DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA

MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

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A Potential Contribution of Sociolinguistics to a Rational Language Policy in Algeria

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my parents whose wisdom allowed me to adopt a multicultural approach to facts of life, associating tradition and modernity.

I also dedicate this thesis to my husband and my children Hani and Sami who fill my life with joy, without forgetting my mother -in- law who passed away recently and my father-in-law who, like all of us, has been deeply affected.

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This work was initiated under the guidance of Pr. Ali BOUAMRANE who left us for a Better World in 2011. I would like to express my gratitude to his memory.

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Foreword

Due to external and internal causes all along its history, Algeria faces today a rather complex linguistic situation characterized by all what language contact can engender: diglossia, code switching, bilingualism, etc.

Among the external causes a 130-year French colonial occupation which ended in 1962 but left chaotic consequences at all levels: social, economic, cultural, and linguistic ones.

Among the internal causes a post colonial urgent, yet sincere, desire to recover the Algerian personality but unfortunately, with dogmatic attitudes overcoming commonsense.

The present situation is very interesting for the local linguists. The problem is: Do they conceive their research on one or several aspects of the situation as a merely descriptive approach, or do they feel involved in the contribution, even if it is very modest, to the solution of one of the problems which concern the welfare of the coming generations?

Abbreviations

AA	Algerian Arabic
AD	Anno Domini
ALD	Algerian Dinar
BC	Before Christ
CA	Classical Arabic
CRASC	Centre de Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle
CRF	Centre Régional de Formation des Cadres de l'Education
ENS	Ecole Normale Supérieure
F	French
FL	Foreign Language
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale
GNP	Gross National Product
ITE	Institut de Technologie de l'Education
MEN	Ministère de l'Education Nationale
MEPS	Ministère des Enseignements Primaire et Secondaire
MESRS	Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
MT	Mother Tongue
PM	Prime Minister
SL	Second Language
USTO	Université des Sciences et de la Technologie d'Oran
VSNA	Volontaire du Service National en Algérie
WWII	Second World War

Phonetic Symbols of Algerian Dialectal Arabic

1. Consonants

[b]	[bħar]	sea
[f]	[fhəm]	he understood
[m]	[mra:]	a woman
[w]	[waqt]	time
[t]	[tra:b]	soil
[d]	[dwa]	medecines
[θ]	[θu:m]	garlic
[ð]	[ðhəb]	gold
[t.]	[t.abla]	table
[d.]	[d.aw]	light
[n]	[wi:n]	where
[r]	[rabbi]	God
[l]	[məlħ]	salt
[s]	[si:f]	sword
[s.]	[s.habi]	my friends
[z]	[zu□]	two
[d□]	[ra:d□əl]	man
[□]	[□a]	he came
[□]	[□ira]	girl
[j]	[jəd]	hand
[k]	[kifkif]	the same
[g]	[gæl]	he said
[x]	[nexru□]	I go out
[□]	[□ali]	expensive
[h]	[huwwa]	he

[ħ]	[ħel]	he opened
[□]	[□ajn]	eye
[q]	[qahwa]	coffee
[□]	[qur□æn]	the Koran

2. Vowels

a. Short vowels

[a]	[sma]	sky
[æ]	[æna]	I (pronoun)
[ə]	[ktəb]	he wrote
[u]	[huwwa]	he
[□]	[x□dra]	vegetables
[i]	[wəldi]	my son
[□]	[h□fra]	hole

b. Long vowels

[a:]	[ba:t.əl]	free (no charge)
[æ:]	[mæ:z æ:l]	not yet
[u:]	[hu:t]	fish
[□:]	[t.□:l]	length
[i:]	[smi:n]	fat (adjective)

c. French vowels used

[□̃]	[t□̃t]	tante (aunt)
[□̃]	[b□̃]	bon (good)
[ø]	[fø]	feu (fire)

[□]	[v□r]	verre (glass)
[u]	[ku]	cou (neck)
[y]	[ry]	rue (street)

Table of contents

Dedication.....I

Acknowledgments.....II

Foreword.....III

Abbreviations.....IV

List of phonetic symbols.....V

Table of contents.....VIII

Abstract.....XII

Abstract in Arabic.....XIII

Abstract in French.....XV

General introduction.....1

Chapter 1: A review of the existing literature on the subject.....4

1.1. During the Colonial Period.....5

1.2. Independent Algeria.....6

1.2.1. Political figures.....6

1.2.2. Scholars' works.....7

1.3. Notes for chapter 1.....10

Chapter 2: A Survey of the History of Algeria.....12

2.1. Introduction.....13

2.2. Algeria in Antiquity.....13

2.2.1. The Phoenician Period.....14

2.2.2. The Roman Period.....15

2.2.3. The Vandals and the Byzantine.....15

2.3. Algeria in the Middle Ages.....16

2.3.1. The Arab Conquest.....16

2.3.2. Arabization.....17

2.3.3. The European Renaissance Period.....17

2.4. The Modern Era.....18

2.4.1. The Ottoman influence.....18

2.4.2. The French Colonial Period 18

2.5. Conclusion.....19

2.6. Notes for chapter 2 20

Chapter 3: A Survey of the evolution of independent Algeria in the social

economic, cultural and political fields and the impact on language :

diglossia, code switching, bilingualism.....21

3.1. Introduction.....22

3.2. Political decisions and their impact in various areas.....22

3.2.1. The changes in the Algerian society in the second half of the twentieth century.....23

3.2.2. The changes in the access to the mass media in the past fifty years.....24

3.2.2.1. The written press.....24

3.2.2.2. The audio visual press.....25

3.3. Samples of linguistic changes due to social and economic factors after the independence..26

3.3.1. Changes in terms referring to housing.....26

3.3.2. Changes in terms referring to food.....26

3.3.3. Changes in terms referring to jobs.....27

3.3.4. Changes in terms referring to clothing.....28

3.4. On bilingualism, diglossia, code switching and code mixing.....28

3.4.1. What else on bilingualism, diglossia, code switching and code mixing?.....30

3.5. Conclusion.....32

3.6. Notes for chapter 3.....34

Chapter 4: The Algerian educational system and its role in the shaping of the linguistic evolution so far.....35

4.1. Introduction.....36

4.2. The “everlasting” challenges the Algerian school faces.....37

4.2.1. The challenges in terms of quantity.....37

4.2.1.1. The quantitative challenges in figures.....38

4.2.2. The challenges in terms of quality.....39

4.3. A survey of the language policy in the educational system.....39

4.3.1. The overwhelming role of ideology in the linguistic choices and the consequences on the society.....40

4.3.2. The lack of pragmatic considerations in the educational system: Language is only a tool, the aim is the welfare of the nation.....41

4.4. Conclusion.....43

4.5. Notes for chapter 4.....44

Chapter 5: Proposals for a rational language policy in Algeria.....45

5.1. Introduction.....46

5.2. The Algerian linguistic situation: A concern at all levels of society 46

5.2.1. Contributions to the debate on language.....47

5.3. Past and present attempts for improvement.....49

5.3.1. The situation during the first decades.....49

5.3.2. The present situation.....50

5.4. The challenges today 51

5.4.1. Sociolinguistics and language teaching.....51

5.5. Proposals.....52

5.5.1. Proposals for the educational system.....52

5.5.1.1. On conceptual strategies.....52

5.5.1.2. Organizational considerations.....52

5.5.1.3. On interdisciplinarity.....53

5.6. The language policy.....53

5.6.1. Coherence and cohesion.....54

5.6.2. Partners in the language policy.....55

5.7. Conclusion.....55

5.8. Notes for chapter 5.....57

General Conclusion.....58

Epilogue.....63

Notes on the Questionnaire.....64

Part 1.....65

Part 2.....66

Analysis of the informants' choices.....68

Section 1.....68

Section 2.....72

Conclusion……..73

Arabic questionnaire sample……..…....75

French questionnaire sample……...82

Selected bibliography.....88

Selected webliography.....90

Appendixes 91

Appendix 1: Chart of Lybic alphabet.....92

Appendix 2: Map of Phoenician Settlements along the Algerian coast.....93

Appendix 3: Chart indicating increase in students' numbers.....94

Appendix 4: Budget for education 1965 – 1970.....95

Appendix 5: Budget for education 1971 – 1975.....96

Appendix 6 to 9: Samples of exam papers in the 1960's.....97

Appendix 10: 2010 ranking of newspapers in Africa.....102

Appendix 11: Sample of Algiers vernacular.....103

Appendix 12: Receipt.....104

Abstract

This work was undertaken within a project in sociolinguistics on language planning. Our main motivation for the choice of this topic came from our observation of the Algerian linguistic environment characterized by a lack of coherence at different levels and by the incapacity of the educational system, confronted with everlasting challenges, mainly in terms of quantity, to find solutions or at least to help improve a rather complex linguistic situation.

Our major concern is: To what extent can the Algerian school, after having set valid reforms, stemming from our reality and our needs, not imported ones, and in partnership with prominent members of the civil society, become the provider of a tool of communication which can reduce the tensions and hopefully put an end to conflictual attitudes as regards linguistic choices?

This work is organized in five chapters with a questionnaire.

Chapter one entitled "A Review of the Existing Literature on the Subject" paves the way to the existing mood on linguistic matters characterized by the ongoing conflictual positions.

Chapter two is an attempt to see how the different periods of the history of Algeria from Antiquity to the Modern Era have contributed to the shaping of post independence linguistic situation.

Chapter three focuses the impact of post independence political decisions affecting the social, economic, cultural order of the country at a linguistic level.

Chapter four concerns mainly the Educational system which, in spite of the huge sums of money allocated to this sector, proves not to be efficient enough after more than fifty years of sovereignty in preparing the students, as far as the mastery of language is concerned, to face the challenges of the Modern Era.

Chapter five is a modest attempt to propose hints for an improvement of the situation, involving linguists, educationalists, and all those concerned with language policy and placing the national interest above all.

The questionnaire, though the data collected, for practical reasons, have been limited to the Oran area, has been a valid tool to enlighten us on the linguistic situation of the average citizen.

To some extent, the informants' responses have confirmed our expectations on language matters.

ملخـــــص

أجري هذا العمل كجزء من مشروع في اللغويات الاجتماعية على التخطيط اللغوي، جاء الدافع الرئيسي لاختيار هذا الموضوع من ملاحظة محيطنا اللغوي الذي يتميز بعدم الاتساق على مختلف المستويات، و عدم قدرة النظام التعليمي معززة بالتحديات التي لا تزال قائمة، و لاسيما من حيث الكمية، لإيجاد حلول تساعد على تحسين إلى حد ما حالة الفوضى اللغوية.

كان شاغلنا الرئيسي هو: إلى أي مدى تستطيع المدرسة الجزائرية أن تقوم بإصلاحات جادة مستوحاة من واقعنا و احتياجاتنا، و ليس تلك المستوردة في إطار شراكة مع أعضاء هامة من المجتمع المدني الذي يصبح المورد لأداة اتصال تخفف حدة التوتر ونأمل وضع حد لمواقف متضاربة حول خيارات اللغة.

يتم تنظيم هذا العمل في خمسة فصول.

الفصل الأول معنون "استعراض الأدبيات الموجودة حول هذا الموضوع" كما يمهد الطريق لحالة ذهنية على الحقائق اللغوية مميزة بمواقف الصراع المستمر.

الفصل الثاني فهو محاولة كيف يمكن معرفة الفترات المختلفة من تاريخ الجزائر من العصور القديمة و حتى العصر الحديث التي ساعدت في تشكيل الوضع اللغوي بعد الاستقلال.

الفصل الثالث فيركز على تأثير القرارات السياسية على مرحلة ما بعد الاستقلال و التي أثرت على النظام الاجتماعي و الاقتصادي و الثقافي على الصعيد اللغوي.

الفصل الرابع يتعلق أساسا بنظام التعليم على الرغم من المبالغ الضخمة المستثمرة في القطاع و لا تزال غير فعالة بعد مرور أكثر من خمسين عاما من السيادة في إعداد الطلبة فيما يتعلق بالإتقان اللغوي لمواجهة تحديات العصر الحديث.

الفصل الخامس فهو محاولة متواضعة لتقديم بعض الاقتراحات لتحسين الوضع بمشاركة اللغويين و المربيين و جميع المعنيين بالسياسة اللغوية، و وضع المصلحة الوطنية فوق كل اعتبار.

على الرغم من المعلومات المحدودة المتحصلة في الاستجواب من حقائق نظرية في منطقة وهران، كانت وسيلة فعالة في تنويرنا فيما يخص الواقع اللغوي للفرد المتوسط. بعد ملاحظة أجوبة المعنيين تأكد من أن نضرتنا للواقع اللغوي متوقف عند نفس النتيجة.

Résumé

Ce travail a été entrepris dans le cadre d'un projet en sociolinguistique, sur la planification linguistique.

Notre principale motivation pour le choix de ce thème nous est venue de l'observation de notre environnement linguistique, caractérisé par un manque de cohérence à différents niveaux et par l'incapacité du système éducatif, confronté à des défis qui perdurent, surtout en termes de quantité, à trouver des solutions, ou au moins à aider à améliorer une situation linguistique plutôt chaotique.

Notre principal souci est : Dans quelle mesure l'Ecole algérienne peut-elle, après avoir entrepris de sérieuses réformes, inspirées de notre réalité et de nos besoins, pas celles importées, et en partenariat avec des membres importants de la société civile, devenir le fournisseur d'un outil de communication qui peut réduire les tensions et, espérons le, mettre fin à des attitudes conflictuelles quant aux choix linguistiques ?

Ce travail est organisé en cinq chapitres avec un questionnaire.

Le premier chapitre intitulé "Revue de la littérature existante sur le sujet", prépare le terrain à l'état d'esprit existant sur les faits linguistiques, caractérisé par des positions conflictuelles persistantes.

Le deuxième chapitre est une tentative de voir comment les différentes périodes de l'histoire de l'Algérie, de l'Antiquité à l'Epoque Moderne ont contribué à façonner la situation linguistique d'après indépendance.

Le troisième chapitre met l'accent sur l'impact des décisions politiques d'après l'indépendance touchant l'ordre social, économique et culturel du pays, au niveau linguistique.

Le quatrième chapitre concerne surtout le système éducatif qui, malgré les sommes énormes investies dans le secteur, n'est toujours pas efficace après plus cinquante années de souveraineté dans la préparation des étudiants, en ce qui concerne la maîtrise linguistique, à affronter les défis de l'ère moderne.

Le cinquième chapitre est une modeste tentative de proposition d'idées pour une amélioration de la situation, impliquant les linguistes, les éducateurs et tous ceux concernés par la politique linguistique, et plaçant l'intérêt national au dessus de tout.

Le questionnaire, bien que les informations recueillies, pour des raisons pratiques, étaient limitées à la région d'Oran, a été un outil valable dans notre éclairage sur la situation linguistique du citoyen moyen.

D'une certaine manière, les réponses des personnes consultées ont confirmé nos attentes sur les faits linguistiques.

General Introduction

In its half a century of sovereignty, Algeria has witnessed a rather passionate debate on linguistic matters among the intellectuals, a debate that has led to conflictual positions in some cases.

The Algerian society, in its great majority, has rarely felt concerned by this conflictual debate and the popular inventive spirit has given birth to a form of communication that apparently only Algerians are capable of decoding.

The linguistic situation is as follows:

- A continuum of Arabic, the official language, that ranges from Classical or Literary Arabic to the various regional dialects or vernaculars.

- An important presence of Berber speakers in some areas (Kabyle, Chaoui, Mzabi, Targui, Chenoua...etc.).

- French, though officially a foreign language, competes with Arabic in some important fields such as industry, medicine, banking...etc, and therefore is a de facto official language.

- A recently growing request for English, mainly among students and even institutions for their personal needs.

The battlefield for these conflictual views or positions on language matters is mainly the school or educational system: the syllabuses as well as the language(s) of instruction.

The authorities are certainly not indifferent as regards these problems but their main concern has always been and continues to be the democratization of schooling. Compulsory schooling has always been the priority for the Algerian government. Huge sums of money are allocated to education every year for the sake of democratization, prioritizing somehow quantity at the expense of quality.

The challenge for the scholars, at the levels of conception and application, is to debate with all the components of society in order to come out with the most valuable contribution likely to help bridge the gap between “academic Arabic” proper to educational institutions and the regional varieties, along with a process of their unification and why not their standardization.

The linguists’ concern about educational matters is necessary but not sufficient. All fields where language, spoken or written, is an important support are concerned.

Actually, many Algerian scholars, essentially linguists have already made the first attempt. But the task is still huge.

This dissertation is conceived in the track of these attempts and contributions. It deals with the role of Sociolinguistics in the educational policy with a focus on the learners' environment and their motivations.

Chapter 1

A Review of the Existing Literature on the Subject

The starter will be a reference to Ibn Khaldoun's statement on language in "The Muqaddima". The reason for this choice is a striking similarity between what he stated in the 1370's:

"Le langage est une disposition acquise. Toutes les langues sont des habitudes qui, à l'instar des arts, s'acquièrent par la pratique." (1)

"Language is an acquired talent. All languages are habits which, like arts, we acquire through practice."

and H.E. Palmer's view on language in the 1920's:

"Language study is essentially a habit forming process. We speak and understand automatically as the result of perfectly formed habits". (2)

In both cases, the importance of practice for good speaking habits is outlined. In the Algerian context, the gap between "classroom language" and "street language" is enormous. The challenge is to bridge this gap.

Among Twentieth Century contributions to the study of Arabic with special interest on the Maghreb, we shall mention:

W. Marçais and his association of the vernacular(s) with the oral skills versus Classical Arabic associated with the written ones (1930).

C.A. Ferguson and his distinction between H (High Prestige) associated with Standard Arabic and L (Low Prestige) associated with the vernaculars.

Both contributions to the study of language in Algeria are valuable but they remain purely descriptive and above all Algeria has considerably evolved in all fields since then.

Among the most important national figures involved in the "shaping" of the educational system and consequently language policy or planning:

1.1. During the Colonial period:

Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, the head of the Ulema Association, pointed out three basic "ingredients" for the making of the Algerian personality:

Algeria = Nation; Islam = Religion; Arabic = Language

However, he did not omit to recall the Berber roots of the Algerian personality in his famous statement:

نحن مسلمون و إلى العروبة ننتسب

Which we shall translate as follows:

"We are Muslims, and to Arabity we are related."

1.2. Independent Algeria:

1.2.1 Political figures:

A. Taleb Ibrahimi, appointed Minister of Education in the first Boumediene Cabinet on July 12, 1965, played a decisive role in the orientations of the educational policy and consequently its linguistic outcome.

In a study published in "Afrique Action" in December 1962, he states:

"L'arabisation n'est pas facile.... Elle doit être progressive ....l'école est et restera la base essentielle de la formation culturelle…. Le bilinguisme, tel que nous l'entendons, n'est pas une doctrine mais une étape." (3) or

"Arabization is not easy.... It must be progressive.... School is and will remain the essential basis of cultural training. Bilingualism, as we conceive it, is not a doctrine but a step."

He even quotes a Moroccan scholar, A. Lakhdar, when he says *"L'arabisation à outrance est un danger" ("Exaggerated Arabization is dangerous")* to warn against the dangers of intensive and unprepared Arabization.

Unfortunately, between words and facts the gap is huge. This policy cannot be better referred to than by the late M. Lacheraf's words: *"The Ministry of education has become the Ministry of Arabization."*

M. Lacheraf, author of what can be regarded as an anthology of the Algerian society "L'Algérie, nation et société", appointed Minister of Education by the same Houari Boumédiene and ousted before he could set a corrective strategy, had written in March 1964 about the process of Arabization:

"Il ne s'agit pas d'attendre mais de commencer méthodiquement." (4), which we translate as follows: *"It is not a matter of waiting but of starting methodically."* And a few years later, in May 1968, about the oral tradition, the ancestral characteristics of Algerian culture:

"...il faudrait d'abord que l'arabisation en cours s'en nourisse en intégrant loyalement l'algérianité comme un apport déterminant.", (5) or

"...Arabization in progress should first feed from it with a loyal integration of Algerianity as a decisive contribution."

