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A Sociolinguistic Study of French: The Case of Oran

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Dedication

In loving memory of my father

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this work is to shed light on the status of French in Algeria, which constitutes an inseparable part of the Algerian linguistic patrimony and to focus on the importance of French at different levels of the Algerian society. Although the Algerian government has always promoted monolingualism through an Arabist and Jacobin policy of assimilation and exclusion. It has always been proved that French had and is still having a special place in the society.

The present research work is an attempt at analysing a sociolinguistic situation in an urban context, Oran. A particular interest is reserved to it.

In the first chapter, we give an outlook of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. The first part is about a survey of the history of languages spoken in Algeria before the 19th century then we deal with the current linguistic situation with its different languages and their origins and the linguistic phenomenon that result from the languages contact including the diglossia situation that Algerians live in.

Algeria has been marked by a linguistic and political process called Arabization, which aimed at establishing the Arabic language after the independence in 1962 through the country.

In the second chapter, we speak about the origins of French in Algeria through a historical background of the French colonization. Then, we speak about the place of French in Algeria: in school with the new reforms introduced in the educational system during the academic year 2003-2004 in the primary, middle and secondary schools; in the administration, in mass media and in the social environment and how it influences the Algerians' daily life.

In the third chapter, we apprehend the attitudes of people towards French and the linguistic contacts of French with Arabic (AA), the evolution of French in the last years.

The exploitation of the questionnaire allows us to come back to some of the questions asked in the general introduction about the place of French in Algeria, (Oran).

List of Abbreviations

AA: Algerian Arabic

Br: Berber

CA: Classical Arabic

Fr: French

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

L₁: First language (mother tongue)

L₂: Second language (foreign language)

H: high variety (diglossia)

L: low variety (diglossia)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The linguistic and sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is particular and very complex. Each language or variety is linked to its social, cultural and political reality. Language exists only when a community uses it. When it is not used by any living community, it dies, for example the case of Latin.

It is the image of the society. It reflects its identity and develops its economic and technological environment. A language is not only phonetics, syntax and semantics; it is also an imaginary, a legendary, and a historical reference. It is a great means of communication and the vehicle of civilisation. It is regarded as the expression of personality and identity. For instance, when a person says that he/she is Algerian, we know that he/she belongs to a particular cultural group using one language or more, i.e. AA and/or Br in addition to Fr and other languages. Sebaa notes that :

School and its privileged tool, language, are no longer perceived and received as means of perverting the personality of the community and therefore of the identity authenticity but are rather considered as a means of expression of realisation and a means of social objectivation.¹ (my translation)

(Sebaa, 2002:28-29)

There are different languages used in different regions with different origins. Each person is referred to a certain speech community. Thus, we recognise a person speaking a certain language as belonging to a certain community.

We will try to shape out the real sociolinguistic situation of Algeria and of Oran in particular, the linguistic components of the Algerian people and highlight the real place that each language or each variety has in our society.

The present paper will focus on the status of languages used in Algeria, however, it was mainly our interest to shed light on French in particular and how it develops with CA, Br and AA.

It is worthy to mention that the status of French has changed from one period to another. Thus, we will try to compare between French during the pre and post independence era and French in the present time.

Our questionings are to shape the future of French in Algeria and how it is perceived by the Algerian population and more precisely in Oran; whether it is accepted or rejected; or considered as a part of the linguistic components of the Algerian society or as a foreign language with a difficult past; etc?

Then, we will try to illustrate its use and its functions in different institutions such as school, administration, mass media and at the social level through the study and the analysis.

Then, we will see people's attitudes towards languages in general and French in particular. Thus, we can say whether French is in regression or expansion.

The aim of this work is also to explain the contact between AA, CA and French. Do they coexist? Are they in a convergent or divergent situation? Are they used in complementary distribution (to use Ferguson's term) ? Do they coexist side by side or is there a sort of competition between them? Do Arabic and French constitute two facets of the Algerian identity?

In examining language contact situations, it is also possible to examine and give not only the full particularities of a particular language but also the social and linguistic realities that show how bilingual speakers use each language and switch between them.

It is really important to mention that there is an impact of French on Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic, which led to the phenomenon of Arabic-French bilingualism and the influence of French on Arabic gives birth to Arabic-French code switching and borrowing.

We shall examine the attitudes of Oranian people including francophones, arabophones and berberophones towards French in the questionnaire.

This dissertation contains a general introduction, three chapters and a general conclusion. Each chapter is provided with an introduction and a conclusion.

Notes to General Introduction

1- L'école et son instrument privilégié la langue, ne sont plus perçues et reçues comme les moyens de pervertissement de la personnalité communautaire et donc de l'authenticité identitaire mais sont, au contraire, considérés comme un moyen d'expression de réalisation et comme un moyen d'objectivation sociale.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA

1.1 Introduction

People from the Maghreb and especially Algerians have always been in contact with other foreign populations, at different periods of the Algerian history. European languages influenced the Algerian languages. It was in particular, the case of Spanish in the west of the country since Oran was occupied by Spain during three centuries. However French had the greatest influence on Algerians.

The sociolinguistic situation of Algeria is particular. It is the product of history, the history of languages and their development. The presence of many languages created a particular sociolinguistic situation which gave birth to different phenomena such as bilingualism, code switching and borrowing and this situation is due to the French who lasted more than 130 years. The French language had a deep influence on Algerians. This is why, the government decided just after independence to restore the Algerian identity by implementing an official process called 'Arabization'.

1.2 Algeria before the 19th Century

From the early ages, North Africa had sheltered various cultures and civilisations like the Phoenician, the Carthaginian and the Roman ones. Thus, Algeria in particular was the object of many invasions and the most significant were those of the Carthaginians¹ who settled in Algeria for more than seven centuries. Phoenician traders arrived on the North African coast around 900 B.C and established Carthage in around 800 B.C. The Carthaginians really marked their presence in Algeria with their Punic civilisation; they used Punic language, a Hamito-Semitic language.

Then, the Carthaginian state declined because of successive defeats by the Romans in the Punic wars. So, Rome conquered Carthage and took control over certain areas. So, the Romans lasted more than six centuries.

The Vandals in 429 A.D followed the Romans; Latin, Punic and Berber were the languages in use at that time.

The Byzantines put an end to the Vandal domination in 534 A.D after a settlement of more than one century until the invasion of the Arabs. The Arab conquest aimed at implementing and introducing the Arabic language and Islam. This civilisation lasted more than seven centuries.

In the late 15th century, Spain settled in some coastal cities of Algeria for nearly two centuries. Spain took control of Mers el Kebir in 1505, Oran in 1509, Tlemcen, Mostaganem and the west of Algiers in 1510. This explains why in Oran, for instance, there are many words used by Oranian people, borrowed from the Spanish language.

Then, the Algerians appealed to Turkish Corsairs (especially the Barbarossa brothers) for help. The Ottoman Empire helped the Algerians to put an end to the Spanish domination and they saved Islam. By mid 16th century, the Turks took control over them. Therefore Algeria became under the Turkish protectorate until 1830, during more than 300 years.

Since many civilisations have settled in Algeria, the inhabitants were exposed to different languages in addition to the North African dialects. This fact has made of Algeria a multilingual country.

1.2.1 The Tamazight Language

The term Berber is derived from the Greeks. They used it to refer to the people of North Africa. The Romans and the Arabs retained this term. The Berbers are the earliest recorded inhabitants of Algeria. Before the arrival of Arabic-speaking invaders, Berber was the language of the indigenous population.

Tamazight is a Hamito-Semitic language. It is the unified word to design the Berber dialects.

Several Berber dialect groups are recognized in Algeria but the major groups are the Kabyles of the Kabylie Mountains, east of Algiers, in Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia. It is used in two distinct scripts, Latin and Tifinagh. And the Chaouia of the Aures. But next to these two dialects, there are many local and regional dialects. Chenoa or Chenwiya belongs to the phonological and lexical variations of the Kabyle. It is spoken around Mount Chenoua, near Cherchell and Tipaza. Rifi or Tharifit is spoken near the Moroccan borders. And Mozabi, which is basically spoken in Ghardaia.²

1.3 The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria after the 19th Century

The linguistic situation of Algeria is multilingual. In Algeria, there are four major languages: Algerian Arabic (AA) or Maghribi³ (as it is called by Elimam), the native language of the majority; Classical or Conventional Arabic (CA) for the official use, French for the teaching of science and knowledge, and Amazigh (Berber), the native language of a considerable minority, 20% according to the National Census.⁴

Among all the varieties, the Kabyle, the Chaouia, the Tamacheq and the Mozabi are the most used, they are the principal varieties of Berber.

Algerian Arabic represents one variety of the ones spoken in Algeria. It is divided in different regional varieties allowing intercomprehension but each region has a specific dialect and accent.

French is used as a language of everyday life interactions. It is the technical language for development. It has a strategic place and it fulfils many social functions.

Finally, Classical Arabic, the official language of Algeria which is used only in the courts, in most of the media, in mosques, schools, universities and in many publications.

But, even if it is the official language of the country, no one uses it in everyday life conversations. Thus, some people in Algeria use two distinct varieties of Arabic according to contextual situations. They use CA in official settings whereas Algerian Arabic and/or Berber in informal situations such as with friends, at home and in daily life in general.

However, if we refer to Ferguson's⁵ view we can say that Algeria is in a diglossic situation. This is what we will try to explain here.

1.3.1 Diglossia in Algeria

Diglossia is concerned with two varieties of the same language. One form is considered as high and another as low. As we have already mentioned, the official language in Algeria is Classical Arabic. In addition to it, there are many other regional varieties. Each region has its own dialect.

However, almost no one in Algeria uses CA, which is considered as an official form of Arabic that is used in special settings whereas Algerians used to speak their dialectal Arabic in ordinary conversations.

William Marçais used the term “Diglossia” in 1930 to describe the linguistic situation in Arabic-speaking countries. He says

Arabic language appears under two perceptibly different aspects : 1) a literary language so called written Arabic or regular or literal or classical, the only one that had always and everywhere been written in the past, the only one in which still today are written literary or scientific works, newspaper articles, Judiciary acts, private letters, in a word, everything that is written, but which exactly as it is, has perhaps never been spoken anywhere, and which in any case, is not spoken now anywhere;2) spoken idioms, patois... none of which has ever been written... but which everywhere and perhaps for a long time are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultural circles.⁶

(Marçais, 1930:401)

For Marçais, Arabic has two forms, one classical used for the written form and another used almost orally. He considered CA as the language, which has been always written, which is not spoken but CA was not written in the “Djehilya” i.e. the pre-islamic period. It was not even written during the Advent of Islam since it was written well after the prophet Mohamed died. It started with the first draft of Koran written by Othman Ibn Affan.

Ferguson used the term “Diglossia” to describe a linguistic situation where two varieties of the same language, are used for different purposes. According to him, there is a high variety and a low one. The dominant variety is used in formal settings and the other variety is used in informal spheres. He describes Diglossia as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but it is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson, 1959 : 16)

Ferguson explained and developed Diglossia in Arabic-speaking countries as well as in the German and the Greek communities. He described Diglossia as a kind of Bilingualism in a given society in which one language is the high variety “H” and the other, which belongs to the same language, is the low “L” variety. He differentiated the two different varieties of the same language. He divided them according to their functions. He considered the high variety as the standard one; which is used in formal settings such as education and formal speech. Whereas the low variety is used in non-standard situations such as at home or in one’s private life. It is the medium of daily spoken and informal communication. Therefore, “L” is seen as inferior as opposed to “H”.

In this context, Ferguson describes the “H” as the **“Superimposed variety, [...] which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.”**

(Ferguson, 1959:245)

Classical Arabic is highly codified; it is the written form of Arabic whereas colloquial Arabic does not possess standard norms.

These two varieties, either classical or colloquial co-exist side by side and are in complementary distribution, but they fulfil different functions.

He adds: **“These two varieties, classical and colloquial, exist side by side in the Arabic speech community in a Diglossia relationship.”** (Ferguson, 1959:359)

Ferguson distinguished the paired varieties with their different functions. He put forward the specialisation of functions of the two different varieties of Arabic.⁷

- Sermons in church or mosque	H
- Instructions to servants, workmen	L
- Personal letters	H
- Speech in parliament	H
- University lectures	H
- Conversation with family, friends, colleagues	L
- News broadcast	H
- Newspaper editorial news story	H
- Poetry	H
- Folk literature	L
- Radio "Soap Opera"	L

Table 1.1. The specialisation of functions of the two different varieties of Arabic.

Thus, as shown in the above table for each context, a different variety is used. If it is an official or formal setting "H" will be used, however if it is a social, familiar or informal, then "L" would be used. By specifying the functions of each variety, he argued that the sermons in a church or a mosque should be held in H, because it is a sacred place where people should speak formally. However, we may ask ourselves about the "Imam" of a mosque who sometimes switches from CA to AA in order to be understood. Concerning personal letters, people write to their friends or their family in the colloquial variety, the "L". And when speaking about the parliament, the setting is formal, however if we take into consideration the speech of the President of Algeria, we can say that it is a mixture of CA and AA and even at university, the teachers sometimes use AA in order to explain and to be understood. AA is used when people speak with their family, friends, colleagues...ect.

Before going to school, the child speaks Algerian Arabic or Berber. One of them is his mother tongue or his natural language, the language of everyday speech, whereas Classical Arabic is learnt at school. The different dialects are the native spoken varieties of Algerians who use them in daily life interactions, while Classical Arabic is used only in formal settings such as literature, newspapers and religious ceremonies. Frayha describes the colloquial variety as the “ **the language of life** ” and the classical one as “ **the language of the book.**” (Frayha, 1955:5)

Some linguists thought about the phenomenon of Diglossia and the co-existence of the two varieties, which gave birth to an intermediate variety called “Modern Standard Arabic” “MSA”. MSA is used by educated people for communication in semi-formal situations such as interviews. Modern Standard Arabic is a modernized and simplified version of Classical Arabic. It serves for formal written and spoken communication in the media, in politics and in business. Gumperz says to explain this need to have an intermediate variety

Members of the same speech community need not all speak the same language nor use the same linguistic forms on similar occasions.

All that is required is that there be at least one language in common and that rules governing basic communicative strategies be shared that speakers can decode the social meaning carried by alternative modes of communication.

(Gumperz, 1972:16)

Therefore according to Gumperz, we can belong to the same community and understand each other but we can speak differently. The language of a certain speech community differs from another one. People who live in the south speak differently from people living in the west or the east and so on.

1.3.2 Bilingualism

In sociolinguistics, Bilingualism is the standard term to illustrate the situation where two languages are used by a person or a group of people. Many definitions were given to Bilingualism.

Weinreich (1953:1) defines it as **“The practice of using alternately two languages.”**

For Bloomfield (1933:65) being bilingual equals being able to speak two languages. He suggests to define a bilingual as someone who has **“The native-like control of two languages.”**

Bilingualism is concerned with - at least - two languages. When a speaker comes in contact with people speaking another language, he/she faces a situation of language shift and bilingualism represents one case. The extent of bilingual competency differs from one person to another. The degree of fluency is not the same for all bilinguals.

