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***A Sociolinguistic Profile of French in Algeria:
The Case of Tlemcen Speech Community***

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Dedications

I dedicate this dissertation to:

 *My parents*

To you Mum

To you Dad

 *To my beloved sisters, brothers, colleagues and friends.*

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this present research work is to shed light on the status of the French language in Algeria. The Algerian linguistic situation is very intricate due to several factors, some of which being historical, others political, and still others socio-cultural. But, we cannot deny that the French language has played the most affecting role in altering the linguistic profile in Algeria during the colonization and afterwards. Indeed, the impact of the French language and its culture was so powerful to the extent that it began to reflect in most Algerians daily speech interactions, and it resulted in a variety of linguistic phenomena such as the use of bilingualism and consequent code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing.

Today, French represents a very important component of the Algerian linguistic repertoire, a fact that mainly leads us to focus on this specific part of the Algerian linguistic situation in our study. A particular interest is reserved to Tlemcen which is the case in point in this research work. On the other hand, the emphasis will be on the significance of French in various domains in the Algerian speech community, that is, we will try to illustrate its use and its social functions in different institutions such as school, administration and mass media.

As a reaction to the French cultural and linguistic imperialism, the Algerian political leaders attempted to promote Modern Standard Arabic through the process of Arabization launched in Algeria right after independence in order to restore a new national identity and personality. However, the coexistence of Algerian Arabic, Berber and French in the Algerian society presents a total contradiction with the assumption above. In other words, the sociolinguistic and sociocultural reality of the Algerian society and the real language practices deny totally the idea of monolingualism, indeed, it has always been proved that French still has a crucial position in the Algerian society. A particular focus will be devoted to the Arabization policy in this work concerning its most important objectives, stages and issues.

One other interesting province in this work is to explain the dual relationship between AA and FR, and to test the degree of bilingualism among Algerian speakers in relation to some socio-cultural factors. The attitudes of Algerians towards French are also touched upon in this study, that is, we will try to know how the French language is viewed by the Algerian population, whether it is accepted or rejected, or considered as a part of the linguistic components of the Algerian speech community, or as a foreign language with a difficult past.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AA:** Algerian Arabic
BR: Berber
CA: Classical Arabic
CS: Code-switching
CM: Code-mixing
FR: French
MSA: Modern Standard Arabic
TA: Tlemcen Arabic
H: High
L: Low

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General Introduction

Language is the core and the intrinsic of what make us human. If we have to understand the fact of being human, then we should first comprehend the meaning of language, how it operates and how we use it. Language is used to communicate meanings but also to establish and to maintain social relations, each language is linked to its social, cultural and political reality. It is the image of the society, it reflects its identity and develops its economic and technological environment.

The field of sociolinguistics does not put aside all what has been achieved in formal linguistic theorizing which has only been concerned with the basic core of language structure and language universals, but in addition, it tries to explain language in relation to society, focusing on its use and functioning in the socio-cultural context. Sociolinguists have focused on the fact that the real nature of languages is variability which is the inevitable consequence of languages in contact and their studies have shown the existence of various kinds of speech communities. Indeed, they argue that beyond its characteristic as a system of linguistic rules, well-structured and meaningful relations, language has to be fully accounted for in terms of the socio-cultural structure of society with rule-governed norms and functions which permit individuals of a given speech community to interact properly according to situations, aims and interlocutors.

The Algerian linguistic situation is very complex due to its socio-cultural, ideological and political components on the one hand, and the existence of a linguistic diversity on the other. The coexistence of Algerian Arabic, Berber and French in the Algerian speech community presents a total contradiction compared to the Algerian policy. That is, the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural fact of the Algerian community denies totally the notion of the Arabization policy. Indeed, the impact of the French language and culture has resulted in various linguistic phenomena that occur when two or more languages are in contact: the use of bilingualism and consequent code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing in addition to the well established phenomenon of diglossia.

What we are mainly interested in in this research work is an exploration of bilingualism with reference to the Algerian setting for this phenomenon represents and

characterizes well linguistic variability. Moreover, we will try to explore generally the stances towards the French language, if it is seen positively or negatively, or whether it is viewed as a component of the Algerian linguistic repertoire or as a foreign language. Thus, the purpose of this work is to answer the following research questions:

- 1- Why do Algerians, (as a sample speech community of Tlemcen), still maintain the French language though the Arabization policy was introduced right after independence (1962)? On another standard, due to the difficult and complex situation and facing the sociolinguistic and socio-political issues, how do we evaluate the Arabization language policy in Algeria?
- 2- How is the Algerians' level of proficiency in the French language? Using Tlemcen as a sample community, we may wonder whether people are all bilinguals to the same degree. In what terms can we see or measure the differences between bilinguals in Algeria?
- 3- How do Algerians, think, behave and feel about the French language? Or what attitudes do Algerians exhibit concerning the use of the French language?

Therefore, in order to qualify the outcome of the phenomenon of bilingualism in the Algerian community, and as an attempt to give an answer to the above research questions, we have set the following hypotheses:

- 1- The question of the Arabization policy is increasingly polemical and extensive, as it has failed because of radical, rigid and very intolerant practices. So, the reactions will blast on several fronts of which most significant are the social, political and cultural.
- 2- The degree of proficiency in the French language varies according to different socio-cultural factors among which the level of education and the socio-economic status are crucial.
- 3- French is prestigious and viewed by Algerians as the language of modernity the extent to which it offers openness towards the West.

We will divide our work into four chapters. Initially, we will deal with the theoretical guiding principles to discuss the most important aspects and pertinent concepts of

bilingualism, endeavouring to give some idea of the complexity of some of the issues involved in such phenomenon.

The second chapter will be devoted to the linguistic situation in Algeria. First, we will give a survey of the history of languages spoken in Algeria then, we will deal with the current linguistic situation with its different languages and their origins including the diglossia situation that the Algerian community is characterized with.

In the third chapter we will speak about the origin of French in Algeria through a historical background of the French colonization and the process of Arabization that has been established right after independence in 1962. We will also speak about the influence of French in Algeria: at school, in the administration, in mass media and in the social environment.

Finally, the fourth chapter, which contains empirical work based on a questionnaire and interviews, attempts to describe and analyse bilingualism with its different types and degrees of competence with reference to the Algerian setting, a particular focus is reserved to the town of Tlemcen. We will also throw light on the attitudes of people towards French, the phenomena resulting from language contact and the new reforms introduced in the educational system.

Chapter One

A General Overview of Bilingualism

CHAPTER I

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1.1 Introduction

Formal linguists have usually seen language as an abstract object which can be accounted for without reference to social and cultural concerns of any kind. Chomsky (1957) who is the leading figure in theoretical linguistics agreed on such view when he established his famous theory on language. He focused more on *competence* than on *performance* and argued that linguists should study only the underlying representations of language.

However, sociolinguistics has contrasted with such a statement of linguistic theory which affirms that language is not affected by geographical, social and cultural factors. Sociolinguistics has reassessed language as a social matrix that encompasses the sum of linguistic variation present in a given community. Thus, the real nature of languages is variability which is the inevitable consequence of languages in contact.

When languages get in contact, complex linguistic situations that are very far from homogeneity rise, that is why this research work is an attempt to explore variability and heterogeneity of language by looking into bilingualism, a linguistic phenomenon that represents very well language variability. Bilingualism is a widespread phenomenon in the world. In fact, more than half the populations of the world practice two or more languages in different contexts. It is rather monolingualism which seems to be the exception.

The linguistic situation of Algeria coincides with such an exploration, and the complexity of its situation is characterized at the societal level by at least two overlapping linguistic phenomena, diglossia and bilingualism that will be dealt with later. At first, we will provide a general description showing aspects of bilingualism without any reference to the Algerian setting.

1.2 Distinctions Between Societal and Individual Bilingualism

Bilingualism in a general sense means being able to speak two languages. Generally, two types of bilingualism are distinguished: *societal* and *individual*. In this sense, Hamers and Blanc (2000) have emphasized two labels in the distinction of such types, they posit:

The concept of bilingualism refers to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (societal bilingualism); but it also includes the concept of bilinguality (or individual bilingualism). Bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a mean of social communication.

(Hamers and Blanc 2000:6)

Therefore, individual bilingualism or bilinguality considers differences between one bilingual and the other in terms of skills or knowledge of the other language, as we may find different sets of bilinguals in the same speech community. Individual bilingualism is explained as a mental phenomenon and as the ability of being bilingual and people may use this ability by own wish or motivation to talk another language. New situations, new interlocutors and new language functions will involve new linguistic needs and then will change the language configuration of the person involved. In fact, nowadays bilingualism is no more viewed as a passive phenomenon¹ which weakens the intelligence of the individuals, on the contrary, people see it as an instrument to have access to two different cultures, to enhance intellectual abilities and to widen opportunities in social domains. In this case, it is the individual who determines to be bilingual, and at this level his or her bilingualism has no social or historical implications.

On the other hand, societal bilingualism refers to communities in which more than one language is the norm; it is a sociolinguistic phenomenon rising from different factors. Societal bilingualism may develop from a variety of language contacts both within and between countries and communities because of constant interchange through visits, trade, work or wars. Indeed, political and economic factors can also bring speakers of different languages into contact whether voluntarily or by necessity.

By this distinction, we may say that bilingualism is a global phenomenon and the inevitable result of language contact that may occur at the collective or the societal level

excluding the bilinguality of individuals and conversely, it can happen at the interpersonal level without implying societal bilingualism.

From the discrimination made above, we will attempt to describe Algerian bilingualism as a sociolinguistic phenomenon with reference to social, cultural, historical and political implications which are our direct concern.

1.3 Describing Bilingualism

The most prominent characteristic of bilingualism is that it has a multiplicity of aspects so that either we treat it at a societal or at an individual level, we have to bear in mind that there is no clear cut-off points. As the phenomenon of bilingualism defies delimitation, it has different descriptions, interpretations and definitions.

1.3.1 Some Definitions

The concept of bilingualism has become vague since the beginning of the twentieth century. It is generally treated in terms of dichotomies by proposing a variety of types such as balanced bilingualism and unbalanced one, compound and coordinate, additive or subtractive and passive or active. Still, no solitary definition is common enough to embody all instances of bilinguals and some of the connotations that have been used are broad and even inconsistent.

Weinreich (1968:1), one of the founding fathers of bilingual studies gives one of the shortest definitions of bilingualism: *“the practice of alternately using two languages will be called bilingualism and the person involved, bilingual”*. Hence, for the individual, bilingualism refers to the ability to alternate two codes in day-to-day interaction. However, Mackey (1970) offers a definition that incorporates Weinreich’s alternate use of two languages so that he considers the point at which a speaker of a second language becomes bilingual is arbitrary or impossible to determine and he views bilingualism as something totally proportional. He writes in this respect:

It seems obvious that if we are to study the phenomenon of bilingualism we are forced to consider it as something entirely relative. We must moreover include the use not only of two languages, but of any number of languages. We shall therefore consider bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual.

(Mackey 1970:555)

Bloomfield (1933:56) considers bilingualism as “*the native like control of two languages*”. Yet, Bloomfield’s definition which cover only *perfect bilinguals* contains some degree of inconsistency because a foreign language is not always found at the same degree of the first language, a person may be bilingual but he would not speak fluently a foreign language.

Macnamara (1966) proposes that somebody should be called bilingual if he has some second language skills in one of the four modalities (speaking, listening, writing, and reading), with regard to this, it is a *passive bilingualism*. Between these two latter offered definitions, we may find a number of others as for example, the one suggested by Haugen (1953:7) who says: “*Bilingualism begins when the speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language*”. Another example given by Titone (1972) who believes that bilingualism is the ability of an individual to produce another language but following the concepts and structures of that language rather than paraphrasing his/ her native language. Spolsky (1998) also points out that the simplest definition of a bilingual is a person who has some functional ability in a second language.

Mohanty (1994a) precises the definition of bilingualism to its social communicative perspective, he writes:

Bilingual persons or communities are those with an ability to meet the communicative demands of the self and the society in their normal functioning in two or more languages in their interaction with the other speakers of any or all of these languages.

(Mohanty1994a:13)

Other linguists among them Grosjean (1985a)² gives a more modern connotation of bilingualism by insisting on the specific characteristics of the bilingual as one who evolves certain peerless language behavior. Later on, in recent studies Grosjean (1989)³ asserts that a bilingual is an individual who can function in a code depending on a particular aim.

Broadly speaking, we may say that bilingualism as a concept has a variety of meanings, all the definitions provided by scholars are arbitrary to a greater or lesser extent and each dichotomy or category fits and describes a certain state of the individual bilingual. Indeed, all these connotations increase a number of theoretical and methodological complications for they lack precision and operationalism.

1.3.2 Factors Determining Types of Bilinguals

Bilingualism is a multidimensional phenomenon which resorts in its study to a variety of disciplines ranging from psychological to sociological ones⁴. These have led scholars to expose a series of descriptive labels to provide a frame of reference. Thus, when describing a state or a type of an individual bilingual, linguists took into account a number of factors:

1.3.2.1 Age

The age of the bilingual at the time of the acquisition of the second language varies and therefore several labels are provided by distinct scholars. Hoffmann (1991) suggests the terms *early bilingualism* and *late bilingualism* whereby the first one is sometimes called *infant or child bilingualism* and the second one is considered *adult bilingualism*. Generally, the age borders are not established, but child bilingualism corresponds to the age between about three years and puberty⁵. Hamers and Blanc (2000) stress that the age of acquisition is very significant in the bilingual's process, especially his linguistic, neuropsychological, cognitive and sociocultural development. They make a distinction between *childhood bilinguality*: in which they differentiate between *simultaneous early or infant bilinguality* and *consecutive childhood bilinguality*; *adolescent bilinguality* and *adult bilinguality*. Indeed, they argue that the context in which the child acquires the second language and age usually overlap. For instance, we usually find early acquisition of two languages within the same family context, however, later acquisition of the second language often occurs in a school context different from a family context for the first language. Nichols (2009) proposes the dichotomy *natural bilingualism* in which, the child acquires two languages from the speakers around him/ her in an instructed way and this process involves no teaching and no learning. On the other hand, Alder (1977) provides another dichotomy

achieved bilingualism or *secondary bilingualism* to refer to a person who becomes bilingual through systematic or structured instruction that is, undergoing some kinds of training.

1.3.2.2 Cognitive Organization

The mental organization of the bilinguals' speech may result in considerable differences; this was first tackled by Weinreich (1968) whose work was concerned with the influence of the bilingual's language system upon each other. Weinreich distinguishes different types of bilinguals according to the relationship that exists between the linguistic sign and the semantic content, then he provides the labels *subordinative bilingualism* and *coordinative bilingualism*. In a later research, Ervin and Osgood (1954)⁶ update these notions by proposing the dichotomies *coordinate bilingualism* and *compound bilingualism*. A coordinate bilingual learns his languages in separate environments, associates them with different contexts, and therefore is believed to develop different conceptual systems for the two languages. However, compound bilinguals learn their languages in one context and develop only one fused conceptual system. In the mind of a compound bilingual, a single concept has one mental representation but two different verbal labels attached to it. Hamers and Blanc (2000) come to the decision that this distinction is not always clear and different types of bilinguals should be classified along a continuum from compound to coordinate scales, they say:

It must be stressed that this distinction is not absolute but that different forms of bilinguality are distributed along a continuum from a compound pole to a coordinate pole: a bilingual person can at the same time be more compound for certain concepts and more coordinate for others.

(Hamers and Blanc 2000:27-8)

1.3.2.3 Socio-cultural Status

The socio-cultural environment and particularly the relative status of the two languages in the community are crucial factors in developing different forms of an individual bilingual. Different researchers have pointed out different theories about *additive* and *subtractive* bilingualism. Baker (2001) points out that:

When a second language and culture have been acquired with little or no pressure to replace or reduce the first language, an additive form of bilingualism may occur. When a second language and culture have been acquired with pressure to replace or demote the first language, a subtractive form of bilingualism may occur.

(Baker2001:114)

Lambert (1977)⁷ notes that the distinction between additive and subtractive bilingualism has been used in two different ways. First, additive bilingualism is employed to indicate the positive results from being bilingual. Subtractive bilingualism refers to the negative cognitive outcomes of bilingualism. In some circumstances the learning of another language represents an expansion of the linguistic repertoire; in others, it may lead to a replacement of the first. In other words, additive bilingualism occurs principally where both languages continue to be useful and valued; subtractive bilingualism, on the other hand, reflects a society in which one language is valued more than the other and where one dominates the other.

1.3.2.4 Relative Competence

The level of competency in a second language leads to the existence of various types of bilinguals; therefore, linguists have treated bilingualism along a continuum or a series of continua ranging from the maximal to the minimal degrees of proficiency. Some linguists, define bilingualism as *“a complete mastery of two different languages without interference”* (Oestreicher1974:9)⁸, or see the bilingual as *“a person who knows two languages with approximately the same degree of perfection as unilingual speakers of those languages”* (Christopherson 1948:4). These definitions show a perfectionist or maximalist view and the appropriate labels would be for example as proposed by Hoffmann (1991): *perfect bilingualism, true bilingualism* and *ambilingualism*. At the other end of the pole, there are definitions which express a minimalist stance. Macnamara (1969) sees a minimal degree of competence in one of the four language skills as enough, he says:

I shall consider as bilingual a person who, for example, is an educated native speaker of English and who can also read a little French. This means that bilingualism is being treated as a continuum, or rather a series of continua, which vary among individuals along a variety of dimensions.

(Macnamara 1969:82)

In this regard, Diebold (1961)⁹ introduces the concept *incipient bilingualism* which allows people with minimal competence in a second language to squeeze into the bilingual category. For instance, tourists with a few phrases and business people with a few greetings

in a second language could be incipient bilinguals. Yet, such provided definitions and labels make discussion about bilinguals ambiguous and imprecise as where one view is too tight, the other is too vague to be of much help.

In addition, the notion *balanced bilingualism* has received much criticism so that it has been described in a variety of definitions and measurements. Wei (2000) uses the term to refer to individuals who are fully competent in both codes. Baker (2006) defines this concept as follows:

Someone who is approximately equally fluent in two languages across various contexts may be termed an equilingual or ambilingual or, more commonly, a balanced bilingual.

(Baker 2006:9)

However others, point out that ‘balanced bilingualism’ is used as an idealized concept. Fishman (1971) argues that rarely will anyone be equally proficient in speaking, reading, or writing both languages across all different situations and domains. Hoffmann (1991), Hamers and Blanc (2000) put balanced bilinguals in the middle of the continuum, they view that balanced bilingualism should not be mixed up with a very elevated degree of competences in the two languages , but it is a matter of equilibrium in the levels of competence reached in the two languages as compared to monolingual competence .

Hoffmann (1991) explains in this sense:

However, somewhere in the middle of our continuum we can accommodate the notion of ‘equilingualism’ or ‘balanced bilingualism’. We would expect a balanced bilingual to possess roughly equal proficiency of the two languages, but with no implication that the knowledge this bilingual has in either language is compared to monolingual standards.

(Hoffmann 1991:22)

Carrasquillo & Rodriguez (2002) propose the label *dominant bilinguals* to refer to persons who are more proficient in one of the two languages and usually those who are from this group have more control in their mother tongue. However, there has been another proposed category of bilinguals who are not considered to be balanced bilinguals, neither have sufficient competence in one language over another to be considered dominant bilinguals. These people are described as *semilinguals* and this notion was primarily used by Scandinavian linguists (Hansegard 1968; Skutnabb - Kangas and Toukoma 1976, 1979)¹⁰.

A semilingual person is one who is seen as having deficiencies in both languages when compared with monolinguals. This concept has also been subject to much criticism as many linguists doubt about the value of the term semilingualism. Skutnabb-Kangas (1978)¹¹ believed that the main causes of semilingualism derived from the social origins. She argued that this phenomenon should not be considered as a feature of the minority children, but as an influence of frustrating context so that their native language is ignored in school while they are obliged to learn the second language. Thus, states of subtractive bilingualism will be increased, causing relatively low grades of competences in both languages.

1.3.2.5 Use

The use or function that the bilingual's languages fulfill are other crucial components in the variability of bilinguals. Oksaar (1983:19)¹² suggests a combination between the criteria of competence and function when she defines bilingualism as *“the ability of a person to use here and now two or more languages as a means of communication in most situations and to switch from one language to the other if necessary”*. In this respect Hoffmann (1991) points out that there are degrees of functional bilingualism just as there are degrees of the bilingual's linguistic competence. He writes:

Just as we have to accept linguistic proficiency as something variable and unstable, we must acknowledge the existence of varying degrees of functional bilingualism. Different bilinguals have distinct uses, as well as various levels of competence, for each code.

(Hoffmann 1991:24)

Then, he distributes functional bilingualism along a continuum from a *productive* or (*active*) scale to a *receptive* or (*passive*) scale. The starting point of the scale implies persons who master the second language in its four skills, or at least communicate effectively in the other language, whereas the other end of the scale implies persons who understand a second language but have no productive abilities in it. In between, there are many intermediate stages, for instance, cases like that of the immigrant who enters his new country of residence with only limited knowledge of either the spoken or perhaps the written language.

1.3.2.6 Cultural Identity

Finally, bilinguals can be distinguished in terms of their cultural identity. Language is always used within a cultural environment, and this context tends to vary from one speech community to another. A bilingual may identify positively with the two cultural groups that speak his languages and be recognized by each group as a member, in this case he is called *bicultural* (Grosjean 2008). Once again Grosjean (ibid) makes use of the idea of continuum in this context; he argues that just as bilinguals may have varying degrees of competence in a second language, they may also display different degrees of biculturalism. Indeed, he argues that less fluent bilinguals are less bicultural, as he names them *monoculturals* and fluent bilingual are more familiar with both cultures, but this depends on the way the bilinguals have acquired their languages. As Beardsmore (1986) remarks:

The further one progresses in bilingual ability, the more important the bicultural element becomes, since higher proficiency increases the expectancy rate of sensitivity towards the cultural implication of language use.

(Beardsmore 1986:23)

1.3.3 Basic Types of Societal Bilingualism

Languages of speech communities vary from one another because a variety of elements are brought to bear on each community and for the reaction of each individual of the society will be unique towards these factors. Hamers and Blanc (2000) report the following in characterizing bilingual communities:

Every bilingual community is situated between the two poles of a continuum, ranging from a set made up of two unilingual group each containing a small number of bilinguals, to a single group with a more or less large number of members using a second language for specific purposes. At one pole most speakers in each group use only one language for all functions, whereas at the other a varying number of speakers use both languages but for different purposes.

(Hamers and Blanc 2000:31)

Sociolinguists see the possibility of distinguishing three basic types of societal bilingualism:

- The first type is *horizontal bilingualism* (Pohl 1965)¹³ where the languages in question are used side by side, such as Luxembourg where we are actually not dealing with bilingualism but with trilingualism. Horizontal bilingualism is less often found than the

other two types. In Luxembourg the three languages are used in complementary distribution and thus might be considered to be used functionally. It is officially trilingual, the three languages being German, French and Luxembourgish so that each one is used for specific purposes in well defined situations. Luxembourgish is used for all spoken communication, it is also used in nursery schools and in the first years of primary schools. German is the written standard language (newspapers) and French is the first official language used in politics, finance and as a medium of instruction. Generally adults use all three languages in complementary distribution, they are supposed to have at least a working knowledge in all of them and this is in accordance with the country's constitutional provision.

- The second type is *territorial bilingualism* Carens (2000) such as we find in Canada, Switzerland¹⁴ and India¹⁵. Territorial bilingualism does not refer to a whole nation but generally to smaller parts of a country where we find quite a parallel distribution of the two languages in question as each group finds itself within its own politically defined territory. These countries are officially bilingual, but function more like two monolingual areas within one nation. For instance, Canada is officially a bilingual state and the rights of the French-speaking minority are guaranteed in the constitution. However, this comes after a crucial political struggle during which the French-speaking province of Québec has threatened to leave Canada.

- The third type of societal bilingualism as proposed by Hamers and Blanc(2000) refers to nations which are officially monolingual but have in their repertoires other languages of wider communication. This type is more common in countries of Africa and Asia where the languages can be either a lingua franca, or superposed languages imposed by political decision making normally inherited from a colonial past and only in specific official domains.

1.4 Factors Contributing Towards Bilingualism

The root of bilingualism comes from the history of language contact and connections between nations of various languages. Therefore, we may state a variety of historical and contemporary factors that guide to the same phenomenon language contact which eventually leads to the spread of one code and its control over another, or several others.

1.4.1 Historical Factors

There are various reasons for speakers of many languages to come into contact. Some do so out of their willing, while others are forced by circumstances. In fact, societal bilingualism develops from a variety of language contacts within and between speech communities. It can be found in border areas between countries because of continual friction through jobs, commerce, wars and political events. We can state the following historical factors which bring speakers of different languages into contact.

1.4.1.1 Migration

Migration has two broad types; the first one involves a large group that expands its territory by moving into approximate areas and taking control over smaller groups who are already there. Some of those populations become nationalized to the larger group and become linguistically and culturally assimilated to one degree or another, others maintain their own language and identity and remain a problem for the unity of the nation controlled by the dominant group. The second type of migration occurs when a small number of members of a given group move into the territory already under the control of another nation. Immigrants arrive speaking their native languages, thus adding to the host nation bilingualism as they have to learn to communicate in the language of the host country. The United States¹⁶ is the best example of this kind of immigration, with the nineteenth and early twentieth century European and Chinese immigration.

1.4.1.2 Imperialism

There are many sub kinds of imperialism such as colonization, annexation and economic imperialism¹⁷. Imperialism differs from large group migration only in relative terms. In large group migration, relatively large numbers of people from a given nation move into contiguous geographical areas and take control of them, whereas, in imperialist processes control is taken with relatively few people from the controlling nation actually taking up residence in the new area, meantime exerting political power and dominating economic development. In economic imperialism a foreign language inroads into a country without the associated nation ever taking political control especially because of the economic advantage associated with it. The use of English in Thailand, a country which has

never been the colony of any English speaking country, but which has attempted to teach English to a large number of its population, is a good example. All three varieties of imperialism have the effect of introducing the language of the imperialist countries into other societies, as Romaine (1995: 23) notes: *“The most powerful groups in any society are able to force their language upon the less powerful”*. In spite of the fact that relatively few people from the imperialist nation take up residence in the subjugated territories, their language eventually takes on considerable importance. In annexation and colonization, the imperialist language is used in government and education while, in economic imperialism the imperialist language becomes necessary for international commerce and diplomacy.

1.4.1.3 Federation

It is the union of diverse nations under the political control of one state. Federation may be voluntary or forced. Cases of voluntary federation are rare, and the best example is Switzerland¹⁸, where there are four languages with official status: German, French, Italian and Romansch, although there are not many speakers of Romansch. Another example might be Belgium which is a country consisting of two major linguistic groups: The French speaking Walloons in the Southern part of the country and the Flemish in the North. Forced federation includes the effects of European colonization in Africa and Asia and to a lesser extent, in the western hemisphere. Various multilingual states put together by force also rose and fell in Europe throughout history, and sociolinguistic effects of some of them exist today¹⁹.

1.4.1.4 Border Areas

Each country must have definite geographical boundaries so that it will be obvious from whom it can collect taxes, what area it should protect militarily, and where it has to provide government services. However, communities do not always select their area of residence for the convenience of political boundary drawing. Thus, the geographical proximity of two communities naturally contributes to the call for communication among their individuals for aim of trade or any other deals. Since language might be a barrier to effective communication, the members of each community learn the others' language, and this inevitably leads to bilingualism. Furthermore, this proximity may occasionally result in exogamous marriages leading to the creation of bilingual families.

1.4.1.5 Religion

People may wish to live in a country because of its religious significance. Some religions like Islam view the language of their holy book as sacred, so nations of this religion have to learn the language in which the sacred books were originally written. In Turkey, for instance, people have to learn the language of the Quran, Arabic, as they are Muslims.

1.4.2 Contemporary Factors

Bilingualism has always resulted from colonization, invasion and people's contacts, but today it is much more common, because, in fact different people speaking different languages are much more in contact recently through world communication, mass media, travels, opportunities, work and globalization giving a great rate of bilingualism around the world, be it societal or individual. We may state four main modern factors for the existence of bilingualism.

1.4.2.1 Neocolonialism

Neocolonialism is featured by economic and political reliance and by the keeping of the old colonial language. Linguistic imperialism can be seen as a result of economic domination. Because of the decrease of opportunities of financial stringencies, and in some cases for the lack of a universal agreed alternative, many speech communities have kept the old colonial language in their linguistic repertoire. So far, many states find themselves growthly dependent economically as well as for aims of holding the military equipment that they need from other countries which also contribute to the currency and use of the respective languages.

1.4.2.2 Mobility of Labor

Another modern source of language contact is the mobility of labor. The huge increase in immigration since the Second World War (e.g. Into the United States, Canada, Britain, Scandinavia, Germany) has led to the advance of bilingualism within host societies and immigrant families. Present-day immigration and migration of labor are keeping to strew various languages across the world, thus leading to creative language contact. Yet,

recent waves of immigrants have not been assimilated into the host society as fast as were earlier waves. The new immigrants have to learn to communicate in the language of the host country, meanwhile, they take their languages with them without abandoning their mother tongue.

1.4.2.3 Education

Bilingualism in recent decades has also resulted from the emergence of many bilingual education movements, for instance, the immersion of bilingual education programmes in Canada and Australia. In North America, various bilingual education programs are widely practiced. These programs are divided into two types. The first type contains programmes which are particularly established for children and the second type deals with programmes which are used for adults. Bilingual programmes for children are of four types: transitional bilingual programmes, maintenance bilingual programmes, submersion programmes and immersion programmes. Bilingual programmes for adults are divided into two types: sheltered programmes and vocational-technical programmes²⁰.

1.4.2.4 Technology

During the last one hundred years, the growth of mass communication has increased language contact. The development of transport systems: railways, cars, ocean liners and particularly air lines, have enabled an increasingly frequent contact between individuals of different speech communities. The rise of international business, multinational companies, exchanges and visits have multiplied language contact. Mass communication systems such as television, radio, telephones, faxes, computers and telex have increased the language association between peoples of different languages and hence the increased existence of bilinguals. Multilingual satellite transmissions and the internet at home are becoming more frequent, allowing the chances of bilingualism and multilingualism to increase.

We should acknowledge that the needs for the emergence of Algerian bilingualism are mainly of both historical and contemporary nature, and particularly because of the effects of colonization and neocolonization factors; that is, the long term contact with the French during the Algerian imperialism has deeply resulted in the economic and political dependency as well as the maintenance of the French language. In the next chapters we will

examine in detail the salient characteristics of Algerian bilingualism from a historical standpoint and political perspective.

1.5 Two Views of Bilingualism

A significant discussion is brought by Cook (1992, 2002 a) and Grosjean (1985, 1994, 2001)²¹, so that they state that there are two opposite views of individual bilinguals. At first, there is a monolingual view of bilinguals in which the individual bilingual is evaluated as two monolinguals within one person. There is another view which states that the bilingual is not the total of two monolinguals, but that he/she is a unique linguistic behaviour. Thus, the question of measurability has received a good deal of attention from many researchers and beneficial remarks are obtained from the descriptions of tests and the discussion of appropriate criteria for appraising bilingualism.

Bilinguals have been described and evaluated in terms of the fluency and balance they have in their two languages and the knowledge of bilinguals has almost always been compared to the monolingual standards. For instance, if a bilingual's second language would be French, scores on a French reading or French achievement test will be compared contrary to monolingual scores and averages. That is, the French language competence of a bilingual is often gauged against that of a native monolingual French speaker. Consequently, in accordance to such view, many bilinguals evaluate their language proficiencies as irrelevant. Some find fault with their mastery of language skills, others struggle to reach monolingual norms and still others do not perceive themselves as being bilingual even though they use two languages in their everyday lives. Indeed, if that proficiency does not exist in both languages especially in the native language, then bilinguals may be denigrated and classified as inferior. In the United States, for example, children of immigrant families or of other language minority families are officially federally categorized as Limited English Proficient. In Northern Europe, bilinguals who seem to exhibit a lack of proficiency in both languages are evaluated as semilinguals.

However, in contact situations it is infrequent that all facets of life demand the same code or that they always require two codes. So, such view has received much criticism and

many linguists find it inappropriate for the measurement of bilingual competence, as Baker (2006) posits:

This is unfair because it derives from a monolingual view of people. It is also unfair because bilinguals will typically use their two languages in different situations and with different people. Thus bilinguals may be stronger in each language in different domains.

(Baker 2006:10)

Cook (1992, 2002b) and Grosjean (1985, 1994, 2001) give a more constructive idea of bilinguals as those with multi-competences. They argue that any surmise of a bilingual's language proficiency should stir away from the ancient language experiments with their focus on form and correctness, to an evaluation of the bilingual's general communicative competence. This view will lean on a totality of the bilingual's language usage in all domains, matter whether this implicates the selection of one language in a given domain, or the mingling of the two languages. It has been pointed out that a bilingual speaker is seldom equally fluent in the two codes, but he is, in Grosjean's (1994)²² words,

A fully competent speaker-hearer who has developed a communicative competence that is equal, but different in nature to that of the monolingual. This competence makes use of one language of the other, or of the two together (in the form of mixed speech) depending on the situation, the topic the interlocutor, etc.

In this respect, Grosjean affirms that the bilingual is a full linguistic existence who uses his two languages with different people, in different domains and for different purposes. Degrees of proficiency in a language may depend on which contexts, for instance, school or family, and how often that language is used. Communicative competence in one of the two codes of a bilingual individual may be higher in some contexts than in others, and any assessment of a bilingual's competence in two languages needs to be sensitive to such differences of when, where and with whom bilinguals use either of their languages.

1.6 Degree of Bilingualism

Issues of defining bilinguals are reflected when there is measurement and categorization of such individuals and groups. Gauging bilingualism remains a complex matter, and so far none of the methods and techniques used by scholars have been found to be evident and satisfactory. It is not a simple task to provide tests that are totally correct if the convenient setting within which they are administered is taken into consideration. Any sampling and matching measures of a given speech community involves the inquiry of comparison. Another problem relates to the nature of the linguistic instruments used, for instance, the code employed for a given test may be associated to a subject, or related to specific style unknown to the bilingual individual being assessed. It may not evidently illustrate his/ her socio-cultural experiences, or it may demand the use of skills not usually employed by the topic in the code being evaluated. Another issue concerns the failure to take account of the truth that the linguistic competence of a bilingual individual, that consists of the knowledge of two languages, is distinct from that of a monolingual. In other words, if the test was presented in such manner that it is used with monolinguals as well as with bilinguals, then it will not consist of the type of language that large number of bilinguals are most familiar with, particularly language incorporating speech markers like mixes and switches that are frequently used in bilingual speech interactions.

If we restrict the question 'Are you bilingual?' to ability in two (or more) languages the problem becomes what is this ability? There are four basic language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing, and these four abilities fit into two dimensions: receptive and productive skills. This is well illustrated in the table below adapted from Baker (2006).

	Oracy	Literacy
Receptive skills	Listening	Reading
Productive skills	Speaking	Writing

Table 1.1 Classifying bilinguals according to the four language skills

The above table proposes to categorize who is, or who is not bilingual. There are certain people who speak a language but do not read or write in that language. Others listen with understanding and read a given language but do not speak or write that language, and

still others understand a spoken language but do not themselves speak that language. However, the four basic language abilities do not merely exist between two limits, that is, each language ability can be more or less developed, for instance, the reading skill can range from simple and basic to fluent and accomplished. Certain members may listen with understanding in one situation (e.g. shop) but not in another one (e.g. an academic course). These examples reveal that the four basic language modalities can be further developed into sub-scales and dimensions.

