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Language Contact and Language Conflict

The case of Arabic - French Bilingualism in

the Faculty of Medicine, University Abou

Bekr Belkaid –Tlemcen

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OF MAGISTER IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

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ABSTRACT

Algeria, no doubt is a nation that has witnessed a cross current of linguistic activities due to it inherent multilingual nature coupled with her colonial experience under the French. After attaining independence in 1962, Algeria started on the one hand to arabise all public sectors, especially the educational one for ideological reasons related to national identity and nationalism. From the other hand, it has maintained French as the language of science and technology.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine Language Contact and Language Conflict between the two mostly used languages, Arabic and French. And for a better understanding we have chosen the faculty of Medicine as an appropriate environment for such investigation.

Data for this survey came from a questionnaires and an interview distributed in the period of three months to fifty respondents from the Faculty of Medicine in Tlemcen University. The sample comprised forty Arabised students and ten Francophone teachers. The variables used to study these respondents'attitudes included age, gender, linguistic competence, language use in various settings as well as language attitudes towards the codes involved in the study.

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AA Algerian Arabic

CA Classical Arabic

CS Code Switching

CM Code Mixing

FR French

AR Arabic

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Algeria constitutes an interesting subject for the study of language contact and language conflict. This is due to its complex linguistic situation mirroring the former colonial domination. Such language contact situation between Arabic and French is not different from other language contact situations elsewhere in the world. In Algeria it led to social competitions and linguistic conflict.

When the French officially occupied Algeria in 1830, the French colonial policy was explicitly designed to "civilize" the country. This policy aimed at imposing both French language and culture on the whole society. Thus, to control the Algerians, it had at all cost to be moved away from school; the only place where Arabic civilisation was put forward and the only institution where Arabic was taught.

After the end of the colonial period in 1962, Arabic was recognised in the institution as the only national and official language. Therefore, Arabisation was associated with two main concepts: independence and the defence of Islamic values. Arabisation was thus used as a process of recovery of national identity; its major aim was to displace and devalue the presence of French language and culture.

As a result, this policy starts to be a source of conflict and competition mainly between Standard Arabic and French. In other words, the implementation of such policy in the complex setting of Algeria engenders linguistic, social and political problems.

This work has a major importance, in the sense that it demonstrates patterns of linguistic situation in Algeria with particular reference to language Planning and language Policy activities, language use and attitudes towards Arabic and French in Algeria.

The following research questions are essentially exposed as follows:
- Should French be placed at the same level of importance as Arabic in the educational system?

- Who are the 'Arabophones' and who are the 'Francophones' in the Algerian society, and what are the differences in their attitudes towards language situation?

- Is the language of instruction a factor of failure among students in the faculty of Medicine?

As this dissertation explains the patterns of language contact and language conflict in the faculty of Medicine in Tlemcen University, it checks certain hypotheses:

- The Arabisation policy has created two diverging views

- The French language maintains its status and prestige

- The faculty of Medicine is also characterised by such language competition

Since in this dissertation we are dealing with a sociolinguistic subject, we will try to carry out a sociolinguistic approach that also combines political and ideological perspectives.

The first part of the study will examine some aspects of the linguistic situation in Algeria during the colonial period. It will look at different policy decisions made in order to implement Arabisation.

The second part of this study, will discuss problems that have arisen since this policy was implemented, and how this latter has been constituted part of the conflict between establishing national identity and modernity.

As far as the methodology of research is concerned, this stage includes a field work, which took place in Tlemcen University, in the faculty of medicine. Indeed, this faculty constitutes a microcosm of conflict between Standard Arabic and French in Algeria, teachers issued from bilingual education, but oriented towards French use and called "Francisants", and students who have studied in Arabic called "Arabisants".

The present work is divided into three chapters: the first chapter proposes a review of the literature on the theme of language contact and language conflict. It presents different theories and findings related to the present study.

Chapter two provides an insight into the history of language policy in Algeria; it addresses language practices and policy in the colonial and the post colonial era. It also discusses problems that have arisen from the Arabisation policy, notably those concerning the Arabophones and the Francophones who have created a two-sided country with often contradictory ideological, cultural, and political

orientations; it also assesses the current status and the place of the local languages within the current language policy framework in Algeria.

As far as chapter three is concerned, it outlines the methodology used in this research, identifies the sample population, describes the data collection tools and analyses the main findings of the study, and finally, discusses the features of both quantitative and qualitative research.

CHAPTER ONE Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

The current chapter lays out some terminology related to the crucial linguistic phenomena of the contact and the conflict of languages in Algeria, namely between Arabic and French. The analysis of this section is given from two distinct parts. The first part analyses different concepts resulting from the language contact, the second part, stresses mainly on language conflict as a result of language attitudes and language planning and policy.

1.2 *The Linguistic Situation*

Algeria's linguistic history is characterised by multilingualism due to different series of powers. Thus, the most important dominations are the Arabs and the French[1] ones, who have imposed their languages to the autochthon. The native inhabitants, the Berbers, are tribal people who live across the whole territory in the Maghreb. Berber is the indigenous language spoken by these inhabitants (Benrabah 2007a)

The process of Arabisation takes place during two major periods. The first period is associated with the earliest waves of Arabs who came to the region for ideological process of Islam. Thus, a limited indigenous population starts to acquire knowledge of this language through reading and listening to the Qur'an. Whereas in the second period, Arab conquerors namely the Banu Hillal, Banu Maaqil and the Banu Suleiman, make a profound impact on the local people.(Benrabah 2007)

So within this period, the spread of Arabic is vast in most of

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[1] As far as French historical background is concerned, see 2.2

the major cities in Algeria. The countryside and some southern areas remain predominantly under the Berber rules up to the French colonial period early in the twentieth century. (Benrabah 2004)

1.2.1 Arabic

Arabic, a Semitic language enters Algeria's linguistic area with the arrival of Islam. Due to the strong links between the language and the religion, Arabic soon emerges as a symbol of Arabo-Islamic identity. Rouadjia (1991), in Benrabah, (2007a:67) says in this respect: **"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"**.

According to **Aitsiselmi (2006:159) "Arabic is a diglossic language"** in the sense that two varieties of Arabic one high and the other low co-exist.

The term diglossia is firstly discussed by Ferguson (1959) to denote situations of the existence of two structurally and historically related language varieties throughout a community, each variety has a distinct role to play; a high variety: a very divergent, highly codified uses for formal purposes and a low variety: for everyday practices, which are in complementary distribution with each other. Ferguson (1959: 435) summarizes the concept as follows:

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

Within the Algerian context, the term Arabic, refers to the language varieties that exist within the community, each variety is used for specific function. These varieties can be divided into two major classes:

Classical Arabic and MSA are considered as the high varieties. CA from the one hand, is a model of linguistic excellence because it is the language of the Qur'an. At present day, this variety is no longer used in everyday life of Algerians; it is rather limited to religious practices.

MSA on the other hand, is a form that has been set in order to modernize Classical Arabic and make it more accommodated to modern life. It is grammatically and phonologically based on Classical Arabic, with a less complexity concerning the vocabulary; it contains many foreign loans words especially from English and French as in the case of technical and scientific terms like: internet, computer etc.

Arabic has been declared constitutionally the national and official language of the country; therefore, it is the vehicle of teaching, at all levels of education, especially in primary and secondary education where all subjects are taught in Arabic.

In higher education Arabic emerges as the unique language of instruction for the majority of disciplines, except for scientific and technical ones. It is the official language of the government, written and oral press, and all sorts of administrative documents.

Dialectal, Colloquial or Algerian Arabic is the low variety, because it is neither codified nor standardised. It is considered as a mother tongue of most Algerian speakers who do not have any of the Berber varieties as their native tongue. In spite of this, Algerian Arabic has many sub-dialects find in different regions, which are all mutually intelligible. Kaye (1970:67) says:

> **"It refers to the colloquial language known as amma, darija or lahja (dialects). The colloquial varieties number in the hundreds. Being spoken and not written, they are distinguishable from Classical Arabic as a result of a general grammatical simplification in structure with fewer grammatical categories"**

Dialectal Arabic is restricted in use for informal daily communication within families and in everyday life, although this is quite developed because of the huge number of loan words from other languages; most primarily from French and Spanish and English. The table below shows different situations of H variety and L variety in Diglossic Communities (Ferguson 1959:236)

Types of Discourse	High variety	Low variety
Sermon in Church or Mosque	+	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		+
Personal letter	+	
Speech in Parliament, Political speech	+	
University lecture	+	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		+
News broadcast	+	
Radio		+
Newspaper editorial, news story	+	
Caption on political cartoon		+
Poetry	+	
Folk literature		+

Table 1.1: Situations for High variety and Low variety in Diglossic Communities

Here are some examples for Arabic diglossia use within medical sector:

/nʃu:f əlwaðʕ ntəʕ l mustaʃfajets li naqiş mu:ʕidets/: We see that hospitals lack equipments

/rani maʃi ʕənd tbib nfawet/: I have a medical check

In addition to the Arabophone majority, there exist other languages mainly Berber and French.

1.2.2 Berber

According to historians, Berber[2] is the indigenous language spoken by the first inhabitants of Algeria before the Arab expansion. It belongs to the Hamito-Semitic group of language family; Berber is also spoken in Morocco and Tunisia. There are different Berber varieties, spoken in different areas in Algeria. Among these sub-dialects, Tamazight constitutes one of the most fundamental components of Algerian identity (préambule de la constitution 1996). Therefore, Berber is taught at all levels of instructions in greater and lesser Kabylia in East of Algiers (Abid 2006). In spite of this, there exist a national television channel and a radio station which broadcast daily in Berber.

In addition to Berber, French is Algeria's linguistic inheritance from the colonial period. Due to enormous spread of French after the independence, it is considered as the second most used language after Arabic.

1.2.3 French

French in Algeria has no official status; it is considered as the first foreign language of the country (status planning). In spite of this, French is present in the spheres of everyday life; it is used as a second language to Arabic in certain public administration, especially in: Health, commerce, etc. It is taught as a compulsory subject from the third grade in primary education until university where it is the medium of teaching scientific and technical disciplines.

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[2] Berber is not included in this research work since we have restricted the analysis only between Arabic and French

Algeria has given a big importance for teaching French in language schools and institutions like the French institute CCF (centre culturel Français).

Within the Algerian press many newspapers and magazines are published daily and weekly, focusing on disciplines like science and technology. On the other hand, there exists a radio station (Alger chaine3) which broadcast daily, a national television channel (Algerian TV) with different medical programmes like Santé Mag, Le journal de la santé.

The table below shows different Algerian medical journals, which exist in French but not in Arabic.

List of Medical journals	
In French	**In Arabic**

- **La revue du praticien**
- **Le fascicule de la santé**
   Hygiénes
   Dialogue
   Journal de neurochirurgie
   JAM: Journal Algerien de médecine
   Tarikh Ettib
   Archives de l'institut Pasteur d'Algérie
	None

Table 1.2: List of Algerian Medical journals

1.3 Language Contact and Bilingualism

Language contact has attracted the interest of many scholars, who describe it as a phenomenon where two or more distinct languages come into closest use within the same speech community. According to Weinreich (1974:1) **"Two or more languages are said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons"**.

On the other hand, Yusuf (1999) argues that many situations of languages contact can be described as interactions of two cultures, resulting from several constituents like colonization, migration and wars. The phenomenon of language contact, has led to a wide spread of bilingualism. Diebold (1964:496) goes further to describe the situation as:

> **"contact and convergence between two different languages or cultures results in a sociological situation wherein the same individual learns elements from a linguistic or cultural system other than his native system. Linguists refer to this learning situation as language contact and to the particular learning process as bilingualization. The individuals so involved are called bilinguals…when two languages come into contact, speakers of either language may learn elements of the other language. This acquisition of non-native language produces bilingualism"**

Bilingualism is a complex concept which comprises many variables, so that every linguistic situation is taken into account. Effectively, Algeria constitutes an interesting example of different bilingualism sorts, where Arabic/French bilingualism[3] is the most common among the big majority of Algerian bilinguals. To give a few examples for both levels, some traffic signs and administrative document are given both in MSA and French. (see appendix A).

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[3] This situation is not only restricted between the Arabic and French, but also it is more plural including other combinations mainly between the dialects and the standards as the case of Arabic and Tamazight.

Generally two types of bilingualism are distinguished: societal bilingualism and individual bilingualism (Bell 1976). The former refers to a situation where in a given society two different languages are spoken, whereas the latter refers to the way where two languages are used by the same person, taking into account many factors, including his level of education and socio-economic background. In this respect, defining individual' bilingualism depends upon many factors, including competence[4], within both the receptive and productive skills.

Among various types of individual bilingualism which can go with the Algerian society, we can distinguish firstly coordinate and Compound bilingualism (Evin & Osgood 1954). According to them, coordinate bilingual refers to a person who develops and learns the two languages in different contexts in this case, the individual develops different meaning system, while Compound bilingual is a person who learns the second language while constantly relying on his first language i.e. bilingual learns the second language by translating the meaning of words from the first language.

On the other hand, Cummins (1994) invokes two other types of bilingualism: Additive bilingualism and semilingualism. Additive bilingualism refers to a situation of having high level in both languages contrarily to semilingualism which is related to a low level in both languages.

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[4] According to Romaine (1995:584). « A bilingual's competence may encompass a range of skills, some of which may not be equally developed, in a number of languages and varieties ».

Moreover, the Algerian society is not homogeneous towards the languages command, because of the existence of many linguistic samples with different manners in using the two languages. Few Algerian who are balance bilinguals[5]; active bilingualism in this respect includes individuals who demonstrates a certain degree of proficiency in the four language skills in the two languages, passive bilingualism on the other hand, includes individuals who use both receptive and productive skills but may not be able to speak and write in more than one language. For a better understanding, the diagram below illustrates figures of Algerian individual bilingualism

Individual bilingualism

Coordinate bilingualism

Compound bilingualism

Additive bilingualism

Semilingualism

Passive bilingualism

Active bilingualism

Unbalance bilingualism

Balance bilingualism
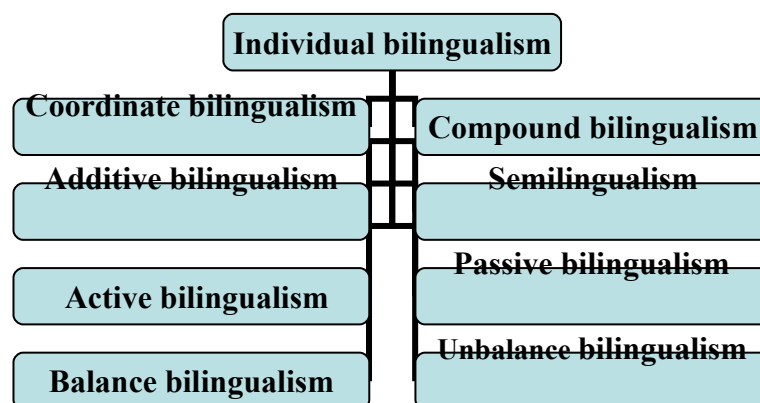
Diagram 1.1: Aspects of Individual Bilingualism in Algeria

The construct of bilingualism in the Faculty of Medicine as a sample of the Algerian speech community, appears to be more similar, effectively; we can remark different bilingual

cases with students and teachers who may be able to master either Arabic or French, the two languages at the same time or

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[5]balance bilingualism refers to a situation when a person speaks with equal proficiency, the language skills are said to be balanced in the two languages (Chernobilsky 2008:430).

rather have an approximate knowledge of one of these two languages.

