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INVESTIGATING ARABOPHONE SPEAKERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE IMPLEMETNATION OF TAMAZIGHT AT PRIMARY SCHOOLS THE CASE OF ORAN CITY

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DEDICATIONS

This thesis is dedicated:

To Papa who has been a source of inspiration and gave me strength when I thought of giving up

To Yemma who has taught me to work hard for the things that I aspire to achieve

To my brothers *Salim*, *Mouloud* and sisters *Ouiza*, *Djouher* and *Tinhinane*

To my beloved husband Amine, who has always been a constant source of support and encouragement

To my shining star my lovely daughter Cherifa

To my family in law

To the memory of Dr BENALI MOHAMMED RACHID

List of abbreviation:

- **DA:** Dialectal Arabic
- **F:** French
- **H:** High
- HCA: the High commission of Amazighity
- L: Low
- LA: Language attitudes.
- LP: Language Planning
- MNE: Ministry of National Education
- **Q:** Question
- SA: Standard Arabic
- SST: Semi –standard Tamazight
- **T:** Tamazight
- TST: Teachers of Tamazight
- TTT: Tamazight teaching

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Abstract

The aim of this work is to scrutinize language attitudes towards Tamazight language in general and its teaching in particular. The targeted population is the Arabophone speakers residing in the city of Oran, which has been the majority group in Oran many years. This work also investigates the effects that these attitudes are likely to have on the implementation of the language policy that requires the integration of Tamazight at primary schools. Furthermore, it presents an overview on how Tamazight teaching is undertaken in the city of Oran and highlights the difficulties and challenges that face it.

The research examines the attitudes of a large representative sampling of Arabophone speakers towards the inclusion of Tamazight in the Algerian primary schools. The study was conducted as part of a blended approach in which the data were collected using a self-administered questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and classroom observations. The findings were then thoroughly discussed and analyzed in an effort to determine how the attitudes of the respondents could shed light on the general attitude of Arabophone speakers towards Tamazight, and to demonstrate how these attitudes could eventually influence the implementation of the language policy that aims at making Tamazight a subject of study as a means of preserving and fostering this language.

Key words: Arabophone speakers, Language attitudes, Language planning/Language policy, Tamazight, Oran.

Résumé:

Le but de ce travail est d'examiner les attitudes linguistiques envers la langue Tamazight en général et son enseignement en particulier. La population ciblée est composée d'arabophones résidant dans la ville d'Oran, qui est le groupe majoritaire à Oran depuis des centaines d'années. Ce travail vise également à étudier les effets que ces attitudes langagières sont susceptibles d'avoir sur la mise en œuvre de la politique linguistique qui exige l'intégration du tamazight dans les écoles primaires. En outre, il présente un aperçu de la manière dont l'enseignement du Tamazight est dispensé dans la ville d'Oran et souligne les difficultés et les défis auxquels elle est confrontée.

La recherche examine les attitudes d'un large échantillon représentatif de locuteurs arabophones à l'égard de l'intégration du Tamazight dans les écoles primaires algériennes. L'étude a été menée dans le cadre d'une approche mixte dans laquelle les données ont été collectées à l'aide d'un questionnaire, d'entretiens semi-structurés et d'observations en classe. Les résultats sont ensuite discutés et analysés en profondeur afin de déterminer comment les attitudes des personnes interrogées pourraient éclairer l'attitude générale des arabophones envers le Tamazight, et de démontrer comment ces attitudes pourraient éventuellement influencer la mise en œuvre de la politique linguistique qui vise à faire du tamazight un sujet d'étude en tant que moyen de préserver et de promouvoir cette langue.

Mots clés : Arabophones, Attitude des locuteurs, Aménagement linguistique / Politique linguistique, Oran, Tamazight.

الهدف من هذا العمل هو دراسة المواقف اللغوية تجاه اللغة الأمازيغية بشكل عام وتعليمها بشكل خاص. تتمثل الفئة المستهدفة في المتحدثين الناطقين باللغة العربية المقيمين في مدينة وهران ، الذين يمثلون الفئة الأغلبية في وهران منذ العديد من السنين. يسعى هذا العمل أيضًا الى االبحث في التأثيرات التي من المحتمل أن تحدثها هذه المواقف على تنفيذ السياسة اللغوية الجديدة التي تتطلب دمج الأمازيغية في المدارس الابتدائية. علاوة على ذلك يقدم لمحة عامة عن كيفية تدريس الأمازيغية في مدينة و هران ويسلط الضوءعلى الصعوبات والتحديات التي تواجهها. أجريت الدراسة كجزء من نهج مختلط تم فيه جمع البيانات باستخدام استبيان مقابلات شبه منظمة و ملاحظات للفصول الدراسية. تمت مناقشة و تحليل النتائج بدقة لتحديد كيف يمكن لمواقف المستجيبين إلقاء الضوء على الموقف العام للمتحدثين الناطقين بالعربية تجاه الأمازيغية ، وإثبات كيف يمكن لهذه المواقف أن تؤثر في النهاية على تنفيذ سياسة اللغة التي تهدف إلى جعل الأمازيغية مادة دراسية كوسيلة للحفاظ على هذه اللغة وتعزيز ها.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المتحدثون باللغة العربية ، المواقف اللغوية ، التخطيط اللغوي / سياسة اللغة ، الأمازيغية ، وهران.

Algeria is the cradle of the Berber civilization, the history of the country began officially with the arrival of the Phoenicians, passing through the Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Spanish, Turks, and Arabs, until the 19th century with the French occupation. These various invasions have contributed in shaping the Algerian linguistic situation.

After independence in 1962, Algeria was facing the necessity of quickly solving political, economic, social and language problems. The Algerian state adopted a new policy, a policy of Arabization, through which the state endeavored to enhance Arabic language, so that it can have the status of the only national and official language of the country. The goal behind this policy was to have a total Arabization, devaluing the status of the French language and eliminating minority languages that existed in the country. Language diversity was denied and considered as a way of division threatening the national unity, which consists of Arabic and Islam. It was in this context of independence that the desire for language purification was declared. Classical Arabic became the language of teaching and learning in basic schools and universities, with the exception of a few known as scientific disciplines. The educational system was one of the main areas that had been affected by Arabization. This area has received most attention; however, it was difficult to implement as Algeria lacked instructors of Arabic, thus anyone who had a basic knowledge of Arabic was a '' teacher''. Many Egyptian teachers were recruited to fill the gaps and reach the objective of this policy.

Language is at the heart of human culture and is a pivotal component of one's identity. Consequently, problems of language are relevant to minority communities who seek to defend their distinct group and cultural identities, despite the conditions of alienation, marginalization and discrimination for some. The implementation of a language policy embodied in Arabization as a monolithic system in education had neglected the diversity of the nation

which has resulted in a total exclusion of Tamazight language. Algerian leaders had chosen Arabization as a form of nation-building; this process led to serious problems and major conflicts. This policy was considered by Berbers as a denial of their culture and identity. Berbers (Amazigh people) were demanding the recognition of Tamazight language and culture, a recognition which might be considered as a first step towards a peaceful coexistence which would enforce the Algerian unity.

The inclusion of minority language within the educational system contributes to the stability of the nation and prevents from conflicts, if only one official language is implemented this eradicates and discriminate the other minority languages which results in serious conflicts within the nation which may lead to violence sometimes. With the arrival of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika on 27 April 1999, language policy took a turning point for the first time in history in favor of compromise. Reforms in the education system show openness to foreign languages, especially English. The early 2000s represents a juncture in the evolution of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria marked in particular by openness to multilingualism that is now manifesting itself on the ground as an accepted fact. It is a common fact that the Algerian linguistic field is in the process of evolution and is still ongoing significant changes.

In 2002, the Algerian Parliament declared Tamazight as a national language. The recognition of Tamazight as a national language represents a major historical event. Tamazight, the language that was acknowledged by no one has accessed the writing system and got out of orality where it had been for centuries. This recognition follows a series of socio-political events that do not need to be detailed here, but it is worth mentioning, as they were decisive in the decline of language policies in Algeria, which until 2001 were hostile to any form of recognition of Tamazight language and culture.

In fact, the significance of a nation is in the power of its identity; therefore, nations should take considerable steps towards the maintenance, development and promotion of any element which contributes to the building of its identity such as minority languages. Language diversity is richness for the nation, favoring one official language, or few international languages and neglecting minority languages lead to a loss in language diversity, consequently a loss in humanity's heritage.

It is a common fact that education is essential to maintaining language diversity; hence, a language that is not taught is a language that will eventually disappear. Consequently, many minority communities are demanding the recognition of their language. The recognition of Tamazight as an official language has been subject to a progressive generalization project of its teaching on the horizontal and vertical levels. On the 6th of February 2016 the Algerian parliament overwhelmingly adopted a revision of the constitution which granted Tamazight the official status next to Arabic, this constitutional amendment was followed by a language policy that requires its teaching in all states of Algeria, and hence there was a gradual introduction of Tamazight in Algerian schools. This represents a significant change in the Algerian language policy. Education is a fundamental element in any revitalization process as it generates power for communities; it also represents an effective aspect of change which plays a crucial role in modifying and changing attitudes.

As a matter of fact, the teaching of Tamazight has known several obstacles which impede its generalization on the horizontal and vertical planes, hence interest in the issues of what to teach (language and its standardization), by whom (the teacher and his training), for whom (the learner and his knowledge or profile), how (the approaches to be adopted), and under what circumstances (environment of the school), paves the way for the elaboration of the didactics of Tamazight.

In Algeria, and like all bilingual and multilingual countries, linguistic diversity and contact languages represent an area of research in sociolinguistic studies. Hence, this has prompted us to focus on the perception of the Arabophone speakers towards this policy which stipulates teaching Tamazight in primary school. The objective of this research is to explore the attitudes of the Arabophone speakers, who represent the dominant community in the city of Oran, towards Tamazight in general and its teaching in primary schools in particular, it also endeavors to investigate the deterrents that hinder the teaching of Tamazight in an Arabophone area. This topic is subscribed within the field of sociolinguistics.

The motivation behind choosing this topic is that Tamazight has been elevated to the status of an official language (2016) this shift in status has introduced it to the education system in almost all parts of Algeria. This implementation must be assessed by measuring its success through investigating the community's attitudes. Furthermore, most sociolinguistic studies on minority languages and attitudes focus on the perception of its speakers and the role it plays in its maintenance and revitalization. Research on minority language tends to target the attitudes of the minority group itself. Learning a language has a great deal with attitudes towards that language, how a language is perceived by its speakers and the speakers of the other languages in the same community can decide the future of that language. Though the attitudes of native speakers are also important in sociolinguistic, hence, the subject of this research is to investigate the attitudes of the major community, Arabophones, towards Tamazight and its education.

Indeed, language attitudes play a substantial role in revitalizing and maintaining languages in multilingual settings. Favorable attitudes towards a language represent key factors towards its revitalization; on the other hand negative attitudes towards a certain language may lead to language shift and eventually language death. In addition to that, no work has already tackled this theme regarding the city of Oran. In this study, we wish to

contribute to enriching the field of research on the issue of teaching Tamazight in Arabicspeaking areas.

Oran, which comprises two main community groups namely Arabophone speakers, who represent the majority group, and Berberophone speakers, who represent a minority group, is a case in point where Tamazight is being taught at primary schools (starting from 2015). Hence, attitudes of the majority group will play a paramount importance in directing the process of Tamazight teaching. Many studies has shown that language attitudes held by the majority and minority groups of a community affect the success or failure of entire minority language planning strategies. Therefore, through this study we attempt to answer the following main questions:

- What prevailing attitudes do Arabophone speakers, in Oran city, display towards the teaching of Tamazight at primary school?
- How is the Teaching of Tamazight undertaken in the city of Oran and what are the difficulties and challenges that face Tamazight teaching in an Arabophone area?
- 3- How do Arabophone speakers' attitudes affect the implementation of the language policy that requires the incorporation of T at primary schools?

In pursuit of the above objectives, taking into account the theoretical and contextual framework, our principal hypotheses are as follows:

- **1-** Arabophone speakers in the city of Oran display negative attitudes towards the integration of Tamazight in the educational system.
- 2- The teaching of Tamazight in Oran city is abruptly rushed, various problems obstruct the implementation of Tamazight at schools including:

- Insufficient pedagogical training.
- Lack of convenient teaching strategies.
- The absence of a unified writing system.
- The negative attitudes of the dominant community.
- **3-** Arabophone speakers' attitudes hinder the evolution of Tamazight teaching, it also hampers its acquisition and promotion.

The current work, more precisely, attempts to validate or invalidate the hypotheses presented above throughout four chapters organized as follows:

Chapter One sketches out the linguistic situation in Algeria, in addition to the phenomena that arise from the contacts between the coexisting languages. A background of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is presented, referring to the language policy that was pursued since independence. In this chapter we do not aim at presenting an in-depth study of the history of Algeria, as this is not part of our study, but to better understand the linguistic, cultural and identity realities of Algeria today it is important to evoke the outline of the historical, social, economic and cultural factors that serve as a background to the linguistic situation that currently characterizes Algerian society.

Chapter Two is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to language attitudes, in order to fathom language attitudes, it is prerequisite to discern what attitudes are, and distinguish them from other terms; therefore, the first part of this chapter provides definitions of attitudes and language attitudes by different scholars and from various perspectives, it also presents an overview of the relating terms and discusses the main factors that have an impact on language attitudes. As the main subject of the present work concerns a minority language,

this part also defines minority language and presents contemporary case studies regarding attitudes towards minority languages.

The second part of this chapter is concerned with language planning and its activities. An examination of Tamazight language planning is presented. The process of Tamazight language planning focuses mainly on the development of standard norms. To develop a language is to provide it with teaching and communication means and tools, to unify graphics, to develop a normative grammar and a lexicon of reference that would develop and disseminate this language.

In a bid to meet the objectives and test the hypotheses of this work Chapter Three delineates the methodology and research approaches used in the present study. It also describes the instruments used in data collection and provides profile of the informants as well as relevant ethical issues. Two methods were used in this research in order to obtain the desired data to answer the research questions. The findings are based on a quantitative and qualitative research conducted in the city of Oran in order to increase the validity and quality of the results obtained.

Chapter Four displays the results of the study conducted with respect to the previous described objectives and hypotheses. It is divided into two sections; the first section examines the attitudes of Arabophone speakers, residing in the city of Oran, towards the implementation of the new language policy which stipulates the integration of Tamazight at primary school. Data obtained for this section was gathered through questionnaire and interviews.

The second part demonstrates the findings obtained through interviewing Teachers of Tamazight and observing Tamazight classes in an attempt to describe the process of Tamazight teaching in an Arabophone area. The main purpose behind this description is to

capture the reason behind the slow evolution of Tamazight language implementation and to detect the hindrances that stand against the successfulness of this language policy.

Finally, we should mention that the aim of the present work is not to test the validity of any theory to language attitudes, but it rather spotlights issues regarding the dominant community's attitudes towards the teaching of a minority language. It should also be mentioned that, this humble work is not within the field of didactics; however, in some part we feel the need to refer to this area of research so as to have a full image of the situation of Tamazight teaching in Oran city.

CHAPTER ONE THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA

1. Introduction:

Algeria is characterized by a rich and complex linguistic situation. This complexity makes it a real source of research. The various conquests that Algeria has experienced have led to the presence of several linguistic codes alongside the Berber¹ language, which is the language of the indigenous population; this justifies the existence of two important groups namely "Berberophones" and "Arabophones" which have been mixed throughout history.

In fact, its linguistic field is basically composed of classical Arabic used as the official language of the country. This language incorporates the most common Algerian dialects. Besides Arabic language, Tamazight is also regarded as the official language of the nation, which itself consists of several spoken regional varieties.