And what would he say today when in the same paper (1968) he referred to: *"...les conduites mimétiques inspirées sans discernement de l'Orient et de l'Occident.", (6)"...mimicking behaviour inspired without discretion from the East and the West."?*

It is our hope that M. Lacheraf's writings will continue to enlighten wise people at the level of decision making for cultural and educational matters.

1.2.2. Scholars' works:

Among more recent contributions, K. Taleb Ibrahimi's "les Algériens et leur(s) Langues(s)" and M. Benrabah's "Langue et Pouvoir en Algérie", are prefaced by G. Grandguillaume who, in both cases, reminds us that the policy of Arabization has been motivated by political considerations rather than by linguistic ones.

If we oppose the two positions we notice the everlasting conflictual debate. In the Taleb Ibrahimi family, there has been an evolution: Khaoula entitles her book "The Algerians and their Language(s), sign of recognition, though ambiguous: (language(s): singular or plural?) of the presence of more than one language, whereas in Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi's book the word "Berber" is totally absent. It is stated :

"L'école algérienne doit viser en premier lieu à former en arabe, à apprendre à ***penser*** *en arabe."(7)*

"The Algerian school must aim in the first instance to train in Arabic, to teach to ***think*** *in Arabic."*

M. Benrabah, in his attempt to justify the chaotic linguistic situation, attributes the feeling of "haine de soi" to Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi who he considers as the mastermind of Arabization. (8)

The former Minister certainly has a part of responsibility, but the problem is more complex and the causes are multiple. In our opinion, one of the most important causes is summarized in the title Benghabrit Remaoun gave to her contribution to "L'Algérie: histoire, société et culture". It is "Le système d'éducation – formation en Algérie: du volontarisme politique à une politique de gestion des flux."(9)

"The system of education – training in Algeria: from political voluntarism to a policy of management of numbers."

She states in the conclusion:*"L'urgence de faire a banni au fur et à mesure la nécessité de connaître d'abord."(10), "The urgency of doing has gradually banned the necessity of knowing first."*

Another contribution worth to be mentioned is A. Elimam's "Le Maghribi alias ed-darija" in which a sort of forum named "la foire aux questions" (11) gives valuable information and proposes interesting solutions. Their feasibility is another story.

C. Achour in "Abecedaires en Devenir", prefaced by M. Lacheraf, starts the introduction with:

"Depuis bientôt vingt ans que l'Algérie est indépendante se pose toujours le problème linguistique lié à la notion d'aliénation culturelle."(12)

"Algeria will soon have been independent for twenty years and the linguistic problem linked to the notion of cultural alienation is still present."

Her initial statement is immediately followed by a reference to the everlasting confrontation between "authenticity" and "modernity" which characterizes any debate on cultural and linguistic matters.

F. Bouhadiba in his contribution to "Trames de Langues" entitled "La Question Linguistique en Algérie", concludes *"L'aménagement et la régulation linguistique doivent prendre en considération, bien comprendre et respecter toute la complexité des contextes politique, social et économique du pays."(13)*

"Language management and regulation should take into consideration, understand well and respect the whole complexity of the political, social and economic contexts of the country."

R. Benali Mohamed in the conclusion to his dissertation entitled “Preliminary Observations on Educated Spoken Arabic” states:

“Since Algerian Arabic is too stigmatized and Classical Arabic ***no one’s mother tongue****, it would be easier for pupils to understand at least at the primary school, if the lessons were explained in Educated Spoken Arabic rather than in Classical Arabic which is a new language for them.”(14)*

A. Bouamrane’s Ph D thesis “Aspects of the Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria” is very informative about the linguistic situation of the country, the causes of the problem and some proposals to be taken into consideration. In the general conclusion we can read *“The language situation in Algeria presents sociolinguistics with a virtually inexhaustible and barely touched field for the exploration of its hypothesis, concerns and concepts.”(15)*

This review is not exhaustive. It is a first attempt at selecting existing material which can be of some help in our task. The selection of quotations from different authors is meant to indicate the direction we intend to follow.

The objective we have assigned is:

What can the educational system, with the contribution of all sectors of activity, public or private, and consideration of the evolution of the world from all points of view, do to make the average Algerian citizen proudly speak HIS language in the streets of Damascus, Amman, Ryad, Beyrouth, etc and communicate easily in French and English elsewhere?

1.3. Notes for chapter 1: The Review of Existing Literature on the Subject

(1) Reference to Ibn Khaldoun is based on extracts 71 and 72 (pp 137 – 139) in LE RATIONALISME D' IBN KHALDOUN: EXTRAITS DE LA MUQADDIMA by George Labica Traduction française revue par Jamel-Eddine Bencheikh – Hachette 1965.

(2) Opening statements of section 8, Habit-forming and habit-adapting of the synopsis (p.133) in HE Palmer THE PRINCIPLES OF LANGUAGE STUDY (O.U.P. 1974) first published in Harrap 1922

(3) From Etude publiée dans Afrique Action (December 1962) p.p. 18 – 19 in Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi - DE LA DECOLONISATION A LA REVOLUTION CULTURELLE 1962 – 1972 S.N.E.D. Alger 1976, quotes Ahmed Lakhdar in Confluent n°13 (mai1961) p. 18 - 19

(4) From REFLEXIONS SOCIOLINGUISTIQUES SUR LE NATIONALISME ET LA CULTURE EN ALGERIE (p.316) in Mostefa Lacheraf - L'ALGERIE, NATION ET SOCIETE (S.N.E.D. Alger 1978).

(5) From PHYSONOMIE ET PERSPECTIVES DE LA CULTURE MODERNE ET POPULAIRE EN ALGERIE (p.37) in Mostefa Lacheraf - ECRITS DIDACTIQUES SUR LA CULTURE, L'HISTOIRE ET SOCIETE (S.N.E.D.Alger 1988)

(6) op. cit p.37

(7) op. cit. p. 98 the emphasis on "penser" is ours.

(8) In Mohamed Benrabah - LANGUE ET POUVOIR EN ALGERIE (Seguier 1999) pp 93 – 94.

(9) L'ALGERIE: HISTOIRE, SOCIETE ET CULTURE - ouvrage collectif (Casbah Editions 2000) pp 141 - 157

(10) op. cit. p.155

(11) Foire aux questions à propos du Maghribi in Abdou Elimam - LE MAGHRIBI ALIAS « ED-DARIJA » (Dar El Gharb 2003) pp 215 – 223

(12) Christiane Achour - ABECEDAIRES EN DEVENIR (E.N.A.P. Alger 1985) p.41

(13) Farouk Bouhadiba - LA QUESTION LINGUISTIQUE EN ALGERIE: QUELQUES ELEMENTS DE REFLEXION POUR UN AMENAGEMENT LINGUISTIQUE in TRAMES DE LANGUES (Maisonneuve et Larose 2004) p.506

(14) Rachid Benali Mohamed - PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON EDUCATED SPOKEN ARABIC IN ALGERIA Magister Thesis in Linguistics (English Department – University of Es-Senia 1993) p.157

(15) Ali Bouamrane ASPECTS OF THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA (Ph D Thesis University of Aberdeen 1986) p.304

Chapter 2:
A Survey of the History of Algeria

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this survey is not a detailed presentation of all the past events that this land has witnessed. This is the role of the historians.

It is rather an attempt to set links between the present situation and all that in the past has contributed to the making of this situation.

2.2. Algeria in Antiquity

Pr. Mahfoud Kaddache in "l'Algérie dans l'Antiquité" states:

"La découverte en 1948 des sphéroïdes à facettes d'Aïn Hanech prés de Sétif, permet d'attester l'existence d'êtres humains à la fin du Tertiaire, celle en 1954 de deux mandibules d'un Pithécanthropien à la sablière de Ternifine autorise à penser que l'Algérie fut un des berceaux de l'humanité." (1)

That is: *"The discovery in 1948 of faceted spheroids in Aïn Hanech near Sétif, allows to attest the existence of human beings at the end of the Tertiary, that in 1954 of two mandibles of a Pithecanthropus in the sandpit of Ternifine allows to think that Algeria was one the cradles of mankind."*

Pr M. Kaddache's thought is shared by a lot of historians and this is an indication that man has existed on this land since the dawn of mankind.

On the language(s) of the Prehistoric Algerians, we know very little and the reason is the little care the invaders had about the local people. However numerous inscriptions inform about the ancient language of Algeria. Some of them exist with either a Punic (Phoenician language) or a Latin translation.

According to M. Kaddache *"Ce sont les inscriptions bilingues qui ont permis aux savants de préciser l'alphabet libyque de 22 caractères."(2)*

That is *"It is due to the bilingual inscriptions that the scholars have been able to establish the Lybic alphabet with 22 letters."*

The Tifinagh alphabet of the Touareg is derived from the Lybic one. A chart of the Lybic alphabet, borrowed from Pr M. Kaddache's "L'Algérie dans l'Antiquité" is on page 91. (see Appendix 1)

On the lack of interest of the settlers for the local populations, Pr M. Kaddache states:

"Les Romains, quand ils parlaient de l'histoire de l'Afrique, se souciaient fort peu des Berbères, mais plutôt de la gloire de Rome et de ses héros." (3)

That is *"The Romans, when they spoke about the history of Africa, were concerned very little with the Berbers, but rather with the glory of Rome and its heroes."*

This does not mean that outstanding local people did not exist. They did exist but unfortunately for the enrichment of the local forms of expression, their publications or works were in the languages of the settlers. We can mention here Apulée of Madaure who is considered as the pioneer of novelists with his "Golden Donkey" written in Latin.

It is also the case of Saint Augustine who is considered as one of the most leading figures in Christianity. His famous works "The Confessions", and "The City of God" were in Latin.

2.2.1. The Phoenician Period

Most studies on Ancient Algeria – though it would be more accurate to refer to North Africa as a geographical entity – start with the Phoenician Period (about 1000 BC).

The Phoenicians came from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea - what is today Lebanon and founded Carthage, which has become with time, a suburb of Tunis.

Because they were mainly sailors, they were not very interested in inland settlements, but rather on coastal ones. From Carthage they moved westward along the Algerian coast and founded numerous colonies: which have become Annaba, Skikda, Collo, Jijel, Bejaia, Algiers, Cherchell, Tenes, Bethioua near Oran and Rachgoun near Benisaf (see Appendix 2 p.92), their final destination was Spain.

On their language, Abdou Elimam states:

"A côté de l'héritage libyque qui se manifeste de nos jours, sous la forme de la langue Berbère (Tamazight), l'héritage punique, pour sa part, se manifeste sous la forme de la langue Maghribie." (4)

That is *"Besides the lybic heritage which is present on our days in the form of the Berber language (Tamazight), the Punic heritage appears in the form of the Maghribie language."*

In other words the Punic language is the first and foremost external linguistic influence that has shaped Algerian Arabic.

2.2.2. The Roman Period

With Scipion the African defeating Hannibal in Zama in 202 BC, Carthage lost its supremacy in North Africa and Rome took over.

If the imperialism of Carthage was justified mainly by mercantile purposes, that of Rome, in addition to economic considerations, was military.

It is perhaps the reason why the local populations were not attracted by the Roman culture. If a local "elite" adopted this culture and, more than that, served it in different fields, the majority of the people stayed aside.

If the Latin language fills our museums, Roman sites such as Timgad, Djemila, Tipasa, Cherchell, etc., with numerous inscriptions it has had very litlle "direct" influence on the Punic/ Berber languages of that era.

As we have mentioned it earlier, part of the local elite adopted it. The majority of the people were rather hostile to Roman presence.

As for the economic reasons for the Roman imperialism, Italian historians still refer to North Africa of that time as being "il Granaio di Roma" (the Granary of Rome).

2.2.3. The Vandals and the Byzantine

With the fall of the Roman Empire the Vandals led by Genseric came to North Africa from Spain.

In different languages the term "Vandals" is synonym for violent, brutal, barbarian, etc. Thus it is clear that they did not come to North Africa to "civilize" it but to exploit its wealth. That was in 429 AD. It is this wealth that made them lose their "brutality" and facilitated their defeat against the Byzantine who came from Constantinople, today Istanbul in Turkey, led by Belisaire in 534 AD.

Either Vandal or Byzantine settlements had very little influence on the local culture(s) and rather none on the native language(s).

2.3. Algeria in the Middle Ages

In the middle of the Seventh Century, an important part of North Africa (Maghreb) was under Byzantine rule.

The economic situation of the natives was not to be envied. It was such a situation that facilitated the Arab expansion from Syria westward until Tripoli in Libya.

2.3.1. The Arab Conquest

It is by no means the event that has shaped the social, cultural, thus linguistic situation of the Maghreb today, as it is the case of what is commonly referred to as the Arab World.

The Arab conquest of the Maghreb was not a "love story" as it is believed by an important part of the population.

Its achievement took nearly seventy years, whereas in other areas it took only four years (Mesopotamia – Iraq today) or three years (Egypt).

The reason is the strong resistance to foreign invasions as it had been the case for the previous ones: Roman - Vandal - Byzantine.

This resistance gradually declined thanks to the new message brought by the conquerors: Islam.

M. Kaddache states:

"L'effort de conquête morale, la vertu propre d'un Islam prometteur de justice et d'égalité, annonciateur d'un ordre nouveau, ne peuvent pas ne pas être mis en évidence lorsqu'on parle de conquête arabe."

That is *"The effort of moral conquest, the proper virtue of an Islam promising justice and equality, announcing a new order, have to be outlined when we speak of the Arab Conquest." (5)*

Of all the external influences on the Maghreb, Arabization along with Islamisation has set the cultural contours of the local people.

The conquest was achieved in 711 with the Maghreb becoming an Arab province having Kairouan as its capital city. The leading figure of this conquest was Oqba Ibn Nafi. On the other side the Kahena became the symbol of the resistance.

2.3.2. Arabization

Arabization in the Maghreb, as it is the case elsewhere, has been facilitated by Islamisation, for the main reason that Arabic is the language of the Koran, thus the language of the prayers.

In the early period, the cities were more concerned with Arabization than rural areas: the new language was adopted for the administration, commerce and culture.

Mountainous areas, though officially Arabized, went on using the Berber language for their daily needs. It is still the case today for the people in Kabylia, the Aures, the Hoggar/ Tassili in Algeria and the High Atlas and Rif in Morocco.

2.3.3. The European Renaissance Period:

The fall of Granada in Andalousia (1492) was contemporary to the Spanish "Reconquista" in North Africa.

The threat for the Maghreb at the end of the fifteenth century was to endure the same treatment as Latin America. Fortunately the Spanish Reconquista was slowed down more by the difficulties of the Catholic Kings to achieve the unity of Spain than by the resistance of the Muslims.

In Algeria Oran has been the most exposed city to Spanish influence:

The first occupation was under Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros from 1505 to 1708. The second one from 1732 to 1790 (date of the earthquake that destroyed the city).

Wherever you are in the city you cannot miss the sight of the Fort of Santa Cruz on top of the Murdjadjo Mountain. The elderly Native Oranese still use Spanish words in their everyday speech and lots of expressions in Oranese Arabic are derived from Spanish.

Lamine Benallou has produced an interesting dictionary of such terms prefaced by Mohamed Miliani who mentions the *"puzzle complexe de notre personalité en perpétuelle constitution" or "the complex puzzle of our personality in everlasting shape up." (6)*

M. Kaddache states as a conclusion to "l'Algérie Médievale:

"La fin du XVe siècle marque, au Maghreb, la fin de la période qui a correspondu en Europe au Moyen Age. Cette période ayant été celle de l'Islam et de la civilisation musulmane, de nombreux historiens maghrébins répugnent à lui accoler l'expression Moyen Age, estimant à juste titre qu'elle fut l'Age d'Or de leur pays. " (7)

That is *"The end of the Fifteenth Century marks, in the Maghreb, the end of a period that corresponded to the Middle Ages in Europe. This period having been that of Islam and Muslim Civilization, a lot of historians from the Maghreb are reluctant to refer to it with the expression "Middle Ages", rightly considering that it was the Golden Age of their homeland."*

It is true that the terms we use reflect our attitude towards an event or a situation. It is not long ago that the French establishment started considering the Algerian liberation war as a war ("guerre d'Algérie"). For a long period it had been treated as a sort of French internal problem (evenements d'Algérie). It would be a miracle that they see it one day as liberation war. And if we ask an Arab citizen in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Syria suffering from the effects of what is referred to as the "Arab Spring", we are quite convinced that he will rather see it as a winter if not a fall.

2.4. The Modern Era

This era started with the Ottoman influence on the Maghreb.

2.4.1. The Ottoman/ Turkish influence

The prominent figures of this period were the Barbarossa Brothers: Kheireddine and Aroudj. It was in that period that the name "Djezair" appeared, proposed by Kheireddine, according to the historians.

The Ottoman presence in Algeria lasted from the early seventeenth century to the beginning of the French settlement in 1830.

The Ottoman presence in Algeria did not have a great influence on the society from the cultural and linguistic points of view as it had been the case of the Arab conquest. A few words referring to jobs like kahouadji [qa:hwæd□i] have remained. Some elderly people still refer to State Property as "Beylick" Property [nte□ əl beilək].

2.4.2. The French Colonial Period

This painful period for the Algerian memory started in 1830 and ended in 1962, year of the independence.

The real reason for the colonisation was economic and strategic but the French put forward the "legend of the fan". They said they were offended by the Dey of Algiers hitting their official with his fan.

The French settlement has certainly equipped Algeria with roads, railways, ports, airports, modern cities, etc., but all that was to satisfy the needs of the settlers and to put the Algerian economy at the service of the French Welfare.

As far as Education/ schooling is concerned, the rate of illiteracy was low in 1830. Most parents sent their children to the Djemaa, Zaouia, or Medersa to learn the Koran and consequently Arabic with its lexis, grammar, and semantics.

In 1962 the rate of illiteracy was much higher with the modern understanding of schooling: about one child out of ten attending school.

An elite trained in the French language was available in 1962 but it was insufficient to face all the challenges of the new born nation.

In addition to this, the ideological choices and the dogmatic attitudes which characterized post independence could only lead to the interesting linguistic situation that we experience today.

2.5. Conclusion

As it is the case for other areas in the world that have been subject to numerous influences, Algeria is an interesting subject of study for the sociolinguist.

All the foreign settlements have left linguistic traces with relative degrees of presence; from the Vandals who left almost none to the Arabs whose idiom, as it is stated in the constitution, has become the official language of the country.

The main components that are present in the Algerian linguistic environment are: Arabic (AA, CA) – Berber – French.

The interesting challenge for the sociolinguist is not the presence of those languages "side by side" but the capacity of the individual, depending on his background, area, age, gender, social status and the situation when and where speech occurs, to produce spontaneously an utterance which only "initiates" are capable of deciphering.

A sample of today's common urban speech like [nerveni – gara l□t.□ teh guddem gara□i] (He got on my nerves. He parked his car outside my garage) gives an idea of its basic ingredients: in general French lexical items associated to Arabic morphological or syntactic markers.

An evolution from [xalla ħmareh guddem da:ri] (he left his donkey outside my house) of not long ago or variants of it like [ħebbəs kærruh guddem da:ri] (he stopped/ parked his cart outside my house).

But it would sound rather strange to hear an average Algerian citizen utter something like: [æqafa sæjjaratahu æmæmæ/ xari□a mænzili] (He stopped/ parked his car in front of/ outside my house) in Modern Standard Arabic, though the school continues to present it as the model to follow.

Do the language planners have the intimate conviction that it is only a question of time for MSA to become the language of all Algerians in the future? Or should they facilitate a more realistic policy making of a standardized form of Algerian Arabic their common language?

