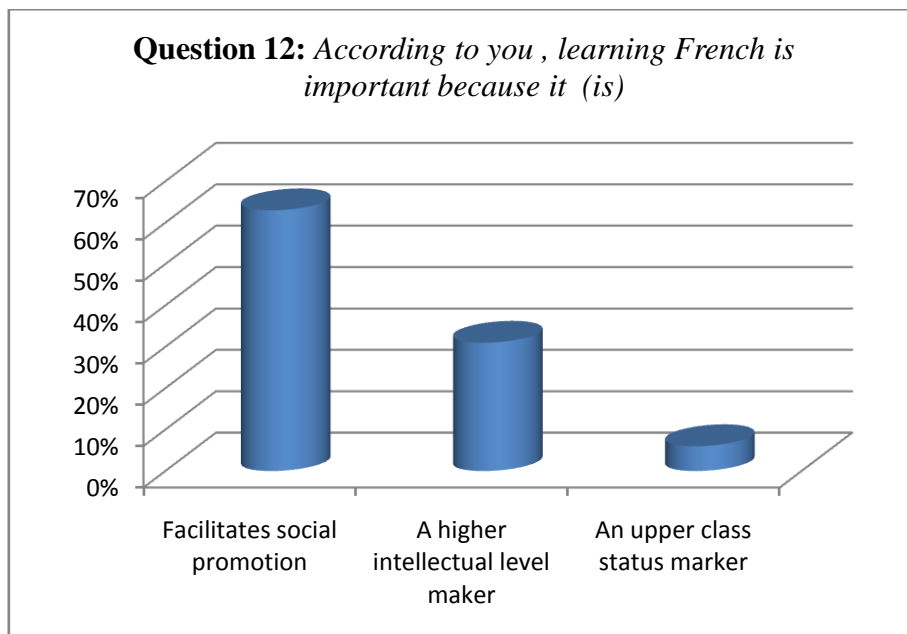
⁽⁴¹⁾ Quoted in Benrabah 2006

⁽⁴²⁾ Benrabah translation

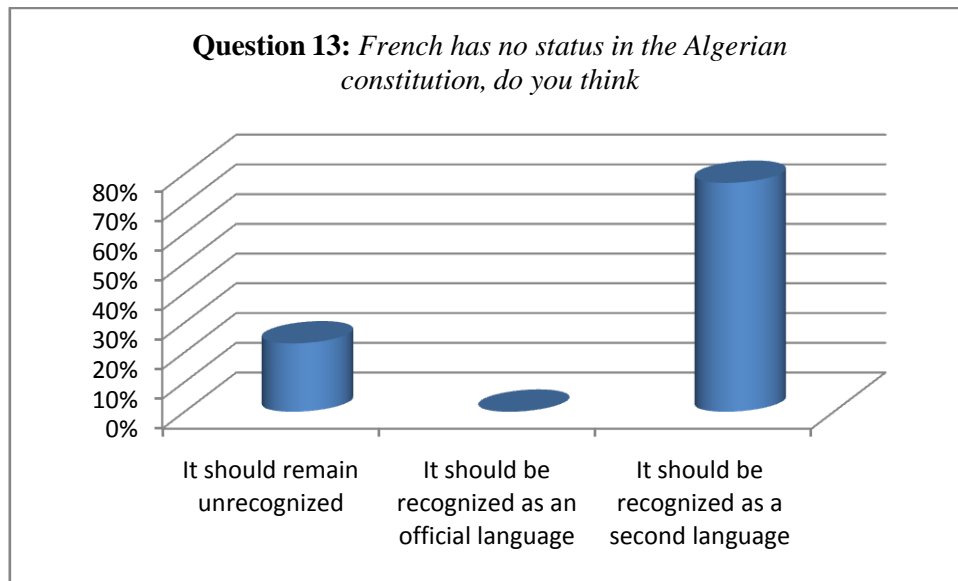
4.5.4 Section IV: Attitudes towards French



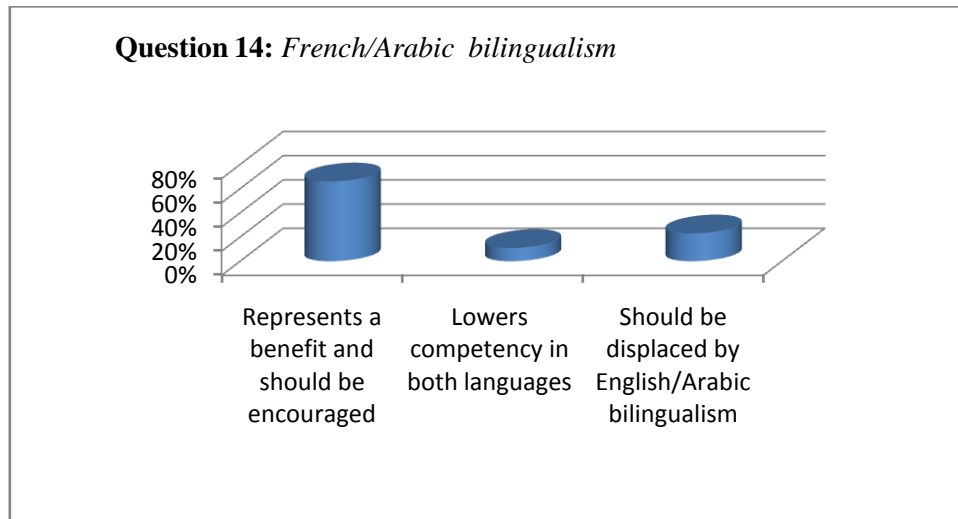
Graph 11



Graph 12



Graph 13



Graph 14

As for the use of FR in Algeria 45% of the informants think that FR still has a firm foothold at the level of individuals, groups and institutions because of the significant communicative role it plays, as Miliani argues that *'French is no longer the property of the old enemy. French as a world language is a tool (linguistic, cultural, social, economic and technical) for humanity, beyond the political borders'* (Miliani, 2001:17). Conversely, FR is still associated with colonial implications i.e., FR is a scar left by colonisation and its

continued use means a threat to the linguistic and cultural identity of the country. It is a sign of cultural neo-colonialism as it is asserted by 29% of our respondents. Besides, 26% of the answers indicate that Arabisation has not succeeded to bring an end to the use of FR in either government or education. In both sectors FR is deeply implanted.

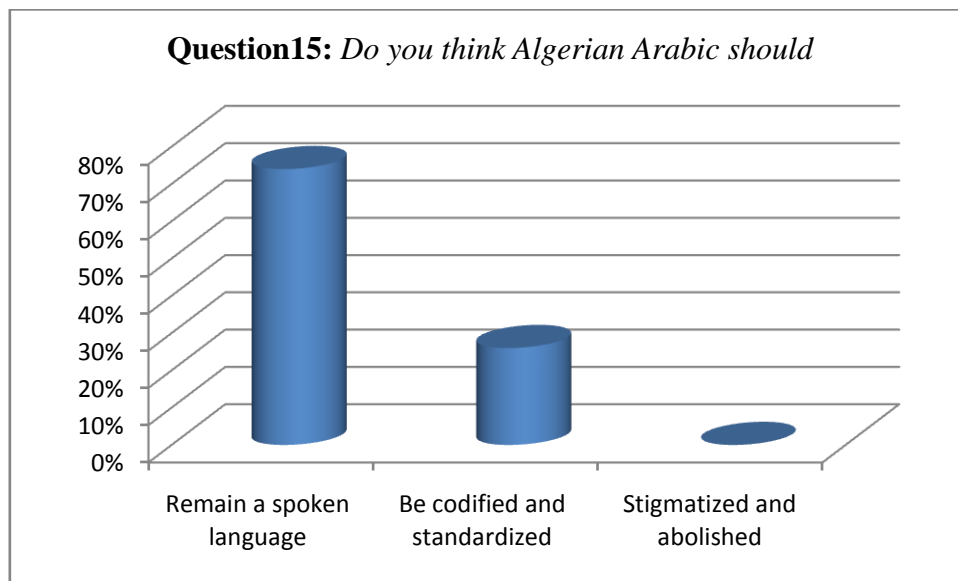
When we link the responses obtained in question 12 and 14, we can notice that French/ Arabic bilingualism is accorded high esteem by our respondents; 66% of them believe this type of bilingualism is a benefit that should be encouraged. This situation can be interpreted as a positive attitude towards learning the French language which facilitates social promotion 63%. It also represents a high intellectual marker for 31% and a high social class marker for 6%.

A tiny number of respondents (11%) hold a negative attitude towards French/ Arabic bilingualism. It is viewed as imposed by historical, political and economic factors rather than chosen. As a matter of fact, Arabic/ French bilingual education leads to a state of 'double semi-bilingualism', meaning that learners do not have an adequate grasp of both languages: SA and FR. In addition, 23% of the respondents are in favour of displacing French/ Arabic by English/Arabic bilingualism, although this option did not work out when it was introduced into primary education in 1993 under the presidency of Chadli Benjedid (See appendix II). According to Grandguillaume (2001), there was no real linguistic objective in this operation because the government was much more interested in the suppression of French than with the promotion of English.