In their daily lives, bilingual students and teachers use different codes[6] in their interactions as in the case of code-switching and code mixing.

1.3.1 Code-Switching and code Mixing

Code Switching and code mixing are two types of discourse that occur as a natural and an inevitable consequence of bilingualism, **Grosjean (1982:145)** defines code-switching and code-mixing as "**the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation**" in this case, bilinguals use two languages within a single word, or a sentence.

Furthermore, the construct of Algerian-Arabic/French code switching/mixing in the Algerian speech community emerge as a result of the French occupation, which imposes its language. Indeed, code switching/mixing is frequently practiced by students in the faculty of Medicine.

K.Taleb Ibrahimi (1997: 116-117) notes that[7]:

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[6] According to Bell (1976): « **a code may be a language, a variety, or a style of a language** » (Derni 2010:76)

[7] The translation of the original text in French:

"Nous observons depuis quelques années l'extension de la pratique de ce sabir parmi les jeunes issus de l'école algérienne, produit et conséquence

"We observed for the last few years the extensive use of that "sabir" among the young pupils from the Algerian school, the product and the consequence of the school duality and the inadequacy of the methodological practice of the language teaching which made these young pupils as semilinguals mastering neither Arabic language, nor French"

Code switching can occur in both directions, from French to Algerian Arabic and from Algerian Arabic to French, though the former is much more frequent. The examples highlight the transfer of elements of Algerian Arabic in the French language. Here are two types of code switching employ by two speakers.

The first type, intersentential switching, involves a switch that takes place between two independent sentences, with no conjoining. For example:

[nsiƚ hadik. donc mon exercice est faux]

I forgot that, so my exercise is false

[Je vai sortir, ɽani maʃi lelabo]

I leave; I'm going to the laboratory.

The second type, intra-sentential switching, involves a switch that takes place inside a sentence. It can occur in embedded sentences like relatives, complement clauses, coordinate sentences etc. as in:

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de la dualité scolaire et de l'inadéquation de la pratique méthodologique de l'enseignement des langues qui a fait de ces jeunes élèves des semi lingues ne maîtrisant ni la langue arabe, ni la langue française »

-[neħtadʒ lkteb taʕ la microbiologie]

I need the book of microbiology

Code mixing on the other hand, involves different types of switching within the same word (intra morphemic) or clause. The next examples are from morpho-syntactic and lexical items.

1.3.1.1 Verb insertion

The insertion of French verbs into the morphological and syntactic structure of Algerian Arabic consists in keeping the French verbal root, and adding an Arabic inflection. Here are some examples of code mixing used by students of the first year medicine. The constant reconstruction of verbs by means of the affixes {aw}, {it} or {n}+#+{lek}. These examples highlight the transfer of elements from Arabic into French language.

- [desinaw plusieurs schemas lberəħ]

They drew several graphs yesterday

- {rekopjit l cours ntaʕ biophysique}

I copied the biophysics lecture

- nʃãʒelək

I will change

/desin+aw/ is constructed using the root **dessiner** (to draw) and a suffix /aw/ which marks the third person plural.

/recopj+it/ is constructed using the root **recopier** (to recopy) and a suffix /it/ to mark the first person singular

/ n+ʃãʒe+lək/ is constructed using the root **changer** (to change) in which the prefix /n/ marks the first person singular, and the preposition /l/(to) to indicate second person singular and /k/ (to you).

1.3.1.2 Noun insertions

The inserted noun is accompanied by a definite article (el) or (l). For instance the article (el) is associated with a name **le cours** (the course) to give /elkur/ or in **le professeur** (the professor) to give /l+pɾofeʂər/.

The same article in an abbreviated form, or the use of the suffix {a} which marks feminine singular.

Here is the example:

[elkur de biochimie mʕa lpɾofa X].

The biochemistry course with that professor

The establishment of syntactic connexions is illustrated through the use of an indefinite article {ħəl} as in the example: ħəl+ **module** (one module) this article is a contracted form of the Arabic number [wahed+əl].

The possessive relationship is expressed through an analytic structure with the preposition /ntaʕ/:**de**(of), /mabiħ/:**entre (**between).

Here is the example:

[Le rapport mabiħ le volume ntaʕ la molecule et sa structure] = The conformity between molecule volume and its structure.

Another most carefully researched area in the entire field of languages in contact concerns the status of loans words and interferences that appear in everyday discourse of bilinguals.

1.3.2 Borrowing

Borrowing is involved when single word, phrases, or expressions from one language become part of another language system by being assimilated to its new linguistic structure.

Borrowing also called loans words are usually integrated in the grammatical system of the second language in the sense that they are dealt with as if they were part of the lexicon of that language. For more clear definition of this phenomenon. Gumperz (1982: 66) says:

> **'The introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures"**

Algerian Arabic is characterised by heavy borrowings from French. Many students use these French loans words to satisfy their needs in scientific and technological domains. Some borrowings are fully integrated in the Algerian Arabic patterns; others, less commonly used, are kept in their French format.

/el klasa/ the classroom

/l biʕu/ the office

/sbiṭaɾ/ for hospital.

1.3.3 Interference

Interference is a very common phenomenon resulting from the contact between languages. The concern here is with an inappropriate transfer of words from the first language to the Second one.

Weinreich (1953:1) defines interferences as **"those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact"**

This deviation is due to a bad perception of the second language from the part of people who hardly know the target language. This is generally shaped by environmental, social and personal influences including age and educational background. Therefore, the new words become part of the second language that few people recognize that these new elements are foreign.

Interference of L1 on L2 actually occurs at three linguistic levels like phonological, lexical and grammatical, (Berthold Et Al 1997).

Tabouret-Keller (1979:150) says in this respect:

> **"To learn a second language it is to conform to new phonological, syntactical, morphological rules [] that the second language is either in the stage of acquisition or it is already well mastered, the bilingual always tends to use units, rules belonging to the mother tongue, that is to produce interferences"** [8]

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[8] The translation of the original text in French:

« Apprendre une langue seconde c'est se conformer à de nouvelles règles phonologiques, syntaxiques, morphologiques […] que la seconde langue soit en cours d'acquisition ou qu'elle soit déjà bien maîtrisée, le bilingue a toujours tendance à utiliser des unités, des règles appartenant à la langue maternelle, c'est-à-dire à produire des interférences ».

Many students from the faculty of Medicine make many pronunciation errors, these pronunciation errors stem from a false perception or the influence of one language over the other. Those errors are clearly seen in the writing system, since the students tend to transcribe the phonemes as they have been perceived.

1.3.3.1 Phonological interferences

These interferences are due to differences between the phonic systems of the two languages. Arabic has only three vowels: an open vowel [a] and two close vowels [i], [u], French counts sixteen vowels. Here our focus is about the confusion of vowels that exist in the phonological system of the French language, not in Arabic. (Amorouayach: 2009)

a. The confusion between /e/ mid-closed front vowel and /i/ front close vowel as in:

- Les h**i**morragies internes = internal hemorrhages
- Les prot**ij**ines végétaux = vegetable proteins

b. The confusion between /o/ mid-open back vowel and /u/ back close vowel as in:
- Les hem**u**rragies internes = internal hemorrhages
- La c**u**agulation sanguine = coagulating blood

1.3.3.2 Lexical interferences

a. Homophones

Homophones are words which sound alike but are written differently, and often have different meanings. Here are some errors related to the confusion between the homophones:

-Le son / le sang = sound / blood

- statut / statue = status / statue

- compte / comte = account / tale

On doit prendre en comte le volume sanguin

We have to take account of the blood volume

- cours / cour = course / court

Des essais de thérapie sont en cour.

- voie / voix = way / voice

Le traitement doit être administré par voix intraveineuse.

b. Inappropriate lexical items

 - adopter / adapter = to adopt /to adapt

Il faut adapter des stratégies en cas de gravité.

- amener / emmener to bring / to take

Il est conseillé d'emmener des doses adéquates.

c. Inappropriate choice of gender:

We meet quite often, errors related to confusion in gender, as in:

- une groupe sanguine = blood type/group

- Une échantillon = pattern

- le stérilisation = sterilization

- Les proteines végétaux = vegetable proteins

At that point, we have seen related literature to the topic concerning language contact and all the phenomenon of juxtaposing two or more language within one discourse. Now we describe different terminologies which have a connection within language, identity and conflict.

1.4 Language, Identity and Culture

Language which is certainly the basic medium of communication and expression plays a significant role for understanding people thoughts and feelings, but also it is merely an ideal means in shaping identity between different groups in the same society. In this respect Fasold (1990:1) states that:

> **"When people use language, they do more than just try to get another person to understand the speaker's thoughts and feelings. At the same time, both people are using language in subtle ways to define their relationship with each other, to identify themselves as part of a social group, and to establish the kind of speech event they are in"**

In this sense, language serves no more than just the communicative functions, but also to identify speakers' relationship with each other. As a consequence, language is an integral part of a person's identity, plays a significant role in its construction. Woodward (1997: 1-2) has defined the concept of identity in the quotation that follows:

> **"Identity gives us an idea of who we are and of how we relate to others and to the world in which we live. Identity marks the ways in which we are the same as others who share that position, and the ways in which we are different from those who do not".**

In order to discuss the way in which language forms a part of speaker's identity, it is necessary to link the concepts of language and identity with variables like nation and nationalism. Therefore, we attempt to define briefly the two concepts "nation" and "nationalism". (Later analyses of language policy model of the Algerian country in chapter two).

Firstly, we point out that a nation is a named people who acknowledge their identity by virtue of a common culture, a shared history and a specific territory. (Guibernau 1998)

On the other hand, nationalism refers to a socio-political movement aiming to achieve political and socioeconomic independence. In this respect, Gelluer (1983:45) defines this concept as **"a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent"**.

Therefore, language has played an important role not only in the development of nationalist ideas for countries that have been subjected to colonial powers, but also after attaining their independence **"in the sense that it serves as a vehicle of promoting cultural values and norms of building a nation"** (Mac Giolla Chríost 2004:67).

Every nation who want to reconquer its national identity is obliged to affirm its proper culture, gradually despoiled by the colonizer. According to Ennaji (2005:24) **"Culture is what basically characterises a society as an identifiable community, it encompasses language, history, geography, religion, the political system, literature, architecture, folklore, traditions and beliefs"**

From this citation, we can understand that culture has many components; language constitutes one of these important elements. It is used as a means of expressing culture, one of the major adjuncts for understanding people customs and beliefs. In fact, to acknowledge a culture is necessary to acquire a language and vice versa.

If we apply this fact on the Algerian context, we find that it contains two different and opposed cultures; the Arabo-Islamic culture and Western culture. This biculturalism is the result of the contact of languages which has been defined by Smith (2008:65) as:

> **"Biculturalism is the ability to effectively navigate day to day life in two different social groups and to do so with the anticipated result of being accepted by the cultural group that is not one's own".**

In this quotation, we can distinguish culture from biculturalism which is to acquire a culture other than the one whereas culture is a process transmitted from one generation to another. Moreover, biculturalism finds it origin in two divergent concepts; acculturation and assimilation. The former is viewed as **"a process, voluntary or involuntary, by which an individual or group adopts one or more of another group's cultural or linguistic traits, resulting in new or blended cultural or linguistic patterns".** (Ovando 2008:8).
Whereas, the latter, according to the same author (Ibid) **"Assimilation is a voluntary or involuntary process by which individuals or groups completely takes on the traits of another culture, leaving their original cultural and linguistic identities behind".**

Assimilation is then the results of the loss of a person's original cultural or linguistic identity, acculturation involves adaptation of a new culture without necessary loosing it proper culture.

Within the Algerian context, we can notice that the biculturalism is related to both assimilation policy and individual acculturation, apply for two different periods; the colonial period and the post colonial one.

The assimilationist colonial authorities have tried to control the Algerians by moving away from their Arabo-Islamic culture and imposing both French language and culture upon the whole society. The same procedure has been followed by the Algerian governments in post colonial era, where Arabic has been imposed in order to affirm Algerian identity and culture. In other words, the purpose of both policies consists to substitute one culture by another.

As far as individual acculturation is concerned, Algerians are free to choose their proper culture. Effectively, some Algerians during the colonial period have maintained their Arabo-Islamic culture, at the same time acquiring the western culture. Some others have succeeded in preserving French language and culture after independence in spite of the Arabisation policy.

Effectively, Arabisation policy is used as a vehicle of resistance against French policy during the colonialism, requires later for nation building in post colonial era. Indeed, immediately after achieving independence from France, Algeria has imposed Arabic as the sole national[9] and official language of the country, through pursuing systematic language policy called Arabisation. The main task of language planners is to address effectively language-policy to attain individual and societal language needs as well as gearing the nation's social, economic, cultural and linguistic development.

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[9] The term national language is chosen for the achievement of nationalism, whereas, official language which is connected with nationism, is used in the business of government (legislative, executive and juridical) (Fishman 1972).

1.5 Language Planning and language Policy

The policy of Arabisation cannot be understood without a review on the concepts of language planning and policy. In fact, the terms language planning and language policy have been used to designate the same kind of activities, even though they may refer to governmental decisions related to language affairs, largely implied in government, administration, education and economy. According to Kaplan & Baldauf (1997: xi) **"language planning is an activity, most visibly undertaken by government, intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers"**

As far as language policy is concerned, Kaplan & Baldauf (Ibid) define it as: **"body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system"**

Generally, language planning and language policy can be assigned three major activities: corpus planning, acquisition planning and status planning:

1.5.1 Corpus Planning

Corpus planning is a measure taken to select, and to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical features of a one specific language. According to Ferguson (1964), it generally involves three sub processes summarise below:
a. Graphisation: refers to the development of a writing system.
b. Standardization: prescription of norms of usage.
c. Modernization: expansion of the vocabulary through the elimination of out-dated terms and the introduction of new technical terms.