2.6. Notes for chapter 2: A Survey of the History of Algeria

(1) Mahfoud Kaddache - L'ALGERIE DANS L'ANTIQUITE (ENAL Alger 1992) p.11

(2) op. cit p. 32

(3) op. cit p. 27

(4) Abdou Elimam – LE MAGHRIBI ALIAS « ED-DARIJA » - LA LANGUE CONSENSUELLE DU MAGHREB (Dar El Gharb 2003) p.11

(5) Mahfoud Kaddache – L'ALGERIE MEDIEVALE (ENAL Alger 1992) p.3

(6) Lamine Benallou – DICTIONNAIRE DES HISPANISMES DANS LE PARLER DE L'ORANIE (OPU Alger 1992)

(7) M. Kaddache – L'ALGERIE MEDIEVALE (ENAL Alger 1992) p. 183

Chapter 3

A Survey of the Evolution of Independent Algeria in the Social, Economic, Cultural and Political Fields and the Impact on Language: Diglossia, Code Switching, Bilingualism

3.1. Introduction

Algeria's long struggle for independence reaching its peak with the armed revolution in 1954 forced a worldwide admiration.

David and Marina Ottaway, in the introduction to "Algeria: the Politics of a Socialist Revolution", state:

"The outbreak of the Algerian revolution in November 1954 heralded the beginning of a new era of revolution and guerrilla warfare throughout Africa. Although Algeria was not the first African territory to demand its independence, it was the first to launch a full-scale war of national liberation (.....)." (1)

"In addition, Algeria's attainment of independence in July 1962 was an event of great importance to the Third World, where it was seen as eloquent proof of the ability and determination of colonized peoples to take their fate into their own hands (.....)" (2)

"Algeria immediately embarked upon a second revolution, aimed at destroying the social and economic order of the colonial era (.....)" (3)

It is this attempt to destroy symbols of the colonial era that may have caused a hindrance in the developing process of the country at all levels of society. Not because the colonial era was a heavenly one but because of the haste of the decision and its implementation.

3.2. Political decisions and their impact on various areas:

If in Britain the expression "3Rs" refers to the components of basic education, i.e. reading, writing, arithmetics, in Algeria it summarized the "threefold" dimension of the revolution at the end of the 1960's and early 1970's:

- Agrarian Revolution
- Industrial Revolution
- Cultural Revolution

We are not going to refer to numerous negative attitudes engendered in that period but we shall mention some linguistic effects.

A good example is the expression [rægda wa tmã□i] a reference to being easily employed somewhere, not doing a thing and getting a salary. The economic disastrous effects are clear.

This expression is an illustration of code switching:

In [rægda wa tmã□i] the root is the verb manger (French) and the tense markers –affixes are those of the present / imperfect (Arabic)

3.2.1. The changes in the Algerian society in the second half of the twentieth century:

This period was marked at its beginning by the outburst of the Liberation War. In their attempt to make the Armed Revolution fail, the French colonial authorities opted for a separation between the freedom fighters and the population.

The result is that vast areas of the country were deserted and the people were pushed to join villages, small towns or cities. But this policy did not succeed for the simple reason that the desire for freedom was high among the citizens.

After the independence, most French landowners left Algeria for France. It is also the case for the majority of city dwellers who had expressed their sympathy or had backed the O.A.S. (Organisation Armée Secrète): the armed fascist movement hostile to any idea of independent Algeria.

It is important to mention here that no Algerian official or text urged them to quit Algeria. They only realised that they had made the wrong choice.

Yet a number of citizens of European mainly French origin contributed to the Liberation War in various ways and remained in Algeria to participate to its development.

Among the most notorious Pr Pierre Chaulet who died recently (October 2012) and whose name is proposed to call Hospitals or Medical institutes. He was buried in Algiers according to his will.

The result of all those events is that the fifty years of independence have been marked by a gradual exodus of population from the rural areas to towns and cities.

This exodus was accelerated during what is now referred to as the “Black Decade” (the last decade of the twentieth century, a decade of political and social turmoil).

Due to centralization at different levels and to various social and economic factors, this exodus or movement of population is an ongoing process. It has engendered new realities, new landscapes, a new economy, new attitudes and consequently a new language.

Mostefa Lacheraf, in different articles in the early 1990’s put forward the term “rurbain” (rurban: association of rural and urban) to refer to this new culture.

From Mostefa Lacheraf, this term was not a neutral reference to a society that he “cherished” so much. It was rather a warning that things had to be done to safeguard our personality, our culture.

Among the new landscapes, the “Hassi” area in the south west of Oran which, in some aspects, can be compared to the favellas of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil.

What is striking is the presence of “luxury” homes and luxury cars in “slummy” areas. This area is similar to numerous ones in the other cities of the country.

It is also interesting to see part of the “Hassi” population flowing into the city centre in the morning and getting back home in the late afternoon. It is the case of commuters in all cities around the planet but in this case the comparison should be limited to developing countries.

All this “rurban” culture and informal economy, added to the evolution in the availability of the means of communication, press in particular, and changes in the educational system have modified the linguistic “landscape” of the country, cities in particular.

The next chapter will be dedicated to the role played by the educational system in the linguistic changes of independent Algeria.

3.2.2. The changes in the access to the mass media in the past fifty years:

When leaving Algeria in 1962, the French colonial system left the country with a press coverage in the French language mainly.

3.2.2.1. The written press:

After the independence, the first thirty years, saw the predominance of two daily national newspapers “El Moudjahid” in French and “Ach-Chaab” in Arabic. La “Republique” in Oran and “An Nasr” in Constantine were qualitative addenda to the former. La “Republique” became “El Joumhouria” upon its arabization.

A good quality weekly “Algérie Actualités” dared challenge the relative censorship of that period. Other qualitative publications like “El Djeich”, “Horizons” and “Révolution Africaine” were available.

A unique television channel, with its ups and downs, managed to fill people’s evenings at home. The Algerian sense of humour referred to it as “El Mhatma” [el mħætmæ] that is the “imposed one”.

Consequently to the outburst of October 1988, the press coverage saw the publication of a large number of daily, weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines.

In the year 2010, four Algerian newspapers were in the top ten of the African press:

El Khabar: Rank 2

El Watan: Rank 5

Liberté: Rank 7

Le Soir d’Algérie: Rank 10

This gives an idea of the quality of the local press. But what is striking is that in spite of the fact that French has ceased to be the official language in July 1962, our daily El Watan was ranked first paper in French in Africa in 2010. (5) See chart on p.101

In addition to the rather "serious dailies, tabloids of the gossiping type are available. The most popular is "Ach-Chorouk": interesting in the content and in the form.

3.2.2.2. The audio visual press:

All over the world, the past two decades have witnessed a proliferation of television channels via satellites. The Algerian citizen was not any more confined to his national unique television program but he could have access in a first period to French programs mainly and then to programs from all continents in different languages.

This was a challenge for our television and consequently from one channel, the Algerian State TV broadcasts on five channels: Three in Arabic, one in Berber, and one in French. Ach-Chorouk has its own TV channel. Other channels such as "En-Nahar" or "El Djazairia" are very popular among the Algerian population.

What is interesting is that in programs like "Dzair Show" or "Ahalil" the participants are free to use the language they master best, in most cases Algerian Arabic or Darija, and this gives a certain spontaneity to the exchanges.

The news are still given in a language that most people do not use or even understand. What is amusing is that in sports programs some coaches or footballers are interviewed before or after matches and we can hear things like:

Journalist:

[mæhija naðrætika fima jaxussu lmuqabala ?] (What is your opinion about the match?)

Coach:

[dərna pa:rtija mliħa bəssaħ larbit rifizænna pinalti □læ□ kəməlnabənil] (We played a good match but the referee refused to allow us a penalty kick that's why we ended with a draw.)

If the journalist's question can be understood by all Modern Standard Arabic users in other Arab countries, it is not the case for the coach's response.

Since 1962 reporters on TV continue to refer to a penalty kick as [darbət □æz□] and the majority of footballers, coaches, supporters still call it in 2012 [pinalti] if not [pinarti].

This is an interesting situation for the linguist. Various reasons can be given to this persistence of the Algerian "foot fan" to call a penalty kick [pinalti]. Among them the fact that in French it is called "penalty" with a French accent ['penalti] or the fact to see soccer as part of the Western societies not the Eastern Arab ones. In the Oran area, isn't soccer still called today [əl b□la] instead of [kurat əl qadəm] by most fans?

The world of sports, mainly soccer offers a rich inventory of utterances illustrating diglossia and code switching. The examples mentioned above are only an indication.

3.3. Samples of linguistic changes due to social and economic factors after the independence:

As it has been mentioned earlier, the passage from the colonial era to an independent nation has placed most Algerian citizens in a new "reality" in all aspects of their daily life: dwelling, job, transport, food, health, sports, leisure, clothing...etc.

3.3.1. Changes in terms referring to dwelling/ housing:

Before 1962, most Algerians lived in a "haouch" [ħau□] (house) when it was not "khaima" [xaima] (tent) or "gurbi" [gurbi] (slum) for the "wretched of the earth" to quote Frantz Fanon. (6)

In the urban areas the "haouch" [ħau□] is still a dwelling for different families occupying rooms around a yard. The "squifa" [sqifa], hall, gave access to it from the street.

An example of linguistic change is the substitution of [sqifa] by the French [kulwar] (couloir) with the new generation as they are more familiar with apartment, flat, and villa.

The elderly people in the Oran area, but it must be the case in other areas in the country, still refer to a deaf person by [sqifa t.wila] (long corridor): a reference to the somehow damaged hearing organs.

In the rurban culture, the flat has become [bərtma], electricity [trisiti]. The words [□uqqa] for flat and [kæhrubæ] for electricity do exist in Modern Standard Arabic but they are totally ignored by most people.

Most youngsters today are not familiar with the meaning of [kænki] (quinquet in French) or [marabuza] (a sort of oil lamp) in old Oranese Arabic. Modernity is the explanation and this is the case in many cultures.

Isn't language a living creature? It evolves with time, living conditions and new "signifiés" engender new "signifiants" to use Ferdinand De Saussure's terms. (7)

An interesting example of the [ħau□] culture, foundation of the Algerian urban culture, is Mohamed Dib's novel "La Grande Maison" (8) which had a great success when adapted as a series on the Algerian television in the 1970's, launching actress Biyouna in the role of "Aïni".

3.3.2. Changes in terms referring to food:

Modern life has engendered changes in eating habits in various parts of the world and Algeria is concerned by this phenomenon.

In the old times, commuters or strangers to the city, often called [zufrija] (cf. Ouvriers in French), ie workers, ate at the [‘hæmmæs] (restaurant or eating place in a popular district). This term is totally ignored by lots of youngsters: Today they go to the Kebab House, Pizzeria, Fast Food, etc.

The popular “Calentica” born in Oran, term derived from the Spanish “calente” (hot), has seen its own name modified. Today we often hear [kæræn].

Another interesting change is the disappearance of the word [xli□] (dried meat covered with fat in the summer season and preserved for the cold winter days).

Today such a process would be very costly. The substitute is that a lot of people buy their [k□n□li] (congelé in French), ie frozen meat any time of the year. It is also the case for fish and some vegetables like peas [pizi] for most elders often replaced today by [□əlben].

3.3.3. Changes in terms referring to jobs:

Widespread illiteracy during the colonial period made the word [ktætbi] (a sort of public writer helping illiterate people to write their letters or fill their forms) familiar.

Today their role is more limited. We can still see some of them outside townhalls or other public offices. Before 1962, an Algerian illiterate citizen, when conversing with a French official, mainly in the field of law, needed the help of a [t□r□man] (interpreter or translator). The function is still present in our environment but the term itself has nearly disappeared and has been replaced by [tra:diktər].

Today we live a “jetable” culture or economy. When something gets torn, broken or damaged it is economically more interesting to get rid of it and replace it by a new one. It is a current phenomenon in the Western World where the services are costly.

In our country, it is a growing reality and jobs like [sbabt.i] (shoemaker), [su□a□i] (watch repair), [xejat.] (tailor) are gradually disappearing.

The widespread reference for the word “builder” is [əlma:s□̃] or [əlma:s□] depending on whether the speaker has received some tuition in French or not. The use of the Arabic noun [bənnei] is rare though it is a common surname in some areas, just like [həddam] or [nəqqa:□].

In the proverb, [jə□jalbənnei jəbni wəmə□□i kima muləddа:r] which means something like “you are not better served than by yourself”, the term [bənnei] cannot be altered; it is under a sort of cultural or traditional protection. Moreover, how many people use the MSA terms for the vernacular forms: [bnetri] (painter), [trisjæn] (electrician), [pl□mbi] (plumber)?

A glance at appendix 12 on p.103 shows that diglossia does not concern only the spoken language. A builder nearly illiterate in French manages to write a receipt for his services using Arabic graphy with the current jargon of building sites, a savoury mix of French and Arabic. This is another illustration of the popular creativity.

3.3.4. Changes in terms referring to clothing:

Nowadays, the Algerian society, as a consumer society, seems to borrow all that can be borrowed from other cultures at the expense of its own existence.

On clothing, what about the [ksæ], [ħejək], or [ma:grun] (veil to protect women's body) of our grandmothers? Today other terms have been imported from other cultures like [niqab] or [d□əlbæb]. The word [tænqiba] did exist in Algerian Arabic but it went along with the [ksæ], [ħejək], and [ma:grun].

The same thing is valid for men. Our grandfathers wore a [□baja], [bərnus], or [d□əllæbæ] not a [qamis] when wearing traditional clothes. The shirt (chemise in French) was named ['qmə□a] in Algerian Arabic.

It is important to mention that the Maghreb played an important role in the development of Islam as a religion and a culture. This certainly contributed to the building of an Algerian personality with all its attributes, and the way of dressing is one.

It is curious to see that in Oran, as it is the case in other places, the term [bluza] from the French "blouse" can range in meaning from overall/ pinafore to a piece of material for making a dress, mainly in female language.

For how long will the terms [□mema] or [kəmbu□] for turban, [bul□a] for traditional slipper, resist the assault of modernity? This depends even on the craftsmen who produce and on the people who may wear such garments.

How many young people know the meaning of [burebeħ] (a traditional blanket)? Most of them are certainly very familiar with [kuvirta] or [kubirta] derived from the French "couverture" [kuvertyr] (blanket).

Language disappearance or survival is not the concern of the educationalist or the linguist solely. The whole society is involved.

3.4. On bilingualism, diglossia, code switching and code mixing:

As far as these notions are concerned, a rich literature is available today. The problem is that in some linguistic situations the borderline between them is not very clear.

We have thought it wiser to refer to the “Dictionnaire Larousse de Linguistique et des Sciences du Langage” for their definitions. On bilingualism the entry bilinguisme is covered in several sections (9) which we can summarize as follows:

“Bilingualism is the linguistic situation in which the speakers, according to the context, will use two different languages....”

“It is also the situation of most people who use the native language in their daily life but, in other cases the official language. In this case we speak of diglossia.”

The entry “diglossie” gives a historical approach of the situation (10). First the term was used by Psichari to refer to Greece where only the Katharevousa was considered official whereas daily activities were carried out in Demotic. The term was then opposed to bilingualism for the situations with two different linguistic systems deriving from the same source, one considered high, the other low (social hierarchy).

William Marçais has applied these principles to Arabic in Algeria and Ferguson has systemized them with reference to Greece, Arab countries (classical vs. dialectal Arabic), German – speaking Switzerland and Haiti (French and Haitian Creole) adding duration and stability as criteria.

Fishman has then extended this concept to situations where the criteria were limited to hierarchy, stability and duration and to systems not necessarily with a close relation.

Code mixing is defined as a mixture of languages and code switching as an alternate use of languages. (11)

If we take the Algerian linguistic context, we notice that all these notions are present with various frequencies depending on the social, educational, regional background of the speaker.

The simple linguistic exchange in English:

Question: “Where are the kids?” Answer: “They are at school.”,

if converted into local speech by Algerians, can range from:

Question: [eina hum əl at.fal?] (very high if we consider Marçais’s ranking, present mainly in school, quite totally absent in everyday speech).

to:

[u s□̃ le pti?] (mainly urban speech, consequence of French colonial presence) with some people, via the more familiar

[wi:n rahum ləuled?] or [wi:n rahum əs□a:r?]

Answer:

[rahum fəl madrasa] but more frequently;

[rahum jəqru] (literaly they are reading) or;

[rahum fəl kuli:□]

[rahum fəl msid]

[rahum fli:kul]

The answers illustrate very well the various shades of Algerian speech; other variants are possible for both questions and answers.

In the Muqaddima (Arabic version of the History of the Berbers), Ibn Khaldun states:

"La maîtrise du language s'est alterée parmi les descendants de Mudar (12) par suite de leur mélange avec les non Arabes (……..). Il resulta de là (pour cette nouvelle génération) une confusion; elle prit à l'un et à l'autre des deux idiomes et se forma une nouvelle habitude inférieure à la première. " (13) That is;

"The mastery of language has been altered among the descendants of Mudar following their mixing with non-Arabs (.....). A confusion (for this new generation) resulted from this; it took from both idioms and gave a new habit inferior to the first."

If we compare what Ibn Khaldun wrote more than six centuries ago (on new habit inferior to the first) and William Marçais's distinction between high and low categories, the similarity is striking. Ibn Khaldun is considered as a monument in the history of sociology. As language is man's most important means of communication, it would be interesting to see Ibn Khaldun admitted one day in the pantheon of sociolinguists.

3.4.1. What else on Bilingualism, Diglossia, Code switching and Code mixing?

This title inspired by Wilga Rivers, whose work is a milestone in FL teaching. (14)

If we analyse numerous utterances from Algerian speakers, whatever their social rank, gender, age, educational background, we notice that within a stretch of speech, these features (notions) are so combined and intricate that it would be a challenge for the most alert sociolinguist to say that this part of stretch of speech is a case of bilingualism and that one is a case of diglosssia, code switching or code mixing.

Here are some examples:

In the Oran speech, forms of contempt for someone may be expressed with:

[mbərkəl] or [mda:gləs]

Both of them start with the Arab prefix [m] indicating state like in [maftuħ] (open) or [ma□luq] (closed).

In the first example, the prefix [m] followed by sounds derived from “tuberculose” (tuberculosis) mean “in a lousy health”, in the second the prefix [m] followed by sounds derived from “dégueulasse” (disgusting) mean very dirty.

Other examples with a similar word-formation are:

[mrigli] meaning adjusted (from French “réglé”)

[mtifəs] semantically similar to [mbərkəl] (from French “typhus”)

[m□umər] from French “chômeur” (jobless) but meaning really penniless

[mnervi] from French “enervé” meaning irritated or nervous

A lot more examples can be given to illustrate the linguistic know-how of the Algerian speaker, picking from MSA and French in most cases, to produce a vernacular that sounds like a “secret code”.

Further illustrations of language change due to various factors, contact among others, are:

1. Semantic:

[ħæbəs] traditionally meaning “stopped” (not in motion) refers today to a limited person (incompetent).

[n□:rma:l] traditionally meaning “normal” has taken a wide range of meanings, from normality to agreement.

2. Morphological:

Traditionally, Oran speakers say [mhəwwəd], for “coming down” or “coming to town”. Today, the imported [hæwəd] has become more common.

The same type of change for [lerəb□a] (Wednesday) having become [lerbə□], another is [bəzzef] (a lot) becoming [bəlbəzzef].

These morphological changes are good illustrations of the rurbanization of the urban culture mentioned by M. Lacheraf.

On the formation of the two terms bilingualism and diglossia, bilingualism is made up of “bi” (two) and Latin “lingua” (tongue) referred to as the most important speech organ to the point that in many languages the same term is used for both speech organ and language (cf. langue in French or lingua in Italian).

Diglossia, is made up of “di” (two) and “glossia” from the Greek “glôtta” (Attic region) meaning “tongue”, from which is derived “glottis” part of the larynx where voice is produced by vibrations of the vocal cords or folds. Voice is the feature of all vowels and voiced consonants, fundamental in speech.

Another remark on terminology: in French a bilingual person is referred to as “polyglotte” and not “polylingue” evidence that both bilingualism and diglossia may mean the same thing for the non-initiate.