According to the results for question (13), a large majority of the respondents (77%) believe that FR should be recognised as a second language in the Algerian constitution. They find that FR is an important medium for national and international communication, as it contributes positively to the improvement of the socioeconomic situation of the country. Whereas 33% of the respondents point out that FR should remain unrecognized. They consider this language as a hindrance to the promotion of the Arabisation policy that seeks to remove the vestiges of colonialism, namely the French language. In this respect Taleb Ibrahim contends that:

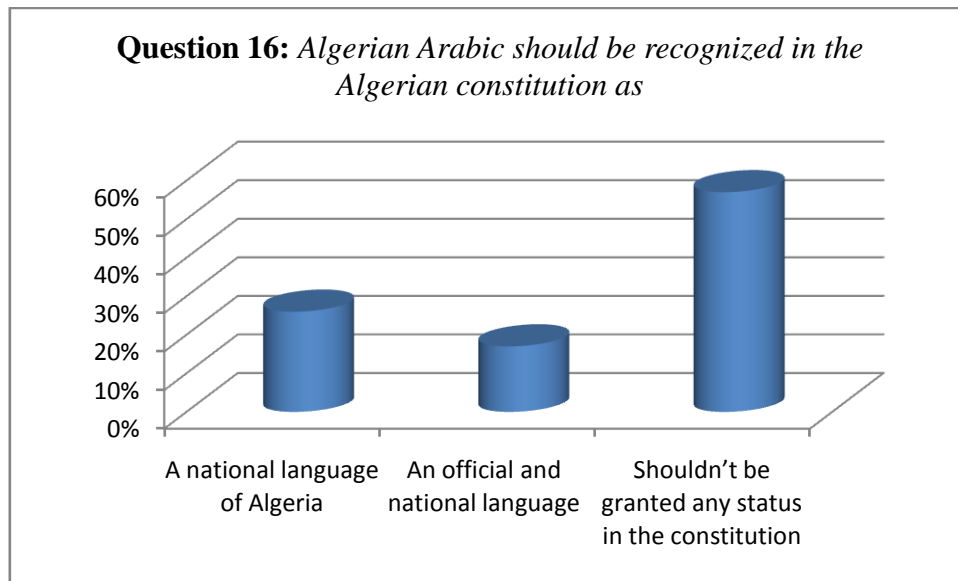
“Oscillating constantly between the status of a second language and that of a privileged foreign language, between the denial, the expressiveness of its symbolic power and the reality of its use, the ambiguity of the place assigned to the French language is one of the marked facts of the Algerian situation”. (Taleb Ibrahimi 1995:50) ⁽⁴³⁾

4.5.5 Section V: Attitudes towards Algerian Arabic



Graph 15

⁽⁴³⁾ Quoted in Ali Chaouch2006



Graph 16

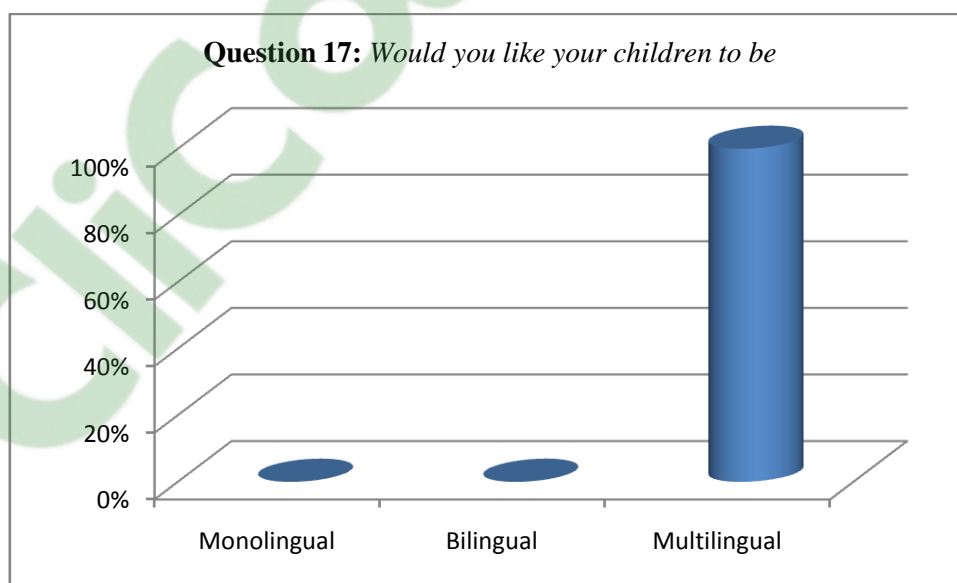
Respondents are also consulted for their views about Algerian Arabic. A total of (74%) of the answers are in favour of the idea that this language should remain a spoken language used in everyday life for colloquial purposes and for personal interactions. 26% of the informant claim that Algerian Arabic should be codified and standardised. This rating shows that a good number of the respondents are aware of the linguistic and cultural role Algerian Arabic is playing in their lives. Furthermore, the perception of lower prestige does not exclude Spoken Arabic from being the language that is actually used on a daily basis in almost every context one would encounter. More interestingly, AA is used in some formal contexts such as school where teachers find it necessary to resort to AA in teaching and explaining SA. It is also used by educated people from a higher socioeconomic class as the language of family, friendship, intimacy and informality. In 1997, a newspaper reader wrote asking for the use of AA: *'Please when you address people, use a simple language, a language that could be understood by everybody, use an Algerian Arabic'* ⁽⁴⁴⁾, addressing TV commentators and particularly politicians.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ "S'il vous plait, lorsque vous vous adressez au peuple, utilisez un langage simple, un langage à la portée de tous et de toutes, utilisez un arabe Algérien.

Similarly, the majority of respondents (57%) think that AA should not be granted any official recognition in the Algerian constitution, while (26%) believe that it should be granted a national status and (17%) for a national and official status. This lack of interest in AA and reluctance to accord it a formal status reveal the extent to which the mother tongue of Algerians undergoes stigmatisation and under evaluation. Benrabah (1999: 304) views those living in a diglossic situation as developing hostile and ambiguous attitudes towards their mother tongue. The adoption of such alienation attitudes follows the educational necessity to focus only on the standard form of Arabic. This leads to the development of a form of unawareness of the real value of the non-standard variety (AA). Moreover;

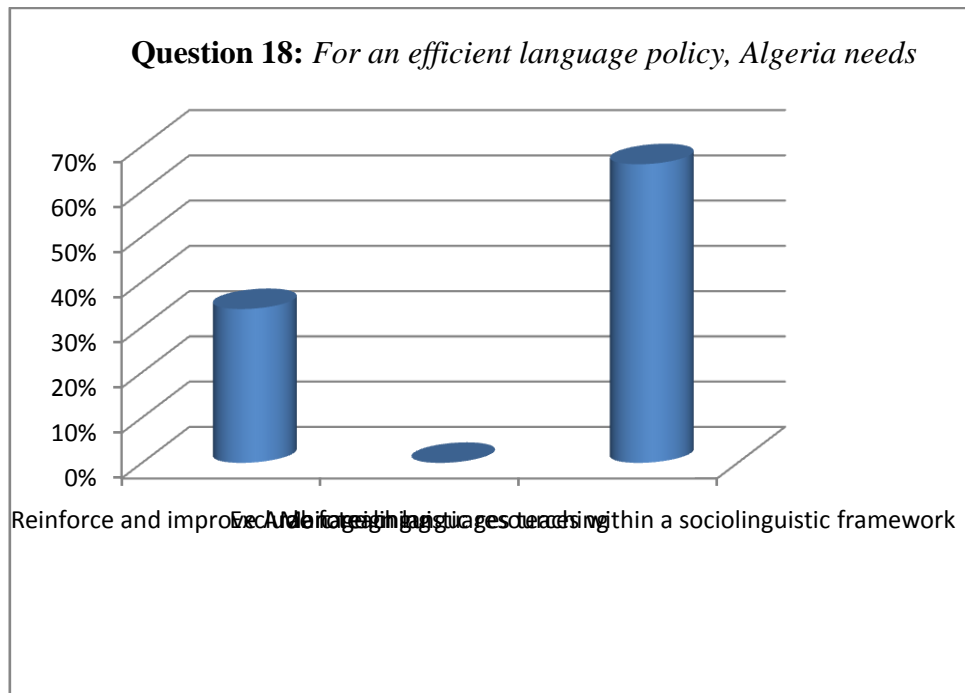
“The plurality of the languages is a priceless source of richness for the countries, like for humanity. When a language disappears, it is a part of the most valuable attributes of humanity which will die with it”⁽⁴⁵⁾