According to Mackey (1968:555), bilingualism consists in **“The alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual.”**

Sayad declares:

The concept of Bilingualism, in its wide acceptance, covers multiform linguistic realities, starting from a light sabir, less respectful of the grammar and the morphology of the borrowed vocabulary, to the most accomplished bilingualism which supposes according to the necessities of discourse, a self-confident, correct and distinct practice of two languages.⁸

(Sayad,1984:215)

1.3.2.1 Arabic (AA)-French Bilingualism

The Arabic (AA) - French bilingualism took root when Algeria fell under the French colonial domination. It is the result of the presence of the French.

The Algerians were exposed to the French culture and the French language. The French colonization aimed at fighting education, they controlled the teaching of Arabic and encouraged the population to acquire French, the language of knowledge and civilisation.

So, bilingualism started when the Algerians came in contact with the French people and the French language at school because they were sent to French schools with French people. However, Algerians acquired French and became as proficient as the French but they knew that French was their L₂ rather than their mother tongue L₁.

Bilingualism exists almost everywhere in Algeria but differs from one region to another. There are more bilinguals in Algiers, Oran and Constantine than in other cities. And the degree of proficiency is different from one person to another.

There are two kinds of bilinguals: the active bilinguals who are mainly constituted of intellectuals, students and educated people. They understand both languages, read and write them. The passive bilinguals understand both languages but cannot speak them correctly and cannot read or write them correctly. However, one can say that, to some extent, almost all the Algerians are bilinguals. Bilingualism is practised, in different ways, by the majority of Algerians; either by educated people or by illiterate people.

1.3.3 Code switching/ Code mixing

In sociolinguistics, the term “Code Switching” refers to the use of two different languages, codes within the same sentence. It is the alternation of words of two languages. A situation where we use two distinct codes in our discourse. This happens very often among bilinguals who often switch between their two languages in the middle of a conversation.

In Algeria, code switching is a very common linguistic phenomenon which occurs everyday whatever the type of the speech community.

Gumperz defines code switching as **“The juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.”** (Gumperz, 1982:59)

Code Switching can thus be observed among bilinguals or multilingual speakers speaking together. When the speaker shifts from one language to another in the same utterance or in the same conversation.

Hamers and Blanc define it as :

The term of Bilingualism includes the one of Bilinguality, which refers to a state of an individual but is also applied to a state of a community in which two languages are in contact with a consequence that two codes can be used within the same interaction and that a number of people are bilingual (societal Bilingualism).⁹

(Hamers and Blanc, 1983:21)

Hamers and Blanc mention also some code-switching as a form of incompetence in both languages. The speaker shifts from one code to another when he/she does not know a word in one code.

Their point of view is not shared by a lot of people because we can consider code-switching as a result of the contact of two languages. There is a language change, an influence. Hymes describes it as follows:

Used as a strategy of communication to compensate his lack of competence by using sometimes one language, sometimes the other to maximize the efficiency of the communication.¹⁰

(Hymes, 1968:200)

People can master both languages and switch between them in the middle of a conversation or either a sentence. It is not a lack of competence. This happens when people know more than one language and produce, in a conversation with other speakers a speech composed of two varieties or more. When they alternate between sentences, this code switching is called intersentential. However when code switching occurs within one sentence, it is termed intrasentential.

Code Mixing is to some extent different from Code switching but it is difficult to distinguish between them. Code Mixing occurs when people mix between two different varieties, two different codes. We speak about code mixing when a word or an item of the second language is interposed into a sentence which remains in a first language. It means that we change codes from one language to another, alternatively, in the same utterance. Within the same conversation, some words are taken in one language and others are taken from the other variety and are mixed together. Sometimes, a mixed code can serve as a marker of higher social prestige, of religious identity or professional status and it constitutes an act of identity.

1.3.3.1 Arabic (AA)-French Code switching

Arabic French code switching is also a consequence of the French colonization. It is the result of the contact between Arabic and French. People use Arabic and French within the same conversation and even the same sentence. Concerning this, the journalist Mohamed Amghar wrote in “El Moudjahed” (February 8th, 1974) quoted in Bouamrane, 1986:109.

They speak to you two minutes in French, 30 seconds in Arabic then one minute in French and so on, sometimes the two languages are mixed to such a point that these results are bizarre, unintelligible language, and one wonders if these people are not themselves bizarre.¹¹

I do not agree with this journalist because such a sociolinguistic phenomenon occurs in bilingual or multilingual speech communities. It is the result of the contact of two or more languages.

1.3.4 Borrowing

The notion of borrowing is differently defined in the linguistic literature.

Sapir states that **“Of the linguistic changes due to the more obvious types of contact the one which seems to have played the most important part in the history of language is “Borrowing” of words across linguistic frontiers.”** (Sapir, 1921:198)

He spoke about borrowing as a linguistic change. Each code influences the other variety. He adds: **“The simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the “Borrowing” of words, when there is the likelihood that the associated words may be borrowed too...”** (Sapir, 1921:193)

When people from two different speech communities come in contact, they influence each other. It is a mutual influence. There is a tight link between bilingualism, code switching and borrowing. We cannot speak about borrowing without speaking about bilingualism and code switching because the phenomenon of borrowing occurs in bilingual societies where people mix between the different codes that they are confronted to. And as said previously, code switching practised by a group of people is the beginning of borrowing. It is considered as borrowing from the moment where people take some words from the other variety and adopt them.

Dulay, *et.al* come to the conclusion that:

Linguistic borrowing [...] is something that has happened whenever these have been bilinguals. It is, in fact, unthinkable without the existence of bilinguals and apparently inevitable where there is a considerable group of bilinguals.

(Dulay, *et.al* 1982:263)

According to them, borrowing occurs in a bilingual context because we can speak about borrowing when a group of people adopt some foreign words in theirs.

1.3.4.1 Borrowing in Algeria

Borrowing in Algeria is a sociolinguistic phenomenon. It is the result of the impact and influence that had French on Algerian Arabic. We speak about the influence of French on colloquial Arabic because the main influence that exists is oral. The borrowed words are spoken and rarely written.

There are a lot of basically French words integrated into Algerian Arabic.

Thus, a great number of words and even expressions, slipped into Algerian Arabic; some being adapted morphologically or phonologically, and others, being used with no modification.

However, most borrowed words will sound more Arabic than French.

Gloss	French	Algerian Arabic
- doll	- poupée	/□◆□ⵏⵉⵔⵉⵎⵉ/
- film	- film	/ⵏⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉⵏ/
- machine	- machine	/ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵏⵉⵎⵉ/
- cottage	- villa	/ⵎⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉ/
- holiday	- congé	/ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉ/
- kitchen	- cuisine	/ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉ/
- school bag	- cartable	/ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉ/
- table	- table	/ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉ/
- pen	- stylo	/ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉ/
- suitcase	- valise	/ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉ/
- saucepan	- casserole	/ⵉⵎⵎⵉⵎⵉⵎⵉ/

Table 1. 3 Some examples of the loan words recorded during a conversation

There is also a kind of borrowing between Arabic and Spanish in some regions in Algeria such as Oran. And this fact is due to an old presence of Spain in Oran. These loan-words are used in daily life interactions as if they belonged to Algerian Arabic, as a part of its vocabulary. April and Mahon state that: “ **Such adopted loans tend to be seen as foreign for one time but are then accepted subsequently like native element.**”

(April and Mahon 1999: 209)

1.4 The Arabization Policy in Algeria

Just after the independence, the government aimed at restoring the Algerian identity. The politicians decided to appoint Classical Arabic as the official language of the state. They wanted to provide it with a real status. For them, Algeria needed a language which represents it and which allows the unity of the nation. The authorities aimed also at restoring the national identity and personality of the state by making of Classical Arabic the national language of the Algerians. The government wanted to arabize all the Algerian speech community and tried to make it unified by using one language.

They wanted to achieve this goal by applying a process called “Arabization” which is the official word referring to the introduction of Classical Arabic at different levels in Algeria. Their aim was to recover the pre-colonial past and to use it, together with Arabic in order to restore a national identity and personality for the new state and population. On October 5th, 1962 the President Ben Bella announced that Classical Arabic is the national and official language of Algeria. He promised : “**Arabic will regain its rank.**”¹²

Arabization was seen as a sign of unity and solidarity. By using one language, Algerians could return to their culture. In this concern, the president Boumediene (1968) noted that:

Without the recuperation of this essential and important element which is the national language, our efforts will remain useless, our personality incomplete and our entity a body without soul.¹³

He was the most fervent partisan of the Arabization policy and he was committed to restore Classical Arabic at all costs. Neither Benbella, neither Boumediene, nor no government since independence in 1962 took into account the native languages of Algerians. We have the impression that the history repeats itself concerning Algerian Arabic since all the governments from 1962 undertook the same linguistic policy which was applied by the colonizer with regard to Arabic. It was much more a political decision than a linguistic one. An extremist, Jacobine linguistic policy of State-Nation which preaches monolingualism at the expense of the real and natural languages of Algerians.

After 1962, the government established many consecutive laws of Arabization in almost all domains. They started by promoting Arabic in the bureaucracy and in education. Arabization was introduced in schools starting with the primary school, and then they moved to the middle and secondary school. They increased the teaching of Arabic and reduced the hours of teaching French. They also tried to arabize some fields at the University level. But qualified Arabic teachers were almost totally lacking. So, the government had recourse to teachers from the Arab world especially from Syria and Egypt. The president Boumediene insisted on the importance of preserving the national identity. He declared addressing himself to secondary school students

What we can advise you, is to save the Algerian personality. It is true that Algeria is situated between two continents. In fact, it belongs to the African continent but it is at the Occident doors. So, we belong to an under-developed continent which has its qualities and its personalities. As much as we are open to science and progress that are given to us by the countries which precede us in this domain, as much as we have to be careful to preserve our personality and our values, and as much we have to work to preserve our country and reinforce its bases.¹⁴

The President tried to influence the students by making them conscious about their nationality and “Algerianness”. He reminded them the importance to conserve the Algerian identity. According to him, it is important to be open to science and technology but without neglecting our values and personality.

After launching the Arabization process in education, the government aimed at the Arabization of administration. In 1991, a law stipulated

All public administrations, institutions, enterprises and associations, of whatever nature, are required to use only Arabic language in all their activities, including communication and administrative, financial, technical and artistic management. The act specifies that the use of any foreign language in the deliberations and discussions of official meetings is forbidden.¹⁵

The government tried to apply the process of Arabization in almost all domains and the administration was the second step after education. The authorities forbade all foreign languages except Arabic by promoting the exclusive use of Arabic in different institutions.

The Arabization policy aimed also at arabizing the environment. An effort was also made to use radio and television to popularise literary Arabic. So, The media, television, radio and the press were under the Pan Arabists' mercy. They renamed the streets with Arab names and they changed the public weekly holiday from Sunday to Friday which refers to the Muslim holiday.

1.5 Conclusion

The sociolinguistic situation of Algeria is very delicate and complex. There are many languages or many linguistic varieties. Each language is the reflection of a specific origin (Arabic, Berber or French) testifying thus one period of the history. As long as the society is diverse and every human being belongs to this community, the state should respect and accept multilingualism. Mother tongues are the real and natural languages of everyday life interaction in the Algerian society.

Classical Arabic, Algerian Arabic (including all its regional dialects), French and Berber (with its different varieties); all these languages constitute an inseparable part of the Algerian linguistic patrimony. Algeria is thus a multilingual country where many languages or varieties are used together or in distinct places.

Notes to Chapter One

1- Elimam 2004, p. 298

2- Leclerc 1992, p. 223

3- Elimam 2003.

4- National Census ONS, 1998

5- Ferguson 1959, CA. pp.325-340

6- La langue arabe se présente à nous sous deux aspects sensiblement différents : 1- une langue littéraire, dit arabe écrit...de régulier, ou littéral ou classique, qui seule a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passé, dans laquelle seule aujourd'hui encore sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, les articles de presse, les actes judiciaires, les lettres privées, bref, tout ce qui est écrit, mais qui exactement telle qu'elle se présente à nous n'a peut-être jamais été parlée nulle part. 2- des idiomes parlés, des patois...dont aucun n'a jamais été écrit mais, qui, partout, et peut-être depuis longtemps, (sont) la seule langue de la conversation dans tous les milieux populaires ou cultivés.

7- Ferguson 1959, p.25

8- Le concept de bilinguisme, dans son acception la plus étendue, recouvre des réalités linguistiques de forme différente, allant du sabir indigent peu respectueux de la grammaire et de la morphologie du vocabulaire emprunté, au bilinguisme le plus achevé qui suppose selon les nécessités du discours, la pratique sûre, correcte et distincte des deux langues.

9- Le terme de bilinguisme inclut celui de bilingualité qui réfère à l'état de l'individu mais s'applique également à un état d'une communauté dans laquelle deux langues sont en contact avec par conséquent que deux codes peuvent être utilisés dans une même interaction et qu'un nombre d'individus sont bilingues (bilinguisme sociétal).

10- Utilisé(e) comme une stratégie de communication pour compenser (son) manque de compétence en faisant appel tantôt à une langue, tantôt à l'autre pour maximiser l'efficacité de la communication.

11- Ils vous parlent 2 mn en français, 30 secondes en arabe, puis 1 minute en français et ainsi de suite, parfois les deux langues sont mélangées à tel point qu'il en ressort un langage bizarre, inintelligible, et l'on se demande si ces gens là ne sont pas bizarres eux-mêmes.

12- L'arabe va retrouver sa place.

13- ... Sans la récupération de cet élément essentiel et important qu'est la langue nationale, nos efforts resteront vains, notre personnalité incomplète et notre entité un corps sans âme.

14- Ce que nous ne saurons, trop vous conseiller, c'est de sauvegarder la personnalité algérienne. Il est vrai que l'Algérie est située entre deux continents. Elle appartient en effet au continent africain mais elle se trouve aux portes de l'occident. Nous faisons donc partie d'un continent arriéré en voie de développement et nous avons en face un continent qui a ses qualités et ses personnalités. Autant nous sommes ouverts aux sciences et aux progrès que nous ont apportés les nations qui nous devancé dans ce domaine, autant nous devons être soucieux de conserver notre personnalité et nos valeurs et autant nous devons faire pour préserver notre partie et renforcer ses bases.

15- Les administrations publiques, les institutions, les entreprises et les associations, quelle que soit leur nature, sont tenues d'utiliser la seule langue arabe dans l'ensemble de leurs activités telles que la communication, la gestion administrative, financière, technique et artistique. L'utilisation de toute langue étrangère dans les délibérations et débats des réunions officielles, est interdite.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF FRENCH IN ALGERIA

2.1 Introduction

French is one language among others in Algeria. It occupies an important place and it fulfils many social activities. It is one of the daily languages of communication besides AA and Br. Although not belonging to the French speaking countries ¹. Algeria is the second country in the world to speak French. It is used almost everywhere, in the street, administration, mass media, in school and even in the political and some official meetings. And even if French was spoken in Algeria before the French colonization, the origins of its presence in Algeria really began with the French colonization in 1830. We will see the beginnings of the French settlement in the historical background.