As far as the sociolinguists are concerned, instead of dedicating a lot of their efforts to decide whether this is a case of bilingualism or one of diglossia, they should remain concentrated, with forms of cooperation with educationalists and other intensive users of language, both spoken and written, on how to help reach a level of correctness or acceptability which would give to Algerian Arabic the status of school language.

3.5. Conclusion:

In this chapter we attempt to give an idea of the linguistic evolution of the Algerian society over the past fifty years keeping in mind economic and social changes. The data presented in each section of the chapter are only an indication of the contribution of these changes at a linguistic level.

The press in Algeria since 1962 has given enough material to exploit for various theses. It is also the case for each of the aspects of life referred to earlier. However, it is sufficient to give an idea of the linguistic changes present in situations of bilingualism, diglossia, and code switching.

We have already mentioned the fact that many Algerian speakers use foreign, mainly French lexical items associated to Arabic syntactic or morphological markers. For example the French term “le manoeuvre” [ma:nø:vr] (the labourer) can become [əl ma:nø:vr] or [əl mænufri], whether the speaker is acquainted with the French language in the first case or not very well in the second.

In the first case the change concerns the French article “le” becoming the Arabic “el”, the second is a typical example of “rurban speech” where French vowels and consonants are altered:

[a:] becomes [æ:], [ø] becomes [u], [v] becomes [f]

It is a general tendency to devoice [v] into [f] as in “vacance” [fakas] (holiday), to ignore nasal vowels [□̃] which becomes [a] in the same example, and to voice [p] into [b] as in “ma place” (my seat) [blasti].

Algerians never lose their sense of humor. A joke during the Black Decade in the 1990’s made an imam propose to the people in the mosque to collect some money to buy a [bumba]. Most of the people all of a sudden left the mosque to pray at home. Later the imam paid a visit

to a neighbouring shopkeeper to know why they had left the mosque when he had only told them that a new pump was needed to send water to the tanks on the terrace of the mosque. They understood a “bomb”.

These linguistic modifications have even been exported. For example some early Algerian immigrants in the Paris area called the “Boulevard Périphérique” Boufarik. An interesting study case.

This listing is not exhaustive. We can add, in a random order, examples illustrating the popular inventive spirit which makes of Algerian Arabic, with its regional variants, a rich data bank for sociolinguists:

[t.ræbendu]	smuggling at the borders
[ħarraga]	illegal emigrants to Europe
[t.rig əl wehda]	tracks for smugglers at the borders
[ħit.ist]	a youngster “on the dole”
[əl but.i]	boat for illegal emigrants
[gəzzena]	computer device at the post office
[ħæbbæ]	a unit, one
[əl bala]	used clothes
[□æmæ□i]	public transport

As long as life goes on, Algerian will be capable if inventing a new language to refer to new situations, often turning their back on what school offers and this is the topic for the next chapter.

This inventive spirit, to hear our elders, has always existed. During the Liberation War, the French police vans were called “Taxi el Gharam” [taksil□aram] referring to a famous Egyptian film of that period. A local member of the French police was a [bulis wejjek] adopted from the popular Farid El Atrache song [wejjek].

These were certainly not just neutral or funny references but they contained a humor that reflects the strong contempt towards the colonial system.

3.5. Notes for chapter 3: A survey of the evolution of independent Algeria in the social, economic, cultural and political fields and the impact on language: diglossia, code switching, and bilingualism

(1) David and Marina Ottaway: THE POLITICS OF A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION (University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970) p.1

(2) Op. cit p.1

(3) Op. cit p.1

(4) Aleli Rezouali in "EL WATAN" n°6690, 16 October 2012

(5) M.A.O. in "EL WATAN", 4 February 2010

(6) Frantz Fanon, LES DAMNES DE LA TERRE, (Maspéro, Paris 1968)

(7) Ferdinand De Saussure, COURS DE LINGUISTIQUE GENERALE, (Payot, Paris 1972)

(8) Mohamed Dib, LA GRANDE MAISON, (Seuil, Paris 1952)

(9) DICTIONNAIRE DE LINGUISTIQUE ET DES SCIENCES DU LANGAGE (Paris 1999) p. 66-67

(10) Op. cit. p. 148

(11) Op. cit. p. 190

(12) The Mudar were with the Rabia the two most powerful groups of tribes of Northern Arabia. In LE RATIONALISME D'IBN KHALDUN, extrait de LA MUQADDIMA by George Labica. Traduction française revue par Jamel Eddine Bencheikh (Hachette 1965) p.80

(13) Op. cit p.138

Chapter 4

The Algerian Educational System and its role in the shaping of the linguistic evolution so far

4.1. Introduction:

The founding document of independent Algeria, in addition to the Declaration of November 1st and the Soumam Platform, The Algiers Charter, which gathers the texts adopted by the first Congress of the FLN (National Liberation Front) held in Algiers from the 16th to the 21st of April 1964 reveals an important contradiction between what was wished for the welfare of the Nation and the decisions of the Congress regarding the policy of Arabization.

In chapter III we can read *"L'arabisation de l'enseignement demeure cependant une œuvre de très longue haleine et une tâche des plus délicates, car elle requiert des moyens culturels modernes et ne peut s'accomplir dans la précipitation. "(1)*

that is *"However the Arabization of teaching remains a long term achievement and one of the most delicate tasks, because it requires modern cultural means and cannot be carried out in a hurry."*

In the final resolutions we can read *"Le premier congrès du Front de Liberation Nationale (.....) insiste sur l'urgence qu'il ya à accentuer l'arabisation de l'Algérie :*

a. *Par l'accelération de l'arabisation de l'enseignement*
b. *Par le renforcement des liens, notamment culturels avec le monde arabe, (…….)*
c. *Par un élargissement considérable de la sphère des études arabes au sein de l'université. " (2)*

"The first congress of the National Liberation Front (…….) insists on the emergency to accentuate the Arabization of Algeria:

a. *By accelerating the Arabization of teaching*
b. *By the reinforcement of the links, particularly the cultural ones, with the Arab World (.....)*
c. *By a considerable intensification of Arab studies in the university."*

We are in April 1964, less than two years of independence and we already notice the dogmatic attitudes overcoming common sense.

Most of the citizens of that period read the Charter in its French version, not in its Arabic version if it existed. Not a word in this document about Algerian Arabic and Berber as the dominant languages or French, which, in spite of the fact that it is officially a foreign language, continues to allow the functioning of important institutions like universities (science and technology), banks, hospitals, etc, thus is a de facto official language in these institutions in 2012.

4.2. The “everlasting” challenges the Algerian school faces:

Since the early days of the recovering of the national sovereignty, the Algerian educational system has been exposed to various challenges: quantitative and qualitative ones.

If the quantitative challenges have been so far overcome to a certain extent, it is apparently not an easy task to make schooling available until the Baccalaureat or even later, considering the present and coming pressures in terms of population and organization.

As for the qualitative challenges, not a week or a month passes without a newspaper or magazine article on the problems of the educational system.

4.2.1. The challenges in terms of quantity:

It was a priority for the Fathers of the Liberation War and Founders of the Algerian Nation to make schooling compulsory.

The rate of illiteracy was very high in July 1962 not only among the adult population but even with young people, mainly girls. The reasons were various: on the one hand the colonial system giving the priority to their own children to have access to education, and on the other hand the Algerian people, for economic or cultural reasons, were reluctant to send their children to the French school mainly in the rural areas.

Compensations came from the “Djemaa” [□eme□] or Zaouia which provided the teaching of the Koran and some basics of Arabic grammar.

In 1962 the number of Algerian qualified people such as doctors, engineers, teachers, and lawyers was insignificant in proportion with the total population of that time. And the newborn nation needed qualified people to run the different structures of the state.

All over the world the educational system is the main provider of the “brains” of a nation and it is the reason why the authorities opted, right from the beginning, for compulsory schooling. No matter what the criticism towards any aspect or structure of the educational system can be, no one can deny all the efforts, in terms of investments, made to promote this system.

Algeria is one of the few countries to invest so much money in the field of education. If there is any criticism to be put forward, it concerns organizational or structural aspects which derive from dogmatic attitudes added to degree of qualification at any level of the educational system.

In 1962, the massive departure of local French “pieds noirs” teachers or schoolmasters was compensated for by a massive recruitment of a new type of primary school teachers: the “moniteurs”, people with elementary or intermediate education level and no teaching experience. They had to follow an in-service training supervised by an inspector.

For the sake of Arabization, a lot of people from Middle East countries were recruited and dispatched in the Algerian school for the teaching of Arabic language and culture. In many

cases these people did not represent the “elite” of their respective countries mainly Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Our few bilingual people of that period offered much better services.

As for secondary and higher education most teachers were French “coopérants”, or voluntary people of the National Service (V.S.N.A.) in addition to Middle East teachers for Arabic. Other teachers, mainly in science and technology, came from Eastern European countries, the socialist block of that time.

The local Ecoles Normales in Algiers, Oran, and Constantine trained people for primary education and the ENS (Ecole Normale Superieure) was founded in 1964 in Algiers to train teachers for secondary schools. The Ministry of National Education (MEN) supervised all levels of schooling, from primary to higher education.

In the late 1960’s, surely as a consequence of the baby booming of the years following the independence, the existing structures, mainly in primary education, proved not sufficient to host an increasing number of children having reached the schooling age.

In 1971 the Ministry of National Education was split into two ministries: MEPS (Ministère des Enseignements Primaire et Secondaire) and MESRS (Ministère de l’Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique).

The Ecoles Normales became ITE (Institut de Technology de l’Education) gradually available in most wilayas and this was the beginning of quantitative considerations overcoming any other ones.

4.2.1.1. The quantitative challenges in figures:

To have an idea about the efforts made by the Algerian state to achieve compulsory schooling, here are some figures.

- In 1965 the budget allocated to functioning was 497.137.950 ALD. In 1970 it was 980. 000. 000 ALD. We notice that it nearly doubled.

- In 1965 the budget allocated to equipment was 24.000.000 ALD. In 1970 it was 654.000.000 ALD, that is more than 27 times what it had been five years before.

These figures concern the whole Ministry of Education. After the splitting of the MEN into MEPS and MESRS, here are some figures concerning primary and secondary education:

- In 1971 the budget allocated to this sector was 1.036.993.000 ALD.
- In 1975 it was 2.106.830.000 ALD.

We notice here that it more than doubled in five years. (3) (see charts on p.94, 95)

Today we speak of 569.000.000.000 ALD allocated to the MEN and 219.000.000.000 ALD allocated to the MESRS. (4)

Even if we consider the fact that the local currency has not the same value now as that of the nineteen sixties or seventies, because of inflation like most currencies in the world, the sums are important and it would be only fair to repeat that not many countries, even in the Western World, allocate such a percentage of their annual budget to the sector of education.

To have an idea about the increase of students from the mid-nineteen sixties to the mid nineteen seventies, a look at the chart on p. 93 shows the consequences of the colonial period (in 1965 only 125.010 children attending middle and secondary education). Today the figures amount to over 8 million children attending different levels of education.

The big challenge for the coming years will concern the financial capacities of the state to cover the various expenses at all the levels of the educational system. The constantly growing population does not allow to be very optimistic.

Will the noble principles of democratization be altered in favour of an elitist system? Will private educational institutions be reasonably accessible to children of fairly average economic background to alleviate the pressure on the state budget? Hopefully they will or, at least, the will be encouraged to do so.

4.2.2. The challenges in terms of quality:

Considering the investments mentioned in the previous section, Algeria could challenge countries like South Korea or Finland in educational matters. It is not the case.

Does this mean that the Algerian learner is mentally limited? Certainly not and here some examples of the high capacities of this learner when placed in favourable conditions:

People like Dr. Elias Zerhouni whose competence placed him at the top of the Health System in the U.S.A. or the thirty Algerian researchers and engineers who work in the American Silicon Valley, symbol of the new technologies, are products of the Algerian school.

There are competent people, teachers, as well as learners in the Algerian educational system but their number is relatively insufficient in relation to the efforts, financial mainly, made by the authorities.

It is not the aim of this work to deal with all the components of the educational system. The main concern is the place of language(s) at school and the impact on society.

4.3. A survey of the language policy in the educational system:

A reference has already been made on the early dogmatic choices for the Algerian society contained in the Charte d'Alger in 1964.

Those convictions persisted and ten years later in a MEPS note of general orientation and methodology for the elaboration of the programs, timings, and instructions concerning the training of new profiles in the ITE and CRF (see abb.) dated November 20, 1973 we can read:

"Finalités de la Formation:

Se conformer aux trois options fondamentales, impératives, indissociables qui doivent guider le développement de l'institution éducative algérienne: Arabisation, Democratisation, Orientation scientifique et technique: (……) par l'arabisation (……), il s'agit de réaliser la désalienation intellectuelle et spirituelle des générations futures. " (5)

That is, *"To comply with the fundamental options, inseparable imperatives which must guide the development of the Algerian educational institution: Arabization, democratization, technical and scientific Orientation: (……) with arabization (……), we have to achieve the intellectual and spiritual desalienation of the coming generations."*

Not a word on universality, modernity, and common sense. The alienation implicitly alluded to in the above note is not the only threat for the local culture. What about some Algerian children addressing their mothers and fathers with [ummi] "mummy" or [æbi] "daddy " in Classical Arabic instead of the traditional [ma] or [ba]/ [buja] or the typical [b□ji] of the rural areas?

4.3.1. The overwhelming place of ideology in the linguistic choices and the consequences on society:

It would be nonsense to state that no educational policy is somehow backed by an ideology or a political choice. Governments all over the world set political contours to any of their plans: social, economic, cultural or educational.

Problems arise when ideology leaves no space to common sense or goes too far not to allow possible immediate adjustments when errors are noticed. What is striking is the fierce opposition to positive adjustments when they occur.

It is the case when in the early 1990's, a decision of the Ministry of Education made it possible for the parents to choose between French and English as the first foreign language in the fourth year of primary school.

Considering the fact that the second half of the twentieth century saw the worldwide supremacy of the English language for the scientific publications including the social sciences, that decision could only be welcome and efforts had to be made for its success. Unfortunately it was not the case. Irrational statements could be heard or read in some papers

such as “it is a decision to accelerate the disappearance of French.” And this convinced most parents to opt for French for the sake of security.

They relied on the tradition of teaching French, not English, in primary schools not English. It cannot be better referred to than by the popular Algerian dictum [əl □erfa xir mnətelfa] (A known situation is better than an unknown one).

The result is that Algeria lost a chance to familiarize more children with English at an earlier age so that it could have been easier for them to have access to specialized publications at university or in their professional life.

A mere look at the “webometrics”, ranking of world universities, gives an idea of the possible consequences of the predominance of ideology, rather subjectivity. The ranking of the first 100 Arab universities places the USTO Mohamed Boudiaf in Oran in the 90th rank (4924th in the world ranking). (6)

A disappointing reality when, as mentioned earlier, many Algerians operate at the Silicon Valley and elsewhere in the Western Universities and Institutions.

Yet qualified people do exist in Algeria but at this rate the brain drain will continue to impoverish the Algerian society as it is the case for a lot of countries of the former Third World. An entity difficult to refer to it as a unit presently considering the political and economic changes. Today, some countries are called emergent. Others form the BRICS. (7)

4.3.2. The lack of pragmatic considerations in the educational system: Language is only a tool; the aim is the welfare of the nation:

For fear the teaching of French could transform the Algerian society into a western society, the school, instead of strengthening the foundations of local cultures, has impoverished them in some aspects.

The long French colonial settlement with all its attempts to cut the Algerian society from its roots did not succeed to do so. On the contrary the Algerian people, in their efforts to resist a cultural alienation, have developed a culture which we envy today both in Algerian Arabic and in French. It was above all Algerian.

Didn’t Kateb Yacine go to France in 1956 “to tell the French in French that we were not French”? His masterpiece “Nedjma” is a reference as a piece of African literature in the French language in all the universities in the world. (8)

Didn’t the same Kateb Yacine refer to the French language as a “butin de guerre” (a war plunder) after the independence? And the piece of anthology, in French, from Larbi Ben Mhidi:

“Donnez nous vos chars et vos avions et nous vous donnerons nos couffins.” (9), that is, *“Give us your tanks and planes and we’ll give you our shopping bags.”* after his arrest during

the Battle of Algiers, responding to the French Army officer's reproach to put bombs in public places.

Plenty of names can be mentioned as an indication of the flourishing Algerian culture of the colonial period: Emir Abdelkader, Emir Khaled, Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, Malek Bennabi, Mostefa Lacheraf, Kateb Yacine, Mohamed Dib, Mouloud Mammeri, Mouloud Feraoun, Frantz Fanon, Si Mhamed ben Rahal, Mostefa Ben Brahim, Mahieddine Bachtarzi, Mohamed Touri, Rachid Ksentini, El Hadj El Anka, El Hadj Mrizek, Ahmed Wahby, Blaoui Houari, Abderrahmane Kaki, Abdelkrim Dali, etc., and the list can be much longer.

These names, associated to either Algerian Arabic or the French language in the case of some writers are representative of the Algerian Culture. An interesting "Anthologie de la Litterature algérienne" by Christiane Achour gives valuable information about the writers of the colonial and post independence period. (10)

It would be unfair to ignore the valid writers, actors, singers, journalists, film makers who work today. During the colonial period, the Algerian society developed its own culture outside the French establishment and the names mentioned earlier are an indication of the success of the popular strategy.

Today, Algeria is an independent nation with its own educational system. It would be a very natural thing to have the schoolboys and schoolgirls acquainted with names from Yasmina Khadra to Rachid Boudjedra, from Slim to Merzak Allouache, etc.

In France, the average student is familiar with Molière's Harpagon or Victor Hugo's Jean Valjean, in the United States of America with Mark Twain's Tom Sawyer or Huck Finn, in Britain with Dickens's David Copperfield or Oliver Twist.

How many Algerian students are familiar with Mouloud Feraoun's "Fouroulou", Abdelkader Alloula's "Djelloul El Fhaimi", or "Bakhta" or "Yamna" made popular by Ahmed Wahbi then Khaled as extracts of the ancestral [□i□r əl məlḥun]? (Algerian traditional poetry), to mention only a few?

Instead of finding in their immediate authentic local environment, school above all, authentic local references, Algerian youngsters try to look elsewhere for models: the results are: diving into religion to the point of losing any rational thought for some, and for others finding refuge in: [ħarga] illegal emigration, [tbəznis] informal trade from "business", [qafla] tranquillizer with the shape of a small tablet similar to a shirt button (drug addiction).

The creative spirit of the Algerian youth has allowed to take an English word and to make variants of it like:

Business: [tbəznis] (trade often informal), [bəznesi] (agent, tader), [jbəznəs] (action verb).

Or an Arabic word and allow it new semantics like in: [ħrag] (verb), [ħarga] (action), [ħarraga] (agents /plural), or in [qafla] (substance/ drug), [mqaffəl] (under drug effect).

It is certainly not a pleasant topic to deal with but reality is what it is. These are certainly extreme solutions, fortunately not representative of the majority of the Algerian youth. The problem is the lack of enthusiasm when it is time to join in the efforts to participate to the welfare of the country.

It is a rather puzzling situation when we compare it with the popular attitude in relation with the mood of the autumn 2009 preceding and following Algeria's qualification for the Soccer World Cup in South Africa. The slogan was "one, two, three, viva l'Algérie" associating English, Spanish or Italian and French. The absence of Arabic in the slogan did not alter at all the Algerianity of the supporters.

4.4. Conclusion:

If this chapter is meant to deal with the shaping of the linguistic evolution by the educational system, it can be admitted that the school has not played a dominant or an active role in this evolution. Its role has been rather passive.

The proper internal contradictions of the system have allowed the birth of the very "colourful" language illustrated by some examples in the previous pages. The cartoon on p.102 is a good illustration of a typical exchange between youngsters.

In the past twenty years the press has become a forum for intellectuals or mere citizens giving their opinions. Most of them agree that it is high time to put an end to the conflictual positions opposing "arabisants" to "francisants" or "arabophones" to "berberophones".