4.5.6 Section VI : The Sociolinguistic Future of Algeria

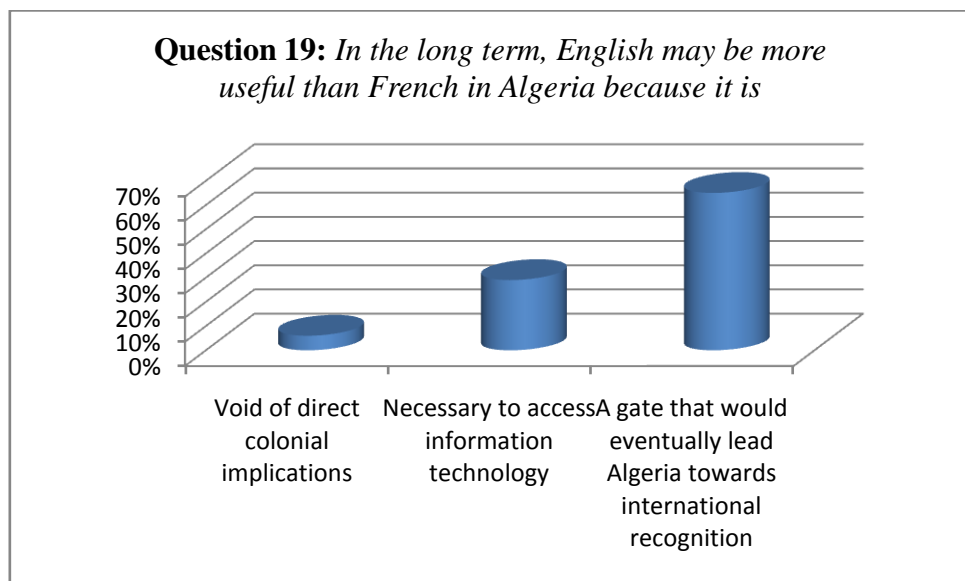


Graph 17

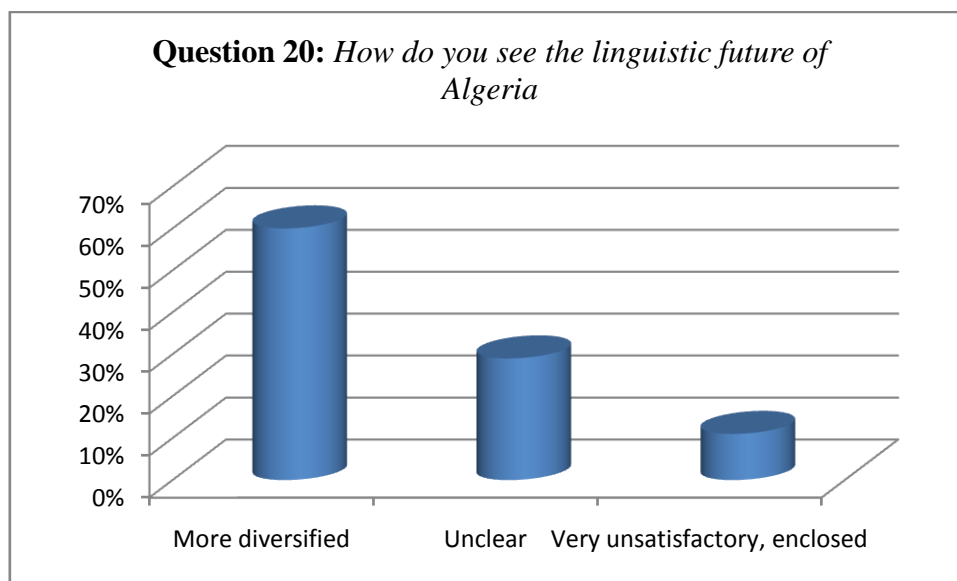
⁽⁴⁵⁾ Miguel Leon Portilla, quoted by Adriana Malvido and Rebecca Cerda, (Mexico)- In Boukli-Hacene 2006



Graph 18



Graph 19



Graph 20

Graph (16) shows the wishes of the respondents concerning the linguistic abilities of their children; all our informants prefer their children to be multilingual. In addition, 60% of the informants (Graph 20) foresee a more diversified linguistic situation in Algeria in the future. Henceforth, it would be a fair generalisation to say that Algerians assign great importance to multilingualism, as this latter is no longer perceived as a societal pathology or deformity but as valuable resources upon which the country can draw profitably (socially, culturally, and economically). It introduces a great openness and tolerance vis-à-vis other languages and cultures, as it is certain to do. Linguistic diversity is necessary. The use or knowledge of two or more languages promotes cultural richness and exalts human diversity. For example, Crystal emphasizes that:

'Preservation of linguistic diversity is essential, for language lies at the heart of what it means to be human. If the development of multiple cultures is so important, then the role of languages becomes critical, for cultures are chiefly transmitted through spoken and written languages' (Crystal 2000: 33-34).

However, 29% of the respondents point out that the sociolinguistic future of Algeria is unclear, and 11% predict a very unsatisfactory and enclosed linguistic future. Probably, this

would surely be the case if the government continues to promote monolingualism at the expense of Algerians' mother tongues and existing foreign languages.

For an efficient language policy, 66% of the informants think that Algeria needs to manage its linguistic resources within a linguistic framework rather than a political one. (33%) see that Algeria should reinforce and improve Arabic teaching. This means that language planning decisions must not be solely inspired by political and ideological motives, but more importantly such decisions have to take into consideration the sociolinguistic parameters, including the quality of teaching languages and particularly Standard Arabic.

With respect to question 19 we tried to set up the hypothesis that, in the long term, English may be more useful than French in Algeria. Thus, 65% of our respondents agree that this is possible since English represents a gate that would eventually lead Algeria towards international recognition, 29% see that English is necessary to access information technology. 6% think that the use of English may be promoted simply because it is seen as a more 'neutral' language in terms of direct colonial implications.

4.6 Conclusion

From the overall results, it can be surmised that the respondents value the principles underlying Arabisation, but for practical purpose they want French to remain in use, in the sense that Standard Arabic holds the sacred and unifying character of national identity while French enjoys the international prestige as a language of modernisation and development.

Clearly, the respondents are quite divided in terms of their answers on the statuses that should be granted to Algerian Arabic and Berber however, they seem to value their native languages because of their strong commitment to maintaining their culture and identity. Here is an area where language policy should focus because the current socio-cultural weight of Algerian Arabic and Berber is extremely important. Thus, there is a need to develop a systematic policy that aims at fostering positive attitudes towards Algerians' first languages.

Interestingly, respondents expressed their positive attitudes towards multilingualism and future use of English as an important asset in today's globalizing world, since it is useful for science, education and business among other reasons. It is important to add that these linguistic and non-linguistic needs and requirements influence largely language use, language preferences, attitudes, and, to a large extent, the strength of motivation to learn languages.

Finally, in the light of the above findings, there is no question for Algeria to adopt a language policy that stresses multilingualism and therefore contributes in shaping positive and healthy attitudes for the understanding of different cultures and the improvement of cross-border communication. In fact, it is high time to undertake a language planning strategy that promotes tolerance, equality, and harmony.

General Conclusion

This study shows that Algeria has significant language resources which can be equated with other national resources. Standard Arabic, French, Algerian Arabic, and Berber are all important constituents of a very rich and dynamic Algerian language terrain. Then they deserve intelligent and methodical planning for their preservation, development, and enrichment through clearly designed, rational, and coherent language policies.

This study highlights also significant trends in language planning and language policy theories. It shows that, in designing language planning and language policy, especially in post independent countries, it is essential to understand the features of the people for whom the language decisions are made. For example, some of these characteristics are:

- understanding the socio-demographic make up;
- analysing the colonial legacy;
- taking into account the historical experience;
- assessing the changing language needs of the people; and
- incorporating the international communication requirements.

Language planning and language policy may be described as delicate decision-making processes that require a careful analysis of the linguistic needs of the people. Furthermore, the needs' identification should be guided by two essential factors. First, the local factors which require a sound understanding of the demographic structure of the population and the inclusion in the language planning and the language policy design of all aspects of local cultures and languages, especially in the corpus planning, status planning, and prestige planning phases. The purpose is to give expression to local cultures and reinforce and develop a sense of national identity. The second factor, equally as important as the first, it is to take into account the international communication constraints. In this, the teaching of international languages should be a central part in language planning and language policy, especially with regard to acquisition planning. A fine balance between national language needs and international communication constraints may yield successful language planning and language policy that would foster a harmonious economic and social development.

Fundamentally, language planning is future-oriented given that it seeks, among other things, to alter behaviours and attitudes. Therefore, it should be flexible in order to bring

effective answers to constantly changing language needs. In the same way, It is important to focus on behavioural and attitudinal changes of Algerian people, namely towards their first languages: Algerian Arabic and Berber. It is important for policy-makers in Algeria to engage in language policies focusing on prestige planning and status planning (mother tongues) and acquisition planning (both mother tongues and foreign languages). Our research results indicate that it is important to consider enhancing significantly the status and the role of Algerian Arabic and Berber. Essentially, efforts should be made towards giving the speakers' native languages a greater place at the primary levels of the education system. Language policy in Algeria cannot be conceived without a preponderant role for Algerian Arabic and Berber; it is through these two languages that Algerians draw their sense of national belonging i.e. it is through Algerian Arabic and Berber that our customs and traditions are maintained and our culture is replicated and transmitted from one generation to the next. Therefore, Algerians should be aware that the death of a language is a significant loss because it implies a loss of inherited knowledge.

There is a need to organise information campaigns to initiate social changes in favour of Algerian Arabic and Berber, especially regarding the validity of their introduction in the educational system and their benefits for the nation. These information campaigns would target some sections of the society and some parents who are reluctant to accept the idea of giving more weight to mother tongues in education. They should be well-informed about the positive benefits associated with early education in mother tongues since it facilitates the learning process and makes access to knowledge easier. In addition, as mentioned earlier, those languages are also preferred in order to maintain and sustain greater and more effective communication. The campaigns can be organised through public information sessions, discussions and debates on TV and radio, and advertising campaigns. They may also be supported and encouraged by opinion leaders, religious groups, and language and cultural associations.