Algeria and like all Maghreb countries, has experienced a period of French colonization from 1830. This has allowed the French language to occupy a very important place, as the latter was the official language of the country during the colonial period; thus, the French language is used in the scientific and technical fields as well in higher education along with English which, recently, is taking a huge place in the Algerian environment. These languages mutually influence each other in various ways. This reciprocal influence and interaction can be reflected in the comparatively large degree of borrowing and code-switching that occurs between them.

It seems necessary to us, at first sight, to make a thorough presentation of the Algerian sociolinguistic situation. This initial phase of discussion is very important, as it will allow us to understand the status and role of the different languages that are present in Algeria.

¹ The Berber Language comprises a set of variants that are discontinuously distributed throughout North Africa. The term « Berber » is widespread and well established in academic literature and public discourse," Tamazight" on the other hand is currently gaining wider currency. In this work, the terms Tamazight and Berber are used interchangeably as umbrella terms to refer to the standard form of the Berber varieties.

1.1. Languages in Algeria:

In Algeria, we can notice up to four languages, including national and foreign, namely Berber with its varieties, Arabic in two varieties (classical and dialectal Arabic), French and English; nevertheless, these languages do not all enjoy the same political weight, since political tendencies had been favoring only one language for a long period of time and generally tended to ignore and downgrade the languages present in Algeria. In this part, we will provide an overview of these languages that coexist with each other in an Algerian context.

1.1.1. Arabic language:

Arabic is part of the Hamito-Semitic language family, which covers part of Africa and part of Asia. That is, on a geographical location that extends southwards "from the Maghreb to Nigeria, part of Cameroon, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia" (Al Samarai, 1983, as cited in Farag, 2008, p.24) and towards the North East, i.e. from "Malta, the whole Middle East to the borders of Iran" (Al Samarai, 1983, as cited in Farag, 2008, p.24).

The following map shows the distribution of languages in North Africa:

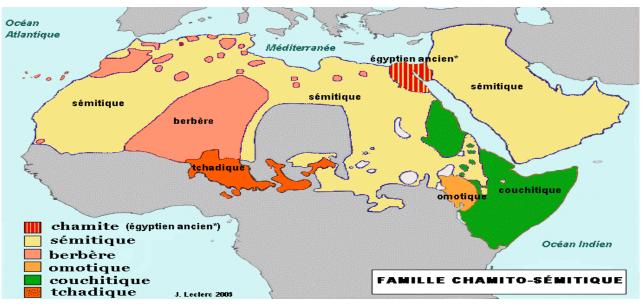


Figure 1.1. The Hamito-Semitic family or Afro-Asian ("La famille chamito-sémitique",n.d)

Arabic is one of the Semitic languages spoken by around 422 million speakers (native and non-native) in the Arab world as well as in the Arab diaspora worldwide. The large number of Arabic speakers made of this language one of the most widely spoken languages in the world.

In Algeria, Arabic became the official language of the nation after independence. Its use has been mandatory in all areas. However, when we speak of Arabic in Algeria, we mean classical² and dialectal Arabic, which are used in different contexts.

1.1.1.1. Classical / Standard Arabic:

The Standard Arabic language (henceforth SA) is above all the language of the Quran, which makes it symbolic, sacred and ideological. It is the official language of all the Arab countries and considered as a language of inter-communication between all Arabic-speaking nations. During the French colonialism, the status of SA has been reduced to that of a language that is unable to convey the values of modern life. It was perceived by the colonial power as the only serious competitor and a real adversary of the French language, which was considered as the only official language of Algeria. The hostility of the colonial authorities towards Arabic reached the point of declaring it in 1938 as a "foreign language ".Therefore, in contrast to colonial language policy, the policy adopted by the independent Algeria was determined and based on Arabization.

Literally, Algeria opted for Arabic as its national and official language, in this context Ibrahimi stated that: "Arabization has become synonymous with healing, a return to authenticity,[...] the recovery of the dignity violated by the colonizers...". (1997, p. 184).

² It has been defined differently by many researchers, such as Taleb El Ibrahimi (1997, p. 22), Elimam (2001, p. 19), Blanc (1960) and Meisles (1980). Some divide it into different types or different levels of Arabic including: standard, modern standard, classical, educated spoken Arabic. In this work we do not make a distinction between the above cited types of Arabic the only different that is made is between dialectal and standard Arabic. We

In a pursuit of recovering the Algerian identity SA has always, in all Algerian constitutions, enjoyed the status of the official language and represents one of the major elements of the Algerian identity. The prime objective of this language policy known as Arabization was to despise and expel the existence of French language and culture in Algeria.

In fact, SA is characterized by a very rich vocabulary and the consistency of its grammatical rules, which makes it quite complex, but which never exists in informal situations and which does not have the status of a mother tongue at all. Speaking of standard Arabic, Ibrahimi (1997) claimed that: " it is a language that is much more an instrument of culture used by an educated population than a means of daily communication" (p.15).

Indeed, it is the language that is taught at school from the first year of schooling since independence; therefore, used only in the most formal situations and covers official speeches, the education system, the media, religious and legal speeches rather than everyday conversations. Ennaji (1991) defined it as: "...the language of Islam, it is codified and used as a means of a huge body of classical literature, it has a great tradition behind it, it encompassed in ancient poetry, grammar books and mainly in the Quran" (pp.7-8). The link between religion and the Standard Arabic gives the latter a dimension of sacredness, which establishes relationships of an essential and spiritual nature between man and the instrument of communication. By the same token Mircea (1983) went further and added that the Quran is a corpus which, by its very existence, constitutes a fundamental element of linguistic cohesion. Moreover, appearing as God's own eternal and immutable word, it took on the value of a definitive norm (p.87). But this language has not succeeded in establishing itself as a spoken language. Despite the fact of being considered as a sacred one due to religious ties; nonetheless, no one make use of it in his daily speech.

1.1.1.2. Dialectal / Algerian Arabic:

As it has been noted earlier, Algeria, like other Maghreb countries, has experienced contact with different successive civilizations that have left their linguistic and cultural imprints. This contact gave rise to several varieties of languages. This is the case of Algerian Arabic. According to Ferdinand de Saussure, the dialect is considered to be a historical byproduct of the language. It is a set of combined signs and rules of the same origin, created from another system which is considered as a language, but dialect has not yet been acquired the cultural and social status of this independent language from which it has developed. Dialectal Arabic is defined by Dourari (2003, p.8) as a vernacular language, popular one which is not codified and has several variations. It is a mother tongue that characterizes everyday language practices, a tool for spontaneous expression in Arab countries, as in the cases of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Indeed, this form of Arabic fulfils an essential function in so far as it is an effective instrument of family and social communication. Algerian Arabic (hereafter AA) is stigmatized by educated and non-educated native speakers alike. It is often considered a corrupt variety of SA, usually ignored and completely neglected by policy-makers.

Undeniably AA is spoken practically throughout the national territory, but only in informal situations, because the different varieties of Algerian Arabic have no official status and are not recognized as national languages. It is the first language of most Algerians, it allows them to affirm their identity, to communicate with each other on a daily basis, to express themselves in various cultural and artistic fields (songs, films, theater...etc.) and even guarantees an inter-comprehension with their Moroccan neighbors and Tunisians who speak varieties more or less similar to theirs. In other words, it is known mainly as "darija" but for the Algerian sociolinguist Ibrahimi (2004, p.212) it is "a language on its own and the struggle for its recognition is similar to the struggle for Tamazight", she added that it can only be called "Algerian language" since it is present in the daily lives of Algerians and has even

made its way into political speeches and advertising in recent years. The Algerian dialect constitutes the mother tongue of the majority of Algerians and is the vehicle of a rich and varied popular culture (2004, p. 207).

We can see some differences in the accent or pronunciation of certain sounds and lexical differences characterizing the variations of Algerian Arabic which reveal the geographical origin of its speakers; we distinguish for example, colloquial Oranese Arabic, eastern speech...etc. It also shows the socio-cultural origin of the speaker; indeed, we can easily distinguish between urban and rural speech. This linguistic particularity is an important element of the Algerian identity because these varieties have been able to continue to live and evolve over time while being nourished by the languages of peoples who have marked the history of Algeria through their passage without constituting a threat to them. And even today, AA is still growing, developing and enriching through the creativity of young people in different artistic fields (song such as in rap style) or simply in the street.

It should be noted that, the dialectal variant does not have any prestige. It is hampered by its oral nature in a world characterized by the importance of the written language. On the other hand, there have never been any serious demands for the promotion of AA as a national or official language. Hence, it is not surprising that this majority vernacular is not considered, by the common speakers, as a language in its own right but as a distorted version of SA.

In fact, AA is experiencing a revival of vitality; although, not officially recognized, its oral use extends to the media sphere with the opening of many private television channels.

In addition to that, it is becoming established in written form in the linguistic landscape (mainly in advertising posters and commercial signs), even if it has not yet been standardized. Unlike SA, AA represents the vernacular and vehicular language of the Algerian population, it is used in so-called informal situations, and it is the mother tongue of the majority of the

Algerian population. The other component of the Algerian linguistic situation is the Berber language, also known as Tamazight.

1.1.2. Tamazight:

Historically, the Berbers or Imazighen, plural of Amazigh which means "free man", are the people who occupied northern African continent from Tripolitania to the Atlantic at the time of the first Phoenician and Roman conquests in North Africa. The regions of North Africa, mainly the Maghreb countries, are known by the presence of the Berber language. The latter is used in Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Niger and Mali. It is spoken by around 25 to 30 million of people.

The exhibited map below demonstrates the dispersion of Berber varieties in North Africa.

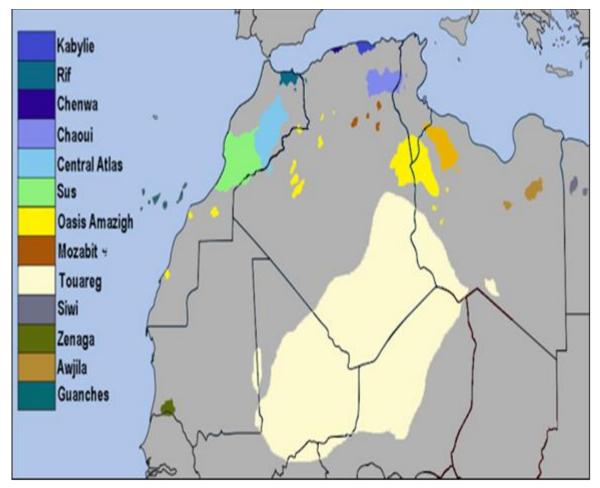


Figure 1.2. Tamazight varieties in North Africa (History of Berbers and North Africa, 2018)

Berber varieties, in North Africa, are still widely used in some geographical areas, notably in Algeria, but its use is undeniably declining sharply in other countries, except Morocco. In general, the "Berber question" is not well known to the general public, and yet many specialists in North Africa - linguists, historians, sociologists - claim that it constitutes a major geopolitical issue insofar as it contains issues of identity, culture and democracy.

In Algeria there are between 25% (Chaker, 2004) to 30% (Rahali, 2004) speakers of Berber varieties. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Algeria has been the focus of the Berber identity claim, particularly through Kabylia, the country's main Berber-speaking region.

In fact, the process of Arabization has neglected the linguistic diversity of the nation; thus resulted in a total exclusion of Tamazight. Algerian leaders had chosen Arabization as a form of nation-building. In this context Benrabah (2004) has stated: "Arabization has led to serious problems and major conflicts that have undermined both social cohesion and the authority of the regime" (p. 78). Tamazigh language has always been rejected and stigmatized by a "political ideology imposing an exclusive Arabization that demonizes the Berber reality. It was considered as a colonial invention" (Chachou, 2018). This language has been considered the "language of the separatists" or "manipulated by a foreign hand" these representations have generated attitudes of rejection and open hostility (Chaker, 2013) of its presence among many Algerians.

Indeed, Berbers were demanding the recognition of Tamazight³ language and culture, a recognition which may be considered as a first step towards a peaceful coexistence and will enforce the Algerian unity. Undeniably, the integration of Tamazight in Algeria represents a major historical event "this language, which was not recognized by anyone, entered the realm of writing and left the oral tradition, where it had been suffocated for centuries" (Quitout,

³ As mentioned earlier Tamazight refers to the language that covers the Berber varieties. This language is still under the process of LP as the latter is not fully standardized. Specialists are making more efforts to reach a standardized language based on its different varieties in Algeria.

2010, p.7). The integration of Tamazight follows a series of socio-political events that do not need to be detailed here, but it is worth mentioning in the coming chapters, as they were decisive in the decline of language policies in Algeria.

In actual fact, Berber is divided into different dialectal varieties. Ennaji distinguished ten major varieties of Berber in the Maghreb:

(i) Tashelhit spoken in southern Morocco, (ii) Tamazight in the Middle Atlas in Morocco, (iii) Tarifit in northern Morocco, (iv) Kabyle in Tizi-Ouzou (Algeria), (v) Mzab in Ghardaia (Algeria), (vi) Shawiya in Aures (Algeria), (vii) Tuareg in the extreme south of Algeria, Niger and Mali, (viii) Tamashek in Niger, Mali and Nigeria and (ix) Tamahaq in Libya and Nigeria; (x) Tunisian Berber spoken in the West of Matmata and in the east of. The lack of mutual intelligibility between all these varieties may be ascribed chiefly to the inexistence of an efficient writing system, which also accounts for its practical exclusion from the educational system. (2005, p.9)

1.1.2.1. Tamazight varieties in Algeria:

1.1.2.1.1. Tamazight varieties from northern Algeria:

- **Kabyle:** with 5 to 6 million speakers. It is the first most used Berber variety in Algeria and the second Berber variety after Chleuh in North Africa. It is mostly spoken in the city of Bejaia, Tizi-Ouzou and partially in the city of Bouira and Boumerdes. There are also a number of people of Kabyle origin and Kabyle communities in the northern cities such as in Setif and Bordj-Bou-Arreridj. Finally, it is necessary to take into account a significant number of Kabyles living in other large Algerian cities such as Algiers, Blida, Medea and Oran; as well as among the Algerian expatriate population in Canada and France mainly.
- **Chaoui:** is spoken by about 3 million people (Chaker, 2004) in the east of the country, mainly in the Aures. i.e the cities of Batna, Khenchela, Oum-El-Bouaghi, Tébessa, Souk

Ahras, south of Setif and in part of the city of Guelma, Mila (far south) and Biskra. We should also mention the presence of many Chaoui communities in the city of Annaba and Constantine.

• Chenoui: is present in the city of Tipaza, Ain Defla, and the coast of the Chlef west of Algiers with 180 000 speakers ("Langues berbères",n.d).

1.1.2.1.2. Tamazight varieties of the Sahara:

- Mozabite: is spoken in Mzab, in the south: between 150,000 and 200,000 speakers (
 Chaker, 2004).
- Tuareg: (i.e. the Tamasheq, Tamahaq, Tamajaq variants) is spoken in southern Algeria, also spoken in southwest Libya, Mali, Niger and northern Burkina Faso. Algeria has a smaller Touareg population that does not exceed a few tens of thousands of people. The total Touareg population is therefore close to one million individual ("Langues berbères",n.d). Their speech is considered by all Berber-speaking linguists to be the best protected from exogenous influences, mainly Arabic, French and Spanish.

These speech communities are heterogeneous; because of the fact that their varieties are disjointed by the presence of Arabic varieties between at least every two Berber dialect (Benali, 2007, as cited in Labed, 2014, p.90). Consequently, there are relatively mutually unintelligible Berber regional dialects.