Therefore, corpus planning refers to the creation and the development of both vocabulary and writing system, as well as the evaluation and standardization of one specific variety of languages among a number of varieties. (Haugen 1987)

1.5.2 Acquisition Planning

It refers to the implementation of a strategy or policy aiming at increasing the use and users of a language through language teaching. However, the following conditions are necessary: **"the language must have an accepted writing system, basic teaching and reading material must be available in the language; there must be teachers who can speak, read and write it"**. (Bowers 1968:388)

1.5.3 Status Planning

Status planning refers to the process of the selection and the use of languages in relation to education, administration, mass media and international relations, as well as government functions (legislative, executive and juridical). Jernudd & Das Gupta **(**1971: 211) define status planning as a **"political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society."**

At this period, the politicians considere Algeria as a monolingual country. Arabic is thus declared the unique official language. Thereby, this strategy seems clear that has ignored the multilingual reality. As a matter of fact, Algerian society has split into two major groups; on the one hand the inveterate supporters of Arabisation policy and on the other hand, who call boycotting this policy.

1.6 Language Attitudes

Language attitude is an important issue in which certain speakers of one specific language or variety express positive or negative feelings towards another language. Baker (1992:9) states that:

> **"A survey of attitudes provides an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires. Attitude surveys provide social indicators of changing beliefs and the chances of success in policy implementation"**

The construction and change of attitudes may either show views towards the language of that group or towards individual speakers of that language. This is strongly influenced by social and political factors; including socio-cultural background, language proficiency, language function and so on.

The Algerian context constitutes a propitious landscape of language attitude phenomena. Effectively, the diversity of languages in Algeria has created different linguistic groups, in the way that each group developed his own attitude towards the other groups. This is clearly remarkable in the case of Arabophones attitudes towards French and francophones, or even Berberophones towards Arabophones and Arabisation policy.

In some cases, this divergence in attitudes can raise serious confrontations between supporters of different linguistic groups.

1.7 Language Conflict

The presence of many languages in the same area easily causes conflict. Language conflict arises from the confrontation of different values and attitude structures of two or more groups which are in contact within the same society.

> **"Conflict is present when two or more parties perceive that their interests are incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or...pursue their interests through actions that damage the other parties...Interests can diverge in many ways: Over resources, over power, over identity, over status and over values"** (CAII, 1997a: 2-3)

Language conflict appears when two or more languages that are clearly different confront each other in the social and political field. Language competition is then, driven by individuals organised as groups of language speakers who start having agreements by adopting certain language and rejecting another. Two types of language conflict are generally distinguishable:

1.7.1 Ethnic Language Conflict

Before analysing the term ethnic language conflict, we should point out that the term ethnic groups are communities whose members share a collective identity based on cultural values. Language is then, a symbolic feature of an ethnic group, in the sense that every ethnic group is deeply attached to his tongue; symbol of identity. Liebkind (1989: 143) declares **"when ethnic group identity becomes important for individuals, they may attempt to make themselves favorably distinct on dimensions such as language"**.

According to Gurr (2000), two types of ethnic language conflict are distinguished; internal ethnic language conflict, and external ethnic language conflict or ethno-Political language conflict. The former traditionally existe between linguistic minorities, which differ in norms and values. The multiplicity of indigenous minority languages in Nigeria is the good example[10]; whereas the latter refers to a conflict

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[10] In Nigeria today, according to the 15th edition of the Ethnologue report for Nigeria, there are more than 400 living languages co-existing with one another.

which exists between minorities and majorities. Gurr (2000: 65) defines ethno-political conflict as **"conflicts in which claims are made by a national or minority group against the state or against other political actors"**. The Berber question in Algeria is one of these cases.

1.7.2 Political language conflict

One major source of political language conflict is closely related to the unequal distribution of social roles assigned to languages in competition. The dominant language generally tends to reserve certain areas of interest closely related to government, education, economic institutions and media, whereas, the other languages are excluded from the state national agenda. This type is the result of the incompatibility of language attitudes shown between population groups of different socioeconomic structures. Nelde (1987: 35) says:

> **"The height of a political language conflict is reached when all conflict factors are combined in a single symbol, language, and quarrels and struggles in very different are as [politics, economics, administration and education] appear under the heading language conflict"**

For a better understanding the diagram below illustrates different types of language conflict:

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  Language conflict   │
                    └─────────────────────┘
              ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
    ┌──────────────────┐            ┌──────────────────┐
    │ Ethnic Language  │            │ Political language│
    │    Conflict      │            │    conflict      │
    └──────────────────┘            └──────────────────┘
      ┌────────┴────────┐
┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
│ Internal ethnic  │  │  Ethno-Political │
│ language conflict│  │ language conflict│
└──────────────────┘  └──────────────────┘
```
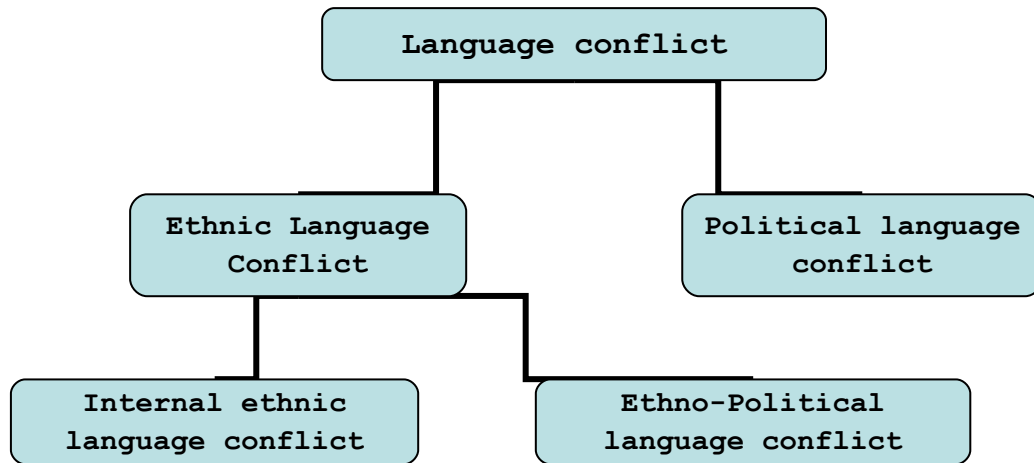
Diagram 1.2: Different types of language conflict

Moreover, according to Krebbs (1985), language conflict can operate in two main ways; exploitation conflict and interference conflict. The former refers to an indirect interaction between different groups involved in the conflict. This conflict is characterized by an unstable tension between the conflicting parties without having recourse to violence. The linguistic conflict existing between French and English in public life in Canada.

While the latter, refers to a direct interaction also called a violent conflict in which the conflicting parties are in a perpetual state of armed confrontation. (CAII, 1997a)

1.8 Conclusion:

The literature review has presented the linguistic challenges of language contact and language conflict, where the main language contact theories have been exposed, mainly bilingualism and other phenomena of juxtaposing two or more languages within a discourse, followed by a brief discussion of language planning and language policy. Finally we have seen language conflict which arises from the confrontation of different attitudinal social groups.

The following chapter describes the language situation, focusing primarily on the history of French in Algeria. It addresses the developments and phases for language policy and planning within education in post colonial era. As a result, these different phases have conducted to a linguistic conflict between Arabophones and Francophones.

Chapter two Sociolinguistic Approach to Algeria's Language Planning and policy

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides the historical background of the current linguistic situation and discusses the factors that are relevant to the current debate about languages in Algeria. It also addresses the developments, phases for language planning and policy.

However, the context in which language policies (Arabisation) are implemented in Algeria requires an understanding of the historical background to the language situation and to its social and political dimensions. This is presented in the following paragraph.

2.2 Language Planning during the Colonial Period

Prior to the French settlement, the traditional system of education in Algeria comprises two kind of institutions, on one hand the Qur'anic primary schools, known as Masjid or Jama, where pupils at a young age are taught to read, write and memorise the Koran. On the other hand, the Koranic secondary schools known as Madrasa or Zaouia, where institutors give courses of Arabic language and literature, and some basics in Islamic law and Qur'anic interpretation.

After Algeria becomes a French colony, French language is inevitably brought to the country. The colonial authorities start adopting an assimilation policy, through imposing both French language and culture upon the whole society.

In this respect, the coloniser' strategies promote school as an effective arm for transforming the Algerian society. This argument is best summed up by Gordon who notes that: **"When the Portuguese colonized, they built churches; when the British colonized, they built trading stations, when the French colonize, they build schools"** (Gordon 1966:7)

As a matter of fact, a new modern system of French education is basically introduced. The new system comprises two kinds of institutions; the French schools reserve for children of the coloniser. Only few Algerian children are admitted to these schools. French is then the language of instruction and Dialectal Arabic is taught as a foreign language. The second kind is the Franco-Islamic schools known as "Collèges Franco-Musulmans' in which French is the language of instruction, and Arabic is taught as a foreign language.

As a result, education is oriented towards French; Arabic is banished not only from official life, but also from educational sphere. Since then, Arabic is cut off from modern scientific development. Dialectal Arabic and Berber on the on the other hand, remain the languages of everyday use among the different population' groups.

This brief survey of the educational system during the colonial period shows that the French colonial policy aim is not only to replace Arabic by French and imposing it in all educational, cultural, economic and political spheres, but also to destroy the rich traditional Islamic education through controlling the Qur'anic schools and reduce the teaching of Arabic.

Indeed, within this strategy, French colonial policy aim is to crush the very components of Algerian identity namely Arabic and Islam **"considered as crucial factors that would lead to national consciousness that the colonial authorities were determined to fight energetically"**. (Mostari 2005:41)

As a result of this, a number of political parties and cultural movements have been developed; their major goal is to affirm the Arabo- Islamic identity

2.3 Algerian Nationalism

Within this section, our study has not the ambition to give a complete description of Algerian nationalism, although its exciting epic and brave actors, it is restricted to some linguistic events appeared in pre-independent era.

From the beginning, nationalist greater' claims are to advocate the use of Arabic, Islam and Algerian territory as references for the national identity, gradually despoil by the colonizer. This strategy aim is to awake the Algerian consciousness already declares indigenous by the French authorities.

The first nationalist ideas have born immediately after the participation of young Algerians with the French army into the First World War 1914-1918. Although this experience is dramatic, it has proved benefits for this generation who developed philosophic ideas concerning human rights, freedom and democracy. At the end of the war, many of these Algerians have concentrated efforts in order to reclame their social revendication develop later into various political and cultural organizations. Next we highlight the most important protagonists' persons who symbolised the Algerian nationalism

Messali Hadj (1898- 1974), pioneer of contemporary Algerian Nationalism, his life coincides with the Algerian political organisations that he will cease to animate North African Star in 1926, Algerian People's party in 1937 and Algerian National Movement in 1945.

The program then defines Messali Hadj for his organisations are democratic and socialist inspired, including land reform and unity with respect to Arabic language and Islam and struggle for national independence. (Kaddache 1980).

Sheikh Abdelhamid Ben Badis (1889-1940), reformist founder of the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulema in 1931, his major claim is to restore Arabic language and Islam consider as **"effective forces of resistance against the attempt of the colonial regime to depersonalise Algeria"** (Gordon, 1966:137). Ben Badis' famous creed is: 'Arabic is my language, Algeria is my country, Islam is my religion'[11] (Stora & Daoud, 1995: 403)

Ferhat Abbes (1899-1985) founder of the Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto (UDMA) in 1946. One of his major claims is the recognition of Algerian cultural specificity and the Arabic language as a national language with the same right as the French language. (Stora & Daoud, 1995)

The Arabic language is thus a reference for the Pan Arab ideological discourse, gradually impose and implied in post colonial era.

2.4 The Arabisation Policy in Post-Colonial Era

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[11]the translation of the original text in French:

"l'Arabe est ma langue, l'Algérie est mon pays, l'Islam est ma religion'

Immediately after wrenching its independence in 1962, Algeria has been obliged to restore its Arabo-Islamic identity. Algeria establishes firstly its constitution, in which it gives priority to Islam as state religion; secondly the country starts a process of linguistic policy which reffered to Arabisation.

This reaction has been drawn against the colonial policy, its major objectives were:

1. To name Arabic as a national and the official language of the state and enforce it in all public sectors namely in the government, education and administration purposes.

2. To displace and devalue the dominance of French language and culture, through a process called linguistic cleansing. This process has been the result of Language shift, where Arabic has displaced the French in various areas of social life.

3. To reduce the influence of all vernaculars i.e. spoken varieties of Arabic and Tamazight, seen as degraded forms which can not have official status (Aitsiselmi 2006)

K.T.Ibrahimi (1997:184) summarises Arabisation in the following:

> **"The arabisation became synonymous to ressourcement, on returning to the authenticity, recovering the attributes of the Arabic identity which can come only by the restoration of the Arabic language, the recovery of the dignity scoffed by the colonizers and the elementary condition to become reconciled with itself "[12]**

Consequently, several laws, decrees and ordinances and all the four Algerian constitutions (1963, 1976, 1989, and 1996)

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[12] the translation of the original text in French:

« L'arabisation est devenue synonyme de ressourcement, de retour à l'authenticité, de récupération des attributs de l'identité arabe qui ne peut se réaliser que par la restauration de la langue arabe, récupération de la dignité bafouée par les colonisateurs et la condition élémentaire pour se réconcilier avec soi-même »

as well as the three national charters (1964, 1976 and 1986)
reject the plurality of the Algerian society, considering
Arabic as the unique language which represents the most
fundamental component of Algerian identity.

This policy has been implemented to cover all the facets of
Algerian society and more especially the educational system.
This leads us directly into the issue of language in education
planning.

2.4.1 Language in-Education Planning

Language in – Education planning may be destinated to
reinforce or implement language policy for the state as a
whole. In this respect Hartshone (1987:63) points out:

> **Language policies are highly charged political
> issues and seldom if ever decided on educational
> grounds alone … this is particularly true of the
> experience of bilingual and multilingual countries,
> where decisions on language in education have to do
> with issues of political dominance, the protection
> of the power structure, the preservation of
> privilege…"**

In post independent Algeria, language strategy consistes to
promote the education system. This latter is designated as the
basic issue for nation building and to impregnate young
Algerian children their own identity and culture. We cannot
appreciate the arabisation in education system, without taking
into consideration the linguistic situation at that time.

Effectively, a small minority of Algerian children are in
school in 1962, and there are only 557 Muslim students to 4548
Europeans at the University of Algiers. (Gordon 1985). Thus,
French is the predominant language for all public spheres,

whereas Colloquial/Algerian Arabic is the language of daily life communication among the majority.

The Algeria experience with language in-education policy in post colonial era corresponds to two major periods: The first period corresponds to bilingual education in Arabic and French from 1960's till 1970's. The second period corresponds to monolingual education in Arabic from the late 1980's till nowadays.

Indeed, after the end of the colonial period, Algeria inherites French educational system. All the subjects in the school are taught in French, apart from Islamic courses which are given in Arabic. In the early 1970's, French is replaced by Arabic as the language of instruction for social sciences from the primary school, where 10 hours of Arabic instruction are introduced per week (out of 30 hours reserved for French), and by maintaining French with scientific subjects (math, calculus, biology) till the third year in secondary school. (Benrabah 2007a).

The next table shows Levels in Primary and Secondary Education between 1960's till 1970's.

	year	Language variety used
Primary school	1st year	All in Standard Arabic
	2nd year	All in standard Arabic
	3rd year	Standard Arabic+ French a foreign language
	4th year	Standard Arabic+ French a foreign language
	5th year	Standard Arabic+ French a foreign language
	6th year	Standard Arabic+ French a foreign language
Middle school	1st year	For the three years, all in Standard Arabic + French for scientific disciplines
	2nd year	
	3rd year	
	4th year	SA + French for Maths, Biology and Geography
Secondary school	1st year	Standard Arabic + French for scientific disciplines for the two first years
	2nd year	
	3rd year	Standard Arabic + French for Philosophy, Geography and scientific disciplines

Table 2.1: Levels in Primary and Secondary Education between 1960's till 1970's (adapted from K.T.Ibrahimi 1997:133)

As far as higher education is concerned, the period between 1960's till the late 1970's shows the spread of French for all disciplines, because the teachers working at that time are francophones who study during the colonial period.

Soon after, the situation of having an educational system dominates by a colonial language is clearly not acceptable for the Algerian leaders, who call for immediate arabise educational system. To understand these educational needs, Algerian language planners set specific solutions, elaborating procedures for their implementation. One important decision is the elaboration of teaching methods and materials. In this respect, important textbooks are given from the Lebanese house of Publication (Dar Ennashr Lilkiteb) namely school children's grammar books and most reading materials in general.

As for the second requirement, which is related to language teacher supply, the Algerian government provide competent teachers in Arabic and suitably traine ones who can help to achieve an effective Arabisation. So in 1964, 1000 Egyptians are recruited as Arabic language instructors; the same number of Syrian teachers is sent in 1967. (Benmoussat 2003)

Therefore, with the creation of the centre for the Intensive Teaching of Languages in 1981, The Algerian Academy for the Arabic Language in 1986, the Ministry of National Education starts with the experience of Arabised fundamental school. This consists of a fusion of primary and middle school grades (nine consecutive years), Arabic is the language of instruction of all the subjects with a compulsory teaching of religious instruction at all levels, French is postponed until grade four as the first mandatory foreign language and English as the second mandatory foreign language in grade eight.

In 1993, the ministry of education introduces English into the primary school, where children have to choose between English and French in the fourth grade of primary education, but this experience has not followed.(Benrabah 2007b)

At university level, the government has called for a total Arabisation of the first year of social and political science, law and economics, (Grandguillaume 2004a). This strategy aims to open the door for Arabised fundamental students, to continue their studies in Arabic. As far as technical and scientific faculties are concerned, the ministry of higher education has tried to arabise these instutions, following the same experience conducted in the fundamental school.

Effectively, in 1980's a center for translation is created in order to develop Arabic scientific terminology (Abid 2006).

The second example is the recruitment of 1500 Iraqi teachers in 1991 to pursue the process of Arabised scientific faculties (Benrabah 2007a), but all these attempts have failed, and French remaines the language of instruction.

To sum up, Arabisation as an exhaustive process of recovering Arabo-Islamic identity has been established in order to transform the Algerian society from one extreme to another, from plurilingual state to monolingual one. This situation has created an antagonist movement, reclaiming the necessity to recognise Algerian multilingual nature.