In addition, taking into account the strong penchant of the Algerian educated elite for the French language and culture, and the Algeria's attachment to its economic, educational and cultural ties with France, French is also significant for its weight as an international means of communication and access knowledge, to science and technology; a common sense conclusion would suggest further research on the status of French in Algeria in

order to evaluate its impact on the society and to understand its socio-economic implications for the country. In the same way, it is legitimate to ask whether people will continue to accept the imposition of Standard Arabic as the only official language in the country. In other words, the current linguistic drive and its focus on one language as the exclusive language of education seems to contradict the idea of giving all Algerian people the same opportunities and equal access to services, information, and education. The current language issue in Algeria tends to widen the linguistic divide between Algerians by creating two parallel societies, when the focus should be on language for all. On one hand, there are people who are more educated in French, thus having access to higher positions, education, and job opportunities and mobility, while there are more and more people literate or semi-literate in Standard Arabic who certainly have less access to these various services and have fewer socio-economic and education opportunities.

From the overall findings, respondents seem to be generally in favour of maintaining bilingualism and they highly esteem multilingualism. Generally speaking, there is a clear indication of the increasing importance of English in Algeria because of its role as an international language to intensify economic and business performances between different countries. As a result, there is an urgent need to reinforce and strengthen English teaching in Algeria and provide opportunities to learn English for people in education, in business, in administration and private sectors, and for Algerians in general.

The study illustrates that, though language planning and language policy are country-specific, there are more and more solid grounds to move away from a single national language policy and language planning to address language issues according to the specific needs and aspirations of the various speech communities based on their sociolinguistic experience while integrating the changing nature of human needs and compelling changes for international communication. Therefore, any clearly informed language policy should aim at making an end to the rivalry relation between Standard Arabic and the other existing languages which are generally considered as a threat to the former. A recommended policy would couple the promotion of Arabisation with a strong focus on foreign languages acquisition. It should also enhance the prestige and image of Algerian Arabic and Berber and should attempt real attitudes changes towards these languages. The result should be a strong multilingual experience in a more tolerant and harmonious nation.

Of course, bringing changes in behaviours and attitudes is not an overnight activity; it is rather a long process that requires constant and continuous efforts. Thus, in designing language planning and developing language policies, some factors, such as a thorough identification of the needs and aspirations of people, a good understanding of their attitudes toward languages, and a clear vision of the future are essential. In order to meet these demands, it is crucial that language planning activities should be conducted by people who have knowledge and expertise in the areas of applied linguistics or language policies in general. They should be trained in language policy and language planning and their implementation procedures. They should be familiarised with the objectives and goals, the implementation strategies, and the evaluation process of the national language policy in the country through regular workshops, seminars, and short courses. Attending such training programmes should be made compulsory in order to coordinate better the language policy.

Furthermore, in the light of the discussion above, understanding that today's linguistic world picture is not an accident in history or an ordinary phenomenon is important. The domination of the languages of wider communication appears to be the result of careful, deliberate and purposeful language change strategies whose aims are, among others, to maintain a cultural domination and an ideological dependence for economic and linguistic benefits. As a result, the explosion of language and culture spread by bodies such as the British Council centres, the Alliance Française in many parts of the world and affiliated or similar institutions around the world are phenomenal.

This thesis has focused its analysis on the importance, status, and future of the languages that are predominantly used by Algerians. It is a modest contribution to the understanding of language issues in Algeria. Though based on a limited sample and specific aspects of the Algerian sociolinguistic situation, it can help one to understand language issues in the country. The recommendations formulated in the thesis can help improve strategic language planning and language policy decisions in Algeria.

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- <http://sil.org/linguistics/linguistics.html>

Questionnaire

Sex :

Age :

Language of instruction :

Level of instruction :

Would you please tick where appropriate:

1- Do you consider Algeria as a

Monolingual country ☐

Bilingual country ☐

Multilingual country ☐

2- Which language, do you think, Algerians should use most?

Standard Arabic ☐

French ☐

Algerian Arabic ☐

Berber ☐

3- In order to carry out successfully your work/studies, you need a good command of:

Standard Arabic ☐

French ☐

Algerian Arabic ☐

Berber ☐

others.....

4- Do you think that Arabisation is

A legitimate choice ☐

Imposed and abuse of power ☐

Set without serious analysis of its feasibility ☐

5- According to you, Arabisation policy is

A source of linguistic conflicts ☐

A national principle that should be preserved ☐

A valid policy for Algeria, it ensures equal opportunities and social justice ☐

6- Do you think that complete Arabisation (is)

Possible to achieve in all sectors ☐

Can only be achieved in social sectors ☐

Impossible to achieve in all sectors ☐

7- The importance of standard Arabic lies in

Its connection with the Qu'ran ☐

Being a symbol of national unity ☐

Its connection with Arabic written culture ☐

8-Tamazight teaching is

Essential ☐ Useful but not Essential ☐ useless and should be removed ☐

9-For you, Tamazight represents

An important part of Algerian Cultural heritage ☐ No more than symbol of Amazigh identity ☐

A significant component of the Algerian linguistic patrimony ☐

10- Algerian constitution recognized Berber as a national language, do you think

It should remain a national language only ☐ it should be granted an official status too ☐

It shouldn't have been granted any status ☐

11-French is still omnipresent in so many domains of public life, this is a sign of

The significant communicative role it plays ☐ Cultural neo-colonialism ☐

The failure of Arabisation ☐

12-According to you, learning French is important because it (is)

Facilitates social promotion ☐

A higher intellectual level marker ☐

An upper class status marker ☐

13-French has no status in the Algerian constitution, do you think

It should remain unrecognized ☐

It should be recognized as an official language ☐

It should be recognized as a second language ☐

14-French /Arabic bilingualism

Represents a benefit and should be encouraged ☐

Lowers competency in both languages ☐

Should be displaced by English/Arabic bilingualism ☐

15-Do you think Algerian Arabic should

Remain a spoken language ☐

be codified and standardized ☐

Be stigmatized and abolished ☐

16- Algerian Arabic should be recognized in the Algerian constitution as

A national language of Algeria ☐ An official and national language ☐

Shouldn't be granted any status in the constitution ☐

17- Would you like your children to be

Monolingual ☐

Bilingual ☐

Multilingual ☐

18-For an efficient language policy, Algeria needs to

Reinforce and improve Arabic teaching ☐ Exclude foreign languages teaching ☐

Manage linguistic resources within a sociolinguistic framework rather than a political one. ☐

19-In the long term, English may be more useful than French in Algeria because it is

Void of direct colonial implications ☐ necessary to access information technology ☐

A gate that would eventually lead Algeria toward international recognition ☐

20-How do you see the linguistic future of Algeria?

More diversified ☐

unclear ☐

very unsatisfactory, enclosed ☐

Loi no 05-91 datée du 30 jamadi second de l'année 1411, correspondant au 16 janvier 1991 et comprenant la généralisation de l'utilisation de la langue arabe

Nous, président de la République,

Se basant sur la Constitution et notamment sur les articles 3, 58, 80, 115, 117 et 155 de cette constitution.

Vu l'ordonnance no 66-154 datée du 18 sefer de l'année 1386 correspondant au 8 juin 1966 comprenant la Loi des procédures civiles, modifiée et complétée.

Vu l'ordonnance no 66-155 datée du 18 sefer de l'année 1386 correspondant au 8 juin 1966 comprenant la Loi des procédures pénales, modifiée et complétée.

Promulguons la loi dont la teneur suit :

Chapitre I

DISPOSITIONS GÉNÉRALES

Article 1er

La présente loi a pour objet de fixer les règles générales de l'utilisation, la promotion et la protection de la langue arabe dans les différents domaines de la vie nationale.

Article 2

1) La langue arabe est une composante de la personnalité nationale authentique et une constante de la nation.

2) Son usage traduit un aspect de souveraineté. Son utilisation est d'ordre public.

Article 3

1) Toutes les institutions doivent œuvrer à la promotion et à la protection de la langue arabe et veiller à sa pureté et à sa bonne utilisation.

2) Il est interdit de transcrire la langue arabe en caractères autres que les caractères arabes.

Chapitre II

DOMAINES D'APPLICATION

Article 4

Les administrations publiques, les institutions, les entreprises et les associations, quelle que soit leur nature, sont tenues d'utiliser la seule langue arabe dans l'ensemble de leurs activités telles que la communication, la gestion administrative, financière, technique et artistique.

Article 5

- 1) Tous les documents officiels, les rapports, et les procès-verbaux des administrations publiques, des institutions, des entreprises et des associations sont rédigés en langue arabe.
- 2) L'utilisation de toute langue étrangère dans les délibérations et débats des réunions officielles est interdite.

Article 6

- 1) Les actes sont rédigés exclusivement en langue arabe.
- 2) L'enregistrement et la publicité d'un acte sont interdits si cet acte est rédigé dans une langue autre que la langue arabe.

Article 7

- 1) Les requêtes, les consultations et les plaidoiries au sein des juridictions, sont en langue arabe.
- 2) Les décisions de justice et les jugements, les avis et les décisions du Conseil constitutionnel et de la Cour des comptes, sont rendus ou établis dans la seule langue arabe.

Article 8

Les concours professionnels et les examens de recrutement pour l'accès à l'emploi dans les administrations et entreprises doivent se dérouler en langue arabe.