The history of Berber language has always been associated with the history of other languages and cultures. It has been a fact that, over the years, Berber peoples have provided very few documents that have been written in their own language. Even in Antiquity, notwithstanding the widespread use of the Berber language in North Africa, the Numidian kings preferred to use the language and script of the Phoenician settlers of Carthage next to their own. Consequently, the main historical sources concerning the Berber were written in

the languages of the foreign peoples who lived with them. As Mouloud Mammeri (1989) pointed out:

In Roman times, Latin was the language used by Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Fronto, Arnobius, and Apuleius, even though the books of these writers provide clear evidence of their Berber origins. [...] Since then and to this day, the situation has not changed. In all the countries where it has been spoken [...] Berber has always remained hidden behind the scenes. [...] for over three thousand years, Phoenician, Latin, Greek, Arabic, and French have been used in writing, but nobody has written in Berber.(As cited in Lafkioui and Brugnatelli, 2008).

For political reasons, Berber was not taught in Algeria until 1995 (see chapter 2.6); therefore, many young Berbers do not master their mother tongue especially those living in regions where Arabophone speakers represent the major community such as Oran, Mascara, Constantine...etc. Excluding Berber from education since independence and Arabizing the education system has resulted in the assimilation of Berber children and young people into Arab culture. The schooling of Berber-speaking children has led to their Arabization and progressive incompetence in Berber varieties. Arabization has pushed speakers of Berber varieties to give more importance to Arabic language over Berber for both transactional and educational reasons (Ennaji, 2005).

Actually, the will of Algerian decision-makers to integrate the "Arab World" and to build an exclusively Arab-Muslim Algerian identity "has completely hidden the history and culture of Tamazight language which represented to them a threat of division and disintegration of the Algerian nation [...] this gave rise to a reduction of the Berber linguistic area which was rapidly shrinking and which made many speakers, especially in the Chaoui regions, progressively abandoning Tamazight in favor of the Algerian Arabic" (Benali, 2007, p.247).

Though Berber is a fundamental component of the Algerian linguistic reality, and represents a part of Algeria's cultural and folklore heritage; however, it was strictly confined to a vernacular role. Tamazight was de facto discredited in 1962 by the ruling government and its Arab-speaking elite, which marginalized and censored it until 1980.

Indeed, several events occurred in Kabyle regions (Bejaia and Tizi Ouzou) mainly in the 1990s, in order to claim Tamazight's recognition as an official language. This struggle took several years till 2002, when Algeria took the first step of recognizing Tamazight, by enshrining it in its constitution as a national language of the country and as an official language in 2016 (see chapter 2.5.1).

1.1.2.2. Tamazight one or many languages:

The question of Berber languages has strongly been debated; therefore, when we speak about Tamazight, one may ask, is it one or many languages? In other words, is Tamazight placed within a context of one single language with different variants or a in that of different languages? As supported by Galand (1985) in some of his works.

Linguistically speaking both viewpoints can be accepted since these stands are backed up with cogent reasons. Vicichl (1991, p.77) considered Tamazight as a group of different languages. On the other hand, R. and A. Basset, great figures of this question of Tamazight as one language, have always confirmed that "The Berber language is one and each dialect is only a regional variant". Chaker (1991) argued that dialect means the "regional variant" of the language and Tamazight language is represented in a large number of dialects or regional variants which are spread over different geographical areas far from each other. Linguistic exchanges between the different Berber-speaking groups are low due to these distances; it is only the movements of recent populations and modern media that have re-established contact. Furthermore, there is no complete established standard form of the Berber language, even for

literary uses; therefore, each group uses its own local variant which is hardly used for intraregional communication. Thus, the notion of Berber language is: "A linguistic abstraction and
not an identifiable and recognizable sociolinguistic reality. The only observable reality is the
actual local usage" (Chaker, 1991, p. 110). According to Chaker, the Berber language is a
purely linguistic reality, which is realized in the form of a number of regional dialects, which
in turn are scattered into a multitude of local varieties. For example: Kabyle has a number of
local varieties, thus Kabyle spoken in Tizi Ouzou differs from that of Bejaia, and the one of
Bejaia is different from the Kabyle spoken in Bordj Bou Aariridj.

From a linguistic perspective we cannot say that these variants represent distinct languages. Dialects, sometimes, present considerable linguistic divergence, especially when it has a certain geographical extension (Chleuh, Tuareg, Tamazight of central Morocco, Kabyle, Mzab...); however, despite the geographical dispersion and the absence of a standardized form, in addition to the lack of exchange between the different dialects, the fundamental structure remains the same. The degree of unity, especially grammatical unity, is quite surprising regarding the distances and historical events. The divergences are almost superficial which doesn't allow to a clear distinction between the dialects. Chaker affirmed that:

Most distinguishing criteria - whether phonological or grammatical - are intertwined across dialects. In dialectological terms, we will say that there are no real bundles of isoglosses delimiting the dialects. In fact, only the Tuareg and the most peripheral speakers (Libya, Egypt and Mauritania) have a set of specific linguistic characteristics that could justify considering them as autonomous systems, and therefore as particular "languages". Although in most cases, these are more often specific modalities of implementation than real structural differences. (2004, p. 12)

Contrastively, Quitout disagreed with Chaker, in that the differences between the peripheral variant shouldn't be considered as distinct languages, He says: "they should not be considered as autonomous systems", but rather as "special implementation modalities"(2010, p.7). Quitout asserted that Berber is only one language which highlights a hierarchy at three distinct levels: at the top, there is the Berber language, then the corresponding regional dialects of the areas of immediate inter-understanding such as Rifain, Kabyle, etc. and finally the local speakers, which correspond to intra-tribal uses, characterized by phonetic, lexical and rarely grammatical characteristics, and which reveal the geo-linguistic origin of the speakers.

Until recently, the majority of experts is defending the idea that Tamazight is one language, while acknowledging the existence of the phonetic, lexical and even, sometimes, morpho-syntactic diversity (Adolph Hanoteau, 1867; René Basset, 1887; André Basset, 1929, 1952, Dourari, 2006, Chaker, 2011, 2015, Quitout, 2010, Benali, 2012).

1.1.3. French:

The history of French language in Algeria begun with colonization, from the first years of French colonization, a process of francization was carried out with a view to perfecting the conquest of the country, so it was French that continued and influenced customs and thus acquired a special status in North African society. This language has become the dominant and official language of the country, and at the same time Algerian speakers have found themselves in front of the doors of the French school, they were not allowed to study in Arabic or French, but they were obliged to learn French. The French colonialism in Algeria has imposed both French language and culture on the whole society. Thus, the only language that was used at schools was French.

After independence, two categories of intellectuals made up the Algeria cultural society "Arabophone speakers and Francophones"; this situation has placed the French language, which symbolizes the colonizer, in a conflictive relationship with the Arabic language, which is regarded as a symbol of the Arab-Muslim identity.

The French language had been considered since 1962 as a foreign language in Algeria; the colonial era brought about a progressive change on the Algerian spoken languages and this is probably due to the contact with two languages (Arabic-French), this contact is a primordial factor in the coexistence of two languages that most often lead to bilingualism or multilingualism, or even code-switching.

1.1.3.1. The place of French After independence:

From 1962 until today, and despite the laws on the generalization of the Arabic language and the status assigned to the French language, the latter does not seem to be foreign. Up today, the internal side of our administrations still functions in French, writers still publish in French, universities still provide courses in French, doctors write in French, and our laboratories distribute their reports in French. Ibrahimi (1995) states that:

At present, French is taught almost exclusively as a foreign language, in the same way as English, German or Spanish. In higher education, French remains predominant in scientific and technological fields (...) the French language remains prevalent in the country's economic life, with the economic and financial sectors operating almost completely in French. It still occupies an important place in the mass media; it is the Algerian daily newspapers and periodicals in French that have the widest diffusion (p. 183).⁴

quotidiens et périodiques algériens en langue française qui ont la plus large diffusion »

⁴ The original text is : « Actuellement le français n'est pratiquement plus enseigné que comme une langue étrangère, au même titre que l'anglais, l'allemand ou l'espagnol. Dans l'enseignement supérieur, le français reste prépondérant dans les filières scientifiques et technologiques (...) la langue française reste prépondérante à l'usage dans la vie économique du pays, les secteurs économique et financier fonctionnant presque exclusivement en français. Elle occupe encore une place importante dans les mass médias écrits ; ce sont les

In fact, French continues to enjoy, as Ibrahimi stated," a pre-eminent position in the language market through its preponderance in the world of work and the economy" (2004, p.216). Moreover, the reform of the education system has led to a revival of the French language, which has lost its predominant place in the field of education as a result of decades of Arabization. The later has given it a privileged place; a first decision had set the beginning of its teaching at the second primary year. But quickly, however, the constraints of the field postponed its introduction to the third primary year (beginning of the 2006-2007 school year). In any case, the revaluation of foreign languages and openness to linguistic plurality are clearly stated in the aims of education. Monolingualism cannot contribute to the country's development. It does not allow openness to the world, or access to scientific knowledge, thus preventing the establishment of a fruitful dialogue with other cultures and civilizations. (Official Bulletin of National Education, 2008: 17).

We realize that at the present time, the French language still occupies fundamental place in our society, and this in all areas: social, economic, educational.

In short, Algeria still operates in French even at home. Many Algerian speakers use French in different fields, and more precisely in their daily life, so the French language still occupies an important place in the Algerian society. Despite its ideological refusal to integrate the Francophonie, Algeria remains the second largest French-speaking country in the world; however, it is suffering the full impact of English expansion.

1.1.4. English:

English is "The most powerful universal language the world has ever known" Laponce, (2006, as cited in Benrabah, 2009, p.14). In Algeria the prevalence of English language as a lingua franca in the 21st century affected the situation of languages. It also has a great impact on language policy which represents a challenge for the Algerian society and decision makers.

Indeed, in a modern and globalized world, language planning process should consider both local, national languages and international ones; therefore, English language teaching gained ground in the first half of the 1990s compared to other foreign languages. Bouhadiba (2006, p.6) claimed that English language flourished in Algeria before the 1980s, when Algeria was moving towards socio-economic prosperity thanks to its huge oil and gas income.

As a matter of fact, the authorities had chosen to promote the teaching of English for its usefulness in the international context because it is the lingua franca of globalization.

In 1993, English started being taught, from the fourth grade of primary school, as the first foreign language, replacing French, this choice was left to parents. The latter had to choose either the French or the English option for their children. Nonetheless, contrarily to the government intent, most parents had chosen French as it had been used in Algeria since 1830. This experiment did not last for long. It was applied from 1994 to 1998 and dropped two years later. The failure of this measure was predictable even before its implementation had begun. From a quantitative point of view, and according to official statistics provided by the Ministry of National Education, in 1996, 73.37% of pupils' parents were in favor of maintaining French as their first foreign language as compared to 24.83% who were against. (Asselah,R., Mifidène & Zaboot, 2007, p.16).

The failure of this experiment may be explained by two reasons. First, the French is much more present in the language practices of Algerians and remains the language of instruction in a large number of university courses: the Arabization of the university system is limited to social and human sciences only. Scientific, technical and technological fields are always taught in French; the Arabization rate in institutes and universities has only reached 46%. The second reason is that parents would be septic about this initiative taken without planning or preparation.

The reform of the education system has revalued the teaching of foreign languages. The teaching of English, formerly taught in the third year of the middle cycle, was also advanced to the first year of this cycle. Nowadays, English is considered as the second foreign language in Algeria. Its teaching has become compulsory in all Algerian public schools. In addition to that, English plays an important role in various fields of scientific research. Moreover, the Ministry of Higher Education has recently (june2019) announced the launch of a survey on "Strengthening the Use of English in Higher Education". Thus, researchers in various fields, though studying in French or Arabic, are required to publish articles in English; consequently, there is a strong claim to change its status from second foreign language to first one, replacing French.

As it has been displayed, the languages in presence do not share the same status or representations. This is the reason why Algerian speaker use these languages according to their communicative situations and their expressive needs. It is important not to forget that this linguistic and cultural heterogeneity is closely linked to a social and ethnic heterogeneity of Algerian society. This is why Algeria presents a problematic linguistic situation since it presents the place where several languages coexist. However, it is a true laboratory for the study of multilingualism and an endless source of questions and research. In addition, the Algerian sociolinguistic situation continues to undergo significant changes. Indeed, this sociolinguistic situation has its origin in the country's history and geography, as Ibrahimi (1998) pointed out:

Algerian speakers live and evolve in a multilingual society where the languages spoken, written and used, in this case dialectal Arabic, Berber, Standard Arabic and French, live a difficult cohabitation marked by the relationship of competition and conflict that links the two dominant norms (one by the constitutionality of its status as an official language, the

other foreign but legitimized by its pre-eminence in economic life) on the one hand, and on the other hand the constant and stigmatization of dialect.(p.78)

Bing a multilingual country, Algeria's languages are in a constant contact, this has resulted in various sociolinguistics phenomena such as: code mixing, code switching, bilingualism; borrowing, diglossia, language shift, language loss, and language maintenance among others.

1.2. Language contact:

Human is sociable in nature; this instinctive nature puts people in perpetual contact. Much research has effectively proved that contact between languages affects in the efflorescence of sociolinguistic phenomena. Although language contact doesn't constitute the focal point of this research, a concise overview of the phenomena of language contact will be sketched out according to the literature. The most significant varieties used in Algeria will be highlighted in the examples.

The different languages spoken in Algeria with all their variations, which are in constant evolution, gave rise to multiple linguistic phenomena, namely plurilingualism/ bilingualism, diglossia, code-switching, borrowing..etc.

1.2.1. Bilingualism:

The term bilingualism⁵ came from the Latin language, composed of two parts, "bi" meaning two, and "lingual" meaning language. It is defined by many dictionaries as the fluency in or use of two languages. The concept of bilingualism has broadened considerably since the beginning of the century. Weinrich (1953) defined this concept as the alternate use

⁵ Bilingualism and multilingualism are used synonymously in this work.

of two or more languages by the same individual. It has also been defined as the use of more than one language by an individual or speech community⁶ (Swann et al,2004). Gumperz (1975) considers bilingualism a situation in which "two or more languages [are] regularly used in the course of daily routine" (p.233). According to Mackey, bilingualism is the result of contact between people of different tongues "because when people speaking one language are in the presence of people speaking another language, the situation is conducive to the emergence of bilingualism." Mackey (1976).

Among the main causes of bilingualism, we can mention colonization which on the one hand imposes its language on the colonized nations and, on the other hand, this language represents for them access to a superior civilization and way of life, as was the case for Algerians adopting the languages of the various conquerors of their land, in particular Arabic and French. Marriages between people of different languages also promote bilingualism, whether in a colonial context or in a situation of emigration. Trade is also another reason why people are more likely to learn other languages, at least in terms of oral communication (understanding, speaking) to facilitate exchanges between individuals from different countries or in the same country when the latter is bilingual. The demographic supremacy of one community over others within a country means that the language spoken by this population is widespread and leads to bilingualism. Algerian Arabic is a typical example, as it is spoken in almost the entire Algerian territory, thus we find Berber-speaking populations, who are spread over dispersed and minority regions, also speak Arabic to maintain communication with Arabic-speaking people.

Other factors contribute to the growth of bilingualism, namely the richness, power and prestige that a nation or community represents and that make its language a language that is spoken and learned as is the case of English today in the world, or French in Algeria.

⁶ We refer to Lyons's (1970, p 326) definition that speech community consists of a group of people using the same language.