At this stage, the linguistic question has been a source of conflict and competition, not only between the arabophones and the francophones, but also between arabophones and berberophones. In the next section, we will try to see the other side of the arabisation policy.

2.5 Language Conflict as a Component of Language Policy

One reason that has accentuated the conflict between different languages in Algeria, is the supremacy accorded to Arabic by public authorities to the detriment of other practical languages. Indeed, this exaggeration over the use of Arabic has changed the linguistic nature of the state, from a plurilingualism society to a monolingual one. As a result, many linguistic agents have expressed their displeasure to this policy in different manners, from a simple discoursive confrontation to real linguistic conflict.

2.5.1 Marginalizing the Mother Tongues

In post-independent Algeria, Arabic has the important role of eradicating the mother tongues Algerian Arabic and Berber. (Aitsiselmi 2006)

Although, Algerian Arabic and Berber are essential distinguishing characteristics of Algerians, connected with everyday life, culture and tradition, they are excluded entirely from official setting, educational and public spheres. They are considered simple "dialects" limited to oral uses.

This view agrees on Ennaji' assumption about dialectal Arabic, a variety that is neither codifies nor standardises, not directly associates with religion and literary tradition. (Ennaji 1999).

This implementation does not share the same opinions with many sociolinguists (Fishman 1985, Landers 2002). According to them education in the mother tongue offers many advantages for children. Their reasons are both pedagogical and social. First education in mother tongue makes access to knowledge easier and facilitates the learning process. Second, education in the mother tongue is important for cultural maintenance and preservation. (Diallo 2005)

As far as the Berber dialect is concerned, and in an attempt to sweep away ethnic divisions associated with colonial rule, the Algerian state since Independence has tried to enforce a single Arabo-Muslim identity.

When the Algerian Government declares Arabic the national and official language of Algeria, this set off a revolt which became known as the **'Berber Spring'** in 1980 (Mouhleb: 2005). Such protests have continued since then.

The people in Kabylia ask for equal rights as all Algerians, and also the recognition of Tamazight as an official language along side Arabic. As a result, in October 2001, the government announces that the constitution will be amended to make Tamazight a second national language.

2.5.2 Traditional discourse of Arabophones versus Discourse of Francophones

The conflict between Arabic and French is the most salient one, which appeares between the Arabophones who advocate the maintenance of Arabisation, and the Francophones who tend to oppose this language policy. In the beginning, this conflict is considered a social issue; with time it become a political one. In fact at present, the debate does not take a social view, but rather political, religious claims between a two different groups sharing contradictory ideological, cultural, and political orientations.

Ennaji (1991:17-18) writes in this respect:

> **"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"**

The predominant group called the Arabophones use Islamic and Arabization values to show that Algeria is a monolingual and monocultural state. However, they hold a favourable attitude towards the use of Arabic not only in the educational system, but also in all political, administrative, economic and cultural sectors.

On the other hand, French is regarded as a language of the colonizer, a source of conflict and confusion, and that the country can only re-establish its authentic identity by operating solely in Arabic. Worst again, this attitude does not only concern the French language, but also its supporters Francophones. They denounce them like traitors, enemies of the Arabic nation, and partisans of western culture.

Granguillaume (1997:3) declares:

> **The political discourse makes Arabisation a competition of Arabic against French, what is true, in the measure where the former declared national and official language, taking the place of French. But it is also presented as a conflict with France, even with those which in Algeria use French in their activity; we denounce them as hizb fransa or holders of French party[13]**

Clearest arguments are summarized in these points:

- Arabic is the language in which GOD has transmitted his words to men, by which already proves the glorious and reliable Arabic civilization, when the French language did not even exist, and where the Europe is in darkness and total obscurantism. (Maherzi 1999)

- Foreign language like French can take the place of

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[13] the translation of the original text in French

"Le discours politique fait de l'Arabisation un combat de la langue Arabe contre la langue Française, ce qui est vrai, dans la mesure où la première est vouée comme langue nationale est officielle, à prendre la place du Français. Mais elle est aussi présentée comme un conflit avec la France, voire avec ceux qui, en Algérie utilisent le Français dans leur activité, on les dénonce comme Hizb fransa, tenants du parti de la France"

Arabic, preventing it to grow and meet the application of modernity.

   - French is the vector of divergent cultural influence of Muslim culture and solidarity, by introducing new methods and new cultural norms.

   - English is more important than French in terms of modernisation and globalisation.

   As far as the Francophones is concerned, they advocate the maintenance of the use of French, at least in most important fields like education. They regard Arabic as to be carrying underdevelopment and decline. More again, they consider Arabophones as retrograde and unqualified persons, who always back to their glorious past, without looking to modernity and progress. Their major arguments are summarized in these points:

   - French facilitates access to Western culture and economic development, and the command of the language guarantees social and political prominence.

   - The use of French language may favour the access to different services mainly the professional field.

The table below illustrates different points of view held by Arabophones and Francophones:

Table2.2: Arabophones / Francophones opinions. (adapted

	Arabophones	Francophones	
+Arabic	- national language -language of Algerian true personality -the capacity of the language to follow modernity (the glorious past of the language	-It neither the language of Algerian people nor their mother tongue -it cannot be the vehicle for science and technology	**-Arabic**
-French	-foreign language -the language of the colonizer -language alienation	-language of technology and modernity -language of social and political prominence	

from K.T.Ibrahimi 51997:229)

Here are some examples cited in Benrabah (2007a) on language competition, taking into account the disproportion between a minority group of Francophones and the whole Algerian state:

-On August 11[th], 1967 the minister of National Education denounced the teachers' opposition to Arabisation Laws concerning all domains especially the educational and the administrative one.

-In the same year, a survey is carried out by an American university to take students'points of views about the Arabisation laws; the study shows that 80% of them are against arabised university.

- On December 27[th], 1990 400.000 peole demonstrated in

Algiers streets against the total Arabisation.

- One year later, there is a strike of university teachers to express their displeasure about the Arabisation of some faculties and the recruitment of 1500 Iraqi professors to continue this process.

- Later in March 2003, a group of Algerians created the National Association for the Defense of Francophonia in Algeria.

On the ground of such views and since independence, successive Algerian governments have applied radical Arabisation policies, which make Algeria a monolingual and monocultural country retires into itself, refusing any cultural diversity. With the arrival of President Bouteflika, in the late 1999, he has tried to diminish the gap of this policy.

2.6 Towards an attenuation of the conflict

In the late 1990's, political commentators have remarked a real change in state' attitude towards Algerian history and linguistic reality of the country. Furthermore, we must point out that this decision also concerns French language as a linguistic and cultural heritage from the colonial past. Nevertheless, the reform limits French language use to formal planning without changing it political status[14]

In fact, according to the new president, there is no reason so that the various cultures which constitute the Algerian society to live in autarchy, since it is admitted

[14] Regarding the model followed by Algeria, we could assert that it was classified as a uni-model nation, by preserving the maintenance of Arabic language as the national and official language, and to comply with the requirements of a modern state, which appears in the maintenance of French

that each culture needs the other to open out. Bouteflika declared on 18th of October, 2002 in Beirut:

> **"Today he said, we must know how to divide up of the touchy nostalgia which expresses itself, and to open us without complex to the culture of the other, to face better the challenge of the modernity and the development, by ourselves [] the usage of the French language is a link which insures our unity"**[15]
>
> **(**Le soir 20/10/2002)

By his speech, the president asks that French will be any more an object of tension, but rather a means of Algerian cultural development, i.e. enrichment for our Arabo-Islamic heritage. Algeria consequently adopts a new attitude vis à vis the French language, an attitude much more open and much more tolerant. (Hamidou 2007)

In the next section we will try to summarise French language reforms especially those concerning education and the francophonie.

2.6.1 New Reforms in the Educational System

These political reforms carry out with the arrival of president Bouteflika, aim chiefly to remodel the educational system, where the failure of Arabisation was flagrant.

The sole remedy to this ill-success policy is the return

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[15]The translation of the original text in French:

" Aujourd'hui disait-il, nous devons savoir nous répartir de la nostalgie chatouilleuse qui s'exprime en repli sur soi, et nous ouvrir sans complexe à la culture de l'autre, afin de mieux affronter le défi de la modernité et du développement, par nous-mêmes et dans nous- mêmes […] l'usage de la langue Française est un lien qui assure notre unité"

to bilingualism. This latter has to be applied for the whole educational levels. In deed, the president promotes the work of the CNRSE (National Commission on Reforming the Educational System) set up in May 2000. This committee is assigned a series of challenges that can be summarized in four essential points:

- **The remodeling of the educational system**
- **Renewal pedagogy**
- **Teaching qualifications**
- **Improving higher education** (Lacoste 2007)

It consists of 160 members, all designate by Presidential decree (researchers, professors, linguists). It is constituted of Arabophones who see that the Algerian education should be based on Arabic and Islamic tradition, and Francophones who denounce the desire to emulate the Algerian educational system on a French one. It has taken over two years for the commission to complete its works and offers its first steps. (Ibid)

In deference to CNRSE proposals, the Algerian government has declared the end of fundamental school system to fill the place for the old structure comprising 3 stages: primary school which lasts five years, Middle school with four years, Secondary school with three years.

Arabic is the medium of instruction from the primary till the secondary school providing a total of 12 years of education. French is taught as a subject from grade two in primary school as the first foreign language, instead of the 4[th] year primary school, till the final year of the secondary cycle totaling 11 years of instruction.

The authorities also recruite 1500 French language teachers and make new French textbooks to meet the demand for French language teaching. As far as English is concerned, it is introduced in the first grade of middle school.

This commission for educational Reform, chaires by Mr Benzaghou makes other recommendations, rejecte by the government, which consists to introduce French in scientific subjects. In this fact, Abou Bakr Benbouzid, Minister of Education declares in 2003:

> **"The committee has given the proposal to teach science subjects in French, but the cabinet has rejected this suggestion. It is very difficult for the government to introduce foreign languages in the Algerian educational system because everyone has something to say, there are the conservatives and the democrats"** [16]
>
> (Le soir septembre 2004)

In 2006, after a review of year-end, Benbouzid, has found that the results concerning French are unsatisfactory. During a broadcast with "chaine 1", the Minister declares that, French language will be taught from next year in the third year primary school and not in the second year.

> **"It was found that the decision to teach French from the second year must be rectified, since the pupil during his first two years of primary school**

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[16] The translation of the original text in French:

"La commission Benzaghou avait émis la proposition d'enseigner les matières scientifiques en Français, mais le conseil des ministres a refusé cette suggestion […]. Il a été très difficile pour le gouvernement d'introduire les langues étrangères dans le système éducatif Algérien car chacun a son mot à dire, il y'a les conservateurs et les démocrates".

should firstly be familiar with his own national language"[17]

(Le Soir 30/05/2006)

In higher education, the situation has not changed. In the social and Humanities faculties, Arabic remains the language of instruction and French appears as an auxiliary language. In the other branches, French is the means of teaching in scientific and technical faculties. The next table shows the disciplines where Arabic and French are used:

Hours per week		
Disciplines	SA as a medium of instruction	Fr as a medium of instruction
Social sciences and Humanities	25	4
Exact sciences	4	25
Medicine	2	30
Veterinary medicine	4	27

Table 2.3: language spread in university (Benrabah 2007:98 Adapted from Queffélec et al. (2002)

2.6.2 Francophonie and the Algerian state

The concept of francophonie implies belonging to an international political and cultural community, between France and its former colonies, Algeria is a francophone country, not only because it was a former French colony, but also French is considered as a second language used in the country. Algeria has always refused to join this company because it has been dismissed as nothing more than a neocolonial instrument of domination. In le monde 2 July 1982 Paul Balta declared:

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[17] The translation of the original text in French:

"On a constaté que la décision d'enseigner le Français en deuxième année devait être rectifiée, puisque l'élève doit pendant les deux premières années du primaire se familiariser d'abord avec sa langue nationale".

[In Algeria today]… **twenty times more children learn French than during the time of French Algeria. Paradox: even though the government refuses to recognize bilingualism and francophonie, Algeria is the second most francophone nation in the world"**

(Balta cited in Spolsky 2004:45)

Today, to exceed this irrefutable fact, it becomes a true need for the Algerian state to be opened on the world of western culture in order to develop the country. Therefore, with the arrival of President Bouteflika, things seem to be changed vis-à-vis this community. Indeed, his participations in different Francophonie' summits only as an observer member, makes a last step concerning major taboos linked to Algerian history and linguistic reality of the country. The newly elected president declares in the summer 1999:

"Algeria does not belong to francophonie, but there is no reason for us to reject the French language. In fact, this language taught us several things and opened to us the door to French culture" [18]   (El Watan, 1/8/1999)

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[18] The translation of the original text in French:

 L'Algérie n'appartient pas à la Francophonie, mais nous n'avons aucune raison de rejeter la langue Française. En effet, cette langue nous a enseigné plusieurs choses et nous a ouvert la porte sur la culture Française.