The scope of French in different institutions is illustrated in this chapter, institutions such as mass media, administration, justice and the system of national education- now engaged into a reform. The reactions of our informants towards the changes that are being introduced in schools with new books, new programmes and new methods.

2.2 The Origins of French in Algeria, a historical background

According to the history of Algeria, the invasion of the French is due to an incident between the last Turkish Dey and the French Consul in Algiers in 1827, It was called: “Le coup de l'éventail”(The Turkish Dey expelled the French Consul Duval with his flywhisk during an audience). It is the result of what the French considered as an insult to the French Consul. But in reality, this was just a pretext; there were other historical reasons.

France blockaded Algiers for three years, France then used the failure of the blockade as a reason for military expedition against Algiers in 1830.

The French army of 37.000 soldiers invaded the country; they landed in Algiers, at Sidi-Ferruch on June 14th, 1830. Then, they started to spread through the whole country progressively. They conquered Oran in January 1831, Annaba in March of the same year,

Bejaia in September 1833, Tlemcen in January 1836, Constantine in October 1837, etc. From that date, the Algerian population has been under the French control in almost all domains.

The French came with the idea of civilizing the country with a new language and a new culture, they wanted to transform the Algerians and their background. They started controlling education and many other domains of Algerians' life. Thus, controlling education was one of the aims of the colonists because it was widespread when they came.

2.3 Education before the French Colonization

Before the French came, education was widespread. It was a traditional one (An Arabo-Islamic education). Algerian people studied Arabic through religious studies, some literature and some form of scientific knowledge. A French report written on the eve of the French Conquest noted that in 1830, the literacy rate in Algeria was 40%. It was a remarkable rate. Harbart (quoted in Taouti, 1971:35) gives some figures about schooling at that time, he says: **“There were a hundred of schools in Algiers, 86 in Constantine, 50 in Tlemcen as well as 10 universities spread throughout the Algerian Territory in 1830.”**²

Algerian people went frequently to schools like medersas³, zaouias⁴ and mosques in order to have some knowledge. General Valazé in the House of Deputies in 1834 (Quoted in Lacheraf 1978:188) says **“Almost all the Arabs know how to speak and how to write .In each village, there are two schools.”**⁵

2.4 The French Linguistic Policy

The colonists started by closing the Koranic schools progressively, they destroyed them and turned buildings into bars for French troops, they converted also the schools into stables for French horses, they wanted to destroy almost everything linked to literacy by forbidding the teaching of Arabic language.

Foncin describes the changes made by the colonists

What did the Muslim instruction in Algeria become under our domination ? Did we reform it? Did we replace it ? Neither this nor that. We left it dying almost entirely; we were satisfied with closing the most dangerous Zaouias ; we did not support; inspect seriously; or improve teaching. What do we have instead ? Just a little.⁶ (my translation)

(Foncin ,705:145)

The Algerians or the indigenous (as they were called) were deprived from the right of going to school, just a minority had the privilege to study; whereas the French were encouraged and were provided with all the facilities for schooling. The situation of the country became worse. The Duke of Aumale says in an assessment of the situation of the country

What have we done just after the settlement? unsatisfied with taking the medersas to turn them into shops, accommodations ,stables or barracks. We took all the goods of mosques and especially those assigned to public instruction. (my translation)⁷

(Achour, 1985:105)

The colonists made many changes in the educational and social levels. They were against the instruction for all the Algerians; it is just some years after that the educational system has known some positive changes. From 1830 to 1848, the indigenous children followed the same system as the French at school. But in 1848, new programmes and books were elaborated for them.

Primary “ Franco-Arab” schools were created in the towns and among some tribes. A first “Franco-Arab” college was created in Algiers in 1857, then two others in Constantine and Oran. A teacher-training college (Ecole Normale) was created in Algiers in 1865. At school, Arabic was taught in the morning and French in the afternoon. And concerning the Koranic schools, three Medersas were restored and modernised for the training of higher personnel. However, even if education knew some improvements, the rate of schooling of Algerians is far from being the one of the French.

After the Second World War: In 1930, 6800 Algerians attended French primary schools and the number increased to 302,000 in 1954⁸. The number of the Algerian “elite” was small and composed of teachers, engineers, doctors, chemists, dentists and barristers.

The schooling of Algerians progressed. So, the colonized people moved from the total refusal to the claim of their right of instruction. They realized that school is a social need and a means of promotion and development. They wanted to learn the language of the colonizers and their way of thinking in order to come off (or come up against) them. And as a result, they would arm themselves for an opposition to the colonial presence. Colonna says in this respect: **“The advantage that they can have from schooling for their social inscription, in the colonial order, access to the public function, to liberal professions, to economic jobs.”**⁹ (Colonna, 1994:66)

The imposition of French educational norms and the denial of the Algerian identity showed how destructive was the colonial policy. The French, in their horrible aspect, taught the indigenous people at school that Algeria was called “ La Gaulle “ and their ancestors were called “Les Gaulois”.

They did their best to teach and assimilate the French language and culture to children at primary school, at a crucial age, when developing their personality. Up to 1939, the French constituted the majority of the schooling population. They represented 15% of the total population. The rate of schooling changed between 1883 and 1939 from 7% to 43 %¹⁰.

As a reaction of the denial of teaching Arabic, General De Gaulle (President of the French Republic) signed an order to the council in 1961 -one year before independence – which made the teaching of Arabic obligatory in the primary schools. He proclaimed on July 25th that **“The teaching of Arabic at primary school is compulsory.”**¹¹

The French colonial policy did not neglect the social context, they did their best to implement their language and their culture, and they wanted to replace Arabic by their mother language. In this concern the Duke of Rovigo confirmed this aim in 1832: **“The real prodigy to operate will be to replace progressively Arabic by French.”**¹²

The colonists wanted to erase Arabic, since they considered it as the language of old poetry and underdevelopment. However, they presented French as the language of science and civilization. For them, Arabic had no importance and they define it as follows

The spoken Arabic, the Vulgar Arabic is a dialectal Arabic, which varies from city to city, from region to region even for Algeria only: it would miss all the necessary vocabulary to the knowledge of the elementary notions; it is not written whereas the literary Arabic, the only written language, the language of the books is foreign to the young Algerian indigenous as Roman language can be for a Parisian. By another way, it was not reckless to affirm from the very first days of the economic and administrative relations and that indigenous would have the ineluctable need for knowing it in a very close future.¹³

Although all critics made towards Arabic, the Algerians remained faithful to their own native languages.

During all the period of colonization, the Algerian culture did not disappear thanks to people who transmitted it from generation to generation. The parents and grand parents transmitted their native languages to their children orally through tales, poems, proverbs, legends and folk songs. Thus, Algerian Arabic was present even if it was forbidden from being used in public relations.

The colonized people used French in public relations, schools, and their mother tongues at home, for their religious activities and their daily conversations. They were opposed to the use of French; they wanted to use their mother tongues as a symbol of their “Algerianness”.

The colonists made many social changes; they renamed towns and villages with French names and they rarely authorized pilgrimages to Mecca. The constraints, which were imposed by the French, have created many tensions since Algerians were deprived from their elementary and legitimate rights. Thus, they had no social status i.e. they could neither vote nor take part in the social activities. The French tried to implement their language not only by using it in the administration but also by teaching it at school and considering it as the first language of the country.

Until independence, French was used everywhere and Arabic was denied. The French law of 1938 declared that “**Arabic is a foreign language in Algeria.**”¹⁴

In other words, they aimed at suppressing the Arabo-Islamic culture in general and the Algerian identity in particular, depriving the Algerians from their civic and linguistic rights by applying an assimilation and adherence policy by which they were considered as French but of a second class. They considered Algeria as a part of France where French was the single national and official language. During the years of French domination, the struggles to survive, to co-exist, to gain equality and to achieve independence shaped a large part of the Algerian national identity.

2.5 The French Language Uses

We will have a look at the place that French occupies in different institutions such as administration, mass media, justice and school (namely with the new reforms in the programmes and how they are perceived by the population).

2.5.1 French in School

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

Concerning the middle school, an additional year was added and the teaching of English changed from the eighth to the seventh or as called also “the first year of the Middle school”. Although all the efforts made by the authorities to arabize all the educational system, starting from the primary level to the university, some fields are still taught in French only. Fields like medicine, physics, technology, biology, chemistry, mathematics, applied sciences, petro-chemistry, etc. The students who have carried their primary and secondary studies in Arabic are confronted to French when arriving at university.

When confronted to this reality, they face many difficulties, the language taught as a foreign language in the primary and secondary level became the language of instruction and of learning too. There is, here, a real contradiction.

We notice these recent years that many private schools opened their doors where foreign languages are taught such as French, English, Spanish, and German. But French and English are the most popular. The use of languages in the Algerian teaching system is quite welcomed. The next two tables are about the attitude of people concerning languages in the educational system.

Teaching in the country “Algeria” should be:			
Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	No answer
14	35	46	5

Table 2.1 The number of the informants is 100.

We found that 35% think that it should be bilingual and 46% chose multilingualism.

Do you think that Algeria needs a new multilingual linguistic reform?			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
47	19	22	12

Table 2.2 The number of the informants is 100

In answering the question if Algeria needs a new multilingual linguistic reform, 47% answered “yes” against 19% who did not agree and 22% who had no idea. Let’s notice that the majority is in favour of multilingualism. They agree with the idea of reforming the linguistic situation in Algeria and converting the later into a multilingual one, accepting many different languages and not to be limited to Arabic only in order to be open to the world as suggested previously. And this idea is presented by the majority of the

informants. So, these figures show that they are in favour of discovering foreign languages and different cultures.

Table 2.3 is about the new reforms that have been elaborated in 2004 with all the new programmes at the primary and middle levels.

2.5.1.1 The Foreign Languages in School (the new reforms)

The government has decided to introduce some reforms concerning the teaching of foreign languages. Many changes have been elaborated during the academic year 2003-2004 in the primary and middle schools and changes in the secondary school are introduced this year 2005-2006. The conclusions of the commission aimed at starting to teach French as soon as the second year of primary school instead of the fourth. All the old programmes are to be renewed. The new programme seems to resemble the French one. The books are more attractive with many colours and images.

The middle school has received many changes; all the programmes are different and more recent. English has been given more importance. It is taught in the first year of the middle school; whereas some years ago, it was taught in the second year of the same level. They aimed at developing the pupil's mind.

The authorities are conscious of the importance of English in the country and how it can participate to the development of the Algerians. It is considered as the second foreign language taught in Algeria. English is conceived as the *lingua franca*¹⁵ around the world. Around 700 million people speak it which represents one sixth (1/6) of the world's population. It is the dominant language in many domains such as medicine, electronics, technology and film industry

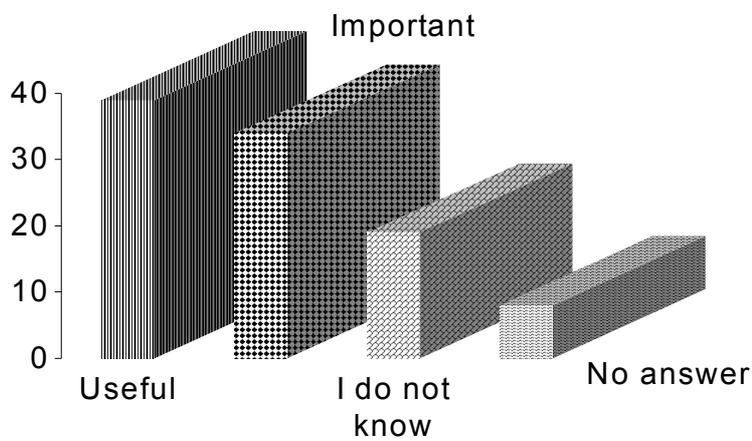
Burshfield says: **“Any literate, educated person on the face of the globe is deprived, if he does not know English.”**¹⁶

Concerning university, the technical and some fields like medicine, chemistry are still taught in French and the literary fields are taught in Arabic. This situation will throw some light on the attitudes of people and how they react to this change as shown in table 2.3.

What do you think about the new reform concerning the teaching of French in the second year instead of the fourth in the primary school?			
Useful	Important	I do not know	No answer
39	34	19	8

Table 2.3 The number of the informants is 100.

As an answer to the question about the new reform, 39 % thought that it is “useful” and 34% said that it is “important” and only 19% had no answer. This means that the majority of our informants are in favour of this new change.



Graph 2.1 Attitudes of people towards the new reforms at school (the teaching of French)

At school, a questionnaire has been given to parents in order to know their attitudes towards the new reform. The questionnaires focused mainly on the pupil's parents of the first primary and the first middle schools (appendix I).

For that purpose, the questionnaires are written in both of French and Arabic because some parents understand and master French much more than Arabic.

The next two tables show the importance of French in teaching, in different fields.

Is French in teaching?		
Essential	Useful but not essential	No answer
59	29	12

Table 2.4 The number of the informants is 100.

We found that 59% said that French is essential in teaching. They do not conceive of teaching in general without the presence of French in the educational system. However, 29% think that French is useful in teaching but not essential, which means that French can be useful for the learners but not essential according to them.

Do you believe that French is the best language for the teaching of :			
Scientific and technological fields			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
67	21	5	7
Literary fields			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
50	31	10	9

Table 2.5 The number of the informants is 100.

The question in table 2.5 aimed at wondering if French is the most suitable language for the teaching of literary, scientific and technological subject matters. For scientific and technological subject matters, 67% answered “yes” whereas 21% who did not agree, and 5% had no idea.

Concerning the literary subjects, 50% said “yes”, 31% “no” and 10% had no idea. If we compare the two distinct subject matters, we notice that in the domain of science and technology, the rate is higher than the literary one. Because it is a little bit difficult to use Arabic in the technical and other sciences. So, French is more appropriate than Arabic.

2.5.2 French in Mass Media

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

In this concern, Eveno posits:

In fact, a lot of Algerians have some notions of French, receive French programmes by television and have relationships with emigrants settling in France. On another hand, a lot of teachers and institutors learnt in French and French universities still accept Algerians.¹⁷

(Eveno, 1994:103)

In radio, the third channel uses only French and it is listened to by a lot of people. Many different programmes are proposed: cooking, health care, speaking about social problems, people call for asking for advice.

Concerning the domain of publication, books, magazines and newspapers are written in Arabic and French. Algeria has more than 45 independent French language and Arabic language publications as well as four government owned newspapers (two published in French and two in Arabic) but the government controls all printing presses and advertising.