Mackey (1967)²³ suggests four factors to consider in order to allow a fairly appropriate distinction of bilinguals: degree, function, alternation and interference. Giving more details concerning these four questions Romaine (1995) writes:

The question of degree of bilingualism concerns proficiency. How well does the bilingual know each of the languages? Function focuses on the uses a bilingual speaker has for the languages, and the different roles they have in the individual's total repertoire. Alternation treats the extent to which the individual alternates between the languages. Interference has to do with the extent to which the individual manages to keep the languages separate, or whether they are fused.

(Romaine 1995:12)

Romaine (ibid) believes that these four factors cannot be examined separately of one other. For instance, speakers who have knowledge of a given language will to some extent demonstrate the functions whereby it is employed and conversely, the situations in which individual bilinguals have the chance to use a particular code will influence their proficiency. Similarly, competence and way in which the languages have been acquired are linked to the type and degree of alternation involved. In turn, alternation among languages and some types of switching play a significant role in the linguistic repertoires of some speech communities.

Mackey (1968)²⁴ suggests other factors that are likely to affect the bilingual's aptitude among which age, gender, intelligence, memory, language attitude and motivation are the most important. If the second language and the native one are not acquired simultaneously in a bilingual speech community, there would be different types of bilinguals who master the second language at different levels. In this respect Romaine

(ibid: 12) notes that: *“Because the bilingual's skills may not be the same for both languages at all linguistic levels, proficiency needs to be assessed in a variety of areas”.*

The table below is provided by Mackey (1968: 557) to illustrate bilingual's language skills at all linguistic levels in the two languages. According to Mackey's schema bilingualism is treated as a series of continua that may differ for each individual bilingual.

Skills	Levels				
	Phonological / Grammatical	Lexical	Semantic	Stylistic	Graphic
	AB	AB	AB	AB	AB
Listening					
Reading					
Speaking					
Writing					

Table 1.2 Measuring degree of bilingualism (adapted from Mackey 1968:557)

1.7 Features of Bilingual Speech

If we pay more attention to bilinguals when speaking to each other, we can see certain features which are not present in monolingual speech like the integration of terms or expressions from the other language, or sudden switches from one code to the other, so that the latter may take place more than once within the same sentence. Phenomena such as borrowing, mixing and switching become helpful to discover patterns and relationships with other features of speech. Bilinguals appear to mix and switch more when they are in each other company than when talking to monolinguals as they may have their reasons for such linguistic behaviour such as signaling group identity to outsiders or solidarity to other group members, or expressing a shared experience. Certain aspects of bilingual speech are dealt with below with some detail.

1.7.1 Borrowing

Borrowing is the term used to indicate loan words that have become an integral and permanent part of the recipient language. All languages borrow words from other languages with which they come into contact, and specifically for the lack of vocabulary items in the

recipient language so that, borrowing becomes a linguistic necessity if new concepts and their corresponding linguistic items do not exist in the ‘receiving’ language.

Speakers may borrow words in their every day speech either consciously, that is, they may easily recognize the source language from where these loans came, or unconsciously by using them without being aware **“that they are modelled on words in other language, which gives them a more or less foreign flavour”** (Hudson 1996:55). From a linguistic point of view, these loan words become adapted either phonologically or both phonologically and morphologically, and sometimes efforts may be done to adjust the pronunciation of the word appropriately in order to access the native one.

One of the controversies in the study of borrowing is its variation from the linguistic phenomena CS and code mixing, as Eastman (1992:1)²⁵ suggests that **“efforts to distinguish code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed”**. Hudson (ibid) makes a distinction between such three phenomena, he argues on the fact that borrowing is a process of shifting from verbal speech which is characteristic of CS and code-mixing to language systems. He says, in this respect:

Whereas code-switching and code-mixing involved mixing languages in speech, borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because an item is borrowed from one language to become part of the other language.

(Hudson ibid:55)

Hence, contrariwise to CS and code-mixing which implicate mixing languages in speech, borrowing is the context where items become part of another language system by being assimilated to its linguistic structural specificities.

Poplack and Meechan (1995: 200) argue that single-item insertion is borrowing and should be differentiated from longer spans of switches, which are considered as CS. They suggest that if foreign concepts are morphosyntactically integrated into the recipient language, it is a case of *lexical borrowing*. If not, it is a state of CS. In addition, they set a continuum of lexical borrowing, so that, loan words which **“typically show full linguistic integration, native-language synonym displacement, and widespread diffusion even among recipient-language monolinguals”** are on the one scale. On the other scale are nonce *borrowings* which are integrated except at the morphosyntactical level.

Other researchers such as Myers-Scotton 1993, Bentahila and Davies 1983 and Treffers-Daller 1991 do not discriminate lexical borrowing and CS as different phenomena. Myers-Scotton (1993a:206) views that “**B**²⁶ *forms and singly occurring CS forms undergo ML*²⁷ *morphosyntactic procedures in the same way*”. Indeed, she splits lexical borrowing into *cultural borrowing* and *core borrowing*. Cultural borrowings refer to items particularly for objects which are new to the culture; they mostly fill in gaps in the recipient language and may come out in the speech interactions of either bilinguals or monolinguals. Core borrowings refer to concepts that are more or less identical to words that already exist in the recipient language. Myers-Scotton believes that core borrowing forms come in gradually to the recipient language through CS, whereas, cultural borrowing forms appear unexpectedly for the sake of filling gaps in the recipient language. There is another type of lexical borrowing which has been termed as *loan translation* or *calques* whereby the semantic components of a given term are literally translated into their equivalents in the recipient language.

1.7.2 Code-switching and Code-mixing

Code-switching is a kind of interlocution that happens as an ordinary consequence of language contact and an inevitable outcome of bilingualism. In fact, though code switching is a hallmark of bilingual speech communities, it has only begun to attract serious scholarly attention in the last few decades, specifically when Blom and Gumperz (1972) published the article “*Social meanings in linguistic structures: code-switching in Norway*”²⁸, whereby they expound such phenomenon on the part of words related to each code. Researchers first viewed code switching as random and deviant (Labov 1972a&b, Lance 1975, Weinreich 1968); but now they are convinced that it is grammatically constrained. This subject has led many linguists to be more curious, so that, they have been more concerned with the inquiries of whether one can establish different types of switches, and what kind of constraints can be at play (Poplack 1980, Pfaff 1979, Aguirre 1985, Appel and Mysken 1987, Timm 1975, Gumpers 1982, Myers-Scotton 1993a&b).

Thus, code-switching represents a central aspect of language contact whereby bilingual speakers acquire the ability to switch from one code to another in various domains or situations; and according to circumstances, rules of interaction, topic and addressee. In addition, bilingual individuals mix the two languages in the same stretch of speech, and even in the same utterance. Thus, these features of bilingual speech have been named differently though the boundaries are not clear-cut and not easily defined. Gumperz (1982:59) for instance, defines the term CS as *“the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”*. Yet, there has been much divergence as to the use of the term(s) CS and/or code-mixing. Mclaughlin (1984) differentiates between mixing and switching by referring to code-switches as code changes taking place across sentence boundaries, while, code-mixes occur within sentence and usually involve single lexical items. In fact, the reason of many ambiguities is that bilingual speakers use many-fold strategies of code alternation in different manners and for various purposes.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduced two patterns of CS, namely *situational CS*, in which the speaker switches languages according to the change of situation, and *metaphorical CS* in which the speaker switches languages to achieve a special communicative effect, that is, to signal identities and a change of role. In 1976, Gumperz developed this concept and introduced another term *conversational CS* in which the speaker switches within a single sentence, and even does so many times. Myers-Scotton (1993a) also develops Gumperz situational or metaphorical dichotomy and presents the *Markedness Model* from the point of view of social motivations. According to such model, language users are rational, and choose a language that marks their rights and obligation relative to others in the conversational setting. When there is no clear unmarked choice, CS is used to explore possible choices thus, she explains:

The theory behind the markedness model proposes that speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction but choose their codes based on the persona and /or relation with others which they wish to have in place. This markedness has a normative basis within the community and speakers also know the consequences of making marked or unexpected choices.

(Myers-Scotton 1993a:75)

Besides, in an attempt to examine how linguistic constraints operate in CS Poplack (1980) distinguishes between three types of CS:

-a) *Extra-sentential CS*: when we add a tag or a ready-made expression from another language, while the rest of the utterance remains in the base language.

-b) *Intersentential CS*: this happens at sentence or clause boundary, in which one clause being in one language and the other clause in another language.

-c) *Intrasentential CS*: it contains switches along the clause or even within the word.

Moreover, the working definitions on code-mixing used by scholars are various. In the context of her study Schlyter (1988:2)²⁹ proposes:

Mixing is defined here quite simply as the child's using words or sentences in the 'wrong' language, in a clearly monolingual situation; language separation is defined as the opposite of mixing.

Redlinger and Park (1980:339) write: *"In this study, language mixing refers to the combining of elements from two languages in a single utterance"*.

The type of mixes cited above may involve the insertion of a single element, or of a partial or entire phrase, and they can be of a phonological (in the shape of loan words), morphological and syntactic kind. Generally, the debate on the description of the linguistic phenomena CS, CM and borrowing, as observed in the bilingual speech, focuses mainly on their relationship with each other.

It is important to account for the switching in a conversation in terms of social function, but we should first acknowledge that CS is not entirely unique to bilinguals because monolinguals also may alternate between various styles or registers of the same language for different objectives and in different contexts. The only change as Swain (1972:4) argues is: *"in the case of the 'bilingual' individual, it is argued that the codes used and the switches made are simply made more obvious to the listener than in the case of 'monolingual' individual"*. For Swain (ibid: 3), CS implicates the use of *"any linguistic system used for interpersonal communication"*.

Robins (1971) argues that manners of speech are directed by contexts of communication and the role that an individual may play in such situations:

Each individual speech habits vary according to the different situations he is in and the different roles he is playing at any time in society. One readily distinguishes the different types of speech used by the same person in intimate family circle, among strangers and with persons of different social position, in official, professional and learned discourse, and soon, though with intermediate borderlines between each; and in writing; the composition of a familiar letter is very different from that of a technical article.

(Robins 1971:48)

CS could be stimulated by the wish to maintain group ideal and secret .This is particularly because the *“cultural norms and values of a group are transmitted by its language. Group feelings emphasized by using the group’s own language, and members of the outgroup are excluded from its internal transactions”* (Appel and Mysken 1987:12).

On the whole, we come to the conclusion that language is not only a medium of conveying messages, but actually it carries with it social meanings and connotations, as Appel and Mysken (ibid:12) further say that language is the guide of group identity for *“everything that differentiates a group from another group constitutes the group’s identity”*.

1.8 Conclusion

In this chapter we have first reviewed a number of traditional and current definitions of bilingualism. Its definition has been subject of much debate so that, since the beginning of its study up to nowadays linguists have not agreed on a clear semantic. Hamers and Blanc (2000) believe that all the semantics provided on bilingualism are not satisfactory because they all exhibit one or more of three crucial shortcomings. Initially, they describe the bilingual in terms of one dimension, such as competence, disregarding other significant aspects. Secondly, they fail to take into consideration the various levels of analysis, from individual to societal. Finally, they are not based on a general theory of language behaviour. Bilingualism is a phenomenon that implicates simultaneously a psychological state of the individual and a case of languages in contact either at the interpersonal level or at the societal level.

Then, we have analysed the various aspects along which bilingualism can vary. The phenomenon of bilingualism has a multidimensional character which calls in its examination upon an array of disciplines. These led researchers to extend a number of descriptive labels to provide a frame of reference, thus, when describing a state or a kind of bilinguality or bilingualism, linguists take into consideration a variety of factors. Bilingualism has always been seen as a common linguistic phenomenon, but it is much more common in the world we live in today, i.e. it must furthermore be justified when we look to the mixing nature of today's world; it is so common that it would be harder to find a monolingual country, because today's world is like a village facilitating travels, migrations, communications through medias, and through this facilitating contact of nations and languages, more than half the population of the world is said to be bilingual or multilingual. In this sense, bilingualism is a result of different reasons, among these are world globalization, the movement of the group for political, social or economic reasons; political federalism and nationalism; and cultural and educational factors.

After that, we have tried to discuss some of the problems created by the use of different procedures in the assessment of bilingual competence as well as the absence of adequate measures and the lack of refinement of existing ones. In our discussion of the measures of bilingual competence, we made a distinction between those which reduced this competence to the sum of two monolingual ones and those attempting to evaluate the specificity of bilingual behaviour.

Finally, the last section of this chapter addressed the inquiry of communication strategies in speech interactions. We provided some principles which govern CS/ CM and borrowing. These three strategies are not clear cut but overlapping phenomena. CS is the outcome of interlinguistic communication strategies, thus, the bilingual chooses his code according to the most adequate form-function mapping, but calling upon the whole range of his repertoire. Indeed, there are various types of CS which seem to vary according to the social context, the identities and roles of the participants.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹Most early studies reported upon it rather negatively, and bilingualism was believed to occur because of a lack of sufficient proficiency in either language, or a lack of appropriate terminology in the first language.

²Cited in Hamers and Blanc (2000:7)

³Mentioned in Bialystok, E.(2001:4)

⁴For Hamers and Blanc (2000: 24) these disciplines are: neuropsychology, developmental psychology, experimental psychology, cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics, social psychology, sociolinguistics, sociology, the sociology of language, anthropology, ethnography, political and economic sciences, education and linguistics.

⁵Mentioned in Hoffmann,C.(1991: 18)

⁶Cited in Skutnabb-Kangas, I.(1981:98)

⁷Cited in Herdina and Jessner (2002:15)

⁸Quoted in Sinagatullin,L.M.(2003:114)

⁹Mentioned in Ferguson, S. (1997:11)

¹⁰Mentioned in Hoffmann,C. (1991: 28).

¹¹Cited in Appel and Muysken (2005:108)

¹²Quoted in Hoffmann, C. (1991:23)

¹³Mentioned in Baker,C. (1993:17)

¹⁴Switzerland occupies a unique position with four official languages, French, German, Italian and Romanch, but its language policy is based on the territorial principle, that is, in a given section the language of the majority is official and speaker of other language are expected to learn and use it.

¹⁵In India there are 15 languages that have constitutionally guaranteed status, with English and Hindi being the main languages of intercommunication between different regions.

¹⁶The first generation of immigrants in U.S.A is usually monolingual in native language, the second generation is bilingual in English and native language and the third generation is monolingual in English.

¹⁷Mentioned in Fasold, R. (1984: 10)

¹⁸There has been a union of state called 'Cantons'

¹⁹When these colonies gained independence, the new state remained a federation, thus, it becomes a difficult task for the nation to develop a society that is more multiethnic nation a multinational state. This necessity is mirrored in the language policy of that nation.

²⁰http://www.sid.ir/En/VEWSSID/J_df/94420075604.pdf: Baleghizadeh, S."Societal Bilingualism and Second Language Learning", accessed on June 20th,2008 at 10:30

²¹Cited in Baker,C. (2006: 12)

²²http://www.bilingualfamiliesconnect.com/Individual%20Bilingualism_Francois%20Grosjean.pdf : Grosjean, F (1994)."Individual Bilingualism", accessed on October 10th, 2008 at 13:40

²³Cited in Romaine, S.(1995: 12)

²⁴Cited in Romaine, S(1995: 12)

²⁵Quoted in Walt and Dirven (2006:82)

²⁶B: borrowed forms, abbreviation in Myers-Scotton,C. (1993 a and b).

²⁷ML: Matrix language, abbreviation in Myers-Scotton,C. (1993 a and b).

²⁸Mentioned in Downes, W.(1998: 81).

²⁹Quoted in Hoffmann, C.(1991:105).

Chapter Two

The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

CHAPTER II

The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

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2.1 Introduction

People from the Maghreb and particularly Algerians have always been in contact with other foreign populations at different periods of the history of Algeria. This contact is reflected in today's sociolinguistic situation of Algeria which is particular and very intricate due to various factors such as historical, political and socio-cultural.

The Algerian sociolinguistic situation is the shadow of a long and bloody history, so, we will try to examine bilingualism as a result and a manifestation of the process of imperialism in Algeria. We will view bilingualism as a process that evolved and changed in parallel with historical and political facts of contact, colonization, rebellion and independence. The impact has led to the co-existence of many linguistic phenomena which occur when two or more languages get into contact such as bilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing, in addition to the phenomenon of diglossia.

The implementation of the Arabization policy right after independence in 1962 is an evidence of an attempt to regain identity; but before independence, the Algerian speech community went linguistically through periods that have resulted in today's bilingualism. Our purpose in this chapter is to expose those periods.

In fact, bilingualism is a section of a large and complex linguistic situation in Algeria and if we care to comprehend its status, we need a whole description that could be summarized this way: Arabic is used in the speech community in its two forms, CA/MSA and Algerian Arabic and some other Berber varieties and the French language.

This complex linguistic situation did not come suddenly, but with evolutions through periods and ages. Thus, for a better understanding of this situation, we will draw this history with the several conquests that Algeria lived in, and in order to measure the impact of the French language on the Algerian linguistic situation, we need to look back and discover what was the linguistic situation before the arrival of the French. After that, we will deal in more detail with the eras of during and while occupation which were crucial points in the evolution of today's Algerian linguistic profile.

2.2 Algeria Through History

The name of Algeria *Djezâyr*, i.e. *islands* was given by kheireddine (Hayrettin) called also Barbarossa (a Turkish captain of the Ottoman Mediterranean fleet). He also gave the same name Djezâyr to the town of Algiers in 1517 and founded the first Algerian state. The French name of 'Algérie' was given in 1839 by Antoine Scheider, Minister of the War, when the country was under French occupation.

Since the early ages, North Africa had sheltered various cultures and civilizations like the Phoenician, the Carthaginian and the Roman. Algeria in particular was the object of many invasions and the most significant were those of the Carthaginian¹ who settled in Algeria for more than seven centuries. In fact, the first native inhabitants of the Maghreb (North Africa) were the Berbers, called in that time the Numidians who lived a quite simple life based on agriculture, and spoke the Berber languages like Kabyle, Shawia, Rifi and Mozabi². They really marked their presence in Algeria with their Punic civilization; they used Punic language, a Hamito-Semitic language.

Then Rome conquered Carthage and took control over certain areas. They lasted more than six centuries. Expansion in urbanization and in the areas under cultivation during the Roman rule caused wholesale dislocations of the Berber society. Nomadic tribes were forced to settle or move from traditional rangelands. Sedentary tribes lost their autonomy and connection with the land and the Berber opposition to the Roman was nearly constant.

The Vandals in 455 A.C. were the next to invade Algeria, but their cultural and linguistic influences were as weak as the short period they spent in the area. As a matter of fact, it was quite easy for the Berbers to get back their lands.

The Byzantines put an end to the Vandal domination in 534 A.C. after a settlement of more than one century until the invasion of the Arabs. The resulting decline in trade weakened the Roman control. Independent kingdoms emerged in mountainous as well as in desert areas, and the Berbers who had previously been pushed to the edges of the Roman Empire returned to their lands.

Thus, the Berbers were the first inhabitants of Maghreb, they melted with other people through so many invasions and took some of their traditions. The Berber varieties are still spoken today in a few areas particularly in Algeria and Morocco, they are said to come from the language of Tamazight. However, the fact which has caused a problem of identity is that the Berbers' history was written in the languages of their colonizers, (Greek and Latin, specifically under the Roman occupation) but not in their language. During this period, the Berber kings wrote a foreign language which showed their “total linguistic and cultural assimilation”³, as Maougal (1997) says:

*With the establishment of the first Berber kingdoms that we know; the history of the Berber people and dynasties will be transcribed in the Greek and Latin languages. Under the Roman occupation particularly, the language written by the Berber kings proves their total linguistic and cultural assimilation to the Hellenism and Latin*⁴.

Then most areas witnessed crucial changes in the language with the expansion of Islam and the Arabic language⁵, as we shall see in the next section.

2.2.1 Arab Conquest

The greatest impact came from the Arabs who were the next invaders of the area, but this invasion was of a religious kind, it was rather the expansion of a new religion Islam. Unlike the invasions of previous religions and cultures, the advent of Islam, which was spread by Arabs, was to have pervasive and long-lasting effects on the Maghreb. The new faith in its various forms, would penetrate nearly all segments of society, bringing with it armies, learned men and fervent mystics, and in large part replacing tribal practices and loyalties with new social norms.

This wave started in the mid-7th century (1st century of the Islamic calendar, the Hegira), it was a significant event for the future of North African nations as they went beyond remarkable shifts from the linguistic, religious and socio-cultural points of view. Unlike the other kinds of invaders, the Arabs lasted undefeated and were even admitted after melting with the natives and became themselves natives. It was in 670 that *Uqbah Ibn Nafi* was sent as a commander to take control over the Berber kingdom which the Arabs called Bilad al Maghrib, ‘*Lands of the west*’. At first, he met opposition from the Berbers

and the Byzantines, but then in 674 he built a town called *kairouan* situated in present-day Tunisia and used it as a base for further operations⁶.

The initial linguistic contacts were means to facilitate commercial exchange. Gradually, the Arabs began to reside there, bringing a modern mode of life among the Berber tribes. The Arabs were more professional in the spheres of science, art and poetry, a truth that exerted pressure on natives to learn Arabic which represented the new religion. In other words, the Arabic language started to take a rank of a high status according to the culture it represented. As an ordinary rule, the language of the powerful group always dominates the other's language in any linguistic conflict, moreover, whenever the Arabs were several, there was an increase of the Arab's culture and a decrease of the Berber's one followed by the progressive loss of the Berber language. This means that the language of the new religion, Arabic, gained in absorbing most local Berber varieties except in a few isolated and remote areas where the islamization and Arabization of these regions were complicated and took lengthy processes. The displacement of the Berber varieties took place gradually, first with the existence of the two languages in a bilingual state, then through the mixing of the two ethnic groups through marriages and the expansion of the Arab population. Marçais (1938)⁷ describes the progressive and definite Arabization of most Berbers in the 7th century, he writes:

In the 7th century, the Berber region broke up with the West, and was totally connected with the East, without conflict or crisis of consciousness. The new leaders of this region were the Arabs. They ceased to govern directly the country, but they marked it with an eternal stamp which is the Arabism as much as the whole of the Maghreb of today is considered as an eccentric province of Arabism.

Besides, the cause for the approval of Arabic was its narrow company with Islam, the new religion so that in a short time most inhabitants cohered to, and the requirement of a collective language they would learn to use in addition to theirs. The newly Berber population converted to Islam had to make efforts to learn Arabic since prayers, preaches, and the Quran were performed in this language which was considered as sacred. As a matter of fact, Arabic shortly emanated as a typical example of Arab-Islamic identity, and thus Algeria has related to the Arab nation '*al `Umma L `Arabiyya*'⁸ the Arab nation. In this sense, Taleb Ibrahimi (1997) notes:

Since the coming of the Arabian fatihin, Algeria is announced Arabian and Arabophone. The islamisation of the Maghreb allowed its arabisation, this was done slowly during long periods, first during Okba Ibn Nafae in the VII century, then later the hillalian tribus periods.⁹

Once again, the linguistic situation of the region was going to witness a transformation after the invasion of Banu-Hilal in the 11th century¹⁰. Being mainly rural tribes, they spoke a rural Arabic and since their coming to Algeria, two varieties of Arabic co-existed together: the rural variety that they brought and an urban variety spoken by the first Muslims in the cities. Later, with the establishment of the dynasties and the emergence of Arab scientists, philosophers and poets from the Maghreb, the Arabic language definitely became the language of the whole area.

2.2.2 Spanish and Turkish Invasions

Whatever the linguistic interferences and the consequent alternatives that took place during the first centuries of Islam, the situation became more complex later on, as a result of further linguistic contacts with other languages: Spanish in the West, particularly in some Algerian coasts like Oran from 1456 to 1543; Turkish during the Ottoman occupation in the 16th century, and Italian in the East.

In the 15th century the Berber dynasty began to decline. The decrease attracted Spain and Turkey, both of whom wanted to occupy Algeria. This resulted in a conflict between the two countries, however, it was the Turks who won and subsequently established their influence over Algeria, and then Algeria became a province of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Turkish pirates or corsairs as they were called, seized territories along the Algerian coast, consequently, these provinces became protectorates of the Ottoman Empire. The first corsair established himself on the coast of Algeria in 1512.

For a period of 300 years, Algeria was an Ottoman Empire province under the regency ruled by Kheireddine (Barbarossa). At that time, the governors were known as *Basha*. Turkish became the spoken language in that period. The Arabs and the Berbers were locked out of the government and the Turkish Basha ruled over them. However, in 1671 a new leader known as a *Dey* took control over Algeria and replaced the Basha who was the first ruler of Algeria.

Therefore, in addition to the good number of Berber words found today in a lot of Algerian Arabic varieties, the traces that Spanish and Turkish languages have left on the Algerian linguistic ground can be found particularly in urban speech and contain some borrowed words such as: [Karantita]¹¹, [falʒa] [ʧabse] and [boʒe] meaning respectively ‘hot, mistake, eating plate, and boat’, and some lexical words related especially to marine words often used in coastal areas. Some morphological forms can also be founded such as the Turkish {-d}, a suffix morpheme as in the word [suʒadZI] meaning ‘clock maker’. A large number of these borrowed words that are from Turkish and Spanish origins and many Berber lexical items have turned as a fragment of today's Algerian Arabic, and the majority of them are adjusted both phonologically and morphologically. For instance the word [ʧbasa] meaning ‘plates’ is the plural form of [ʧabse].

However, such lexical and morphological borrowings that are inserted into the Arabic linguistic system have left a weak impact on Algerian Arabic. The great influence showed up from the French language which played an important role in changing the Algerian linguistic profile both during and after the occupation. Consequently, the majority of Algerian speech interactions today consist of concepts and expressions from French, as we can see the French language written everywhere, in advertising signboard, administrations and medical documents, etc. Moreover, switching and mixing from Algerian Arabic to French and vice-versa have become usual and spontaneous matters as we will discover in the next section.

2.2.3 French Occupation

We have begun from the fundamental point that language and identity are intimately correlative. In other words, an identity of a given nation is mirrored in its language, i.e. to unfold one's identity over a nation is to unfold one's language in that country and to endeavor to exclude the other's language as a mark of estate and as a sign of superiority. Though he was not a linguist, the Duke of Rovigo pointed out in 1832, and in respect to the Algerian occupation, that the most efficient means of possessing the country was to exterminate the Algerians' language, he posits: *“The most effective way to dominate this country is to spread our language in it”*.¹²

In fact, in that period the world was witnessing an era of colonization during which European countries were rising in power and trying to acquire more and more of the world's wealth and affirmation of power. Asia, Africa and America represented for them free rich lands to be conquered and explored.

Therefore, the great conclusive affect that Algeria was going to be exposed to, arrived with the French colonization of the state which remained more than a century. As a matter of fact, one of the principal purposes of the ruler's policy right after the occupation, was to reduce strictly Arabic languages and cultures and to impose French as the solitary official language, and the *“only language of civilization and advancement”* (Bourhis 1982:44) as it was viewed by the colonial government. Taleb Ibrahim (1997) says the following in respect of determining the policy of depersonalization and acculturation of Algerians:

*French was imposed to the Algerian people because of which the violence one of the fundamental elements used in the French policy to depersonalize and acculturate this people.*¹³

Occupation is perhaps the most essential motive of the phenomenon of bilingualism in the world, and this is exactly what occurred in Algeria and the rest of Maghreb. Indeed, Algerian bilingualism is a consequence of 130 years of colonization, a fact that leads us to consider this bilingualism of a historical kind. We should say that it is the severity and specificity of occupation that caused the French language to have such impact on Algerian Arabic as well as Berber varieties. What we mean by severity and specificity of the French colonial policy that was applied upon the Algerian society, is that it was intense in the sense that it was exhaustive i.e. occupation of territory, occupation of the nation and occupation of language and identity. Since such strategy was at all grades i.e. geographic, political, cultural and linguistic, the revolution was also at those degrees. When the Algerians rebelled, they had not only the impression to get back their land, but also their identity which is represented in their language and religion.

Starting from now, we will deal with bilingualism as a living linguistic phenomenon which goes through changing steps, and those stages can overlap with

political alternatives. In fact, each political change corresponds to a linguistic change both during and while the colonial period. Each political change had an impact on the existence of bilingualism in the Algerian speech community and the attitudes taken towards it. We will explore in detail, in the next chapter those political and historical events that have built such bilingualism in the Algerian context.

2.4 Today's Sociolinguistic Situation of Algeria

For many centuries, Algeria had passed through extremely stimulating historical facts which have led today to a very intricate linguistic situation. As a matter of fact, it is a very productive field that is opened to studies of different kinds, and that may cause very significant discoveries. In addition, linguists, sociolinguists and educationists could come across so much to do in analysing the dynamics of a multilingual background where, along with CA and/or MSA, the literary forms of Arabic, not merely multiple varieties of the Arabic language are used in various districts, but also languages that are not related genetically.

However, the linguistic profile of Algeria is faraway more knotty than this, and its truth is so much difficult to pinpoint with its various configuration. The truth is that, in addition to the Berber varieties¹⁴ which represent the native tongue of a particular part of today's Algerian people, a large number of Algerian Arabic local varieties coexist with various degrees of intelligibility, and in real dynamics, but also with French the language that extremely influences the Algerian linguistic situation, as a consequence of the long term French colonization. What is significant in the Algerian context is that the various language choices are featured by a kind of blend of all three codes, especially found in urban centres and understood very well by the majority of Algerians as a result of linguistic friction contexts. We have stated earlier the factors behind the complex linguistic situation in Algeria, some of which being historical, others political and still others socio-cultural. In this part, we will endeavour to describe the elements of this linguistic profile that are reflected in some sociolinguistic phenomena among which bilingualism and diglossia are the most important.

2.4.1 Phenomenon of Diglossia

Without an introductory account of the linguistic phenomenon *diglossia*, we cannot understand or describe any Arabic-speaking community whether it is monolingual or bilingual. In certain European monolingual speech communities, only a standard form of the language exists, and it is acquired as the mother tongue of the whole nation. That standard is used either by certain population in their daily speech interactions, especially those belonging to upper social classes, or between iterate members, whereas, there are other people who use different regional or social dialects in their everyday communication purposes. However, there are speech communities where two sets of varieties -one prestigious and the other has a low status- of the same language coexist, and each variety fulfils a clearly distinct range of social functions in different sets of circumstances. For example, the language used in the written form clearly differs from the one used among friends. The prestigious variety is not acquired as a mother tongue by anybody, and speakers all over the Arab world are fully conscious of the dissimilarities in use between literary Arabic, which most people simply call 'al Arabiyya', and the vernacular Arabic used spontaneously in everyday speech conversations.

The first attempt to describe this specific kind of linguistic dichotomy in the Arabic language was done by the linguist Marçais (1930:401)¹⁵, who used *diglossie* as a concept to account for the two contrasting aspects of the language. He notes:

Arabic language appears under two perceptibly different aspects : 1) a literary language so called written Arabic or regular or literal or classical, the only one that had always and everywhere been written in the past, the only one in which still today are written literary or scientific works, newspaper articles, Judiciary acts, private letters, in a word, everything that is written, but which exactly as it is, has perhaps never been spoken anywhere, and which in any case, is not spoken now anywhere; 2) spoken idioms, patois... none of which has ever been written... but which everywhere and perhaps for a long time are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultural circles.

For Marçais, Arabic has two forms, one classical used for the written form and another used almost orally. He considered CA as the language which has always been written and not spoken, but CA was not written in the 'Djehilia'¹⁶. It was not even written

during the advent of Islam, it started with the first draft of Qur'an written by Othman Ibn Affan.

Then Ferguson (1959a)¹⁷ elaborated the term *diglossia* and made it more explicit, but first he worked on the English literature by suggesting a number of criteria to explain a particular linguistic phenomenon. By doing so, he considered a number of languages which he named 'defining languages' such as Modern Greek, Swiss German, Haitian Creole and Arabic, while this latter took up the most interesting part in his study on diglossia. Ferguson (ibid: 244-5) describes such phenomenon as follows:

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

In diglossic speech communities, the use of two varieties can be obviously differentiated according to the function of each one in the society. With this regard, Ferguson (ibid: 245) says: *“One of the most important features of diglossia is the specialisation of function for H and L”*. Indeed, he describes diglossia as a kind of bilingualism in a given speech community in which one language is the High-variety 'H' and the other, which belongs to the same language, is the low 'L' variety. He considers the High-variety as the standard one which is used in formal settings such as education and formal speech. Whereas the Low-variety is used in non-standard situations such as at home or in one's private life.

Classical Arabic¹⁸ has always been dignified for its tight relation with Qur'an, the Holy Book of Islam, the Arab- Islamic identity and culture, as well as with the language of the Prophet's oral traditions registered throughout the first eras of Islam and passed on generations during the centuries. Besides, in view of its lasting rank as the language of prestigious poetry and both ancient and modern literature, CA is considered as a rational, wealthy and beautiful language. In this respect, Freeman (1996)¹⁹ writes:

An important component of diglossia is that the speakers have the personal perception that the High variety is the 'real' language and that the Low variety is 'incorrect' usage. In Arabic, people talk about the High variety as being 'pure' Arabic and the dialects as being corrupt forms.

Hence, Classical Arabic has been considered as a kind of 'supra-language' that acquired its prestige from its use in social and cultural events by the various Arab tribes particularly during the pilgrimage occasion. Then, it was the strongly divine affect of the Qur'an that made this variety viewed as the language norm for the whole Arab community in the first century of the Hegira (early 7th century A.D.), and thereafter the following generations, till the present times.

The Low-variety which consists of the whole Arabic dialects generally does not possess standard norms, it needs prestige and lasts a spoken form, though its powerful vivacity as a native language, its use in customary folk oral poetry and songs in which there has been certain attempts for a written form. CA, on the contrary, is regarded as a medium which unifies the Arab speech communities, as it is the official language of the whole Arab states, and it is considered as *a lingua franca* facilitating communication among speakers of a variety of Arabic dialects. For instance, an Algerian speaker and an Egyptian would not understand each other very well if they use their local varieties. But, they would better comprehend each other if they communicate by a spoken form of CA or a middle variety relative more or less what is known as MSA, in order to avoid on all linguistic degrees, particular characteristics which hinder mutual intelligibility. MSA, the modernized and simplified version of CA, is used as the language of instruction in all Arab countries, it is also used in the mass media especially in TV news and programmes and people all over the Arab world have habituated to understand it, albeit many of them do not in fact speak it.