At any rate, the measures taken by President Bouteflika make Algeria's language policy unique. The declaration puts a term of several years of linguistic and ideological conflict between Arabophones and Francophones and opens a new area. However, this does not mean that the contradictions have disappeared. Indeed, a few years later, it is difficult to conclude the real strategy vis à vis French language. In fact, recently in the deep "war of memory" between France and Algeria, President Bouteflika doesn't hesitate to pronounce what he called **"a genocide of the Algerian identity from the part of colonial France".**[19] (Lacoste 2007)

Furthermore, the head of the state orders 42 private French language schools to be closed for linguistic deviation, on April 2005, he declares to ministers of Education of the African union (AU):

> **"It is very clear that any private institution which does not take into account the fact that Arabic is the national and official language, and which does not grant it absolute priority is doomed to disappear"**[20]   (le soir April 2005)

More than that he refuses to attend the Francophonie Summit hold in Bucarest in Romania in

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[19]The translation of the original text in French: génocide de l'identité Algérienne par la France coloniale

[20]The translation of the original text in French:"Il est tout à fait clair que toute institution privée, qui ne tient pas compte du fait que l'Arabe est la langue nationale et officielle, et qui ne lui accorde pas une priorité absolue est appelée à disparaître"

2006 (Le soir 5/2006)

2.7 Conclusion

Current language planning and policy in Algeria reflect a long historical process strongly marked by its colonial past. However, when the country achieves independence, new reforms are taken to restore Arabic as the only national and official language of the country. As a consequence, this policy has led to linguistic competition between supporters of Arabisation and those against it.

The next chapter addresses the research methodology used in this dissertation. It deals with the sampling procedures, instruments used for the data collection and finally analyses the result both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Chapter Three Case Study

3.1 Introduction

To provide well-researched data for advice on language contact and language conflict, the study focuses on both quantitative and qualitative research. For this purpose a set of two questionnaires and one interview are used to collect the data, participants observation and informal conversations.

The discussion in this chapter comprises four sections:
- The first section presents an overview of the general and linguistic characteristics of the sample.
- The second section includes linguistic competence
- The third section highlights the patterns of the language used by the respondents in various settings.
- The fourth section gives the respondents' answers with regard to their attitudes towards different languages.

3.2 Field Study:

Among higher disciplines in Algeria, there are studies in Medical sciences (pharmacy, medicine, dental surgery). The choice to undertake studies in these sectors is based upon a good average on the Baccalaureate exam. But as soon as new students start the lectures, they find themselves in a continuous labyrinth of decline, especially after their first exams where the results are surpringly low. Many students at this stage leave university. Nevertheless, the first year programmes are virtually identical to those of the third year secondary school, especially with mathematics, physics and chemistry. What are the real causes? This is a question this research seeks to answer.

In fact, the question of what language to use as a language of science has been dealt with repeatedly since the beginning of this century. Algeria which was under French occupation has generally used French in teaching science, but since the Arabisation policy, the Algerian government has tried to liberate themselves from foreign influence.

Teaching in Arabic instead of French is one of the measures taken in that direction. At present, the teaching of science at the pre-university level is done in Arabic, whereas in higher institutions lectures may be given in French. For a better understanding, we have conducted a survey involving forty students from the first year, and ten teachers from the faculty of Medicine in Tlemcen University, over a three-month period (from December to February 2010).

3.3 Data Collection Tools

To collect data for this research, two questionnaires and one interview are designed; the first data collection tools are submitted to the students' group; this includes a questionnaire, participant observation and informal conversations. Whereas, the second data collection tools are administered to the teachers group; it comprised a questionnaire and a semi-structured interview hold with five members of the teachers group. For practical reasons, the opinion statements are given in French.

3.3.1 The Questionnaire

3.3.1.1 Students' Questionnaire

The sets of this method sought informations on the following:

1. The identity of the students (age and gender)
2. language qualifications and skills
3. language challenges in social and professional contexts
4. language choice and attitude

a. **Students' identity**

Our investigation shows that a large number of respondents, 80% are between 18-25 years old, while 20% are more than 25 years old. 70% are females and 30% are males.

b. **Linguistic competence**

Students are first asked to evaluate their language skills in both Arabic and French.

	Speaking	listening	reading	writing	Total
Arabic	27%	25%	26%	22%	100%
French	35%	23%	25%	17%	100%

Table 3.1 : linguistic competence
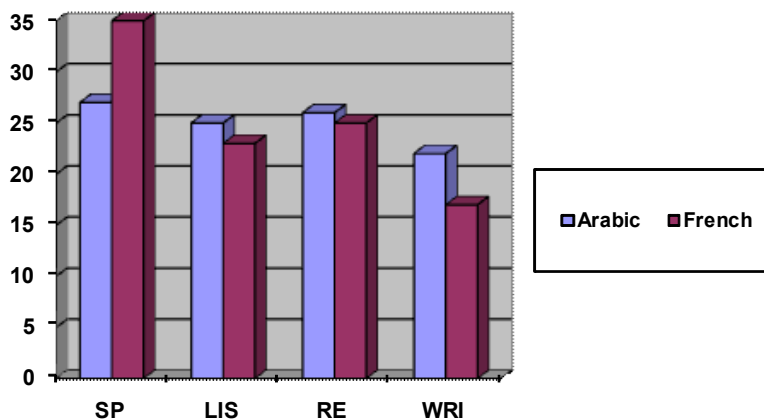
Graph 3.1: Linguistic competence among students' respondents

Given that Arabic is the medium of instruction, in their

12 years primary and secondary schools and all the students investigated have an Arabised Baccalaureate, it will be expected that all students claim competence in Arabic in all four skills whereas, French is introduced in their new studies as a medium of instruction, students claim that their spoken French 35% is better than the written one 17%, while 23% and 25% thought they can understand and read it.

c. Language used by students

Having ascertained that the students have a certain level of competence in both Arabic and FR, the next questionnaire asks if they use either of these languages in a variety of situations.

	Arabic	French	Algerian Arabic	Ar/Fr CS/CM	Total
University teachers	3%	63%	13%	21%	100%
University students	4%	48%	21%	27%	100%
Home matters	4%	19%	47%	30%	100%

Table 3.2: Language used by students
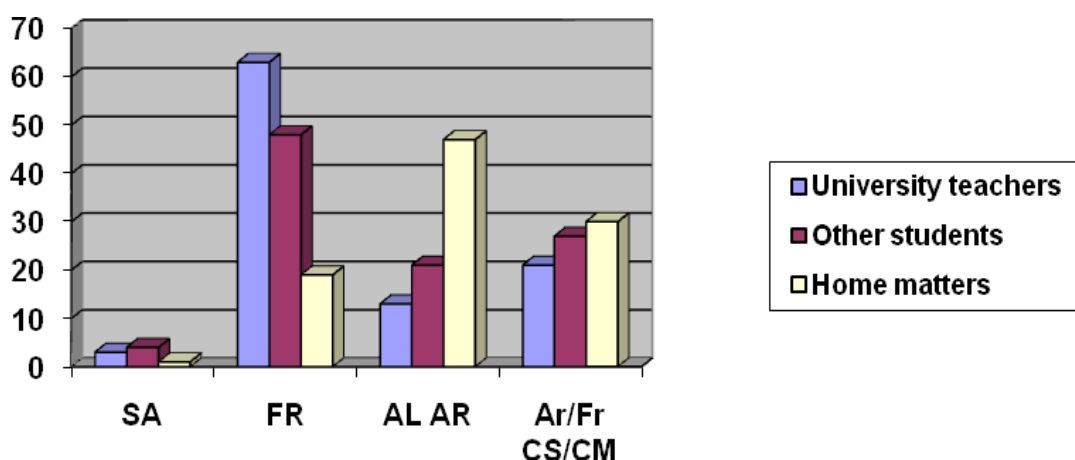
Graph 3.2: Language use by students

The respondents do not use Arabic widely, around all

students claim to always use FR with classmates and with their teachers 63%, although their competence differes from one to another, whereas, AA is the normal language of every day use with members of their family 47%, although there are a considerable number of students who claim to use FR at home 19%. Another factor, which has been taken into consideration, is the concept of Code Switching/mixing; here students use the two codes at home 30%, for students' conversations 27%, and even with classmates 21%

d. Language choice and attitude

To elucidate the language choice and attitude of the Algerian students, a set of three parallel questions discuss whether the importance of Arabic, French and Arabic/French bilingualism should be increased. So, students are asked to say if they agree or disagree with a series of statements relating to language teaching. The categories were: either to agree = 1, or disagree = 2, or do not know =3.

	1	2	3	**Total**
Arabic is important for teaching Medicine	40%	57%	3%	100%
French is important for teaching Medicine	68%	30%	2%	100%
Arabic French bilingualism is importance for teaching Medicine	80%	17%	3%	100%

Table3.3: importance of the languages in teaching Medicine.
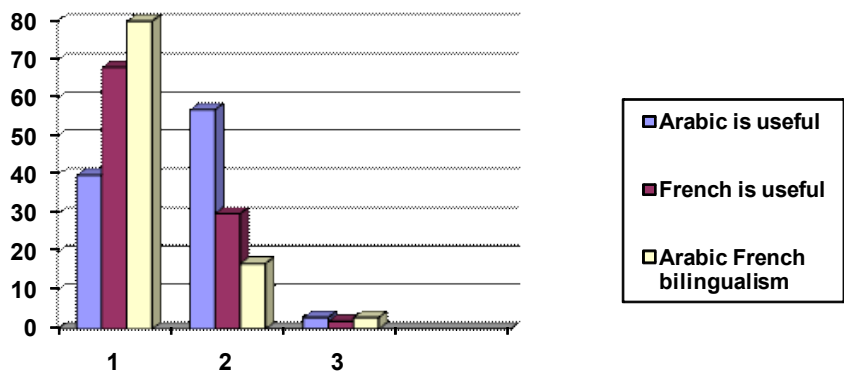
Graph 3.3: importance of the languages in use.

According to table 3.3, the answers suggest that the students are very conscious of the different values assign to different languages. Although, Arabic has been the primary medium of instruction throughout their education, 40% of them were for extending Arabisation to the university science studies, rather than switching to FR. More than a half is firmly in favour of French to be their mode of instruction 68%. As far as bilingualism is concerned, the respondents show support, through a total of 80%

On the other hand, the tables 3.4/3.5/3.6/3.7/3.8/3.9 below show the reasons given to the respondents to support their views on whether the languages should be given more importance or not. The discussion below is based both on the positive (agreement) and the negative (disagreement) reasons provided in response to the questions in table 3.3.

Reasons for or against increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine:

- **Reasons for increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine:**

Reasons	Percentages
Facilitates access to knowledge and science	27%
Rich/beautiful and prestigious	24%
Makes communication/understanding more effective	17%
Cultural and linguistic identity	14%
Cultural maintenance and preservation	13%
Boosts economic and social development	5%
Total	100%

Table 3.4: Reasons for increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine
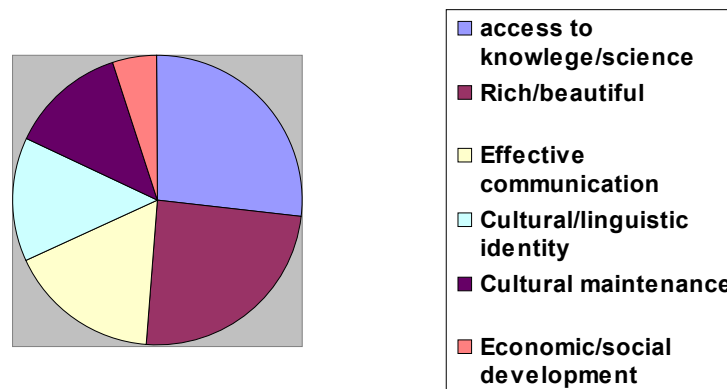
Pie Chart3.1: Reasons for increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine

As shown in table 3.4, the most important reasons for increasing the status of Arabic in Medicine are related firstly that Arabic facilitates access to knowledge and science 27%, this means that education through Arabic makes effective communication and facilitate the learning process

17%, since it is the medium of instruction during all their pre-university levels. Secondly, Arabic is a beautiful and prestigious language that one is lucky to know 24%.

The respondents mention also the importance for cultural and linguistic reasons related to national identity 14%; this is related to cultural maintenance 13%. On the other hand, fewer respondents state that Arabic can manifest economic and social development 5%.

- **Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine:**

Reasons	Percentages
French is more important than Arabic	31%
Language not used in science and technology	23%
Writing lectures and exams are given in French	21%
Science textbooks in Arabic are lacking	20%
Language of literature	5%
Total	100%

Table3.5: Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine
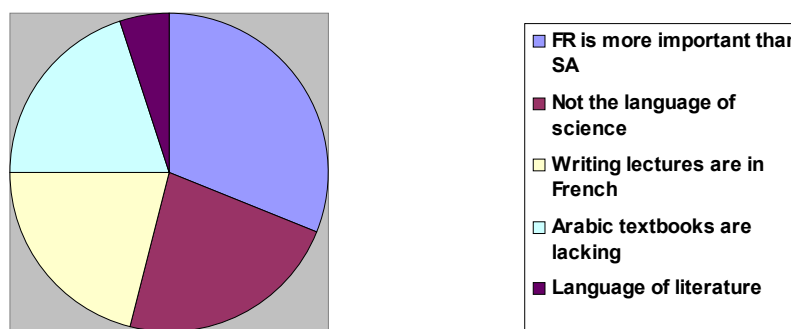
Pie Chart3.2: Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine

According to table 3.5, there are many reasons respondents believe that Arabic should not be given more importance in Medicine. According to them, the most important ones; French

is more important than Arabic (31%). The respondents also state that the language cannot be used in science and technology 23% because of writing lectures, exams which are given only in French 21%, or the lack of science textbooks in Arabic 20%. Therefore, fewer are the respondents who think that Arabic can only be the language of literature 5%.

Reasons for or against the introduction of French in Medicine:

- **Reasons for increasing the importance of French in Medicine:**

Reasons	Percentages
International communication needs	**38%**
Arabisation failure	**25%**
Access to science and technology	**12%**
Science textbooks and references in French	**9%**
Job opportunities	**8%**
Boost economic and social development	**8%**
Total	**100%**

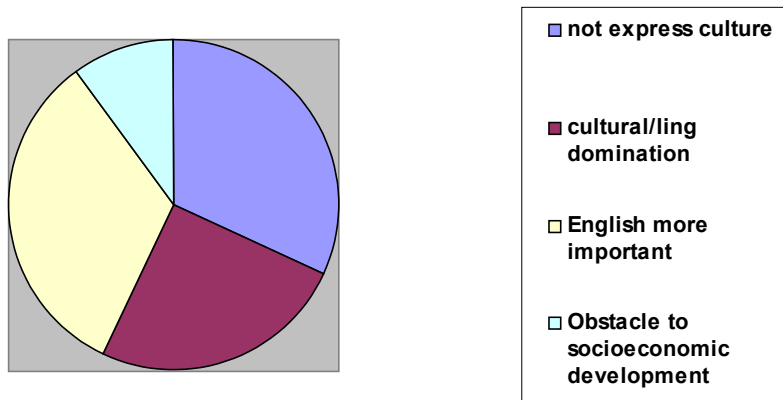**Table 3.6:** Reasons for increasing the importance of French
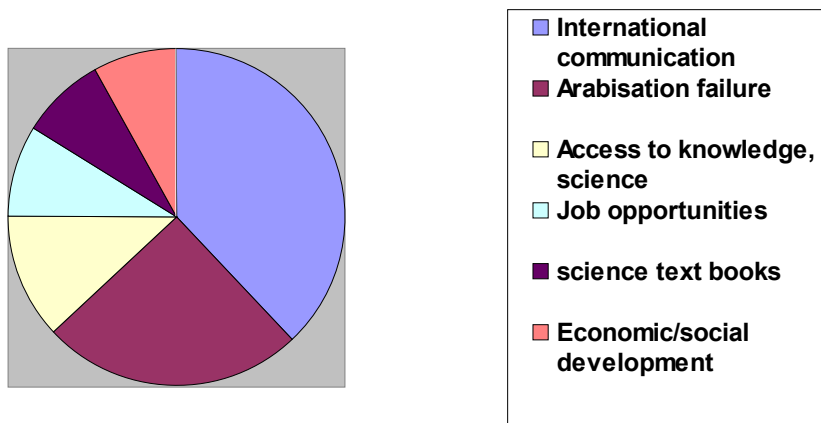
Pie Chart3.3: Reasons for increasing the importance of French

According to table 3.6 below, there is a wide range of reasons for increasing the use of French; the most important ones are related mainly to international communication needs 38%. The second reason is related to Arabisation failure in the educational system 25%, whereas, the third reason is concerned with the language of science and technology 12%, this is based on the diversity of French scientific references 9%. Also important are the finding that around 8% French facilitated the access to job opportunities, and it can boost the economic and social development of the country 8%.

- **Reasons against increasing the importance of French**

Reasons	Percentages
Does not express our culture	**32%**
Cultural and linguistic domination	**25%**
English is more important than French	**33%**
Obstacle to socio-economic development	**10%**
Total	**100%**

Table 3.7: Reasons against increasing the importance of French

Pie Chart3.4: Reasons against increasing the importance of French in Medicine

Table 3.7, shows the reasons put forward by the respondents arguing that French should not be given more importance in the education system; the respondents think that the main reason for this, is that is an obstacle to the local language and culture 32%. Further, the respondents mention that French perpetuates the cultural and linguistic domination 25%. Others say that English is more important than French 33%, and it is an obstacle to socio-economic development 10%.

Reasons for or against the introduction of Arabic/French bilingualism in Medicine:

- **Reasons for the introduction of Arabic/French bilingualism in Medicine:**

Reasons	Percentages
Facilitate access to knowledge	32%
Make communication /understanding more effective	27%
Job opportunities	25%
Feel very comfortable with the two languages	8%
Create interest and motivation to learn the two languages	8%
Total	100%

Table3.8: Reasons for increasing the importance of

Arabic/French bilingualism in teaching Medicine
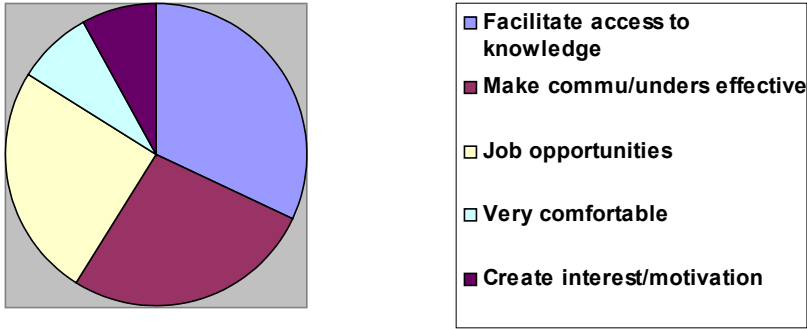
Pie Chart3.5: Reasons to increase the importance of Arabic/French bilingualism in teaching Medicine

As shown in table3.8, a large number of the respondents 80% find that bilingualism should be introduced in Medicine. The main reason they put forward is that bilingualism facilitate access to knowledge 32%. The second most important reason is that bilingualism makes understanding and communication effective 27%, the third one is related to advantages mainly in job opportunities 25%. According to the respondents, they feel very comfortable with Arabic/French bilingualism 8%. The respondents also mention that it can help them to create interest and motivation to learn the two languages 8%.
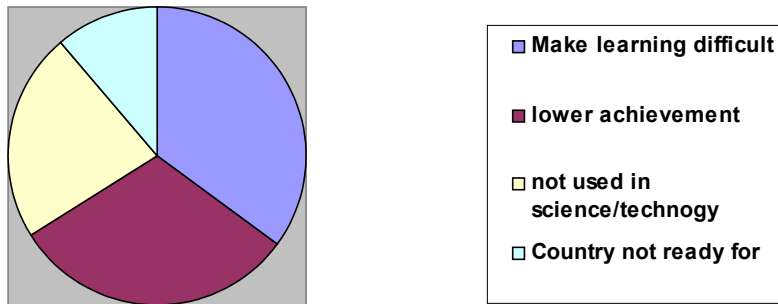
- **Reasons against the introduction of Arabic/French bilingualism in Medicine:**

Reasons	Percentages
Not used in science and technology	35%
Make learning difficult	31%
Create lower achievement in either language	23%
Country is not technically ready for	11%
Total	100%

Table3.9: Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic/French bilingualism in teaching Medicine

Pie Chart3.6: Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic/French bilingualism in teaching Medicine

The respondents indicate a set of reasons why bilingualism should not be introduced into higher scientific education; the first refers to their weight in the scientific and technological domains by indicating that bilingualism is not used in science and technology 35%, the second reason is that they find bilingualism not appropriate because it makes learning difficult 31%, this lead to create a lower achievement in both languages 23%, as well as the country is not technically ready for it introduction 11%.

3.3.2 Teachers' Questionnaires

In order to gather the respondents' informations a questionnaire is held with 10 teachers/doctors from the faculty of Medicine in Tlemcen University, with an experience ranging from 5 to 15 years of instruction.

Firstly, the questionnaire is dealing with these two areas:
- Their students' competences
- Language attitudes towards FR and Arabic, the two languages which are heavily in competition, with regard to their functional use for Medical sciences.
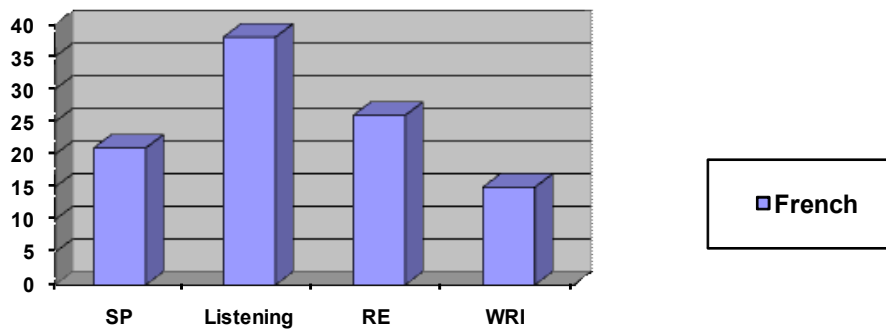
a. Students' competences according to the teachers' judgments

Teachers are first asked to evaluate their students' competence in French. The answers are based on their classroom participation and the First exam.

The teachers' judgment of their students' proficiency in FR is worst, particularly the spoken and the written skill. While they notice that their students are quite better in the two other skills.

	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing	Total
French	2	4	3	1	10

Table 3.10: The students' competences according to teachers' judgements
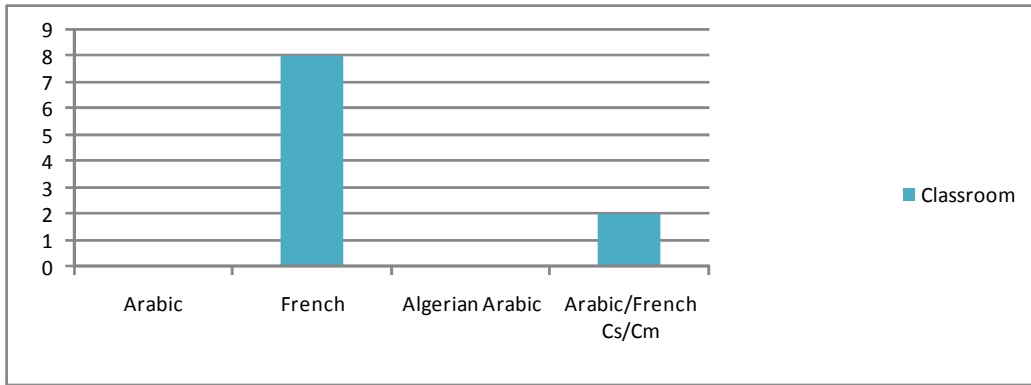

Graph3.4: The students' competences according to their teachers