About thirty daily newspapers are in French. They are printed between 10.000 and 200.000 copies per day. It depends if they are regional or national.

Today it is fashionable to go to an Internet club to surf, in order to contact different people all over the world. Algerian people (whatever their age) use French when using the Internet. They either use French or English. It depends on the people to whom they are addressed. But most of the time, they use French. It is fashionable to speak French with foreigners because French is seen as the language of modernity and the language of knowledge transmission.

2.5.3 French in the Administration

The language used in administrations differs from one sector to another. In the municipal building, the town hall (APC), birth, death, marriage certificates are delivered in Arabic, except the name which is written in French at the end of the extract.

Even the identity card is in Arabic. The name is in both languages. Passports are still provided in Arabic, French and English.

Concerning the post office, the invoice of the telephone is written in both languages. There are some technical words and some key words which cannot be translated to Arabic. We will see these invoices in appendix III. In SONELGAZ¹⁸, the invoice is also written in both languages.

Not all the administrations could be arabized; there are some sectors where only French is used. In the domain of Health, all prescriptions given by doctors are written in French. The doctors follow their studies in French during many years. When becoming doctors, they deliver prescriptions written in French, and even the names of the medicines are written in French. The notes and the instructions are written in French, Arabic and sometimes even in English.

When people consult a doctor, they usually use French instead of Arabic. They think that it is more formal to speak French. Regardless and without taking into account people who are illiterate because these people rather use Algerian Arabic for all their conversations, however there are others who use Algerian Arabic which is mixed with some French words when it comes to talk about some embarrassing subjects or to refer to certain parts of the body.

Concerning the banks and the insurance companies, the forms are available in both languages. In the banks, the official documents are in French. The paying-in slip is in French except the name of the bank (appendix III).

And the wage slip (pay slip) is in French except the name also of the bank.

These documents from the bank show the official presence of French even if its real status is not recognized.

Table 2.6 is about the language choice in justice, administration, education and mass-media.

Would you choose French for the following institutions?			
The Justice			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
47	43	2	8
The administration			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
65	24	4	7
The education			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
60	30	3	7
The mass media			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
64	23	6	7

Table 2.6 The number of the informants is 100.

While French is chosen in justice by 47%, 43% did not agree and 2% had no answer.

During our analysis, we found that 65% of the informants said “yes” to French in administration, 24% said “no” and 4% had no answer. In addition to 60% who answered “yes” to French in education, 30% may prefer Arabic and 3% did not know what to answer. Finally 64% preferred French in mass-media. As seen before they are addicted to television, radio and newspapers. 23% said “no” and 6% had no answer.

In the domain of justice, the opinions are shared between “yes” and “no”. There are people who prefer French and others who prefer Arabic, the gap is not big between 47 and 43. However, French is the favourite language of the informants in the administration, education and mass media.

2.5.4 French and Social Contexts

French is present in everyday life interactions of Algerian people. People use French as a part of their way of speaking. French is an important tool of work and is present in the environment; in the street. All what concerns the field of advertising, billposting, the majority of the written is in French and sometimes in both languages. The shop signs are either in French or in both French and Arabic but rarely in Arabic exclusively.

Concerning the cellular phone, people exchange short messages, called SMS¹⁹ in French. They rarely use Arabic. Some of them use Algerian Arabic, but they write them with the Latin alphabet. In order to send a message, it is more fashionable to use French. It concerns also the letters. To write a personal letter, people use French. People are influenced by French through TV programmes and other means. They are influenced by what they watch on TV, so, French programmes make people learning and using French.

Sebaa explains this phenomenon by saying: **“It is like this that some hours of programme received by the satellite, give benefit to French that all the laws of Arabization cannot do it for Arabic. (my translation) “**²⁰ (Sebaa, 2002:105)

In the daily life, the food that we eat, the products that we buy and consume, the instruction of use, the recipes and even the names of the products are given in French and Arabic. When we go to the restaurant, the menus are written in French, different dishes and specialities are proposed there in French. We notice that French is omnipresent in our social life, we use it spontaneously and we sometimes do not realize which language we are using, if it is French or Arabic or both.

2.6 Conclusion

Although the Algerian authorities established the process of Arabization in almost all domains by imposing the exclusive use of Arabic and excluding French, “the language of the colonizer, the language of the oppression and suffering”, French is still used in many domains and in life in general.

In the Congress of the International Federation of the French Professors (FIPE), Algerian writers commented the situation of French in Algeria. They said that French continues to be used in Algeria and although the laws of Arabization aimed at excluding French, it remains very popular.

In 1988, a competition about the languages in Algeria was held, a competition between Algerian Arabic, Classical Arabic, French and Berber (AA, CA, Fr, Br), French was the winner.

French has an important place in Algeria. It is the vehicle of knowledge, the instrument for modernity, a means of communication. It is the language of cultivated and educated people. The language of industry and international trade. It is a privileged tool integrated in a complex sociolinguistic dynamics.

That is why, we should consider it as a language to be preserved and not reject it.

In this concern, Caubet says

French as the language of the last coloniser has an ambiguous statute; in one hand, it attracts the official contempt (it is considered officially as a foreign language as English), in the other hand, it is the synonym of the social success and the access to the culture and modernism.²¹

(Caubet, 1986:122)

French has a complex status, some people accept it and adopt it, and others reject it and consider it as a bad effect of the colonization. But in reality we know that French is a part of the Algerian patrimony and it allows the opening to the world. And concerning the function of French and Arabic, they can function distinctly and can work side by side; they can be used in a complementary distribution.

Notes to Chapter Two

1- La Francophonie

2- Il y avait cent écoles pour la ville d'Alger, contre 86 pour Constantine et 50 pour Tlemcen ; il fait état de l'existence en 1830 de dix universités réparties à travers le territoire algérien.

3- Medersa: a Muslim traditional high school

4- Zaouia: a Muslim traditional secondary school

5- Presque tous les arabes savent lire et écrire. Dans chaque village il y a deux écoles .

6- Qu'est devenue sous notre domination l'instruction musulmane en Algérie ? L'avons nous réformée ? L'avons nous remplacée ? Ni l'un ni l'autre. Nous l'avons laissé périr presque entièrement ; Nous nous sommes contentés de fermer les Zaouïas les plus dangereuses ; nous n'avons ni soutenu, ni sérieusement inspecté ; ni amélioré l'enseignement. Q'avons-nous à sa place peu de chose.

7- A peine installés à Alger, qu'avons nous fait ? Non contents de prendre les Medersas pour y mettre des magasins, des logements, des écuries ou des casernes, nous avons fait main basse sur tous les biens des mosquées et surtout sur ceux affectés à l'instruction publique.

8- Bouamrane 1986, pp. 36-37-38.

9- L'avantage qu'ils peuvent tirer de la scolarisation pour leur inscription sociale dans l'ordre colonial, accès à la fonction publique, aux professions libérales, aux emplois économiques.

10- op.cit, pp 49-50

11- Rendant obligatoire l'enseignement de la langue arabe dans les écoles du 1^{er} degré.

12- Le vrai prodige serait de remplacer peu à peu l'arabe par le français.

13- L'arabe parlé, l'arabe vulgaire est un arabe dialectale qui varie presque de ville en ville, de région à région même pour l'Algérie seulement ; il aurait manqué de tout le vocabulaire indispensable à la connaissance de bien des notions élémentaire ; et il ne s'écrit pas – quant à l'arabe littéraire, la seule langue écrite, la langue des livres il est aussi étranger au jeune indigène algérien que la langue romaine peut l'être au petit parisien. Par ailleurs, il n'était pas téméraire d'affirmer, dès les premiers jours de l'occupation, que notre langue devrait devenir la langue des relations économiques et administratives et que les indigènes allaient avoir dans un avenir proche, le besoin inéluctable de la connaître.

14- Une loi de 1938 avait même nettement déclaré la langue arabe langue étrangère en Algérie.

15- Lingua Franca: one intelligible language adopted by various communities.

16- Editor of Oxford Dictionary

17- En effet, nombre d'algériens possèdent quelques notions de français, reçoivent les programmes français de télévision et gardent des relations avec les émigrés installés en France. Par ailleurs, beaucoup de professeurs et d'instituteurs ont fait leurs études en français et les universités françaises accueillent encore des algériens.

18- SONELGAZ: Société nationale de l'électricité et de gaz.

19- Short message service

20- C'est ainsi que quelques heures de programme reçues par voie de parabole, rendent beaucoup plus service à la langue française que toutes les lois sur l'arabisation ne peuvent le faire pour la langue arabe.

21- Le français en tant que langue de l'ancien colonisateur a un statut très ambigu; d'une part il attire le mépris officiel (il est officiellement considéré comme une langue étrangère au même titre que l'anglais), mais d'autre part, il est synonyme de réussite social et d'accès à la culture et au modernisme.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES OF PEOPLE TOWARDS FRENCH IN ORAN

3.1 Introduction

The third chapter is devoted to French, its use and especially the attitudes of people towards it. How it is perceived by a sample of the population living in Oran. The questionnaire investigates on the behaviour of people towards this language, namely its functions and situation. So, the exploitation of the questionnaire aims at understanding and describing people's attitudes towards French.

I gave the questionnaires to one hundred informants, forty eight males and fifty two females aged between twelve (12) and seventy (70), occupying various social or economic functions, having different levels of instruction and living in different parts of Oran. The questionnaires which are written and presented to informants in French aim at enhancing the fact that the study is based on French, its use, its function in Oran's society at different levels.

The aim of the questionnaires is to give some indications about the number of bilinguals in Oran, people are influenced by language, how this language is seen by its users and how it evolves. The questionnaire contains different parts.

In the first section, the questions concern the knowledge of French, and the degree of proficiency of the informants in writing, speaking and reading French and their first contact with it.

The second section is dedicated to the four major languages of Algeria, the attitudes of people towards Arabization and towards the linguistic phenomena resulting from languages contact such as Arabic-French bilingualism, Arabic-French code switching.

Finally, in the last part, we deal with the attitudes of people towards the French language and its influence in every day's life.

3.2 The Questionnaire

The questionnaires were handled to one hundred (100) informants, representative of different ages, sexes, occupying various occupations and living in different parts of the town of Oran. The informants are aged between twelve and seventy. The level of instruction differs from one person to another, starting from the illiterate to the intellectual. Among the people interviewed, nine (9) are Berberophones.

Age	Percentage	Male	Female
[10-20]	17%	4	13
[20-30]	31%	14	17
[30-40]	18%	12	6
[40-50]	15%	10	5
[50-60]	11%	6	5
[60-70]	8%	4	4
Total	100%	48	52

Table 3.1 The distribution of the questionnaires by sex and age.

From the above table, we notice that

-17% of the people interviewed are aged between twelve (12) and twenty (20) years old. Four (4) are males and thirteen (13) are females.

-31% of the informants are aged between twenty (20) and thirty (30) years old. Among them, fourteen (14) are males and seventeen (17) are females.

-18% of the people interviewed range between thirty (30) and forty (40) years old. Within them, twelve (12) are masculine and six (6) are feminine.

-15% of the total population is aged between forty (40) and fifty (50). Among them, ten (10) are males and five (5) are females.

-11% of the informants range between fifty (50) and sixty (60). Among the eleven per cent (11%), six (6) are men and five (5) are women.

And finally the age between sixty (60) and seventy (70) is represented by 8% of the total population interviewed. Four (4) are males and four (4) are females.

-48% of the informants are aged between ten and thirty [10-30]

- 33% are aged between thirty and fifty [30-50]
- 19% are aged between fifty and seventy [50-70]
- [10-20] out of 17% of people who answered that they know French, only 1% did not know French and could not answer.
- [20-30] out of 31% of people who answered “yes” for the knowledge of French, only 1% answered “no”.
- [30-40] they all know French and this category represents 18% of the total population asked.
- [40-50] out of 15% of informants said “yes” for the knowledge of French and only 2% answered “no”.
- [50-60] out of 11% of people who answered positively to the knowledge of French, only 1% answered negatively.
- [60-70] among the 8% of the population who answered positively to the knowledge of French, 1% answered “no”.

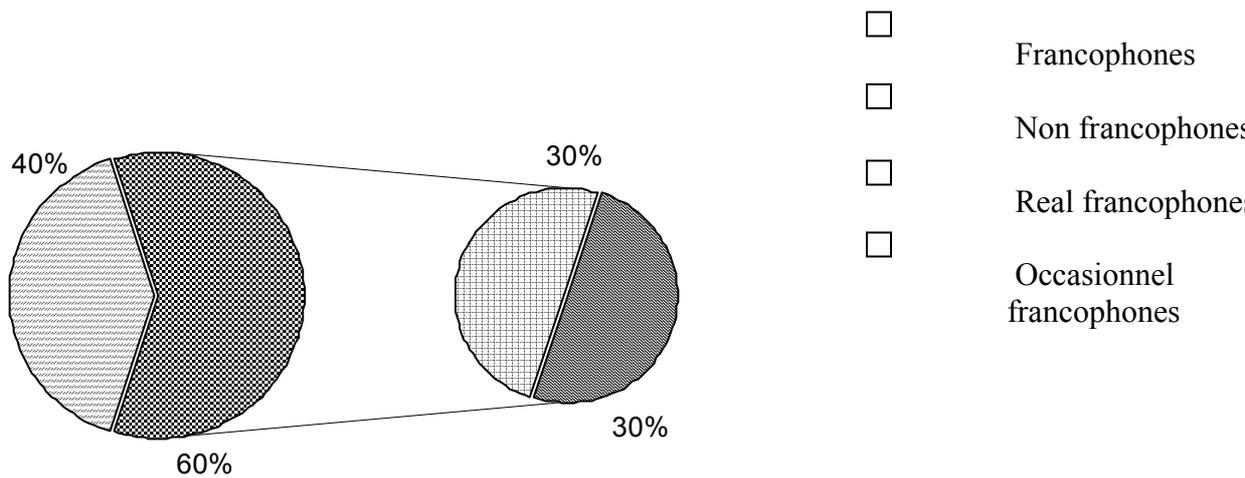
Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Students	9	20	29
Teachers	2	3	5
Civil servants	11	3	14
Directors	1	1	2
Doctors	1	1	2
Nurses		2	2
Computer scientists	2	1	3
Commercials trade people	5	1	6
Taxi, bus drivers	3		3
Barristers	1		1
Librarian		1	1
Secretaries		2	2
House maid		1	1
Plumber	1		1
Postman	1		1
Banker		2	2
Book keeper		1	1
Pastry cook	1		1
Security agent	1		1
SONATRACH ¹ agent	1		1
Dress maker		1	1
Tailor	1		1
Others	7	12	19
Total	48	52	100

Table 3.2 Distribution of the sample by occupation and sex.

3.3 Francophones in Algeria

According to The High Council of the Francophony (Haut conseil de la Francophonie), in 1993, 60% of the Algerian population are considered as real francophones (French speakers). Therefore, we found that 30% are real francophones, they usually speak French and 30% are occasional francophones, they occasionally speak French. Knowing that the 40% left are in contact with French, they are influenced in a way or another.