It should be mentioned that some research distinguishes two different levels of bilingualism, societal and individual (Baker, 2006; Fishman, 1980; Siguán & Mackey, 1986). At an individual level a bilingual is defined as the person who masters efficiently another language in addition to his mother tongue (Siguán & Mackey, 1986, p.17), whereas at the societal level bilingualism is defined as the use of two different languages within the same society. (Baker, 2006). As for Fishman (1967) the distinction between individual bilingualism and social bilingualism no longer exist because the use of the term (bilingualism) is most often reserved for individual situations; whereas situations where the whole society is concerned by this phenomenon are nowadays most often referred to as diglossia. (As cited in Boyer, 1996, p.118)

In terms of individual bilingualism in Algeria, we can distinguish two major linguistic communities, one Arabophone (practicing the different variants of Algerian Arabic) and the other one is Berberophone (practicing the different varieties of Tamazight). The speakers in these two communities are native speakers of either Algerian Arabic or one of the Tamazight varieties (Kabyle, mezabit ..etc). These two speech communities are required to learn and use two other languages: standard Arabic and French, which are studied at school. Therein, Ibrahimi (1995) referred to the "school bilingualism" that results from the contact of these two languages and is "strengthened by the adoption of these two languages as the language of instruction in the school system" (p.184). This bilingualism was adopted by the Algerian state after independence. During that period, the Algerian education system had a high level of bilingualism. However, this situation did not last for long because of the Arabization policy pursued by the Algerian state that has eliminated all possibilities for bilingualism (Franco-Arabic).

From what has just been said, we can say that the Algerian sociolinguistic situation is multilingual in the sense that, in Algeria several languages coexist at the same time: standard

Arabic, Tamazight, French and even English which is increasingly being used and gaining prestige.

The population using two languages is often referred to as bilingual. However, the term "bilingualism" cannot cover all sociolinguistic situations in the world. For this reason, the term "diglossia" introduces the notion of "variety" or "variant" for situations where two related forms of the same language are in use.

1.2.2. Diglossia:

The term Diglossia was coined by the French philologist Jean Psichari in 1928. As regards the origin of the term diglossia, the word is borrowed from Greek language and consists of two parts, "di" means "twice" and the second part, glôssa means" languages".

The phenomenon to which Psichari attributed the name diglossia is synonymous to bilingualism. He described it in his 1928 article: "Diglossia is not only about the use of a double vocabulary[...]; diglossia is about the entire grammatical system. There are two ways to decline, two ways to conjugate, two ways of pronouncing. In a word, there are two languages, the spoken language and the written language" (p. 66). According to Psichari's perspective of diglossia, it is any situation where two variants (spoken and written) of the same language are in use in a country.

1.2.2.1. Marcais's definition:

Marçais who studied the linguistic situation in the Maghreb had found that the term bilingualism is a concept that is too limited to be applied in the sociolinguistic context of the Maghreb. For example, the concept of bilingualism is insufficient when it comes to a speaker who speaks an official language at school and uses another variant of the same language at

home. Marçais was the first to describe the Arabic language by using the term diglossia; he said:

The Arabic language appears under two perceptibly different aspects: 1) A literary language so called written Arabic... Or regular, literal, or classical; the only one that has always and everywhere been written in the past, the only one in which 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 been written... but which everywhere and perhaps for a many time are the only language of conversation in all cultured circles (Marçais William, 1930:401)⁷.

In fact, Marçais categorized two related forms of Arabic, the written Arabic and the spoken one, the first is used in sciences, newspapers and judicial matters, whereas the latter is used in everyday conversation and is not written. However, this can't be the case of all Arabic speech communities. Nowadays, dialectal Arabic is written in some newspapers and magazines such as Panorama Arabiya and Oyoun (Benhattab, 2011, p.55). Another representative of this phenomenon that we would like to mention is Ferguson.

1.2.2.2. Ferguson's definition:

Ferguson had introduced the concept of diglossia to the English language, using Greece, Switzerland, and Haiti as case studies, he had also used this term to describe the sociolinguistic situation in Egypt referring to Arabic diglossia; thus he asserted that diglossia is:

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⁷ The original text is in French, this translation is taken from Bouamran's PHD thesis (1986:2). The original text reads as follows: "La diglossie arabe se présente à nous sur deux aspects sensiblement différents: 1) une langue littéraire, dit arabe écrit ou régulier ou littéral, ou classique. Qui a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passée dans laquelle seul aujourd'hui sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifique, les articles de presse, les actes judiciaires, les lettres privées, bref, tout ce qui est écrit, mais pas exactement telle qu'elle se présente à nous n'a peut-être jamais été parlée nulle part.2) les idiomes parlés, des parois...dont aucune n'a jamais été écrit mais qui, partout, et peut-être depuis longtemps, (sont) la seul langue de la conversation dans les milieux populaires et cultivées »

A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson, 1959a: 244-5).

When we try to compare Ferguson's approach with Psichari's, we find that Ferguson probably drew inspiration from Kremnitz who limited diglossia to communities where "two genetically related language forms are in use".(Kremnitz, 1981, p. 64). According to Ferguson, diglossia is associated with the functional distinction between High and Low (henceforth H and L respectively). This means that each variety is appropriate in a particular situation, for example: SA is used for teaching while DA is used at home and with friends, these two varieties cannot be overlapping. In other words they cannot be used interchangeably. Hudson (2002, p.157) affirmed that within a diglossic community the choice of language is not determined by people (user-oriented) but simply by circumstances (useoriented). The H has undergone the process of codification; thus, it has a fixed grammar, spelling, pronunciation and vocabulary and it is preserved in dictionaries and books; accordingly it enjoys societal prestige. Furthermore, the H variety and the L variety have to be two divergent forms of the same language. In other words, they are genetically linked, the "H" variety being the archaic matrix of the "L" variety; however, they are not mutually comprehensible. Ferguson (1959a) admits that the H variety is a formal one which is appropriate to writing, religious and political discourses and learned domains, but not fit to daily speaking.

As for the L variety it is consecrated to daily, intimate and informal domains. Its uncodified characteristic causes constant variation and change, for example: the word car is called /sʌjara/ in standard Arabic, yet in Algerian dialectal Arabic it has many variants among which we cite: /tˤɔ:nubil /, / lotuˤ/ /kərɔ:sa /. Semilarly, the adjective angry is called /ɣa:dˤib/ in SA, whereas in AA we may hear /zaʕfa:n/ /mnʔrvi/ /mɣʔʃʔʃ/. Another example would be that of the word good which means / ʒajid/ in SA, while in AA we find many variants referring to the same word such as: /mliħ/ /ba:hi/ /zi:n/.

Moreover, Ferguson considered diglossia as a stable and lasting phenomenon, but this hypothesis cannot be valid for all cases of diglossic situations, it should be considered that the status of a language sometimes changes, a language which is perceived as H may in some years or decades, under the influence of the change of political policies of the country or school reform, lose that privileged position in favor of a language that had no prestige before and with a low status. One example of this case may be the Greek demotic, which represents the L variety according to Ferguson's terminology, has become an official language while the old high variety has almost disappeared.

Ferguson has attempted to create a general framework for the description of diglossia; hence, he used different speech communities; however not all speech communities bear the same characteristics. In contrast to the western world where a standard form of a language may be used by some people in everyday conversation, in the Arab world the standard form is reserved to formal domains only. Even the case of diglossia in Egypt cannot be generalized to all the Arab world since there are substantial differences between the Middle East and the North African countries. To conclude this reflection, it can be seen that despite the fact that Ferguson contributed considerably to the spread of the term diglossia, its conception is too limited and does not take into account more complex situations.

Fishman has broaden the definition of diglossia to encompass" not only multilingual societies which officially recognize several 'languages' and not only societies that use vernacular and classical varieties, but also societies which employ separate dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind " (1972b, p. 92). Based on Fishman's definition, we can observe a diglossic situation in the Algerian speech community between standard Arabic representing the H variety and Kabyle, Mzabi, or Tergi being used as a the L variety. Bouamran (1986) names this type of diglossia interlingual diglossia, and used the term intralingual diglossia to refer to genetically related varieties such as Algerian Arabic and dialectal Arabic.

In summary, diglossia must be clearly differentiated from bilingualism, as shown in the following table:

| | Diglossia | Bilingualism |
|-------------------------|--|---|
| Languages | Two variants of the same language or two different languages | Two different languages. |
| Functional distribution | Depending on the context. (used-oriented) | Depending on the interlocutor. (use-oriented) |
| Variants transmission | H is the mother tongue of no one, whereas L is acquired at home. | H is the mother tongue of a distinctive group. |

Table1.1. *Distinction between Diglossia and bilingualism*

Joshua Fishman and many other linguists made a distinction between bilingualism which is regarded as an "individual fact that is a matter of psycholinguistics" (Kremnitz, 1981, p. 64) while diglossia is a "social fact that fits into the field of sociolinguistics" (p. 65).

In the present work, societal and individual bilingualism are used to refer to the use of two languages (by a society or a individual respectively), whereas diglossia refers to a situation in which two varieties (of the same language or two different languages) are used for different functions.

The diversity of languages in use in Algeria today results in different language behavior; this allows us to discern another sociolinguistic phenomenon known as code-switching.

1.2.3. Code-switching:

It often happens that two languages intermingle and be used at the same time and in the same situation, this phenomenon is known as code-switching (hereafter CS). For a long time, CS has been considered as a lack of linguistic competence, nowadays it is considered more as a norm rather than exception in many communities. Since its emergence as a research topic in the late 1960s, whose main pioneers are Fishman (1971, 1972), Gumperz (1964, 1967, 1989) and Blom and Gumperz (1972), it has been at the heart of studies on bilingualism, and is an inevitable discursive process adopted by speakers. By tracing the evolution of CS research, we notice that CS has been studies from different perspectives; consequently, varied definitions are associated to this concept. Gumperz stated that CS is "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (1982, p.59). CS can thus be observed among bilinguals speaking together. Auer (1984, p.1) has defined it as "the alternating use of more than one language", while Myers-Scotton mentions that CS comprises "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" (1993b, p.1). Thus, CS is differently defined as it may include the switch either between two different varieties or two different languages.

In studying CS, two axes can be distinguished: the first is "more structural, which is interested in the linguistic functions of code-switching and seeks to identify the systemic

constraints governing code switching" (Myers-Scotton, 1993bMuysken, 1995, as cited in Alby, 2013, p.43-70); whereas the second is " a more social, conversational axis, which focuses on the discursive functions of alternation (Auer, 1995) or on the role played by codeswitching in the construction of the identity of the speakers who produce it" (Myers-Scotton,1993aLi, 2002, Gafaranga, 2001, as cited I Albe, 201, p.43-70).

Reagarding the first axis and based on the syntactic structure of the alternating segments, three types are differentiated: intraphrastic, interphrastic, extraphrastic.

Intraphrastic CS is when syntactic structure of the same sentence belongs to two languages. Interphrastic switchings are passages from one language to another at the boundary of the sentence or the statement. Finally, the insertion into the sentence of idiomatic expressions, fixed forms, interjections, which can be inserted at any point in the sentence, will be considered as extra-phrastic alternations.

The structural approach has been constructive in developing models of CS such as the grammatical theory (MacSwann 2000; Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross 2002). Nonetheless, this structural focus does not answer the underlying questions concerning the reasons behind CS.

Indeed, inserting different linguistic segments into one's discourse is not a random procedure, "It can only occur when certain conditions exist: the presence of bilingual contacts in a familiar relationship, personal exchange rather than transactional, and informal situation" (Dabène, 1994, p.92). Myers-Scotton, who adopted the work of Gumperz and Poplack, found that the motivations for CS are accidental and idiosyncratic; therefore, it is not linguistically predictable. (Canut & Caubet, 2002, p.10).

In fact, the global understanding of the process of CS requires an investigation of the social motivation underlying this speech behavior. Gumperz (1982) argued that bilinguals

give more importance to the "communication effect" of their statements than the form that statements take (Gumperz 1982, p.64).

Blom and Gumperz (1972) in their study of language behavior in Norway, noticed that Norwegians made use of two different variants (Bokmal and Ranamal) for different objectives. They concluded that there is a direct relation between social situation and language choice. They said:

In the course of a morning spent at the community administration office, we noticed that clerks used both standard and dialect phrases, depending on whether they were talking about official affairs or not. Likewise, when residents step up to the clerk's desk, greetings and inquiries about family affairs tend to be exchanged in the direct, while the business part of transaction is carried on in the standard (1972, p.425).

Blom and Gumperz assert that language choice is predictable and decided by nonlinguistic factors such as topic, participants, setting...etc. They called this type of switching situational CS, as the latter depends of the different situations and is guided by social rules. The following example⁸ is an illustration of this topic.

A: / se ni pæ zu:n lɔ:ŋ Λ Λpxɔ:ndy ɔ: ikɔ:l sil nu: ɔnsaj Tamaziyt dɔnk mɒŋ fis Λ le dywæ ditu:dji məm dæriʒa/ (It is not a language to learn at schools, if they teach us Tamazight so my son has the right to study even AA).

B: / νɔ: txɔ:vi ke Tamaziyt i dæriʒa νη le məm stʌtɜ: / (Do you think that Tamazight and darija have the same status?)

A: /bjʌŋ Suːɣ kə wi... nruːħ nʒib kaːs qahwa wʌŋʒi Sandi mʌŋahder f had suːji, nʒiblek mʃʌja/ (Of course yes (F)I'm going to bring a cup of coffee and come back, I have a lot to say about this topic, do you want me to bring you coffee? (AA)).

The examples provided are taken from the corpus of the present work.

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As we can see, the conversation in the example above was held in French. The interlocutors were discussing the topic of teaching T at schools, once the topic has changed we can observe the switch from one code (F) to another (AA) by interlocutor A, which infers a change in situation.

Another types of CS distinguished by Blom and Gumperz is metaphorical CS, later named by Gumperz (1982) as conversational CS. Blom and Gumperz claim that: "When (R) phrases are inserted metaphorically in (B) conversation, this may, depending on the circumstances, add special social meanings of confidentiality or privacy to the conversation" (1972, p.89). This type of CS is dependent on the speaker, he is the only controller of the code, often used as a communicative strategy to enhance speech act and achieve special communicative effects such as denials, request, clarification or a change in a topic of discussion shifts. As is the case in the following example:

Pupil: /?azl fəlak / (T) "Good morning Teacher"

Teacher: $az\bar{u}l f \partial lam/(T)$ "Good morning pupil"

Pupil: /əl ixtibār Λzkæ?(T) "The exam is for tomorrow?"

Teacher: /i:h zaka/ (T) "Yes, tomorrow"

Pupil: /jaxi uOtsaSabtara/(T) "I hope you didn't make it difficult?"

Teacher: / vo: o:yi s3:lmnη se ke no: ανη itodji "You will have only what we have studied".

The example overhead is a passage taken from a recorded conversation, during a session of Tamazight, held between a teacher and his pupil. The dialogue started in T, later in the last line, the teacher switched to French. We may suggest that the teacher changed the code to put an end to the conversation as a reaction to the question of the pupil. I.e. The teacher switched to a more formal variety to express a certain distance.

The use of CS in language classes has become quite common among both teachers and learners. Research has shown that CS plays an important role in the learning and construction of knowledge in languages; using several languages is therefore no longer considered unfavorable to language learning. In recent years, pedagogues have been interested in the presence of L1 in L2 teaching. This interest is now growing as it is proved and reaffirmed, through numerous studies, that the mother tongue plays a decisive role in the teaching/learning of languages.

Myers-Scotton (1993, p.4) also studies this linguistic phenomenon and defines it as "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation." She asserted that CS may occur either as "unmarked" or 'marked 'choice of language. These choices are presented in Myers-Scotton's model which she names the "Markedness model". The latter is based on the speakers' socio-psychological motivation for code switching.

To sum up Scotton's model, the unmarked choices are those codes that reflect the norms of the community which indicates the relationship between the participants; whereas marked choices are unexpected deviations from the norm used, desirably by the speaker ,in order to impose the Right and Obligation balance (Scotton1992c, p.78).