The success of the educational system can only come from an intelligent "medley" of these facets of the local cultures. This does not mean that utterances like: [tilifunili gudemlpartija] "Call me before the match" or [□eu rət.ar xat.ərl□t.□thum t.ahət □̃ pan] "They came late because they had a problem with their car." should be accepted as Standard Modern Algerian Arabic. They cannot be banned either. Tolerance is required not only for spiritual matters but even for linguistic expression. Language reflects what we are, not what we should be.

Degrees of correctness or acceptability should be set by linguists, not basing their decision on subjective or rigid considerations but with a sort of "interactive" strategy to make Algeria more competitive in terms of education, culture, and science.

Society ⟷ levels of decision

4.5. Notes for chapter 4: The Algerian educational system and its role in the shaping of the linguistic evolution so far.

(1) LA CHARTE D'ALGER, ensemble des textes adaptés par le 1er congrès du parti du Front de Liberation Nationale (du 16 au 21 avril 1964) p.79

(2) Op. cit p. 170, 171, 172

(3) HAMZET EL WASL, Ministère de l'Education, Alger, n° XII 1976- 1977 p. 41-42

(4) in LE TEMPS D'ALGERIE of January 4, 2011 (article sur la loi des finances pour 2011)

(5) in HAMZET EL WASL, Ministère des Enseignements Primaire et Secondaire, n °10, 1975 – 1976, p.85-86

(6) http://www.webometrics.info/en/arab-world (last consulting in November 2012)

(7) BRICS : Group of countries including : Brazil ; Russia, India, China and South Africa

(8) Kateb Yacine, NEDJMA (Paris le Seuil 1956)

(9) Larbi Ben Mhidi, one of the leaders of the armed struggle, was arrested and killed during the Battle of Algiers

(10) Christiane Achour, ANTHOLOGIE DE LA LITTERATURE ALGERIENNE DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE (ENAB- Bordas Paris 1990)

Chapter 5

Proposals for a Rational Language Policy in Algeria

5.1. Introduction:

In the previous chapters we have tried to observe the linguistic situation in Algeria today and to analyze the various historical events that have resulted in this situation. In other words we have tried a descriptive approach.

Linguistics, like all sciences, operates at a DESCRIPTIVE level but what would be the use of any research if the object/ situation studied remains static, unchanged mainly when it is a matter of social, cultural or linguistic facts?

The aim of this chapter is a modest attempt at a PRESCRIPTIVE level. Linguistics in general and sociolinguistics in particular can contribute to some improvement of the situation. The main target is the school or the educational system with all its components: syllabus designers, advisors, teachers, etc.

Language policy can be seriously tackled only within a PROJECT OF SOCIETY. The segments of this project, as far as the school is concerned, are the educational project and, in it, the pedagogical one.

Our role is not to act as substitutes for educationalists but to propose suggestions to help bridge the gap between the "street language" and the "school language".

The educational system is not an isolated member of the whole body that is the nation. Other sectors are concerned.

Along with the school, the mass media can play a decisive role: the journalists of the written press as well as those of the audio visual one can serve as models.

Producers in the world of culture: playwrights, movie makers, authors of lyrics can greatly contribute in this task.

5.2. The Algerian linguistic situation: a concern at all levels of society:

In chapter one, we mentioned only part of the existing literature on the subject. An exhaustive listing of all contributions to the study of the linguistic situation in Algeria at both diachronic and synchronic levels would amount to scores of publications.

Since 1962, educationalists, linguists, journalists, or simple citizens have expressed their interest in this situation in books, magazines, newspaper articles, TV talk shows or radio broadcasts, more recently in forums on websites.

This interest ranges from total despair to positive criticism resulting in interesting proposals. If the former can be understood but not necessarily shared, the latter could be an initial step to help in the solution of the many problems the Algerian society faces. Our attempt is conceived in this scope.

5.2.1. Contributions to the debate on language:

Some contributions are part of an overall evaluation of the educational system; others target the language policy as such. In both cases the relation between the school and the linguistic situation is overtly or implicitly stated.

As mentioned earlier if some critics are limited to a form of denunciation, others, and they are not the least, are rather constructive: they contain proposals.

The problem is: even when criticism is meant to be positive or constructive, the feasibility or the implementation of the proposals is not that easy. The critics themselves should initiate a contribution by being positive.

In chapter one, we mentioned M. Benrabah's use of the expression "haine de soi" in reference to Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi's proposals for immediate and intensive arabization in the 1960's. That was in his book "Langue et Pouvoir en Algérie" published in France in 1999. (1)

In a more recent contribution to a Dossier published by El Watan in 2011, A. Dourari states

"La politique linguistique a inculqué la haine de soi" (2) that is *"The linguistc policy has inculcated self hatred".*

We do not share this reference to "haine de soi" for the simple reason that Algerians do not hate their country and a simple detail to confirm this is the presence of the Algerian flag among the public in international sporting events.

The literary TV broadcast on Canal Algérie "Expression Livre", recently hosted Yasmina Khadra whose books are translated in several languages. In his reference to this temptation towards "haine de soi", the writer uses the term "deni de soi" that is "self denial" (3) and he simply proposes to substitute it by "don de soi", that is "gift of oneself" in other words dedication.

The general mood in El Watan's Dossier in 2011 is highly critical. Its author entitled it "une crise de la langue unique dans le monde arabe et au Maghreb: L'Algérien est-il un analphabète bilingue? " (4) "A unique language crisis in the Arab World and in the Maghreb: Is the Algerian a bilingual illiterate?"

In the 1990's, in a reaction to the notion of [qaumija], a term to refer to the Arab World, Mostefa Lacheraf declared that no other country in the Arab region had suffered what the Algerians endured during the colonial period and consequently they had to receive no lesson from anyone in the fields of culture and language.

The Dossier is interesting if not by its impact on the society, at least by its existence or as a resource for further research. One article for example is entitled "La rue algérienne, un dictionnaire à ciel ouvert" or "The Algerian street, an open air dictionary" (5) with an

interesting presentation of terms like “beggar” [bəga:r] not [begə], stemming from the genius of the Algerian youth, meaning something like a square head.

The local press regularly displays forums for national and international problems and the supplement “L’actualité autrement vue” in the Thursday issue of “Le Quotidien d’Oran” has become an interesting one.

In an article entitled “Algérianité et algérophonie” Ammar Koroghli, lawyer by profession, states

“A un moment où il est devenu de bon ton de faire état des “constantes nationales” et où les candidats ne se privent pas de rappeler tantôt leur amazighité, tantôt leur arabité, n’est il pas plus judicieux d’évoquer son algérianité avec son pendant l’algérianophonie ? ” (6)

The writer rejects the constant reference to the linguistic components of Algeria separately or in opposition. He prefers to combine them for the making of the Algerian personality (Algérianité) with its own language (Algérianophonie).

In another article entitled “Chtawala, zaama…et les autres perles de notre language”, Amara Khaldi concludes

“Pourquoi chez nous on continue de cultiver la fâcheuse obsession de toujours verser dans l’excès et que certains veulent être plus arabes que les arabes et plus musulmans que les musulmans. Soyons Algériens c’est tout. ” (7)

The writer rejects linguistic and religious extremism for the sake of Algéria.

Before the desperate reference to the “haine de soi”, A. Dourari had made an interesting contribution in which he mentioned

“Une correlation entre la politique linguistique educative et culturelle de l’Etat. ” (8) that is

“A correlation between the linguistic policy and the educational and cultural policy of the state. ”

This correlation is more than vital for the school at all its levels and the society with all its components. The big problem is the implementation of such a strategy . It requires what Yasmina Khadra, as mentioned earlier, calls “don de soi”. It would be very unfair to omit to mention the CRASC publication “Insaniyat” with some issues allowing a reasonable space to

problems of language, above all issue n°17.18 with qualitative articles on language and society. (9)

5.3. Past and present attempts for improvement :

Since 1962, there has been a constant evolution in the teaching strategies (methods, approaches, and techniques).

5.3.1. The situation during the first four decades:

In the nineteen sixties, as far as teaching methodology and programs were concerned, the tendency was to carry on with the tradition left by the French school: an important place for grammar and literary texts for MT, SL, and FL. (10)

The French language, an officially foreign language after 1962, continued to be taught as a mother tongue with the classics from Montaigne to Voltaire or Victor Hugo, and Modern Standard not to say Classical Arabic as it had been before 1962 (translation from and into French). That was for secondary education.

It was the era of GMT (11) inherited from the classical teachings of Greek and Latin in Europe. (See copies of Probatoire and BEPC exam papers on pp.96 to 100)

In the meantime the Behaviourist tendency paved the way to the audio-lingual (aural-oral or mim-mem) method in the late nineteen sixties. That was for the FL teaching but the people in charge of MT methodology were not indifferent to these novelties. Then started a period with the Algerian educational system, confronted to specific problems (intensive democratization added to insufficient number of qualified staff) trying to find solutions to local problems by mere imitation of educational systems with no similar problems of quantity and a certain tradition in research and staff qualification.

The last decades of the twentieth century were characterized by the functional mood, a consequence of the solutions of the Council of Europe to the linguistic situation of the growing immigrant populations in Western European countries.

All this resulted in the Algerian educational system, another imitation, in what was called “méthode globale” with a great number of learners capable of “chatting” in some contexts with fairly acceptable language but incapable of making the difference between basic grammatical items such as direct object and indirect object or sentence and clause, and a poorer written expression.

The growing number of pupils added to the little care on analytical language study has led to a general impoverishment of the mastery of either Modern Arabic or French. The compensation, as stated earlier, is the birth of this new vernacular proper mainly to some urban areas.

The nineteen eighties saw the generalization of “Ecole Fondamentale” or Basic Education associating primary and intermediate steps. The Algerian vernacular, a continuous string of witticism, almost immediately called it Ecole Faudamentale from [fauda] in Arabic meaning chaos, a reference to the problems caused by the lack of experience and the growing number of pupils.

5.3.2. The present situation:

Today the fashion is “approche par compétence” or competence-based approach. Numerous educationalists around the world do not seem to be very enthusiastic about its implementation. In a long contribution to the debate on education published in a series of issues in a daily paper, Oukaci Lounis calls it “une mauvaise réponse à un vrai problème.” (12)

In a dossier available on a web site entitled: “L’approche par compétence: une mystification pédagogique” or “the competence-based approach: a pedagogical mystification” the author calls it “un concept lié historiquement à l’ère de la globalisation” or “a concept historically linked to the global economy era”. He adds

“Phenomène de mode? On serait tenté de le croire en observant le côté fulgurant de la diffusion du vocable compétence” or *“A trendy phenomenon? We would be tempted to believe it when we see the widespread use of the word competence.” (13)*

This opinion was recently shared by participants in a TV talk show on Algerian television dedicated to this new trend. (14) The competence-based approach has not only opponents. In a contribution entitled “L’approche par compétence, ses fondements et les moyens de la rendre féconde”, the author, a retired headmaster, concludes:

“Une classe est “nouvelle” si le élèves y vivent non dans le monde artificiel qu’est trop souvent notre milieu scolaire, mais dans la vie même, si les parents collaborent, si le dévouement et l’influence de l’éducateur sont à la hauteur de nos espérances, si l’esprit de nos potaches s’ouvre sur des réalités chaque jour plus vastes et plus riches (……..).” (15)

That is *“A class is new if the pupils find in it, not the artificial world that is too often our school milieu, but life itself, if the parents cooperate, if the teacher’s devotion and influence are up to our hopes, if our children’s spirit opens up to realities always vaster and richer (.....).”*

Considering the state of the Algerian school with both quantitative and qualitative challenges, the author's conditions are not likely to be met very soon. Is it a reason to adopt a defeatist attitude when we observe the Algerian youth's vitality?

5.4. The challenges today:

Our work was conceived within a project in sociolinguistics at the English section of the Anglo Saxon Department. Our conviction is that school, if rationality takes over any other consideration, can play an important role in the linguistic policy and consequently in the educational policy with all its positive impacts on various sectors of the society.

Moreover, we do not mean to be followers of another kind of fashion: pragmatism. That was the tendency during the post WWII period with language syllabuses, for the sake of fluency, produced sorts of parrots – the stimulus response – strategy.

5.4.1. Sociolinguistics and language teaching:

To be interested in the educational system as an important actor in a rational language policy does not take us away from our main concern: language.

Whatever the area of study in general or the branch of linguistics in particular, research for the sake of research would sound like a sterile activity. In the common article entitled "Actantialiser ou déconstruire" Aicha Kassoul and Mohamed Lakhdar Maougal state:

"La sociolinguistique…a été captée…pour participer à la mise en place et en pratique des stratégies d'acquisition et d'apprentissage. Cette captation de la sociolinguistique par la didactique a préparé le terrain à sa transformation en discipline annexe de la didactique…" (16)

"Sociolinguistics ..... has been captured ..... to participate to the implementation of acquisition and learning strategies. This capture of sociolinguistics by teaching methodology (didactics) has paved the way to its transformation into a discipline appended to methodology."

They emphasise the idea that sociolinguistics has deviated from its early concentration on the spoken language in favour of writing to fit in an educational policy.... decided by others. There is no harm with sociolinguistics or other branches of linguistics being a partner with the educational system to improve the constantly criticized level. We believe it can be of a great help in this improvement as educationalists agree that low level in both scientific and literary subjects is mainly due to bad language mastery (MT, SL, and FL).

5.5. Proposals:

Any attempt to devise an educational strategy and its implementation should consider society as a whole. The school is certainly the core of this strategy but various members of the society are concerned at both levels of conception and implementation.

The proposals are not to be seen in the scope of pedagogy only but as a contribution leading the school to become a major active partner in the language policy, not a victim of erratic choices.

5.5.1. Proposals for the educational system:

A widespread belief considers what is old as something of no more use, of little interest. Historians refer to a glorious period as the "Golden Age" in the case for example of Arab civilization. Wisdom suggests that one should always refer to his past to understand his present, and plan his future.

5.5.1.1. On conceptual strategies:

In the prologue of what we consider as a slice of common sense D.A. Wilkins states: *"We know that in some cases, with certain pupils and with certain teachers, methods that we commonly castigate can be successful and conversely that methods that find general favour can fail. The reason is that the principles that govern language learning are sufficiently general to permit the same goals to be reached by methods and techniques that vary considerably in their details and necessitate different approaches for different goals." (17)*

In the envoi, which he means to be his conclusion, he adds *"it would be a rash man who would claim that we know enough about learning to be able to predict exactly the path that learning will follow in any one instance." (18)*

If the author is concerned mainly by SL learning and teaching, his opinion can be applied to any level of any teaching or learning situation. He refers to flexibility and unpredictability, two important parameters to consider in any instance of conception.

We would speak of micro and macro flexibility. It may concern the teacher in his classroom depending on the learner's personality for example, or variations due to social, economic, regional or environmental factors.

5.5.1.2. Organizational considerations:

Today, thanks to democratization, over eight million pupils attend school, nearly a quarter of the population. It is a great achievement if we compare this with the post independence situation.

If today, as it is the case even for western countries, we can often come across university graduates working as shop assistants or taxi drivers or simply on the dole because of high unemployment, it is not easy to find a skilled plumber, carpenter or electrician when we need one. Economists claim that the Algerian agriculture suffers from the massive rush to urban areas resulting in lack of manpower in rural ones.

Common sense would maintain compulsory schooling for all at the primary stage to make sure all citizens get familiar with the 3Rs. Then gradual orientation based on the student's competence and ambitions combined to requirements at local, regional, national levels for manpower, white collar staff in all fields ranging from public services to central administrations, agriculture to industry, tourism to transports, etc., would be a better solution.

It is obvious that language that is used in a faculty of arts for the training of graduates in literature and that of a workshop during the training of mechanics will not be the same. In the first case will students say [əl pr□f] instead of [əl usted] or [l□̃fi] instead of [əl mudarə□]?

In the second case will trainees say [əl m□tør] instead of [əl muħerrək]? This is just a hint on what the sociolinguist is expected to tackle.

5.5.1.3. On interdisciplinarity:

One of the constraints of modernity is the necessity not to be confined in a narrow specialization but to be capable of equally mastering two, three or more areas of competence. At the end of the twentieth century, a French official stated that the two basic ingredients to enter the new millennium were the English language and the mastery of computer use.

If we take into account the historical animosity opposing Britain to France, we can admit that this official had enough courage to make such a declaration.

Interdisciplinarity concerns both teachers and learners. The sociolinguist cannot remain indifferent to his environment in the sense that he grasps it only at a descriptive level. He should act on it. The school is the ideal workshop for such an action.

Interdisciplinary relations between colleagues from various branches of study within a university department or faculty and with members of other departments could help to collect a rich linguistic databank to exploit in various syllabuses at all levels of the educational system.

5.6. The language policy:

A gradual strategy initiated immediately after the independence for the early stage of primary education and reaching its generalization in the late nineteen eighties exposed the Algerian learners to the different subjects in what we call Modern Standard Arabic, some call it school language, except for the foreign languages.

The problem is that the gap between this form of Arabic and the one that is part of the learner's environment is huge. In some areas with important presence of Berber speech, different forms of Amazigh language mainly in Kabylia and the Aures, intensive arabization has not so far converted Berber speakers into Arabic speakers.

Most of them do understand and speak forms of Algerian Arabic, mainly those of central Algeria. Some of them have even a good command of MSA.

It is the case of A. Dourari who, in spite of his constant struggle for more recognition for Berber Language and culture, masters MSA.

Some of the Algerian TV journalists or reporters with Berber background are highly requested by Arab channels like El Jazira for the simple reason that they produce an authentic MSA without any local influence mainly at the phonological level.

5.6.1. On cohesion and coherence:

The whole strategy could be summarized by the answer to the question: What language(s) for what purpose(s)?

If the main concern continues to be the availability of MSA in the learner's environment, it is today an outdated concern thanks to the numerous TV satellite channels or Web sites he can easily have access to.

An amusing school situation is that of MSA used for the sake of introducing content vocabulary related to the subject and local vernacular for authentic communication.

The teacher can switch from an utterance like [mada tufakkiruna fima jæxussu hedihil ħæla?] (What do you think about this situation? in MSA) to something like [barka mnəl ħəs] (Stop making noise in a variant of Algerian Arabic) as a request for silence from noisy students instead of [əl hudu min fadlikum] the same request in MSA.

Coherence should lead the teacher to opt for the polite MSA request but for the sake of efficiency the request is in Algerian Arabic. Here is a good example of diglossia, very frequent in the Algerian educational system.

What we mean by coherence here is the capacity to bridge the gap between the variants of Arabic sometimes referred to as school language and street language. This would strengthen cohesion among the various components of the society.

It is a huge task which requires the coordination of efforts from sociolinguists, psycholinguists, and language teaching methodologists.

Coherence also concerns the place of foreign language teaching. What is the use of persisting in the teaching of biology in Arabic in secondary education when most branches related to this discipline: medicine, dental surgery, pharmacy are taught in French at university?

5.6.2. Partners in the language policy:

We refer to all the people intervening in the world of culture: writers, booksellers, artists, journalists, actors. All of them can only be fed by a competitive educational system and conversely they will be of great help in its development.

It is a good thing to be optimistic but sometimes a glance at the local press depresses you. Recently the title in an important daily was nothing but *"7000 fast-foods à Alger!", "7000 fast-foods in Algiers!" (19)*

If we compare this with the number of bookstores, libraries, craft shops, art galleries, theatres and cinemas available in the capital, the enthusiasm for cultural, linguistic and educational matters would be highly affected.

The situation is even worse in Oran, the second largest city in Algeria with fewer interesting bookstores than forty years ago and interesting cultural events organized mainly by foreign cultural centres (Institut français and Spanish Cervantes Institute).

If we have felt a certain pride to read that "El Watan" was ranked first in Africa for the daily newspapers in the French language, and "El Khabar" second after the Egyptian "Al Ahram" for Arabic, it is not the case as regards the state TV displaying spelling and punctuation mistakes in French. It was the case recently, during the Game Show [təqdər tərbeħ], (20) of an MCQ proposing to choose among three French presidents.