Francophones in Algeria

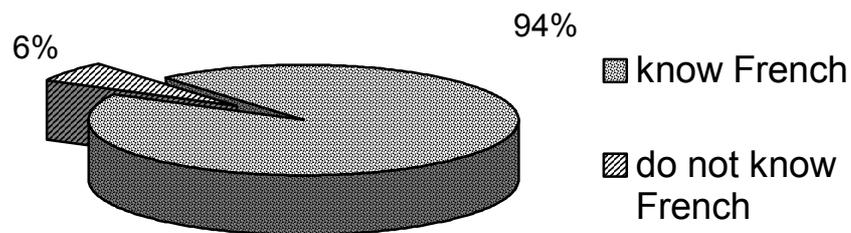


Pie chart 3.1 Percentage of the francophones in Algeria according to the High Council of the Francophony.

But when speaking about the questionnaires which have been handled to one hundred people (informants), we found that 94% of the people asked claimed to know French and only 6% do not know this language. The high score of the knowledge of French can be seen positively. We notice that a majority knows French with different degrees of proficiency depending on people. It changes from one person to another and this will be illustrated in the following tables (3.4, 3.5, and 3.6).

Do you know French ?	
Yes	No
94	6

Table 3.3 The number of the informants is 100.



Pie chart 3.2 The percentage of people who claim to know French

The following tables are devoted to the linguistic competence of the informants in speaking, writing and reading skills.

How do you speak French?				
Very well	Well	Badly	Very badly	No answer
28	52	9	5	6

Table 3.4 The number of the informants is 100

Let us speak first about the speaking skill. French is very well spoken by 28%, well by 52%, badly by 9% and very badly only by 5%. We notice that the majority declares some competence, to some extent, in speaking skill and especially with the notion “well”.

How do you write French?				
Very well	Well	Badly	Very badly	No answer
20	47	20	8	5

Table 3.5 The number of the informants is 100.

As for the writing skill, 20% of the informants answered “very well”, 47% “well”, 20% “badly” and only 8% “very badly”. And here also, just a minority answered “badly” or “very badly”.

How do you read French?				
Very well	Well	Badly	Very badly	No answer
35	45	10	3	7

Table 3.6 The number of the informants is 100.

At this level, the majority of the informants declares to master, to some extent, the reading. All the three skills (speaking, writing and reading) seem to be mastered by more than half of the informants. And most of them answered with the qualifying degree “well”, which represents the average. Those who qualify their skills as “very well” represent the educated people with a high level of instruction. While the latter represents a small elite, the minority which answered “badly” or “very badly” represents a category of people who: (a) are not educated in French or just a little; (b) are opposed to the use of the language itself.

Where have you started learning French?		
At home	At school	Elsewhere
34	71	5

Table 3.7 The number of the informants is 100.

When wondering at how French was acquired in Algeria and how it was introduced, we see that 71% had been taught French at school, and 34% first learnt it at home, before going to school.

This would mean that 71% of the informants may have learnt it as the first language of the country - if we speak about the period which precedes the Arabization policy - or as a second language, the first ranking foreign language, after Arabic.

Let's notice that those who answered "at home" consider that French is a part of their spontaneous domestic environment.

Where do you speak French most?			
At home	At school or university	With your friends	With your superiors, at work
31	30	50	38

Table 3.8 The number of the informants is 100

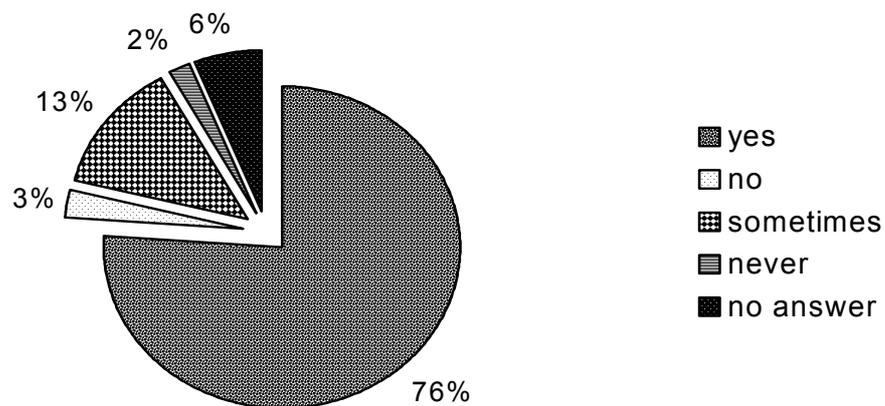
When we speak about where French is mostly used and the place where it is used, the opinions diverge. 31% answered that they speak French mostly at home, 30% use it at school or university, 50% use it "with their friends" and 38% answered with "their superiors at work", for instance. We notice that French is widely and diversely used and fulfils some communicative needs.

The most famous means of mass media is television. Almost everybody has got one at home. To the question about watching French TV, 76% answered "yes"; which represents the majority. Only 3% answered "no", 13% answered "sometimes" and 2% "never". If we bring together "yes" and "sometimes", we obtain 89% of our informants who watch French programmes with various degrees of frequency.

Do you watch French TV?				
Yes	No	Sometimes	Never	No answer
76	3	13	2	6

Table 3.9 The number of the informants is 100

It is well established that the majority of Algerian families possess a satellite dish at home which allows people to choose some French channels. It seems that television is one of the most important vehicle for French in Algeria.

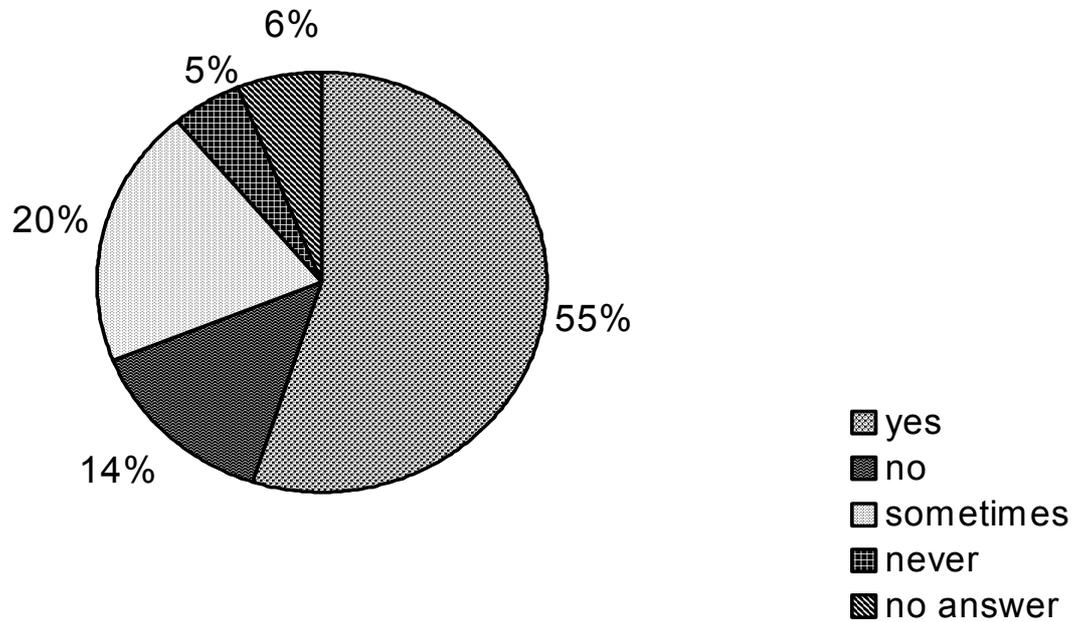


Pie chart 3.3 People who watch French TV

Do you listen to radios which give their programmes in French ?				
Yes	No	Sometimes	Never	No answer
55	14	20	5	6

Table 3.10 The number of the informants is 100.

As another important means of the mass media, the radio. It is present in the daily life of the population, in their houses, their cars and even their work. There are many Algerian radio channels: some give their programmes in French and others in Arabic. The “third channel” -a national broadcasting channel- presents its programmes exclusively in French. Even in the local (Oran’s) channel, there are some programmes where both languages (Arabic and French) are used, in medical subjects for instance. Answering the question about listening to the radio with programmes in French, 55% said “yes”, 14% said “no”, 20% answered “sometimes” and only 5% never listen to the radio when there are programmes in French. This gives a total of 75% who listen to programmes in French but this does not exclude the fact that they may listen to other radio channels which give their programmes in Arabic.



Pie chart 3.4 People who listen to French radios

The next table concerns the use of French in the daily life exchanges.

Do you use French as a language of daily life communication ?		
Yes	No	No answer
71	23	6

Table 3.11 The number of the informants is 100.

In the above table, we see that the majority of informants answered “yes”. 71% use French for communication, and this refers to the usage of French in table 6. According to the answers obtained, French is used in various situations of daily life communications.

In table 3.12 the choice of language is asked: which language for reading.

If you had the choice, in which language would you study, read books and newspapers?			
Classical Arabic (CA)	Algerian Arabic (AA)	French (Fr)	Berber (Br)
16	33	61	10

Table 3.12 The number of the informants is 100.

In the domain of studying, reading books and newspapers, people chose mostly French with 61%, Algerian Arabic comes next with 33%, Classical Arabic follows with 16% and Berber ends with 10%.

We see that French is their favourite language for studying, reading books and newspapers. The second language is Algerian Arabic because it is usually spoken. Now as for Classical Arabic, it is not very used as a spoken language – thus only a minority seems to master it and use it in everyday life interactions.

Berber is chosen by a small number of informants because only a minority is Berberophone.

3.4 The Attitudes of Oranian People towards

3.4.1 Arabic-French Bilingualism

This table is about people's opinion on Algeria, if it is a monolingual or a bilingual country.

Do you consider Algeria as a country ?		
Monolingual	Bilingual	No answer
13	79	8

Table 3.13 The number of the informants is 100

From the above table, we found that 79% of the informants considered Algeria as a bilingual country whereas 13% who thought that it is a monolingual.

Tables 3.14 and 3.15 come back also on the issues of bilingualism.

Do you want your children to be?		
Arabised	Bilinguals	No answer
16	79	5

Table 3.14 The number of the informants is 100.

According to this table, 79% of the informants preferred their children to be bilingual against 16% who preferred their children to be arabized. This category represents a minority. We notice that the majority is for bilingualism.

Are you for?		
Arabization	Bilingualism	No answer
17	78	5

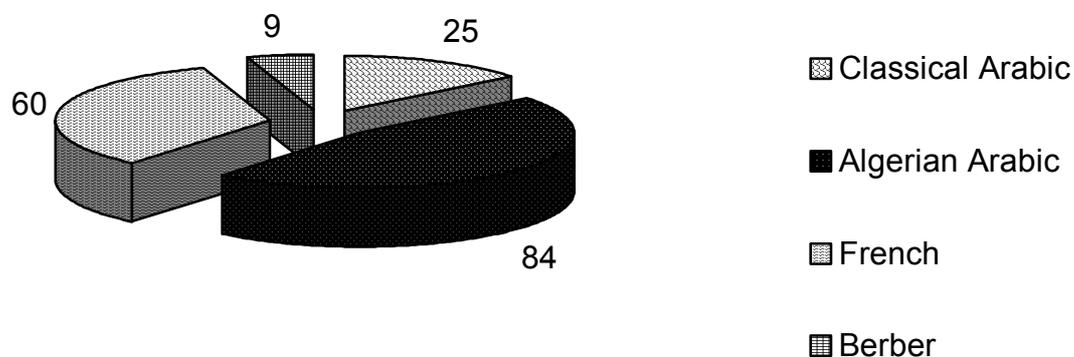
Table 3.15 The number of the informants is 100.

And here also 78% are for bilingualism against 17% who preferred Arabization. We notice that the majority of the answers have a positive attitude towards bilingualism. They are more open minded than those who prefer Arabization, the latter are in favour of only one language speech community and this is not benefit for the society. The following table is about the competence of people in different languages.

In which language are you most competent?			
CA	AA	Fr	Br
25	84	60	9

Table 3.16 The number of the informants is 100.

When mentioning their own competence in a language spoken in their country, various opinions are shared mostly between the local variety, the Algerian Arabic, French and Berber. However, 84% of the respondents answered that they are most competent in Algerian Arabic followed by 60% most competent in French. Only 25% of the informants pretended to be most competent in Classical Arabic. Maybe this category of people have a job related to the official language or educated in it because only a minority speaks it in everyday life interactions and has some competence in it. The Berberophones interviewed represent only 9%. In fact, most of the informants are competent in more than one language. Bilingualism and even Multilingualism are real sociolinguistic phenomena in Algeria.



Pie chart 3.5 People's competence towards Languages.

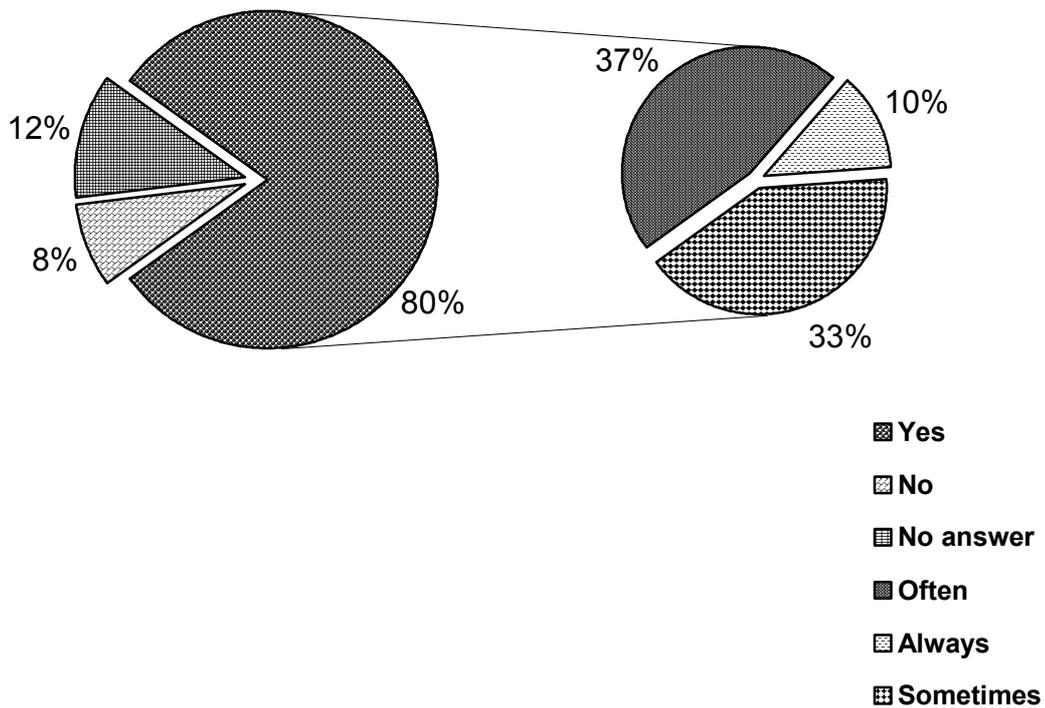
We see that the attitudes of people towards bilingualism is mostly positive. They are for this linguistic phenomenon which results from language change because this latter happens when two or more languages are being in contact.