Article 9

- 1) Les sessions et séminaires nationaux ainsi que les stages professionnels et de formation et les manifestations publiques se déroulent en langue arabe.
- 2) Il peut être fait usage de langues étrangères de façon exceptionnelle et parallèlement à la langue arabe, lors des conférences, rencontres et manifestations à caractère international.

Article 10

Sont établis exclusivement en langue arabe les sceaux, timbres et signes officiels spécifiques aux institutions, administrations publiques et entreprises, quelle que soit leur nature.

Article 11

Toutes les correspondances des administrations, institutions et entreprises doivent être rédigées exclusivement en langue arabe.

Article 12

- 1) Les relations des administrations, institutions, entreprises et associations avec l'étranger

ne s'effectuent en langue arabe.

2) Les traités et conventions sont conclus en langue arabe.

Article 13

Le Journal officiel de la République algérienne démocratique et populaire est édité exclusivement en langue arabe.

Article 14

Le Journal officiel des débats de l'Assemblée populaire nationale est édité exclusivement en langue arabe.

Article 15

L'enseignement, l'éducation et la formation dans tous les secteurs, dans tous les cycles et dans toutes les spécialités sont dispensés en langue arabe, sous réserve des modalités d'enseignement des langues étrangères.

Article 16

1) Sous réserve des dispositions de l'article 13 de la Loi relative à l'information destinée aux citoyens, l'information doit être en langue arabe.

2) L'information spécialisée ou destinée à l'étranger peut être en langues étrangères.

Article 17

Les films cinématographiques et/ou télévisuels ainsi que les émissions culturelles et scientifiques sont diffusés en langue arabe ou traduits ou doublés.

Article 18

1) Sous réserve des dispositions de la loi relative à l'information, toutes les déclarations, interventions et conférences ainsi que toutes les émissions télévisuelles se déroulent en langue arabe.

2) Elles sont traduites si elles sont en langues étrangères.

Article 19

1) La publicité, sous quelque forme qu'elle soit, se fait en langue arabe.

2) Il peut être fait à titre exceptionnel, le cas échéant, usage de langues étrangères parallèlement à la langue arabe, après autorisation des parties compétentes.

Article 20

1) Sous réserve d'une transcription esthétique et d'une expression correcte, les enseignes, les panneaux, les slogans, les symboles, les panneaux publicitaires ainsi que toute inscription lumineuse, sculptée ou gravée indiquant un établissement, un organisme, une entreprise ou un local et/ou mentionnant l'activité qui s'y exerce, sont exprimés dans la seule langue arabe.

2) Il peut être fait usage de langues étrangères parallèlement à la langue arabe dans les centres touristiques classés.

Article 21

Sont imprimés en langue arabe et en plusieurs langues étrangères et à condition que la langue arabe soit mise en évidence, les documents, imprimés, emballages et boîtes comportant des indications techniques, modes d'emploi, composantes, concernant notamment :

- les produits pharmaceutiques,
- les produits chimiques,
- les produits dangereux,
- les appareils de sauvetage et de lutte contre les incendies et les calamités.

Article 22

1) Les noms et indications concernant les produits, marchandises et services et tous objets fabriqués, importés ou commercialisés en Algérie sont établis en langue arabe.

2) Il peut être fait usage de langues étrangères à titre complémentaire.

Chapitre III

ORGANES D'EXÉCUTION, DE SUIVI ET DE SOUTIEN

Article 23

1) Il est créé auprès du chef du gouvernement un organe national d'exécution, chargé du suivi et de l'application des dispositions de la présente loi.

2) Sa composition et les modalités de son fonctionnement seront fixées par voie réglementaire.

Article 24

Le gouvernement présente dans le cadre de la communication annuelle à l'Assemblée populaire nationale un exposé détaillé sur la généralisation et la promotion de la langue arabe.

Article 25

Les assemblées élues et les associations veillent dans les limites de leurs prérogatives au

suivi de l'opération de généralisation et à la bonne utilisation de la langue arabe.

Article 26

L'Académie algérienne de langue arabe veille à l'enrichissement, la promotion et le développement de la langue arabe pour assurer son rayonnement.

Article 27

Il est créé un centre national chargé de:

- généraliser l'utilisation de la langue arabe par tous les moyens disponibles modernes,
- traduire les recherches scientifiques et technologiques éditées en langues étrangères et assurer leur publication en langue arabe,
- traduire les documents officiels sur demande,
- assurer le doublage des films scientifiques, culturels et documentaires,
- concrétiser les recherches théoriques de l'Académie algérienne de la langue arabe et des autres académies arabes.

Article 28

1) L'État décerne des prix aux meilleures recherches scientifiques réalisées en langue arabe.

2) Les modalités d'application du présent article seront fixées par voie réglementaire.

Chapitre IV

DISPOSITIONS PÉNALES

Article 29

1) Tout document officiel préparé dans une autre langue que l'arabe est considéré comme nul et non avenu.

2) La partie ayant rédigé ou authentifié ledit document assume l'entière responsabilité des effets qui en découlent.

Article 30

Toute violation des dispositions de la présente loi constitue une faute grave entraînant des sanctions disciplinaires.

Article 31

Toute infraction aux dispositions des articles 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 et 22 est passible d'une amende de 5000 à 10 000 DA.

Article 32

- 1) Quiconque signe un document rédigé dans une langue autre que la langue arabe, lors de l'exercice de ses fonctions officielles, est passible d'une amende de 1000 à 5000 DA.
- 2) Toutefois, il est possible de signer des documents traduits destinés à l'étranger.

Article 33

- 1) Les responsables des entreprises privées, les commerçants et les artisans qui contreviennent aux dispositions de la présente loi sont passibles d'une amende de 1000 à 5000 DA (dinars algériens).
- 2) En cas de récidive, il est procédé à la fermeture temporaire ou définitive du local ou de l'entreprise.

Article 34

- 1) Les associations à caractère politique qui contreviennent aux dispositions de la présente loi sont passibles d'une amende de 10 000 à 100 000 DA (dinars algériens).
- 2) En cas de récidive, il leur est fait application des dispositions de l'article 33 de la loi n° 89-11 du 5 juillet 1989 relative aux associations à caractère politique.

Article 35

Toute personne ayant un intérêt matériel ou moral dans l'application de la présente loi peut intenter un recours auprès des autorités administratives ou une action en justice contre tout acte contraire aux dispositions de la présente loi.

Chapitre V

DISPOSITIONS TRANSITOIRES

Article 36

Les dispositions de la présente loi entreront en vigueur dès la publication de la présente loi et en tout état de cause au plus tard le 5 juillet 1992.

Article 37

L'enseignement dans la seule langue arabe dans les établissements et instituts d'enseignement supérieur entrera en vigueur à compter de la première année universitaire 1991/1992 et se poursuivra jusqu'à l'arabisation totale et définitive au plus tard le 5 juillet 1994.

Article 38

- 1) Les rapports, analyses et ordonnances médicales sont établis en langue arabe.
- 2) Toutefois, et à titre exceptionnel, ils peuvent être établis en langue étrangère jusqu'à l'arabisation définitive des sciences médicales et pharmaceutiques.

Article 39

Il est interdit aux organismes et entreprises d'importer les équipements d'informatique et de télex et tout équipement destiné à l'impression et la frappe s'ils ne comportent pas des caractères arabes.

Chapitre VI

DISPOSITIONS FINALES

Article 40

Sont abrogées les dispositions de l'ordonnance n° 68-92 du 26 avril 1968 portant obligation de la connaissance de la langue arabe par les fonctionnaires, les dispositions de l'ordonnance n° 73-55 du 1er octobre 1973 portant arabisation des sceaux nationaux ainsi que toutes les dispositions contraires à la présente loi.

Article 41

La présente loi sera publiée au Journal officiel de la République algérienne démocratique et populaire.

Fait à Alger, le 16 janvier 1991.

Chadli BENDJEDID

La loi no 05-91 datée du 30 jamadi second de l'année 1411, correspondant au 16 janvier 1991 et comprenant la généralisation de l'utilisation de la langue arabe est sans précédent depuis l'indépendance de l'Algérie. Cette loi vise à exclure l'usage et la pratique du français dans l'Administration publique, le monde de l'éducation (incluant les universités, les hôpitaux, les secteurs socio-économiques, etc.). Elle vise également à évincer l'élite francisée. En définitive, la loi de 1991 impose l'usage unique de la langue arabe, interdit toute « langue étrangère » et prévoit pour les contrevenants de fortes amendes équivalentes à 1500 DA. Cette 'loi scélérate' a pour but non seulement d'accélérer et d'intensifier le processus d'arabisation, mais surtout de supprimer définitivement le berbère (en particulier le Tamazight).

Le gouvernement algérien avait imposé le 5 Juillet 1998 (Date anniversaire de l'indépendance) comme date limite pour l'arabisation de tous les aspects de la vie algérienne (administration, affaires, média, éducation, etc.).