In the Algerian context, CS is a communicative strategy practiced by Algerian speakers in different ways and for different reasons; this phenomenon has resulted from the contact between the above mentioned languages. An Arabophone speaker would alternate between Algerian Arabic and French. Berberophones on the other hand, can alternate either between Berber and French, Berber and Algerian Arabic or between the three languages within the same conversation. The questions that arise are in what context and for what purpose, does the Algerian speaker use CS in his speech?

Studies conducted by Ibrahimi, 1995; Morsly, 1988;Bouamrane,1986;Benhattab, 2011; Ouahmiche, 2013; Labed, 2014; Dendan, 2007, exposed the linguistic richness of Algerians and their extreme ease in using code switching, which mixes Arabic with its different variants, French with its endogenous norms, and Berber with its different dialects as discursive and communicative strategies.

Overall, we note that research has shown that CS is not an aberration of speech, but instead, a positive aspect, which indicates the skills of the speaker and his competency. The latter therefore use code switching in conversation for multiple reasons. Finally, we will say that code-switching works as a real adjuvant for the bilingual or multilingual speaker. This linguistic phenomenon makes it easier for the user to achieve the goal(s) he sets for himself.

1.3. Conclusion:

In this chapter the historical context and sociolinguistic situation of Algeria were highlighted. As it has formerly been mentioned, Algeria has been presented officially, for a long time, as a monolingual nation. Throughout its history, it has experienced several invasions and colonization: the Phoenicians, Romans, Byzantines, Vandals, Arabs, Turks, Spanish and French. In each invasion, the colonizer imposed his language and culture in order to better establish himself. These hectic historical facts have shaped the sociolinguistic specificity of Algeria and distinguish it from other Maghreb countries.

Berbers, the original inhabitants of North Africa, have been able to cope with various occupations and invasions that have lasted several centuries; these people has left their impact on the Berber life, despite this fact; Berbers have been able to preserve the physiology of their area. However, with the arrival of the Arabs, who had a means of entry much more powerful than others, which is the Islamic religion, Arabic has been able to cut down on the Berber's space and reduce it to blocks and islets crossed by Arabic-speaking areas.

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By the same token, French, the language of the former colonizer, is still used in Algeria in different domains. After more than fifty years of independence and despite the Arabization policy, implemented by the Algerian state to regain the status of the Arabic language, French has continued to be used in several fields, including economics, media, and education and is still regarded as a language of science and modernity.

In addition to the historical and language issue, this chapter examines the sociolinguistic phenomena that arise from the contact between these languages mainly, bilingualism, diglossia and code-switching. After introducing the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, the next chapter explores some theories regarding language attitudes and languages planning.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Considerations

Attitudes and Language Planning

2.1. Introduction:

Studies of language attitudes and language planning (henceforth LA and LP respectively) are voluminous; thus, this chapter outlines a synthetic overview of some theoretical perspectives regarding LA and LP research. It is subdivided into two sections; the first section is dedicated to language attitudes. This discipline represents an important aspect in what makes sociolinguistics in general (contact languages, language conflict, multilingualism, standard language, language planning). Hence, this section provides definitions of LA from different perspectives; it also relates it to other substantial terms such as language maintenance language shift and minority language. The second part of the chapter is concerned with language planning and its activities. An examination of Tamazight language planning is presented.

2.2. Language Attitudes:

Researchers in different fields have focused on the study of language attitudes that plays an important role in the process of language acquisition and also language development, especially among bilingual people. It is also important in explaining sociolinguistic phenomena. In fact, the term language attitude is a broad term that incorporates a wide range of empirical studies, targeting a number of specific attitudes. Baker pinpointed the following main areas:

- Attitude towards language variation, dialect and speech style.
- Attitudes towards learning a new language.
- Attitude towards a specific minority language.
- Attitude towards language groups, communities and minorities.
- Attitude towards language lessons.

- Attitude of parents towards language lessons.
- Attitude towards the uses of a specific language.
- Attitude towards language preference (1992, p. 29-30).

As the prime objective of the present study is to measure Arabophones' attitudes towards the teaching of Tamazight at primary schools, the second and third above categories will be the main focus of this research.

2.2.1. Attitudes and Related Terms:

For the purpose of comprehending LA, it is vital to be familiar with most relevant theories regarding attitudes. We will; therefore, define attitudes from different perspectives and explore the intricate relationship between attitudes and other constructs, such as behavior.

Attitude is a hypothetical concept that represents a psychological construct, which means that they can't be observed directly but rather, have to be inferred (Baker, 1992). Eiser, (2004) asserted that attitudes are learned and acquired. It has been agreed by most scholars (Baker, 1992; Oppenheim, 1982; Williams, 1974; Allport, 1935) that attitudes guide actions. This strong relation between attitudes and actions has led many researchers to define attitudes as behavioral dispositions (Campbell, 1963; Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960).

In fact, no agreed definition regarding attitudes was reached by scholars, its definitions varied in time from broad to specific and from simple to complex. Gordon Allport's definition is regarded as a broad definition in which he has defined it as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive and dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects with which it is related " (1935, p. 810) this definition shows how attitudes appear and what they do.

One of the issues to the study of attitudes is related to its overlapping with other concepts in social psychology such as 'belief' "opinion", "value", "habit", "trait", "motive" and "ideology" (Shaw & Wright1967). Thus, it is very important to distinguish attitudes from other related terms. To better understand attitudes, it is necessary to explore the points of convergence with other concepts. Subsequently, the following section spotlights the relation between attitudes and other notions.

2.2.1.1. Beliefs:

Attitudes were often described as beliefs that correlate positive or negative evaluative assessment to objects. The terms were used interchangeably by some researchers covering the same meaning (Gibbons & Ramirez 2004). Others; however, differentiate between them. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) used validation as a benchmark to differentiate between the two notions. They demonstrated that attitudes are not subjected to any external validation while beliefs can be checked with some criterion. According to Ajzen, 1991; Azjen & Fishbein, 2005; Fishbein & Azjen, 1974, attitudes are fruits of the aspects that make the beliefs associated with an object and the assessments of these attributes. These assessments catch the principle discrepancy between attitudes and beliefs.

2.2.1.2. Social Identity:

Attitudes are defined in social consents designated by group membership, many of our attitudes mirror the group we belong to and to which we identify ourselves. Indeed we are "autobiographically idiosyncratic, but our attitudes are actually attached to group memberships that we internalize to define ourselves" (Smith, J. R., & Hogg, 2008, p. 339). Asch (1952) claimed that: "The investigation of attitudes brings us to the center of the person's social relations and to the heart of the dynamics of social processes" (p. 577) based

on this quotation, we can see that social psychologists consider attitudes as a construct shaped within a social context with which they are inevitably linked. For Tajfel (1972), social identity represents "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of his group membership" (p. 292). Social identification refers to "the process of locating oneself, or another person, within a system of social categorizations or, as a noun, to any social categorization used by a person to define him- or herself and others" (Turner, 1982, p.17). Hogg and Smith (2007) studied attitudes from a social identity angle, according to them attitudes are "normative attributes of social groups that define who we are and provide us with an identity in society" (p. 120). Hence, Personal attitudes mirror group attitudes which are incarnated in the process of identity construction. In other words, being part of a particular group implies acquiring its attitudes which affect the construction of individual attitudes. In this respect Sherif(1936) stated that "man's socialization is revealed mainly in his attitudes formed in relation to the values or norms of his reference group or groups" (p. 203). Consequently, "attitudes are windows on identity" (Hogg & Smith, 2007, p. 89) because they reflect one's identity, in addition to that they deduce the identities of the individuals with whom one interacts.

2.2.1.3. Attitudes and Motivations:

Both attitudes and motivations are related to behavior. They refer to latent dispositions affecting the directionality of behavior (Shaw & Wright, 1967). Despite the similarities between the two concepts, both have different theories and disciplines; thus, it is crucial to differentiate between them, in this respect Chambers says "to tackle both concepts as if they were one is misguided and turns out to be of very little help" (1999, p.26).

In fact attitudes and motivation differ in stability and generality. Newcomb (1950) distinguished two main differences between the two concepts. He claimed that motives have a

drive start, while attitudes do not. On the other hand attitudes are subject specific, while motives are goal specific (Baker 1992). All in all, though the two notions differ in their contents and structure, they are intricately interrelated. This was demonstrated by Gardner explaining the socio-educational model who stated that "language attitudes are seen to cause motivation" (1987, p. 42).

2.2.1.4. Attitudes, Opinions and Ideologies:

In discussions and writings dealing with attitudes, there is a clear relationship between the terms "attitudes" and "opinions" (Baker, 1992, p. 14). Similarly, in the literature on attitudes, a distinction is not always made between "attitudes" and "ideologies". However, the meaning of these terms differs, and a clarification of the terms is useful.

Researchers such as Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), Ajzen (1988) argued that attitudes are nothing but an evaluation of an object. They further asserted that an opinion is a non-emotional declaration about an object, while an attitude is an emotional evaluation of an object (p. 48). The distinction that is commonly made between attitudes and opinions is that opinions represent the verbal part of observable measures of attitudes. Since they can be orally expressed, they would only refer to explicit attitudes, that is to say, consciously attested by the individual. The difference between attitudes and ideologies, on the other hand, is of two types: that of their scale and that of their origins. Attitudes tend to be individual while ideologies tend to be societal. For Baker, the term ideology tends to refer to" the codification of norms and values of a group" (1992, p.15) this codification is the concern of a society. Milroy has explained that "ideologies are historically rooted and perfectly integrated by the society" (2004, p.166). According to Dyers and Abongdia (2010) ideologies are long-term and resistant to change, while attitudes can be short-term and long-term and more changeable. Moreover, ideologies have relatively negative connotation which represents them as a tool for

possible propaganda. Garrett said in this respect that "ideologies can promote notions of common sense, which can be seen as distortions or myths" (2010, p.10). Bourdieu added that ideologies serve specific interests that they tend to present as universal interests. (1992, p.205)

As a result of the distinction between ideologies and attitudes, there is little doubt, however, that (societal) ideologies influence (individual) attitudes. Since they are "anchored" and "integrated" into society, they are part of the individual's experience and social environment, and inevitably influence the cognitive dimension of attitudes. As a matter of fact, despite the complexity of the relationship and the influence of society as a whole, attitudes are considered a major determinant of behavior (McKenzie, 2008a, p. 64).

2.2.2. Defining Language Attitudes:

Language attitudes are crucial as they represent important aspects that are helpful in the sociolinguistic description of the language profile of the multilingual individual (cf. Labov 1972; Rubin 1977 and Fishman 1999).

In fact, language attitudes are compiled through the reactions of individuals to speakers expressing themselves in two or more linguistic varieties, in competition or in contact with each other in a territory, on scales relating to physical attractiveness, competence, personality, social status, etc. In this respect Calvet contended that "language attitudes refer to a set of feelings that speakers have for languages or a variety of languages, these speakers judge, evaluate their linguistic productions and those of others by assigning them designations. The latter note that speakers, by realizing phonological, lexical and morphosyntactic differences attribute appreciative or depreciative values to them". (1993, p.4).

Research on language attitudes is at the heart of a large part of social science research. As a matter of fact, it has been a pivotal sustaining element in the field of social psychology.

Eagly and Chaiken defined attitudes as "a hypothetical construct which is not directly observable but can be inferred from observable responses" (1993, p.2). Crystal defines LA as: "the feelings people have about their own language or the languages of others" (1992, p.215). With regard to the sociolinguistic dimension Ajzen (2005, p.3) claimed that LA is: "a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event.". In other terms, language attitudes study leads to questions regarding speakers' evaluation of particular varieties.

2.2.3. Theories to Language Attitude:

Attitudinal research has generally been conducted based on two main psychological approaches namely, mentalist and behaviorist approaches. Both consider that attitudes aren't inherited but rather learnt over the course of socialization during childhood and adolescence. The behaviorist theory asserts that human activities are reduced to behavioral units these behaviors are driven only by attitudes. In other words, attitudes can be inferred from the responses that an individual makes to social situations. According to them, attitudes is the only dependent variable that determines human's behavior neglecting other variables that may influence such as age, gender ethnicity, linguistic background..etc. In additions to that, psychological research has proven that attitudes are in the mind of the individual; hence, cannot be observed directly. Ergo, the behaviorist theory was discarded although it should not be completely discounted because attitudes are often thought to directly influence behavior (Perloff, 2003, p. 41, as cited in McKenzie, p.70). The mentalist theory on the other hand deems attitudes as an 'internal state of readiness' which when catalyzed influences the individual's response. Hence these attitudes cannot be observed directly but rather deduced from the respondents' introspection.

2.2.4. Factors Affecting Language Attitudes:

Many studies have been undertaken to investigate factors which contribute to the construction of language attitudes. Among these factors are: the sociocultural factor, ethnicity and language policy. Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982) recognized standardization and vitality as main determinants of LA, they also go further and add two other elements that were used in Stewart's (1968) functional typology of languages, namely autonomy and historicity.

2.2.4.1. Standardization:

Standardization is considered as the preeminent element which distinguishes different varieties from each other. A standard variety is the one that has undergone codification of grammar, development of spelling books, dictionaries, and literature (Finegan 2007, p.14). Generally, the variety that undergoes standardization process are the varieties used (both oral and written forms) in centers of commerce and government which by a process of "elaboration of function" acquires the social prestige. Hence, this process has a sociological effect, on the users of these varieties, who assume that the standardized variety is inherently superior and is a "correct" variety as compared to the other competing varieties; therefore, they favor the standard variety for the prestige and formality they entail. In this vein, Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982, p.3) claimed that: "The acceptance of the codified form of a language variety is normally advanced by the power elite of a society and confirmed via social institutions such as government schools and the mass media. The standard variety then comes to be associated with these institutions, the kind of interactions which normally occur within them and the set of values they represent". (As cited in Benali 2007, p.173).

In Algeria and after independence, SA was the language chosen by the government to be used at schools, in the media and in different institutions at the official level. In addition to SA French was associated to prestige and formality. On the other hand Algerian Arabic and Berber varieties had no standard form, but rather are associated with formality and intimacy. It is until recent years that the Berber varieties are gaining more prestige thanks to Tamazight²⁰ which is undergoing a process of standardization. Though, Tamazight is not fully standardized; yet, the latter has started having presence in the Algerian linguistic sphere, used in the media and introduced to the education system. The standardized feature of a variety has prominent influence on people's attitudes who through time "stigmatize their mother tongues" (Benali, 2007, p.173). In fact the more functions the majority language has in bilingual settings, the more the minority language use is reduced among its native speakers.

2.2.4.2. Autonomy:

A variety is said to be autonomous when its speakers consider it as different from other varieties. However, this is a very subjective criterion. Speakers of Cantonese and Mandarin deny the fact that they speak different languages. They maintain that Cantonese and Mandarin are not autonomous languages but are just two dialects of Chinese.

Autonomy is regarded as an important element in shaping people's attitudes towards a language. People tend to favor the variety that brings about their autonomy in an attempt to mark their ethnic belonging. Benali 2007 asserted that attitudes related to autonomy create two different situations in a context of language management. In the first situation two or more varieties are "autotomized" by its own speakers. These varieties are standardized separately which gives birth to different languages as is the case of Catalan speech

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We cannot say that Tamazight is a standardized language, but rather use the term semi-standardized, which was used by Benali 2007, as the latter is still under the process of standardization

community in Spain, who standardized their variety to mark their difference from Castilian. The second sociolinguistic situation is that in which one variety is chosen to represent the other varieties, therefore it undergoes the standardization process; consequently, people identify themselves to it rather than to the variety they speak daily, which they do not consider as autonomous.