3.4.2 Arabic-French Code switching

Do you mix between Algerian Arabic and French (code switch), you use Fr and AA within the same sentence ?				
Yes			No	No answer
80			12	8
Always	Often	Sometimes		
9	36	32		

Table 3.17 The number of the informants is 100.

We see that code switchers are numerous in Algeria. Our table shows 80%. Most speakers will switch between both languages (Arabic (AA) and French) so frequently that it seems to us that mixing languages is something natural. Considering our table, the 12 out of 100 who answered “no” do not master both languages because to code switch means to be bilingual (at least having some competence in both languages). 9% said that they always code switch, 36% often practise it and finally 32% sometimes code switch. And this phenomenon occurs in everyday life with different interlocutors moving from the family to friends and so on.



Pie chart 3.5 Code switchers.

When you code switch between languages, is it with?		
Your family	Your friends	Others
48	64	14

Table 3.18 The number of the informants is 100.

Code switching is practised everywhere and with different people, 48% answered that they code switch with their family, 64% said with their friends and 14% said with others and in different circumstances.

Our next table deals with the circumstances behind such a phenomenon.

When you code switch, is it for?				
Filling a gap	To prove your mastering of both languages	A habit	I do not know	No answer
4	8	56	18	4

Table 3.19 The number of the informants is 100.

We found that 56% answered “by habit”, 4% said that code switching helps in “filling a gap”. However, 8% said code switching is used as a sign of mastery of both codes and 18% did not know what to answer.

The majority said “by habit”, this means that it becomes so frequent that people do it as if they have always done it and not in the purpose of doing it. Those who answered “for filling a gap”, are maybe not aware that generally we do it unconsciously.

This is what our next table is about.

When you mix, is it ?		
Consciously	Unconsciously	No answer
9	72	19

Table 3.20 The number of the informants is 100.

Some informants who constitute 72% code switch unconsciously and only 9% do it in purpose (consciously). It becomes a part of our daily life language.

Algerian people alternate between Arabic and French unconsciously; they live in a constant contact of the two languages. Bencherfa makes a similar observation when saying that:

By examining closely the different types of speech such as: political speech, the conversations on official or scientific subjects, the plays, personal letters from one person to another, courses given at University, at the college or at school and finally the conversation within the family, we notice in the majority of cases the alternation of passages in Algerian Arabic, passages in Modern Arabic and in French. ²

(Bencherfa, 1987:123)

Algerian people alternate between Arabic and French unconsciously; they live in a constant contact of the two languages.

3.4.3 Arabization

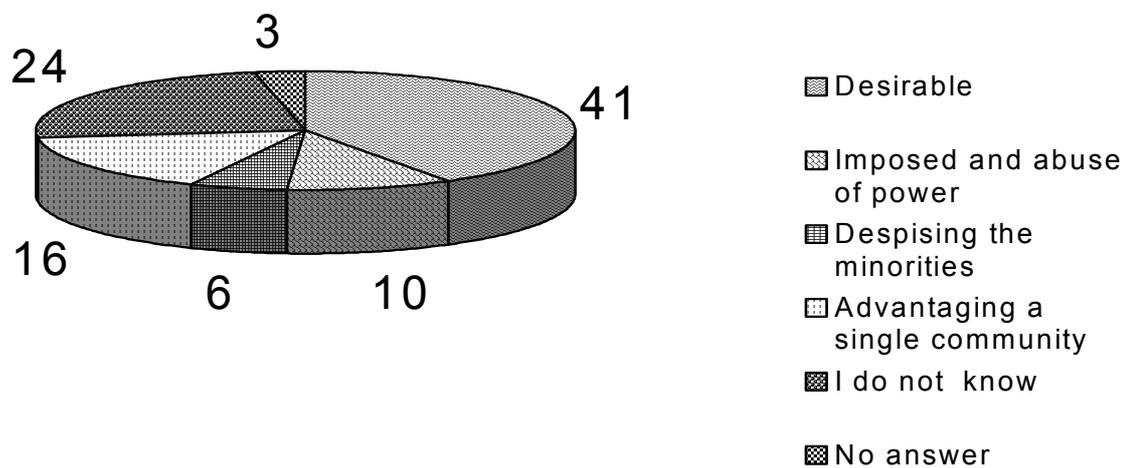
Table 3.21 explores the reaction of people towards the process of Arabization and what they think.

Do you think that Arabization is?					
Desirable	Imposed and abuse of power	Despising the minorities	Advantaging a single community	I do not know	No answer
41	10	6	16	24	3

Table 3.21 The number of the informants is 100.

Among all the informants, 41% thought that Arabization is desirable, 10% thought that Arabization is imposed and abuse of power, 6% said that it is despising the minorities, 16% thought that this process is advantaging a single community and 24% had no answer.

These results mean that the opinions diverge from one person to another. There are people who did not accept the Arabization policy which has been imposed to a population without taking into consideration the linguistic realities. It means that when the authorities decided to implement it, just after independence, they had not any directives to follow, they aimed at restoring the national language to the nation after having been denied for a long time.



Pie chart 3.6 Attitudes of people towards the process of Arabization

Table 3.22 is an inquiry about the situation of the country if people limit themselves to Arabization.

Do you think that Arabization will isolate Algeria from the modern world ?			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
44	32	17	7

Table 3.22 The number of the informants is 100.

We obtained 44% who thought that Arabization will isolate Algeria from the modern world against 32% who did not agree and 17% who had no idea. Algeria should not be limited to one language; it should be opened to other horizons in the aim of entering the modern world and trying to understand the world of modernity at least through language. In order to evaluate the extent to which total Arabization may bring forward the country to suffer from being confronted to one language, table 3.23. gives some hints.

Do you think that the total Arabization will block the country's development and progress?			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
45	29	19	7

Table 3.23 The number of the informants is 100.

From the above table, we obtained 45% of the informants who answered “yes”, they thought that the total Arabization will block the country's development and progress, 29% did not agree with this idea and 19% chose not to answer. Once again total monolingualism is not accepted by the majority of the people interviewed, they are in favour of many languages coexisting in the country.

The process of Arabization created a resistance and the real opposition came from the modernizers among bureaucrats and technocrats and the Berbers (the Kabyles). They see in Arabization an advantage for a single community. They maintained a strong ethnic consciousness and a determination to preserve their distinctive cultural identity and language. They demanded the recognition of the Kabyle dialect as a primary national language and respect for Berber culture.

It is just in October 2001 that the government recognized Berber as a national language but not as an official language. As a result the language issue remains contentious.

In 2004, 2005, the government increased the access of Berber language and culture to both print and broadcast media.

3.4.4 The French Language

This table aims at giving some hint of the attitudes of people towards French.

Do you want to improve your knowledge of French?			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
76	10	7	7

3.24 The number of the informants is 100.

To the above question, we obtained 76% that answered positively to the improvement of their knowledge of French. Let's consider it as a positive attitude. 10% said "no", they are not interested in the improvement of their knowledge and only 7% did not know what to answer.

And the following table gives some hint on the attitudes of the parents concerning the education of their children in French .

Do you want your children to learn French?			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
81	6	7	6

Table 3.25 The number of the informants is 100.

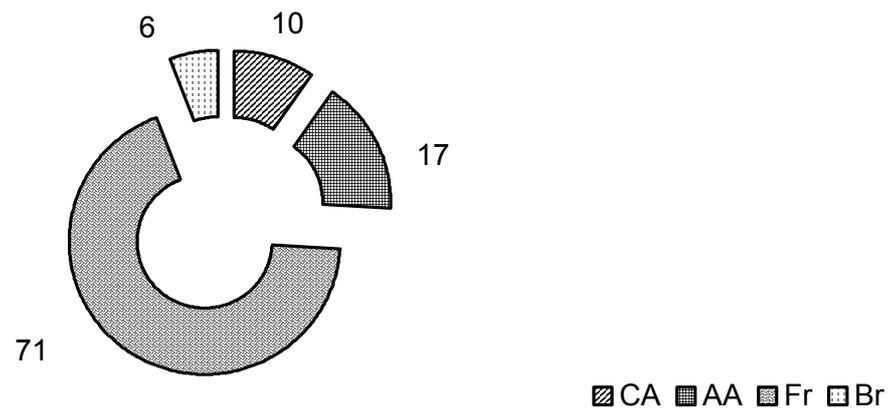
We found that 81% answered “yes”. We consider this as a positive attitude, since they want their children to acquire French. 6% said “no”, we consider their attitude as a negative one. Only 7% had no idea. These last two tables witness some positive attitude concerning French. People see some interest in having their children educated in French.

Which language would you choose for writing?			
a love letter			
AC	AA	Fr	Br
10	17	71	6
a job application form			
AC	AA	Fr	Br
14	9	74	3

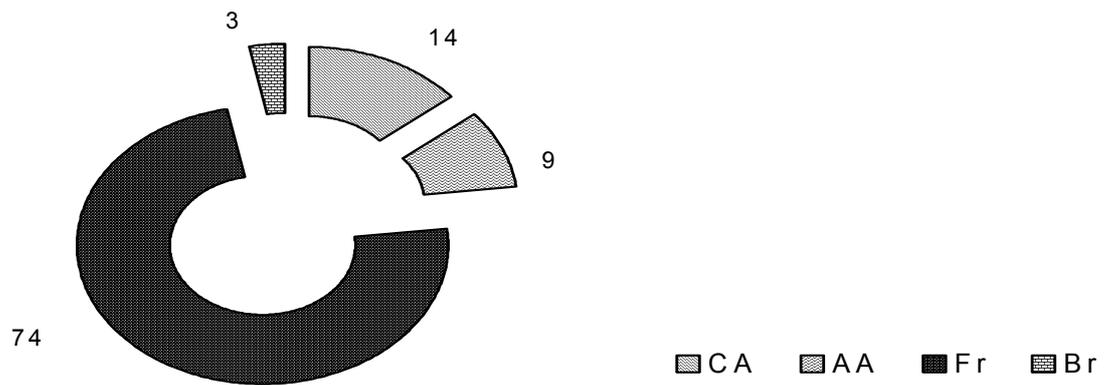
Table 3.26 The number of the informants is 100.

Out of 100 of informants, only 10% chose Classical Arabic for writing a love letter against 17% who would prefer Algerian Arabic. 71% decided French and 6% answered Berber. And for writing a job application letter, 14 answered CA, 9% AA, 74% Fr and finally Br by 3%.

We notice that although in writing a love letter or a job application form, the majority chose French. Maybe when speaking about love, French is more appropriate than Algerian Arabic or Classical Arabic because it is more fashionable. When speaking about an application form, we use French to make the demand more official than to be written in Classical Arabic which is not very mastered by the population or the local variety, Algerian Arabic which has not any prestige in the written form.



Pie chart 3.7 People's language choice for the writing of a love letter



Pie chart 3.8 People's language choice for the writing of a job application form

In table 3.27, the inquiry aims at finding out to what extent French is part of the Algerian culture.

Do you think that French constitutes an element of the Algerian cultural identity?				
Yes	No	Maybe	I do not know	No answer
53	23	14	2	8

Table 3.27 The number of the informants is 100.

From the above table, 53% thought that it does, 23% that it does not, 14% answered “maybe” and 2% had no idea. Here; we see that the majority thinks that French is a part of the Algerian cultural identity. French is a part of the Algerian linguistic environment because it has been present for a long time in the society and Algerians have been in contact with it. They speak it everyday as their native language.

Is it necessary for an Algerian to know French?		
Yes	No	No answer
69	22	8

Table 3.28 The number of the informants is 100.

To the above question, 69% considered that French is necessary for an Algerian and 22% did not think that it is necessary. Being a component of the Algerian linguistic environment, French is spoken everywhere, so it is important to know it in order to be integrated in the Algerian society, participate and contribute to the development of the country.

Do you think that French is a national language in Algeria ?			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
42	42	7	9

Table 3.29 The number of the informants is 100.

The aim of table 3.29 is to evaluate the status of French a “national language” in Algeria. Thus, 42% answered “yes”, 42% said “no” and 7% had no idea. This means that the views are shared between “yes” and “no”. In reality, even if the implementation of Arabization will push French away as a foreign language, it is, indeed, a national language

in Algeria because It is used at the national level. French is spoken almost in all the parts of the country but it is more present in some regions than others. The next table will give us a view on the presence of French in Algeria.

Do you think that French will disappear from Algeria?			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
16	61	16	7

Table 3.30 The number of the informants is 100.

Only 16% thought that French will disappear from Algeria, 61% did not believe in such issue and 16% had no answer. The majority did not agree with the idea of the disappearance of French from Algeria. A minority of the population wants French to disappear from the country; they probably consider it as a foreign language which should not be used anymore. But it is not an easy task to refuse this language. The process of Arabization tried to do so but it failed. Table 3.31 is devoted to the coexistence of Arabic and French and what can results from this situation for a Muslim country.

Do you think that Arabic-French bilingualism prevents the restoration of Algeria as an Arab-Islamic country?			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
16	61	15	8

Table 3.31 The number of the informants is 100.

Only 16% thought that Arabic-French bilingualism will block the restoration of the Algerian identity as an Arabo-islamic country, 61% did not agree and 15% did not know. The people who answered “no” do not believe that bilingualism will block the Algerian identity and that bilingualism is not a hindrance to Islam. Bilingualism cannot have a bad effect on the religion of the country.

Although French was attacked as the “language of colonisation” in order to influence people to not use it anymore, the Algerians still wonder about the future of this language. This will be shown in table 3.32.

Do you think that French will dominate in Algeria in the future ?			
Yes	No	I do not know	No answer
15	43	35	7

Table 3.32 The number of the informants is 100.

Answering the question about the place of French and if it will dominate in the future in Algeria, only 15% thought “yes” against 43% who said “no” and 35% who did not answer. Only a minority believes in a future domination of this language on the society. Such a view may be supported by all the debates on French language that are occurred recently. The last table (3.32) aims at giving an insight on people’s attitude about the evolution of French.

Would you like French to rediscover the place that it had previously?		
Yes	No	No answer
63	28	9

Table 3.33 The number of the informants is 100.

To the question (3.33), 63% answered “yes” to a “come back” of the prestige French used to have against 28% who refused such an issue. After what we have witnessed through the different questions, we can say that the majority of our informants is favourable to French, only a minority considers it as a foreign language or are against it because of its past. This is a fact but people should forget the period of French oppression and think that this language can bring about many benefits to the Algerian population by helping them to enter the world of development and to be open to other foreign languages as it is the case with English or other languages.