Chronology of events, political developments and decisions concerning language planning in Algeria (1962-2005)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Events, political developments and decisions/declarations</i>
1962	<p>18 March, the Evian Agreements signed by the French government and the Algerian revolutionary leadership.</p> <p>June, the Tripoli Programme declares: '[The role of the Revolution] is above all [. . .] to restore to Arabic – the very expression of the cultural values of our country – its dignity and its efficacy as a language of civilisation.'</p> <p>21 August, the Ulemas demanded that Islam and the Arabic language be the major constituent parts of the Algerian people's identity.</p> <p>5 October, Ben Bella declared that Arabic was to be introduced in the educational system (primary cycle) during the next school year.</p> <p>November–December, Arabisation gives rise to controversy in the press.</p> <p>15 December, the High Commission for Educational Reform met for the first time: one of its recommendations was gradual Arabisation.</p>
1963	<p>12 June, the National Assembly passed a motion in favour of Arabisation: Arabic introduced as the working language for the parliament (development of translation).</p> <p>20 June, the Minister of Education declared open literacy campaign in French. He was criticised by a Ulema member (Mohamed El Mili).</p> <p>August, the National Assembly called for 'the use of Arabic in all administrations at the same level as French'.</p> <p>5–12 August, the Third Conference of Arab Teachers held in Algiers. Delegates approved of Algeria's gradual approach to Arabising the educational system and declared that an overhasty Arabisation would lead to undesirable results.</p> <p>September, Arabic became obligatory in all school programmes and at all levels: 10 hours a week (of a total of 30 hours) in primary cycle.</p> <p>10 September, the first Constitution Adopted; Article 5 states: 'Arabic is the national and official language of the state'; Article 73: 'French can be used provisionally along with Arabic'.</p> <p>29 September, Hocine Aït Ahmed formed an opposition party, the Socialist Forces Front (FFS), and led fellow Kabylis into an armed struggle against the government.</p>
1964	<p>Arabic is introduced as a working language in Parliament.</p> <p>5 January, meeting in Algiers of the first Islamist association: the Association Al-Qiyam.</p> <p>January, controversy over the status of Arabic in the University of Algiers: creation of the Islamic Institute, and modification of the structure of the Bachelor's degree in Arabic which had given rise to controversy.</p> <p>22 May, creation by decree of the High School of Interpreting and Translation.</p> <p>1 June, the first volume of the Official Journal published in Arabic.</p> <p>September, creation of the National Centre for Literacy.</p> <p>September, Arabisation of the First Grade in primary cycle and the volume of Arabic teaching rose to 10 hours in all other levels.</p> <p>September, implementation of the educational system of religious instruction.</p> <p>30 September, the Minister of Religious Affairs opened the first Islamic Institute in Kabylia.</p> <p>21 October, the Ministry of Education recruits 1000 Egyptian teachers.</p>
1965	<p>19 June, Military <i>coup d'état</i> led by Colonel Houari Boumediene: Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi (Ulema member) became Minister of National Education.</p>
1966	<p>February, the foundation of the national publishing house named SNED.</p> <p>8 June, Rulings N° 66-154 and N° 66-155 specified the role and place of the Arabic language in the judiciary.</p> <p>10 August, a group of Berberist militants living in Paris set up the statutes for the Berber Academy or the Berber Association for Cultural Exchange and Research (known by its French initials ABERC).</p>

1967	<p>11 August, the Minister of National Education denounced the teachers' opposition to Arabisation.</p> <p>September, total arabisation of Grade Two in primary education.</p> <p>September, Mouloud Mammeri is informally allowed to restore the Chair of the Berber studies at Algiers University.</p> <p>October, newsreel in cinemas are Arabised.</p> <p>Ruling N° 67-191 introduced tax exemption for the edition and importation of books in Arabic.</p> <p>A survey carried out by the University of Berkeley under the auspices of the Department of Planning shows that 80% of the youth are against the Arabisation of university learning.</p>
1968	<p>26 April, Decree N° 68-95 required all civil servants to learn the national official language by the 1st January 1971.</p> <p>April, creation of the Circle for Berber Studies (CEB) in the University of Algiers.</p> <p>15 October, Decree N° 68-588 makes obligatory evaluation in Arabic for all exams in university Faculties of Letters and Human Sciences.</p>
1969	<p>2 May, a group of Berberist militants living in France form the Berber Academy (<i>Agraw Imazighen</i>).</p> <p>September, the University of Algiers opened an arabised section in the Faculty of Law and an Arabised Bachelor's course in history.</p> <p>5 December, creation of the National Commission for the Reform of the educational system and a sub-commission for Arabisation.</p>
1970	<p>12 February, Ministerial decree 'setting the levels of competence in the national language needed by personnel in public administration, local authorities and various institutions'.</p> <p>11 April, a presidential circular reminding civil servants not to refuse circulars in Arabic.</p> <p>21 July, the Ministry of Education split into three ministries: the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, the Ministry of Higher Education, and the Ministry of Islamic Education.</p>
1971	<p>7 January, meeting of the Council of Ministers: decree for the implementation of Arabisation was discussed. 1971 was declared as the 'year of Arabisation'.</p> <p>20 January, Ruling 71-2 extends the 26 April 1968 Decree (N° 68-95) for all personnel of public administrations to be arabised.</p> <p>April, the yearly Colloquium of senior executives of the Ministry of Education on Arabisation; three decisions: (1) total arabisation of Third and Fourth Grades in primary cycle; (2) total Arabisation of one-third of courses in the First year in Middle school; (3) total Arabisation of one third of courses in scientific disciplines in secondary schools.</p> <p>27 June, the Ministry of Justice issued a decree making Arabic the unique language of the judicial system.</p> <p>25 August, Ministerial decree for the Arabisation of institutions of the Ministry of Higher Education.</p> <p>September, creation of the Permanent Committee for Higher Education.</p> <p>September, the Ministry of Islamic Education opened 20 Islamic High Schools and creates the degree (Baccalaureate) of original Islamic education.</p>
1972	<p>May-June, a group of Berber militants proposed the teaching of Tamazight in the University of Paris-Vincennes: birth of the Group of Berber Studies (known by its French initials GEB).</p> <p>29 January, the teaching of Tamazight began in the University of Paris-Vincennes.</p>

1973	<p>Year 1973: increasing popularity for the Berber militant song; most popular singer: Aït Menguellet.</p> <p>21 March, decision requiring competence in Arabic by civil servants in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, and the Ministry of the Interior.</p> <p>September, Mouloud Mammeri's teaching of Berber language and culture in the University of Algiers, tolerated since October 1965, was abolished by the Ministry of Higher Education.</p> <p>1 October, Ruling N° 73-55 turned all national seals in Arabic in the administration.</p> <p>6 November, the National Commission for Arabisation was created under the auspices of the FLN party.</p> <p>12–20 December, Algiers is the site for the 2nd Pan-Arab Congress for Arabisation.</p>
1974	<p>5 December, report of the National Commission for Arabisation on the state of Arabisation in Algeria.</p>
1975	<p>14–17 May, the government convened the First National Conference for Arabisation to accelerate the Arabisation process.</p> <p>May, total Arabisation of the judicial system was implemented.</p> <p>September, Arabisation of humanity subjects (geography, history and philosophy) in the secondary cycle.</p>
1976	<p>1 March, all public signs (streets, highways, stores, administrative buildings) and car licence plates were Arabised.</p> <p>16 April, private and religious schools banned by decree.</p> <p>23 April, Algeria's Official Journal published the re-organisation of the educational system based on 'Arabo-Islamic values and the socialist conscience'.</p> <p>June, the police affixed seals on the Berber publication known as the 'Fichier berbère' (created in 1946 and was mainly concerned with the study of the Kabyle language).</p> <p>27 June, the National Charter approved by referendum with 98.5% of the votes. On page 65, centralisation and monolingualism in Arabic are reaffirmed, Tamazight is totally ignored and French is referred to as a 'foreign language'.</p> <p>July, inauguration of the first promotion of completely Arabised magistrates.</p> <p>27 August, Thursday-Friday becomes weekend, instead of Saturday-Sunday.</p> <p>September, reform of the educational system and implementation of an experimental schooling system ('Fundamental School').</p> <p>19 November, the second Constitution of Algeria was acclaimed by referendum (99.18%). Article 3 reads: 'Arabic is the national and official language. The state must see to generalise its use.'</p> <p>21 December, the Ministry of the Interior recruited 50 Arabised female police inspectors.</p>
1977	<p>January, total Arabisation of the regional daily (Oran) paper <i>El Djoumhouria</i>.</p> <p>25 February, election of the Popular National Assembly (parliament).</p> <p>21–27 April, cabinet reshuffle and Mostefa Lacheraf became Minister of Primary and Secondary Education: pause in the overhasty process of Arabisation.</p> <p>19 June, demonstration of Kabyle football supporters in Algiers stadium in the presence of President H. Boumediene; among slogans chanted: 'The Berber language will live', 'Down with dictatorship', 'Long live democracy'.</p>
1979	<p>March, the old opposition party, the FFS, reactivated in 1977, demanded in its 'Political Platform Pre-Project': 'The Berber language has the right of citizenship in the Berber polity, an inalienable right that neither internal colonialism nor foreign colonialism can ban. It must be institutionalised and developed as a national language [. . .]. Only obscurantist's apprentices and mercenary flunkies would like to oppose the Arabic language to the Berber language.'</p> <p>8 March, cabinet reshuffle: Mohamed Cherif Kharroubi replaced Mostefa Lacheraf as Minister of Primary and Secondary Education: implementation of total Arabisation, religious instruction and the Fundamental School.</p> <p>June, violent incidents among the Berber-speaking community.</p> <p>September, French was taught as the first obligatory foreign language in the Fourth Grade and English in the Eighth Grade.</p> <p>November, Arabised students at the University of Algiers go on strike: they demand immediate Arabisation of administration.</p>