It is worth mentioning that more exposition to MSA through mass media has led to step-by-step production of the High variety, especially on the lexical grade. Consequently, the diglossic situation in Algeria and even in certain other Arab countries becomes unstable as mentioned by Ferguson in his reprinted article 'Diglossia' (1959a). In fact, Ferguson introduced a much more new article which he has entitled 'Diglossia revisited' (1991). In this recent article Ferguson admitted certain shortcoming in his first article, especially in association to what he first viewed as long-term stability concerning the complementary

distribution of function of High/Low varieties. He acknowledged the process of Arabic diglossic situations through a type of continuum when he says: *“Intermediate between the two varieties relatively ‘pure’ Classical and Colloquial, there are many shadings of middle language”*. (1970)²⁰. For instance, because of much instruments of language contact and communication, especially through T.V, what can be noticed in Algeria, is that AA low varieties look to approach to each other, and at the same time to CA and\ or MSA to the extent that we can hear any Algerian speaker, in formal or semi-formal settings, switches or mixes to varying degrees between the three varieties: CA, MSA and AA

2.4.2 Diglossia and Bilingualism

The real motive that leads to the intricacy of the linguistic situation in Algeria is its feature at the societal grade by at least two interlocked linguistic phenomena, diglossia and bilingualism, although at the individual level, we believe that the degree of proficiency in one of the two, or in both standards, on a large scale relied on socio-cultural factors like the socio-economic background, the level of literacy and probably most significantly the motivation and the attitudes through the two codes. As a matter of fact, all Algerian people, even illiterate members use and /or understand to a lesser extent a few words and expressions from MSA and French in their daily speech interactions, to the degree that the whole speech community can be, considered both as diglossic and bilingual. This double characterization can be viewed along the two limits of a linguistic competence continuum, because both linguistic phenomena are viewed as relative concepts, indeed, neither MSA nor the French language are acquired as native languages in the Algerian speech community. Taleb Ibrahim (1997) points out in respect to the Algerian linguistic situation the following:

*The Algerian speaker, the same as the Arab speaker is constantly oscillating between being faithful to his mother tongue, and the wish of using a new language which is used in the modern world.*²¹

According to Taleb Ibrahim, the present Algerian linguistic situation makes clear that speakers often find themselves switching between the language of religion and cultural inheritance and French, the language of technology, advancement and opening towards the

West, but at the same time the language related with imperialism, supremacy and injustice towards the Algerian people.

A country with a characteristic of a balanced bilingualism would contain large members who use both languages for various aims, or switching among them in different situations of their discourses in relation to some norms of use. But the inquiry of the degree of proficiency between bilinguals in a given speech community and their attitudes towards the other language as opposed to their native language makes the phenomenon of bilingualism very difficult, in addition, each bilingual speech community has its own features depending on the number of languages or varieties existing in the linguistic repertoire, the values connected there with and the functions that the languages fulfil.

However, in bilingual / diglossic speech communities, the patterns of language use are far away to be compared with those appeared in bilingual societies where the two coexisting codes are standards, like English which is acquired as a mother tongue by certain British people, learned at school and spoken in a fluent way depending on the group's social class or on the formality of the context. Algerian bilingualism is a more complex instance because it implicates a 'double-overlapping diglossia'²² (Hamers and Blanc, 2000:295), i.e. it involves a dual relationship to French.

From the one hand, there is a connection between French and the Low Algerian Arabic local varieties in addition to a number of Berber dialects that constitute the mother tongues acquired naturally during the first years of child language acquisition. However, the native language is not learned or strengthened in the pupil's minds at school, as is the situation of French or English educational systems. Hence, at the first contact with the school, the Algerian pupil becomes conscious of the dissimilarity of functions among his/her mother tongue and MSA, the language of instruction. On the other hand, the high variety MSA which is not the Algerians' native language has a relationship with French, as it is used to fulfil particular functions, for instance, an Algerian iterate speaker who has a good competence in both languages may well discuss a social subject in MSA, than switch to French in order to transmit the same views to listeners.

Moreover, French was for a long time the language of teaching at institutions, as a matter of fact, a large number of youth Algerians became functionally bilinguals. But although MSA has given back its place today at all educational levels (except for certain branches at the university level, like medicine, mathematics, etc.), French carries on to be used in various contexts that makes it viewed as the language of success, progress and modernism. Like that, the switching between all these codes has become an innate feature in the linguistic behaviour of Algerian speakers.

2.4.3 Language Choice

The relationship between society and linguistic variation has always been the focus of sociolinguistics. Early sociolinguistics studied the influence of society on language variation including language choices made by bilingual or multilingual speakers, and the motivation behind such choices in different speech communities.

Many social, psychological and linguistic factors which influence language choice in the bilingual individual will also affect groups of such people, but not all bilinguals have the opportunity to use their languages on a regular basis. If a bilingual individual lives in a largely monolingual speech community, there may be a slight selection about language use from day to day; however, in speech communities where more than one code is the norm, bilinguals may use their languages on a daily or frequent basis. If the addressee is already known to the bilingual individual as a family member, friend or colleague, they establish a relationship through one language; if both are bilinguals they have the choice of switching to the other language.

In all multilingual communities speakers select among the available language or varieties as monolinguals select among the appropriate styles or registers from the linguistic repertoire according to the context of speech. That is, the choice of a particular language or variety is affected by external factors such as participants, setting, topic, etc. Each individual displays constantly different social roles and chooses the groups with whom he wishes to identify through the selection of one language over another or one variety of the same language over another, as Bell (1976:110) says *“no language user is monolingual, in the strict sense of possessing a single code”*.

Indeed, the interlock of language, society and culture form in a way the shape of different speech codes used in a given community in particular contexts and according to recognized norms which favour people's relations. In this respect Bernstein (1970)²³ says that:

Language is a set of rules to which all speech codes must comply, but which speech codes are realized in a function of the culture acting through social relationships in specific contexts. Different speech forms or codes symbolize the form of the social relationship, regulate the nature of the speech encounters, and create for the speakers different orders of relevance and relation.

Thus, language choice is not arbitrary, and not all speech communities are organized in the same way, this emphasizes that linguistic homogeneity does not exist in sociolinguistic trends and that language has to be viewed as a set of repertoires of codes selected on the basis of rule governed strategies, not in a random way.

2.4.3.1 Domain Approach

The concept of *domain* has been used in sociolinguistics to demonstrate the speaker's appropriate choice of a particular code from his linguistic repertoire in a given kind of recurring situation. In the 1960's Fishman put a good deal of interest on the analysis and the description of patterns of communication within and between multilingual communities. In one oft quoted article 'who speaks what language, to whom and when' (1965a, revised 1972)²⁴, Fishman disbelieves that language choice constitutes random decisions on the part of the speaker and asserts that:

'Proper' usage dictates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes or interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics.

Fishman uses the term domain in order to explain that most members in a given speech community speak in different ways in all of their daily interactions and their language use varies from one social situation to the other, therefore, he establishes the concept domain to include a series of social situations. The use of a particular code often identifies a domain and according to Fishman (1972:43)²⁵, each speech event needs a different way of speaking, he points out:

The very fact that a baseball conversation 'belongs' to one speech variety and an electrical engineering lecture 'belongs' to another speech variety is a major key to an even more generalized description of sociolinguistic variation.

Myers-Scotton (2006) reported that the most significant domains that Fishman stated are family, friendship, religion, education and employment. In each domain there may be pressure of various kinds, for instance, economic, administrative, cultural, political religious which affect the bilingual individual, then lead him /her to predict and to select the appropriate type of language variety that will be used in such speech situation. In this regard, Downes (1998) describes a domain as:

A grouping together of recurring situation types in such a way that one of the languages in a repertoire, as opposed to the others, normally occurs in that class of situations. And members of the speech community normally judge that the use of that variety, and not the others, is appropriate to that domain.

(Downes 1998:61-2)

Besides, the type and number of domains which have been established and used by sociolinguists in their research vary somewhat in categorizing different role-relations that require suitable code choices. Generally, the majority of scholars agree that domain can be seen as the configuration of at least three component factors: the participant in a conversation; the place where it occurs and the subject under discussion.

The participants are featured by for instance, age, gender, social status and socio-economic background, and also by the type of relationship that exist between them which makes clear the degree of intimacy or formality that they display in relation to each other. Conversations occur in different places and locations, some of which will not have any particular affect on the bilingual individual's language choice, but there are certain areas where a particular language is more likely to be used than another, e.g. the home, administrations, school.

The topic has been viewed as a significant element governing language choices. Individuals usually have preferences for using a particular code when speaking about a given subject. This priority can become particularly obvious when the talk of a topic leads the speakers to alternate from one code to another. There are various reasons for such

switches as for example the speaker may feel more proficient in handling a topic in a given language, may be because he/she has learnt the appropriate terms only in the context of one language or he /she may use another language to fill a linguistic or a conceptual gap in his /her native language, and even he/she may guess that one language is more convenient for discussing a particular subject.

2.5 Bilingualism in the Algerian Context (Speech Community of Tlemcen)

As we have already stated, Algerian bilingualism is rooted from the deep history of colonialism which remained a whole century and thirty two years. As a matter of fact, the double co-existent relationship between Algerian Arabic and French has led, from the one hand, to the maintenance of the native language which represents the token of the Algerian socio-cultural identity, with AA and BR as constituents of this personality, and as we believe, to the openness towards the world of advancement and technology through the French language on the other. Bouhadiba (1998) argues that French is extremely infixed at the lexical grade. In other words, a great number of French borrowings, adapted and even non-adapted can be indicated in the majority of speaker's conversations, especially in urban centres where French got hold more firmly than in rural areas. Consequently, the Algerian society has been profoundly affected by French the extent to which we virtually cannot hear an excerpts from a dialogue without at least a few French words or expressions. AA is stuffed with French that this kind of variety has been named as Franc-Arabic by Bouamrane (1998). Here are a few excerpts from a conversation between three Tlemcenian relatives from the English Department that we have recorded without the speakers being aware, in which we provide an image of French use in everyday AA discussions (see Appendix II; French italicized):

A : *Bonjour, ça va ?*

B : *ça va bien* l'amdullah. ?ulli df↔↔t ↔dd↔sje *de bourse ? Ça y est délai rih ?rib j↔km↔l*

A : mazal, jla t↔bb n↔mΣiw n↔rfdi *juste le bus de la fac, j↔oṭṭna exactement t↔mma*

B : *D'accord, beṣṣa* tbelli ↔tta *le mardi prochain nkunu déjà Zebna les attestations de succès* wn↔↔mlulhum *photocopie wlégalisation*

C : ana mannZ↔mΣ n↔df↔↔t ↔dd↔sje *puisque ma↔abbuΣ φΞerZuli l'extrait de role ta↔ mama*

B : ↔laΣ ?

C : paske papa Ṣam↔l Ṣliha *le registre de commerce*

(A: hello, are you alright?)

B: fine, thanks God. Tell me have you put down the grant file? The deadline is about to finish.

B: have you gone or not yet?

A: not yet, if you want we go together by bus. It carries us exactly there.

B: o.k, at that time we would already have got the success certificate photocopied and legalised.

C: for me, I cannot put down the grant file because they refused to provide me with the no-debt excerpt of my mother.

B: why?

C: because the registry of commerce is on her name).

First, we should mention that the above conversation is loaded with French words or we may say with Arabic items, because actually, any one of the two languages can be thought as the base language and the other as the embedded language. The first speaker opens the speech with a famous French form often used among students, particularly those belonging to Foreign Languages Department, ‘Bonjour, ça va?’ meaning ‘good morning, are you all right?’ Here the student could use Arabic but as this form becomes a hallmark used by this category of learners, she thinks it would be more appropriate to use it, and then she code-switches to AA. We note from the above experts, that the long presence of French in Algeria and its influence on Algerians’ speech have led today in addition to the heavy borrowing lexical items, to the use of ‘ready-made’ phrases such as the frequently used forms ‘ça va?’ or ‘ça y est’ meaning respectively ‘are you all right?’ and ‘is that it’. Such address forms are often mixed with an Arabic phrase in the answer as in ‘ça va bien lhamdullāh’ or ‘ça y est délai rih ?rib jəkml’ meaning respectively ‘I’m fine thanks God’ or ‘is that it, the time limit is almost finished’. We can also notice the use of some borrowed words such as photocopie, égalisation, délai which are not adapted phonologically or morphologically. The adverbs déjà, exactement meaning ‘before’, ‘exactly’ are frequently used in AA and seem to have no equivalents in any AA varieties. The conjunction parce que meaning ‘because’ is often used in its surface form to become pronounced [paske] by the majority of Algerian speakers.

On the whole, we may say that copious borrowing from the French language and the stemming phenomenon of code-switching have long become significant defining characteristics of Algerian speech. It is worth noting that English is holding an important rank in Algeria as a world language related to technology, science and international commerce and is thus gradually admired by the youth students at the university. However, in spite of the value of English as a worldwide language, in virtue of the leading role that French has played in the socio-historical forming of coeval Algeria, and by its being viewed as a colonial legacy, it will usually stay profoundly steady in the linguistic practices of the state in parallel to other components of the Algerian sociolinguistic profile.

2.6 Language Contact Dynamics in Algeria (Speech Community of Tlemcen)

The present language situation in Algeria suggests a wealthy sphere of study into language contact phenomena, that are represented particularly in the intertwine between AA and French from the one hand, as well as between language varieties raised in the high / low diglossic relationship and dialectal variation on the other. In fact in addition to the use of a large amount of loan words, especially French ones, many Algerians continually and often without being aware, alternate from one language and / or language variety to the other in multiple contexts and for various goals. In addition, these are constantly mixed up in a spontaneous way in daily speech interactions, a behaviour which makes AA a very characteristic way of speaking. The most significant feature that resulted from AA-FR contact is represented in the phenomena of borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing.

2.6.1 Borrowing

The long and profound contact with the French during the colonization, no doubt has left many consequences on the Algerian society. The first result of such contact was borrowing by which a large number of words slipped into AA, and finally integrated in daily Algerians' speech, particularly because of the incomplete nature of the Algerian dialect on the modern lexical level. For instance, words like [maʒina] from *machine*; [stilu] from *stilo* and [karta:b] from *cartable* (machine, pen and school bag respectively) have no equivalents in AA. We can distinguish between non-adapted and adapted borrowings. The

first kind contains words that are imported from the French language and kept intact both phonologically and morphologically. This type often include technical terms that have no equivalents in Arabic such as names of machines or imported equipments like *video*, *portable*, *parabole* which have been called loanwords (Poplack and Meechan 1995) or cultural borrowings (Myers-Scotton 1993a). Whereas, the second kind consists of words that are phonologically and/or morphologically changed to fit the base language. The suffix {-a}, for example, is added in the morphological assimilation of the feminine French word *machine* to give [maʒina], and the plural Arabic suffix {-æ:t} is used to become [maʒinæ:t]. This plural morpheme is valid for many French borrowed feminine nouns, but also for masculine nouns as in [stilujæ:t].

However, we should mention that this rule is not universal for all nouns so that, some may take the so-called ‘broken’ plural as in [tʰwabl] from *tables*, or [fraʒet] from *fourchettes* (tables, forks respectively). The close back vowel /u/ is used instead of various rounded vowels as in [stilu], [tirifu:n], [mutu:r] from French *stilo*, *téléphone*, *moteur* (pen, telephone, engine respectively). The liquid consonant /l/ is elided in the word [karta:b], but sometimes it is realized with devoicing as it is preceded by the plosive /b/, then giving [karta:b̥]. We usually find the Arabic definite determiner {əl} linked to the French borrowed noun as in [əlvaz] from *vase* ‘flower vase’ or [əʒʒaʔo] from *chateau* ‘castle’. But if the consonant which follows the phoneme /l/ of {əl} belongs to the fourteen *shamsiya* consonants, it will be a case of regressive assimilation as in the word [əʒʒaʔo], that is, /l/ → /ʒ/ /- [ʒ] in [əʒʒaʔo]. As for many other French borrowed words, the plosive /b/ or the fricative /f/ are put instead of the labio-dental /v/ which does not exist in the Arabic phonemic system like [kubirta] from *couverture* ‘cover’ or [refei] from *reveil* ‘alarm clock’; but /v/ could be realized in some words such as [vak̥nʒ] from *vacance* ‘holiday’. We can find the same case with the plosive /p/ which is realized as [b] for the voiceless bilabial plosive does not exist in Arabic. For example, the French word *la poupée* ‘doll’ can be heard with three realizations in AA. The older one [əlbubijja] used by older uneducated people following the rule illustrated above. The second one [əl pupijja] is realized with less integration, then the final unassimilated one [la pupe]. In fact, as friction with French continues to raise particularly in education, administration and in various

public streams nowadays, many educated people and youth avoid using older borrowing words by uttering the foreign items in their basic realizations because of their good control of the French language. Actually, old borrowings, particularly in the earlier periods of contact with the French, were assimilated to a large degree to Arabic phonology and morphology. For example, word like [kubbania] from French *compagnie* ‘company’ and its plural [kubbania:t] is integrated both phonologically and morphologically to the Arabic linguistic system mainly because at that time, people could not utter correctly the French consonants and vowels that were not available in the AA phonemic system.

From the structural point of view, scholars made a lot of efforts in an attempt to differentiate between borrowing and code-switching, but we believe that in the speech community of Tlemcen or elsewhere in Algeria, we cannot separate the two types from each other in view of the intricacy of telling them apart. Moreover, if we appraise the extremely amount of French concepts and expressions brought into AA, we may observe that any word can be borrowed and used in different forms along a type of continuum in the level of assimilation into the mother tongue. Thus, it is worth mentioning, that with time and the extent of bilingualism in Algeria, people began involving the French language into their daily speech interactions not merely by means of borrowings, but also code-switching.

2.6.2 Code-switching / Code-mixing

AA-FR code-switching has become a linguistic instrument which various Algerian individuals require in their speech strategies. In the premature years of constitution and socialization, children in Algeria are subjected to an affluent variety of linguistic devices beside the inherent acquisition of their mother tongue, because the native language which is acquired from the approximate background, that is AA or BR mixed with AA in some region, is stuffed with French in all shapes of interference starting from borrowing items and mixed code-switching forms to complete bilingualism. Crucially, this leads to the overlapping use of linguistic sources from both codes and the structure of an Arabic-French blend that can be considered as a third code (Dendane 2006). In so many contexts and as we have already mentioned, children may not be conscious concerning the source of items

and expressions they use in their first years, but effective from the second or third years of schooling, they begin to differentiate between Arabic and French. The crucial thing observed in the Algerian context is that when we eavesdrop to anyone speaking about whatever subject whether it is earnest or common, we will hear a variety of back-and-forth code switches between AA and French, that is, shorter or longer spans from one language squeeze into the other the extent to which, in many cases, it will be indecisive to identify whether the language that governs the sentence is Arabic with insertion of French components or vice-versa.

Many types of code-switching that are provided by different scholars under the heading ‘conversational switching’, ‘code changing’ or CM are largely present within Algerians’ behaviour as our data reveal. The following excerpts are recorded from a conversation between two men in their forties in which they have a chat about the rehabilitation of the Algerian national team of football into the 2010 world cup (see Appendix II, conversation 2):

A : ... *les algériens vont se régaler* h↔d ↔l Ṣam, *malgré* l↔Φla taṢ lṢid b↔ṣṣa□ gal↔k lmuhim rba□na ↔l *match*

B : *c’est vrai deux joies d’une pierre de coups*, b↔ṣṣa□ j↔stahlu wellah ↔l Ṣadi:m f↔rr□una.

(A: ...the Algerians will enjoy so much despite that everything is expensive on the occasion of l’aid, they say that the most important is that they won the match.

B: yes of course, two joys at the same time. They deserve it indeed.)

From the excerpts set above, we can notice how intricate the interference of the two languages is, which makes it so hard to understand each alternative from the linguistic and socio-pragmatic point of view. The intersentential type of code-switching is simply found because the switch occurs at sentence or clause boundary as it is shown in the second expert. However, intrasentential code-switching provides many difficulties for linguistic analysis because the switches occur both within words and clauses. The first expert is an instance that shows the interference of the two languages, as it is not simple to account whether the utterance is in AA with switches to French or vice-versa or should be seen only as a CS third code. Then, if the speaker starts the utterance with the French clause

[*Les Algériens vont se régaler*], how can we predict his decision to use the AA expression [had əl ʕam] at the end of the clause instead of finishing with the French *one cette année?* meaning ‘this year’. Consider these excerpts from conversation³ (Appendix II) recorded from two middle school Tlemcenian teachers, in which we provide a profile about the complex mixings of the two codes that occur in many cases:

A : ... *je pense kaj↔n une grève, ?alu le dix huit octobre t↔bda*

B : *w↔□na les nouveaux tani concernés ?!*

A : *ΣΣεπα Εαϝϝna dabord nϝa?ϝiw les membres de syndicat Ili rena mΣerKi:n mϝahum*

(A: I think there would be a strike, they say the eighteenth of October.

B: are we concerned with?

A: I do not know but first we have to ask the association we belong to.)

We note in the first stretch that the speaker prefers to use the very common expression [kaj↔n], ‘there is’, even though it seems a bit inappropriate before a French noun, instead of the French form *il y a*. The French answer form [je ne sais pas], ‘I don’t know’ becomes commonly used among speakers in its surface version [ΣΣεπα], this illustrates that speakers often use least efforts in order to convey meaning whatever is the code. The complex mixing of the two codes from the data provided sometimes makes it challenging to explain them from the linguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives, but we should mention that it does not create an issue of production or comprehension for those speakers in such conversation for they have attained an appropriate level of competence in the foreign language. In fact, the point here is that the existence of two or more languages eventually results in a variety of language mixing among which code-switching is a significant means used in many communicative aims. As we believe, in many cases, the strategy of changing from Arabic to French is not merely used to stress the social and cultural values related to each of the two codes, but more importantly, to compensate for the lack of vocabulary in the native language needed to convey different notions and words.

In fact, in many contexts we may perfectly hear speakers who use French as the matrix language that governs the sentences of speech, with a few insertions from AA. However, this kind of speech needs a perfect competence in French, that is, though

Algerian people with a fairly good knowledge of French may well comprehend such talks, not everyone can utter stretches of speech like the provided below produced by a doctor in his sixties who had been instructed only in French:

B : oh ! tu sais ... avec ces histoires de grippe il faut se méfier de la propagande qui l'entoure, effectivement toutes les grippes ont un caractère épidémique et endémique, b↔ssah, quant on veut vendre un produit à l'échelle planétaire il n'y a pas mieux que la propagande et dans ce cas précis les laboratoires multi-national ont tellement produit ce ... fameux vaccin contre le virus ... kismu H1n1 ... qui heureusement pour la population mondiale la propagation de cette maladie n'a pas été avérée et pour cela il fallait écoulé les quantités énormes de vaccins produits et donc il n' y a pas mieux que la publicité pour vendre ces vaccins

(B: oh! you know... with these histories of flu it is necessary to mistrust of the propaganda which surrounds it, in fact all flus have an epidemic and endemic character, but as they want to sell a product on the global scale there is not better than the propaganda and in this precise case the multi-national laboratories produce this so... famous vaccine against the virus...called H1n1 ... which fortunately for the world population the propagation of this illness didn't prove and for it was necessary to dispose the enormous quantities of vaccines products and therefore there is not better than the advertisement to sell these vaccines).

From the above excerpt, we see that the switches to AA like [b↔ssah] and [kismu] meaning respectively 'but, called', are not sentences or clauses, thus, they can merely viewed as embedded in the French language.

Interestingly, evidence from observation of daily CS data in Tlemcen speech community shows that various amounts of French use within AA can be seen in individual's speech interactions according to groups of speakers that can be classed in terms of degree of bilinguality in the foreign language and the socio-economic background in addition to motivation which is a significant element in code choice and code-mixing. In this sense, Dendane (2006) viewed the possibility to consider AA/FR code-switching along what he called CS continuum. At one limit of this continuum, there exist speech interactions that contain very few switching. This kind of CS may demonstrate either the lower competence of the speaker in French which prevent him from the production of French expressions and sentences; or the speaker avoids the use of French because of his

negative attitudes towards the foreign language. For instance, the below excerpts from a conversation cover merely a few borrowing items because the speaker perhaps does not find Arabic equivalents:

A: bΦi:t ndeΞEleh l↔l□adana w↔llikul Zani b§id bezza:f

B: j↔mΣi m§a E↔h, masana raha t↔qra ?

A: raha f ttalta b↔§ša□ j↔ΦΦebnuni *surtout* f↔lm↔Σta maj§ibuΣ ↔nneql, jwa gult □↔tta j↔dEul *direct* l§am ZZay.

B: ↔tta□diri rah ?iZbari d↔rw↔k, bessif §likum ↔dd↔Eluh

(A: I wanted to enroll him in the day nursery and the school is very far.

B: he goes with his sister, at what year is she?

A: she is at the third year but they disturb me a lot especially in winter there is no traffic, so I let him till next year.

B: the pre-schooling is important you have to enroll him there.)

We note that A who has a low educational level uses very few borrowings which are part of the AA system. But what is interesting, is that B who owns a good level of instruction avoid borrowing or switching to French all during the speech and tries to fit her words to that of A. Hence, not all Algerians are equally competent in switching to the French language, mainly because they have different degrees of bilinguality and their exposures to French are not the same.

2.7 Conclusion

The linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of Algeria is particular. It went through several stages. Algerians live both diglossic and bilingual situations, making use of borrowing and code-switching. The co-existence of Algerian Arabic and French for more than a century gave birth to a bilingual context which has influenced Algerian Arabic since

most Algerian speakers, even illiterate ones, switch codes and borrow words from French in their daily speech utterances. Even Berber varieties are full of French words and words from languages of different sources. Forms of bilingualism and of diglossia are prevailing in the Algerian context. The contact of Arabic and French led to the Arabization policy which was meant to erase all the remnants of the colonizers both culturally, in the mentalities and behaviour, and sociolinguistically with the normalization of MSA and the substitution of French.

The Algerian speech community is heterogeneous not only for social reasons (diglossia and the specialization of functions of H/L), but also for historical reasons (French during colonization, and after independence, hence forced bilingualism then societal bilingualism). This leads us to conclude that Algeria is not a monolingual society as politicians and decision makers have always been affirming. It is rather a multilingual community. Yet, political reasons have labelled MSA as the standard language, and have labelled AA and Tamazight as dialects. The Arab community of Algeria prefers to switch between AA and Fr and to a lesser degree between MSA. The Berber community prefers to speak in Tamazight and in French rather than in AA. Therefore, the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is quite complex, and fact is well noticeable through the instability of diglossia that exists between the standard and the non-standard varieties of language present in Algeria.

On the other hand, the instability of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria has a tremendous effect on the younger generations. Pupils and even young adults are torn between the diglossic reality whereby they should use MSA to write and communicate in formal situations, and use the vernaculars to communicate in informal situations. They are taught that they speak in MSA in Algeria. Yet, they notice that they do not use it in the streets or at home, but they use their vernaculars in such situations. Hence, this reality and the sociocultural propaganda are both misleading and source of conflictual interpretations. Moreover, young people are taught that French is a foreign language used only in some domains, such as at school, in the mass media, university and administration. Yet, they have access to this language through the satellite TV programmes, and have the opportunity to use it in several situations and domains.

¹Cited in Elimam (2004: 298).

²Mentioned in lecterc (1992: 223).

³Dendane's translation (2006: 77).

⁴Avec la fondation des premiers royaumes berbères connus, l'histoire du peuplement et des dynasties berbères sera transcrite dans les langues grecque et latine. Sous l'occupation romaine tout particulièrement, la langue écrite par les rois berbères témoigne de leur totale assimilation linguistique et culturelle à l'hellénisme et à la latinité. Maougal (1997 :67). Translation is mine.

⁵The settlement of the Berber did not leave a big trace as did the Arabs since the majority of them were arabised by the coming of Islam. Marçais (1938: 3; quoted in Kh. Taleb Ibrahim, 1997: 42) points out that the invasion of the Arabs led to the introduction of Arabic in the Maghreb, so that, almost the whole land be considered as a province of Arabism: 'Ils l'ont arabise, si bien qu'aujourd'hui le Maghreb, presque dans son ensemble, peut être considéré come une province axcentrique de l'arabism.'

⁶<http://www.muslimheritage.com/uploads/Qayrawan.pdf>:Zaimeche, S. (2004). "Al-Qayrawan (Tunizia)", accessed on August 2nd,2009 at 11:50

⁷Au VII^{ème} siècle, le pays berbère a rompu avec l'Occident et s'est rattaché a l'Orient, totalement, sans retour, et semble-t-il sans conflit intérieur, sans crise de conscience. Ses nouveaux maitres, les Arabes, ont pu par la suite cesser d'y exercer directement le pouvoir. Mais ils l'ont marqué d'une empreinte ineffaçable. Ils l'ont arabisé, si bien qu'aujourd'hui le Maghreb, presque dans son ensemble, peut être considéré comme une province excentrique de l'arabisme. Quoted In Kh. Taleb Ibrahim (1997: 23). Translation is mine.

⁸Mentioned in Ph. D Dendane.Z (2006: 78).

⁹L'Algérie est arabe et se proclame arabe et arabophone depuis l'arrivée des vagues successives de fātihin arabes qui ont donc, avec l'islamisation du Maghreb, permis son arabisation. Une arabisation qui s'est faite lentement et sur une longue période, depuis l'année d'Okba Ibn Nafaa au 7^{ème} siècle à celle plus tardive des tribus hilaliennes. Taleb Ibrahim (1997 :23). Translation is mine.

¹⁰http://www.ling.cam.ac.uk/camling/Manuscripts/CamLing2007_Souag.pdf : Souag, L.(2007). "The Typology of Number Borrowing in Berber", accessed on October 29th,2009 at 12:13

¹¹In fact, this word is a deformation of calientita, a diminutive form of the spanish adjective caliente, meaning 'hot' and used in the west of Algeria to refer to a kind of hot salted cake sold in the streets.

¹²Je regarde la propagation de l'instruction et de notre langue comme le moyen le plus efficace de faire des progrès à notre domination dans ce pays Quoted in Benrabah ,M.(1999:44). Translation is mine.

¹³Le français, langue imposée au peuple algérien dans la violence, a constitué un des éléments fondamentaux utilisés par la France dans sa politique de dépersonnalisation et d'acculturation à l'égard de l'Algérie. Taleb Ibrahim (1997 :42-3). Translation is mine.

¹⁴According to the National Census ONS, 1998 they represent 20% of the Algerian speech community.

¹⁵La langue arabe se présente à nous sous deux aspects sensiblement différents: 1) une langue littéraire dit arabe écrit... dans laquelle seule aujourd'hui encore sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, les articles de presse, les actes judiciaires, les lettre privées, bref, tout ce qui est écrit, mais qui exactement telle qu'elle se présente à nous n'a jamais été parlée nulle part.2) des idiomes parlés, des patois... dont aucun n'a jamais été écrit mais, qui, partout, et peut-être depuis longtemps, (sont) la seule langue de la conversation dans tous les milieux populaires ou cultivés. Quoted in Mol,L. (2003:41). Translation is mine.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹⁶Refers to the Pre-Islamic period.

¹⁷In Giglioli ed. (1972: 232-51).

¹⁸In Arabic al 'arabiyya l fushā. The word *fushā*, in fact means the 'clearest' and not 'classical'. It is said that CA comes from the Arabic variety of the prestigious tribe of Quraich, but there is still much controversy about the origin and development of CA.

¹⁹In Ph. D Dendane.Z (2006: 100).

²⁰In Pride and Holmes ed. (1972: 116-7).

²¹Le locuteur algérien, comme le locuteur arabophone en général, va donc constamment osciller dans ses rapports à la langue arabe du pôle positif au pôle négatif, écartelé qu'il est entre sa fidélité à l'authenticité du modèle, au passé et aux valeurs du patrimoine que lui transmet sa propre langue et l'attraction vers la modernité de ce siècle qu'il espère pouvoir atteindre fut-ce à travers la langue de l'Autre. Taleb Ibrahim (1997 :86).

Translation is mine

²²Diglossia, here is taken to mean at the same time Ferguson's (1959a) High / Low dichotomy, and Gumperz's (1971) notion of diglossia extended to multilingual situations.

²³In Giglioli ed. (1972: 161)

²⁴In Pride and Holmes ed. (1972: 19).

²⁵Quoted in Myers-Scotton, C. (2006: 77).

Chapter Three

The Sociolinguistic Status of French in Algeria

CHAPTER III

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3.1 Introduction

We cannot deny that as a result of several events that the Algerian state has gone through, it has attained a peculiar identity whose linguistic variation can be seen in the manners people talk in comparison with the Maghrebain countries, Morocco and Tunisia which have passed through the same eras, but for a short period of time. The French strategy applied in Morocco and Tunisia was not like that of Algeria and did not lead to a dissociation of the society; the two states were controlled as protectorates which began later and persisted for much less period of time. On the contrary, Algeria was colonized by the French for more than 130 years (1830-1962), it was viewed as a province of France which will never be independent and autonomous.

What is important in the examination of a kind of bilingualism resulted by a historical factor, like colonization, is to treat it as a process, that is, to explore the different steps it took to become part of a speech community. We mean by this idea that no speech community can become bilingual after the first contact with another one, but the process has to follow steps and takes time to do so. We have shown before that the Algerian linguistic situation before the coming of the French language consists mainly of Algerian Arabic and some Berber varieties, in addition to a weak presence of Turkish and Spanish lexical items. So, how does the French language become an inseparable component of the Algerian linguistic repertoire today? What are the steps it went through to initiate itself in an Algerian speech community? What are the fundamental causes of its admission, existence and persistence even after independence?

Algerian bilingualism is the consequence of a clash of two nations and two cultures (Algerian – French). It is, indeed, a linguistic result of changing political events that eventually lead to various attitudes towards it, as we presume, from the language of colonizer to the language of openness and development. The next section is an attempt to describe the process of bilingualism in Algeria from its roots in the historical background.

3.2 Origin of French in Algeria: Historical Background

Before France invaded Algeria, the Turkish foamed the seas and were feared by European powers which were obliged to pay heavy tributes to have peace, as well as large taxes were imposed upon the commercial ships which wanted to pass by the Mediterranean basin.

For Charles X, the conquest of Algeria was only an excuse to drive out the Turkish, whereas his true goal was the reinforcement of his own power in France. Except for Great Britain, the European powers gave their agreement because the French expedition allowed them to get rid of Muslim Turks, while taking again the flag of the great Christian crusade against the Muslims. According to the history of Algeria, the invasion of the French is due to a minor dispute between the Turkish Dey Husain and the French Consul M. Duval in 1827, it was called *the fan stroke event*¹. That was the beginning of a long and bloody history that would change the destiny of the Algerian history as well as its linguistic situation. In reality, the event was used as a pretext for the revolution of Algeria. Between the 11th and 18th May, 1830, 37000 soldiers divided in 675 vessels, i.e. all the French naval fleet at that time, embarked to conquer Algeria. The unloading took place on June 14th, 1830 in Sidi-Ferruch and in July 5th, the French troops made their entry in the fortress of Algiers. They conquered Oran in January 1831, Annaba in March of the same year, Tlemcen in January 1836, Constantine in October 1837, etc². The French army of Africa ends up by occupying all the country in 1847.

From that date, the Algerian population has been under the French control in almost all domains. The French rulers came with the idea of ‘civilizing’ the country with a new language and new culture, they wanted to transform the Algerians and their background. Until independence, the French colonists dominated the Algerian society and imposed the French language everywhere in the country; this language became exclusive in the administration, teaching and posting.

In fact, the French policy was quite obvious from the start: the entire invasion and wrecking of the state geographically, culturally and linguistically. As a matter of fact, the

French government used language as a medium of colonization. Before the coming of the French, there was only few translators who knew French and the initial contact of the nation with French showed up from some lexical borrowings referring to objects that did not have equivalents in Algerian Arabic such as [traktu:r] from French ‘*tracteur*’ (tractor). The first significant plan of introducing the French language in Algeria as it was said by the Duke of Rovigo, was through the exhibition of a new French schooling system that would replace the Algerian one with the purpose of domination.