2.2.4.3. Historicity:

Historical factor is one the elements that influence people's attitude towards a language. It refers to the fact that a certain group of people finds a sense of identity by using a certain language. It has a strong tie with its literary tradition; therefore, speakers of Arabic refer to the standard Arabic, even though it is no one's mother tongue; yet it is the language in which the Quran was delivered. The element of historicity may also be seen in speech communities where the ancestor language has vanished because of the lack of a written form of it, as is case with Tamazight speech community. Tamazight which derived from the Lybic language, that no longer exist, had no written form except on gravestones. However, despite the fact that Tamazight was oral for centuries, speakers of Tamazight varieties refer to the history of their language. In this respect Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982, p.4) stated that :" For some variants, the claim of development from respectable ancestors is easily supported by written records. Historicity, however, can also promulgated through new emphasis upon evolution from some ancient language."

2.2.4.4. Vitality:

Vitality is another attribute that shapes language attitudes. It alludes to the availability of a living community of speakers. We can say that a language is more vital than another language when it has more native speakers, and it serves more functions. In this sense Benali (2007,

p.76) stated: "language vitality is closely dependent on the number of functions it fulfils and the number of individuals who use a given language". Accordingly, a language that is vital has an impact on attitudes, thus people perceive it positively. The number of speakers is very crucial as it has a great impact on attitudes, "the bigger the number of speakers of a variety the more the letter takes over the other varieties" (Benali, 2007, p 77). It should be mentioned here that the higher number of speakers of any variety depends on its spread via various mediums mainly education.

2.3. Minority Languages:

The use of the term minority language varies greatly. The term minority language is often used to refer to the language of a minority group of the population of a country, even if the language is given an official status. However, these language are also called "threatened languages" and "endangered languages" as the speakers of these languages often switch to other languages that are spoken by the majority, this makes their language at risk of disappearance. Kristin Henrard (n.d) in Hogan-Brun, G. and Wolff, S. (2003, p.39) defined a minority community as:

A population group with ethnic, religious and linguistic characteristics which differs from the rest of the population is non-dominant, is numerically smaller than the rest of the population and has the wish to hold on to its separate identity. In this research minority language is defined as "the language spoken by a socially and usually numerically subordinate group within the total population of a given society (Ó Riagáin, 2003, p. 304).

2.3.1. Contemporary Case Studies of Attitudes towards Minority Languages:

Many research have been undertaken to measure attitudes towards minority languages around the globe. We will mention some of these studies and compare their results to the results reached in this study.

2.3.1.1. Case of Kurdish in Turkey:

In recent studies Hakan Tarhan (2013) conducted a research in which he investigated the attitudes of Turkish people towards the use and the status of Kurdish, which represents a minority language in Turkey. Analyzing the attitudes of a majority group is of a paramount importance, Tarhan asserted that "Their attitudes and opinions are important because the Kurdish question and the conflict between Turkish and Kurdish people is regarded as one of the biggest problems Turkey has by several authors (Ahmad, 2003; Cornell, 2001; Co kun, Derince, & Uçarlar, 2010; Kiri_ci & Winrow, 1997; Moustakis & Chaudhuri, 2005; Saatci, 2002), and only by detecting the problem accurately, a valid and peaceful solution can be achieved" (p.12). The sample consisted of participants aged between 18and 40 of both sex and with different educational level, In order to collect the data, participants were asked to fill a questionnaire which included 29 items. Some items dealt with the participants' profile, the languages they master and others regarded the status of Kurdish language. Answers were evaluated by a five point Likert scale. The analysis of the collected data showed that Turkish people exhibit positive attitudes towards the multicultural and multilingual structure of Turkey whereas, half of the respondent think that any Turkish person living in Turkey needs to know Turkish disregarding their ethnical identity. Results concerning the status of Kurdish demonstrate that, most of the participants agree with the fact that Kurdish shouldn't be given an official status, similarly, most of the respondent revealed their refusal toward the teaching of Kurdish in state schools and universities. Tarhan analysed the results regarding the respondents' demographic information. The latter revealed an explicit disparity of attitudes among different groups of participants. Age and educational level appeared to be influential and effective, the outcome of the survey questionnaire indicates that people of young age, with a high educational level, seem to be tolerant and accept the minority group along with their cultural element (Wodtke 2012) contrasted with old people without a degree.

2.3.1.2. Case of Guernesiais in Guernsey:

Most studies on minority languages tend to target the attitudes and perceptions of the minority group only. Sallanbak (2013) Conducted a research on the indigenous language of Guernsey²¹ regarding the attitudes of both minority and majority groups. To collect the data, Sallanbank adopted a multi-method approach, using both interview and questionnaire which was administered to 209 participants, including politicians and civil servant. Results were measured on Likert scale demographic and identity factors. Sallabank claimed the difficulty in measuring the attitudes of the respondents through questionnaire; therefore,

Interviews and ethnographic observations were used to supplement the attitudes questionnaire, both for triangulation and to compare overtly expressed attitudes with behavior. Difficulties inherent in trying to obtain a 'true' picture of attitudes are illustrated by the fact that in follow-up interviews some questionnaire respondents gave different answers to their survey ones (p. 25).

Thus, the inner attitudes of the respondents aren't easy to be known as the expressed ones are incompatible with their linguistic behavior. The analyzed data showed change in attitudes, which used to be negative towards the Guernsey vernacular. According to this study, language ideology has shifted from a monolingual ideal to the recognition of a bilingual and multilingual situation of Guernsey. People living in Guernsey, including the majority group

²¹ One largest island of the Anglo-Norman channel, it is a democratic parliamentary autonomous dependency of the British crown.

represented by Anglophones, showed more favorable attitudes towards the use and the maintenance of the indigenous language, this shift has led to official support; nevertheless, it still needs concrete language planning measures. Despite the fact that Guernesiais is being taught at schools, though not included in the program, the language does not have any official recognition or status yet. Change in attitudes implies change in language planning at all levels of society; however, in the case of Guernsiais there has been a gap between policy and practice which may lead to an ineffective language planning. Similarly, at the personal level Sallabank noticed discordance between the overt attitudes expressed by most respondent and their language practice. People in Guernsey seemed to have positive attitudes towards the language yet the use of it has been abandoned even at home by its native speakers. According to Sallabank, the change in attitude leads to public and government support yet this neither protect it nor revitalize it. Sallabank claimed that positive attitudes aren't enough to revitalize a language she assures that effort of the government, native speakers and the majority group should be incorporated to maintain the language and elevate its status to an official one through efficient measures.

2.3.1.3. The Case of Catalan in Sardinia:

José (2015) conducted a research in which she tried to expose and unveil the reasons behind dropping the use of Catalan²² in Alghero. Nowadays, however, the language is spoken only by few Algherese most of them have ceased to use it. Throughout her work, she deduced that in Alghero the local language is not being used and assumed that the reason behind abandoning the use of Algherese is the change in linguistic attitudes towards their native language and this has been cause by the change in social structure. Algherese, which is a variety of Catalan spoken in the Italian city of Alghero, is considered by the UNISCO an

²² Catalan is a minority language which has been spoken for centuries in the Sardinian city of Alghero in Italy.

endangered language (Moseley, 2012, p.19). Social and economic advancement led to a change in linguistic attitudes of the Alghero inhabitants towards their native language and eventually a shift in linguistic behavior. Currently, Alghero people prefer to use Italian rather than Catalan as their native language bears "no economic or practical value" (José, 2015, p.26). Italian has been replacing Catalan in many instances of everyday interaction. José found that the language is no longer transmitted to the coming generation and only people more than thirty years old can speak Algherese (Catalan). Through her inquest José proved that there is a strong link between social systems and linguistic practices, this link decides whether the language is to be preserved and enriched or abolished.

2.3.1.4. Case of Amazigh in Morocco:

In Morocco, Berber represents a minority language spoken by 35 percent of the overall population. According to Ennaji 1991 and Chtatou 1994 there exist two main attitudes toward Berber. Firstly, Berber native speakers who are generally proud of their native language, on the other hand, we find the Arabophones who are tolerant or neutral toward the language. Attitude toward Berber has progressed over the years. In the seventies, it was either indifferent or negative; but since the 1990s, officials' attitudes have become favorable to Berber especially after the king's decision in 1994 to introduce Berber in primary schools. Mohammed VI called for the creation of an organization dedicated to preserving Berber culture and language in a 2001 speech. Months later, he issued a royal decree, through which he officially created the "Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh" (IRCAM). Moreover, the role of Berber in the media has been reinforced. The government increased the number of Berber radio programs. Television news bulletins started being presented in Berber alongside Standard Arabic and French.

Afkir (2012) has carried out a research in which she has investigates the attitudes of Arabophones towards the integration of Amazigh in the education system in Morocco. Results of this study has shown that Arabphones participating in the study display positive attitudes towards the implementation of Amazigh in schools; however "they opted for a very restricted presence of this language in a space that will valorize it and modify the power relations that have governed the two ethnolinguistic groups throughout history" (Afkir, 2012, p. 106). Afkir affirmed that a good language policy should take into account the linguistic reality of the society, thus, the obligatory aspect of Amazigh teaching wouldn't serve the successfulness of the policy; therefore, a progressive integration of Amazigh would be conducive.

2.3.1.5. The case of Tamazight in Algeria:

It has already been mentioned in chapter one that Tamazight has been constitutionally recognized as an official language next to Arabic. This recognition implies its amalgamation is different spheres mainly media, linguistic landscape and education. This new language policy has become the subject matters of many Algerian researchers. To this vein Bektache. M (2018) has carried out a research in which he tried to unveil the attitudes of Algerians towards the official recognition of Tamazight. Within the framework of this work, he has used semi-directive interviews to collect the attitudes of speakers from different regions of Algeria towards the issue of Tamazight. The interviews were held in Algiers, Batna, Bejaia, Constantine and Djelfa. Outcomes of this investigation have demonstrated that, the officialization of Tamazight is generally perceived as a positive step for Algeria. In this context he stated that: "Tamazight language is considered as a national pride of the Algerian identity" (2018, p.5). According to Bektache most respondents expressed favorable attitude towards the officialization of Tamazight; however, "their discourse reveals fears related to the consequences of this legal procedure". (2018, p.6). The researcher has deduced that the fears expressed are the impact of the language policy that was implemented in Algeria for many

years. As for speakers from Arabic-speaking regions, they exhibited favorable attitudes towards the official recognition of Tamazight, nonetheless, this attitude is determined by the use of Arabic character and the devotion of its speakers to Islam. In other words, responses of speakers from Arabic-speaking regions indicate the respondents' support for the officialization of the Amazigh language. However, their attitudes towards this officialization become ambivalent when questions about religion and its transcription are raised.

In a pursue of exploring the challenges and perspectives towards the teaching of Tamazight in Algerian, Belkhir and Abdelhay (2019) have conducted a research in Mostaganem, which is an Arabic speaking region, where Tamazight is introduced in nine primary schools. The finding indicated that the introduction of Tamazight was abruptly rushed mainly in Arabic speaking areas. Attitudinal issues were disclosed, where some parents and administrative staff didn't approved the insertion of Tamazight in schools. Moreover, the researchers affirmed that teachers' profile and training aren't enough to reach a successful language implementation. According to them conducting attitudinal analyses is crucial, chiefly in Arabic speaking regions, to promote Tamazight education planning. With regard to this issue of language attitudes and education Crystal (2008, p.266) reported that "knowing about attitudes is an important aspect of evaluating the likely success of a language teaching program or a piece of language planning".

Furtermore, Ghounane & Rabahi investigated the attitudes of parents and teachers towards the teaching of Tamazight in primary schools in Tlemcen city, where Arabic speakers represent the major community of the city. It should be mentioned here that some regions still use Berber varieties such as Beni Snous. The outcomes showed that the largest number of informants shared negative attitudes toward the amalgamation of Tamazight in primary schools. Most informants also reported that Tamazight is part of their identity, even though they had not been encouraged to embrace it in the new education system. The researchers

claim that the negative attitudes towards the teaching of Tamazight are based on the assumption that it is not essential for communication and international affairs as English and French. Ghounane & Rabahi have stressed the important of attitude change to implement the new language policy, in this respect they said "...it has to do with the attitudes which should be changed since providing good strategic language planning to introduce the language is not enough and realizing positive results cannot be achieved overnight" (2018, p.104).

Rouabah (2020) has carried a sociolinguistic study of Chaoui, a variety of Tamazight, in Batna which represents the second largest Berber group in Algeria. In this investigation Rouabah has focused on the significance of language attitudes in steering the process of language shift from Chaoui to Algerian Arabic. Based on quantitative and ethnographic data, the research indicated that the community is experiencing an ongoing shift from Chaoui to AA. Results divulge that regardless of positive attitudes expressed towards Chaoui variety and multilingualism, the greatest number of participants do not support the idea of teaching T at schools. According to Rouabah, the teaching of Tamazight in Batna represents a huge challenge especially for teachers who are formed in Kabyle regions using Latin script and asked to use Arabic script while teaching in Batna. Moreover, unlike in Kabyle regions where teachers of Tamazight have a program to follow in their teaching "in Aurès²³ teachers are told to construct their own, reinforcing diversity between schools and within the same school". Accordingly, teachers in Batna translate the syllabus used in Kabyle regions to Chaoui.

2.3.2. Attitudes, Language Maintenance and Language Shift:

When a dominant group exerts control in the economic and political domains, it leads to compelling the dominated group to either assimilate the dominant language or give up their mother tongues. However, many language groups choose the alternative of political

²³ A mountainous region in eastern Algeria, situated between the Sahara and the coastal area, and inhabited by Chaouias.

resistance, giving rise to overt language problems as was the case of Tamazight in Algeria. It should be mentioned that the superiority of a dominant language over a minority language contribute in constructing attitudes towards the minority language. This may affect not only the speakers' attitudes of the dominant language, but also attitudes of the minority language' speakers towards their native language. When the native language is perceived as unimportant language they reduce the frequency of using it even at home domain.

It is estimated that 6000 languages are spoken in the world; however, half of them are in a state of loss (Krauss, 1992; Mackey, 1991; Moseley and Asher, 1994; Wurm, 1996). When a language is less preserves less used (mainly by its native speakers) this eventually will lead to it loss; thus, serious measurement should be taken to preserve these languages from loss. One of the main actions is to regard attitudes towards the language in question as the latter has a great impact on language maintenance. In addition to that, schooling affects the use of native language. In the Algerian context, Arabic is the language that is mostly used in their everyday life; hence, proficiency of native language is gradually decreasing (this may be obvious in the use of Arabic in home domain where the native language is supposed to be maintained). Family plays a significant role in maintaining the native languages are stimulated.

In fact, family is a cornerstone for the acquisition and also maintenance of the native language. Though the family domain is always facing challenges in maintaining the native language, especially if the language is regarded as minority language and almost used only at home. Therefore, actions should be taken to maintain the native language. The lack of language maintenance will eventually lead to language shift and language loss. It has been proved by many studies that there is a potential shift in the language towards the language of the dominant community (Toumoefolau et al., 2002, as cite in Leni Amelia Suek, 2014,

p.300). This is the case of Kabyle speakers living in Oran who found themselves making use of Arabic more that their mother tongue, which they use only at home. This eventually has led parents to cease transmitting their mother tongue to their children as the later wouldn't serve them outside the home domain. In this regard Riagain (2008) avouch that language use is frequently determined by dominant language group. It has been argued that language maintenance is determined by language use and language attitudes. Indeed language use increases when positive language attitudes are developed, this eventually will lead to language maintenance (Choi, 2003). Thus, the increase in language use occurs mainly in two important domains, Family and school.

2.3.3. Attitudes and Language Planning:

Nowadays the concept of attitude is very popular; this is the reason why it is used in very different fields. It is important to remember that attitudes are not innate, but rather acquired: learned, transformed and developed. They are fundamentally social; we acquire them in social interaction which can be direct or indirect. Through behavior we can infer the attitudes of others, the same thing for others they can infer ours, even if it is also possible to try to hide them (or to make them explicitly public). Thus the social context is fundamental when we analyze the phenomenon of attitudes.