Even if the authorities did their best to settle Arabic (CA) language through the implementation of what is called the “process of Arabization”, and tried to exclude French, the country is still bilingual; and French still continues to be used in many domains. The nation needs to promote its mother tongues but without neglecting the other languages. It is more profitable for Algeria that French and other foreign languages be taught.

As seen in the first table, the number of bilinguals is 94 out of 100. This fact is came out in the answers of the informants concerning the learning of French for themselves and their children, the watching or listening of French channels and radios.

It is time, now, to have a look at the attitudes of people towards languages in general and French in particular starting from the point of view and behaviour of the President. According to some studies and opinions, French is now spoken in Algeria more than it did during the colonization period. The number of Algerians who speak, write and understand it are more numerous than before independence.

The Algerian trade is widely open to French products. The influence of France is present politically, economically and culturally. Besides, the failure of the process of Arabization was a determinant factor helping in the return of the French language in Algeria.

The election of the President of the Republic Mr. Bouteflika in April 1999, modified the reception of languages in general and French in particular in Algeria. Deciding, on purpose, to regularly use French in the official interventions, he encouraged the use of French. His debates which have been held in Algeria or abroad are retransmitted on TV.

The attitudes of the government tend towards more acceptance of the presence of foreign languages in the country. The positive attitude of the President is seen also in his willing of joining the Francophony which is an important international organisation. This organisation tried to help the countries which have French “in common”. A French channel “TV5” is mostly programmed for francophone countries through programmes of information and culture in order to increase the number of users of the language of Voltaire.

The President of the Republic has already participated in a conference of the Francophony in Beyrouth in 2002 and his attending in Ouagadougou in 2005 is a first step towards this organisation even if nothing has been decided yet.³ In his speech, the president illustrated the importance that has the adhesion of Algeria to the organisation. Joining in this association allows a lot of contacts with other international organisations and he thinks also about the future of the young people and how this will help them to develop their minds and to be widely open to others.

There are people who are for this adhesion, they see in this operation a political, economical and strategic necessity. They see in this relation the sign of friendship between Algeria and France. However, there are others who are against this idea because of the historical facts. The President has not decided yet, he hesitates and if accepting, he will probably impose some conditions.

The attitudes of people towards French change from one person to another. There are old people who refuse to accept French because it reminds them all the long period when Algerians were under the French colonization and they suffered for a long time from a process of depersonalisation and the denial of Arabic language. They consider French as a foreign language which has a bad impact on Algerians. For them, using French makes them having bad consciousness. After the independence, French was rejected by them.

There are other people who do not master Arabic, CA because they have been educated in French and it becomes very useful in their life and maybe they use it without thinking that it has been for a long time the language of the colonial oppression, they consider it a language as any other. Whereas others behave differently when speaking about French. Among the people in favour of French, the Kabyles. 9 out of the 100 persons interviewed are Kabyles and all of them are for the use of French. They prefer using French instead of Arabic.

Berbers are against Arabization because they think that this latter is in favour of only one language community; they are favouring the use of French. They generally speak excellent French and less good Arabic especially in some places like Algiers.

During these last years, we are attending a new phenomenon with the internet, people communicate all around the world thanks to messages written generally in French or English but rarely in Arabic. And when speaking about the cellular, the SMS (short message service) sent are also written in French or English.

For young people, it is preferable to speak French than Arabic, for them it is more fashionable. And even when one addresses a teacher, he/she will speak in French; it seems to be more formal. Sebaa says about the evolution of the use of French

[...] speakers of French are perceptibly more numerous than forty years ago. Barely Some thousands at independence, they are now nearly 9 million. [...] the independent national power and “Arab” power has done more for French than French school and administrations united during the colonial period. (my translation)⁴

(Sebaa, 2002: 61)

Sebaa explains that French is nowadays more spoken than during the French colonization or with the implementation of the process of Arabization. A lot of people adopt it and especially the young generation. They see in French the language of future opportunities.

The associative activity in favour of French tends to become extensive. The French Cultural Centre (CCF) in Oran reopened in 2002 after a closing of nine years. It registered in 2002, 710 subscriptions and the number increases to 1226 in 2003 and it continues to increase each year. The adherents are from different social levels, going from the student to the worker. The library is composed of more than 20.000 documents allowing its users to reach updated information.⁵

The French Cultural Centre proposes different linguistic tests depending on the level of instruction. Are offered : DELF 1st degree (diplôme d'études en langue française), DELF 2nd degree, DALF (diplôme approfondi en langue française), and the TCF (test de connaissance de français). These tests help the candidates evaluate their knowledge of French and allow them to register in a French university.

3.5 Conclusion

From what we considered previously, we can conclude by saying that even if Algeria has been the object of many conquests, the biggest influence is the French one. The French colonization was responsible of different phenomena linked to the language contacts of two or more languages in interpersonal and intergroup relations and especially Arabic and French. People being in contact with French for a long period of time have been influenced in a way or another and entered a linguistic situation where both of French and Arabic were used.

People live in bilingualism, code switching and many other phenomena resulting from the Arabic-French contact. Arabic (either of CA or AA) and French could function together and they could function in distinct spheres.

The linguistic reality shows that French has not lost its prestige because it is used in the social life and is used as a means of communication. It has an important place in the Algerian society at different levels: economic, social and educational. French is largely used by intellectuals. It is widely used in Algeria and fits a communicative task; that is why it cannot be considered as a foreign language because a foreign language is not practised in a linguistic community and does not have social, political or educational functions. Spanish and German are foreign languages in Algeria.

French is considered as a second language because it can function with Arabic or alone if we speak about the medical domain. Taleb Ibrahimi contends that:

Oscillating constantly between the status of a second language and that of a privileged foreign language, between the denial, the expressiveness of its symbolic power and the reality of its use, the ambiguity of the place assigned to the French language is one of the marked facts of the Algerian situation

(Taleb Ibrahimi 1995:50)

French is present in the media, radio, TV broadcasting, the satellite, newspapers and magazines. Although French has been politically considered as a foreign language since 1979, it is still part of the Algerian linguistic profile because the impact of one century and thirty years of colonialism makes it part of the Algerian culture and history.

In Canada, both English and French are used; they are the official languages of the country.

The linguistic situation is a little bit different but we can compare the two countries in the sense that both French and Arabic -either classical or colloquial- are used and fulfil some social function, they are used everywhere. Therefore, French and Arabic exist side by side.

Algeria is thus a multilingual society where more than two varieties and languages are used and this sociolinguistic situation is positive for the development of the country.

Notes to Chapter Three

1- SONATRACH: Société nationale de transport par canalisation des hydrocarbures.

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

3- El Khabar, 04-10-2004, pp.3-4-5-6

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

5- CCF, ccforandz@yahoo.fr

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Algeria like other African countries which have been subject to the French colonization; has been to some extent influenced by it. Even the implementation of the process of Arabization and all the efforts made by the authorities to re-establish Arabic as the national and official language as a means of unifying Algerians. French is still present almost everywhere and the number of bilinguals is impressive. The proficiency of bilingualism differs from one person to another starting from the illiterate to the most intellectual.

As it came out of the figures of the questionnaire, we notice that French is present in the administration, at school especially with the new reforms at different levels of education and in the street; in general where we live, in our environment. The feeling of attachment to the Francophony tends to become explicit for many Algerian citizens and most importantly according to Sebaa who posits that: **“Without being the official language, it vehicles the officiality, without being the language of teaching, it is still the privileged language of transmission of knowledge.”**¹ (my translation) (Sebaa , 2002:50)

In order to answer the questions asked before about the relationships between French and Arabic, we can say that French influences Arabic and vice versa. French and Arabic live more and more in a state of coexistence, Symbiosis. The couple is quite real. There is a convergence between them. They exist side by side. In some cases, we can say that French and Arabic with its different varieties are the two official languages in Algeria because we find both languages in the street, in administration, in school and many other domains.

Sebaa seems to be in favour of French, he argues by saying that even if French is not official anymore, it is still used as an official language at the national level. And by the implementation of Arabic as the exclusive language in the educational system, they minimise the teaching of French but French comes back with the new reforms that are introduced at school these last years but in reality French has never disappeared.

The cohabitation between Arabic and especially Algerian Arabic and French really exists because they constitute the real languages used in everyday life interactions next to Berber as against to Classical Arabic which has more prestige than the dialectal one but which is not used everywhere. Thus, Algerian Arabic is in a constant contact with the population. People try to simplify their way of speaking. And a newspaper reader, recently, in 1997, wrote asking for the use of an Algerian Arabic. He testifies : **“Please when you address people, use a simple language, a language that could be understood by everybody, use an Algerian Arabic”**.² Le Quotidien d’Oran, 13.05.1997, p.14. Directing it to TV commentators and particularly to politicians.

We should not ignore the Mother languages of Algeria, we have to take into consideration the historical background of each language, like AA called el “Maghribi” which is a native language of Algeria next to Tamazight.

French is considered as a means to modernism, we should keep it and use for our own development in different domains. Miliani quoted in Benmoussat argues: **“French is no longer the property of the old enemy. French as a world language is a tool (linguistic, cultural, social, economic and technical) for humanity, beyond the political borders.”** (Miliani, 2001:17)

It is preferable to speak as simple as possible because the most important is not the way we speak but what we say.

Notes to General Conclusion

- 1- Sans être la langue officielle, elle véhicule l'officialité. Sans être la langue d'enseignement, elle reste une langue privilégiée de transmission du savoir.

- 2- S'il vous plaît, lorsque vous vous adressez au peuple, utilisez un langage simple, un langage à la portée de tous et de toutes, employez un arabe algérien.

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الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية

وزارة التربية الوطنية

مديرية التقويم و التوجيه و الاتصال
المديرية الفرعية للتقويم

استبيان موجه لأولياء تلاميذ
السنة الأولى ابتدائي و السنة الأولى متوسط

يهدف هذا الاستبيان إلى جمع أقصى حد من المعلومات عن الظروف التي فيها تطبيق إصلاح النظام التربوي، بغرض دعم المسلك المعتمد أو إيجاد الحلول المناسبة لم تمت ملاحظته مع عوائق أو نقائص بتحقيق الأهداف المسطرة لهذا الإصلاح . و مما لا شك فيه أن رأيكم يكتسي أهمية بالغة لدى نرجو مساهمتكم بالإجابة على هذا الاستبيان و ذلك إما :

- باختيار إجابة واحدة من الأجوبة المتعددة المقترحة عليكم إلا في الحالات التي يتطلب فيها السؤال عدة أجوبة.
 - أو وضع دائرة على رقم الإجابة أو الأجوبة المختارة و المعبرة عن رأيكم.
- للإشارة فإن الإجابة عن هذه الأسئلة تقتضي منكم الإطلاع على كل الأجوبة المقترحة و اختيار الأجوبة المعبرة حقيقة على رأيكم .
- إن مديرية التقويم و التوجيه و الاتصال تشكركم مسبقا على الوقت و الجهد الذي خصصتموه لملا هذا الاستبيان الذي سيساهم في تحسين ظروف تطبيق إصلاح منظومتنا التربوية .

ماي 2004

REPUBLIQUE ALGERIENNE DEMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE
MINISTRE DE L'EDUCATION NATIONALE

Direction d'Evaluation, de l'Orientation

Et de communication

Sous-direction de l'Evaluation

Questionnaire destiné aux parents d'élèves
De la 1^{ère} année primaire et la 1^{ère} année moyenne

Chers parents...

Ce questionnaire vise à recueillir le maximum de renseignements sur les conditions de la mise en œuvre de la réforme du système éducatif et de cerner les difficultés rencontrées dans le but d'apporter les rétroactions correctrices du processus mis en place. Nous vous sollicitons pour nous faire part de votre avis qui nous sera d'un grand apport en répondant à ce questionnaire en :

- choisissant l'une des réponses proposées lorsque la question nécessite plusieurs réponses.
- Entourant la réponse qui vous convient.

Il convient de lire attentivement toutes les réponses afin de pouvoir choisir correctement.

La direction de l'évaluation, de l'orientation et de la communication vous remercie d'avance pour votre collaboration et votre compréhension et pour le temps que vous déployez pour remplir ce questionnaire qui contribuera à l'amélioration de la mise en œuvre de la réforme du système éducatif.

Mai 2004

01. Wilaya :.....Code Wilaya:.....

02. Nom de l'Etablissement.....Code de l'établissement.....

03. Région : Urbaine 1 Semi-rurale 2 Rurale 3

04. Quel est le niveau scolaire de votre enfant ?

1^{ère} année primaire 1 1^{ère} année moyenne 2

05. Avez vous participé à des réunions de sensibilisation et d'information concernant la réforme du système éducatif ? oui 1 non 0

06. Si la réponse est oui. A quelle date se sont déroulées ces réunions de sensibilisations ? ... /... /...

07. Quel est le nombre de réunions de sensibilisation auxquelles vous avez participé ?réunions.

08. Le contenu de ces réunions était-il sur : oui non

- les nouveaux livres	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
- les matières et leurs horaires	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0
- informations sur la nouvelle année	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 0

09. Qui vous a présenté ces informations ?

Le directeur de l'établissement 1 le conseiller d'orientation 2
Les enseignants 3 l'association des parents d'élèves 4 autres 5

10. Est ce qu'on vous a distribué des documents d'information sur la réforme du système éducatif ? oui 1 non 0

11. Si la réponse est oui, quel était le contenu ?

La durée des études du cycle d'enseignement 1 les nouveaux livres 2
Les nouvelles matières 3 autres 4

12. Avez-vous reçu ces documents au moment opportun ? oui 1 non 0

13. Parmi les sources suivantes , quelle est celle qui vous a le plus informé

sur la réforme ? la presse écrite 1 la télévision/la radio 2 des amis 3
autres 4 citez les :

14. A quelle période pensez-vous que les parents doivent-ils être informés sur la réforme ?

Durant les vacances scolaires 1 Au début de l'année scolaire 2

- 1- الولاية : رمز الولاية :
- 2- اسم المؤسسة التعليمية : رمز المؤسسة :
- 3- المنطقة التي تظن فيها : حضرية 1 شبه ريفية 2 ريفية 3
- 4- ما هو المستوى التعليمي الذي يدرس فيه ابنك ؟
السنة الأولى ابتدائي 1 السنة الأولى متوسط 2
- 5- هل شاركتم في اجتماعات أو لقاءات تحسيسية إعلامية حول إصلاح المنظومة التربوية على مستوى المدرسة ؟ نعم 1 لا 0
- 6- إذا كان الجواب بنعم في أي تاريخ عقدت هذه الاجتماعات أو اللقاءات التحسيسية ؟/..
- 7- ما هو عدد الاجتماعات أو اللقاءات التحسيسية التي شاركتم فيها ؟
- 8- هل كانت هذه المعلومات حول :
الكتب الجديدة : 1 نعم 0 لا
المواد و المواقيت : 1 نعم 0 لا
التعريف بالسنة الجديدة : 1 نعم 0 لا
- 9- من الذي قدم لك هذه المعلومات :
رئيس المؤسسة 1 مستشار التوجيه 2
معلمون 3 جمعية أولياء التلاميذ 4
أطراف أخرى 5
أذكرها :
- 10- هل قدمت لك وثائق إعلامية حول إصلاح المنظومة التربوية ؟ نعم 1 لا 0
- 11- إذا كان الجواب بنعم ، ما موضوعها ؟
مدة الدراسة في الطور 1 الكتب الجديدة 2
المواد الدراسية و التوقيت 3 أخرى 4
أذكرها :
- 12- هل سلمت لك هذه الوثائق في الوقت المناسب ؟ نعم 1 لا 0
- 13- من بين المصادر الآتية ما هي التي استفدتم منها أكثر حول مستجدات الإصلاح ؟
الصحافة المكتوبة 1 التلفزيون / الراديو 2
الزملاء 3 مصادر أخرى 4
أذكرها :
- 14- ما هي الفترة المناسبة لتقديم المعلومات للأولياء حول هذا الإصلاح ؟
خلال العطلة الدراسية 1 بداية الموسم الدراسي الجديد 0

15. Quels sont les livres scolaires que vous avez acheté à votre enfant et à quel date l'avez-vous fait ?

- les livres de 1^{ère} année primaire :	oui	non	date
- livre de lecture	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- livre de calcul	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	/ /
- éducation technologique	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- éducation religieuse	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- éducation civique	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- cahier d'écriture et d'exercice	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...