However, the Algerian nationalism developed after the First World War within the Muslim middle class. In the beginning, this latter required simply the equal rights with Europeans, but afterwards it claimed total independence. The principal nationalist leaders were Ahmed Messali Hadj, the founder of North-African Star Party in 1962, and Ferhat Abbas who favorably welcomed the *Blum-Violet* project which, in 1936, proposed to widen the access to the citizenship without any religious counterpart. But the bill ran up against the hostility of the French colonists.

North African boundaries have shifted during various stages of the conquests. The borders of modern Algeria were created by the French, whose colonization began in 1830. To benefit French colonists, most of whom were farmers and businessmen, northern Algeria was eventually organized into overseas departments of France, with representatives in the French National Assembly. France controlled the entire country, but the population in the rural areas remained separated from the modern economic infrastructure of the European community.

Indigenous Algerians began their revolt on November 1st, 1954 to gain their rights that were denied to them under the French rule. The revolution, launched by a small group of nationalists who called themselves the National Liberation Front (FLN), was a severe war in which both sides used terrorist tactics. Eventually, protracted negotiations led to the accord of *cease-fire* signed by France and the FLN on March 18th, 1962 at Evian, France. The Evian convention also provided for continuing economic, financial, technical, and cultural relations, along with interim administrative arrangements until a referendum on self-determination could be held.

The referendum was held in Algeria on July 1st, 1962, and France declared Algeria independent on July 3rd, 1962. However, the political leaders chose July 5th, 1962 as the date of independence referring to the date where the French troops made their entry in the fortress of Algiers.

3.3 Invasion through the School System

Through French-teaching schools, France mainly aimed at de-arabising Algeria, but at the beginning this notion was strongly refused by local population who stuck to their own Qur'anic school system. Before the French arrival, education in Algeria was widespread, it was a traditional one: an Arabo-Islamic education, the Algerian school system was based on the learning by heart of the Qur'an in primary school, and Arabic grammar rules in secondary school. Algerians went frequently to schools like *medersas*³, *zaouias*⁴ and *mosques* for the sake of having knowledge. In the medersas, the students learned Muslims law, indeed, there was the existence of high schools which taught mathematics, medicine and natural science. The General Valazé in the house of Deputies in 1834 says: ***“Almost all Arabs can read and write. In every town there are two schools”***.⁵

In a short time, a few trial French schools were instituted with the purpose of exhibiting the new language as an obstacle to the diffusion of written Arabic, which was the medium of education for a great number of literate Algerians. Thus, it is through the school system that the French came across a technique to invade the Algerian state. The school system represented an initial step towards a bilingual Algeria. The French policy reduced gradually the number of students and increased the number of illiterate people, while many institutions of instruction and koranic schools were closed progressively from 1830 to 1850. The colonists wanted to destroy almost everything linked to literacy by forbidding the teaching of Arabic language. Phillipson (1992) indicates the degree of literacy among the Algerians before and after the colonization, he writes:

According to French government sources, when the French arrived to ‘civilize’ Algeria, the literacy rate in urban Algeria was 40 per cent-far higher than in France at the time. When the French left after 130 years of colonization, the literacy rate among Algerians was, according to an optimistic reckoning 10-15 per cent (Colonna 1975).

(Phillipson 1992:112)

Therefore, in spite of the failure of the project of de-arabising Algeria in the beginning, because traditional teachings of the Qur'an and Arabic in some schools were still powerful, later on, the colonial strategy profited gradually in vanishing the economic and social structures of the Algerian state with passive results on the local teaching of Arabic. The obvious purpose of the French colonists was to reach a total domination of the country by civilizing it through the imposition of the French school. The previous Minister of French Public Education Rambaud, stressed that after a severe colonization of the Algerian territories by strength of arms and the dictation of the French law and justice, one of the most significant occupation of Algeria would have to go through the school which would guarantee the supremacy of French over local Algerian Arabic varieties; he wrote in 1897:

*The third conquest was done by the school. It must ensure that our language predominates the different local idioms, and impresses the moslems that they have something from France and its role in the modern world. Besides, it must change the fanatic judgments with new elementary notions, but precisely about the European sciences.*⁶

Since language and culture are related, the French rulers wanted to break up the culture of the Algerian society, and to do so, they tried to impose the French schooling system along all the districts of Algeria. Naturally, the Algerians rejected this impression for they viewed it as a policy which vanished the Arabic and Islamic culture. At that time, lay people had negative attitudes towards the foreign language, as they associated it with Christianity and oppression, except for a few individuals who joined the French school. Later on, the French colonists began to view the Arabic schools as fanatic and did all their best to close and destroy them.

The Algerians' non acceptance of the French language caused the unsatisfied French government to think again in order to update its school system. The new policy in 1850 was to re-introduce the old Algerian school system, but on the condition that it would be applied in the French language, thus, the French authorities built bilingual schools which gave courses in Arabic and French. From 1850 to 1870, this type of bilingual school was spread all over the country and the medersas was controlled by the French state. The French colonists made also many social changes, they renamed towns and villages with

French names and they rarely authorized pilgrimages to Mecca. The constraints which were imposed by the French have created many tensions since Algerians were deprived from their elementary and legitimate rights. They had no social status, that is, they could neither vote nor take part in the social activities. The French tried to implement their language not only by using it in the administration but also by teaching it at school and considering it as the first language of the country. In other words, they aimed at suppressing the Arabo-Islamic culture in general and the Algerian identity in particular, depriving the Algerians from their civic and linguistic rights by applying an assimilation and adherence policy by which they were considered as French but of a second class. They considered Algeria as a part of France where French was the single national and official language.

Evidently, the Algerian nation endeavored to oppose this language hegemony and gained in doing so to a certain extent, but as the social and traditional teaching establishments broke down, the resistance to the French colonial system was powerless, and education almost did not exist. There was only an oral use of the Arabic language, the immediate violent result being a fast diffusion of illiteracy among Algerians. Subsequently, many Algerian parents, especially in urban centres, had to confront the realities when they became conscious of the benefit of being educated whatever the language of instruction. They wished their children to be educated for the sake of getting the chance to join the modern world which in that conditions, could only be attained through education in the French language. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a basic conversion of attitudes towards the French language, from harsh refusal to a strong claim for the right of schooling which access to social development and acquisition of knowledge. Taleb Ibrahimi (1997) says in this sense:

*In the beginning of this century, the school attitude changed from the wild refuse, by the Algerian people, to the insisting demand to learning.*⁷

Hence, the demand for education was obviously expressed by the Algerians, though they were aware that the only way of getting knowledge would be in French, the language of the new invader, and not in the mother tongue. With this regard, Lacheraf (1975)⁸ Minister of Education in the mid-70s says:

After the painful transition that the Algerian society passed through, deprived/abstained of its basic rights, its national good and its freedom it feels a need to culture and learning. It means a people like the Algerian one, who had a long cultural tradition cannot allow living with no culture, and feel able to satisfy such a need of adapting another language different of his, this language because illegible pedagogically speaking.

So, it was nearly a century after the French colonization of Algeria that, for the sake to reach social development especially in urban areas, the Algerian people began unwillingly to cohere to the notion of having their children educated in French, believing that learning French was the best way to evolve socially. However, at the beginning, it was too difficult for children to have the right to be registered in primary schools: the rate of schooling was lower than 10% before World War II, 15% in the mid-fifties, and reached 30% in 1961⁹. Moreover, in the 20th century the Algerians' awareness got bigger with personalities such as Ben Badis, leader of the Ulama Association (1926)¹⁰ which tried to renew the use of the language of the Arabo-Islamic civilization, but in those circumstances, classical Arabic had diminished in a dramatic way. Education in the French language became very significant soon giving birth to a small Algerian élite, it progressively spread to more Algerian people by the end of the colonization and carried on to advance during the first two decades of independence.

3.4 French after Independence

The French language started diffusing more promptly and to more parts of the Algerian nation after the leave of the French in 1962. This policy was reluctantly promoted by the Algerian government which was prepared to exhibit all exertions for literacy. In this respect, Grandguillaume (1983) points out that after independence the knowledge of French began spreading to a more significant rate of Algerian citizens, particularly in primary schools where it was the language of instruction:

The acquisition of the French language was widened to more important number of citizens after the independence with the including of its learning since primary school.¹¹

The evident exposition is that school programmes were already created and the Algerian authorities attempted all their efforts for the literacy of the young generation. In the first years of independence, the willpower for formal instruction was very strong to the

extent that all parents wished their children to join schools, as they know that schooling could only be attained in the French language, because at that time most teachers had degrees in French. On the other hand, the ministry of education had resorted to a large number of European teachers particularly from France because of a pressing call for the youth's advancement of teaching¹². The Arabic language was considered as a foreign language, it was taught for just one or two hours per week, however, all other subjects like mathematics, sciences, history and geography were taught in French, in addition to the French as a course on its own. Therefore, the Algerian society as a whole and children in particular were destined to build up a bilingual speech community.

As we believe, during that period, the French language began to acquire high prestige among the natives, as well as positive attitudes were expressed towards it since it was related to advancement, modernism, science and technology. It was strongly deep-rooted in the individuals' minds as the language of success and progress, while, Arabic was viewed as the language of religion and ancient literature.

However, the influence of the imperialistic language domination had been so powerful to the extent that French not only carried on to be employed in large sections of education and administration, but indeed in everyday discourses particularly among youth literate people when speaking about scientific, medical, technical, juridical or philosophical subjects. Moreover, the French colonization went far away as to influence the spoken form of Algerian Arabic and Berber varieties, consequently, a great number of French words and expressions had slipped into everyday Algerian speech. By the end of the first decade of independence, French was no longer viewed as a foreign language but as a customary language, even between old illiterate natives.

Arabic and French languages were in constant contact in large urban centres and towns where bilingualism had stabilized gradually, because, in addition to the truth that a large number of older generation had been taught in the French language, and as a matter of fact, used French in their occupations, an increasing number of younger population were becoming bilinguals at least through schooling.

Therefore, in lesser than a century, the Algerian speech community had passed through significant alternatives which have caused today irreversible linguistic situation though the early attempts of re-arabisation¹³ during the first years of independence. In spite of the fact that the Arabization purpose was viewed by the Algerian government as an inevitable precedence, for its narrow association with the socio-cultural and religious identity, the Algerian state faced a critical issue which was the hardness to be isolated from the strongly well created institutions that were managed in the French language, and the challenge of re-introducing the Arabic language in those institutions. Except some aversion from the side of a few Berber minorities, or the absence of willingness exhibited by some Algerian French elite members, the Arabization policy was desirable, just like the other neighbouring Arab countries that had been controlled by the French colonization. Evidently, the most clear reason for this enthusiasm was that, in virtue of the solidly sensation of relating to ‘al `Umma L `Arabiyya’, the Arab Nation, and the religion of Islam, politicians as well as Algerian people seeked to national identity and to reverting to their origins. However, the process of Arabization had indeed a political tendency as it was meant to serve power command that caused certain local controversies between the Arabophones and Francophones élites. We should notice that arabizing the institutions was the most crucial priority of the Algerian state, after more than a century of the French revolution and the assimilation policy practiced by the invader.

Fishman (1971), one of the theoretician on language planning, has linked the advancement of nations in association to the selection of the official language after independence, he has suggested various types of resolutions in language policy in relation to the national doctrines and ‘Great Traditions’ of the countries in question. In this sense, Spolsky (2004) assumes that:

Nations which had a consensual single Great Tradition at the time of independence will tend to attempt to select the associated indigenous language as the national language.

(Spolsky 2004:133)

We mean by the ‘Great Tradition’ in the Algerian context, the two cohesive portions taken into consideration by the citizens of the Algerian state: Arabic and Islam. Therefore, though the aversion showed contrary to the plan of Arabization by some Francophone élite,

the solely nominated for language nationalization in the Algerians' minds had to be Arabic. In effect, the Arabization policy was felt as an end in itself not merely a manner of advancing the country, as Cheriet (1983) writes:

*Since that, the use of the Arabic Language was not considered as a means of developing and promoting the society but rather as an end in itself.*¹⁴

3.5 Language Planning

The most significant decision a given new speech community has to make is the choice of its national or official language, but the selection of a language that may have symbolic functions and practical applications, particularly in the medium of internal communication, can be a complex problem with far-reaching results. There are many countries endeavoring to modify from one particular strain of language to another, or attempting to alter the characteristic of specific functions from one language or variety to another. Certain societies are reviewing their language policies with the attention of setting up more than one national or official language, whereas others find themselves compelled to provide administrative or educational streams for one or various of their linguistic minorities. These judgments demand, in certain instances, the linguistic systems themselves to be the subject of investigation. As a matter of fact, the languages may be found not to be appropriate for particular communicative purposes, or to be in need of elaboration or standardization. Language planning deals both with the functions that a given language fulfils within the society as well as with the instrumental use that its speakers make of their language. Cooper (1989:45) points out that: *“Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of other with respect to the acquisition, structure, or fundamental allocation of their language codes”*.

Kloss (1969) makes a distinction between two fundamental aspects of language planning: corpus planning and status planning. The former refers to alternations made in morphological or syntactic structure, vocabulary or spelling. It may even involve the adoption of a new script. Status planning is more significant, and it is the type used in Algeria as we shall see later. It refers to the processes of the selection and use of language in relation to education, administration, judiciary, mass media, trade, and international relations. Language status decisions intervene at several levels of language planning.

Depending on the linguistic make-up of the society, language status may focus on issues such as which local languages or local varieties to choose. Language choice may be also between local languages on one hand and local or international on the other. Consequently, status planning deals with crucial topics regarding which language should be official, national, regional and so forth. The language choice is generally associated with wide social, cultural, and psychological factors in response to relevant sociolinguistic functions of the languages, and the linguistic needs of the people (Eastman 1983; Fishman 1974; Haugen 1972). Eastman (1983), for instance, suggested that decisions regarding language choice and language of literacy might be carried out on the basis of the following questions:

- 1- Is literacy desired in the language of a larger regional group if that language is neither a first nor a national language?
- 2- Is literacy desired in the language of a person's domicile regardless of region of birth?
- 3- Is literacy desired in both the first language and / or a second language (most often the official national language)?
- 4- Is literacy desired in the official national language alone?

(Eastman 1983:16)

The questions above suggested by Eastman may serve as an excellent framework to make a language choice. In countries under former colonial domination, language choice has been made primarily either on the basis of nationism or nationalism or the combination of both. Nationism, in this context, refers to the use of an international language or language of wider communication for political integration and linguistic efficiency while nationalism is concerned with the choice of an indigenous language in order to foster patriotism and to preserve culture and traditions (Eastman 1983; Fishman 1971).

Language status activities can affect linguistic distribution and language use in different ways. The most frequent language status activities are related to provision of a high or low status to languages. In multilingual countries of Africa and Asia, the encounter between international languages and indigenous languages has made language choice a complex issue. In Kenya, for example, language choice includes the attribution of prestige

to Swahili –a local language- along with English. The language policy of the European Union gives high status to all official languages of member countries of the Union (Eastman 1983). Conversely language status policy has also denied prestige, space and recognition to many languages. In a country like Senegal, French, the former colonial language maintains a high status, as it is the only official language despite the fact that only a small portion of the population has a good command of the language.

Indeed, status planning has a fundamental role to play in the redistribution of linguistic resources and the maintenance of minority and community languages. It has also an important role for the protection of the language rights, especially the linguistic rights of the indigenous minorities and migrant communities.

3.7 Arabization Policy

In this part, we will try to discuss the process of the Arabization policy, from its definition to the various and most important stages and issues , this absolute process that the Algerian speech community had gone through to get back one of the most significant features of its identity during the foundation of a new Algerian state. One of the purposes of the Arabization policy was to discard from anything that related to French imperialism and to establish a language restoration that promoted Modern Standard Arabic as the genuine language of the state. In fact, the political aim that would be reached was to replace the French language by MSA, but the project was not as simple as it first seemed to be because of the powerful impact that French had left among the Algerian people.

3.7.1 Objectives of the Arabization Policy

Right after independence, the three states of the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, were confronted to diverse grades, with the critical issue associated to the truth that French was imposed during the colonial era as the solely official language. By reason of running away from the French hegemony and for giving back the Arabo-Islamic cultural identity and the national personality, the new political leaders, backed on the whole by the people's fervour, revealed the craving to shape the policy of Arabization with the objective of acquiring both cultural and linguistic independence, although the project was not of the

same extent for the three countries of the Maghreb. Pointing out the consequences of French dominance in Algeria as opposed to Morocco and Tunisia, Ennaji (1991) reports the following:

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

(Ennaji 1991:17-18)

Therefore, in reaction to the French cultural and linguistic imperialism, which attempted to suppress the Algerianity¹⁵, the political leaders and successive governments committed themselves to promote MSA, the variety that is learned at school and certainly not much used by Algerian people for everyday communication purposes. The aim was to restore if not to create a new national identity and personality thank to a symbolic language for the new state and population. The effects of 130 years of repression through a policy of cultural and linguistic imperialism continued to reverberate throughout Algeria after 1962 and have perhaps been most evident in the creation of the Arabization policy. This policy was consistently supported by radical Arabists, who were ascendant in the Algerian government following independence. Their goal was to run a country where the only national official language is MSA; they also claim Islam as the only religion of the state and the Arabity as the only national identity. But, the major effort centered on the linguistic ground, and it was the quest for a national language that became the hallmark of Arabization and that has arouse the most controversy and outright oppositions.

However, the French language in Algeria was strongly used in the most important public and private sectors, especially in education, administration and the written tools in general, as well as in some linguistic practices of the nation, that the plan which would renew the usage of MSA as the language of the state was not an easy task, but an extremely intricate operation that revealed profound contemplating and attentive planning. Indeed, the process did not compose only in altering a foreign language by MSA, but also in establishing the requisite alternatives while taking into consideration the recent functional transformation that French had exhibited in the country. Grandguillaume (1991) posits in this respect :

*In order to satisfy usage and necessity, the Arabic language needs to be modernized, i.e. it needs to be at the same level of the language it replaces; so, it will have deep transformation, functional and semantic as well.*¹⁶

Thus, the problems inherent in the process of monolingualism promotion immediately came to the fore. One of the most obvious issues involved MSA, a language which is far different from the Arabic varieties used spontaneously in daily Algerians' speech. Other difficulties included the widespread use of French in the management of the state and the continued preference for French as the most appropriate medium of instruction, and as the suitable working language in all kind of administration, as well as a significant means of communication in parallel to AA and Berber varieties in the Algerian speech community. Furthermore, contrary to MSA, French really constituted the best medium of modernization and technology, it facilitated the access to Western knowledge, trade and to economic development.

The political leaders stubbornly did not admit the multilingual characteristic of the Algerian society, neither they recognized the legitimate status for all the natural varieties in the speech community, nor they admit that the French language after 130 years changed from the colonial language to a language that belongs to the linguistic patrimony of Algeria. On the contrary, the government responded always firmly by the repression either towards the Berber movements or towards the modernizers, secularists and federalists.

3.7.2 Steps of the Arabization Policy

In this part, we have tried to deal with the different stages of the Arabization process to see how it has implemented. We have presented the following stages in a chronological order, in terms of the most important periods that Arabization has gone through.

3.7.2.1 From 1962 to 1965

This period was characterized by the speech of president Benbella on October 5th, 1962 in which he announced that MSA is the national and official language of independent Algeria. President Benbella said that as early as the start of the school years (1963), the national language would be taught in parallel with the French language in primary school¹⁷.

As a result of the introduction of the teaching of MSA, seven hours a week of Arabic were taught, to be increased to fifteen hours per week later on.

In June 1964, the first F.L.N (Front of National Liberation) congress was held. It focused on the urgency to speed up Arabization at school mainly with the assistance of teaching staff from the Middle East countries and with the help of the educated people who came from koranic schools (medersas) particularly from Tunisia and Morocco because, there was an enormous lack of qualified teachers who would be able to handle classes in MSA. The congress also focused on the schooling of all children along a period not exceeding three years. In accordance with the recommendation of the F.L.N congress, MSA gained an important status, since it became the medium of instruction for the first years in primary school at the beginning of the school years 1964-1965. But, French continued to be used with a wider range of language functions: government, administration, law, education, science, technology, journalism and many others. In this context, Benbella, the first president of Algeria considered French as a necessary tool for the acquisition and comprehension of modern techniques. He declared to '*Alger Républicain*'¹⁸ on May 5th, 1965 that Arabization was a necessity but it did not mean to eliminate the French language.

3.7.2.2 From 1965 to 1978

President Houari Boumediene adopted a more radical approach, he showed greater interest in promoting MSA. In 1968, he imposed Arabization on the civil service, ordering all civil servants to learn and then to work in MSA within only three years. Much the same occurred in the field of education where Arabization intensified after 1970. However, higher education resisted for a longer period before it was drawn into the reform. It should be noticed that under President Houari Boumediene's regime, the linguistic rights of Berbers had been abolished. The law of 1968 that required officials in the government and ministries to learn and to work in MSA had produced spotty results. Thus, the Ministry of Justice came closest to the goal by arabizing internal functions and all court proceedings during the 1970s. By the end of 1968, the third, fourth and fifth years of primary schools as well as the Law Institutes were partially arabized, while literature and history sections were totally arabized.

The process of Arabization has been gaining grounds at the primary, middle and secondary schools, but it was slowed down at university level. Only partial Arabization was engaged in Law, Geography, Journalism, Psychology, and Sociology while Literature, History, Philosophy and Pedagogical Sciences were taught completely in MSA. Whereas, all other scientific and technical fields have French as the only medium of instruction, training, research and work. The year 1976 was characterized by the educational system reform which resulted by setting up the foundation school.

By late 1977 and early 1978, Arabization and the foundation school knew a real pause due to a cabinet conflict. In this period, Mr. Lacheraf was appointed as Minister of Universities and Scientific Research and Mr. Rahal nominated as Minister of Primary and Secondary Education. At that time, pedagogical and psychological sciences were taught in French, indeed, a French literary section was created at the level of secondary school. Mr. Lacheraf agreed on an immediate and total Arabization, but not at random and in a fierce manner. However, Lacheraf's policy was not welcomed by Arabists and was then put to an end after the death of president Boumedienne i.e. under Chadli's presidency.

3.7.2.3 From 1979 to 1998

Mohamed Kharoubi, Minister of Education, put an end to the bilingual literary sections, which were created by Mustapha Lacheraf in 1978. He took up again the teaching of scientific subject matters in MSA under the foundation school system. Kharoubi aimed to unify the language of teaching i.e. he preached radical monolingualism in order to put an end not only to bilingualism but also to the French language particularly. Furthermore, those radical measures engendered many reactions and consequences such as the rise of antagonistic feelings between Berbers and the Algerian government. Disturbances were set off when a well-known Berber writer, Mouloud Mammeri, was prohibited by the Algerian government from presenting a lecture in ancient Kabyle poetry at the university of Tizi-Ouzou. This led the Berbers to accuse the government of repressing Berber culture.

Following the cancellation of Mammeri's lecture, Berber students demonstrated in Algiers and throughout Kabylia, calling for freedom of expression and for the recognition of the Tamazight language as a national and official language and the respect of the Berber

culture. In Tizi-Ouzou, students voted in favor of a peaceful strike and occupied the university, the protesters were violently dispersed by police and many students were arrested. The year of 1988 was characterized by a political turmoil, which offered opportunities to latent problems to be raised among which the Arabization policy was the first one.

After this awful struggle and facing the state's dictatorship, the divisions in the Algerian society were never more obvious. According to Berber leaders, there was a clear evidence of violation of linguistic human rights, since the government aimed at the extinction of Berber as a language and as a culture. Consequently, Berbers are determined to continue to fight until they recover their identity as well as their linguistic and cultural rights.

3.7.2.4 From 2001 to 2002

In April 2001, tragic events aroused again in the region of Kabylia. The riots sparked by the police's aggressive response to Berber demonstrations, demanding acknowledgement of Tamazight language and culture. General peaceful strike, which has been called '*Cultural Berber Movement*', has started on April 20th, 2001 as a result of build-up years of frustration and also in response to the President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's refusal to recognize officially the Tamazight language. Thus, many demonstrations burst throughout many cities for the sake of the recognition of the Tamazight language and culture.

On May 2nd, 2001, the President issued a public appeal to end the violence and to promote dialogue and consensus building. At the beginning of October 2001, president Bouteflika announced that Tamazight would be a national language of Algeria. According to his statement, the president decided the "constitutionalization of Tamazight as a national language at the time of the next amendment to the Constitution".

However, while some perceive this announcement as a step forward, others believe that nationalizing the language constitutionally will not have any de facto changes. Then, Berber people and the Amazigh Movement have been demanding Tamazight to be national

and official language in the same rank with MSA, but this claim was rejected by the Algerian political leaders and it was considered as far from being attained. So, a whole arsenal of coercive texts of law, aimed since independence at changing the linguistic face of Algeria only to the profit of MSA. All the texts sought that a process of linguistic substitution takes place, whatever the sectors and whatever the levels are.

3.7.3 Issues of the Arabization Policy

In fact, the obstacles of the Arabization procedures do not merely come out on the political and socio-cultural degrees, but also on the linguistic degree. When the political leaders and successive governments of the young Algerian state determined, with a view to cultural sovereignty, to select MSA as the national and official language instead of French, they were confronted with extremely grave issues of political, socio-cultural and linguistic re-arrangement. The imposition of their resolutions was almost-inappropriate because on the one hand, most administrative, judicial, economic and educational spheres were completely overpowered by French. On the other hand, a great number of Algerian executives were belonging to the francophone élite as they were merely competent in French concerning the administrative and working matters. The Algerian political leaders promptly noticed that the most appropriate way to resolve the problem was to keep on with the created structures while establishing gradually the project of Arabization policy that would have to pass through a relatively long period of Algerian Arabic/French bilingualism as far as some important establishments were concerned, especially education and administration.

For instance, in the educational sphere, full Arabization of elementary school was not attained until 1978 with the implementation of the foundation school. Ten years later secondary school was also completely Arabized. In higher education , MSA was implemented step by step in social sciences, economics and law, but French carried on to be used in scientific, medical and technological sections.

The Arabization of the administration was also met with serious problems as the institutions were managed by a large number of Algerian employees who handled the French language both in its written and spoken forms. Arabization was made obligatory for

all grades in the administration only in 1971¹⁹. However, in 1975 an official memorandum revealed the deficiencies of the consequences in relation to a number of causes among which the absence of motivation of the functionaries were significant, in addition to their reluctance towards the process itself. Even today's younger generations widely use the French language in view of the fact that it has a tight relation with modernism, and its regard as an instrument of conveying messages with the external nations. Does the widespread use of French in the Algerian country mirror the shortcomings in the project of Arabization and defects in its practicing, or it is only a non success in the language policy?

One crucial reason for the inappropriate application of the plan of Arabization in the Algerian society and the comparatively slowdown advancement of MSA use in many spheres, especially the ones associated with economy and technology and to the socio-cultural characteristics of the society, is that the process has always been imposed by the Algerian political leaders not on a linguistic ground, but on political and ideological foundations. In addition, it has been implemented by means of laws passed excluding any unanimous agreement expressed by the Algerian nation.

Concerning the issue of the linguistic aspect of Arabization, it should be borne in mind that the slowly development ensues to a great extent from the low grade regulation of the arabizing structures, in other words, the feeble pedagogical drilling, and the lack of the necessary proficiency of instructors for such a significant task. Another cause which has created the problem very intricate from the beginning lies in the inconsistency found among Algerian Arabic or the nation's mother tongue varieties used spontaneously in everyday utterances and MSA, the variety of Arabic that was imposed for the Arabization policy. Certainly, it was merely the high variety whether MSA or CA that was legitimately selected immediately after independence to render as the 'standard' language for education, administration, as well as in the written and spoken media. The reason for such selection was that MSA held very high respect by the whole society as it was considered as the language of religion and both ancient and modern literature. Therefore, the application of the Arabization steps have revealed to be highly intricate mainly for the deep-rootedness of the French language in all the districts of the Algerian country, and the absence of motivation on the part of a large number of sectors in the country. In addition, the difficulty

of such process lies in the clash between the low variety acquired spontaneously as a native language through which the socialization development of the individual occurs, and MSA the high variety that is achieved at school in a non-natural way and evidently rarely used by people for everyday speech aims. Thus, the resolution of the Arabization policy consisted of a double action: to replace French in order to update the cultural and national personality, and to substitute the mother tongue (s) to integrate the nation by a language that has a high status and that it represents the Arabo-Islamic identity. In this sense, Grandguillaume (1991) says:

*The instauration of a national language, as it was in the Arabization policy was required two sides. It must substitute the French language make of it a cultural continuation; and restore the national personality as well. It must also replace the different dialects with one language and consequently, ensure a citizens' union around the state.*²⁰

Hence, the profound influence of French on many Algerians' everyday linguistic practices has led the French language to receive high prestige ratings, but it should be stressed that language prestige in Algeria is common, as it went sometimes in conflicting terms by MSA and French. In reality, the linguistic situation has gradually made bilinguals who are competent enough to handle both languages, as they may simply alternate from one language to another when necessary. Indeed, though the vast faultfinding on the Arabization policy imposed by the Algerian authorities, especially on the part of the francophone élite, generally, the Algerian people have accustomed to use MSA to a satisfactory extent, or at least to understand it, in formal or semi-formal situations, but also in informal conversation which need some specific vocabulary and linguistic structures that AA can hardly provide for that matter.

3.8 Today's French Language Uses

As far as the French language uses nowadays are concerned, it should be noticed that right after independence the knowledge of French started spreading more quickly and to more important number of the Algerian population to the extent that it has led, in less than a century, to a seemingly complex linguistic profile. In fact, the influence of the colonial language supremacy had been so powerful that French not merely kept on to be employed in most sectors of the administration, mass media and education, particularly in

primary school, but also in everyday Algerians speech interactions specially between youth literate people when discussing scientific, technological or philosophical topics. Moreover, the French revolution went so distant as to influence the spoken form of Algerian Arabic and Berber varieties that switching between Algerian Arabic and French and mixing the two languages became very habitual matter.

3.8.1 French in School

After the applying of the process of Arabization which started by the field of education and especially at the primary level, French was taught as a foreign language starting from the fourth year. Education has known many reforms from the academic years 2003-2004. The Algerian government elaborated a new programme in which at the primary school, French is taught from the second year instead of the fourth. The teaching of French in the middle and secondary school has received some reforms as well.

Concerning the middle school, an additional year was added and the teaching of English changed from the eighth to the seventh or as called also *the first year of the middle school*. Although all the efforts made by the authorities to arabize all the educational system, starting from the primary level to the university some disciplines are still taught in French only like, medicine, technology, biology, chemistry, mathematics, applied sciences, etc. The students who have carried their primary and secondary studies in MSA are confronted to French when arriving at university. When meeting with this reality, they face many difficulties because the language taught as a foreign language in the primary and secondary levels became the language of instruction and of learning too.

3.8.2 French in Mass Media

In The local channel, almost all programmes such as documentaries are in Arabic; American films are dubbed in French and some years ago, those films were subtitled in Arabic. However, almost all the Algerian families nowadays own a satellite dish by which they can watch French news, films, entertainment programmes, etc. The cinema has an influence on people as it contributes to the maintaining of French in Algeria, so, we may say that the increase of the use of French these last years is due to satellite programmes.

Eveno (1994) says in respect to the use of French in mass media and education the following:

*In fact, a lot of Algerians have some notions of French, receive French programmes by television and have relationships with emigrants settling in France. On the other hand, a lot of teachers and institutors learnt in French and French universities still accept Algerians.*²¹

In radio, the third channel uses only French and it is listened by a lot of Algerian people. Many different programmes are proposed in this channel such as cooking, health care, speaking about social problems, and general advices. Concerning the domain of publication, books, magazines and newspapers are written in Arabic and French. About thirty daily newspapers are written in French, they are printed between 10.000 and 200.000 copies per day, depending if they are regional or national.

Today it is fashionable to go to an internet club in order to get in contact with different nation all over the world. Many Algerian people, whatever their age, use French when using the internet, they either use French or English depending on the people to whom they are addressed, but most of the time they prefer using French because they are more familiar with it than English. In addition, for so many people, it is fashionable to speak French with foreigners because French is seen as the language of modernity and the language of knowledge transmission.

3.8.3 French in the Administration

The language used in administration differs from one sector to another. The municipal building, the town hall (APC), birth, death and marriage certificates are delivered in Arabic, except the name which is written in French at the end of the extract. Even the identity card is in Arabic and the name is written in both languages, but passports are still issued in Arabic, French and English.

Concerning the post office, the bill of the telephone is written in both languages, there are some technical words and some key words which cannot be translated to Arabic. Another example can be found in the bills of SONELGAZ²² which are written in French and Arabic.

Not all the administrations are arabized, there are some sectors where only the French language is employed. In the domain of health, all prescriptions given by doctors are written in French. The doctors follow their studies in French during many years and when they graduate from medicine branch, they deliver prescriptions written in French and even their names are written in that language. The notes and the instructions are written in French and sometimes in Arabic. When people consult a doctor, they usually use French instead of Arabic for they think that it is more formal to speak French, except illiterates because those people rather use Algerian Arabic for all their daily conversations, and even if they switch to a few French words they are unconscious of this matter. However, there are others who consciously use Algerian Arabic mixed with some French words when it comes to talk about some embarrassing subjects.

As far as the banks and the insurance companies are concerned, the forms are available in both languages. In banks, the official documents are in French, the paying-in slip is also written in French except the name of the bank which is in Arabic. So, these documents from the bank or any other sector of the administration cited above show the massive presence of French even if its real status is not recognized.

3.8.4 French and Social Contexts

French is present in everyday life interactions of Algerian people who use it as a part of their way of speaking. Today, French is considered as an important tool everywhere and in all domains. It is present in the street, home, school and along the whole Algerian background. All what concerns the field of advertising and billposting, the majority of writing is in French and sometimes in both languages. The shop signs are either in French and Arabic but rarely in Arabic exclusively.

Concerning the cellular phone, people exchange short messages called in SMS²³ in French, they rarely use Arabic and some of them use Algerian Arabic, but they write them with the Latin alphabet. For them, in order to send a message or to write a personal letter, it is more fashionable to use French instead of Arabic. Hence, we may say that Algerians are influenced by French through different means and we believe particularly through T.V

programmes which make people learn and use French in their daily communication purposes. Sebaa (2002) explains this phenomenon by saying:

*It is like this that some hours of programme received by the satellite, give benefit to French that all the laws of Arabization cannot do it for Arabic.*²⁴

In everyday life, the products that we buy and consume, the instruction of use, the recipes and even the names of the products are given in French and Arabic. When we go to restaurants, the menus are written in French as different dishes and specialities are proposed therealso in French. So, we notice that French is omnipresent in our life, we use it spontaneously and we sometimes do not realize which language we are using, if it is French or Arabic or both.

Thus, although the Algerian authorities established the process of Arabization in almost all domains by imposing the exclusive use of MSA and excluding French, the language of the colonizer, oppression and suffering, it is still present in many domains and in daily life of Algerians in general. In the Congress of the International Federation of the French professors (FIPE), Algerian writers commented on the situation of French in Algeria, they said that French continues to be used in Algeria and although the laws of Arabization aimed at excluding it from the linguistic patrimony, it remains very familiar and it still has an important place in the Algerian community, indeed, it is considered as a privileged tool integrated in a complex sociolinguistic dynamics.