b. Language use

	Arabic	French	Algerian Arabic	Arabic/French CSwitching/Mixing	**Total**
In Classroom	0	8	0	2	10

Table 3.11: Language use in class

Graph3.5 Language use in classroom

According to table 3.11, French is the only language for teaching medicine, although there are a small number of teachers who switch to Algerian Arabic/French code switching or code mixing. The respondents do not use Arabic and Algerian Arabic at all.

c. The importance of French and Arabic according to teachers' respondents

A set of three questions discusses whether teachers agree=1 or disagree=2 or do not know=3, with the current use of the two languages.

	1	2	3	Total
French is important for teaching Medicine	8	2	0	10
Arabic is important for teaching Medicine	2	6	2	10
Arabic French bilingualism is importance for teaching Medicine	4	3	3	10

Table3.12: importance of the languages in teaching Medicine
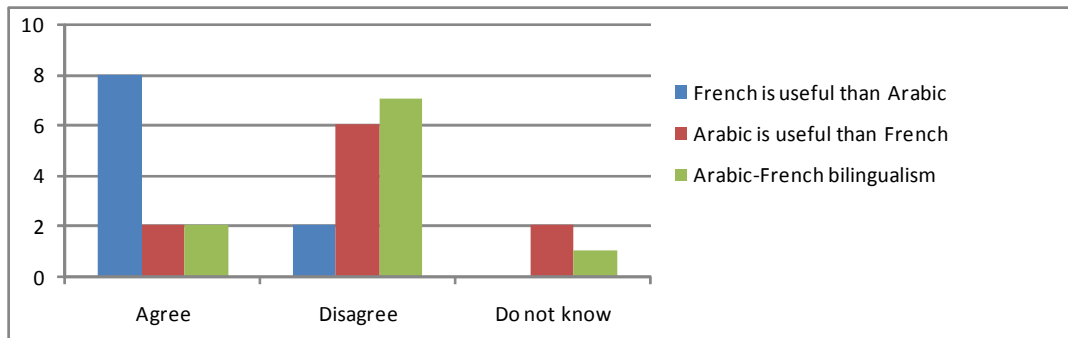
Graph3.6: The importance of the languages in teaching Medicine

According to table 3.12, the teachers are very conscious of the different values assigned to different languages. A number of 8 teachers are in favour of maintaining French for teaching Medicine, while only 6 of them believe that Arabic should not be given more importance in Medicine.

As far as bilingualism is concerned, the majority of the respondents show their refusal.

However, tables 3.13,3.14,3.15 below show reasons given to the respondents to support their views.

A set of three questions discusses whether teachers agree=1 or disagree=2 or do not know=3 with the series of reasons.

Reasons for or against increasing the importance of French in Medicine:

Reasons	1	2	3	Total
Language in research and publication	6	4	0	10
Academic opportunities	2	7	1	10
Language used in science and technology	3	6	1	10
International communication needs	4	6	0	10

Table3.13: Reasons for increasing the importance of French in Medicine
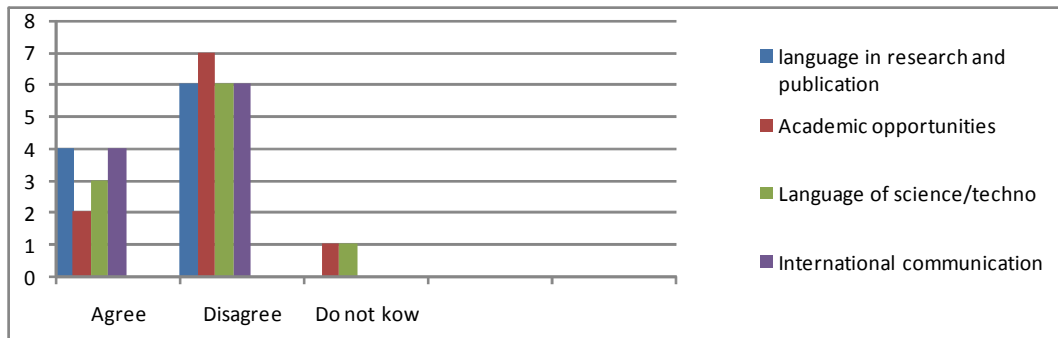
Pie Chart3.7: Reasons for increasing the importance of French in Medicine

According to table 3.13, teachers agree that French should be maintained as a language of science and technology, because it is more appropriate than Arabic in terms of textbooks and vocabulary, this includes academic reasons such as French is used in research and publication, and the international communication needs. Some others disagree because they think that English will overlap with French.
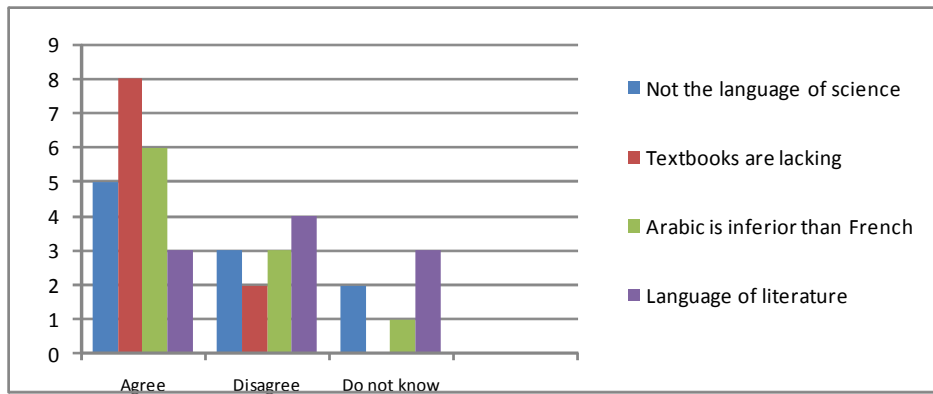
Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine

According to table 3.14, half of the respondents state that Arabic cannot be used in science and technology, because of the lack or the absence of science textbooks. Therefore, fewer are the respondents who believe that Arabic is less important than French, and who think that Arabic can be only the language of literature.

Table3.14: Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine

Reasons	1	2	3	Total
Language not used in science and technology	5	3	2	10
Science textbooks in Arabic are lacking	8	2	0	10
Arabic is inferior	6	3	1	10
Language of literature	3	4	3	10

Pie Chart3.8: Reasons for or against increasing the importance of Arabic in Medicine

Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic- French bilingualism in Medicine

According to table 3.15, The majority of respondents agree with the total reasons given. They find that bilingualism is not appropriate, because it makes their work more difficult, this includes the absence of scientific references and the misappreciation of medical vocabulary in Arabic/ French bilingualism, as well as the impossibility to teach with two languages according to them: no science has been taught in two languages.

Reasons	1	2	3	Total
Make their task more difficult	5	3	2	10
Absence of scientific textbooks in Arabic/French bilingualism	9	0	1	10
Misappreciation of medical vocabulary in Arabic/French bilingualism	8	1	0	10
Impossible to teach with two languages	7	1	2	10

Table3.15: Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic- French bilingualism in higher scientific education
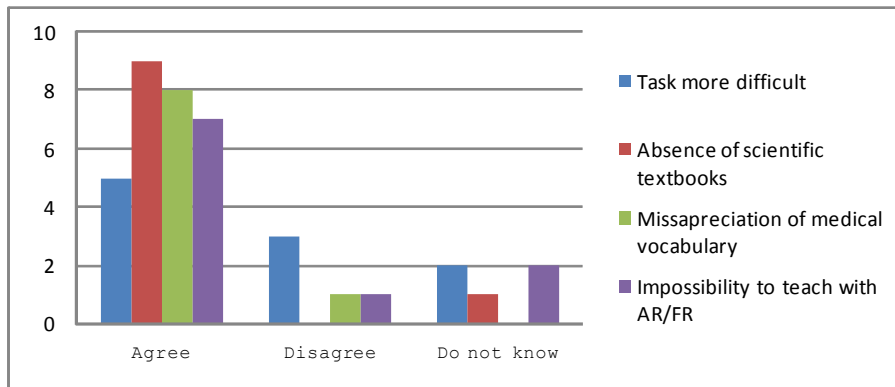
Pie Chart3.9: Reasons against increasing the importance of Arabic- French bilingualism in Medicine

3.3.2 Semi-structured Interviews

In the same period of time, we conduct semi-structured interviews with five teachers from the same faculty. Some teachers are interviewed formally at their educational institute, whereas we work to interview others in private or semi-private space such as the participants' home.

At this stage, the interview is given in the French language in which the interviewees feel most comfortable. The teachers' interviews are hold to elicit information on the influence of Arabisation on pedagogy, with a special focus on the use of French and Arabic in higher scientific disciplines, as well as their attitudes towards these two languages. In those cases, questions are specific to draw out responses from each perspective.

a. The influence of Arabisation on pedagogy

Every interviewee has a great deal to say in this subject. Many of the respondents are disappointed by the consequences of Arabisation, which they feel, has been too hasty, with serious repercussions for their students.

One of the teachers claims: « **The majority of students, at the university level, are still at the stage of deciphering; they still stumble over basic points of the French language.[21] »**

Another teacher said:

> **The paradox is that the students directed to the scientific studies are not on the basis the mark of French; but they are considered capable in view of the results of mathematics, physics and natural sciences. It is thus possible for a candidate having obtained a very bad mark in French to meet student in these scientific disciplines, what explains the abandon of the studies[22]**

b. Attitude towards Standard Arabic

As far as the use of Arabic is concerned in higher scientific fields, an interviewee expresses the feeling that this language can't be the medium of instruction. It is something unacceptable, at least as the participant expresses in the interview. He says:

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[21] The translation of the original text in French:

« La majorité des étudiants sont encore au stade de déchiffrage, même pas capable de produire une phrase simple et correcte. »

[22] The translation of the original text in French:

« le paradoxe est que les étudiants orientés vers les filières scientifiques ne le sont pas sur la base de la note du Français du bac ; ils sont jugés aptes au vu des résultats dans les matières scientifiques comme les maths, la physique et les sciences naturelles. Il est donc possible pour un candidat ayant obtenu une très mauvaise note en Français de se retrouver étudiant en ces filières ce qui explique des abondants en cours d'étude »

It seems clear, that Arabic cannot be the medium of instruction for medical and scientific disciplines, since we were not trained in Arabic, bibliographical references are nearly absent and even students have no good qualifications in Arabic, moreover, the environment, hospitals, equipments… oblige us to use French [23]»

However, only one interviewee does not oppose the idea of introducing Arabic for higher scientific fields, he even claims that in other Arab countries sciences are taught in Arabic, with excellent results. Others thought that teaching in Arabic should be improved, but still feel that it is more useful to teach sciences in French, mostly because, there is a lack of documentation in Arabic.

Another interviewee reclamed:

The Arabisation of the medical studies should not be done at any cost, we should proceed progressively and logically, firstly we have to form qualified teachers in Standard Arabic and establish scientific references[24]

c. Attitude towards French

To provide some explanations of the teachers, respondents are rather septic that French seems to remain the language of Medicine in Algeria. Someone declared:

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[23] The translation of the original texts in French:
« Il me semble clair qu'on ne peut pas utiliser l'Arabe comme langue d'apprentissage pour les disciplines médicales et scientifiques, puisque nous-mêmes on n'a pas été formés en langue Arabe, les références bibliographiques en Arabe sont quasi absentes et même la formation des étudiants en Arabe n'est pas solide, d'autant plus l'environnement demande l'utilisation du Français : les hôpitaux, les équipements et les médicaments »

[24]The translation of the original text in French:

« L'Arabisation des études Médicales, ne doit pas se faire à n'importe quel prix. On doit procéder de manière progressive et logique, d'abord former des enseignants qualifiés en langue Arabe, établir des ouvrages scientifiques… »

It obvious that French will certainly remain the medium of instruction for sciences, but before starting Medical studies, we can establish a preliminary or introductory year in order to set up scientific competences[25]

One respondent point out that FR is not sufficient to conduct higher disciplines: « **Even in France, where Medicine is improved, we sometimes have recourse to other languages in advanced specialities like English, Japanese or Dutch"**[26]

3.4 Overall analysis

The faculty of medicine is an appropriate environment for such investigation in language contact and language conflict for the major reason causes by the language of instruction. The analysis in this section is based on answers provided by forty students and ten teachers from the faculty of medicine in Tlemcen University. This discussion has been developed around three main areas: Language proficiency, language use and language attitude.

The Algeria experience with language in-education policy corresponds to two major periods: The first period corresponds to bilingual education in Arabic and French from 1960's till 1970's. The second period corresponds to monolingual education in Arabic from the late 1980's till nowadays. These different periods have created two distinct groups:

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[25] « C'est clair, que le Français restera la langue d'enseignement des sciences, mais avant d'entamer des études médicales, on peut commencer par une première année préliminaire afin d'installer mieux le vocabulaire et compétences scientifiques ».

[26] « Même en France, où les études en Médecine sont développées, on fait parfois recours à d'autres langues où les disciplines spécialisées ont pris un grand rythme d'avance tel que l'Anglais, le Japonais ou l'Allemand. »

Teachers issue from bilingual education, but orient towards French use and called "Francisants" and students who have studied in Arabic called "Arabisants".

This demonstrates a real linguistic conflict in a purely scientific environment, comprising the best elements of social success, who are in fact braked by a language.

3.4.1 Language Proficiency

According to the overall analysis, more than half of 1st year students in the faculty of Medicine, ill-mastered French. These differences can be explained primarily in terms of their pre-university education.

Regarding French competence, the investigation shows that the students are generally award of their low proficiency level, although they appreciate French as the frequently used foreign language in studying medicine, fewer do not support this idea. Yet, the problem is that most are far from attaining the desired level of linguistic competence in both receptive and productive skills.

The students' responses describing their linguistic behaviour in different communication' settings, show that the majority of them have difficulty in speaking French, whereas, the inability to write in French is even greater and more serious, especially in using the basics fundamentals like the conjugation of verbs, sentence structure etc. This relay on a bad quality of language teaching causes by the Arabisation policy.

On the other hand, the reasons for the poor foreign language skills of students have long been figured in the teachers' discussion. They think that Arabisation policy is the principal reason for this decline. According to them, this language ill mastered by the majority of the students, is

clearly feel when analyzing student's language practices especially in terms of the spoken and the written skills.

3.4.2 Language Use

Three languages seem to share the different linguistic space. These are essentially: French, the mother tongue and Algerian Arabic/French code switching and code mixing.

Regarding the use of these languages by the students, largely dependent upon the context where the communication takes place. On the one hand, the mother tongue and Algerian Arabic/ French code switching are predominantly used with social settings: at home or family contexts. On the other hand, French is particularly significant in professional and educational areas. It is especially dominant when talking to teachers, although their degree of mastery differs from one student to another. It is true that students need to practise this new language as much as possible to increase their opportunity in practicing French, as to be fully integrated in the scientific environment, although there are some who prefer to learn new words through translation which could be a clear strategy. Bilingual dictionaries may be a better tool for checking the correct translation. At last, students do not speak Arabic at all, generally in any of these situations.

During the course that we attend, we notice that the course is given in French language, fewer students who have questions or are able to answer those ask by their teachers. In this regard; students generally have difficulties in terminology, although there is a preliminary course hold once a week for students who find difficulties with terminology. So this overtime course is given for translating the concepts and

the terms into Arabic.

Two kinds of teachers are clearly remarkable; from the one hand, there are few teachers who employ French/Arabic CS and CM in order to clarify difficult items for weak learners.

Teachers generally agree that beginners need more explanation in CS/CM, because they have not made good progress in French yet. On the other part, the remainder teachers who refuse totally using none other code than French, this strategy according to them is favourable to increase student language practice.

The reason behind the abolishment of Arabic in classroom, is related to an appropriate language teaching method, teachers may not be able to find the right scientific terminology in Arabic, rightly because they haven't receive Arabic education on how to use Arabic effectively, neither the course books nor the teachers guide books include any helpful tips of employing Arabic.

3.4.3 Language Attitude

There are two important points to emphasize regarding language attitudes. Linguistic attitudes concerning the students' sample and those related to teachers' sample. The students' attitudes towards Arabic, French and Algerian Arabic/French bilingualism are generally positive. We have summarized the views as follow:

As a close look at the overall results bases on their answers, few students are in favour of a monolingual medical system of education in Arabic; there main reasons are related to their educational background, inspired by ideological motives; as the preservation of the linguistic heritage and the maintenance of cultural identity, as well as effective understanding and communication. For them, French is regarded

as a handicap in their studies and even a factor of failure, so that a number of students decide to switch to other faculties where Arabic is the medium of instruction.

Regarding French, the other majority of students think that the language is very important in their higher studies. Their motives are related to the language of science, technology, international communication needs which facilitate the opening to the world of development and progress. In spite of the divergent views on the importance of French and its influence, the students are more or less unanimous about the future of French in Algeria.

Students are very conscious of the different values assigned to different languages, a quite number of students who are firmly in favour of French-Arabic bilingualism and believe that it can offer advantages to Algerian students; their views are related pedagogical reasons, job opportunities, as well as language motivation and interest, although some students are against the use of Arabic-French Bilingualism, because it creates a lower level in both languages and lower language teaching.

- In spite of Student' different views, teachers hold a favourable attitude towards French, being an international language used in science and technology. This includes effective reasons such as it facilitates the access to knowledge, as it is the language of research and publications, technical terminology, best teaching methodology etc.