- les livres de 1^{ère} année moyenne :	oui	non	date
- mathématiques	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- sciences naturelles	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- éducation religieuse	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- éducation civique	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- langue arabe	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- anglais	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- français	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- éducation technologique	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- histoire-géographie	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...
- amazigh	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>	.../.../...

16. Ou avez-vous acheté ces livres ?

- les livres de 1^{ère} année primaire :	de l'établissement	du marché	autre
- livre de lecture	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="2"/>	<input type="text" value="3"/>
- livre de calcul	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="2"/>	<input type="text" value="3"/>
- éducation technologique	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="2"/>	<input type="text" value="3"/>
- éducation religieuse	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="2"/>	<input type="text" value="3"/>
- éducation civique	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="2"/>	<input type="text" value="3"/>
- cahier d'écriture et d'exercice	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="2"/>	<input type="text" value="3"/>

15- أذكر الكتب المدرسية المتوفرة لدى ابنكم و في أي تاريخ تحصل عليها ؟

التاريخ	لا	نعم	- كتب السنة الأولى ابتدائي
.../.../...	0	1	- اللغة العربية
.../.../...	0	1	- الرياضيات
.../.../...	0	1	- التربية العلمية و التكنولوجية
.../.../...	0	1	- التربية الإسلامية
.../.../...	0	1	- التربية المدنية
.../.../...	0	1	- كراس الكتابة و التمارين

التاريخ	لا	نعم	- كتب السنة الولى متوسط
.../.../...	0	1	- الرياضيات
.../.../...	0	1	- علوم طبيعية
.../.../...	0	1	- التربية الإسلامية
.../.../...	0	1	- التربية المدنية
.../.../...	0	1	- اللغة العربية
/ /	0	1	- الإنجليزية
.../.../...	0	1	- الفرنسية
.../.../...	0	1	- التربية التكنولوجية
.../.../...	0	1	- التاريخ و الجغرافيا
.../.../...	0	1	- الأمازيغية

16- من أي مصادر اقتنيت هذه الكتب ؟

مصادر أخرى	السوق	المؤسسة	- كتب السنة الأولى ابتدائي
3	2	1	- اللغة العربية
3	2	1	- الرياضيات
3	2	1	- التربية العلمية و التكنولوجية
3	2	1	- التربية الإسلامية
3	2	1	- التربية المدنية
3	2	1	- كراس الكتابة و التمارين

- les livres de 1^{ère} année moyen :	établissement	Marché	Autres
- Mathématique	1	2	3
- Sciences naturelles	1	2	3
- Education religieuse	1	2	3
- Education civique	1	2	3
- Langue Arabe	1	2	3
- Anglais	1	2	3
- Français	1	2	3
- Education technologique	1	2	3
- Histoire – Géographie	1	2	3
- Amazigh	1	2	3

17- Quelles sont les raisons de non disponibilité de livres scolaires chez votre enfant ?

- insuffisance de livres dans l'établissement
- la cherté du livre
- le livre n'est pas disponible au marché

18- Parmi ces méthodes laquelle est la plus correspondante pour l'acquisition d'un livre par les parents ?

- disponibilité du livre scolaire dans l'établissement scolaire en quantité suffisante
- sa distribution au niveau du marché en grande quantité
- désigner des points de vente du livre scolaire dans chaque quartier ou commune
- organisation d'expositions qui vont durer jusqu'à la fin du 1^{er} trimestre de l'année scolaire
- aider les classes sociales les plus démunies

مصادر أخرى	السوق	المؤسسة	- كتب السنة الأولى متوسط
3	0	1	- الرياضيات
3	0	1	- علوم طبيعية
3	0	1	- التربية الإسلامية
3	0	1	- التربية المدنية
3	0	1	- اللغة العربية
3	0	1	- الإنجليزية
3	0	1	- الفرنسية
3	0	1	- التربية التكنولوجية
3	0	1	- التاريخ و الجغرافيا
3	0	1	- الأمازيغية

17- ما هي أسباب عدم توفر الكتاب المدرسي لدى ابنكم؟

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | - عدم توفر الكتاب بكمية كافية في المؤسسة |
| 2 | - غلاء في سعر الكتاب |
| 3 | - عدم توفر الكتاب في السوق |

18- من بين هذه الطرق ما هي التي تراها مناسبة للحصول على الكتاب من طرف الأولياء؟

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | - توفر الكتاب المدرسي في المؤسسة التربوية بكمية كافية |
| 2 | - توزيعه بكمية معتبرة في الأسواق |
| 3 | - تعيين نقاط بيع للكتاب المدرسي في كل حي أو بلدية |
| 4 | - إقامة معارض موسمية تدوم إلى نهاية الفصل الأول من السنة الدراسية |
| 5 | - تدعيم سعر الكتاب خاصة للفئات المحرومة |

N° :

Questionnaire

Attitudes, usage et gestion linguistique du français en Algérie, le cas d'Oran.

Ce questionnaire rentre dans le cadre d'une recherche en vue d'un mémoire de Magistère.

Les informants qui rempliront ce questionnaire et le feront de façon anonyme.

Le résultat de ce questionnaire pourrait être publié par l'auteur dans un but purement scientifique et informationnel.

Age :

Sexe: masculin, féminin

Profession :

Lieu de résidence et/ou d'origine :

Niveau d'instruction :

Section A :

Mettez une croix dans la case qui correspond à votre choix.

1- Connaissez-vous le français ?

oui non

2- Comment parlez-vous le français ?

très bien bien mal très mal

3- Comment l'écrivez-vous ?

très bien bien mal très mal

4- Comment le lisez-vous ?

très bien bien mal très mal

5- Où avez-vous commencé à apprendre le français ?

à la maison à l'école ailleurs

6- Où parlez-vous français le plus souvent ?

à la maison à l'école ou l'université avec vos amis
avec vos supérieurs (au travail,.....)

7- Regardez-vous les chaînes françaises ?

oui non parfois jamais

8- Ecoutez-vous les radios qui émettent leurs programmes en langue française ?

oui non parfois jamais

9- Employez-vous le français comme langue parlée de tous les jours
(de communication) ?

oui non

si oui, dans quelles circonstances ?

.....

10- Si vous aviez le choix, dans quelle langue aimeriez-vous ?

a- Etudier

ف AC ف AA ف Fr ف Br

b- lire les livres et journaux

ف AC ف AA ف Fr ف Br

11- Voulez-vous améliorer vos connaissances du français ?

oui non je ne sais pas

12- Voulez-vous que vos enfants apprennent le français ?

oui non je ne sais pas

Section B :

1- Dans quelle langue vous sentez-vous compétent ?

arabe classique (AC) arabe algérien (AA) français (Fr) berbère (Br)

AC

AA

Fr

Br

2- Vous arrive t-il d'alterner (mélanger) entre l'arabe algérien et le français ?
(vous utilisez le français et l'arabe dans la même phrase)

oui

non

Si oui, à quelle fréquence ?

toujours

souvent

parfois

3- Quand vous mélangez entre codes (langues), c'est avec :

ف votre famille

ف vos amis

ف autre

4- Quand vous faites usage de l'alternance de codes, c'est pour :

combler vos lacunes

prouver votre maîtrise des deux codes

une question d'habitude

je ne sais pas

5- Quand vous mélangez, est-ce ?

consciemment

inconsciemment

Si consciemment, dans quelles circonstances ?

.....

6- Quelle langue choisiriez-vous pour écrire ?

a- une lettre d'amour

ف AC

فAA

فFr

فBr

b- une demande d'emploi

ف AC

فAA

فFr

فBr

Section C :

1- Le français dans l'enseignement est-il ?

indispensable utile mais pas indispensable

2- L'enseignement du pays « Algérie » devrait-il être :

monolingue/unilingue

bilingue

multilingue /plurilingue

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

utile importante je ne sais pas

4- Croyez-vous que le français est la langue la mieux adaptée pour l'enseignement :

a. des matières scientifiques et technologiques.

oui non je ne sais pas

b. des matières littéraires.

oui non je ne sais pas

5- Choisiriez-vous le français pour les institutions suivantes :

a)- la justice ?

oui non je ne sais pas

b)- l'administration ?

oui non je ne sais pas

c)- l'éducation ?

oui non je ne sais pas

d)- les mass médias ?

oui non je ne sais pas

6- Considérez-vous l'Algérie comme un pays :

monolingue bilingue

Section D :

1- Pensez-vous que l'arabisation est :

souhaitable imposée et abus de pouvoir
méprise les minorités favorisante une seule communauté je ne sais pas

2- Pensez-vous que l'Algérie a besoin d'une nouvelle réforme linguistique plurilingue ?

oui non je ne sais pas

3- Pensez-vous que le français constitue un élément de l'identité culturelle algérienne ?

oui non peut-être je ne sais pas

4- Voulez-vous que vos enfants soient :

arabisés bilingues

5- Etes-vous pour :

ل'arabisation الbilinguisme

6- Pensez-vous que l'arabisation isolera le pays du monde moderne ?

oui non je ne sais pas

7- Pensez-vous que l'arabisation totale bloquera le développement et le progrès du pays ?

oui non je ne sais pas

8- Est-il nécessaire pour un algérien de connaître le français ?

oui non

si oui, pourquoi ?.....

9- Pensez-vous que le français est une langue nationale pour l'Algérie ?

oui non je ne sais pas

10- Pensez-vous que le français disparaîtra de l'Algérie ?

oui non je ne sais pas

11- Pensez-vous que le bilinguisme arabe-français empêche la restauration de l'identité de l'Algérie en tant que pays arabe et musulman ?

oui non je ne sais pas

12- Pensez-vous que le français dominera au futur en Algérie ?

oui non je ne sais pas

13- Dans quelles domaines aimeriez-vous trouver le français ?

.....
.....

14- Aimeriez-vous que le français retrouve la place qu'il avait autrefois en Algérie ?

oui non

Translation of the questionnaire

Section A :

- 1- Do you know French ? yes, no.
- 2- How do you speak it ? very well, well , badly, very badly.
- 3- How do you write it ? very well, well, badly, very badly.
- 4- How do you read it ? very well, well, badly, very badly.
- 5- When have you started learning French ? At home, at school, elsewhere.
- 6- When do you speak French most ? at home, at school or university, with your friends, with your superiors at work.
- 7- Do you watch French channels ? yes, no, sometimes, never.
- 8- Do you listen to the channels of radio which give their programmes in French ? yes, no, sometimes, never.
- 9- Do you use French as a language of daily life communication ? yes, no. If yes in which circumstances ?
- 10- If you had the choice, in which language would you ?
 - a- study. Classical Arabic (CA), Algerian Arabic (AA), French (Fr), Berber (Br).
 - b- read books and newspapers. CA, AA, Fr, Br.
- 11- Do you want to improve your knowledge of French ? yes, no, I do not know.
- 12- Do you want your children to learn French ? yes, no, I do not know.

Section B:

- 1- In which language are you most competent ? CA, AA, Fr, Br.
- 2- Do you mix between Algerian Arabic and French (code switch), you use Fr and AA within the same sentence ? yes, no. If yes, at which frequency ? always, often, sometimes.
- 3- When you code switch between languages, is it with ? your family, your friends, others.
- 4- When you code switch, is it for ? filling a gap, to prove your mastering of both languages, a habit, I do not know.
- 5- When you mix, is it ? consciously, unconsciously. If consciously, in which circumstances ?
- 6- Which language would you choose for writing ?
 - a- a love letter. CA, AA, Fr, Br.
 - b- a job application form. CA, AA, Fr, B.

Section C:

- 1- Is French in teaching ? essential, useful but not essential.
- 2- Teaching of the country “Algeria” should be ? monolingual, bilingual, multilingual.
- 3- What do you think about the new reform concerning the teaching of French in the second year instead of the fourth in the primary school ? useful, important, I do not know.
- 4- Do you believe that French is the best language for the teaching of ?
 - a- scientific and technological matters. Yes, no, I do not know.
 - b- Literary matters. Yes, no, I do not know.

5- Would you choose French for the following institutions ?

a- the justice. Yes, no, I do not know.

b-The administration. Yes, no, I do not know.

c- Education. Yes, no, I do not know.

d- The mass media. Yes, no, I do not know.

6- Do you consider Algeria as a country ? monolingual, bilingual.

Section D:

1- Do you think that Arabization is ? desirable, imposed and abuse of power, despising the minorities, advantaging a single community, I do not know.

2- Do you think that Algeria needs a new multilingual linguistic reform ? yes, no, I do not know.

3- Do you think that French constitutes an element of the Algerian cultural identity ? yes, no, maybe, I do not know.

4- Do you want your children to be ? arabised, bilinguals.

5- Are you for ? Arabization, bilingualism.

6- Do you think that Arabization will isolate Algeria from the modern world ? yes, no, I do not know.

7- Do you think that the total Arabization will block the country's development and progress ? yes, no, I do not know.

8- Is it necessary for an Algerian to know French ? yes, no. if yes, why ?

9- Do you think that French is a national language in Algeria ? yes, no, I do not know.

10- Do you think that French will disappear from Algeria ? yes, no, I do not know.

11- Do you think that Arabic French bilingualism prevents the identity's restoration of Algeria as an Arab-Islamic country ? yes, no, I do not know.

12- Do you think that French will dominate in the future in Algeria ? yes, no, I do not know.

13- In which fields would you like to find French ?

14- Would you like French rediscovers the place that it had previously ?
yes, no.