3.9 Conclusion

Bilingualism in Algeria started with the French colonization, especially with the opening of French schools and colleges, and with the officialisation of French as the standard language of the colony. French has been perceived as a threat to Arabic and the culture it conveys. Yet, two conflicting views are to exist in analysing the linguistic situation in Algeria. One held by politicians, is that MSA is the national language of the state and French is a foreign language. In other words, the political view considers Algeria as a monolingual speech community, while the linguistic view considers it as a bilingual one. Furthermore, linguists go further when they assert that Algeria is a multilingual

country on the basis of the existence of another indigenous variety “Berber” spoken mainly in “Greater Kabylia” Southern and other scattered areas throughout the South²⁵.

After independence, the Algerian intellectuals and nationalists had a strong will to regain their Arab and Muslim identity. They came to the conclusion that the achievement of that ideal could not be without the establishment of MSA as the national and official language of the state and the nation, the language through which Muslim sciences were transmitted. The strong political will for Arabization, and the awakening of people to their identity, culture and language created a sociolinguistic phenomenon whereby the prestigious language, namely French, was to be abandoned in favour of another prestigious language, that is CA. But the difficulty of using the latter in particular contexts led the politicians to choose MSA as the official language of Algeria. However, socio-political imperatives and social necessities do not always merge. In its interest to affirm its cultural identity, the Algerian speech community had to make a linguistic choice, that is, in which language to express itself. The sociolinguistic reality is that Algerians interact in a variety made up of AA, FR, MSA and BR through which messages are easily passed and easily grasped, and basic needs and feelings are expressed.

In fact, Arabization confronted two kinds of difficulties: the first was social and the second was technical. The desire of the government to make of Algeria a nation-state, that is a community related both linguistically and culturally around a single language, had to be done at the expense of all the other language varieties which were the true mother tongues of Algerians. As such, the generalisation of either CA or of MSA to the nation could not be successfully and easily achieved. It is also well known that neither CA nor MSA has a clearly delimited speech community which uses any of the two everyday as a mother tongue. Moreover, and as far as lexis is concerned, there is a large semantic differences between AA and MSA. The difficulties concerned the language of Arabization itself. It had to fill all the social, scientific and technological needs of the country. The language of Arabization had to be appreciated in its sociocultural context, that is, it had to be lived more than learnt.

The Arabization policy could not be an immediate and effective solution against French which was deeply rooted after a presence of more than 130 years. French is used as

a functional instrument in all the spheres of the Algerian speech community, particularly in administration, government and mass media. It is kept to facilitate communication with the other nations. It is meant to be a neutral medium, i.e. an instrument to communicate through and work with. It is used in Algerian institutions, and in the meantime MSA is gradually spread through those institutions.

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¹In French, it is referred to this event as ‘le coup de l'éventail’: in 1827, the Turkish Dey expelled the French Consul Duval with his flywhisk during an audience.

²Mentioned in Leclerc (1986: 162).

³Medersa: a Muslim traditional high school.

⁴Zaouia: a Muslim traditional secondary school.

⁵Presque tous les arabes savent lire et écrire. Dans chaque village il y a deux écoles Quoted in Lacheraf (1974: 188). Translation is mine.

⁶La troisième conquête se fera par l'École : elle devra assurer la prédominance de notre langue sur les divers idiomes locaux, inculquer aux musulmans l'idée que nous avons nous-mêmes de la France et de son rôle dans le monde, substituer à l'ignorance et aux préjugés fanatiques des notions élémentaires, mais précises, de science européenne. Cited by Taleb Ibrahim (1997: 37). Translation is mine.

⁷Le début de ce siècle verra un changement d'attitude vis-à-vis de l'École ; du refus farouche, les Algériens passent à la revendication véhémement du droit à la scolarisation. Taleb Ibrahim (1997 :37). Translation is mine.

⁸Après la transition douloureuse que connut une société algérienne privée de ses droits élémentaires, de ses biens nationaux, de ses libertés, on éprouva le besoin d'une culture, ou plus exactement d'un enseignement : c'est dire combien un peuple qui a une longue tradition culturelle tolère difficilement le vide culturel et se sent capable, pour satisfaire un tel besoin, d'adopter une autre langue, à défaut de la sienne propre qui lui est désormais interdite (en tant qu'expression pédagogique et livresque, sinon orale). Quoted in Taleb Ibrahim (1997: 37). Translation is mine

⁹ CF. Colona 1971; reported by Kh. Taleb Ibrahim (1997: 38).

¹⁰The significant aim of this Association was to introduce a big campaign of teaching Arabic and Islamic principles in mosques and medersas.

¹¹La connaissance du français s'est élargie à un nombre plus important de citoyens après l'indépendance, par suite de l'extension de la scolarisation, qui comporte l'enseignement du français dès le niveau primaire. Grandguillaume (1983 :12). Translation is mine.

¹²This movement referred to as the ‘co-opérants techniques’.

¹³The first arabisation campaigns were undertaken during the first Islamic conquests of North Africa in the 7th and 11th centuries, in parallel with the people's ‘Islamisation’.

¹⁴Dès lors, l'arabisation n'était plus considérée comme un moyen de développement et de promotion de notre société, mais comme une fin en soi. Cheriet (1983 :9). Translation is mine.

¹⁵Referring to the Algerian identity.

¹⁶Pour satisfaire aux usages et aux nécessités de la langue qu'elle remplaçait, cette langue arabe devait être modernisée, en quelque sorte, remodelée sur l'image de la langue qu'elle remplaçait : ce qui devait entraîner pour elle des mutations profondes, sémantiques et fonctionnelles. Grandguillaume (1991 :49). Translation is mine.

¹⁷Cited in Grandguillaume (1983: 125).

¹⁸Referring to a daily newspaper.

¹⁹See decision of January 20th 1971, that stated that the knowledge of the national language would be compulsory.

²⁰En tant qu'instauration d'une langue nationale, la politique d'arabisation comportait deux versants. La langue nationale devait opérer une double substitution ; elle devait se substituer au français, pour prendre la place de l'aliénation culturelle et restaurer la personnalité nationale. Elle devait aussi se substituer aux dialectes, pour remplacer

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la multiplicité dialectale par une langue unique, à même d'assurer l'unité des citoyens autour de l'Etat.

Grandguillaume (1991 :50). Translation is mine.

²¹En effet nombre d'algériens possèdent quelques notions de Français, reçoivent les programmes français de télévision et gardent des relations avec les émigrés installés en France. Par ailleurs, beaucoup de professeurs et d'instituteurs ont fait leurs études en français et les universités françaises accueillent encore des algériens. Eveno (1994 :103).

Translation is mine

²²SONELGAZ: Société national de l'électricité et de Gaz.

²³ Short Message Service.

²⁴C'est ainsi que quelques heures de programme reçues par voie de parabole, rendent beaucoup plus service à la langue française que toutes les lois sur l'arabisation ne peuvent le faire pour la langue arabe. Sebaa (2002 :105).

Translation is mine.

²⁵Benmoussat, S (2004:101)

Chapter Four

Bilingualism and Attitudes towards French Use in Tlemcen Speech Community

CHAPTER IV

Bilingualism and Attitudes towards French Use in Tlemcen Speech Community

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4.1 Introduction

Language behaviour cannot exist outside the functions it fulfills. In other words, language is, in the initial position, an instrument developed and employed to achieve a set of functions, both social and psychological, which can be categorized into two important levels: communicative and cognitive (Halliday 1973, Bruner 1990). Language has a use for the overall behaviour which is significant in a specific culture. Functions of language are common but the linguistic forms differ across languages and cultures.

Stressing the truth that it is in a continual process of variation as a consequence of profound influences coming mainly from political and sociocultural factors, sociolinguists have elaborated systematic research plans employing experimental methods in various kinds of speech communities to demonstrate facts that illustrate how languages differ as a consequence of social behaviour. However, language does not reveal merely the social system, but its connection to society is an extremely intricate one, therefore, linguistic variation mirrors variation in society, but simultaneously it forms the variability of society Halliday (1978).

This notion of mutual influence containing a language system and the social environment where it develops is reflected in an apparent way in the present arrangement of the Algerian community. In addition, the language situation in Algeria went beyond crucial changes to a large degree in view of the social setup which has evolved into an extremely heterogeneous speech community. There evidently exists a type of reciprocal dynamic connection among the language system and the social structure, though Algerian speakers constantly alternate between the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift, that is, they preserve their language identity through continual use of native vernacular features, from the one hand, meanwhile they are encircled by the powerful constraints of external speech interactions and forms of wider use in the Algerian linguistic repertoire on the other.

The studies on language contact have been relied both on diachronic and synchronic perspectives. With respect to diachronic investigations, historical linguists have dealt with

the manners linguistic systems change overtime, endeavoring to give explanation concerning the innate nature of language change. They have agreed on the point that language evolution should be compared to that of living kinds taking part concepts such as, birth, development and death. Relying on synchronic studies, the theoretical linguist Fischer (1958)¹ views linguistic changes at a particular point in time only as situations of ‘free variation’, thus keeping off variability from their field of work. He agrees that human being differ in their speech interactions, as they often alternate among the styles and varieties accessible in their linguistic repertoires, while these forms of language behaviour are so consistent in daily speech that they call for explanation on empirical bases.

With respect to sociolinguists, especially within the Labovian paradigm, the study of historical linguistic change has been dealt with a new perspective by joining the term of variability as an intrinsic element for the exposition of sociolinguistic patterns. They have studied on the proof that synchronic variation, a significant feature of languages, is a pre-necessite for on-going change and that it initially happens as a consequence of social change. Hence, with the emanation of the sociolinguistic discipline, the study of languages in contact has approved on the view that variation and change in language behaviour both at the group and the interpersonal levels are the norm but not the exception. This is because language, in addition of being a means of conveying messages and a cognitive organizer, is indeed a symbol and a tool of group identity and norms, as well as of intergroup power relations. As these relations, identities and norms change, so does language, but variation and change are not common, since individuals behave differently and change at various grades on various dimensions.

In this part of our study, light is shed on one of the significant languages in the Algerian linguistic repertoire, French, a legacy of imperialism that can be considered as strongly established in urban areas and large cities. The point is that, the linguistic phenomenon bilingualism is so characteristic of the Algerian society that we have taken the opportunity to observe the dual relationship between French and AA in the speech community of Tlemcen which is our case in point. Indeed, the French effects are visible in today’s Tlemcenian speech behavior to varying degrees, as it has led to heavy borrowing,

societal bilingualism, code-switching and its pervasiveness is also clear in various domains as we shall see below.

4.2 Speech Community of Tlemcen

Tlemcen town is situated in the North West of Algeria. It contains 141,710 inhabitants according to the census of 2010². The name Tlemcen is said to come from either the Berber word *Tala lmsan* which means ‘the dry spring’, or the Arab word *Tlamlnsane* meaning ‘human being gathered’. In view of its strategical geographic condition, water-springs and productive lands, Tlemcen city has constantly fascinated people, and for a longtime it was considered as one of the crucial cultural and economic centres in North Africa.

Tlemcen was founded by the Romans in the 4th century under the name of Pomaria as a military outpost. It was a centre of a large Christian population for many centuries after the city’s Arab conquest in the 7th century. In the later eighth and the ninth centuries, the city became a kingdom of Banu Ifran of the kharijite sufri. In the 11th century, Almoravid leader yusuf Ibn Tashfin founded the city of Tagrart which merged with the settlement and since then became known as Tlemcen. Under the reign of Almohads, it rose to prominence as a major trading centre in the region. It was lost by Almohads to Abdelwadid dynasty in 1239.

In the next period Tlemcen became the capital of the Zianids and was ruled for centuries by successive Abdelwadid Soltans. Towards the end of the 13th century, the Merinids of fez waged war against the Zianids for domination of the Maghreb and laid siege to Tlemcen in 1299 by constructing the city of Mansourah outside the walls of the city. The siege lasted until 1307 when the Merinid commander was assassinated and the Merinids withdrew from Mansourah. The struggle between the Zianids and Merinids continued for decades and Tlemcen was besieged again until finally it fell and the Merinids returned to rule from Mansourah. The Zianid dynasty steadily declined during the 15th century, falling under the Spanish influence.

When the Spanish took the city of Oran, continuous pressure from the Berber prompted the Spanish to attempt a counterattack against the city of Tlemcen in 1543. The Spanish failed to take the city in the first attack, although the strategical vulnerability of Tlemcen caused the kingdom's weight to shift toward the safer and more heavily fortified corsair base at Algiers. The ruler of Tlemcen is reported to have been advised by a Jewish viceroy named Abraham who, in the time of the inquisition of Torquemada, opened the gates of Tlemcen to hordes of Jews and Moors fleeing Spain.

In 1553, the kingdom of Tlemcen came under the protection of the Ottoman Empire, which was fighting a naval war against the Spaniards across the Mediterranean, and Tlemcen became another vassal of the Sultan in Constantinople. Tlemcen and the Algerian provinces gained effective independence in their own affairs in 1671. Then under the French occupation of Algeria in the earlier part of the 19th century, Tlemcen was established as an administrative centre.

As a matter of fact, today language situation in Tlemcen contains significant variation at all linguistic levels, mainly because of the continual socio-economic and historical contact established between the dwellers of Tlemcen and the imperialist rulers in the past, particularly during the French and Turkish occupations, though this latter played the least influencing role in altering the language profile of Tlemcenians, so that considerable linguistic interferences begun to emerge between the local and the external varieties. Tlemcen city has long been viewed as a prestigious centre whose native inhabitants are featured not merely by extremely conservative socio-cultural traits, but also by unique speech habits and linguistic characteristics which are not present in other parts of Algeria. Tlemcen speakers are so deeply featured by the use of the glottal stop [ʔ], and its users are easily known anywhere by all Algerians as belonging to Tlemcen town. As a consequence of such salient linguistic characteristic that extremely varies from the Algerian speech community-wide [θ]-[ɣ] pair of variants, a few famous labels can be heard in the description of Tlemcenians who use [ʔ], particularly from non-native speakers

such as *shab ?alli ?øltlek* or *↔lli jahadro bəl ?a* meaning respectively ‘those who use ?a’, ‘those who talk with ?a’³.

4.3 Description of the Sample Population

This section of our sociolinguistic research work is devoted to French, its use and especially the behavior of Algerian people towards this language; namely its functions and situation. On the whole, our main purpose is to examine the nature of AA-FR bilingualism with reference to our fieldwork undertaken in Tlemcen. This task can only be achieved by collecting representative data which constitute the subject matter of inquiry.

The inquiries we will investigate are mainly about the degree of bilingualism in Tlemcen today and the roles that French plays in the speakers’ repertoire; what attitudes are taken towards this language today, in other words, we will determine the domains of use of the French language by considering people’s attitudes towards it and the reasons for such attitudes. For doing so, the primary data are obtained by means of natural linguistic occurrences observed and noticed in many social settings, then, speech samples are collected through different elicitation techniques such as questionnaire, interviews and tape recorded conversations conducted in the area under investigation with informants both males and females who are from Tlemcen.

4.3.1 Research Tools

The first instrument of research used in this study is a questionnaire with a group of informants by which some questions were asked in trying to give some indications about bilinguals in Tlemcen, how they are influenced by the French language and how this language is seen by them.

In fact, the questionnaire is an important tool the investigator has at his disposal, as it enables him/her to gather the maximum information in a short time. This way of collecting data is also uniform for all the informants: they all get the same questionnaire. The type of questionnaire administered during the fieldwork contained two kinds of question: open-ended questions and closed questions.

- **Open-Ended Questions**

The questions are put in practice form but no answers are provided, the informants sometimes answer with 'yes' or 'no' or 'I don't know' or by answering the question 'why' with precisely stating their choice, or arguing it.

- **Closed Questions**

In this kind of question, the subject is presented with a choice of answers for a particular question. In our questionnaire, we used both open-ended and closed questions in which we provided qualitative and quantitative data.

The questionnaire elaborated to undertake this research work was divided into three sections. The first one involves information about the degree of bilinguality of the informants in understanding, speaking, reading and writing French and the most important social factors that differentiate between their French use. It also contains data about the informants' first contact with French and its influence on their everyday life. The second section is dedicated to the phenomenon of bilingualism in addition to the scope of French in different institutions such as mass media, administration, court and the system of national education now engaged into a reform. The reaction of the informants towards the changes that are being introduced particularly in primary schools with new books, new programmes and new methods are also dealt with in this part of the questionnaire. The third section deals with the attitudes of Tlemcenian people towards bilingualism and the policy of Arabization.

Because the informants are of distinct ages and different levels of education and since a category of the participants belongs to the francophone élite, the questionnaire was compiled both in French and MSA to avoid any bias, so that the participants responded in the language they sympathized. Then, because the obstacle of illiteracy, particularly for the old category, the questionnaire was conducted in the form of an interview and notes were taken from those informants.

For the purpose of getting reliable and pure data various conversations have been recorded by means of a hidden tape recording in many domains: at home, at school among colleagues, among friends, at university, etc.

4.3.2 Participants

On the whole, a great number of the participants involved in this investigation live in the town of Tlemcen. Most of the data were collected in the middle and secondary schools of Benzerjeb in Tlemcen, the university of Abou Bekr BELKAID, the hospital, in the post office, in addition to some informants that we have met in the town-hall, the mountain of Lalla Setti, the park of Grand Bassin, the streets of El Kessarea or in their houses. It is worth mentioning that many of them are not native speakers of TA⁴, but this is irrelevant here as our purpose is to investigate the informants' attitudes and proficiency in the French language that is not anybody's mother tongue in the Algerian society as a whole.

4.3.3 Sampling and Stratification

The questionnaire (see Appendix I) employed in this sociolinguistic study has been conducted with a sample population of 200 participants between the age of 8 and 79. Informants were stratified by age and gender. The table below reveals the sample population undertaken by means of five age groups of 20 male informants and 20 female informants for each group.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
(08-20)	20	20	40
(21-35)	20	20	40
(36-49)	20	20	40
(50-64)	20	20	40
(65-79)	20	20	40
Total	100	100	200

Table 4.1 Sampling and Stratification of Informants

4.4 Data Analysis

4.4.1 Section One: French Use and Degree of Bilinguality in Algeria

In this section, we have tried to provide an answer concerning the degree of bilinguality among Algerians. Using Tlemcen town as a fieldwork, we may inquire to which extent people are bilinguals and in what terms we can gauge the differences between them. In the theoretical part of our research work, we have been describing bilingualism not merely as a societal phenomenon, but also as an individual phenomenon. This implies that the degree of bilinguality differs from one individual to another, resulting in a wide range of various kinds of bilinguals. We have followed Mackey's (1968) and Baker's (2006) techniques in characterizing bilingualism. Mackey measured the degree of bilingualism in relation to the bilinguals' language skills at different linguistic levels in the two languages. While Baker gave more simplified procedure in which he classified bilinguals according to the four language skills, and in terms of receptive and productive dimensions.

4.4.1.1 Degree of comprehension in French

Question n°1: Do you understand French?

	Very well	Well	A little bit	Badly	Not at all
N= 200	58	69	46	17	10
%	29%	34.5%	23%	5.8%	5%

Table 4.2 Percentages of the respondents' levels in understanding French

This section is devoted to the degrees of competence of the informants in understanding the French language. Thus, from the above table we see that French is very well understood by 29%, well by 34.5% a little bit by 23%, badly by 8.5% and not at all understood only by 5%.

We can notice that the majority of the respondents declare having proficiency in comprehending French especially with the notion "well". The above results are represented in the following graph:

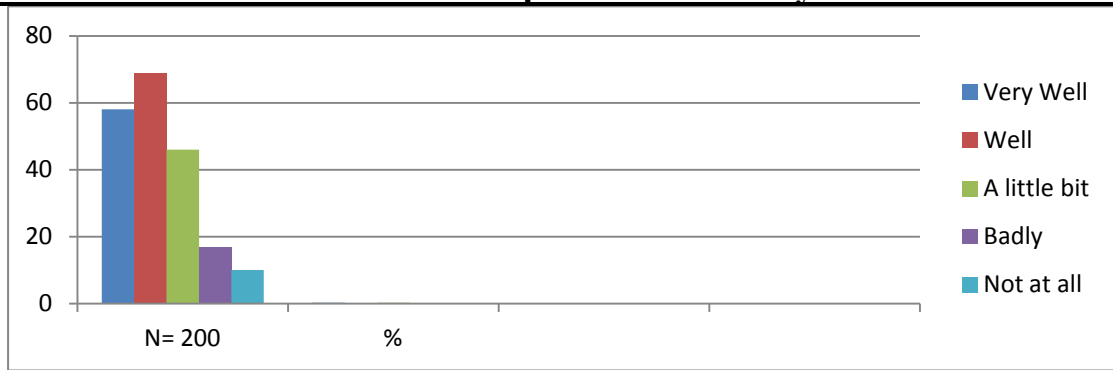


Fig. 4.1 Comprehension in French

4.4.1.2 Degree of writing in French

Question n°2: Do you write French?

	Very well	Well	A little bit	Badly	Not at all
N= 200	52	60	50	18	20
%	26%	30%	25%	9%	10%

Table 4.3 Percentages of the respondents' levels in writing French

In this part, the respondents are asked to precise their degree of proficiency in writing the French language. We see from the above table that the gap between the qualifying degrees “a little bit” and “very well” is not so important as they represent respectively 25%, 26%. Whereas, we find that French is well written by 30%, badly just by 9% and not at all written by a category of 10%. The following graph shows the results obtained above.

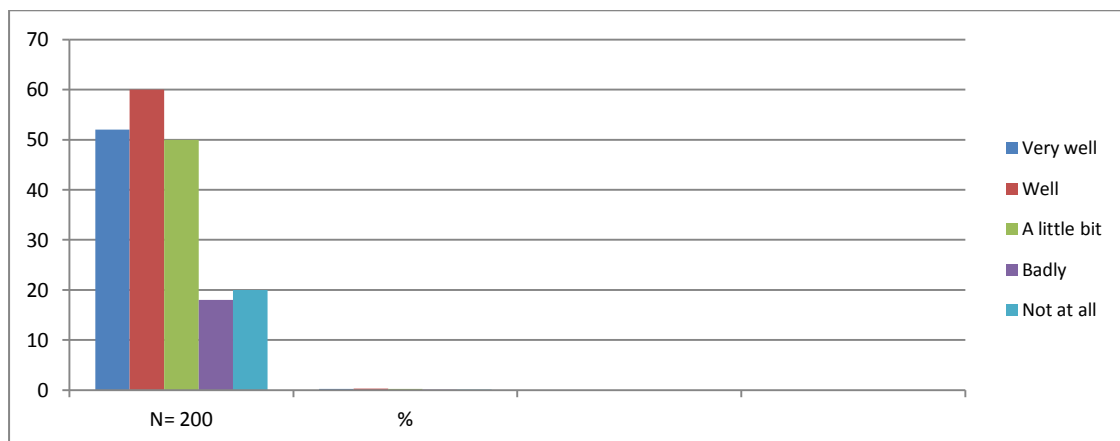


Fig. 4.2 Proficiency in writing French

4.4.1.3 Degree of Reading in French

Question n°3: Do you read French?

	Very well	Well	A little bit	Badly	Not at all
N= 200	77	49	41	12	21
%	38.5%	24.5%	20.5%	6%	10.5%

Table 4.4 Percentages of the respondents' levels in reading French

Concerning the reading skill, it results that over 200 informants, there is 38.5% who read French very well, 24.5% read a little bit French, 6% read it badly and 10.5% of the respondents don't read French at all.

Consider the following graph which represents the above results:

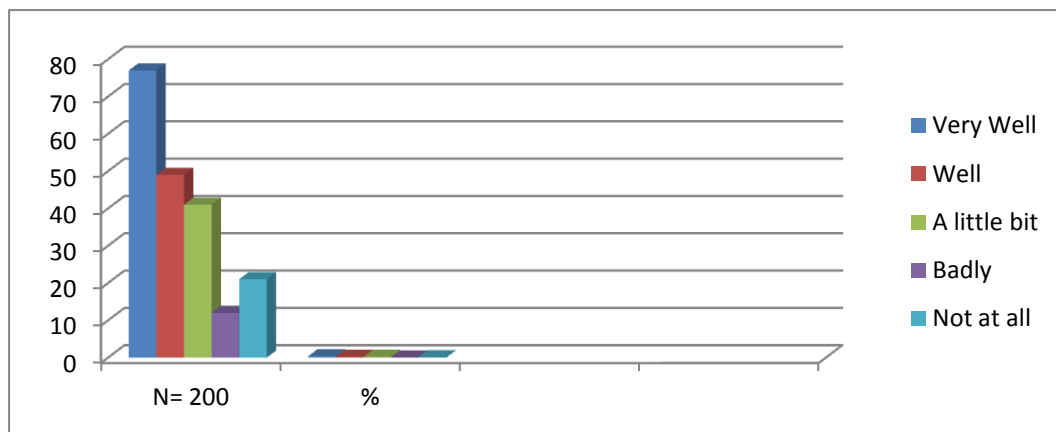


Fig. 3.4 Proficiency in reading French

4.4.1.4 Degree of speaking in French

Question n°4: Do you speak French?

	Very well	Well	A little bit	Badly	Not at all
N= 200	44	59	66	19	12
%	22%	29.5%	33%	9.5%	6%

Table 4.5 Percentages of the respondents' levels in speaking French

In this section, the informants are asked to determine their degree of proficiency in speaking French, thus, we find that over 200 respondents, French is very well spoken by 22%, well by 29.5%, a little bit spoken by 33%, badly by 9.5% and not at all produced by 6%. We notice that most of the informants declare some proficiency in the speaking skill as the majority answers with the qualifying degree “a little bit” which represents the average.

The obtained results are shown in the graph below:

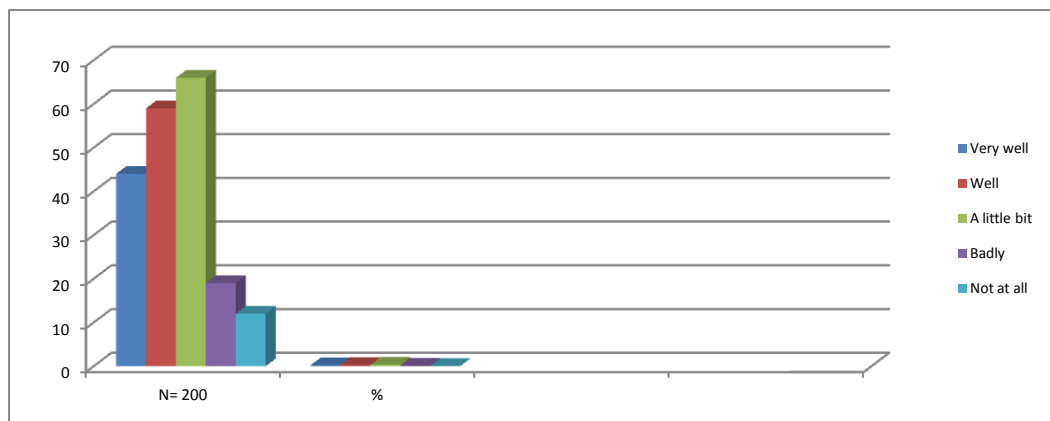


Fig. 4.4 Production in French

The diagrams above illustrate that Algerians have a relatively higher degree of comprehension in French than active production. On the whole, the rates of productive skills are lower than receptive ones. A great number of Algerian people find it easier to understand French, but do not largely speak it or are unable to produce or write intelligible sentences. The only explanation we can give is that they find difficulties in producing a non native language than the mother tongue they often use. While a small category of informants report not to speak French at all may be because those people are illiterate or have a negative attitude towards French, or they might be unconscious of the use of French borrowings and expressions for they are seen as integrated with AA because it is practically unusual to hear a conversation in AA between Algerians without mixing their speech with a few French words and common expressions.

4.4.1.5 Types of Bilingualism

From the socio-cultural perspective, Algerian bilingualism is subtractive because Algeria inherited a heavy linguistic heritage of 132 years and the Arabization process was launched right after independence, in various and multiple domains such as education, politics and administration, for the sake of changing this situation and replacing progressively French in these fields. In fact, Algerian bilingualism is not stable for not all individuals are bilinguals to the same grade. Bilingualism varies from one social group to the other, from one individual to another and even within an individual.

If we link the question of type of bilinguality with age, we may say that there exist many adult as well as child bilinguals in Algeria. Within child bilinguals' category, we can differentiate, from the one hand, between natural bilingualism by which children learn some French in an instructed and unconscious manner from their parents and the background around them. For example, we usually hear children about four years old utter words like [ΣofaZ] from *chofage*, [kuzina] from *cuisine*, [ṭabla] from *table*, meaning respectively 'heater', kitchen' and 'table' without being aware that they don't belong to their mother tongue. On the other hand, achieved bilingualism is commonly found among Algerian children whenever they start their systematic or formal schooling at the primary level. At this point, children become more conscious of the distinction existing between the French language, the mother tongue and MSA the new language of instruction. Psycholinguistically or cognitively speaking, the influence of Arabic and French language systems upon each other in the child has resulted in coordinate bilingualism, because learners at primary schools combines a sign from each language with a separate unit of content, that is, they set up two systems of semantic of items: one system for the items they know in Arabic and another one for the words they know in French. In this case, the two languages are learnt apart from each other and each word will be kept in the brain separately⁵. This notion of developing two systems has been represented by spolsky (1998) when he writes:

For a number of years, there was an attempt to distinguish between compound bilinguals whose two languages were assumed to be closely connected, because one language had been learned after (and so through) the other, and co-ordinate bilinguals who had learned each language in separate contexts and so kept them distinct.

(Spolsky 1998:48)

At a larger extent, we may believe that every Algerian is bilingual if we consider Diebold's description of bilingualism as having the knowledge of some foreign words and their use in daily speech interactions. In this ambit, any Algerian citizen knows some foreign words. Then, who will be called bilingual in the Algerian community if we take into consideration Bloomfield's definition of a bilingual as a speaker with a good competence in the two languages? As we believe, the degree of bilingualism differs from one individual to the other according to some factors that we will deal with in the next

section. Certainly people in Algeria are not equally skilled in the French language, and the differences in the speaking and listening skills, as it came out of the figures of the questionnaire, result in the existence of various types of bilinguals. So, individuals in Algeria can be labeled into active and passive bilinguals. Active bilingualism concerns those who have a good mastery of the two languages both in the productive and receptive skills, with alternate use without any difficulty. This category contains individuals who can speak both languages, but do not necessarily write them. In the Algerian context, the perfect use of the two languages is attested among people of the *élite*, and as we strongly believe, those who own a good level of education and those with a good economic situation. In contradiction with the perfect or active command of the two languages, the label of passive has been recommended to describe individuals whose only receptive skills are more or less developed, that is, people who are able to understand French to a certain extent without being able to speak it or to use intelligible sentences. This might be found with older people of preceding generations or with illiterates who have not been to school, or even those with a lower socio-economic status.

However, we should acknowledge that French use in the Algerian speech community is more intricate than that, because the majority of individuals are bilinguals to a certain extent. In fact, we are dealing with a continuum of degree of bilinguality ranking from the active pole to the passive pole. In addition, bilinguals in Algeria might also be distinguished in terms of balanced and unbalanced. A balanced bilingual is a speaker who uses and functions equally well in Arabic and French, while, unbalanced bilingual is a person who is more proficient in one of the two languages, that is, he has a dominant language and a secondary language.

4.4.1.6 Degree of Bilingualism in Relation to Social Factors

After touching on the inquiry of degree of bilinguality and types of bilinguals, our following task is to endeavor to link those scores and degrees with reasons, in an attempt to test our assumption that at the individual level the degree of proficiency or competence in French largely depends on socio-cultural factors. In other words, we have tried to limit the

elements that differentiate among bilinguals, that is, who is more bilingual than who in Algeria and why?

(i) Age

Age is a crucial factor in determining the degree of bilinguality. The table below and the corresponding graph show the informants’ scores in producing the French language by five age groups both males and females undertaken from our sample

Age \ Degrees	Very well	Well	A little bit	Badly	Not at all
8to 20. N = 40 %	04 10%	10 25%	22 55%	03 7.5%	01 2.5%
21to 35. N = 40 %	05 12.5%	14 35%	19 47.5%	02 5%	0 0%
36to 49. N = 40 %	11 27.5%	17 42.5%	11 27.5%	01 2.5%	0 0%
50to 64. N = 40 %	16 40%	13 32.5%	08 20%	03 7.5%	0 0%
65to 79. N = 40 %	08 20%	05 12.5%	06 15%	10 25%	11 27.5%

Table 4.6 Degree of producing FR by Age

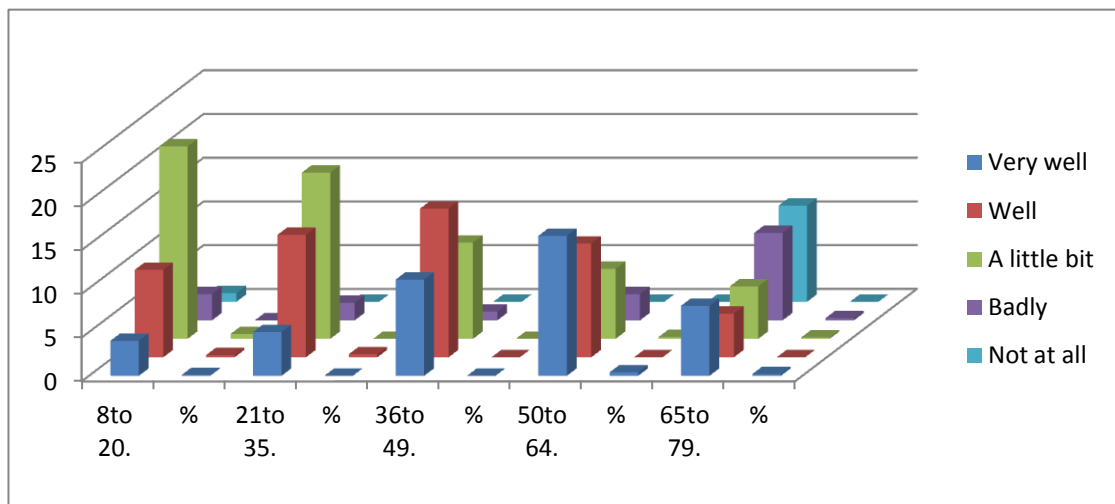


Fig. 4.5 Production competence in FR by Age

The graph above represents an overall picture of the extent to which French is spoken by different age groups of informants. We can see that the 8 to 20 year less younger group has a moderate production of French as the majority (55%) picks for the qualifying degree “a little bit” which represents the average level. We have obtained much similar

results for the 21 to 35 year younger group, though the gap between the two age groups in the second degree “Well” (respectively 25%, 35%) is fairly high in comparison to the other degrees. This can be explained by the fact that today in school all matters are taught in MSA, so that, today’s younger learners are less competent in using French as a result of the massive Arabization imposed in the educational systems. Nevertheless, the majority has attained an acceptable degree of production in French because of the special contact to this language in the society and its crucial role which plays in everyday Algerian speech interactions. Concerning the 36 to 49 year adult group, we notice that the majority (42.5%) of informants have a good command in speaking French. This is due to the partial dominance of MSA in the educational systems after the imposition of the Arabization policy, for French was still taught in parallel with MSA almost with the same hours per week at schools, then it began to decline progressively with the promotion of MSA as the only national and official language. Another reason that led this group to attain a good level in speaking French is its continual friction with the less older generation that most of them are belonging to the francophone élite. In fact, the majority of people from this category had their instruction only in French as they have a good competence in controlling this language in all the four skills. As it is shown in the above results, the higher proportion refers to the degree “very well” in producing French that represents 40% of the informants, followed by the pillar of the second degree “well” which also represents a high percentage (32.5%). The 65 to 79 year older group has a passive production of French, as it is indicated in the above figure, most of the respondents state that they don’t speak French at all or they speak it badly because the majority of them, especially women, lived in the era of colonization and remained illiterate not only in French but also in MSA, so, there is a very little use of French only in terms of borrowings. In spite of that, we find much better competence in speaking French with those few (8%) who had the chance to be instructed before the Algerian occupation, and thus finished their studies in French.