Language is an essential medium of human communication which represents an important part of the identity of individuals as well as a social group. However, it can also become a problem and hurdle to communication, which behooves language planning. Tamazight language planning is very crucial, particularly from the time it acquires a place in Algerian schools. This process evokes many questions as: which variety to be standardized and taught at schools for Berberophone speakers and Arabophone speakers, does standardization concern each variety alone or refer to the creation of a new language based on different varieties of

Tamazight? Which writing system is to be used in writing Tamazight? These questions will be addressed in the following section of this chapter; however, to answer these questions, it is necessarily to highlight the process that leads to this planning, the history of language planning and how it has been defined by different scholars will be presented below.

2.4. Language Planning and its Activities:

Language planning is a term that was first used by Einar Haugen in 1959 describing the attempts made by the Norwegian state to promote a national language. This discipline gave paramount importance to internal language aspects such as, lexicon, orthography, grammar, and how to standardize them through modernization and graphization. In fact this term was coined in response to the need of remedying linguistic conflicts, linked to the founding of the nation-state, following the Second World War. Haugen (1959) describes language planning as:

The activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. In this practical application of linguistic knowledge we are proceeding beyond descriptive linguistic into an area where judgment must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms. Planning implies an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by the planners. It means not only predicting the future on the basis of available knowledge concerning the past, but a deliberate effort to influence it (p.8).

Haugen has later rectified his assumption (1983, 1987) and considered these activities as an outcome of language planning, which are part of the implementation of language planning decisions. Haugen's language planning model is conceived as four stages of language

development in taking crucial steps from a "dialect" to a "language." The four sequential steps are:

- *Norm Selection:* refers to the choice of a language variety for specific purposes. It is combined with official status or national roles in status planning.
- *Codification:* the language that has been selected must be developed to fulfil the requirement placed upon it as a medium of national and international communication. In cases where the language exists only in spoken form or in an unusual writing system (graphization²⁴), rules of spelling and pronunciation should be developed (gramaticalization²⁵). The overall objective is to codify pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary (lexicalization²⁶) to provide a set of commonly used standards.
- *Implementation (acceptance):* this step refers to the process of making use of the chosen language in different domains of everyday life, such as government's writings, administrations, schools, media...etc. This language will be associated with educational progress and social status.
- *Elaboration:* this phase involves the expansion of language functions and the assignment of new codes, such as scientific and technical (this process is referred to it as language modernization by Fishman). The vocabularies need to be updated so that translations from foreign languages can be carried out in a consistent manner. The introduction of new terms should be established based on common guidelines, such as the use of loan words or terms based on endogenous origins.

²⁴ The development of a system of writing.

²⁵ Also known as grammatization or grammaticization, it refers to the process of language by which words representing objects and actions (i.e. nouns and verbs) become grammatical markers (affixes, prepositions, etc.). Thus it creates new function words by a process other than deriving them from existing bound, inflectional constructions, instead deriving them from content words.

²⁶ Lexicalization is the process of adding words, set phrases, or word patterns to a language.

After Haugen's articles 1959 many different theories of LP were developed such as Ray who introduced his theory of language planning in 1963, yet he used the term language standardization instead, his theory was based on three main phases: efficiency, rationality and communality. These components were seen as being abstract, thus the theory was criticized for being theoretical as there is a big gap between theory and practice. Tauli (1968) on the other hand, who belonged to the same instrumental approach as Ray, developed a new model of LP which comprises three main phases: clear, economy and beauty. He was sharply criticized by Ferguson who suggested three dimensional typologies for LP which he named language development. The latter are: Graphization, standardization and modernization. Kloss (1969) come up with two language-planning foci: corpus planning and status planning. According to Kloss there are two major levels of language planning:

- *Corpus planning*: (codification and elaboration by Haugen 1990) this process refers to activities such as creating new terminologies, reforming spelling, the creation of new terms, and modification of old one's or selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code. In other words it refers to the changes or standardizing of certain elements of a language, e.g. lexicon, orthography.
- Status planning: (selection and implementation by Haugen 1990) it refers to the social and political position assigned to language. ie. The allocation of languages or language varieties to given functions such as official language and national language.

Cooper (1989) has added *Acquisition planning* which is concerned with the pedagogical aspects of languages, including the mother tongues, second language and foreign languages. It involves efforts to increase language proficiency in learners, wider distribution of instructional facilities and opportunities, enhancing the effectiveness of teaching methods and materials and such other related activities.

According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 3) "language planning is a body of ideas, laws and regulations, change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change in the language use in one or more communities." Robillard (1997) defined language planning as "a set of deliberate efforts to change languages with regard to their status and corpus" (p. 36). He added that:

language planning operation involves generally four main levels: the evaluation of the situation (identification of problems at the beginning, estimation of the degree of effectiveness, of the measures implemented at various stages, until the final evaluation), policy²⁷ (formulation of objectives, a strategy to achieve them), planning (time scheduling, forecasting, resource management) and actions (concrete operations forming part of the intervention on the language or linguistic situation). These levels are not always explicitly achieved, but are in any case present, at least implicitly, underpinning any action in the field of language (1997, p. 36).

On the other hand Fishman (1974, p. 79) defined it as "the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems". As for cooper "language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their codes" (Cooper1989, p. 45).

Scholars from different fields of study including, sciences, sociology, anthropology, political, have contributed with new visions in describing and explaining language planning. Accordingly terms such as Language engineering (Miller 1950), Language development (loss

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²⁷ Language policy is sometimes used as a synonym to LP; however, language policy refers to the more general linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process. In fact, language policy is theoretical whereas language planning is practical.

1967), Language regulation (Gorman 1973), Language management²⁸ (Neustupny 1986) were used referring more or less to the same activity.

In review of language planning, various definitions have been proposed most of them agree that LP is a language problem solving activity in a community. However, LP can create as many problems, as it claims to solve. Putz (1997) argued that language policy must take into consideration the various opinions and beliefs of the speakers belonging to a social or ethnic group; however, many studies have shown that language planning neglects the minority languages that exists within the nation. India, which represents a huge mosaic of languages and ethnicities, is a case in point, shortly after independence, India wanted to realize its preindependence nationalist dream of having "an Indian language" in place of English which was seen as "a symbol of slavery" (Nayar, 1967, p. 12). Indian LP that was implemented after independence imposed Hindi as the official language; this has led to extreme violence, consequently, the government has passed a law which stipulated that non-Hindi speakers would study their regional languages, Hindi, and English (or another European language), and Hindi speakers would study Hindi, English, and another language. According to Sridhar (1989, p. 22) this process of LP "seeks to accommodate the interests of group identity (mother tongues and regional languages), national pride and unity (Hindi), and administrative efficiency and technological progress (English)".

Language planning doesn't have the same objectives for all language planners. Some of the newly independent countries decided to continue to use the language of their erstwhile colonial masters (English in Singapore, Philippines, and Papua New Guinea), whereas other countries, like Tanzania, Namibia, Malaysia, and Somalia, seek to build a new nation in favor of local languages at the expense of the languages of the colonizers.

²⁸ Though many scholars make a difference between LP and language management, in this work the terms are used interchangeably to refer to the same process.

In countries where multilingualism prevails, more than one official language is recognized such a policy is regarded as a democratic alternative in dealing with multilingualism, such as the case of Canada and Belgium. As it has already been stated, Language planning is any policy perused by a state or an international organization with respect to one or more languages spoken in the territories under its sovereignty, in order to modify its corpus or status, generally to consolidate its use, sometimes to limit its expansion, or even to work towards its eradication as with Franco's attempt to eradicate Basque from Spain by outlawing it from public life.

Minority languages that have been seen as a serious potential threat to national cohesion are nowadays protected and promoted in many states. The latter have understood the benefit of recognizing the linguistic diversity of their nation. Planning decisions will obviously play a very important role in determining what happens to any minority language or languages in a country, they can result in deliberate efforts to suppress such a language,

Indeed language planning concerns not only states to "create homogeneous monolingual" communities but also bilingual communities where minority language strive for prestige and recognition (Benali, 2007, p.229). Minority languages, in Williams' words, are supposed to be at risk because they "tend to be systematically separated from those domains which are crucial for social reproduction, domains such as work, administration, etc." (Williams, 1992, p. 147). In the Algerian context Tamazight which represents a minority language is undergoing several stages of LP which will be described later according to the three separate, yet interrelated, dimensions of LP.

The question of the revitalization of Tamazight is very present in the Algerian linguistic environment. To promote a language in a multilingual country, the language requires standardization on two levels status and corpus planning. Since the 1980s many works have

been done regarding this issue, expressing the need to develop Tamazight, suggesting solutions concerning the writing system, lexical terminologies.. etc. especially in the field of education. We will provide in the following part an overview of Tamazight language planning according to the two main phases of language planning process namely status and corpus. We will then delve into the process of Tamazight teaching at primary schools which represents the bulk of this research.

2.5. Tamazight Language Planning

The process of Tamazight language planning focuses mainly on the development of standard norms. As we have seen earlier, to develop a language is to provide it with teaching and communication means and tools, to unify graphics, to develop a normative grammar and a lexicon of reference that would develop and disseminate this language. This task remains difficult due to practical challenges and multiple choices (different varieties) to adopt certain standard syntactic forms and phrases to be used as a standard. In a point of fact, LP involves "an explicit choice among alternatives" (Fasold 1987, p.246); however, this can be perceived as a threat to other varieties and may lead to national conflicts.

2.5.1. Tamazight Status Planning:

Status planning²⁹ refers to the recognition of the status occupied by (a) language (s). This recognition is related to the role performed by this language in a society. It is then possible to give a status to a language that does not have it, and to remove the status of another language, to reduce the status of a language, to make legal equality to two or three languages at the same time.

²⁹ Though the term status planning is widely used; however, some linguists prefer to use other terms to refer to the same process Fishman (1980) and Cobbarubias (1983) used allocation of function instead of status planning whereas Rubin (1979) used allocation of use.

Aforesaid that after independence the Algerian government's policy aimed at detaching itself from the ex-colonizer, thus it sought to apply the Arabization policy, neglecting the linguistic diversity of the nation. The implementation of the Arabization policy in education was one of the earliest policies of independence which was seen by some as doomed to failure for some linguistic and sociopolitical reasons as "the authorities did not take into account Berber varieties and dialectal Arabic as the people's first languages" (Benrabah,2014, p.51). Any reference to Tamazight was then eliminated and considered as a tool linked to the service of foreigners and neo-colonialism³⁰. This policy was put into practice the day after independence; it was applied in education and was also concerned with administrations and other areas of the environment. However, the beginning of the 2000s represents a turning point in the evolution of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, marked in particular by an opening to multilingualism, which is now becoming a reality on the ground.

In 2002 the parliament made an amendment instituting Tamazight as a "national language" of the country, this decision came after the protests of 2001 in Kabyle regions (mainly Bejaia and Tizi Ouzou). The constitutional amendment is stated as follows: "Islam is the religion of the State" (Cons. 2002. Art. 02) "Arabic is the national and official language "(Cons. 2002. Art. 03) "Tamazight is also a national language. The State is working to promote and develop it in all its linguistic varieties in use on the national territory." (Cons. 2002. Art. 03bis)³¹.

It must be said that Algeria has had several constitutional amendments from 1962 to the present day. Each time it brings changes and modifications by the parliament. On the 6th of February 2016 the Algerian parliament overwhelmingly adopted a revision of the Constitution

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 30 The use of economic, political, cultural, or other pressures to control or influence other countries, especially former dependencies. (Oxford dictionary the 8^{th} edition).

³¹ The original text reads as follows: « L'Islam est la religion de l'État. » (Cons. 2002. Art. 02) « L'arabe est la langue nationale et officielle. » (Cons. 2002. Art. 03) « Le tamazight est également langue nationale. L'Etat oeuvre à sa promotion est à son développement dans toutes ses variétés linguistiques en usage sur le territoire nationale. » (Cons. 2002. Art. 03bis).

to article three³² which states that Tamazight is now an "official language" of the country. Upon that, endowing the official status to Tamazight means that the state will devote more resources and mechanisms to make up the shortfalls that this language has known for years (standardization and implementation). We can then conclude that status planning necessitate the involvement of a body with political authority, such as the government which has the necessary resources, including financial resources. Many official speeches purport that the state is making efforts to enhance and promote Tamazight. Since that date, Tamazight has made some progress in gaining more political recognition, such as the creation of a research center for Tamazight language and culture in 2018, the institutionalization of the 12th of January (Berber New Year known as Yennayer) as a public holiday since 2018 and the inauguration of the Tamazight language academy in January 2017. However, despite the constitutional recognition of Tamazight as a national and official language, the latter is not completely standardized. In addition to that, the state does not specify which variety to standardize; nor does it provide a real academy for the promotion of Tamazight which is supposed to be in charge of the promotion of Tamazight in order to achieve its status as an official language.

2.5.2. Tamazight Corpus Planning:

The process of corpus planning is one of the most difficult challenges that faced language planners (linguists and governmental authorities) in the planning of any language. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p.38) considered corpus planning "as those aspects of language planning

³² The original text reads: "L'arabe est la langue nationale et officielle. L'arabe demeure la langue officielle de l'Etat. Il est créé auprès du Président de la République, un Haut Conseil de la Langue Arabe. Le Haut Conseil est chargé notamment d'œuvrer à l'épanouissement de la langue arabe et à la généralisation de son utilisation dans les domaines scientifiques et technologiques, ainsi qu'à l'encouragement de la traduction vers l'Arabe à cette fin. (Cons. 2016. Art. 03) Tamazight est également langue nationale et officielle. L'Etat œuvre à sa promotion et à son développement dans toutes ses variétés linguistiques en usage sur le territoire national. Il est créé une Académie algérienne de la langue Amazighe, placée auprès du Président de la République. L'Académie qui s'appuie sur les travaux des experts, est chargée de réunir les conditions de promotion de Tamazight en vue de concrétiser, à terme, son statut de langue officielle. Les modalités d'application de cet article sont fixées par une loi organique. (Cons. 2016. Art. 03bis)

which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to language". Bamgbose stated that "most corpus activities are not policy but implementation decisions" (1991, p.110). Hence we can grasp that despite the fact that governmental authorities³³ take part in the process of corpus planning; however, "this work is ideally done by linguistically- sophisticated experts" (Djennane 2016, p.14). In this sense Amery (2001, p.153) stated: "corpus planning includes the establishment of norms of pronunciation and grammar establishing a spelling system elaboration of the lexicon..etc" ergo the task of corpus planning is mainly done by linguists.

Within the process of corpus planning linguists are supposed:

(i) to give the language a terminology for scientific and technical purposes; (ii) to resolve normative/structural questions of correctness, efficiency, and stylistic levels; and/or (iii) to support an ideological cause by eliminating sexist, racist, or militaristic elements in the language" (Clyne, 1992).

2.5.2.1. Selection:

The choice of the variety to be standardized is one of the most sensitive issues in Tamazight language planning. Selecting a language among alternatives (or a variety of language among other varieties) is prominent for any LP procedure. It is often the language of the powerful group which is selected, a variety of ruling class and/or commercial centers. In other cases, the language that is selected is an amalgam of various varieties (Hudson, 1996, p.33) as is the case of Tamazight which is based on its different varieties in Algeria, mainly the Tergui variety which is the best protected variety from exogenous influences (mainly Arabic, French and Spanish). Benali (2007) refers to this as the "pan Algerian form of Tamazight" in which linguists "can gather the vocabulary, the syntactic morphological, and

³³ Language planning can be launched, and then implemented, by different agencies and at different levels, namely at macro (governmental agencies) and micro level (non-governmental agencies such as researchers journalists, teachers ..Etc. (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, p 52),

phonological inventory of the different Tamazight varieties and create a form which relies on all the varieties" (Benali,2007, p.239). This may generate many advantages among which we can mention that speakers of Tamazight varieties will have one language as an "identity reference" (Benali,2007, p.240). Nonetheless, one should not disregard the negative aspect of the pan Tamazight language in that it would have no native speakers. Moreover only educated people can have access to it and make use of it only among them. In addition to that, this standardized language will inevitably create a diglossic situation in which the language that is used at home differs from that acquired at schools (see chapter 4).