We could read Guy Molet instead of Guy Mollet, Mendes france instead of Mendès France and Edgar faur instead of Edgar Faure. This is not an argument for correction only. An institution like the state TV cannot function without an editing service. It is somehow the mirror of the Algerian society.

Programs like "Questions d'Actu", "Expression Livre" and "Culture Club", to remain with the French language, do reflect the vitality of the society. Spelling mistakes elsewhere should not affect the efforts made for improvement.

5.7. Conclusion:

The elaboration of the language policy aiming at an improvement of the performances of the Algerian educational system requires the cooperation of all sectors of activity.

First of all its contours should stem from the society itself so that its implementation would involve the adherence of all, leaving aside suspicious attitudes as to losing one's culture or seeing it altered.

The key role is the linguist's attribute, above all the sociolinguists nationwide, who would act as data collectors and their coordination to exploit these data would be an initial step towards the standardization of Algerian Arabic.

The procedure maybe long and time consuming but the satisfaction it would provide is worth the attempt.

Notes for chapter 5: Proposals for a rational language policy in Algeria.

(1) In Mohamed Benrabah, LANGUE ET POUVOIR EN ALGERIE (Seguier 1999) p.93,94

(2) In EL WATAN, 29 septembre 2011 p.6

(3) In "EXPRESSION LIVRE" on Canal Algérie, 6 novembre 2012

(4) EL WATAN, 29 septembre 2011, p.4.5

(5) Op. cit p.5

(6) In LE QUOTIDIEN D'ORAN du 9 avril 2009

(7) In LE QUOTIDIEN D'ORAN du 25 juin 2009

(8) In LE SOIR D'ALGERIE du 26 juin 2011 p.6,7

(9) INSANIYAT, REVUE ALGERIENNE D'ANTHROPOLOGIE ET DE SCIENCES SOCIALES n°17-18, Mai- Décembre 2002 (Vol. VI, 2-3)

(10) MT : Mother Tongue

SL : Second Language

FL: Foreign Language

(11) GMT: Grammar Translation Method

(12) Oukaci Lounis: L'APPROCHE PAR COMPETENCES: MAUVAISE REPONSE A UN VRAI PROBLEME. In Le Quotidien d'Oran série de numéros du 9 au 14 février 2010. (page débat)

(13) Nico Hirtt, L'APPROCHE PAR COMPETENCES : UNE MYSTIFICATION PEDAGOGIQUE, 10 octobre 2010 on http://www.skolo.org/spip-php ?article 1099

(14) QUESTION D'ACTU on Canal Algérie du 29 octobre 2012

(15) A. Benzerari in EL WATAN 3 janvier 2009 p. 23

(16) Aicha Kassoul et M.L.Maougal, ACTANTIALISER OU DECONSTRUIRE in INSANIYAT n°17-18 CRASC Oran, mai- décembre 2002, p.71

(17) D.A.Wilkins: SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING (Edward Arnold London 1974) p.IX

(18) Op. cit p.86

(19) In LIBERTE (15 novembre 2012) p.9

(20) Seen on Canal Algérie on November 24, 2012

General Conclusion

In the opening lines of his “Ecrits Didactiques”, M. Lacheraf wonders *“A quel niveau déjà atteint ou à atteindre, une culture nationale cesse d’être un simple divertissement pour devenir une nourriture aussi essentielle que le pain qu’on mange et l’air qu’on respire ?” (1)*

or

“At what level already reached or to be reached, a national culture ceases to be a mere entertainment to become a food as essential as the bread we eat and the air we breathe?”

After quoting Mohamed Dib: *“La mémoire du peuple algérien est notre bibliothèque nationale.” (2)* or *“the memory of the Algerian people is our national library.” (2)* He underlines the importance *“de sauver de l’oubli les trésors de la culture d’expression orale” (3)* or *“to save from oblivion the treasures of the culture of oral expression.”*

The culture of oral expression, in other words, the oral tradition, is the ancestral vector of transmission of all that concerns the Algerian society from generation to generation. Historically, the means of transmission have been our popular languages: regional variants of Algerian Arabic or Berber. As for the performers, the Meddah, the Goual have played an essential role.

Unfortunately, it is not anymore common to come across such people in the public squares of our villages, towns and cities as it was the case in the previous centuries. The reason is their substitution by all what the new technologies offer: TV, You Tube, Facebook, Twitter, etc.

Our era is referred to as the icon era, the icon being not the religious painting but the computer symbol. If in post independence oral tradition, criticism of school was expressed with the familiar [elliqra: qra: bəkri] today Facebook having become a forum for internauts for hi-tech criticism displays two photos: one shows an Asian pupil with a modern computer (i pad) with a comment in Arabic script [ai bad] (transcription of i pad); the other shows an Algerian schoolboy on his way to school, carrying on his back a schoolbag nearly his size, with the comment [ai dahri]: a complaint about his backache in Algerian Arabic. The backache caused by the weight of the bag.

This is another proof that the ancestral sense of humour or wisdom expressed even today by means of high technology is always present and it is up to the school to integrate it in its programs.

The juxtaposition of the two photos with the comments is another witty criticism of the Algerian school, incapable of integrating tradition by means of the local popular languages, and modernity, even at the cost of adopting the sole use of English or French for science and technology in Higher Education.

The learner, if well trained, can find the information he needs elsewhere: on TV, web sites, etc.

M. Lacheraf's research for his "Ecrits Didactiques", as regards the safeguard of tradition, has taken him to Finland. He states : *"L'un des exemples les plus émouvants de cette recherche, de ce sauvetage des restes encore valables d'un patrimoine non écrit reste celui du Finlandais Lonröt. Ce médecin de campagne du siècle dernier consacra dix-sept années de sa vie à parcourir son pays pour y recueillir les fragments oraux du "Kalevala", la grande épopée nationale des Finnois qu'on enseigne encore aujourd'hui dans les écoles." (4)* or

"One of the most touching examples of this research, of this rescue of the still valuable remains of a non written patrimony, is that of the Finnish Lonröt. This country doctor of the last century dedicated seventeen years of his life to tour his country to collect the oral fragments of the "Kalevala", the great national epic of the Finnish that is still taught in the schools today." (5) The century referred to is the nineteenth century.

M. Lacheraf's reference to Dr. Lonröt and the Kalevala is not a random one. If we have a look at the world ranking of educational systems in the recent years we notice that Finland proves to have the most efficient one with rank one in Mathematics, rank one in Science, and rank two in reading. (6)

It is clear that an important place in the educational system for traditions expressed in popular language(s) can contribute to make it efficient even in terms of science and technology and the Finnish example is the best proof of it.

Man's way of life has changed in the past years thanks to mobile telephony. Isn't Finland the pioneer and the world leader in this technology?

As far as the Algerian school is concerned, no one can deny that Algeria, since 1962 has invested a lot in the educational system. The huge sums of money invested should have given better results but a series of erratic decisions has led to what severe criticism refers to as the production of "bilingual illiterates". (7)

The main solution is to free ourselves from dogmatic positions and adopt rational attitudes about the Algerian personality and the national welfare.

What prevents us from seeking in our cultural background, dominant figures, texts, legends and introduce them at various steps of the educational system? Just as an indication, we can mention the texts of Mostefa Ben Brahim or El Khaldi, the poems of Si Mohand, the legend of Hizia, etc. What about Saint Augustine the Algerian, Apulée the pioneer of novelists, or Abderrahmane Ibn Khaldoun the forefather of sociology?

Do Algerian students know that Fibonacci, a great Italian mathematician, was educated in Bejaia and from there he took the Arab figures (numbers) to Italy? (8)

Last but not least, how many Algerian students are familiar with the popular sayings or proverbs contained in Kadda Boutarène's Anthology "Proverbes et Dictons Populaires Algériens"?

What a better end to our dissertation than his dedication: *“Je dédie ces pages aux générations montantes de mon pays avec l’espoir qu’elles y découvriront des raisons de croire davantage à l’algérianité de leur culture.” (9)* that is *“ I dedicate these pages to the growing generations of my country with the hope that they will find in them reasons to believe more in the Algerianity of their culture.”*

Notes for the General Conclusion:

(1) In Mostefa Lacheraf : ECRITS DIDACTIQUES SUR LA CULTURE, L'HISTOIRE ET LA SOCIETE (ENAP Alger 1988) p.9

(2) Op. cit p15

(3) Op. cit p 29

(4) Op. cit p 29

(5) We have underlined this part of the quotation to emphasize the importance of people's roots (cultural thus linguistic) even in the modern era.

(6) In Educational score performance - country ranking

http://www.geographic.org/country_ranks/
educational_score_performance_country_ranks_2009_oecd.htlm

(7) Dossier in "EL WATAN" (29 septembre 2011) "L'ALGERIEN EST-IL UN ANALPHABETE BILINGUE ? "

(8) Fibonacci: Great Italian Mathematician

http://www.lifeinitaly.com/heroes-villains/fibonacci.asp

(9) Kadda Boutarène, PROVERBES ET DICTONS POPULAIRES ALGERIENS (OPU Alger 2004) p.3

Epilogue:

In “L’an 2000 du Tiers Monde: Développement ou Régression?” M. Benoune states:

“C’est la technologie qui joue le rôle déterminant dans l’évolution culturelle de l’humanité.” (1) or *“It is technology that plays a decisive role in the evolution of mankind.”*

Culture cannot be reduced to artistic expression: folk singing, craft, etc., as it is the case in many countries. If we consider the relation between culture and language, it is clear that people’s inventive spirit makes its “grandeur”.

Language itself certainly contributes to the improvement of social and economic conditions by means of foreign language learning and translation.

In the same mood, A. Hadj Salah compares a language to a currency. He states:

“La langue arabe, comme toutes les langues, telle une monnaie, est sujette aussi bien à une augmentation de sa valeur, qu’à sa diminution. La valeur d’une langue reflète celle de la communauté qui l’utilise.” (2) or *Arabic like all languages, as it is the case for a currency, is subject to an increase of its value as well as it decrease. The value of a language reflects the one of the community that uses it.”*

Today, how much scientific material or knowledge is produced in or translated into Classical Arabic? The answer to this question is worth considering for a language planning in our country.

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(1) Mahfoud Benoune, L’an 2000 du Tiers Monde: Développement ou Régression? (p.3) O.P.U. 1985

(2) Abderrahmane Hadj Salah, “La langue arabe face au multilinguisme mondial” in la Journée de la langue arabe, 26 janvier 2010 (http://www.aldjazair.net)

The Questionnaire

Notes on the Questionnaire:

Part 1 :

1. Considering the fact that bilingualism (Arabic – French) is part of the Algerian linguistic reality, we thought it would be wiser to propose the questionnaire in the two languages.

2. The proposed questionnaire is certainly not exhaustive. The selection of items is suggested by the topic of this research.

3. It is divided into two main sections:

- Section 1 is illustrative of the informants' linguistic habits. In this section the informants' linguistic habits are examined from the receptive point of view (listening and reading) as well as from the productive one (speaking and writing).

- Section 2 is about the informants' attitude to language and their opinion as regards language policy of Algeria tomorrow.

4. We have used the term Classical Arabic (CA) in the questionnaire to facilitate comprehension for the informants. In the dissertation it is referred to as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

Part 2 :

1. We have omitted (not deliberately) to ask the informants to make only one choice. The consequence is that, in some cases, we are given 2 or 3 options.
   This makes it rather difficult to translate all the given data into diagrams, charts etc.
   So, for the sake of accuracy, we are obliged to limit our graphic representations to the items which allow us to do so. Not all the items are concerned. We focus those which are worth considerating for a problematic strategy in language management/ policy.

2. We have distributed fifty copies of the questionnaire (twenty five in Arabic and twenty five in French), but we have collected only forty (nineteen in Arabic and twenty one in French).

3. The criteria for exploration are:

   a. Informants opting for the questionnaire in Arabic.
   b. Informants opting for the questionnaire in French.

   Then:

   Gender: male / female

   Age: up to 30 / over 30

- The choice for the age of thirty is to distinguish between two age groups differently exposed to the policy of Arabization.
- Their exposure to a different environment: availability of or not of the satellite T.V., one and unique channel versus hundreds of channels.
  Two or three daily newspapers versus scores of newspapers and magazines, Internet, mobile phones etc.

- Exhaustive study of the data is done for the above criteria (gender and age) as for the other criteria (job and occupation, level of instruction, language of instruction) somehow related to the criterion of age. Focus is on the data that is more informative for our study. (available in section 2 of the questionnaire).

4. The adopted criteria for classification gave the following distribution:

   a. Questionnaire in Arabic:

Gender:	Male	10 informants / Female	09 informants
Age:	Up to 30	11 informants / Over 30	08 informants

Total: 19 informants

b. Questionnaire in French:

Gender:	Male	09 informants / Female	12 informants
Age:	Up to 30	13 informants / Over 30	08 informants

Total: 21 informants

Analysis of the Informants' Choices:

Section 1

Item 1: home communication

- Classical Arabic (CA) is totally absent as the unique language in the Algerian home.
- One "elderly" male state they use Classical Arabic (CA) + Algerian Arabic (AA).
- The majority use a mix Algerian Arabic (AA) + French (F).
- Algerian Arabic (AA) alone comes in the second position. (see figure 1 and 2)

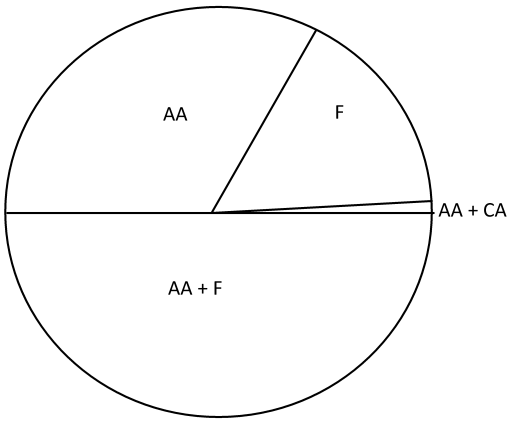


Figure1: Arabic informants

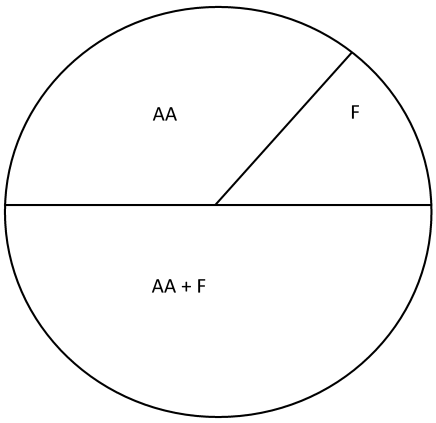


Figure 2: French informants

- The diglossic aspect of" home communication" is predominant.
- This survey has been carried out in the Oran urban area. However no one of the informants mentioned the use of Berber (yet thousands of Berber speakers live in Oran). On this point, the reliability of a questionnaire is subject to discussion.
- Another point (quite interesting) is that a higher proportion of Arabic informants use French at home.

Item 5: job/ classroom communication with colleagues/ classmates

- The majority of the informants (Arabic and French) confirm the predominance of diglossia AA + F in their communication with colleagues/ classmates and absence of CA as the unique language.

- Curiously, French informants give AA in the second position. Whereas for Arabic informants, AA competes with F for the second position.

- Two “elderly” females use a mix: AA + CA. (see figures 3 and 4)

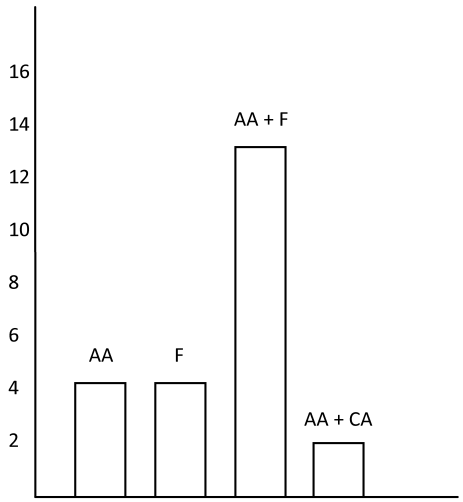


Figure 3: Arabic informants

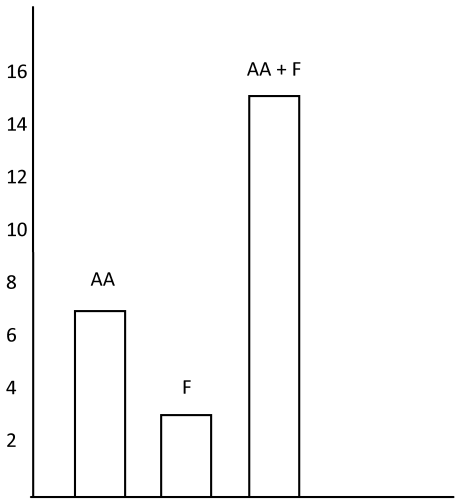


Figure 4: French informants

Item 6: job / classroom communication with seniors/ teachers

- For the Arabic informants, the AA + F mix leads but closely followed by CA and F. AA is far behind.

- For the French informants, F leads before AA + F and far behind AA. Only one French informant mentions CA. (see figures 5 and 6)

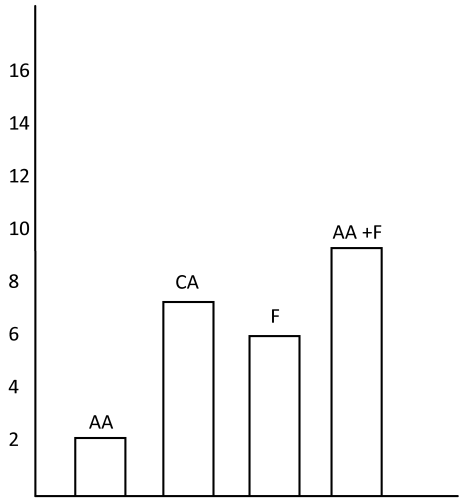


Figure 5: Arabic informants

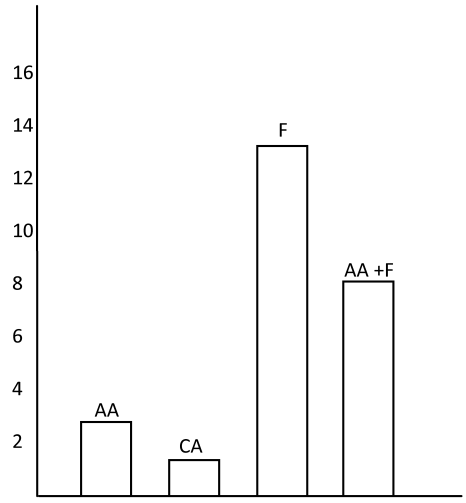


Figure 6: French informants

Item 7: job/ classroom communication with staff/ pupils/ students

- In both cases (Arabic informants and French informants) AA + F still leads, followed in the first case by F + CA and in the second case by F + AA. For the French informants, CA is totally absent.