(ii) Gender

Degrees	Females	%	Males	%
Very well	26	26%	18	18%
Well	31	31%	28	28%
A little bit	29	29%	37	37%
Badly	07	07%	12	12%
Not at all	07	07%	05	05%
Total	100	100%	100	100%

Table 4.7 Degree of producing French by Gender

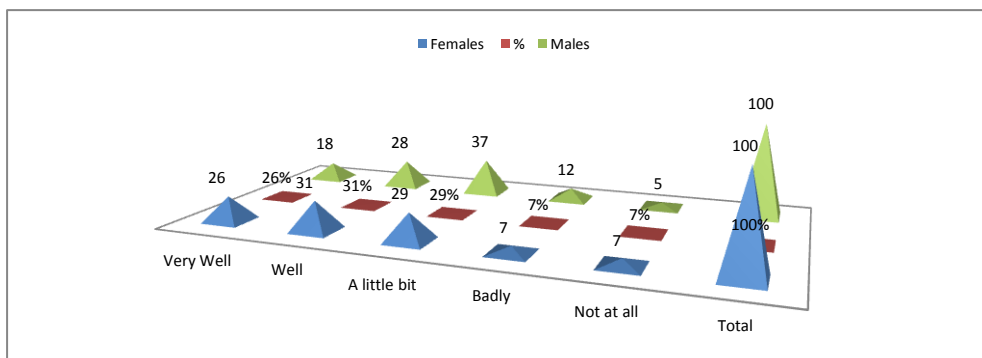


Fig.4.6 Production competence in FR by gender

Another characteristic associated with the production of French is that it is a feminine language, and it is used more by women as a sign of feminism. The scores by gender represented in the above figure show clearly that women are more disposed to use French spontaneously, a linguistic strategy that is linked with girls drift rather than men, particularly in urban centers in order to seek social progress and prestige.

(iii) Educational Level

In this section, we have tried to give an overall picture about the significance of the informants' educational level in delimiting the degree of producing French. In fact, the participants had different educational statuses: illiterate, elementary secondary and university, by which we classified them into three categories: speakers with high level of education for those who reached the university grade in addition to the francophones who had their instruction only in French at that time. The second angle concerns speakers with mid-level of education for those attaining the primary, middle and secondary grades, and low level of education for individuals who had low education status or who had never been at school.

Degrees The educational level	Very well	Well	A little bit	Badly	Not at all
High educational level N = 90 %	34 37.77%	30 33.33%	23 24.64%	3 3.19%	0 0%
Mid educational level N = 80 %	10 12.5%	29 36.25%	34 42.5%	6 7.5%	1 1.25%
Low educational level N = 30 %	0 0%	0 0%	9 30%	10 33.33%	11 36.66%

Table 4.8 Degree of producing FR by the educational status

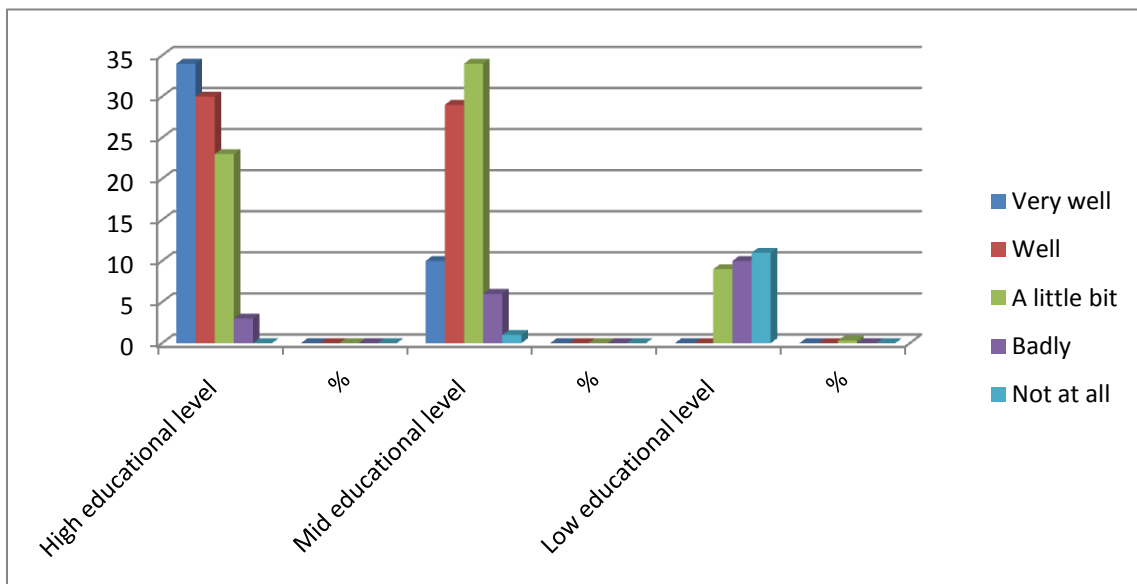


Fig. 4.7 Production competence in FR by the level of instruction

This finding highlights the significant affect of education on the production of French by speakers. The elicited data display that as participants’ level of education increases, so does the production of the French language and vice-versa.

We notice from the above scores that the high educational level informants seem to speak French more better than the other groups as the majority of them represent 37.77% and answer with the qualifying degree “very well”. On the other hand, the majority (42.5%) of the mid educational level respondents have a fairly moderate production of French, whereas participants from the low educational level rank have a passive production of French and the majority (36.66%) claims not to speak it at all.

(iv) Socio-economic Status

The educational status	Degrees	Very well	Well	A little bit	Badly	Not at all
	Rich class N = 40 %	16 40%	12 30%	08 20%	02 5%	02 5%
Middle class N = 130 %	27 20.76%	45 34.61%	49 37.69%	06 4.61%	03 2.3%	
Poor class N = 30 %	01 3.33%	02 6.66%	09 30%	11 36.66%	07 23.33%	

Table 4.9 Degree of producing FR by the socio-economic status

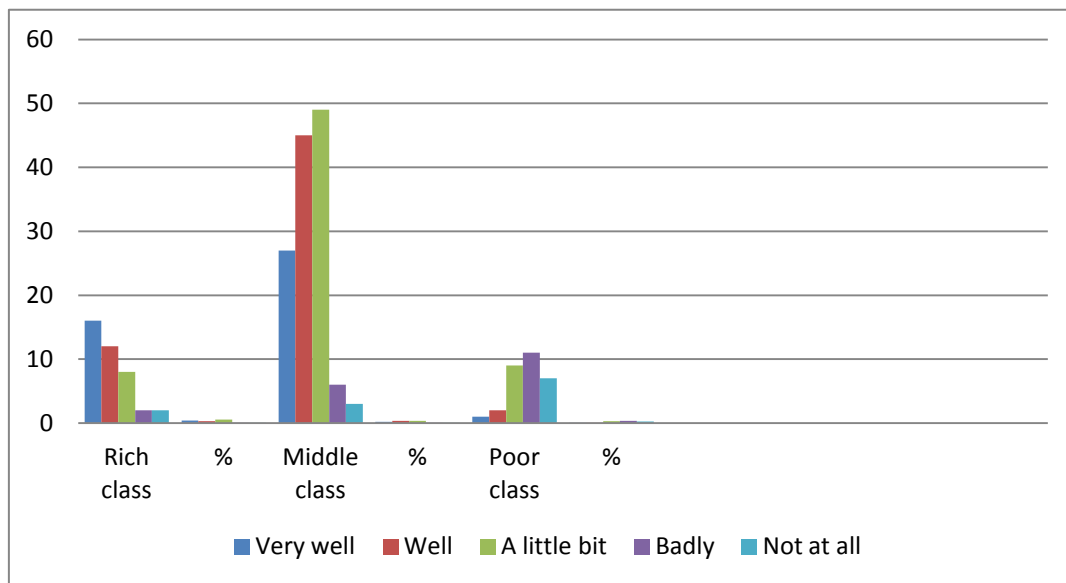


Fig. 4.8 Production competence in FR by the mode of living

As it is shown in the above results the socio-economic status is indeed an important factor that reflects the degree of bilinguality in an individual. We may say that even if the majority of the informants are bilinguals, or at least own a given knowledge of French, a characterized troop tends to speak French more fluently than the other categories, those people who earn a good economic situation and generally belong to the high social class, identify themselves with this language and consider that the prestige of French reflects their own prestige. In this respect, the use of French becomes a social marker that might differentiate among social classes, giving it a function in the Algerian community.

(v) Urban and Rural

Degrees Rural vs urban	Very well	Well	A little bit	Badly	Not at all
Urban speakers N = 133 %	34 25.65%	45 33.23%	38 28.57%	11 8.27%	5 3.75%
Rural speakers N = 67 %	10 14.92%	14 20.89%	28 41.79%	8 11.94%	7 10.44%

Table 4.10 Degree of producing FR among Urban and Rural speakers

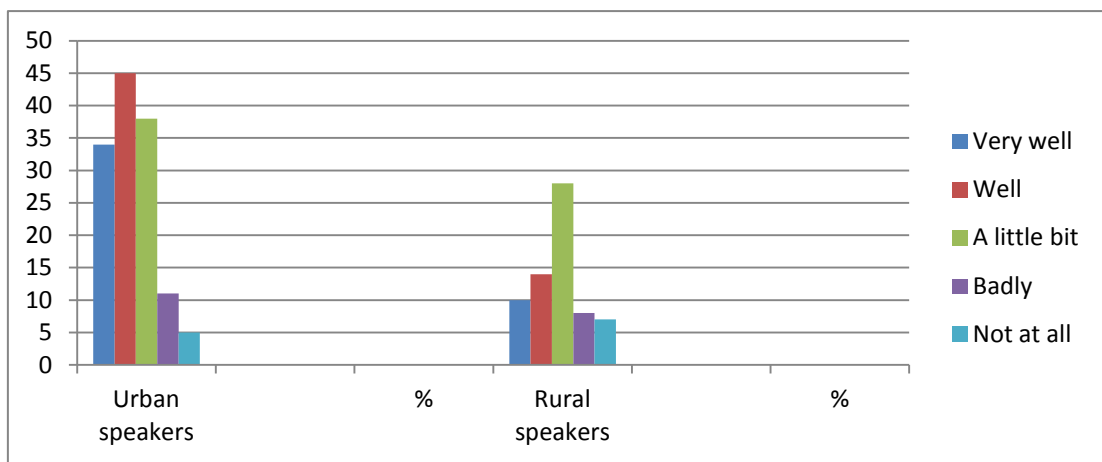


Fig. 4.9 Production competence in FR among urban and rural speakers

The above table and the corresponding graph show clearly the difference in the degree of bilinguality among urban speakers as opposed to rural ones. The level of production of French is not the same in all the geographical area in Tlemcen. People living in urban territories seem to have more contact with this language particularly through the media like television, radio and the internet, in addition to the presence of high schools and universities. The existence of administrations functioning in French is another factor that leads to the greater rate of speaking French in urban areas than in rural ones.

4.4.1.7 Acquisition of French in Algeria

Question n°5: Where have you started learning French?

	At home	At school	Else where	No answer
N = 200	45	123	12	20
%	22.5%	61.5%	6%	10%

Table 4.11 Informants' percentages concerning the first contact with French

When wondering at how French was acquired in Algeria and how it was introduced, we see that 61.5% learn French at school, 22.5% have a first contact with it at home before reaching school and only 6% say that they learn it elsewhere. This would mean that 61.5% of the informants may learn it either as the first language of the community if we speak about the period which precedes the Arabization policy, or as a second language, the first ranking foreign language after MSA. The explanation we can give, for those who answer “at home”, is that they may grow up in a bilingual background and consider French as a part of their spontaneous environment. In fact, many individuals come from families where parents are consistent in their French use and have a good control of this language, thus giving their children enough exposure to it. The troop who learns French elsewhere may have close contact with other members, for example, through work or from other individuals of their community who frequently use it as a means for wider communication.

4.4.1.8 Domains of French use in Algeria

Question n°6: Where do you speak French most?

	At home	At school or university	With your friends	With your superiors at work	No answer
N= 200	38	46	50	48	18
%	19%	23%	25%	24%	9%

Table 4.12 Respondents' percentages about French use according to specific contexts

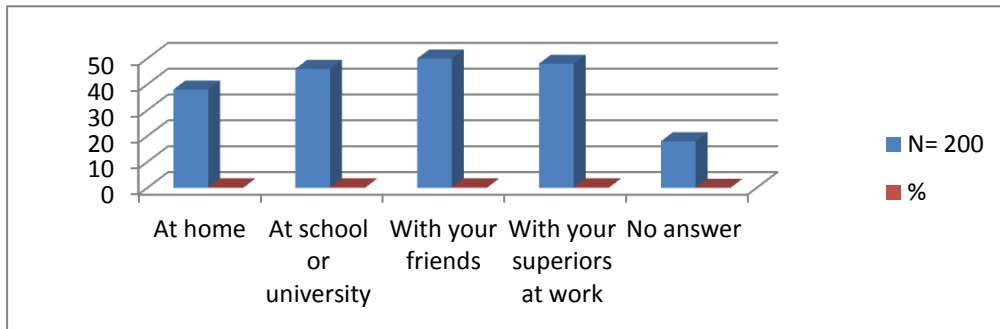


Fig. 4.10 Domains of FR production among informants

When we speak about where French is mostly spoken and the places where it is used, the opinions diverge. 19% of the informants answer that they speak French mostly at home, 23% say that they use it at school or university, 25% use it with their friends and 24% speak French with their superiors at work.

From the above results, we deduce that French is widely and diversely used and fulfils different communicative needs depending on the context of speech so that speakers are in front of selecting the appropriate code. In each speech interaction the participants follow multiple strategies among which code choice is significant in determining the importance of the communicative act. In fact the speakers' choice of FR, AA or MSA in a given situation is due to apparent elements among which participants, topics and settings are crucial, without forgetting the speakers' communicative competence i.e., the varieties that one controls and the extent to which he/she controls them in various contexts. The chosen code reflects the kind of socio-cultural relationship among speakers involved in the conversation, which will delimit the level of formality or intimacy that they display in relation to each other. Indeed, there are so many places or locations where French is more likely to be used than Arabic like government offices and administrations.

4.4.1.9 Frequency of French use in Algerian Arabic

Question n°7: How often do you use French in daily life communication?

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
N = 200	53	87	36	24
%	26.5%	43.5%	18%	12%

Table 4.13 Informants' percentages about frequency of FR use in everyday life

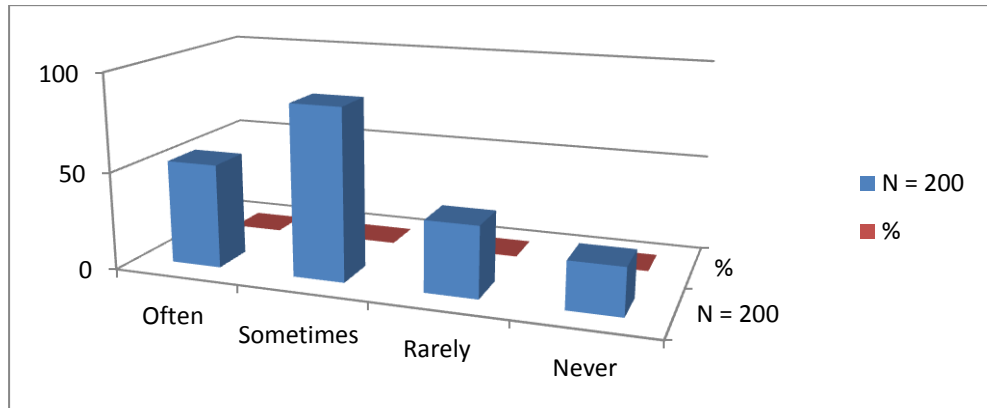


Fig. 4.11 Frequency of informants’ use of FR in AA

This question is an attempt at having an overall idea about the frequency of French use among speakers in Tlemcen speech community, though we have not supply the informants with any situation or context in which French is practiced. But interestingly, we find that the higher proportion represents the answer “sometimes” which reveal that a good number of speakers use French in a moderate way usually mixed with AA in the Forms of borrowings and code-switching. The smaller percentage (12%) goes to the respondents who claim that they never use French in daily life communication, possibly not viewing borrowing as French occurrences.

In fact, we cannot deny the reality that French has become an inseparable part of the Algerian linguistic components not merely for its use in various functional institutions and its mixture with AA, but indeed as we believe for the special status and the high prestige felt for it, to the extent that we cannot hear an informal speech in AA without some French items and expressions.

4.4.1.10 Frequency of watching French channels

Question n°8: How often do you watch FR channels?

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
N = 200	82	63	29	26
%	41%	31.5%	14.5%	13%

Table 4.14 Informants' percentages about frequency of watching FR programmes

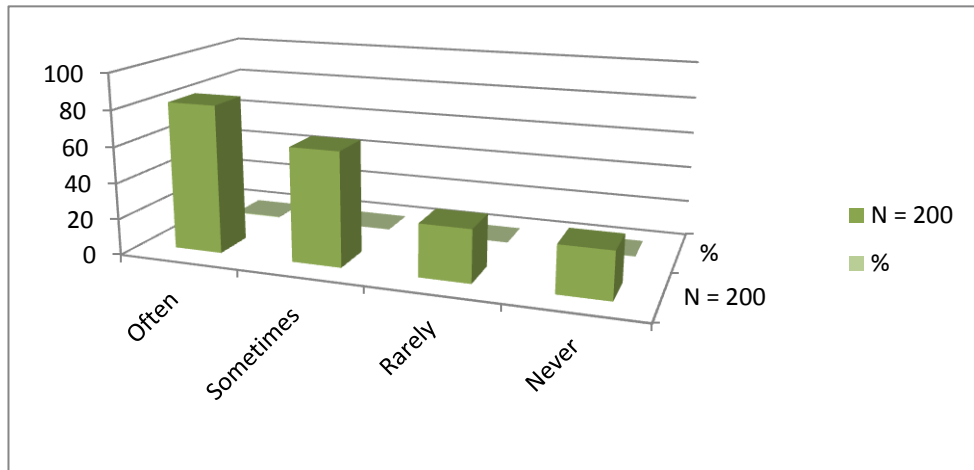


Fig. 4.12 Frequency of attending FR programmes among respondents

As shown in the graph above, the majority of informants (around 82 out of 200) often choose French channels for watching TV. It is well established that a great number of Algerian families possess a satellite dish at home, thus preferring the French language for watching television, this may be because they think that it is a matter linked with television technological progress, that is, French channels are more advanced and rich in presenting their programs and in making more exciting serials, films and scientific documentaries. Indeed, the existence of television technological improvements today lead us to benefit from a variety of channels from all over the world, and thus the exposition to many languages. This provides many Algerian Families with the opportunity to see different programmes particularly in French and Arabic, the two languages that widely exist in the society than others.

On the contrary, we observe that fewer respondents who represent 13% never select French channels for seeing any programme. This can be explained by the positive attitudes towards the language of the nation or the lack of competence in French. On the whole, the respondents' favorable choice for watching French channels reflects the continual impact of the French language on the Algerian society, a reality that still make the linguistic situation so intricate. French has a significant role in spreading the range of codes that speakers select from in various communicative acts, and the consequent switches that can obviously be attested in everyday speech interaction.

4.4.1.11 Frequency of listening to French-broadcasting channels

Question n°9: How often do you listen to broadcasting channels which give their programmes in French?

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
N = 200	50	67	54	29
%	25%	33.5%	27%	14.5%

Table 4.15 Informants' percentages about frequency of listening to radio with programmes in FR

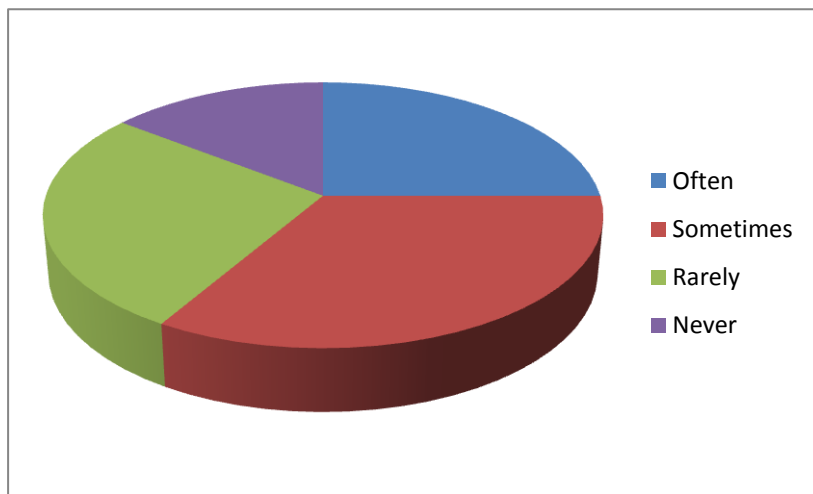


Fig. 4.13 Frequency of listening to French broadcasting programmes among informants

Radio is another important means of mass media, it exists in people's houses, their cars and even their work. There are many Algerian broadcasting channels that give their programmes in French and others in Arabic like "the third channel", a national broadcasting channel, which presents its programmes exclusively in French. Even in the local channel (Tlemcen), there are some programmes where both Arabic and French are used, in medical subjects for instance.

To the question about listening to radio with emissions in French, the majority of the informants (33.5%) tick for the answer "sometimes", around 54 out of 200 said they rarely listen to French programmes in radio. Whereas, we find fewer respondents (25%) who often listen to French programmes and only 14.5% never listen to the radio when there are emissions in French.

If we compare the previous graph with the above one, we observe that degrees of frequency in watching TV among participants are higher than in listening to broadcasting channels in French. In fact, people are more exposed to listen to broadcasting channels which give their programmes in Arabic than in French, for instance, they appreciate hearing Arabic songs than French ones or to listen to local news in Arabic than in French. On the other hand, the difference lies in the manner of assimilating facts and data, because TV is more developed technologically than radio. Television is an audio-visual means of mass media, it provides us with the image which plays a significant role in attracting human being eyes and mind, as it is an easy and preferable means to convey and to grasp the information.

4.4.2 Section Two: Bilingualism and the Scope of FR in Different Institutions

This section is devoted to phenomena resulting from Algerian Arabic and French contact such as bilingualism and code-switching, in addition to French use and its function in various fields such as administration, mass media, justice and school namely with the new reforms in the programmes and how they are perceived by Algerians.

4.4.2.1 Mixing French with Algerian Arabic among Algerians

Question n°1: Do you mix between AA and FR?

	Yes, often	Yes, sometimes	No, not so much	No, never
N = 200	76	74	26	24
%	38%	37%	13%	12%

Table 4.16 Percentages of the informants' alternation among AA and FR

The above results reveal that the majority of the informants (75%) claim to mix FR with AA, though to different extent. ('yes, often' / 'yes, sometimes').

Consider the following graph which represents the obtained scores:

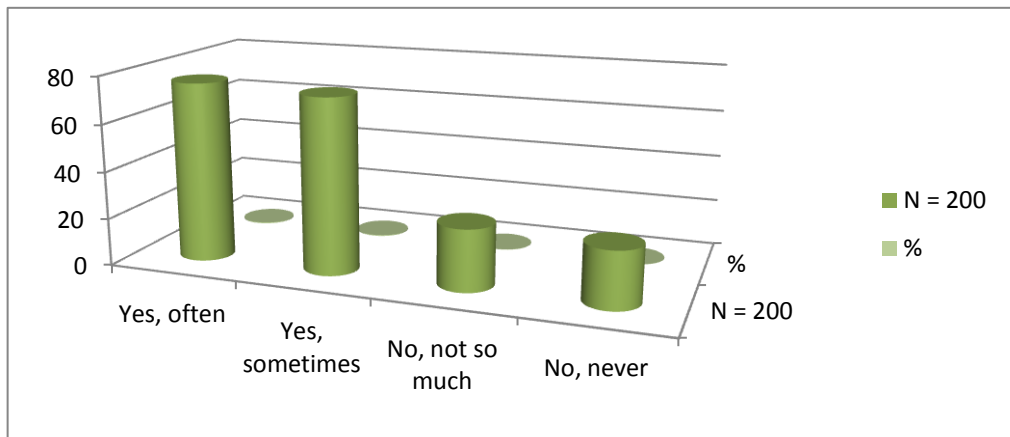


Fig. 4.14 Mixing between FR and AA among respondents

On the whole, though we have not fit the respondents with specific domains or situations while alternating between AA and FR, we find that they are perfectly aware of their French use in everyday speech. Interestingly, a great number of informants (88%) report they switch between the two codes, though to different degrees, whereas fewer informants (12%) declare they never use French while holding a dialogue in AA. We presume that the informants who claim they don't use French at all in AA, having a low or hopeless proficiency in French and are not aware that they use very common borrowing words in their daily speech interaction, or they think that the question deals with switching to French and not borrowing use.

Question n°2: When you mix AA with FR, is it?

	Consciously	Unconsciously	No answer
N = 200	36	146	18
%	18%	73%	9%

Table 4.17 Percentages of the informants' behaviour when alternating among AA and FR

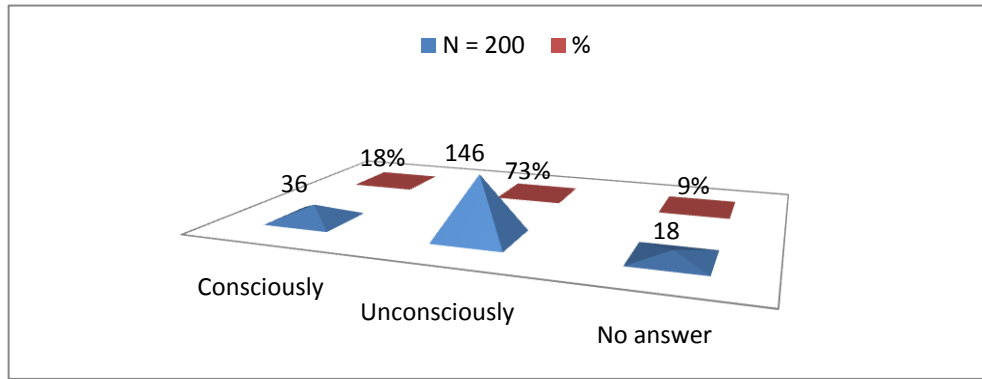


Fig. 4.15 Respondents' behavior while mixing AA with Fr

These results appear to reflect to a large extent the manner Algerians behave in relation to the two codes, AA and FR, so that the majority of informants who constitute 73% report they alternate between AA and FR unconsciously and only 18% do it in purpose. This means that Algerian speakers constantly and often spontaneously mix the two codes in a natural way in everyday speech for different aims and in various contexts. In fact, Algerian individuals acquire AA as a mother tongue usually stuffed with a big amount of French in the forms of loan words and ready-made expressions, a behaviour which leads to a simultaneous use of linguistic resources from AA and FR, and thus the development of an AA-Fr mixture that can be viewed as a third code.

4.4.2.2 Appreciation of French expressions vis-à-vis AA.

Question n°3: Does FR express better certain ideas than AA?

	Yes	Sometimes	No
N = 200	86	72	42
%	43%	36%	21%

Table 4.18 Percentages of the informants' opinions about the preference of selecting certain FR expressions than AA

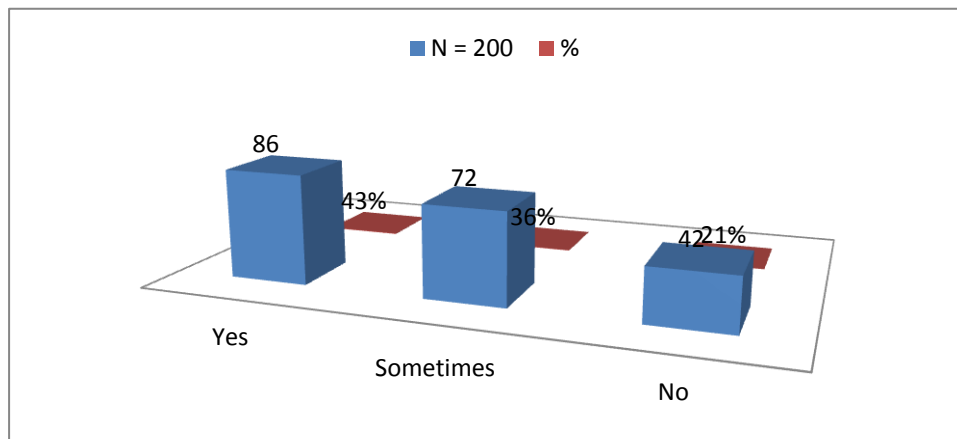


Fig. 4.16 Informants' views about certain FR expressions vis-à-vis AA

In this section, we find 43% of the respondents who totally agree that some notions are better expressed in French than AA, 36% say that French sometimes indicate better ideas than AA, while few informants (21%) answer negatively to this question.

To know more from those who answer positively, especially in which contexts does French express better certain ideas than AA, we ask them the following question: if yes, in which circumstances? Most of the respondents say “when speaking about scientific and technical matters, for teaching and for exchanging knowledge”. This asserts that Algerians are conscious of the position and function which French would continue to represent after independence in important sectors of the state, especially in education. Indeed, it is obvious that the significance of French as a language of technology, as a means of international communication and scientific research has given it a particular or a special status in Algeria. The negative answer given by the few informants may indicate one of the two things: either their competence in French is very low or unfeasible and does not permit the utterance of French expressions, or the use of French is avoided because of their negative attitudes towards the foreign language.

4.4.2.3 Factors Influencing the Switching to the French Language

This question aims at determining the different factors that affect the alternation to the French language, that is, we have tried to know more specifically when people code-switch. We have found these scores knowing that one person might answer in two positions.

Question n°4: When you code switch between AA and FR, is that depending on?

	The addressee	Subject	Environment	Situation	No answer
N = 200	49	43	45	47	16
%	24.5%	21.5%	22.5%	23.5%	8%

Table 4.19 Informants' percentages about factors affecting the alternation among AA and Fr

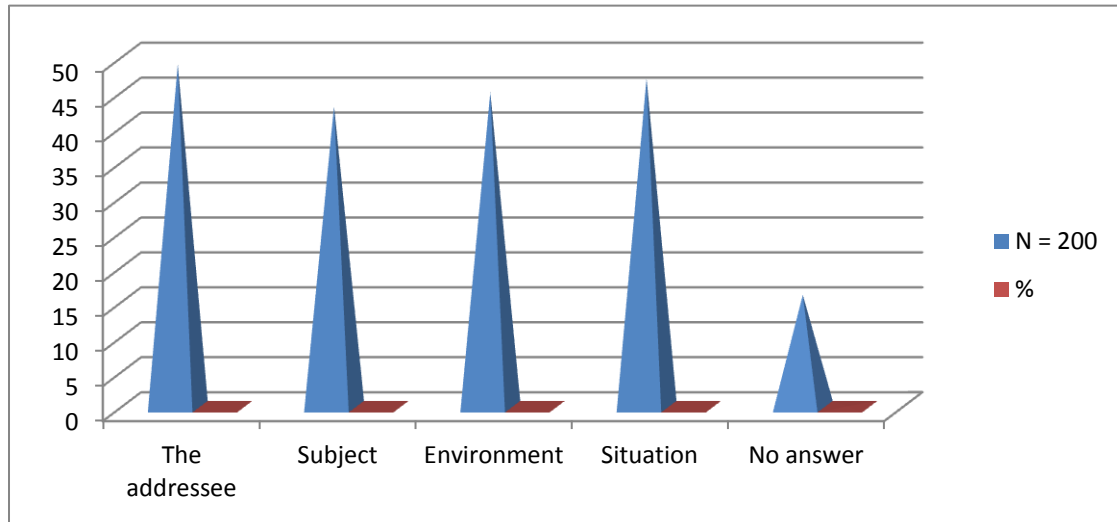


Fig.4.17 Factors influencing alternation between AA and FR

As revealed in the above graph, various contextual, situational and personal factors affect the speaker while switching between AA and French. For instance, in an informal talk among speakers who are familiar with each other and have to a certain extent a shared ethnic, educational and socio-economic background, code-switching can happen quite repeatedly. However, in a formal speech context among individuals who are not intimate and do not have elements in common, alternation between codes may be averted because factors associated with prestige and language formality influence in a way language behaviour as to focus the speaker’s mind on trying to approach or remain to monolingual standards. Indeed, bilinguals are different in their attitudes towards code-switching. Some view it positively as a linguistic behaviour that constitutes a habitual and usually an essential section of social interaction, while others see code-switching as a linguistic impurity or a mark of laziness, and hence attempt to keep away from it or correct themselves when they realize they have code-switched.

4.4.2.4 Motivations for Code-Switching.

This section aims at knowing the motives for which a person code-switches

Question n°5: When you code-switch, is it for?

	Filling a gap	You have a good competence in both codes	Showing your social status	No answer
N = 200	79	66	40	15
%	39.5%	33%	20%	7.5%

Table 4.20 Percentages of the informants concerning the motives for the use of code-switching

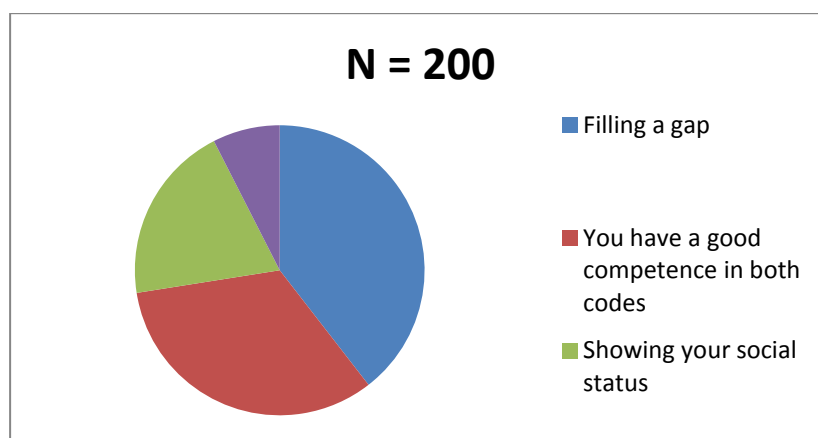


Fig.4.18 Reasons for CS

A great number of informants who constitute 39.5% say that CS helps them to filling a linguistic gap, 33% claim that CS is used as a sign of mastery of both codes. However, fewer respondents report that they code switch for the purpose of showing their social status, and only 7.5% do not know what to answer.

In fact, the reasons for code-switching are manifold. In some cases, the person owns a good competence in handling a topic in the two languages he/she has in his/her disposal, in others; he/she lacks competence then corrects his/her speech by resorting to another language. In other words, talking about a particular subject can lead to a switch may be because of the lack of facility in a given code or because speakers are more accustomed to certain items in a particular language than others when conversing. Another factor for successive code-switching is the aim of showing one's social status.

The alternation between AA and FR among bilinguals in Algeria is due to a large extent, as it is indicated in the above results, to the lexical or semantic lack in the Algerian dialect, because the dialectal nature of AA does not fulfill a vast field of communicative needs, and hence French usually comes as a rescue to reinforce the idea and to filling the conceptual gap. Code-switching is often used when an item does not “come”, for instance, if there is no equivalent common term for the word ‘portable’ in AA, then a person would simply say ‘Σrit *portable* Zdid’.