1980	<p>3 January, the FLN Central Committee made public its decisions on education: it re-launched Arabisation.</p> <p>19 January, the Ministry of the Interior sent a circular to all government agencies and administrations concerned with employment urging them to consider Arabised candidates for job recruitments.</p> <p>9–22 February 1980, the Commission for Education and Culture of the FLN party announced its national plan for the Arabisation of the administration.</p> <p>10 March, the authorities banned Mouloud Mammeri's conference on ancient Berber poetry to be held in the university of Tizi Ouzou (the administrative centre of Kabylia).</p> <p>16 April, general strike in Tizi Ouzou and Kabylia ('Berber Spring').</p> <p>1–31 August, many militants of democracy and the Berber cultural movement organised the first independent meeting on the issue of language and identity in Algeria (Seminar in Yakouren, Kabylia); the platform demanded, among other things, the 'institutionalisation of the people's languages (Algerian Arabic and Tamazight) as national languages'.</p> <p>14 September, Decree for the Arabisation of the first year in the following university disciplines: social sciences, law and administration, political sciences, and economic information;</p> <p>11 November, the Ministry of Higher Education created the Permanent Commission for Arabisation.</p> <p>December, creation of the High Council for the National Language following the recommendation of the Central Committee of the FLN Party (meeting of June 1980).</p>
1981	<p>7 March, Decree N° 81-28 relating to the transcription of proper names in Arabic.</p> <p>14 March, the Arabisation of the milieu was decreed (Decree N° 81-36).</p> <p>May, the transcription of names of towns and localities in Latin letters based on Arabic pronunciation (Decree N° 81-27).</p> <p>23 September, the Minister of Higher Education announced the creation of four university Departments for the study of popular cultures and dialects (Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Annaba).</p>
1982	7 July, a Master's degree on popular culture was established in the Institutes of Arabic Language and Culture in the universities of Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Annaba.
1984	9 June, the National Assembly passed the Family Code based on Shari'a.
1986	<p>1986, new National Charter was promulgated which read: 'the Arabic language is an essential constituent part of the cultural identity of the Algerian people' (p. 51); 'Algerians are Arab and Moslem people' (p. 109).</p> <p>19 August, foundation of the Algerian Academy for the Arabic Language under the patronage of the President of the Republic (Law N° 86–10).</p> <p>September, 'minority foreign languages' (German, Italian, Russian, Spanish) were removed from Middle Schools.</p>
1987	<p>February, the Ministry of Higher Education opened the Higher National Institute for Popular Culture in Tlemcen.</p> <p>November, foundation of Bendali School (private institution) for the education of political military and educational elites' children.</p>
1988	<p>September, government's banning of Algerians' enrolment in educational institutions controlled by the <i>Office Universitaire et Culturel Français</i>.</p> <p>4–10 October, riots in Algiers and other large cities (600 dead) followed by political liberalisation.</p>
1989	23 February, new (third) Constitution passed by referendum; in Article 3, Arabic remained the single national official language.
1990	<p>24 January, the Department of Amazigh language and culture was opened in the University of Tizi Ouzou.</p> <p>20 April, 100,000 FIS members demonstrated in the streets of Algiers demanding the dismantlement of bilingualism and the implementation of Shari'a.</p> <p>27 December, 400,000 people demonstrated in the streets of Algiers calling for democracy and against the law of total Arabisation scheduled to be passed by parliament.</p>

1991	16 January, National Assembly voted 'Act N° 91-05 of 16 January 1991' for total Arabisation. October, a second Department of Amazigh Language and Culture was opened in the University of Bejaia. 4 November – 23 December, the strike of university teachers against the implementation of 'Act N° 91-05 of 16 January 1991', and the government's recruitment of 1500 Iraqi professors.
1992	4 July, 'Act N° 91-05' aiming at total compulsory Arabisation is postponed ('Decree 92-02 of 4 July 1992').
1993	September, the Ministry of Education introduced English in the primary cycle to compete with French (Fourth grade).
1994	24 September, the Berber Cultural Movement (MCB) called for general strikes in the educational sector ('satchels' strike').
1995	28 May, the High Commission for Amazigh Affairs (known by its French initials HCA) was created by decree under the patronage of the President of the Republic.
1996	July, the new government cancelled 'Decree 92-02 of 4 July 1992': 'Act N° 91-05' was revived. 28 November, the third Constitution was passed by referendum with Article 3 unchanged. But in its preamble, it read: 'the fundamental constituent parts of [Algeria's] identity [. . .] are Islam, Arabism and Amazighism'. 17 December, 'Act N° 91-05' is revoked setting new deadlines for its nation-wide implementation: the administrative sectors were to be Arabised by 5 July 1998 and tertiary education by 5 July 2000.
1997	10 May, the two Departments of Amazigh Language and Culture in the Universities of Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia, became Institutes or Faculties (Ruling N° 97-40) starting from September 1997.
1998	25 June, the assassination of a popular Kabyle singer, Matoub Lounes, followed by riots in Kabylia (June-July). 26 September, the High Council for Arabic Language was founded to oversee that total Arabisation was implemented gradually.
1999	15 April, election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika as President of the Republic. May, President Bouteflika declared: 'It is unthinkable . . . to spend ten years study in Arabic pure sciences when it would only take one year in English'. 3 September, during a meeting with the Kabyle civil society in Tizi Ouzou, President Bouteflika declared: 'Tamazight would never be consecrated in law as an Algerian official language and if it were to be a national language, it is up to the entire Algerian people to decide by referendum'.
2000	13 May, President Bouteflika set up the National Commission for the Reform of the Educational System (known by its French initials CNRSE).
2001	March, the president of the CNRSE handed in the final report on educational reform. 21 April, riots in Kabylia after the assassination of a Secondary school student in a Kabyle village and the creation of a spontaneous movement called 'citizens' movement' (<i>Archs</i>). May 2001, Ali Ben Mohamed, former Minister of Education, founded the National Coordination for the Support of the Authentic and Open School. He was backed by leaders of Islamist parties, some teachers' and parents' unions, religious groups and a number of politicians. 11 June, the representatives of Kabylia's Citizens' movement drew up a list of 15 vindications known as the El Kseur Platform. 3 September, the Ministry of the Interior announced the suspension of the implementation of the educational reform. 24 September, President Bouteflika declared that Tamazight was to become a national language.
2002	8 April, Article 3 of the Constitution was modified to include Tamazight as the second national language of the State of Algeria. Creation by decree of the National Centre for Tamazight Language Planning.

2003	March, creation of the National Association for the Defence of Francophonie in Algeria. 13 August, Article 6 of Ruling No. 03-09 legalised private schools which had existed in a legal vacuum. September, implementation of parts of the recommendations made by the CNRSE: French introduced as the 1st obligatory foreign language in 2nd year in primary cycle, English in 1st year in Middle School as the 2nd obligatory foreign language.
2004	26 December, Abderrazak Dourari became Head of the Institute for the Planning of Tamazight
2005	August, after the last round of talks between Kabylia's representatives and the Prime Minister: agreement on making Tamazight official without resorting to a referendum.

In Benrabeh 2007: 72-77, from Chaker, 1998: 209; Cherrad Benchefra & Derradji, 2004: 160-4; Grandguillaume, 1983: 184-93; Guenoun, 1999: 14-89; Mansouri, 1991: 167-173

31/00 - 0109632	: المسجل التجاري:
000831010963259	: التعريف الجبائي:
3103392121	: المادة الجبائية:
353286 Clé 64	: الحساب اليربدي الجاري:
BADR/00300949020349300086	: الحساب البنكي:

رقم العدد: 88 981
صاحب العدد: ..
رقم بطاقة الترخيف الوطنية: ..
عنوان الاتصال: ..

00072012A100079083	رقم الفتوة:
30 Mai-02 Sep/2012	الفترة:
03-09-2012	تاريخ الفتوة:

ALGERIE

Quantité	Prix unitaire	Montant (DA)	TVA (%)
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SEOR N.I.F.:000831010963259			
EAU			
CONSUMMATION de 0 à 25	25	6,30	157,50
CONSUMMATION de 26 à 55	4	20,48	81,92
ASSAINISSEMENT			89,31
CONSUMMATION de 0 à 25	25	2,35	58,75
CONSUMMATION de 26 à 55	4	7,64	30,56
REDEVANCE FIXE ABONNEMENT ASSAINISSEMENT			60,00
QUOTE			60,00
REDEVANCE FIXE ABONNEMENT EAU			240,00
QUOTE			240,00
TIMBRE POSTAL			15,00
QUOTE			15,00
TVA à 7 % BASE IMPOSABLE: 628,73			44,01
SOUS-TOTAL			687,74
MINISTÈRE N.I.F.:			
REDEVANCE ECONOMIE EAU			9,58
REE	1	1,00	9,58
REDEVANCE QUALITE EAU			9,58
RQE	1	1,00	9,58
REDEVANCE DE GESTION			87,00
CONSUMMATION	29	3,00	87,00
SOUS-TOTAL			106,16

TOTAL FACTURE ACTUELLE	793,90 DA
DUS ANTERIEURS	DA
TOTAL A PAYER (TTC)	793,90 DA
TIMBRE FISCAL (paiement en espèce)	8,00 DA
TOTAL A PAYER (TTC) avec Timbre	801,90 DA

AVERTISSEMENT
MESSAGE

Nous vous prions de bien vouloir nous transmettre votre N° de CIN pour la mise à jour de votre fichier clientèle.