Item 10: reading newspapers

- For the French informants access to the press in Arabic or French is quite balanced when we consider gender but with disproportion for the criterion of age.
- More young people tend to read newspapers in Arabic. (see figure 7)

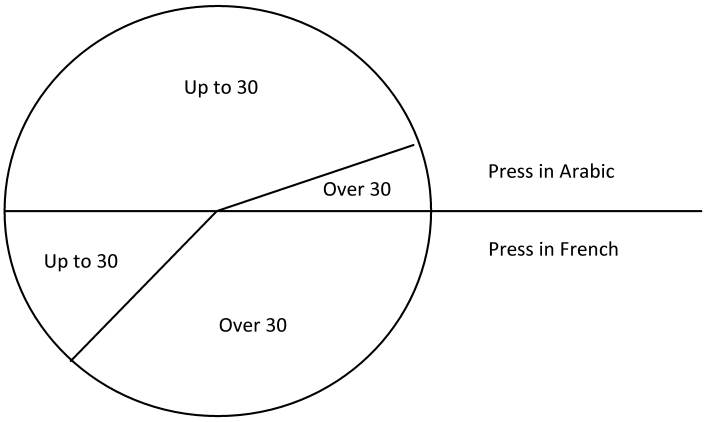


Figure 7 : French informants

Item 14: chatting/ sending e mails on Internet

- The French informants use either Arabic or French in their chatting or for their e mails whereas none of the French informants use Arabic (AA or CA) with Arabic graphy.
- Both group of informants (Arabic and French) use Arabic (AA) with Latin graphy. (see figure 8 and 9)

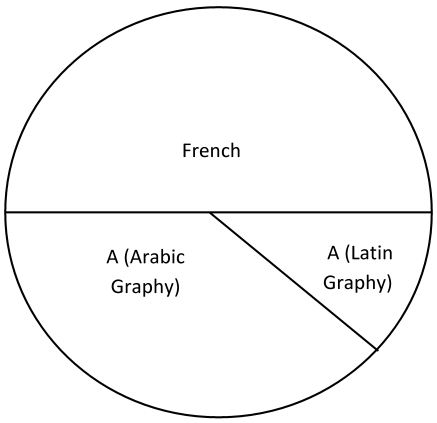


Figure 8: Arabic informants

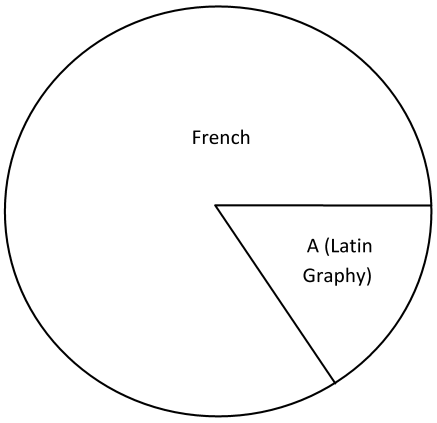


Figure 9: French informants

Section 2:

Item 4: the Algerian expression [rægda wa tmã□i] more or less meaningful

- Both categories in their majority agree that their popular expression would be less meaningful if we replace [tmã□□] by [tækul]. (see figure 10 and 11)

- Note: MM = more meaningful, LM = less meaningful.

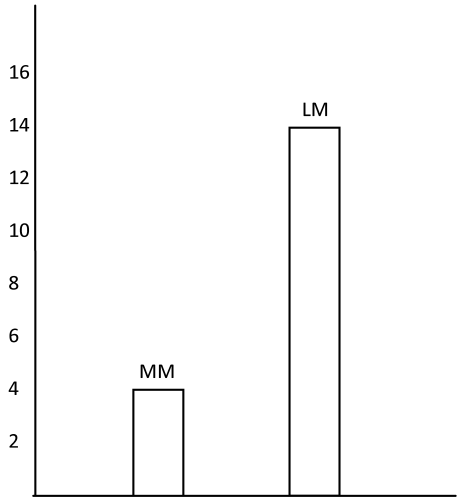


Figure 10: Arabic informants

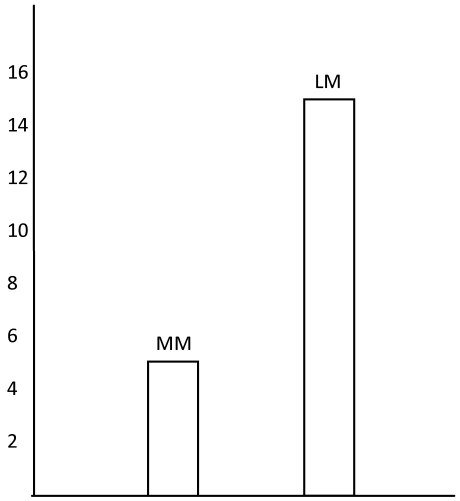


Figure 11: French informants

Item 7: national cohesion

- The majority of informants agree that national cohesion or understanding is possible whatever the linguistic background.
- The French informants are more affirmative. (see figure 12 and 13)

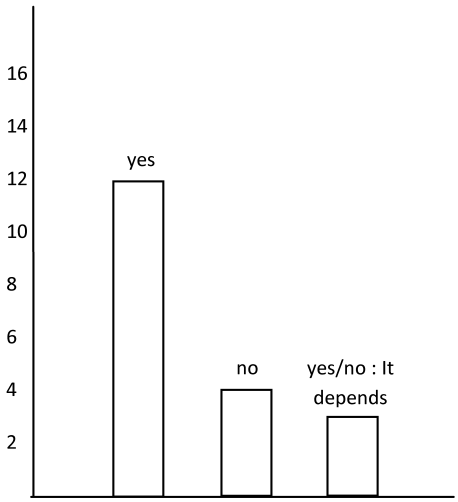


Figure 12: Arabic informants

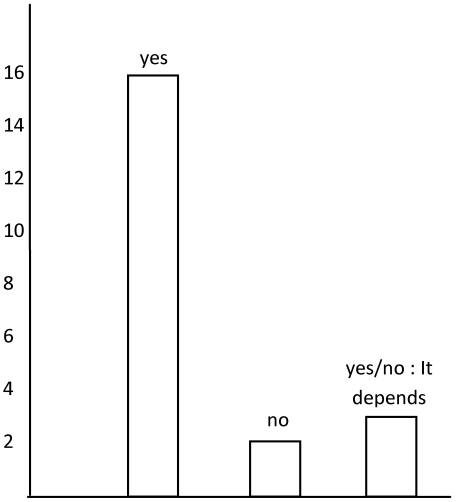


Figure 13: French informants

Conclusion:

This partial analysis of the informants' choices confirms our expectations as regards the linguistic situation of the country.

Since the survey is limited to a rather small number of informants from the Oran urban area, it makes the investigation not fully reliable to make extrapolations for an accurate national study.

However, Oran is the second largest city in Algeria and has the tradition of being the most cosmopolitan one. This linguistic melting pot offers a range of attitudes that cannot be neglected for a nationwide study, at least for urban areas.

The people solicited for the survey use, in their majority, Algerian Arabic mixed with French or alone to communicate at home and in many situations of their professional life.

Some effects of Arabization can be seen in the access to the written press with more young people reading newspapers in Arabic than their elders.

As regards the language(s) used for the access to new technologies of information, French is the most used one for the majority of the informants.

Concerning the attitude of the majority of the informants towards their "diglossic" situation, the answer is clearly given in item 4 of section 2. They are apparently not ready to replace [rægda wa tmã□i] by [rægda wa tækul].

Arabic - French Questionnaires Samples

استجواب

هذا الاستجواب مجهول، وهو جزء من عمل لتحضير رسالة ماجستير في "اللسانيات الاجتماعية". ونرجو منكم أن تتعاملوا مع الأسئلة بكل موضوعية، ولكم منا جزيل الشكر مسبقا.

المجموعة 1:

العمر : .....

الجنس : .....

المهنة: .....

المستوى المعرفي:.....

لغة المعرفة: .....

1. كيف يتم التواصل الشفوي بين أعضاء عائلتكم في البيت:
   - ☐ بالعربية الدارجة
   - ☐ بالعربية الفصحى
   - ☐ بالفرنسية
   - ☐ بخليط من اللغة العربية الدارجة والفرنسية
   - ☐ بخليط من اللغة العربية الدارجة واللغة العربية الفصحى
   - ☐ بطريقة أخرى:

   (وضح) : .....

   .....

   .....

   .....

2. هل تستمع إلى الإذاعة؟

☐ أ. دائما

☐ ب. من حين لآخر

☐ ج. لا أبدا

في حالة اختيار "أ" أو "ب" ما هي القنوات المفضلة لديك؟

☐ القناة 1 (عربية)

☐ القناة 2 (بربرية)

☐ القناة 3 (فرنسية)

☐ القنوات الجهوية (FM) وضح: .....

☐ أخرى. (وضح): .....

.....

3. إنكم تلتقطون حتما قنوات التلفزيون بالصائل. هل تنظمون هذا الالتقاط (الاستقبال) ببرمجة الأفضلية على جهات الجهاز؟

☐ نعم

☐ لا

إذا كان الجواب "نعم" ما هي شروط اختياراتكم؟

☐ حسب اللغة

☐ حسب نوعية البرامج

4. هل تتجه اختياراتكم للقنوات؟

☐ العربية

☐ الفرنسية

☐ الإنجليزية

☐ أخرى

(وضح) :

.....

.....

.....

.....

5. في مكان عملكم أو دراستكم، تتصلون مع زملائكم ورفاقكم بـ:

☐ العربية الدارجة

☐ العربية الفصحى

☐ الفرنسية

☐ بخليط من اللغة العربية الدارجة والفرنسية

☐ بخليط من اللغة العربية الدارجة والعربية الفصحى

☐ أخرى

(وضح) :

.....

.....

.....

.....

6. في مكان عملكم أو دراستكم، تتوجهون إلى مسئوليكم وأساتذتكم بـ :

☐ العربية الدارجة

☐ العربية الفصحى

☐ الفرنسية

☐ العربية الدارجة + الفرنسية

☐ العربية الدارجة + العربية الفصحى

☐ أخرى

(وضح) : .....

.....

.....

.....

7. في مكان عملكم أو دراستكم، تتوجهون إلى موظفيكم أو طلبتكم أو تلاميذتكم بـ :

☐ العربية الدارجة

☐ العربية الفصحى

☐ الفرنسية

☐ العربية الدارجة + الفرنسية

☐ العربية الدارجة + العربية الفصحى

☐ أخرى

(وضح) : .....

.....

.....

.....

8. هل لديكم مكتبة، وإن كانت صغيرة في البيت؟ (عدد الكتب ليس له أهمية)

☐ نعم

☐ لا

إذا كان نعم، هل أغلب كتبكم بـ :

☐ اللغة العربية

☐ اللغة الفرنسية

☐ بلغة أخرى

(وضح) : .....

.....

9. دخولكم للصحافة المكتوبة هل هو :

☐ منتظم

☐ غير منتظم

☐ غير موجود

10. بالخصوص هو دخول إلى :

☐ الصحافة المعربة

☐ الصحافة المفرنسة

11. في كثير من الأحيان (وصفات استعمال الأدوية أو الأجهزة أو تعليمة إدارية في بعض المؤسسات إلخ ...) يكون النص المقترح باللغتين (العربية – الفرنسية) وأحيانا أكثر. اتجاهك الأول هو لقراءة :

☐ النص العربي

☐ النص الفرنسي

12. عندما يطلب منك تعبئة صك نقدي أو استمارة بالعربية أو الفرنسية اختيارك التلقائي يميل نحو:

☐ العربية

☐ الفرنسية

☐ بحسب

13. هل أنتم من مستعملين تكنولوجيا الإيصالات الحديثة (إنترنت، الهاتف النقال ...)

☐ نعم

☐ أحيانا

☐ لا

14. حينما تدردشون على الإنترنت أو تبعثون رسائل عبر الإنترنت هل تكون ذلك بـ :

☐ العربية

☐ الفرنسية

☐ اللغة العربية المكتوبة بالأحرف اللاتينية

15. هل أنتم من المتعودين على إرسال، استقبال رسائل قصيرة من طرف الأصدقاء أو الأولياء بـ :

☐ اللغة العربية المكتوبة بالأحرف العربية

☐ الفرنسية

☐ اللغة العربية الفصحى أو الدراجة المكتوبة بالأحرف اللاتينية

☐ غير (وضح) .....

.....

المجموعة 2:

1. حيث تصلون إلى مكان (عام أو خاص)، طريقتكم في التحية هي :
   - ☐ صباح الخير / مساء الخير
   - ☐ السلام عليكم
   - ☐ Bonjour / salut
   - ☐ Azul
2. فيما يخص السؤال السابق، برر اختيارك بـ :
   - ☐ اقتناعاتك الخاصة
   - ☐ حسب الناس المتواجدين (مظاهرهم الخارجية ..)
   - ☐ المضمون / الوضع
3. المغني "حسني" له "أغنية" مازال كاين ليسبوار". لو نعرض كلمة "ليسبوار" بـ "الأمل" هل كان يحقق:
   - ☐ نجاحا أكثر
   - ☐ نجاحا أقل
   - ☐ لا أدري
4. العبارة الشعبية "راقدة وتمونجي" هل يكون لها
   - ☐ أكثر معنى
   - ☐ أقل معنى

بتعويض "تمونجي بـ "تأكل"

5. الجزائريون يعبرون أكثر تعلقهم بالوطن بـ :
   - ☐ الجزائر مونامور
   - ☐ من أجلكيا وطني
   - ☐ وان ثو ثري فيفا لالجيري

6. المغنيين المصريين مثل "عمرو دياب" أو اللبنانيين مثل "أصالة" هل هم أكثر شهرة من العالم من الشاب "خالد":
   - ☐ إطلاقا
   - ☐ طبعا
   - ☐ لا فكرة
7. في هذا الصيف 2010، قدم المغني "الشاب خالد" ولأول مرة حفل غنائي حضره أكثر من 10.000 متفرج (بنفس قدر المغني آيت منقلات) وبعد هذا الحدث قرر المغنيان إخراج ألبوم معا. هل هذا يعني أن الجزائريين يستطيعون التعامل مع بعضهم البعض مهما كانت لهجاتهم:
   - ☐ نعم (بالطبع)
   - ☐ لا (ليس بالضرورة)
   - ☐ نعم أو لا (بحسب)
8. تظن أن المستقبل اللغوي للوطن مرتبط:
   - ☐ مبدئيا بالمدرسة / الجامعة
   - ☐ بالعبقرية الشعبية وإبداعها
   - ☐ من تركيب الاثنين
   - ☐ من تركيب الاثنين في إطار العلاقات مع العالم الخارجي (العولمة ... إلخ)

QUESTIONNAIRE:

Ce questionnaire est anonyme. Il fait partie d'un travail de préparation d'une thèse de Magister en sociolinguistique.

Nous vous prions d'aborder les questions avec le maximum d'objectivité. Nous vous en remercions d'avance.

SECTION 1 :

Age :……..

Sexe :…….

Profession :……

Niveau d'instruction :……

Langue(s) d'instruction :……...

1. Chez vous, entre les membres de votre famille, la communication orale se fait :

☐ en Arabe Dialectal

☐ en Arabe Classique

☐ en Français

☐ par un mélange Arabe Dialectal – Français

☐ par un mélange Arabe Dialectal – Arabe Classique

☐ Autrement
(préciser)……..
…….

……
……
……

2. Ecoutez-vous la radio ?

a ☐ Souvent

b ☐ De temps en temps

c ☐ jamais

En cas de choix a ou b, quelles sont vos chaines préférées ?

☐ Chaine 1 (Arabe)

☐ Chaine 2 (Berbere)

☐ Chaine 3 (Français)

☐ Chaines régionales (en FM) préciser :……..

☐ Autres (préciser) :……..

3. Vous recevez surement les chaines T.V. satellitaires. Organisez-vous cette réception en programmant les préférences sur votre démo ?

☐ oui

☐ non

Si oui, quels sont les critères pour vos préférences ?

☐ selon la langue

☐ selon le type de programme

4. Vos préférences vont pour les chaines

☐ Arabophones

☐ Francophones

☐ Anglophones

☐ Autres
(préciser)……...

5. Sur votre lieu de travail / d'études, vous communiquez avec vos collègues / compagnons en :

☐ Arabe Dialectal

☐ Arabe Classique

☐ Français

☐ mélangeant l'Arabe Dialectal au Français

☐ mélangeant l'Arabe Dialectal à l'Arabe Classique

☐ Autrement
(préciser)...……
……
……..

6. Sur votre lieu de travail / d'études, vous vous adressez à vos supérieurs / enseignants en :

☐ Arabe Dialectal

☐ Arabe Classique

☐ Français

☐ Arabe Dialectal + Français

☐ Arabe Dialectal + Arabe Classique

☐ Autrement
(préciser)...……
……...

7. Sur votre lieu de travail, vous vous adressez à votre personnel / étudiants ou élèves en :

☐ Arabe Dialectal

☐ Arabe Classique

☐ Français

☐ Arabe Dialectal + Français

☐ Arabe Dialectal + Arabe Classique

☐ Autrement
(préciser)……...
…….

8. Tenez-vous une bibliothèque, aussi maigre soit-elle, à la maison? (le nombre de livres n'a aucune importance)

☐ oui

☐ non

si oui, la **majorité** de vos livres sont-ils en Arabe ? ☐

en Français ? ☐

dans d'autres langues ? ☐

(précisez)……

9. Votre accès à la presse écrite est-il :

☐ Régulier ?

☐ Irrégulier ?

☐ Inexistant ?

10. C'est surtout un accès à

☐ la presse arabophone

☐ la presse francophone

11. Dans pas mal de contextes (notices d'utilisation de médicaments, d'appareils, notes de services dans certains organismes, etc.), le texte proposé est dans les deux langues (Arabe – Français) sinon plus. Votre tendance première est de lire

☐ la version arabe ☐ la version française

SECTION 2 :

1. En arrivant à un lieu (public ou privé), votre manière de saluer c'est :

☐ Sbah el kheir / messelkheir

☐ Essalamoualikoum

☐ Bonjour / salut

☐ Azul

2. En ce qui concerne la question précédente, votre choix se justifie-il par

☐ vos convictions personnelles ?

☐ la / les personnes présentes (leur aspect extérieur…etc.) ?

☐ le contexte / la situation ?

3. Le chanteur Hasni a eu dans son répertoire « **Mazel kayen l'espoir** ». En remplaçant « **l'espoir** » par « **el amel** » aurait-il eu :

☐ plus de succès ?

☐ moins de succès ?

☐ je ne sais pas

4. L'expression populaire « **Regda ou tmangi** » aurait-elle

☐ plus de sens ☐ moins de sens

en remplaçant « **Tmangi** » par « **Takoul** » ?

5. Les Algériens expriment-ils plus l'attachement à la patrie avec :

☐ Algérie, mon amour

☐ Min ajlika ya watani

☐ one two three viva l'Algérie

6. Les chanteurs égyptiens comme Amrou Diab, ou libanais comme Asala sont-ils plus connus de part le monde que Cheb Khaled ?

☐ Pas du tout

☐ Surement

☐ Aucune idée

7. L'été 2010, le chanteur Khaled a donné pour la première fois un concert à Tizi Ouzou devant plus de 10000 personnes (autant que pour le chanteur Ait Menguellat).Suite à cet évènement, les deux chanteurs pensent à faire un album ensemble. Est-ce là un signe que tous les Algériens peuvent s'entendre quelque soit leur parler régional?

☐ oui (tout à fait)

☐ non (pas vraiment)

☐ oui et non (ça dépend)

8. Pensez-vous que le devenir linguistique du pays sera conditionné :

☐ Principalement par l'école / l'université ?

☐ Par le génie populaire et sa créativité ?

☐ Par la combinaison des deux ?

☐ Par la combinaison des deux dans le cadre de nos rapports avec le monde extérieur ? (mondialisation…etc.)