4.4.2.5 Impact of Foreign Languages at Schools (the New Reforms)

This section aims at having a look at the place that French occupies in the field of education, namely with the new reforms in the programmes and how they are perceived by the informants.

The government has decided to introduce some reforms concerning the teaching of foreign languages. Many changes have been elaborated during the academic year 2003-2004 in the primary and the middle schools and changes in the secondary school are introduced during the academic year 2005-2006. The conclusions of the commission aimed at starting to teach French as soon as the second year of primary school instead of the fourth. All the old programmes are to be renewed and the new program seems to resemble the French one. The books are more attractive with many colours and images. The middle school has received many changes, all the programmes are different and more recent. English has been given more importance, it is considered as the second foreign language in Algeria, it is taught in the first years of the middle school whereas some years ago, it was taught in the second year of the same level. Concerning university, the technical and some fields like medicine, chemistry are still taught in French and the literary fields are taught in MSA.

Question n°6: What do you think about the new reform concerning the teaching of French in the second year instead of the fourth in the primary school?

	Useful but not essential	Important	I don't know
N = 200	28	162	10
%	14%	81%	5%

Table 4.21 Percentages of the informants' opinions about the new reforms at primary school (the teaching of French)

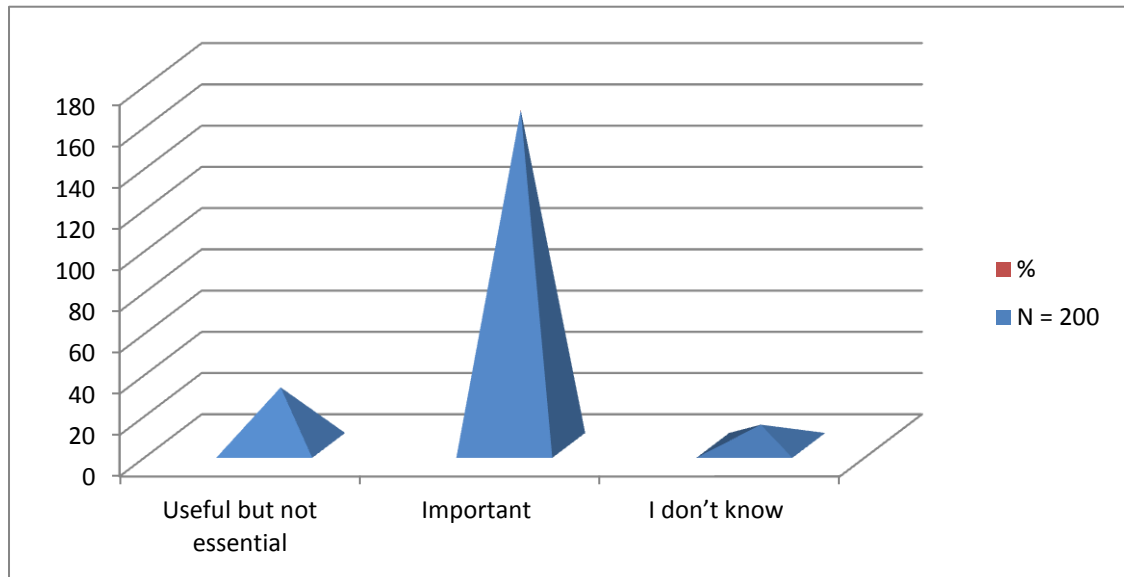


Fig. 4.19 Informant's views about the new reforms at primary school (the teaching of French)

As an answer to the question about the new reform concerning the teaching of French earlier at primary school, 14% think that it is useful but not essential, 81% say that it is important and only 5% have no idea.

Nowadays French occupies a crucial status in the Algerian society and it is taught effectively from the second year of primary school; while we should acknowledge that, before independence and for more than ten years, the French language was the means of instruction at school, however Arabic was merely presented as a subject. Today, there is an expansion in the teaching of French courses in primary and secondary schools, but all the remained subjects are unstructured in MSA. A thing that leads directly to the withdrawal in the pupils' competency in French than before the Arabization policy. Nevertheless, in spite of the enormous exertions done for successful Arabization, nowadays French is not only viewed as a significant means of friction with the modern world of technology, though English also is gaining ground in Algeria for that matter, but indeed as we strongly assume, as a prestigious language that may confer power in particular cases or

at least social development. On the whole, the use of French becomes so deeply rooted in the people’s daily speech, both from the social and linguistic perspectives, to the extent that it can simply remarked in their speech interaction in the form of bilingualism, code-switching and borrowing.

4.4.2.6 Selection of Language Plurality in Teaching

Question n°7: The teaching in Algeria should it be?

	Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	No answer
N = 200	28	61	98	13
%	14%	30.5%	49%	6.5%

Table 4.22 Percentages of the respondents' views concerning the teaching in Algeria

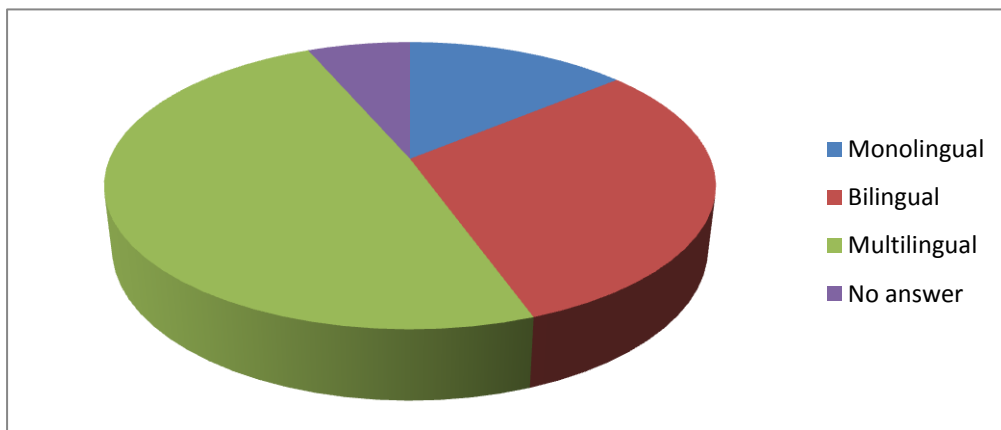


Fig. 4.20 Informants' opinions concerning language plurality in teaching

In this part, we have tried to present to the respondents a question that is much frequently asked by many sociolinguists and academicians to evaluate language plurality vis-à-vis teaching.

The majority of the respondents who represents 49% think that teaching in Algeria should be multilingual. There are 30.5% of the informants who think that it should be bilingual. However, there are only 14% of the informants who claim that teaching should be monolingual.

People often like to learn foreign languages either to get better opportunity and make life simpler, that is, if the foreign language is prestigious and has a wider communication, obviously it would provide the learner with a variety of opportunities to achieve economic, academic and political goals; or to address personal curiosity and interest because in most cases, people are curious about the things which they don't know. Indeed, while learning other languages learners are exposed to different cultures, religions, values and above all, to different taught structures since different cultures conceptualize the world differently. Thus, it is an advanced idea that multilingualism should be promoted and advocated, since diversity is viewed as a source of knowledge, means of expanding wisdom and revealing identity.

4.4.2.7 Selection of French According to the Types of Subjects

Question n°8: Do you believe that FR is the best language for the teaching of:

Scientific and technological fields				
	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	167	21	5	7
%	83.5%	10.5%	2.5%	3.5%
Literary fields				
	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	49	132	10	9
%	24.5%	66%	5%	4.5%

Table 4.23 Percentages of the respondents' views about FR selection in the teaching of literary, scientific and technological disciplines

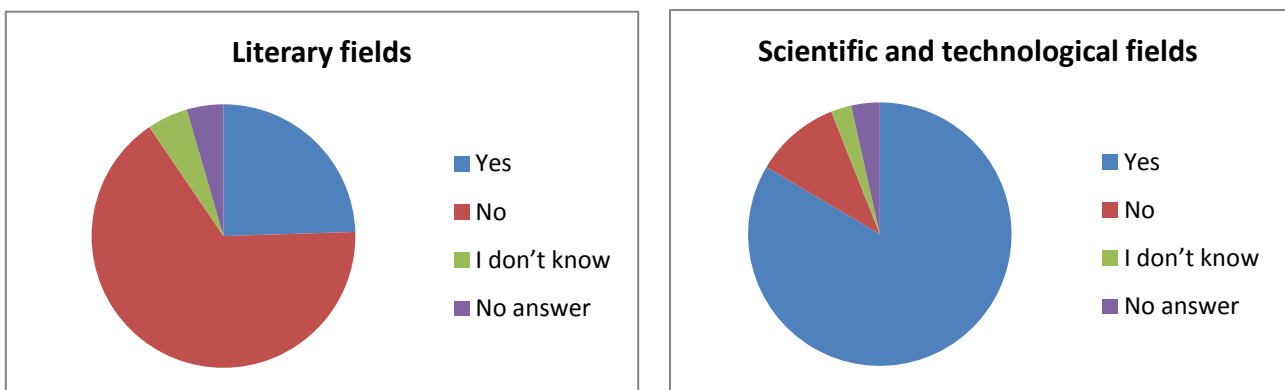


Fig. 4.21 Informants' opinions about the choice of FR in literary, scientific and technological disciplines

The question above aims at knowing if French is the most suitable language for the teaching of literary, scientific and technological subject matters. For scientific and technological courses; 83.5% of the informants agree to choose FR for studying these matters, whereas, there are just 10.5% who do not agree with such notion, and 2.5% have no idea. Concerning the literary matters, a small number of respondents (24.5%) tick for the answer “yes” for the teaching of these subjects in FR, while, the majority (66%) thinks that FR is not the appropriate language for studying these courses. We also find 5% of the informants who have no idea on this question.

If we compare the two distinct subject matters, we notice that in the domain of science and technology, the rate of using French is higher than the literary one. These results reveal that each language has a special function and a specific domain of use. French is related mainly to science and technology because it represents these fields and occidental advance. On the contrary, the literary fields have a tight association with Arabic than French because MSA is well established as the language of religion, poetry and both ancient and modern literature and it has a rich and vast linguistic store in those fields than French.

4.4.2.8 Appreciation of French in other Institutions

Question n°9: Would you choose FR for the following institutions?

Justice				
	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	86	104	2	8
%	43%	52%	1%	4%
Administration				
	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	123	66	4	7
%	61.5%	33%	2%	3.5%
Education				
	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	102	84	5	9
%	51.5%	42%	2.5%	4.5%
Mass media				
	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	110	77	6	7
%	55%	38.5%	3%	3.5%

Table 4.24 Percentages of the informants' choice of FR in various fields

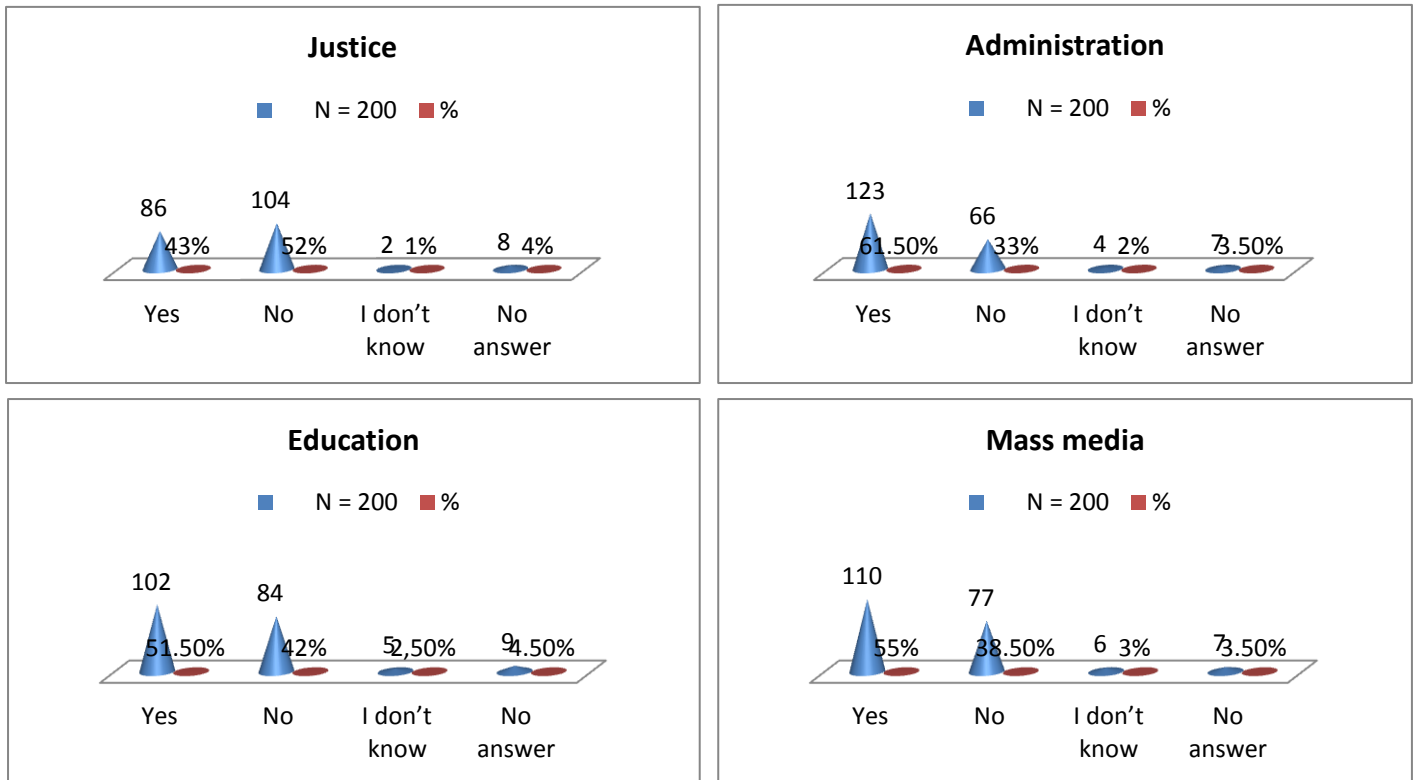


Fig. 4.22 Selection of FR in different sectors

While French is chosen in justice by 43% of the informants, 52% do not agree on such idea and 1% of the respondents do not provide any answer. There are 61.5% of the respondents who widely favour French in administration, while, 33% answer negatively on this question, and 2% have no comment. Indeed, we find 51% of the informants who select French in the field of education, while 42% may prefer merely Arabic and 2.5% do not give any answer. Finally, 55% of the participants choose French in mass media, as seen before they are addicted to television and radio, conversely, 38.5% tick for the answer “no” with respect to this question and 3% have no comment.

We notice that French is much favoured in administration and mass media than in justice and education. As already mentioned French has its particular domains of use. Many individuals think that French is more appropriate in mass media and especially in the public administrations because Arabic-French bilingualism still constitutes a current practice in these latter fields, and although Arabic was provided an important status by the government, it did not attain its aims like arabising the administrative environment. In the domain of justice the rate of choosing French is lower, may be the informants see that Arabic is the appropriate language in this field, in addition, since 1991 the decisions of

court and the judgments, the opinions, warnings and the decisions of the Constitutional Council and those of Court of Auditors have been provided or established in the only Arabic language. However, although MSA is the only language allowed in the courts of justice, AA is usually used, whereas French and Berber are not tolerated at all, except in the case of overpowering circumstances. On the contrary of any expectation, the sentences of judges were not to be delivered only in MSA, however, these latter are formulated in AA. One can say that justice and its courts use Arabic exclusively and hence the successful of the Arabization policy at this level.

A good number of informants refuse to choose French in education may be because they think that the question deals with the total domination of French in this field and the exclusion of Arabic from the educational domain, so, many of them reject to have their instruction only in French, a matter that is liked with the higher prestige felt for MSA by virtue of its status as the language of Arabic identity and Islamic civilization. But this does not mean to exclude the French language from education, since a big category from our simple agree with such idea and consider French as a necessary tool for the acquisition and comprehension of modern techniques.

4.4.3 Section Three: Attitudes towards Arabization and Bilingualism

In this part, our questionings are to illustrate the attitudes of Tlemcenian people, including francophones and arabophones, towards the French language and the Arabization policy. In other words, this section is an attempt to shape the status of French in Algeria and how it is perceived by the Algerian population, whether it is accepted or rejected, or considered as a part of the linguistic repertoire of the Algerian speech community, or as a foreign language with a difficult past.

4.4.3.1 Language Duality in Algeria

Question n°1: Do you consider Algeria as a country?⁶

	Monolingual	Bilingual	No answer
N = 200	28	158	14
%	14%	79%	7%

Table 4.25 Percentages representing the respondents' opinions about language duality in Algeria

From the above table, we see that 79% of the informants consider Algeria as a bilingual country whereas a minority of 14% thinks that it is a monolingual.

These results reveal that informants are perfectly aware that French is omnipresent in the Algerian community, meanwhile they know that the Arabization policy is a total failure and constitutes a source of conflicts. This appears to be true if one observes some vital sectors such as the administration, the economy, the industry, which were inflicted by a partial Arabization where the staff does not master well neither MSA nor FR.

Other sectors like Higher Education and the field of scientific and technological research were not concerned by the process of Arabization such as medical, pharmaceutical, and paramedical studies, biology, architecture, chemistry, physics, industrial engineering, management and international trade where French as a medium of instruction and a means of communication is strongly used.

Moreover, the significant obvious extent where the Arabization policy has failed is represented in the linguistic practices of Algerian speakers in everyday life. These linguistic practices are always regarded as factors of linguistic competition compared to the process of Arabization. This latter, cause thus conflicts and constitutes a factor of exclusion of the Berber and French speaking people, which results consequently in social and political clashes.

4.4.3.2 Attitudes towards the Arabization Policy

The next question explores the reaction of people towards the process of Arabization and what they think about this policy as an attempt to examine our hypothesis which state that the radical and intolerant practices implemented by the authorities have led to its failure.

Question n°2: Do you think that Arabization is?

	Desirable	Imposed and abuse of power	Despising the minorities	Advantaging a single community	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	12	125	20	13	24	6
%	6%	62.5%	10%	6.5%	12%	3%

Table 4.26 Percentages of the respondents' attitudes towards Arabization

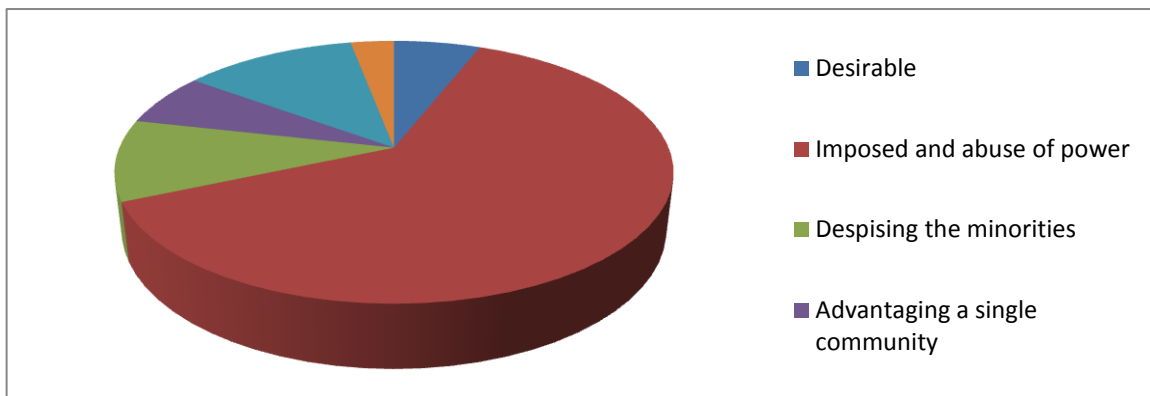


Fig. 4.23 Attitudes of Algerians to the process of Arabization

Among all the informants, we find 6% who think that Arabization is desirable, the majority which represents 62.5% say that it is imposed and abuse of power, 10% claim that it is despising the minorities, 6.5% report that this process is advantaging a single community and 12% have no comment on such question.

These results confirm our assumption since a great number of informants agree that the Arabization policy has been imposed to a population by means of laws passed without any approval from them as well as without taking into consideration the linguistic realities, that is, when the authorities decided to implement it, just after independence, they had not any directive to follow, they aimed at restoring the national language to the nation after having been denied for a long time.

Knowing that Rubin (1971)⁷ has suggested that the first stage in determining a language policy consists in “fact-finding” where the policy maker investigates the existing setting to ascertain what the problems are, and/or which kind of language policy to undertake and what will be the targets of plan. All parameters of society should be scrupulously scrutinized, whether they are social, cultural, political and/or economic. The planner should be aware of the social direction of each of these parameters; otherwise, it will be impossible to carry out any adequate plan. Language policies should be established only after a thorough fact-finding examination to avoid haphazard results. As an indication only, the linguistic policy in Algeria did not have any plan for the management of languages, on the contrary it was always based on ideologies, convictions, feelings, personal ideas and subjective decisions.

Since the Arabization policy did not have any scientific and/or sociolinguistic basis on the one hand, and since it lacked the above considerations on the other hand, this has automatically influenced its implementation process and drives it not to a sociolinguistically based policy, but rather to policy of marginalization, rejection, exclusion, assimilation and monlingualization which imposed the process of general and radical Arabization of all sectors of the state; whether they were political, economic, administrative, social, cultural or educational. Furthermore, Algeria did not give any importance, at any time of its history, to the local varieties although they constitute the natural and legitimate languages of the society.

Since the first years of independence until the present time, the Algerian authorities did not stop only at the rejection of the local varieties, but they went further by declaring war against the French language which was really anchored deep in everyday life of the Algerian community. This policy led and is still leading to serious problems of social, cultural, political, economic, ideological, educational and sociolinguistic nature. It should be noted that the Arabization process is an overall failure particularly at the social level in addition to the field of education and administration. Yet, no attempt is taking place to change this policy, all the governments from the first years of independence until now are preaching the same language policy which promotes only one language and contradicts with the other existing varieties in the Algerian community.

4.4.3.3 Affect of Total Arabization on the Progress of Algeria

In order to evaluate the extent to which total Arabization may bring forward the country to suffer from being confronted to one language, the following table gives some hints.

Question n°3: Do you think that the total Arabization will block the country's development and progress?

	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	90	58	38	14
%	45%	29%	19%	7%

Table 4.27 Percentages of the informants' opinions to the affect of total monolingualism on the advance of Algeria

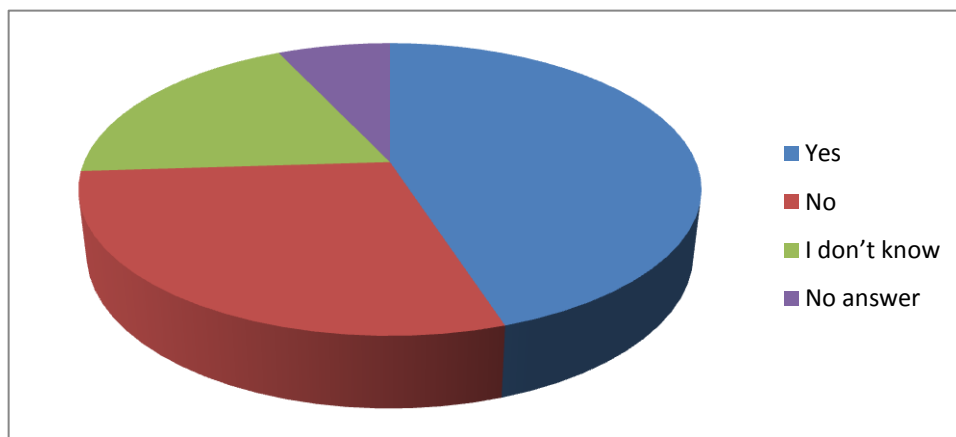


Fig. 4.24 Informants' views about the influence of Arabization on the country's progress

To this question, we obtain 45% of the informants who believe that the total Arabization will block the country's development and progress, whereas 29% did not agree with this idea and 19% choose not to answer.

We notice that total monolingualism is not accepted by the majority of the respondents, they are in favour of many languages coexisting in the country, that is, they see that Algeria should not be limited to one language, but rather it should be opened to other horizons in the aim of entering the modern world and trying to understand the world of modernity at least through language. In fact, world widely recognized that the natural and legitimate languages of any society, whether they are of regional, foreign or minority nature, play a crucial and paramount role in the transmission of cultural and social values

which are deeply anchored within the dynamics of any society in the world's diverse civilization and cultures. Thus, we think that Algeria should really find the equality of the functional distribution between all the languages of the country by reforming the constitution and the status of languages. In order to carry out cohabitation and linguistic symbiosis and thus solving the conflicts' problem, we believe that the government should promote a language policy that recognizes the linguistic plurality of the Algerian society in order to create a space for tolerance, openness and to benefit more the cultural and linguistic diversity of the country in various domains.

4.4.3.4 French as a Part of the Algerian Cultural Identity

Question n°4: Do you think that FR constitutes a component of the Algerian cultural identity?

	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	120	60	4	16
%	60%	30%	2%	8%

Table 4.28 Percentages of the informants' views about the extent to which FR is a section of the Algerian culture

The majority of the respondents 60% think that French is a part of the Algerian cultural identity, while 30% refuse such idea and answer with “no”, and 2% have no idea concerning this question. Here we deduce that a great number of informants know that French is a component of the Algerian linguistic repertoire for it has been present for a long time in the society and Algerians have been in contact with it the extent to which it becomes spoken in all the regions of the country. For instance, we can simply observe that its written form is omnipresent everywhere: on the plates indicating the professions or corporate names, the signposts, advertising inserts, and signs of trade (e.g: “Restaurant El Hanane”, “yaourt j'nina”) and establishment like “Banque El Baraka”, etc. a more detailed analysis of these last examples reveals that the Latin alphabet is used to transcribe Arabic words, and that the parallel inscription in Arabic characters is highlighted neither in its order of appearance, nor in its writing format. Furthermore, a new phenomenon is operating on the public inscriptions, the signs, the panels, the slogans, the symbols, the billboard whether luminous, carved, or engraved, which is the use of Arabic Alphabet to transcribe AA and French words like:

خلوا ولادكم يتعلموا !!!
 خلوا الطاشات لـ OMO !!!

Or like :

طاكسي فون
 TAXI PHONE

4.4.3.5 Influence of AA-FR Bilingualism on the Algerian Identity

Question n°5: Do you think that AA-FR bilingualism prevent the restoration of Algeria as an Arab-Islamic country?

	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	32	122	32	14
%	16%	61%	16%	7%

Table 4.29 Percentages of informants' opinions towards the affect of AA-FR bilingualism on the Algerian identity

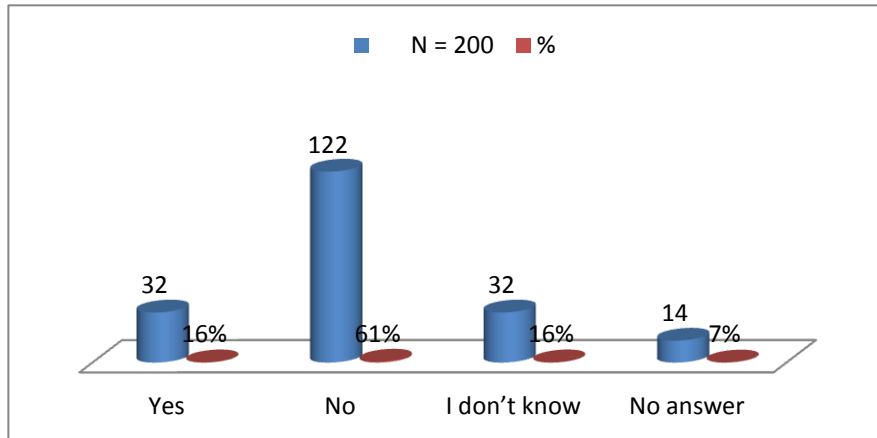


Fig. 4.25 Informants' views on the affect of bilingualism on the Algerian identity

The above table is devoted to the coexistence side by side of AA and FR and what can results from this situation for a Muslim country. Thus, only 16% think that AA-FR bilingualism will block the restoration of the Algerian identity as an Arabo-Islamic country, while 61% do not agree on this idea and 16% do not know what to answer.

The informants who answer with “no” do not believe that bilingualism will block the Algerian identity and that it is not a hindrance to Islam. Bilingualism cannot have a bad

affect on the religion of the country, on the country, although French was seen as the language of colonization, it remains present everywhere in the Algerian community and Algerians can benefit from its existence to enter the world of development particularly in the scientific and technological fields.

The next three questions aims rather to touch the informants' overall attitudes towards French in order to experiment the hypothesis that the French language owns a higher status and seen as the language of advancement, science and technology and as an open door on the Western world.

4.4.3.6 Attitudes towards Bilingualism

Question n°6: Do you want to improve your knowledge of FR?

	Yes	No	I don't know	No answer
N = 200	152	20	14	14
%	76%	10%	7%	7%

Table 4.30 Percentages of the respondents' views about the expansion of FR knowledge

To the above question we find 76% of the informants who answer positively to the improvement of their knowledge of French which we consider their reply as a positive attitude. Being a component of the Algerian linguistic repertoire, French is spoken everywhere, so people may think that it is important to expand its learning in order to be integrated in the Algerian society. A minority of 10% answers negatively, that is, they are not interested in the amelioration of their knowledge of French, and only 7% do not know what to reply.

The following table gives some hint on the attitudes of parents if they want their children to be bilinguals or monolinguals.

Question n°7: Do you want your children to be?

	Arabised	Bilinguals	No answer
N = 200	32	158	10
%	16%	79%	5%

Table 4.31 Percentages of the informants' will to bring up their children as bilinguals or monolinguals

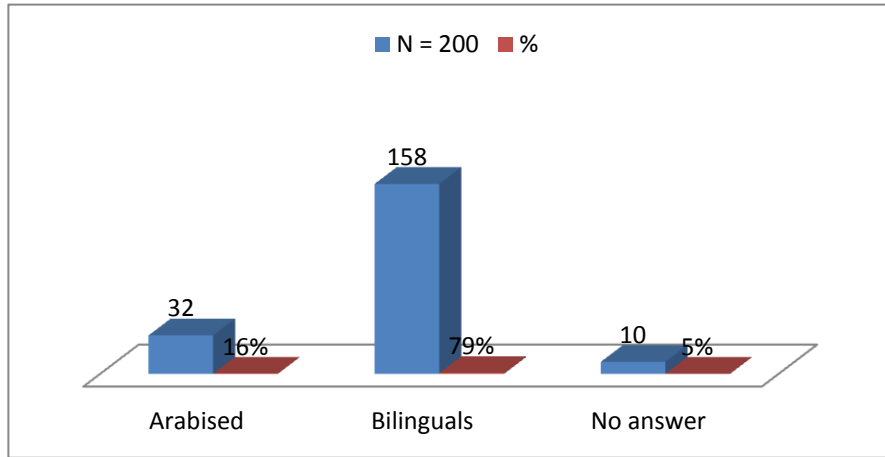


Fig. 4.26 Respondents' attitudes towards raising their children bilingually or monolingually

The scores of the above table show that, 79% of the informants prefer their children to be bilingual against a minority of 16% who wants their children to be arabised. We notice that the majority is in favour to bilingualism and this reflect their positive attitudes towards French. This reveals that people are conscious from the avails of raising their children bilingually, since being bilingual provides greater flexibility in thinking as it opens doors to other cultures, in addition, the knowledge of other languages increases the career opportunities. Hence, whether it is about developing our knowledge for personal reasons, or to add languages as a skill on our resume, there are many advantages that can come from knowing more than one language particularly in the context of cognitive and communication benefits as well as tolerance of other cultures.

Question n°8: Do you think that FR is?

	A language of colonial oppression	Prestigious and leads towards the development of the country	A foreign language	No answer
N = 200	17	135	32	14
%	8.5%	67.5%	16%	8%

Table 4.32 Percentages of the informants' attitudes towards the French language

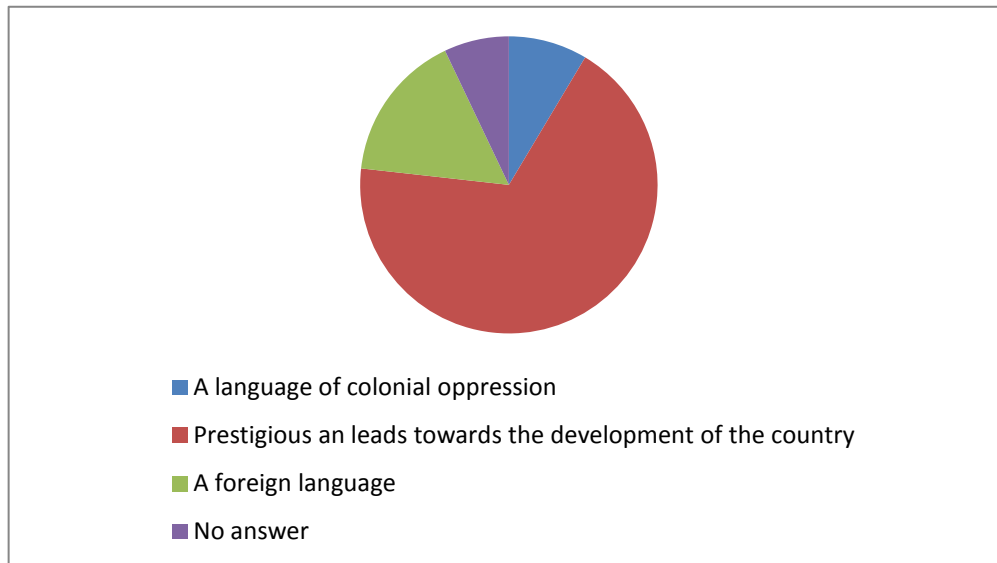


Fig. 4.27 Attitudes of informants towards French

We can see from the above scores that a great number of informants agree that French can bring about many benefits to the country and to enter the world of progress, against a category of 8.5% that refuses to accept French because it reminds them all the long period when Algerians were under the French colonization and the denial of Arabic language. We find also 16% of respondents who claim that French is a foreign language.

After what we have witnessed through the above three questions, we can say that our hypothesis is valid, since the majority of our informants favour the French language and only a minority considers it as a foreign language or against it because of its past.

By the end of the analysis of our questionnaire, we deduce that French enjoys extremely positive attitudes rather than negative ones. Concerning positive attitudes, it was already mentioned that the respondents consider knowing French and speaking it as a means to gain more prestige. The reason for them is that knowing French is valuable, prestigious, liberating from stereotypes and offers openness towards the west. Indeed, as shown in the question of the improvement of the French knowledge the majority answers positively because they see that good French brings social success and opposely, social success needs good French. What we may say is that French is familiar to anybody in the Algerian community for which the affect of this language has been so powerful that it is viewed as a second language, though its position as a foreign one on official grades.

Another positive attitude towards French is that it is regarded by many informants, particularly those who come from upwardly aristocratic class as a maker of social status and social differentiator. As revealed in the previous scores, it is easily noticeable that respondents who have a good economic situation use more French than others. In addition to that, French is felt to many domains better than Arabic. To the question “*Do you believe that French is the best language for the teaching of scientific and technological fields*” only 10% refuse such idea, but the majority (83.5%) claims that scientific and technical subjects are better handled in French rather than Arabic, that is, French is mostly seen as the language of science. Moreover, a great number of respondents agree to keep French as a language of education, research and communication. Of 200 informants, 81% think that the new reforms in the educational system concerning the teaching of French earlier in the primary school are crucial.