- Moreover, French constitutes the medium of modernization and technology, French facilitated their access to Western culture and to economic development, and their command of the language guaranteed their continued social and political prominence. Whereas, Arabic alone cannot take up all the domains of use of French like science and technology because

it is not yet fully prepared and modernised.

- In all these areas, French is the most frequently used language, therefore it becomes the high and predominant variety not only with regard to Arabic but also to the other varieties, since French is described as an international, modern and rich language and Arabic is more appropriate for religion practices and literature.

- From the interviews with teachers, we have concluded that some teachers fear the decline of both Arabic and French. This decline according to them can be clearly observed in school and university. However, they argue that in recent years, the status of French is rapidly decreasing and jeopardized; this is due to the lack of real language planning and inappropriate Arabisation policy. As far as Arabic is concerned, this language according to them is facing a serious threat by the expansion of French, this is related to inadequate linguistic policies that protect, revive and develop the Arabic language especially in terms of scientific books translated and published in Arabic.

- Finally, the total sample admire English, this is due to their international stature as a global language in the world.

3.5 Conclusion

Chapter three has addressed the methodology adopted in this research. The population of this research is divided into two categories. The first includes first year students from the faculty of medicine in Tlemcen University, while the second comprises teachers from the same faculty.

The study used a variety of research techniques. To collect data, the research primarily uses questionnaire for the students'sample highlighting: language competence, language use in a range of different settings, as well as attitudes towards languages.

This research involves also another questionnaire and semi-structured interviews administer to the teachers'sample, to pick out their judgement about the students'competence in French and their attitudes towards Arabic, Arabisation policy, French and Arabic-French bilingualism.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Language in higher education policy is justified to serve people in a community through the process of identification of language problems, a good understanding of these language problems and by adopting and implementing appropriate solutions, in order to meet individual and community language needs.

From the one hand, for a policy implementation in Arabic in higher scientific studies, it would require a rigorously systematic strategies and an articulated ongoing evaluation policy, to monitor its success.

To meet these needs, here are some coherent frameworks:
In any language education policy, teachers have a pivotal role to play for a successful implementation of the policy. As a result, there is need to ensure high-quality and sufficient competent teachers in Arabic and suitably trained ones who could work through the medium of Arabic would help to achieve an effective Arabisation.

For example setting up a higher scientific institute to train teachers in Arabic, in order to promote immensely language teaching by professionalizing their jobs, to foster interest and research in Arabic, disseminating knowledge in this language through publications, regular workshops, seminars, conferences, maintaining cross cultural and language tolerance and harmony through the teaching of Arabic.

The success of these experiences depends largely on the teaching materials that are available. These teaching materials can include: scientific textbooks in Arabic, translation lexicography, Arabic scientific dictionaries, thesauruses, glossaries, encyclopedias and word finders, etc.

The government should also support and provide adequate infrastructures (classroom and equipped libraries) to encourage scientific publications in Arabic.

On the other hand, French is a language of greater opportunities; it is a language for international communication which facilitates access to knowledge and technology. Therefore, the current place of French should be expanded, to meet these needs and increase opportunities to learn French; this has at least two major implications:

The first implication is to make learning French available, the government should request for higher scientific and technical faculties to include preliminary year, and to expand hours allowed to French as a subject. These strategies would give a chance to all students in the country to learn French more effectively.

Professional development is significant in the professional career of language teaching. Therefore, it is important to increase and systematize the professional development of French teachers, especially with modern teaching methods and theories,

As far as Bilingual education is concerned, this latter can be benefit for developing language opportunities. For a qualify bilingual teachers, they have to take courses in language acquisition, language learning and language teaching methodology (including classroom techniques and syllabus design) in both L1 and L2. And from the other part, it is important to increase the number of qualified teachers in both Arabic and French to meet the demands of the students, in terms of translation methods.

Another step that authorities should ensure the minimum of resources to a well function of strategic bilingual education, this includes: bilingual scientific textbooks, equipped libraries etc.

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APPENDIX A

ولاية تلمسان Willaya de Tlemcen

المؤسسة العمومية الاستشفائية لتلمسان Ets Public Hospitalier de Tlemcen

طلب الاستشفاء Demande d'Hospitalisation

الاختصاص Spécialité   المصلحة Service

اسم الطبيب الموافق على الاستشفاء

Nom du praticien ayant accordé l'hospitalisation

المريض Patient

اللقب	Nom
الاسم	Prénom
السن	Age
اسم القاعة	Nom de la salle
رقم السرير	N° du lit d'hospitalisation

المريض الموجه من طرف Malade orienté ou adressé par

لقب و اسم الطبيب Nom et prénom du médecin

الرتبة Grade

المؤسسة Etablissement

الناحية-الوحدة-المصلحة Secteur-Unité-Service

حارس المريض Garde malade

لقب و اسم حارس المريض Nom et prénom du Garde malade

ورقة التعريف المقدمة Type de pièce d'identité prrésentée

الرقم N°

تأشيرة الطبيب Visas du praticien

تلمسان، يوم Tlemcen, le

APPENDIX B

**REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENNE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE MINISTERE DE
L'ENSEIGNEMENT ET DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUES
UNIVERSITE DE ABOU BEKR BELKAID, TLEMCEN
FACULTE DES LETTRES, DES SCIENCES
HUMAINES ET SOCIALES
DEPARTEMENT D'ANGLAIS**

QUESTIONNAIRE

Le présent document est un questionnaire élabore dans le cadre de la préparation d'un mémoire de Magister ayant comme but l'étude du contact de l'Arabe et le Français au sein de la faculté de Médecine à l'université de Tlemcen.

Je vous serais gré de bien vouloir répondre à ce questionnaire en cochant sur la proposition de votre choix, ou en remplissant les vides

1ère partie : Renseignements Personnels

Date de naissance

Lieu de naissance

Sexe Féminin ☐   Masculin ☐

2ème partie : Connaissance Linguistique

- Quel est votre degré de maîtrise de l'Arabe?

   - écrire ☐

   - comprendre ☐

- lire ☐

- parler ☐

- Quel est votre degré de maîtrise du Français ?

- écrire ☐

- comprendre ☐

- lire ☐

- parler ☐

3^{ème} partie : la langue utilisée par les étudiants

- Quelle langue utilisez vous en vous adressant à un enseignant ?

Arabe	Français	Arabe parlé	Arabe/Français CS
☐	☐	☐	☐

Quelle langue utilisez vous en vous adressant à un autre étudiant ?

Arabe	Français	Arabe parlé	Alternance codique
☐	☐	☐	☐

Quelle langue utilisez vous en vous adressant à un membre de votre famille?

Arabe	Français	Arabe parlé	Arabe/Français CS
☐	☐	☐	☐

4ᵉᵐᵉ partie : l'Importance des langues

- Doit-on introduire l'Arabe dans l'enseignement de Médecine?

Oui   non   sans opinion

☐   ☐   ☐

- Doit-on maintenir le Français dans l'enseignement de Médecine?

Oui   non   sans opinion

☐   ☐   ☐

- Doit-on instaurer le bilinguisme Arabe/Français dans l'enseignement de Médecine?

Oui   non   sans opinion

☐   ☐   ☐

5ᵉᵐᵉ partie : la justification des choix

1. Choisissez parmi ces propositions le justificatif qui vous semble adéquat pour l'introduction ou pas de l'Arabe dans l'enseignement de Médecine

Vous êtes pour parce qu' :   ☐

- Elle est une langue riche et prestigieuse   ☐

- Elle facilite la communication et la compréhension   ☐

- Elle reflète l'identité nationale culturelle et   ☐
linguistique

- Elle préserve et maintient notre culture   ☐

- Elle renforce le développement social et économique   ☐

Vous êtes contre parce que :

- Le Français est important que l'Arabe ☐

- Cette langue ne peut être utilisée dans la science et la ☐
technologie

- Les cours et les examens sont faits en Français ☐

- Les livres en sciences médicales en langue Arabe sont ☐
introuvables

    - C'est une langue à vocation littéraire ☐

2. Choisissez parmi ces propositions le justificatif qui vous semble adéquat pour le maintient ou pas du Français dans l'enseignement de Médecine

Vous êtes pour parce que :

- Il facilite l'échange scientifique international ☐

- L'échec flagrant de la politique d'Arabisation ☐

- Pour une meilleure alternance des codes ☐

- Il augmente les chances de trouver un emploi ☐

- Il facilite l'accès au savoir et à la science. ☐

- Il renforce le développement social et économique. ☐

Vous êtes contre parce que :

- Il ne peut exprimer notre culture. ☐

- Il est un moyen de domination culturelle et ☐
linguistique.

- L'anglais est plus important. ☐

- Il est considéré comme un obstacle au développement ☐
socio-économique.

-

3. Choisissez parmi ces propositions le justificatif qui vous semble adéquat pour l'adoption ou non du bilinguisme Arabe Français dans l'enseignement de Médecine

Vous êtes pour parce que :

- Il facilite l'accès au savoir. ☐

- Il facilite la communication et la compréhension. ☐

- Il donne une plus grande opportunité à l'emploi. ☐

- Il donne une solide connaissance des deux langues. ☐

- Il crée un intérêt et une motivation à acquérir plus ☐
de connaissances.

Vous êtes contre parce que :

- Il n'est pas utilisé dans la science et la
technologie. ☐

- Il abaisse le niveau de ses utilisateurs en Français et
en Arabe. ☐

- Le manque de moyens techniques dans notre pays pour

l'application d'un tel système linguistique. ☐

MERCI POUR VOTRE COLLABORATION ET COMPREHENSION

APPENDIX C

**REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENNE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE MINISTERE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT ET DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUES
UNIVERSITE DE ABOU BEKR BELKAID, TLEMCEN
FACULTE DES LETTRES, DES SCIENCES
HUMAINES ET SOCIALES
DEPARTEMENT D'ANGLAIS**

QUESTIONNAIRE

Le présent document est un questionnaire élabore dans le cadre de la préparation d'un mémoire de Magister ayant comme but l'étude du contact de l'Arabe et le Français au sein de la faculté de Médecine à l'université de Tlemcen

Je vous serais gré de bien vouloir répondre à ce questionnaire en cochant sur la proposition de votre choix, ou en remplissant les vides

1ère partie : Expérience professionnelles

Vous enseignez depuis combien d'années ?

2ème partie : Evaluation des connaissances Linguistique des étudiants

- Quel est votre avis le degré de maîtrise du Français chez vos étudiants?

- écrire ☐

- comprendre ☐

- lire ☐

- parler ☐

3ème partie : la langue utilisée par l'enseignant en classe

- Quelle langue utilisez-vous on vous adressant à vos étudiants en classe ?

Arabe   Français   Arabe parlé   Arabe/Français CS

☐   ☐   ☐   ☐

4ème partie : l'Importance des langues

- Doit-on introduire l'Arabe dans l'enseignement de Médecine?

Oui   non   sans opinion

☐   ☐   ☐

- Doit-on maintenir le Français dans l'enseignement de Médecine ?

Oui   non   sans opinion

☐   ☐   ☐

- Doit on instaurer le bilinguisme Arabe/Français dans l'enseignement de Médecine?

Oui   non   sans opinion

☐   ☐   ☐

5ème partie : la justification des choix

1. Choisissez parmi ces propositions le justificatif qui vous semble contre l'introduction ou pas de l'Arabe dans l'enseignement de Médecine

Vous êtes contre parce que :

- Le Français est important que l'Arabe ☐

- Cette langue ne peut être utilisée dans la science et la technologie ☐

Les livres en sciences médicales en langue Arabe sont ☐
introuvables

- Une langue inférieure ☐

- C'est une langue à vocation littéraire ☐

2. Choisissez parmi ces propositions le justificatif qui
vous semble adéquat pour le maintient ou pas du Français dans
l'enseignement de Médecine

Vous êtes pour parce que :

- Langue utilisée dans la recherche et la publication ☐

- Langue d'instruction durant leur étude ☐

- Il offre des opportunités académiques ☐

- Langue utilisée dans la science et la technologie ☐

- Il facilite l'échange scientifique ☐

3. Choisissez parmi ces propositions le justificatif qui
vous semble adéquat contre l'adoption du bilinguisme Arabe
Français dans l'enseignement de Médecine

Vous êtes contre parce que :

- Il rend leur tache plus difficile ☐

- Il abaisse le niveau en langue Arabe ☐

- Le manque du vocabulaire médical ☐

- L'impossibilité d'enseigner dans les deux langues ☐

MERCI POUR VOTRE COLLABORATION ET COMPREHENSION

ملخص:

تتعرض هذه الدراسة إلى واقع لغوي قائم منذ زمـن طويـل فـي بلادنـا، يكمـن فـي الصراع اللغوي بين العربية و الفرنسية. فعلا يرمي هذا العمل إلى تحديـد المفـاهيم اللغويـة ذات علاقة بموضوع البحث، ثم استعراض لمحة تاريخية لهذا الصرع و أيضا معالجته معالجـة دقيقة إبرازا لأسبابه و نتائجه. يختتم هذا البحث بإعداد دراسـة ميدانيـة تهـدف أساسـا إعطـاء عينة عن هذا النزاع بداخل كلية الطب التابعة لجامعـة تلمسـان. بالفعـل يلتحـق التلاميـذ إلـى التعليم العالي و هـم لا يحسـنون إلا اللغـة العربيـة، فـي حيـن تلقـى دروس العلـوم الطبيـة خصيصا باللغة الفرنسية. من ثم، سينصب هذا البحث في رصد الممارسات اللغويـة و الكشـف عن الصعوبات اللسانية لكل من طلبة و أساتذة كلية الطب، و أخيرا تبيان موقف هـؤلاء تجـاه اللغات المعنية بالبحث.

الكلمات المفتاحية:ثنائية اللغة – التعريب – اللغة الفرنسية – الصراع اللغـوي – الدراسـات الطبية

Résumé :
Cette étude a pour objet d'exposer une réalité linguistique qui sévit depuis un certain temps dans notre pays. Il s'agit du contact de l'Arabe et du Français à l'intérieur de la société algérienne et du conflit qu'il engendre. En effet ce travail consiste à préciser les notions linguistiques en relation avec ce thème, puis d'en donner un aspect historique au conflit de langues, et en suite d'en décortiquer ce dernier pour faire ressortir ses tenants et ses aboutissants. Enfin, cette recherche se conclut par une étude de terrain, ayant pour but de découvrir l'étendue de ce conflit au sein de la faculté de médecine de l'université de Tlemcen. Effectivement, les élèves accèdent à l'enseignement supérieur avec une formation bilingue alors qu'ils doivent poursuivre leurs études de médecine en langue française, une langue mal maîtrisée par la majorité d'entre eux. Dans cette recherche, nous tenterons, à travers les résultats d'une enquête, menée au sein de cette faculté, d'analyser les pratiques langagières des étudiants et des enseignants, de cerner les difficultés linguistiques et enfin d'examiner leurs attitudes vis-à-vis du statut des langues.
Mots clés : bilinguisme **–** Arabisation – Français – conflit des langues- études médicales

Summary :
The present dissertation studies language contact and language conflict mainly between Arabic and French. It describes the diachronic evolution of language policy an it use via language-in-education planning. Later, this policy has attracted considerable critiques and reaction against both the model of language policy and the agents with political power. These opposed opinions, have implied a discursive confrontation between the different groups involved in the conflict. For a better understanding, we have conducted a study in the faculty of medicine in Tlemcen University to show whether this faculty is characterized by such language competition. In fact, the new bac-holders who accede to higher education with all their secondary education in Arabic, found that the language of

instruction in medical studies is French, this language, ill mastered by the majority of them. However, this dissertation attempts to analyse students and teachers language practices, language proficiency as well as language attitudes towards different languages involved in the study.

Key Words : bilingualism – Arabisation – French – language conflict – medical studies