رقم العداد	الفتره	تاريخ و دليل الكشف السابق	تاريخ و دليل الكشف الحالي	الكمية المستهلكة
10-042638	15	30-05-12 126	02-09-12 155	29 m3

قوانين تسعيرة المياه
مرسوم تنفيذي رقم 05-13 الصادر بتاريخ 09/01/2005
قرار وزاري رقم 122 بتاريخ 10/04/2005

مهم
في حالة عدم تسديد مستحقاتكم
في مدة 30 يوما سيؤدي
توقيف ترونيكم بالماء



C.P.R.	Date limite	Emetteur	Référence	Identification	Montant
9050794	18-10-2012	30010569-50	01004108571-18	181012	793,90



9050730010569506010041085711818101200000793900

ALGERIE TELECOM

SPA au capital de 50 000 000 000 DA

Siège social RN n°5, Cinq Maisons, Mohammadia 16130 Alger

RC n° 02 B 0018083 Identification Fiscale : 000216299033049

N° article d'imposition 16293838021 NIS: 000216290656936



إتصالات الجزائر

شركة ذات أسهم برأس مال قدره 50.000.000.000 دج

المقر الاجتماعي: الطريق الوطني رقم 05، الديار الخمس، المحمدية الجزائر 16130

السجل التجاري رقم 02 ب 0018083 التعريف الجبائي 000216299033049

البند الضريبي 16293838021 رقم التعريف الإحصائي 000216290656936

FACTURE 203A-410300 فاتورة

Pour plus de renseignements, contacter votre agence

ACTEL Oran-Ibn Rochd (04)

Route de la Meteo Oran

Tél. : 100 (Centre d'appel)

CCP n° 375548/00

N° abonnement	TLP 041423591	رقم الاشتراك
N° du client	79982243	رقم الزبون
Période facturée	du 01/05/2012 au 30/06/2012	الفترة المفوترة
Date facture	13/07/2012	تاريخ الفاتورة

SITUATION ANTERIEURE**الوضعية السابقة**

Solde échancier restant à payer	0,00	رصيد الأقساط الباقي دفعها
Solde à la dernière facture	608,40	رصيد آخر فاتورة
Mouvement de la période	-608,40	تغيرات الفترة
Report à nouveau	0,00	التحميل من جديد

FACTURATION PERIODE EN COURS**فترة الفترة الجارية**

Abonnement	Montant المبلغ	Date de Debut تاريخ البداية	Date de fin تاريخ النهاية	الإشتراك
Ligne mixte	300,00	01/07/2012	31/08/2012	خط مزيج
Service restreint international	100,00	01/07/2012	31/08/2012	حصر المكالمات الدولية
Consommations	Montant المبلغ	Nb d'appels عدد المكالمات	Durée مدة	إستهلاكات
Communications nationales	96,00	11	0 h 24mn 46s	مكالمات وطنية
Total HT	496,00			المجموع ح.ر
Montant TVA	84,32			مبلغ الرسم على القيمة المضافة
Montant facture TTC	580,32			المبلغ المستحق شامل الرسوم
Report des antérieurs TTC	0,00			تحميل الديون ح.ر
Montant total à payer TTC par chèque	0,00			المبلغ الإجمالي للدفع ح.ر
Droit de timbre	0,00			حق الطابع
Montant Total en Numeraire	0,00			المبلغ الإجمالي نقدا
Encaissement sur avoir	- 580,32			دفع على رصيد
	0,00			

La présente facture est arrêtée à: zero dinars

Talon de paiement: ACTEL Oran-Ibn Rochd (04)

CCP n° 375548



N° du client	79982243	رقم الزبون
N° facture	203A-410300	رقم الفاتورة
Date facture	13/07/2012	تاريخ الفاتورة
Déjà recouvré		محمو في
Période facturée	du 01/05/2012 au 30/06/2012	الفترة المفوترة
Montant total à payer TTC par chèque	*****	المبلغ الإجمالي للدفع ح.ر

سونلغاز **SONELGAZ** Fourniture d'Energie Electricité et Gaz **FACTURE n°:** 713080401281
BASSE TENSION / BASSE PRESSION

Identification Fiscale : 096916010012742 Référence : 315010908400113
 N°Article d'Imposition : M291011 Nom du client et adresse de lieu de consommation :

Centre de : Dir Regionale ORAN
 N° CCP : 380619 N° Banque : BNA 966300127831
 Agence de : ORAN EST Nom et adresse du destinataire de facture :
 Adresse : 57 AV ASP HAMOU MOKH
 N° Vert : Tel dépannage électricité : 35 30 71
 Tel renseignements : 45 13 14 Tel dépannage gaz : 35 30 60

Nous vous prions de bien vouloir régler cette facture par l'un des moyens indiqués au verso

MONTANT A REGLER 3118.25 DA **AVANT LE :** 03.05.08
 Le montant de votre consommation journalière est de : 34.65 DA/jour période: 2eme Trimestre 2008
 Contribution aux couts permanents du systeme : 6.15 D.A.

CONSOmmATIONS

Tarif	Compteur	RELEVÉ DE COMPTEUR			Coeff	CONSOmmATIONS (KWH/THERMIE)
		Nouveau	Ancien	Différence		
E01	003544	33941	R 33573	R 368	1.00	368
G83	003837	6837	R 6338	R 499	9.70	4840

PMD= 4 Kw
 DMD= 5 m3h

DETAIL DE FACTURATION (en hors taxes)

	PREMIERE TRANCHE		DEUXIEME TRANCHE		TROISIEME TRANCHE		PRIME FIXE (DA)	TOTAL HORS TVA PAR TARIF (DA)
	CONSOmmATION	PRIX UNITAIRE (DA)	CONSOmmATION	PRIX UNITAIRE (DA)	CONSOmmATION	PRIX UNITAIRE (DA)		
ELEC. E01	125.0	1.779	243.0	4.179			52.44	1290.30
GAZ G83	1125	0.168	3715	0.324			85.50	1478.16

CALCUL DES TAXES ET RECAPITULATION

	MONTANT HORS TVA (DA)	TAUX %	T.V.A		MONTANT
			MONTANT (DA)	TOUTES TAXES (DA)	
ELEC E01	1290.30	07	90.32		1380.62
GAZ G83	1478.16	07	103.47		1581.63
DROIT FIXE	50.00				50.00
TAXE HABITATION	75.00				75.00
TIMBRE	31.00				31.00
	2924.46		193.79		3118.25

Fait le: 15.04.2008

TOTAL FACTURE → 3118.25

Tifinagh Alphabet

ترتيب حروف خط التيفيناغ MzabNet حسب مفاتيح الكمبيوتر.				حروف الأبجدية الأمازيغية (تيفيناغ) و ما يقابلها من الحروف العربية.			
•	a		l	•	أ	ⵏ	ع
⊖	b	ⵏ	m	⊖	ب	ⵙ	غ
⊗	c		n	+	ت	ⵓ	ق
∧	d	:	o	I	ج	ⵔ	ك
÷	e	ⵓ	q	∧	ح		ل
	f	⊖	r	✕	خ	ⵏ	م
✕	g	⊙	s	∧	د		ن
∧	h	+	t	⊖	ر	⊙	هـ
⊙	H	ⵏ	u	✕	ز	ⵓ	و
Σ	i	ⵓ	w	⊙	س	ⵔ	ي
I	j	✕	x	⊗	ش	✕	ف
ⵔ	k	ⵙ	y	⊙	ص	÷	(فتحة)
ⵔ	Y	✕	z	E	ض	:	(ضمّة)
E	D	E	T	E	ط	Σ	(كسرة)

إعداد : الشبكة المزاوية . تراجت تومزابت
2955 أمازيغي / 1425 هجري .
http://www.mzabnet.org

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation describes the current language situation in Algeria while maintaining a historical perspective that is helpful in understanding how language-related changes have come about, and a prospective view which may illuminate future developments. Even though Algeria is an Arab country where Standard Arabic is the national official language, the current language situation is complex and dynamic. Over the last fifty years or so, and particularly since independence from France in 1962, different generations of Algerians have had different experiences with the languages used in the social and work environment, the educational system, government, and the media. Such experiences helped to shape different attitudes towards these languages. Language policy and language planning in Algeria have been both instrumental in shaping such experiences and attitudes and subject to their influence. Algeria is a pertinent example of language contact and planning between a former colonial language (French), a language of national identity (Standard Arabic) and native languages (Algerian Arabic and Berber). Our primarily objective in this work is to present the linguistic background of the country and offer an insight into the impact of past events on language policies and practices in post-independent Algeria. Arabisation was viewed as necessary for asserting the country's Arabo-Islamic identity, since it aimed at replacing French, the colonial language, by Standard Arabic the language of Islam. Though such a decision seems to be legitimate and natural, sociolinguistic considerations should actually take priority over all other goals. Decision-making on language policy matters should be kept free from the pressures of ideologies, clan warfare and corporatist or religious interests.

Key words:

Standard Arabic; Algerian Arabic; Tamazight; French; Arabisation; Algeria; Language Planning; Multilingualism; National identity.