During these last years, we are attending a new phenomenon with the internet so that people communicate all around the world thanks to messages written generally in French or English but rarely in Arabic, even when speaking about the cellular, the SMS (Short Message Service) are also written in French or English. Sebaa (2002) says about the evolution of the French use the following:

*Speakers of French are perceptibly more numerous than forty years ago. Barely some thousands at independence, they are now nearly 9 million. [...] the independent national power and “Arab” power has done more for French than French school and administrations united during the colonial period.*⁸

Sebaa explains that French nowadays is more spoken than during the French colonization or with the implementation of the process of Arabization, and a lot of people adopt it for they see in it the language of future opportunities.

However the most negative attitude towards French is its association with colonization. Some people still remember what had happened to their relatives during the French occupation, this is why for those persons French is merely a tool. But although this latter negative view, they use French in their daily conversations. For them rejecting French is a proof that they are nationalistic and they grant a great attachment to their country.

4.5 Conclusion

From what we considered previously, we can conclude by saying that even if Algeria has been the target of many conquests, the biggest influence comes from the French one. The French colonization was responsible of different phenomena linked to the language contact of Arabic and French in interpersonal and intergroup relations. Algerians being in contact with French for a long period of time have been influenced in a way or another and entered a linguistic situation where both of Arabic and French were used; they live in bilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing that result from Algerian Arabic-French contact.

The linguistic reality shows that French has not lost its prestige because it is used in the social life of Algerians and as a means of communication. It has an important status in the Algerian speech community at different levels: economic, social and educational. French is largely used by intellectuals and also by youngsters. It is widely used in Algeria and fits a communicative task, that is why it cannot be considered as a foreign language because a foreign language is not practiced in a linguistic community and does not have social, political or educational functions. French is present everywhere in Algeria and although it has been politically viewed as a foreign language from a long time, it is still part of the Algerian linguistic profile because the impact of one century and thirty years of colonialism makes this language an element of the Algerian culture and history. In fact, French has the benefits of giving access to knowledge, and also to keep up with contemporary imperatives such as technology and science. It plays an important role to fill the wide gap that illiteracy imposed between the majority of Algerians and knowledge during colonization. The French language is seen as an open door for the Algerian society in order to keep up with the international scientific and technological development after more than a century delay.

Notes to Chapter 4

¹Mentioned in Downes (1998 :93)

²Taken from direction of the local administration of the Wilaya of Tlemcen

³Cited in Dendane (1993 : 34)

⁴Many individuals from our sample do not live exactly in Tlemcen City, but rather in approximate districts such as Ain Fezza, Ouchba, Tirni and Chetouane that are considered as rural areas.

⁵<http://webs.uvigo.es/ssl/actas2002/04/12.%20Mouhadjer%20Noureddine.pdf>: Mouhadjer, N (2002). " Algeria: an Intricate Bilingual and Diglossic Situation", assessed on September 18th, 2008 at 14:30.

⁶In fact, we expect to find higher results if the question dealt with the plurality of languages in Algeria, but as our interest is to test the status of French in the Algerian community we focus and restrict our inquiry to the dual relationship between FR and Arabic in Algeria.

⁷Cited in Fasold (1984: 252).

⁸Les parlants français sont sensiblement plus nombreux que ce qu'ils représentaient il y a une quarantaine d'année. A peine quelques milliers à l'indépendance, ils ne sont pas loin de neuf millions aujourd'hui. Le pouvoir national indépendant et "arabe" a plus fait pour la langue française que l'école et l'administration française réunies durant toute la période colonial. Sebaa (2002 :61). Translation is mine.

General Conclusion

The French occupation of Algeria was a turning point in the Algerian linguistic situation. In fact, from 1830, the French authorities had planned to occupy the country using the language as a means of invasion so that, they started including a new school system which would gradually replace the Algerian one. The colonial system managed fastly in dissolving the socio-economic structure of the Algerian society with negative results on the local instruction of Arabic. The evident purpose of the French invaders was to get a total domination of the country by de-arabising it and imposing the French schooling. This policy reduced the number of educated people and eventually led to a rapid spread of illiteracy as many schools and establishments were closed. Soon afterwards, many Algerians became well aware of the situation and thus started a new look to the French educational system, believing that learning French was the best and the only way to evolve socially.

After independence, the French language became an inseparable part of the Algerian linguistic situation, and people being in contact with it for a long period of time have been influenced in a way or another and entered a language situation where both French and Arabic were used. Then, in spite of the enormous efforts made by the Algerian political leaders who implemented the Arabisation policy as an attempt to re-establish MSA as the sole national and official language for breaking away with the French hegemony and for recovering the Arab-Islamic cultural identity and the national personality, a large number of Algerian citizens persist in using a big amount of French in daily communicative purposes, in all conceivable characteristics occurring in language contact situation: loanwords and expressions, adapted and non-adapted borrowings, multiple kinds of switching in the same expert of speech and the bilingual practice with reference to the situation, the subject and the function ascribed to the language. From the political point of view, French is considered as a foreign language, but sociolinguistically speaking, it should be viewed as a second language because it is largely regarded as a prestigious means of social interaction and development. In fact, in view of the languors in innovating technical terms in Arabic, French continues to be used in so many basic fields such as medicines, technology, economy and other different scientific fields, but indeed in designating plain

things like car spare portions or documents for folder. Presently, with the new reforms established at different levels of education, it is taught earlier in schools, and thus children get gradually in touch with it in their formal instruction. They also became familiar with it outside the school environment in a consistent way through the different Algerian as well as French programs on TV broadcasting; or it may get to their ears from the speech of their parents, even though often blended with AA. The deep exposure to this linguistic background, that consolidates the influence resulted by the French colonization, has inherently featured today's Algerian speech community by societal bilingualism, although the degree of bilinguality of each individual relies on a particular elements, among which the grade of instruction of members, their socio-economic status, and their motivation to learn foreign languages, as well as the overall positive attitudes towards the French language are the most crucial ones.

To end this basically sociolinguistic exploration, we can state that the cohabitation between AA and French really exists, for they constitute the codes mostly used in everyday speech interaction as opposed to MSA, which is also prestigious and seen as the symbol of Arab-Islamic identity, but in terms of daily use, it is actually never used spontaneously by any part of the country except for a few borrowing used in AA as a consequence of Arabisation or some greetings and common religious expressions (e.g. Inch Allah meaning god willing). Hence, French which co-exists in the Algerian society beside AA has owned a kind of prestige so that it is viewed as the language of advancement and modernity and as an open door to the western world. It has deeply seated in the Algerian society the extent to which it can be heard in daily speech interactions, and many people, particularly intellectuals, can hold a whole conversation in the French language spontaneously that it can be regarded as a second language. Indeed its written form can be seen everywhere in magazines, newspapers, books, shop-signs, and thus the characteristic of the Algerian community as bilingual.

Finally, the reality of the Algerian society is that it is pluralist, especially in its languages. So far this diversity has never been properly acknowledged in the context of a general will to co-exist with one another. We can thus benefit from the linguistic diversity in our country for, from the one hand, languages are not only a means of communication,

but indeed they are carrying cultures, civilization and human relations. On the other hand, the plurality of the language is a priceless source of richness for the countries, likewise for humanity. When a language disappears, it is a part of the most invaluable attributes of humanity which will die with it.

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Appendices

Appendix I -Questionnaire

- *The following questionnaire aims at collecting data about French use in the speech community of Tlemcen.*
- *You are kindly invited to answer these questions.*

- **Age:**

- **Sex:**

- **The socio-economic status:**

- **good**
- **Average**
- **bad**

- **Region :**

- **Level of instruction :**

SECTION A :

Put a cross in the box according to your choice:

1- Do you understand French?

Very well Well a little bit badly not at all

2- Do you write French?

Very well Well a little bit badly not at all

3- Do you read French?

Very well Well a little bit badly not at all

4- Do you speak French?

Very well Well a little bit badly not at all

5- Where have you started learning French?

At home at school elsewhere

6- Where do you speak French most?

At home at school or university with your friends with your superiors at work

7- How often do you use French in daily life communication?

Often sometimes rarely never

8- How often do you watch French channels?

Often sometimes rarely never

9- How often do you listen to broadcasting channels which give their programmes in French?

Often sometimes rarely never

SECTION B:

1- Do you mix between Algerian Arabic and French?

- yes, often yes, sometimes No, not so much No, never

2- When you mix Algerian Arabic and French, is it?

- Consciously unconsciously

3- Does French express better certain ideas than Algerian Arabic?

- Yes sometimes no

If yes why?

.....

4- When you code- switch between AA and FR, is that depending on?

- The addressee the subject the environment the situation

5- When you code-switch, is it for?

- Filling a gap you have a good competence in both codes showing your social status

6- What do you think about the new reform concerning the teaching of French in the second year instead of the fourth in the primary school?

- Useful but not essential important I don't know

7- The teaching in Algeria should it be?

- Monolingual bilingual multilingual

8- Do you believe that French is the best language for the teaching of

a- Scientific and technological matters: yes no I don't know

b- Literary matters: yes no I don't know

9- Would you choose French for the following institutions?

a- Justice: yes no I don't know

b- Administration: yes no I don't know

c- Education: yes no I don't know

d- The mass media: yes no I don't know

SECTION C:

1- Do you consider Algeria as a country?

Monolingual Bilingual

2- Do you think that Arabisation is?

Desirable imposed and abuse of power despising the minorities

Advantaging a single community I don't know

3- Do you think that the total Arabization will block the country's development and progress?

Yes no I don't know

4- Do you think that French constitutes an element of the Algerian cultural identity?

Yes no I don't know

5- Do you think that Arabic-French bilingualism prevents the identity's restoration of Algeria as an Arab-Islamic country?

Yes no I don't know

6- Do you want to improve your knowledge of French?

Yes no I don't know

7- Do you want your children to be?

Arabised bilingual

8- Do think that FR is?

A language of colonial oppression

Prestigious and leads towards the development of the country

A foreign language

Translation of the questionnaire in French

QUESTIONNAIRE

- *Ce questionnaire vise à recueillir des données sur l'usage du Français dans la communauté de Tlemcen.*
- *Vous êtes cordialement invités à répondre à ces questions*

- **Age :**
- **Sexe :**
- **La situation socio-économique :**
 - **bonne**
 - **moyenne**
 - **mauvaise**
- **Lieu de résidence :**
- **Niveau d'instruction :**

SECTION A :

Mettez une croix dans la case qui correspond à votre choix

- 1- Est-ce que vous comprenez le Français ?
 Très bien bien un peu mal pas du tout
- 2- Est-ce que vous écrivez le Français ?
 Très bien bien un peu mal pas du tout
- 3- Est-ce que vous lisez le Français ?
 Très bien bien un peu mal pas du tout
- 4- Est-ce que vous parlez le Français ?
 Très bien bien un peu mal pas du tout
- 5- Ou avez-vous commencé à apprendre le français ?
 A la maison à l'école ailleurs
- 6- Ou parlez-vous le Français le plus souvent ?
 A la maison a l'école ou l'université avec vos amis
 Avec vos supérieurs au travail
- 7- A quelle fréquence utilisez-vous le Français comme langue parlée de tous les jours ?
 Souvent parfois rarement jamais
- 8- A quelle fréquence regardez-vous les chaînes Françaises ?
 Souvent parfois rarement jamais
- 9- A quelle fréquence écoutez-vous les radiodiffusions qui émettent leurs programmes en langue Française?
 Souvent parfois rarement jamais

SECTION B :

10-Mélanger- vous entre le français et l'Arabe Algérien?

Oui, souvent Oui, parfois Non, pas tellement Non, pas du tout

11-Quand vous mélangez le français et l'Arabe Algérien est-ce que?

Consciemment inconsciemment

12-Le français exprime –t-il mieux certaines idées que l'Arabe Algérien?

Oui parfois non

Si oui pourquoi ?

.....

13-Quand vous alternez entre le français et l'Arabe Algérien, est-ce que cela dépend?

De destinataire du sujet d'environnement de la situation

14-Quand vous faites usage de l'alternance de codes (français et l'Arabe Algérien), c'est

pour :

Combler vos lacunes vous avez une bonne compétence dans les deux codes

Montrer votre condition sociale

15-Que pensez-vous de la nouvelle réforme au niveau de l'enseignement du français, de la 4^{eme} année à la 2^{eme} année primaire?

Utile mais pas indispensable importante je ne sais pas

16-L'enseignement en Algérie devrait-il être?

Monoligue bilingue multilingue

17-Croyez-vous que le français est la langue la mieux adaptée pour l'enseignement?

a- Des matières scientifiques et technologiques : oui non je ne sais pas

b- Des matières littéraires : oui non je ne sais pas

18-Choisiriez-vous le français pour les institutions suivantes?

a- La justice : oui non je ne sais pas

b- L'administration : oui non je ne sais pas

c- L'éducation : oui non je ne sais pas

d- Les mass médias : oui non je ne sais pas

SECTION C :

- 1- Considérez-vous l'Algérie comme un pays?
 Monolingue Bilingue
- 2- Pensez-vous que l'arabisation est ?
 Souhaitable imposée et abus de pouvoir méprise les minorités
 Favorisante une seule communauté je ne sais pas
- 3- Pensez-vous que l'arabisation totale bloquera le développement et le progrès du pays?
 Oui non je ne sais pas
- 4- Pensez-vous que le français constitue un élément de l'identité culturelle Algérienne?
 Oui non je ne sais pas
- 5- Pensez-vous que le bilinguisme arabe – français empêche la restauration de l'identité de l'Algérie en tant que pays arabe et musulman?
 Oui non je ne sais pas
- 6- Voulez-vous améliorer vos connaissances du français ?
 Oui non je ne sais pas
- 7- Voulez-vous que vos enfants soient?
 Arabisés bilingues
- 8- Pensez-vous que le français est?
 Une langue de l'oppression coloniale
 Prestigieux et mène au développement et progrès du pays
 Une langue étrangère

Translation of the questionnaire in Arabic

استبيان

- هذا الاستبيان يهدف إلى جمع البيانات حول استخدام اللغة الفرنسية في مدينة تلمسان.

- السن:
- مكان الإقامة:
- الجنس:
- المستوى التعليمي:
- الوضع الاجتماعي و الاقتصادي :

- جيد
- متوسط
- سيء

- يرجى منك الإجابة على هذه الأسئلة .

المرحلة أ:

ضع علامة X في الخانة المناسبة لاختيارك:

- 1- هل تفهم (ين) اللغة الفرنسية بطريقة؟
جيدة جدا جيدة متوسطة ضعيفة إطلاقا
- 2- هل تكتب (ين) اللغة الفرنسية بطريقة؟
جيدة جدا جيدة متوسطة ضعيفة إطلاقا
- 3- هل تقرأ (ين) اللغة الفرنسية بطريقة؟
جيدة جدا جيدة متوسطة ضعيفة إطلاقا
- 4- هل تتكلم (ين) باللغة الفرنسية بطريقة؟
جيدة جدا جيدة متوسطة ضعيفة إطلاقا
- 5- أين بدأت في تعلم اللغة الفرنسية؟
في المنزل في المدرسة في مكان آخر.
- 6- أين تتكلم (ين) باللغة الفرنسية غالبا؟
في البيت في المدرسة أو الجامعة برفقة أصدقائك في مكان العمل.
- 7- إلى أي مدى تستعمل (ين) اللغة الفرنسية للتواصل يوميا؟
دائما أحيانا نادرا إطلاقا
- 8- إلى أي مدى تشاهد (ين) القنوات الفرنسية؟
دائما أحيانا نادرا إطلاقا
- 9- إلى أي مدى تستمع (ين) إلى الإذاعات التي تبث برامجها باللغة الفرنسية؟
دائما أحيانا نادرا إطلاقا

المرحلة ب:

1- هل تداخل (ين) بين اللغة الفرنسية و العربية العامة؟

نعم دائما نعم أحيانا لا ليس كثيرا إطلاقا

2- قد يحصل هذا الخلط؟

عن قصد عن غير قصد (عفويا)

3- هل يمكن التعبير عن بعض الأفكار باللغة الفرنسية أفضل من التعبير عليها باللغة العربية العامية؟

نعم أحيانا لا

إذا نعم لماذا؟

4- هل يرجع التداخل إلى؟

المتلقي الموضوع البيئة الظرف (الوضعية)

5- عند استعمالك لهذا التداخل بين اللغتين, يكون الغرض؟

لتدارك النقائص تبيان تمكّنك من اللغتين تبيان مكانتك الاجتماعية.

6- ما رأيك في الإصلاح الجديد على مستوى تعليم اللغة الفرنسية من السنة الرابعة إلى السنة الثانية ابتدائي؟

نافع مفيد لكن ليس ضروري لا أدري

7- التعليم في الجزائر من الأفضل أن يكون؟

بلغة واحدة مزدوج اللغات متعدد اللغات

8- هل تعتقد (ين) أن اللغة الفرنسية هي أفضل لغة يمكن تبنيتها لتدريس؟

أ- المواد العلمية و التكنولوجية نعم لا لا أدري.

ب- المواد الأدبية نعم لا لا أدري.

9- هل تختار (ين) اللغة الفرنسية للمعاهد التالية؟

أ- القضاء: نعم لا لا أدري.

ب- الإدارة: نعم لا لا أدري.

ت- التعليم: نعم لا لا أدري.

ث- وسائل الإعلام: نعم لا لا أدري.

المرحلة ج:

- 1- هل تعتبر (بين) الجزائر كبلد؟
أحادي اللغة ثنائي اللغة
- 2- هل تعتقد (بين) أن التعريب؟
مرغوب فيه إجباري و مفروض من طرف السلطة الأقليات العرقية صالحة لمجتمع واحد فقط
 لا أدري
- 3- هل تعتقد (بين) أن التعريب المطلق يعترض طريق تقدم وتنمية البلد؟
نعم لا لا أدري.
- 4- هل تعتقد (بين) أن اللغة الفرنسية تشكل عنصرا في هوية الثقافة الجزائرية؟
نعم لا لا أدري.
- 5- هل تعتقد أن الازدواجية اللغوية عربي - فرنسي تعترض طريق إصلاح هوية الجزائر كبلد عربي و مسلم؟
نعم لا لا أدري.
- 6- هل تريد تحسين معلوماتك الفرنسية؟
نعم لا لا أدري.
- 7- هل تفضل (بين) أن يكون أبناؤك؟
معرّبون ذوي ازدواجية اللغة.
- 8- هل تعتقد ان اللغة الفرنسية هي؟
لغة القمع الاستعماري
مرموقة وتفتح مجال للتطور والتقدم
لغة اجنبية

Appendix II : Conversations

Conversation 1: AA/FR code-switching

Three students from the English department of the University of Tlemcen are talking about the lodge of the scholarship file.

A : *Bonjour, ça va ?*

B : *ça va bien l'Allah. elli d'f'nt d'd'sje de bourse ? ça y est délai rih ?rib j'km'l*

A : *?aluli rihum j'dd'f'nu f la cité nta' l mille.*

B: *m'i:t w'la pas encore?*

A : *mazal, jla t'bb n'm'iw n'rfdu juste le bus de la fac, j'o'tna exactement t'mma.*

B : *D'accord, be'ssa' t'belli 't'la le mardi prochain nkunu déjà Zebna les attestations de succès wn'nlulhum photocopie w'legalisation*

C : *ana mannZ'm n'df'nt d'd'sje puisque ma'abbu' f'ErZuli l'extrait de role ta' mama*

B : *'la' ?*

C : *paske papa 'am'l 'liha le registre de commerce*

B : *et puis après ! kaj'n b'zza:f les cas lli kif'k w'normal, ou est le problème ?*

C : *lla b'ssa' 'ErZulu 'liha une grand somme des impôts et puisque il n'a pas été regulier ma'd' j'Er'l'ç ce qui fait b'aw toujours jsaluh wzi:d il y a un délai de payment ki jfutu j'nlulu pénalité de retard whadik la somme b'at 'i tzi:d ...*

B : *?e:h*

A : *donc ki' t'nm'l ! makan' une autre solution pour l'avoir ?*

C : *ma'ndi ma'nm'l ça fait deux ans que je l'ai pas eu et même mes sœurs elles ont fait quatre ans fla fac et elles n'ont pas bénéficié ...*

(Non-adapted French is in italics)

Here is a somewhat literal translation of the conversation:

A: hello, are you alright?

B: fine, thanks God. Tell me have you put down the grant file? The deadline is about to finish.

A: they told me that they are putting the files in the city of "a thousand".

B: have you gone or not yet?

A: not yet, if you want we go together by bus. It carries us exactly there.

B: o.k., at that time we would already have got the success certificate photocopied and legalised.

C: for me, I cannot put down the grant file because they refused to provide me with the no-debt excerpt of my mother.

B: why?

C: because the registry of commerce is on her name.

B: but many people have the same problem and they get their grants.

C: no, we have to pay a sum of money plus the sum of being late.

B: yeah.

A: and now what will you do? Is there another solution?

C: I have nothing to do, for two years I got nothing even my sisters did not get it.

Conversation 2: AA/FR code-switching and code-mixing

Two colleagues in their forties are speaking about the rehabilitation of the Algerian national team into the 2010 World Cup.

A : ... *les algeriens vont se régaler* h↔d ↔l Ṣam, *malgré* k↔Φla taṢ lṢid b↔ṣṣa□ gal↔k lmuhim rba□na ↔l *match*

B : *c'est vrai deux joies d'une pierre de coups*, b↔ṣṣa□ j↔stahlu wellah ↔l Ṣadi:m f↔rr□una.

A : wah, *surtout* ki d↔rbuhum f maṣ↔r Σ↔ft □na *comment nous les avons accueillis*

B : hadik hia rabbi kan mṣ↔ṭ↔rha kima hak, hakka tbelli *c'est mieux* kun rba□na f maṣ↔r kanu j↔θoutluhum kima *les éliminatoires* taṢla *coupe du monde du quatre vingt deux* ṣranna *le même problème* mṢa l↔ṣriji:n *ils ont dit que Béloumi* ddr↔b wa□↔d *alors que jusqu'à présent personne ne sait ...* Φi rabbi st↔r wek dd↔rbu *les joueurs w les supporters* t↔mma

A : Σuf *les égyptiens n'acceptent pas la défaite sur leur terrain et même les algeriens ont pris leur précaution cette fois ci*, ddew↔lhum m↔nna Φi ṣ□ab ↔ZZidu ...

A : b↔ṣṣa□ *les joueurs* rahum Ξajfi:n *et au meme temps ils se préparent d'ailleurs les trois équipes* lli ṭ↔□na mṢahum *sont très fort par exemple la slovinie on n'a jamais joué avec eux* wman↔ṢṢ↔rfuΣ llaṢb nta□□a, *l'anglettere* tani raha Ξejfa m↔nna paske jamais lṢ↔bnalha wmarahaΣṢarfa llaṢb kiΣ jdur, galhalhum h↔d↔K *le joueur* ta□□um *dix Ronney w Gerard* ↔l *quatre galu l'équipe la plus dangereuse dans l'ensemble c'est l'algerie* paske maj↔ṢṢ↔rfuΣ *leur tac-tic de jeux*

B : *l'anglettere* gaṢ *les joueurs* nta□□a *sont des professionnels* makanΣ wa□↔d φ↔λṢ↔β *féquipe* ṣΦera, *Rooney Manchester, Lampard Chelsea, Gerard Liverpool, Beckham al Milan*

A : *Beckham* j↔lṢ↔β ! *il est agé maintenant* rah Ṣ↔nd↔h *entre trente cinq et quarante ans*

B : *Beckham* rah baΦi j↔λṢ↔β b↔ṣṣa□ *l'entraîneur* ṢlaΣ hadak *le défenseur Maldini* lli j↔λṢ↔β mṢa ↔l *Milan* m↔ΣΣi *quarante et un ans* Ṣada ΞreZ

(Non-adapted French is in italics)

Here is an approximate translation of the conversation:

A: ...the Algerians will enjoy so much despite that everything is expensive on the occasion of l'aid, they say that the most important is that they won the match.

B: yes of course, two joys at the same time. They deserve it indeed.

A: yes, especially when they were attacked in Egypt, have you seen how they were welcomed here in Algeria, a fantastic welcome.

B: but thanks God we lost the match, likewise our players would be killed the same as what happened in eighty two in the World cup, it was the same problem. They said that Belloumi hit someone there, but no one knows exactly what happened.

A: the Egyptians did not accept loss on their ground but even the Algerians were ready and quite attentive.

A: the players are afraid, the three groups we will play with them are strong, for example Slovenia we had never played with it. England too is afraid we had never faced it, two of its players Rooney and Gerard claim that Algeria is dangerous.

B: All the English players are very professional, they all play in famous clubs, Rooney Manchester, Lampard Chelsea, Gerard Liverpool, Beckham al Milan

A: Beckham, he is older than 35 old.

B: he wants to play but the coachwhy Maldini who plays in Milan, after he got 41 old then he dismissed.

Conversation 3: Code-mixing

Two new teachers of middle school in their twenties are talking about the participation in a school strike.

A : ... *je pense kaj↔n une grève, ?alu le dix huit octobre t↔bda*

B : w↔□na *les nouveaux tani concernés ?!*

A : ΣΣερα Εαϣϣna *dabord nϣa?ϣiw les membres de syndicat* lli rena mΣerki:n mϣahum

B : ana *je ne suis pas d'accord* mans↔njiΣ ... wlukan jϣiftunna *des rapports d'avertissement* mlacademie surtout rena ϣad *des stagiaires* wella *ça se peut* jr↔ddona *des contre actuels* wtein↔k smaϣt □a lϣam ϣ↔mlu □a lw↔□din *dégradation de poste* kaj↔n lli kanu f CEM wr↔dduhum l↔l *primaire*.

A : ?iwa b↔ϣda : , tina Ε↔wafa *à ce point !* ϣlaΣ *les anciens* lli ?b↔lna ?asm ϣamlulhum ! hada *c'est notre droit* ϣa?ϣi *l'intendant* jla t□ab huwa ϣ↔ndu *plus d'informations* ϣla had l↔□waj↔Z wkan t?ullu jeϣtik □a *le livre* Σbeb rih ϣandu taϣ ↔tteΣriϣ ↔l *madrasi* ?rah Φi *pour avoir une idée...* taϣr↔f ana *la seule chose* lli reni nΕ↔m↔m fiha *c'est que* n↔b?aw *on retard* f↔l *programme* surtout avec les *quatrièmes années* ϣandhum *examen* wΕαϣϣna nk↔mlulhum ?b↔l *Mai*

B : je:h □↔ta ana ϣ↔ndi *deux classes de quatrièmes années*

A : ha??a smeϣt *l'inspecteur* nhar lli ϣm↔lna *la journée d'étude*, ?al↔nna duk n↔bda nϣift↔lkum *les convocations* taϣ↔l CAPEF wϣa *se peut* la date te□↔nna fhad *la periode*

B : ϣlaΣ?utl↔k Εϣena mans↔njiwΣ, lukan rena *titulaire* belek *mais* ... Εαϣϣna nkunu *a jour* dans notre travail Σ↔ft Φi *la paprace* *c'est très fatigant* ...

(Non-adapted French is in italics)

Here is a somewhat literal translation of the conversation:

A: I think there would be a strike, they say the eighteenth of October.

B: are we concerned with?

A: I do not know but first we have to ask the association we belong to.

B: me, I do not agree I do not sign...may be the academic issues reports against us and we are yet new, I have heard that once it happened, those who were in the CEM were transmitted to the primary schools.

A: really? You are so afraid, why to do so it is our rights ask the auditor who has more information on the domain, if you ask him he will give you a nice book on “ \leftrightarrow teΣriΣ \leftrightarrow l madrasi” to get some ideas....for me one thing is disturbing me is to be late in the programme especially for the fourth year who are going to pass the exam. We have to finish the programme before May.

B: yeah, me too I have two classes of fourth year.

A: when we had the journey of study with the inspector, he told us he will convocate us to CAPEF and it might be in the same period.

B: for that reason I told you we should not agree, we have to be ready and responsible in our work.

Conversation 4: French use in AA speech

A doctor and his friend (the two men are educated and of 62 and above) are speaking about a given disease and the health system in Algeria.

A : galu elle arrive de l'amérique latine

B : oh ! tu sais ... avec ces histoires de grippe il faut se méfier de la propagande qui l'entoure, effectivement toutes les gripes ont un caractère épidémique et endémique, b↔ssa□, quant on veut vendre un produit à l'échelle planétaire il n'y a pas mieux que la propagande et dans ce cas précis les laboratoires multi-national ont tellement produit ce ... fameux vaccin contre le virus ... kismu H1n1 ... qui heureusement pour la population mondiale la propagation de cette maladie n'a pas été avérée et pour cela il fallait écoulé les quantités énormes de vaccins produits et donc il n'y a pas mieux que la publicité pour vendre ces vaccins

A : w↔na kif↔Σ ! notre pays est il a l'abri de cette grippe ?

B : ah ! ouais, notre pays dans le domaine de la santé, il est à envié, w↔nzid↔k □aZa kima gal je te fais une révélation, le système de santé en Algérie est parmi les meilleurs du monde. S↔δnna des spécialistes qui sont de hauts niveaux et les moyens matériels que l'état a investi dans ce domaine sont énormes, wman↔nσαωΣ tani que la médecine est toujours gratuite dans notre pays.

A : et oui l□amdullah mais au niveau des structure de la santé rana nΣufu un laisser aller flagrant et puis même les médecins ne sont pas contents de la qualité des prestations des structures sanitaires publiques !

B : Σ□:f effectivement la qualité des prestations et en deça de l'attente des médecins traitants, mais cela est du de la demande très forte des soins au niveau des structures sanitaires publiques qui manquent toujours de personnel médical et paramédical performants S↔laΣ paske bat↔l wtani KunnZiw nΣufu les structures de santé privée pratiquent des prix exorbitants et qui ne sont pas a la portée de tout le monde ...

(Non-adapted French is in italics)

Here is an approximate translation of the conversation:

A:they said it comes from Latin American.

B: oh! you know... with these histories of flu it is necessary to mistrust of the propaganda which surrounds it, in fact all flus have an epidemic and endemic character, but as they want to sell a product on the global scale there is not better than the propaganda and in this precise case the multi - national laboratories produce this so... famous vaccine against the virus...called H1n1 ... which fortunately for the world population the propagation of this illness didn't prove and for it was necessary to dispose the enormous quantities of vaccines products and therefore there is not better than the advertisement to sell these vaccines.

A: are we concerned with this flu?

B: ah, our country is flourished in health domain, and the health system here is among the best ones in the world. There are numerous specialists with high qualification and experience, in addition to the developed materials that the state has invested in this domain. As far as the medicine everything is free of charge.

A: yes, thanks God, but concerning structures there is somewhat a lack, and even the doctors are not satisfied with its qualities.

B: this lack is due to the great number of demands in the field, and because it is for nothing to be paid, but those in the private sector there is an important consideration although it is not accessible for all people.

Conversation 5: Borrowing

A woman has a chat with her neighbour about the registration of her son in the pre-schooling and the heavy programmes in the new educational system.

A : bΦi:t ndeΞEleh l↔l□adana w↔llikul Zani bNid bezza:f

B: j↔mΣi mN'a Ξt↔h, masana raha t↔qra ?

A: raha f ttalta b↔şsa□ j↔ΦΦebnuni *surtout* f↔lm↔Σta majşibuΣ↔nneql, jwa gult □↔tta j↔dΞul *direct* lN'am ZZay.

B: ↔tta□diri rah ?iZbari d↔rw↔k, bessif Nlikum ↔dd↔Eluh

A: maN↔ndahΣ ll'age şΦi:r Nand↔h Φi rabN snin wrabN Σh□r

B: ?e:h şa□□a

A: zaduhum □ta bduk ↔l krat↔b tqal merrat b↔nti wellah matqad t↔rfdah wΣetti Σ□el m↔n cahier wΣ□el m↔n ktab ...

B : wah ↔l barnam↔Z rah *chargé* Nlihum bezza:f

A : □na makunnaΣ hak kunna n↔mΣu Φi bzuZ stiluja:t f şşak wnormal liah maqrinaΣ, wΣetti Naw↔d ↔lqanun taN↔ttablia:t lli zaduh Ξ↔şş ↔lΞuΞi l↔lbnat wl↔zr↔g l↔lwlad ...

B : Nand↔k ↔l □aq waqtna kan şN'ib b↔şsa□ fi:h ↔l baraka, whuma *meme* ↔lmustawa ta□□um rah Φi jzid jeddN'a:f *par raport* lina ...

(Non-adapted French is in italics)

Here is a somewhat literal translation of the conversation:

A: I wanted to enroll him in the day nursery and the school is very far.

B: he goes with his sister, at what year is she?

A: she is at the third year but they disturb me a lot especially in winter there is no traffic, so I let him till next year.

B: the pre-schooling is important you have to enroll him there.

A: he is only four years and four months.

B: oh, o.k.

A: their school bags are heavier with copybooks and books, it is so tiring.

B: yes the programme too is very loaded.

A: for us, we were not as such, we studied with two pens in the bag, the pinafors also were restricted to the pink and blue colours.

B: yes, our period was better everything was easy.

الملخص باللغة العربية

ينصب اهتمام هذه الرسالة بصفة عامة حول الوضع الاجتماعي اللغوي في الجزائر وتعالج بصفة خاصة قضية اللغة الفرنسية و أهميتها في مختلف المجالات في المجتمع الجزائري. في الواقع على الرغم من أن الحكومة

الجزائرية عملت على ترقية أحادية اللغة من خلال سياسة التعريب ، إلا انه لا تزال اللغة الفرنسية لديها مكانة متميزة في المجتمع الجزائري. الغرض من هذا العمل هو شرح العلاقة المزدوجة بين العامية الجزائرية والفرنسية، واختبار درجة الكفاءة في الثنائية اللغوية الجزائرية وعلاقتها بالعوامل الاجتماعية والثقافية. كما نتطرق هذه الدراسة إلى مواقف و آراء الجزائريين تجاه اللغة الفرنسية.

كلمات مفتاحية: سياسة التعريب، المواقف، الثنائية اللغوية، درجة الكفاءة، المجالات، أحادية اللغة، العوامل الاجتماعية والثقافية.

Résumé en Français

Le présent travail est centré sur la situation sociolinguistique par rapport la langue française en Algérie et ainsi que l'importance du français dans des plusieurs domaines dans la communauté algérienne. En fait, bien que le gouvernement algérien a encouragé le monolinguisme à travers la politique de l'arabisation, il a été prouvé que le français a encore une place cruciale dans la société algérienne. Le but de ce travail explique le double rapport entre l'arabe Algérien et la langue française, et teste le degré de compétence dans le bilinguisme algérien par rapport aux facteurs socio - culturelles. Les attitudes des Algériens envers le français sont aussi abordées dans cette étude.

Mots Clés: politique de l'arabisation, attitudes, bilinguisme, degré de compétence, domaines, monolinguisme, facteurs socioculturelles.

Summary in English

The present research work revolves around the sociolinguistic situation in relation to the French language in Algeria. The emphasis is on the significance of French in various domains in the Algerian speech community. In fact, although the Algerian government has promoted monolingualism through the Arabization policy, it has been proved that French still has a crucial position in the Algerian society. This work aims at explaining the dual relationship between Algerian Arabic and French, and to test the degree of competence in Algerian bilingualism in relation to socio-cultural factors. The attitudes of Algerians towards French are also touched upon in this study.

Key Words: Arabization policy, Attitudes, Bilingualism, Degree of competence, Domains, Monolingualism, Socio-cultural factors.