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EL WATAN

LE QUOTIDIEN D'ORAN

LE SOIR D'ALGERIE

LE TEMPS D'ALGERIE

LIBERTE

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Canal Algérie : EXPRESSION LIVRE

QUESTIONS D'ACTU

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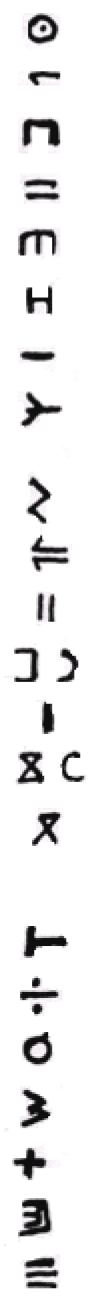
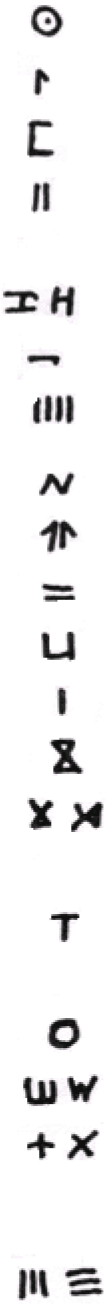
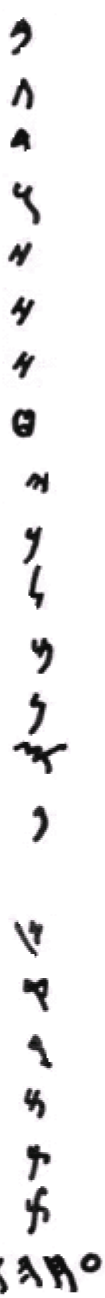
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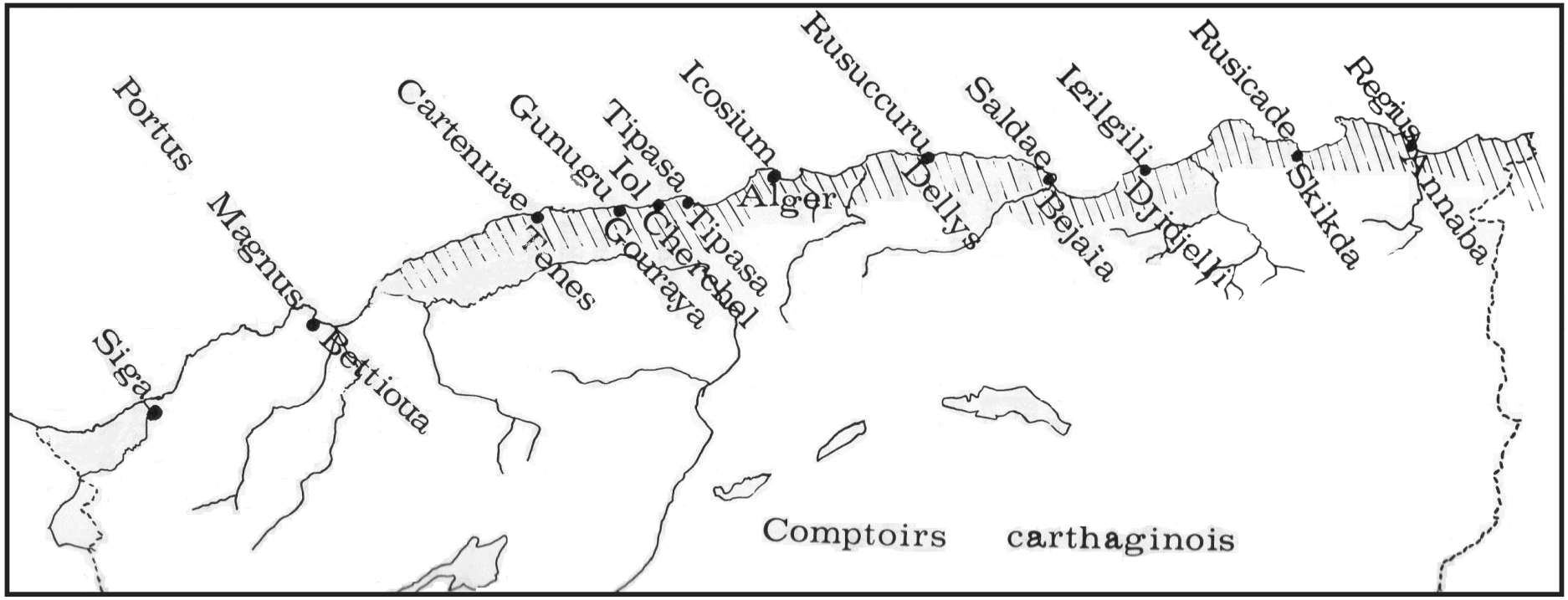
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Appendixes

ALPHABET LIBYQUE

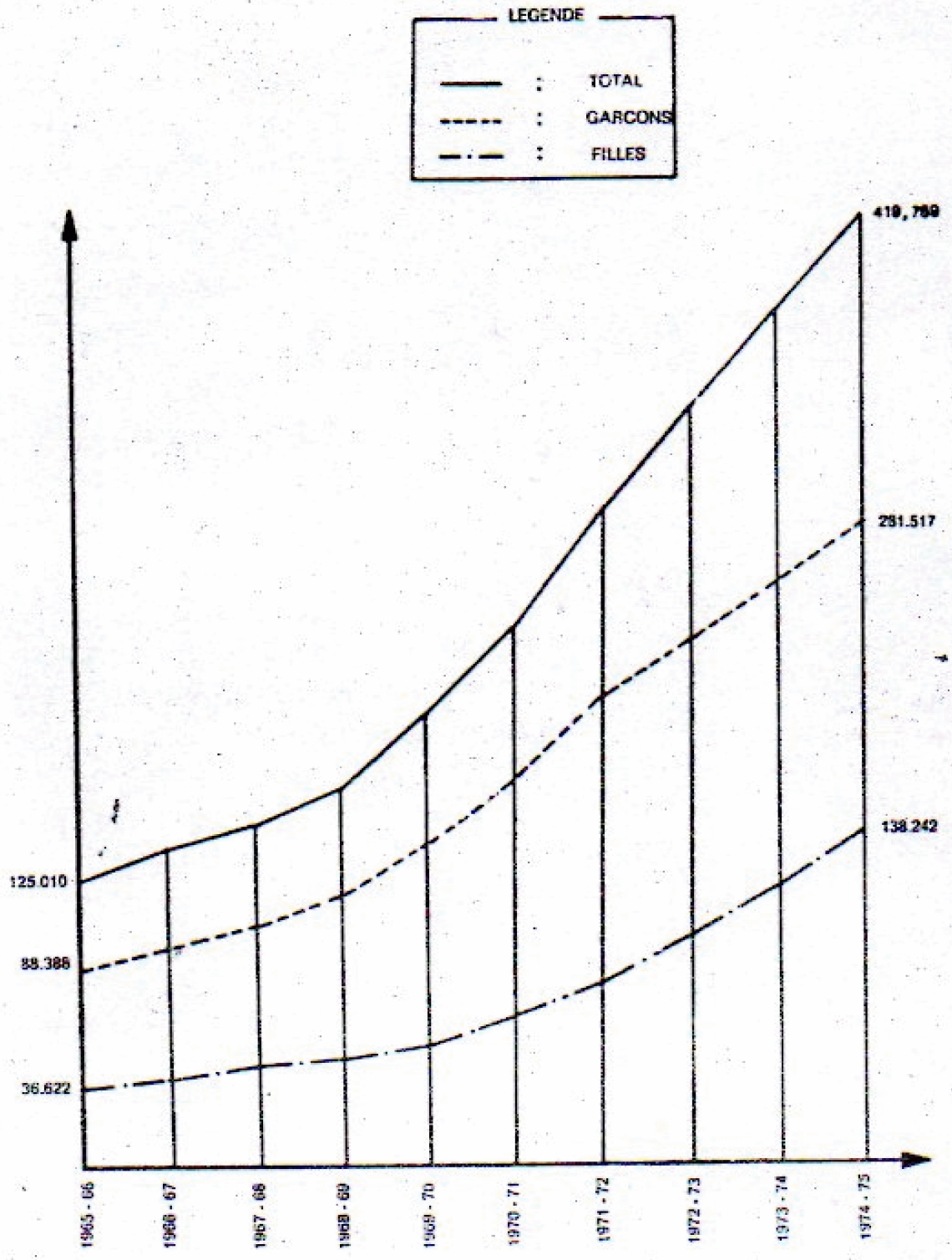
Lignes horizontales se lisant de droite à gauche	Lignes verticales se lisant de bas en haut	Transcription punique	Transcription française
			B G D U Z Ẓ Z Ṭ I K L M N S F C Q R S T Ṭ H

D'après CHABOT, *RECUEIL DES INSCRIPTIONS LIBYQUES*, PARIS, 1940, p. V.


Portus
Siga
Magnus
Bettioua
Cartennae
Tenes
Gunugu
Cherchel
Tipasa
Iol
Tipasa
Icosium
Alger
Rusuccuru
Dellys
Saldae
Bejaia
Igilgili
Djidjelli
Rusicade
Skikda
Regius
Annaba
Comptoirs carthaginois

ENSEIGNEMENT MOYEN SECONDAIRE

EVOLUTION DES EFFECTIFS EN ELEVES



Année	Chiffres		Pourcentage		% par rapport au
	fonctionnement	équipement	fonction.	équipement	budget de l'Etat
1965	497 . 137 . 950 DA	24 . 000 . 000 DA	7,8 %	19, %	17 %
1966	630 . 000 . 000 DA	30 . 000 . 000 DA	19 %	25 %	19,8 %
1967	680 . 000 . 000 DA	240 . 000 . 000 DA	9,5 %	26 %	19,5 %
1968	745 . 000 . 000 DA	384 . 000 . 000 DA (avec programmes spécial pour Aurés)	9,5 %	60 %	21,05 %
1969	850 . 000 . 000 DA	614 . 000 . 000 DA (avec prog. spécial pour Grande Kabylie)	14,1 %	59,9 %	21,08 %
1970	980 . 000 . 000 DA	654 . 000 . 000 DA	15,21 %	6,5 %	22,03 %

	Année 1971	Année 1972	Année 1973	Année 1974	Année 1975
Prévisions	1.290.463.000 DA	1.589.522.000 DA	1.901.970.000 DA	1.657.544.000 DA	1.871.877.000 DA
Budget alloué	1.036.993.000 DA	1.233.665.000 DA	1.429.900.000 DA	1.609.900.000 DA	2.106.830.000 DA
% du budget de l'Etat	21,10 %	22,43 %	22,24 %	20,98 %	16 %

Examen : Probatoire de fin de classe de Première

A

Série : Lettres M_1 M_2
Série Transitoire

2° SESSION 1965

Epreuve : Français

Durée : 3 Heures

LE CANDIDAT DOIT TRAITER L'UN DES TROIS SUJETS AU CHOIX :

1) Quelle époque de la vie de Voltaire et lesquelles de ses oeuvres vous paraissent offrir le reflet le plus exact de l'homme et du philosophe ?

2) Commentez ce jugement de Giraudoux :

" Une fois que le héros de Racine entre en scène, tous les ponts sont coupés derrière lui, et à sa première parole il est condamné."

./.

3°/ Expliquez, sous forme de dissertation suivie, le poème suivant de Victor Hugo (*La Légende des siècles*) :

Le Roi de Perse

Le Roi de Perse habite, inquiet, redouté,
En hiver Ispahan et Tiflis en été ;
Son jardin, paradis où la rose foisonne,
Est plein d'hommes armés, de feu de sa famille ;
Ce qui fait que parfois il va dehors songer.
Un matin, dans la plaine, il rencontre un berger
Vieux, ayant près de lui son fils, un beau jeune homme.
« Comment te nommes-tu ? dit le roi. — Je me nomme
Karam, dit le vieillard, interrompant un chant
Qu'il chantait au milieu des chèvres, en marchant ;
J'habite un trou de jonc sous la roche penchante,
Et j'ai mon fils que j'aime, et c'est pourquoi je chante,
Comme autrefois Hafiz, comme à présent Sadi,
Et comme les cigales à l'heure de midi. »
Et le jeune homme alors, figure humble et touchante,
Baise la main du pâtre harmonieux qui chante
Comme à présent Sadi, comme autrefois Hafiz.
« Je t'aime, dit le roi, pourtant il est mon fils... »

—

Notes : Hafiz : poète persan du IVe siècle
Sadi : le plus grand poète de la Perse (1184-1291) ; Hugo s'est trompé sur les temps.

classe de Première

Série : Toutes Séries
Normale et Transitoire

Epreuve : L.V.2. Arabe — 2° SESSION 1965

Durée : 2 Heures

في أحضان ذلك الوادي الجميل وفي جنبات تلك الجنة الزاهرة وبين أعطاف تلك الدائرة الواسعة المخضرة، كانت تعيش أسرة هذا العامل في أكواخها عيشة سعيدة هانئة، متمتعة بما لا يتمتع به الأثرياء في قصورهم وبساتينهم والسعداء في جناتهم وعيونهم. فإذا انقضى النهار وأوت الشمس إلى خدرها، صعدوا إلى صخرة عظيمة تشرف على ذلك الوادي جميعه فيتجلى أمامهم منظره العام بعيونه وغدرانه، وأعشابه وأشجاره، وظلاله وأضوائه. فإذا ألقوا بأنظارهم في جوّ السماء الماثل فوق رؤوسهم بأضوائه وأنواره خيل إليهم أنهم بين سماءين متقابلتين، سماء تثبت الكواكب والنجوم، وأخرى تنبت الأزهار والأنوار أو روضتين مترائيتين تتألق في احداهما الزنابق البيضاء على ديباجة زرقاء وفي أخراهما الأزهار الحمراء على قطيفة خضراء

(المنفلوطي)

QUESTIONS — أسئلة

١) قيل المال يضمن السعادة للانسان. فهل هذا صحيح؟ اوضح ذلك بما قرأته في النص

٢) اعرب باختصار: كانت تعيش الاسرة عيشة سعيدة هانئة

VERSION — التعجيم

ترجم إلى الفرنسية النص من أوله حتى .....ظلاله وأضوائه

THEME — التعريب

Les vieux. J'aime les vieux. Ils vont courbés vers la terre, parce que le ciel éblouit leurs prunelles usées. Ils sont si bons qu'ils ont l'air sûrs que nous deviendrons aussi vieux qu'eux ;

MINISTERE DE L'EDUCATION NATIONALE

-:-:-:-

REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENNE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE

-:-:-:-:-

BREVET D'ETUDES DU PREMIER CYCLE

SESSION NORMALE 1963

EPREUVE DE LANGUE VIVANTE. Durée: Deux heures (sans dictionnaire)

A N G L A I S - L'épreuve comporte : 1 - une version
2 - cinq phrases de thème
3 - une question

I - VERSION - Translate into French

A Garden around the house. Very few people realize the difference it makes for those who live in town, when there is a garden around the house. Instead of the noisy streets, with their endless stream of traffic rushing past, all day long, you have the quietness of a country path, under your window, the bright green of a lawn, the sweet smell and colours of as many flowers as you like. The seasons really mean something for you. Are the birds building their nests in the big cherrytree ? Spring is coming. Now, you have seen little green fruits on the strawberry-plants; summer cannot be far . What ? Dead leaves on the ground already ? Look at the calendar; autumn is round the corner. But it won't last long. Soon the fir- trees will be the only spot of colour left until it gets white with the Christmas snow.

2 - THEME

Translate into English

a) Il ne va pas dans son jardin le matin

b) Elle avait le sien, nous avions le nôtre

c) Nous ne pouvez pas vivre sans manger, n'est-ce-pas ?

d) Nos amis habitent cette maison depuis deux ans.

e) Je vous le donnerai quand je le recevrai.

3 - QUESTION - Do you like gardening ? If not, have you another pastime ?

Examen : Probatoire de fin de classe de Première

Série : Lettres
Normale et Transitoire

2° SESSION 1965

Epreuve : L.V.I. Anglais

Durée : 3 Heures

I) Translate from : "No writer that we know of ... " to the end.

Flaubert and his art

If, as I believe, the sort of books an author writes depends on the sort of man he is, and so it is well to know what is relevant in his personal history, this, in the case of Flaubert, is essential. He was a very unusual man. No writer that we know of devoted himself with such a fierce and indomitable industry to the art of literature. It was not with him, as it is with most authors, an activity of paramount importance but one that allows for other activities which rest the mind, refresh the body or enrich experience. He did not think that to live was the object of life ; for him the object of life was to write : no monk in his cell more resolutely sacrificed the pleasures of the world to the love of god than Flaubert sacrificed the fullness and variety of life to his ambition to create a work of art.

W.S.MAUGHAM
Ten Novels and Their Authors

II) Translate into English (5 points) :

1. Quand j'aurai vingt ans, je partirai pour un long voyage
2. Il alla visiter la Grèce, la Syrie et l'Egypte
3. Je ne l'ai pas vu depuis plusieurs jours
4. En sortant, regardez la boîte aux lettres : le facteur vient de passer
5. Je veux que vous compreniez que je ne peux pas vivre sans peindre

III) (3 points) :

Do you think it is possible to live only for books ?

IV) (4 points) :

Flaubert devoted his life to writing.
What would you like to devote your life to ?

SELON L'ANNUAIRE INTERNATIONAL DES MÉDIAS

El Watan, premier journal francophone en Afrique

● *El Watan* figure aussi dans le Top 5 des journaux et magazines francophones les plus visités sur Giga presse, le guide des meilleurs journaux du Net.

Le quotidien *El Watan* trône en tête de la presse francophone africaine. 4 International Media and Newspapers (4IMN), annuaire international des médias, auteur de l'étude sur la popularité des journaux sur Internet, donne à *El Watan* la 5e place dans le classement général des tops 50 journaux africains. La deuxième place de la presse francophone en Afrique revient au quotidien *Liberté*, qui occupe dans le classement général la septième place. Troisième journal francophone d'Afrique, *le Soir d'Algérie*, vient en dixième position. Le journal arabophone *Al Ahram* d'Egypte figure en première position du classement général, suivi d'*El Khabar* et de deux quotidiens anglophones de l'Afrique du Sud, à savoir *The Times* et *Mail and Guardian Online*. Selon 4 International Media and Newspapers, l'étude de classement a concerné plus de 7000 sites de journaux de différentes langues appartenant à 200 pays. *«Le classement est basé sur des critères impartiaux et indépendants recoupant des données recueillies auprès de trois moteurs de recherche différents : Google Page Rank, Yahoo Inbound Links et Alexa Traffic Rank»*, explique 4IMN sur son site. Par son étude, 4IMN voulait *«fournir un classement de popularité approximative de journaux du monde entier basé sur la popularité de leurs sites web»*. Ainsi, il précise que ce classement des journaux n'est pas basé sur *«la qualité de leurs efforts journalistiques ou de réputation»*, mais plutôt sur le nombre de visites reçues sur leurs sites Internet.



Ainsi, le site www.elwatan.com reçoit des visites quotidiennes qui dépassent parfois les 100 000. *El Watan* figure aussi dans le Top 5 des journaux et magazines francophones les plus visités sur Giga presse, le guide des meilleurs journaux du Net. Les quatre premiers sont *le Monde*, *Libération*, *le Nouvel observateur* et *le Figaro*. De tels classements ne peuvent être que motivants pour l'équipe rédactionnelle pour qu'elle fournisse davantage d'efforts pour répondre aux besoins multiples et aux exigences du lectorat.

M. A. O.

1 *Al-Ahram*	Egypte	5 *El Watan*	Algérie	10 *Le Soir d'Algérie*	Algérie	*Gazette*	Egypte
2 *El Khabar*	Algérie	6 *The Daily Nation*	Kenya	15 *La Presse*	Tunisie	30 *Assabah*	Maroc
3 *The Times*	Afrique du Sud	7 *Liberté*	Algérie	16 *La Tribune*	Algérie	33 *Ech-Chourouk*	
4 *Mail&Guardian Online*	Afrique du Sud	8 *The Guardian*	Nigeria	17 *L'Economiste*	Maroc	*El Youmi*	Algérie
		9 *This Day*	Nigeria	29 *The Egyptian*		46 *Le Quotidien d'Oran*	Algérie

Source www.4imn.com

El Watan Newspaper 04/ 02/ 2010


LA RUE MOHAMMED V SVP?
!?
ROUH À DROITE, RAK CHAYAF, ZID 50m, RAK AL TAMA. RAK FAHEM!
ZINO

1000000	ذرج . بونون -
2500000	تصدام درج واسلط -
2000000	روفار . قرلج -
4000000	روفار نع مربوك -
5610000	تحر انشوا . 187 م²
2976000	بنبال . ووغ
3700000	لـ ال . حمام
2800000	دال . بيليا ة .
1920000	امر انشوا . كنغ . مرانس
2240000	فورام . ع 1 م²
6620000	دال . دوسول . م 112
4690000	فيونسي . 67 م²

1400000	بلانتا . 70 م²
400000	بقعادة -
3000,00	بان ع
6000,00	بلا كي (05)
6000,00	دال . قرلج

TOTAL = 46350000

VARSA = 40300000