2.5.2.2. Standardization:

One of the problems that arise when standardizing or promoting a language for a certain function is the fact of being confronted with a situation of dialectization. This is the case of Tamazight, since this language is spoken in different ways in Algeria, with partially different phonology, vocabulary and syntax. Because Tamazight has no complete standard form yet, variations still exist even within the same variety of Berber and at all levels of the language (syntax, morphology, lexicon, phonetics). This language, which presents sometimes deep variations within the same variety and which can be present in the form of several subvarieties requires to be standardized. Its standardization consists of standardizing its pronunciation, its morphological, grammatical structures and its lexicon, and above all to attenuate the divergences and to suppress the non-functional dialectal forms which are often a source of misunderstandings (Ennaji M. 2004).

Some linguists urge the need to standardize each variety on its own; therefore, it is necessary to study and work on each variety in all its variations to identify gaps and shortfalls. In this context Imarazene said: "It is by unifying and standardizing each of these varieties that the concrete reunification of the mother tongue will be possible and conceivable" (2010,

p 13). This fact will lead us to ask ourselves if it is possible to construct a single Tamazight language from its varieties, without constituting a new form of diglossia (standard Tamazight vs. dialectal Tamazight). Or should each dialect be standardized separately or impose one of the varieties that already exist?

Benali (2007) have used the term semi-standard Tamazight (hereafter SST) to refer to the language that is being under the process of standardization he claimed that "there is actually a form of the language based on Kabyle which is being standardized, but which needs to be developed as it lacks much vocabulary related to learned and educated fields"(p.270). He also added that diglossia already exist between STT and Kabyle. According to Benali (2007) the standardized form of Tamazight can only be understood by educated people who received its education.

2.5.2.3. Lexical Standardization:

Like all languages that have access to the written world, Tamazight must develop its lexicon. Tamazight lexical standardization in Algeria has been initiated by Mouloud Maamri (1970) who has attempted to amalgamate the Berber lexicon in a bilingual dictionary *Amawel* (French/ Berber and Berber/ French). However, much of the lexicons were from the Kabyle variety; thence, this dictionary was much criticized; nevertheless, Amawal remains a landmark in the process of Tamazight lexical standardization.

Tamazight language planners are making use of two main techniques in the standardization of Tamazight namely: *lexical revival* and *neologism*. Reviving ancient lexicons was one way to the standardization of Tamazight lexicon. The lexicons that are used in most varieties are likely to belong to Tamazight standardized lexicon. It was mandatory to create new lexicons S.Chemakh said in this respect: "In order to exist, it was necessary to define new horizons, i.e. to give Berber language access to sectors that were inaccessible to,

and to make it a language with which we can think and speak the current world. To do this, it was necessary to create from the existing lexical stock in Berber, words capable of representing current extra-linguistic realities." (2006:96).

Neologism on the other hand, is another way that is being used to standardize Tamazight lexicon. It refers to the technique of creating new words that did not exist before in a language. The first neologisms were created in the 1940s when some nationalist militants wanted to translate songs to Kabyle. They then had to create new lexical units which would make their message comprehensible and represent new facts and situations. Later, Maameri introduced neologism in a book in 1969 written in the Kabyle variant entitles "les isfra de si Mhand" (the poems of Mr Mhand) such as the word "tazwart" (preface) derived from the Kabyle word "tazwara" (the start).

In the case of an essentially oral language, the selection of a writing system appears, logically, as a major step of standardization.

2.5.2.4. The Writing System:

It is obvious that in the light of the precariousness of oral languages, the written form, which is both interesting and useful, is an important factor in their preservation and development. Tamazight is more and more a language that is being developed, gradually progressing and integrated into different environments. As a result, it is leaving the oral tradition where it had been confined for a long time and is becoming a language that is taught, and a language that is written. Indeed, writing in a language affirmed Bavoux (2003) "is working for the standardization and recognition, it is providing it with texts that will serve as a model, it is equipping it, standardizing it, building it"(p. 31).

The oldest written text found so far, said Benali "goes back to 139 BC in a commemorative stele of Massinissa in Dugga, Tunisia" He also added "no written text like correspondences, literature and studies have been found up to now". (2007, p. 246). This implies that Imazighan (Amazigh people) have always relied on the language of other people with whom they have been in constant contact. Benali (2007) has explained this reliance on the language of others by stating that "All peoples and civilizations that came to the Maghrib had a much more advanced level of knowledge, economic and military power and most importantly written languages like Phoenician, Latin, French and Arabic" (2007, p. 245). This issue has and still preoccupies the linguists, since the writing system of Tamazight in Algeria has not been settled yet.

In fact, Tamazight is written in three alphabets: the Tifinagh alphabet, the Latin alphabet and the Arabic alphabet. Controversy surrounding the writing system is consistently raised and remains a topical issue, three writing systems are adopted; yet which of these systems would be able:" to allow this language to remain in a world where the written word is of a higher value and where the school represents the undisputed place of the transmission of knowledge." (M. Quitout, 2006, 36).

Indeed, with the Arab conquest, the Berbers abandoned Tifinagh in favor of Arabic letters, which was mainly used from the 16th century onwards in Morocco (by the Chleuh) and in Algeria (by the Toureg) from the 19th century onwards, a third type of writing, which is Latin has emerged. It is used by missionaries, soldiers and the various researchers (Mahrazi, 2012). These three types of writing have known effective uses in the Berber world. Niger and Mali are the first two countries to recognize Berber (Tuareg) as one of their national languages, officially adopted the Latin characters in 1966. Morocco officially adopted Tifinagh in 2003. As for Algeria, the question is still pending.

2.5.2.4.1. Tifinagh Writing System:

Tifinagh is from Libyco-Berber., it dates back to the 6th century BC. It has been used since antiquity throughout the Berber-speaking area and it continued to be used by the Tuareg until today. The origin of Tifinagh letter remains obscure because they are found in several places and in different forms. André Basset (1969, p. 47) stated that "the letters of these alphabets are related to the "Libyan". Thousand inscriptions are discovered in North Africa: in Morocco, Algeria and in Tunisia." Some of these inscriptions are bilingual (Libyan/Punic or libyque/latin). According André Basset (1969), among the two Libyan-Punic bilinguals of Dougga in Tunisia, only 21 out of 24 signs are identified.

Several varieties are distinguished:

- The eastern Libyan variant: established on the basis of ancient inscriptions from northwest Tunisia and northeast Algeria.
- The variant of the western Libyan language: based on ancient inscriptions in Morocco and northwestern Algeria.
- The Saharan variant: which is at the basis of the inscriptions of southern Algeria, Libya, Niger and Mali.
- Canarian variant: which existed in the Canary Island in Spain.

The following table shows the diversity of the Tifinagh writing system:

| V | L/or | L/oc | Sah | Н | G | D | Y | W | T | AB |
|---|----------|----------|---------|-----|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|-----|----|
| b | 0 | Θ Φ | 0 | 0 | Θ | Θ | Ф | Φ | Θ | Φ |
| d | п | П | С | ПΛ | п | V | V | V | V | ٨ |
| d | | | С | Ε | Ε | Ε | Ε | Ε | Ε | Ε |
| f | X | × | Н | 30 | 30 | I | 님 | 30 | I | 30 |
| g | _ | _ | ۸۷* | X | ı F | .1. | .l. | : : | 1: | X |
| h | = | ≡ | 1111 | : | : | : | 1 | : | : | Ø |
| ķ | Y? | | | | | | | | | ٨ |
| h | | | April 1 | :: | :: | :: | | | | × |
| k | = | = | 11 | .: | .: | •: | •: | •: | •: | R |
| 1 | | | = | | - | 11 | 1 | - 11 | - 1 | - |
| m | С | С | П | С | С | С | С | С | С | С |
| n | | 1 | - | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| q | ÷? | ÷ | 8 | *** | ••• | : •• | | :: | :: | E |
| γ | ÷? | ÷ | ≡ | 1 | : | : | ::: | 1 | 111 | Y |
| r | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| S | X | X | JI. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| c | 1 | { | W | C | C | 8 | C | C | | C |
| ş | - | Η- | 8 | | Ε | | | | | Ø |
| t | + X | Х | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| ţ | + | E | ~ | E | Ε | Ε | | + | E | 7 |
| w | = | = | 11 | : | : | : | : | : | : | П |
| у | 5 | 5 | 5 | Σ | 3 | Σ | 3 | Σ | | п |
| Z | - | _ | ш | * | # | Ĭ | * | HIRE | * | * |
| Ż | ш | ш | П | # | * | # | * | * | * | x |
| j | Н | ш | | | | | | | | I |
| a | | | 1 | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| i | | | | (Σ) | (Σ) | (Σ) | | | | Σ |
| u | | | | (:) | (:) | (;) | | | | : |

Table.2.1. Tifinagh Alphebet (Prasse 1972)

V = value D = Adrar

L/oc = Western Lybic Y = Ayer

 $L/or = Eastern \ Lybic$ W = Iwelmedan

Sah = Sah Saharan Tifinagh T = Tanslemt

H = Hoggar AB = Neo-tifinagh of the Berber Academy

G = Ghat Sah column, * means that two or three

signs are used for one single alphabet.

These alphabets are strictly consonantal, it has no vowels; hence, it has been adapted to Tamazight spoken varieties. As a result the direction of this writing is often from top to bottom, but also from left to right or right to left. This writing has not been used as a support for literary production or historical memory, neither to the Tuaregs nor to the other Berber speakers. According to Karl- G. Prasse (2000), "they [the Tuaregs] use it only to short inscriptions on weapons and jewellery or for short messages,[...] they are unable to read long texts. [...], for them, it's a painful operation. [...] to understand the meaning of the text, they must read and reread until they obtain the meaning".

In 2003, Morocco officially opted for Tifinagh. According to Boukous (2007), IRCAM has developed a writing system that takes into account four principles: historicity, simplicity, the univocity of the sign and economy. Indeed, for Boukous (2003, p.17), the choice of this alphabet" is based on a phonological approach, which has the advantage of unifying Amazigh³⁴ at the written level while allowing particular phonetic achievements in the pronunciation of phonetic units, accent, intonation, rhythm, etc". Whereas in Algeria Tifinagh is used only by the Tergui population. Benali has explained this by saying that: "The reason can be found in the fact that because it is a written form that has never been a means of literature writing on the one hand, and the many period of time during which its – limited–

³⁴ In Morocco they often use the term Amazigh referring to Tamazight language.

use has been abandoned by Tamazight writers themselves on the other hand" (2007, p.246). The Berber Academy of Paris (1967) introduced some modifications to some of the letters and added others like vowels in order to adapt it to Berber speaking verities since then, many official adaptations have been made in associations, especially in Morocco and Algeria. The following table highlights the Berber Academy (AB) writing system and the different systems developed afterwards: Salem Chaker³⁵, Association Afus Deg Wfus³⁶, Revue Tifinagh³⁷ (Morocco), Agraw Imazighen³⁸ (AB) and Arabia Ware Benelux.

³⁵ Salem Chaker, Berber teacher at Inalco.

³⁶ From the software of the Afus Deg Wfus Association (Roubaix).

³⁷ Published on the back cover of each copy of the Tifinagh Review (published in Morocco).

³⁸ System developed by the Berber Academy (Agraw Imazighen).

| Valeur | Chaker | Afus | Rev. Tif. | AB | AWB |
|--------|--------|------|-----------|------|-----|
| b | 0 | Φ | Ф | Φ | Ф |
| d | ۸ | ٨ | ٨ | ۸ | ٨ |
| d | E | Ε | ۵ | E | E |
| f | 30 | 30 |] | 30 | ж |
| g | × | x | x | × | x |
| h | = | Ø | Ø | Ø | Ø |
| ķ | | ٨ | Α | ٨ | Α. |
| h | :: | × | × | × | × |
| k | ⇒ | K | R | K | R |
| 1 | ll l | | 1 1 | - 11 | И |
| m | С | С | С | С | С |
| n | 1 | 1 | | | |
| q | = | E | E E | E | 2 |
| γ | : | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| r | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| S | II | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| С | G | c | G | c | c |
| ş | H | Ø | Ø | Ø | Ø |
| t | × | + | + | + | + |
| ţ | Œ | E | J | ၂ | E |
| W | = | U | U | U | U |
| у | Σ | п | п | п | п |
| Z | * | * | * | * | * |
| Ż | # | x | × | × | * |
| j | I | I | I | I | I |
| a | • | • | • | • | |
| a i | 5 | Σ | Σ | Σ | Σ |
| u | : | : | : | : | : |
| e | | ÷ | ÷ | ÷ | ÷ |
| tc | | E | 7 | € | € |
| dj | | x | x | X | X |
| ts | | Ł | Ł | Ł | Ł |
| Γ | | | | | Ó |
| â | | : | 0 | • | 0 |

Table 2.2. *Tifinagh writing system developed by different associations.*

There are many types of Tifinagh alphabets, developed by different agencies, far from being unified by use, this fact made it difficult to use Tifinagh in writing and at schools. The defenders of this type of writing claim that this remarkable and significant system of writing is prestigious and represents the Berber identity; therefore, adopting them is considered as a loyalty to the elders and a mark of pride in the Berber origins. In addition to that, its use will mark the historical affiliation of the Berber language to the world of writing.

Nowadays, especially after the official recognition of Tamazight, this type of writing is mainly found in sign boards, road signs, advertising signs..etc. The following Figure is an example of the use of the Tiphinagh in the Algerian linguistic landscape (See Appendix 05).



Figure.2.1. The use of Tifinagh in the Algerian linguistic landscape

In this respect Chaker (1996, p. 4) claimed: "We notice, however, that whatever the symbolic force of this writing is, its uses remain limited and essentially emblematic (titles of books, signs boards short texts...); no consequent publication, no literary work has been written or published in Tifinagh during the last years" (as cited in Benali2007, p. 249). Moreover, the use of Tifinagh carries many disadvantages. Based on the work of Maharazi (2012) the drawbacks of this form of writing can be summarized in the coming points:

- ✓ This alphabet is almost unknown to the majority of Berberphones.
- ✓ Tifinagh alphabet must be standardized and revised; in addition to that this requires financial and technical resources before being used for teaching.
- ✓ Everything that has already been done in Latin grammar (lexicons, grammars, texts...) must be transcribed into Tifinagh.
- ✓ Writing Tamazight using Tifinagh alphabet would certainly separate the Berbers from most of the existing documentations (dictionaries, collections of poems, collections of tales, novels, plays, periodicals, grammar books, etc.) transcribed into Latin letters; it would therefore be necessary to start over from scratch, which is loss of a lot of time.

2.5.2.4.2. The Arabic Writing System:

Arabic writing is used in Morocco by the Chleuh, and by the Chaouis and Mozabites in Algeria. In the Kabylie regions, on the other hand, Arabic writing system is used only among people with Arabic background. Supporters of this choice claim that, the Arabic alphabet is known and mastered by the majority of the Maghreb populations because of the Arabization policy conducted by these countries; furthermore, it symbolizes national unity.

The transcription of Arabic prints is phonetic. The most updated Arabic graphic system is that of Mohammed Chafiq. Unlike the old systems, the latter is based in part on a phonological study. It includes 31 consonants, including:

• 20 simple consonants



• 5 emphatic letters :

• 3Affricats:

• 3 Labio-velars:

Arabic prints have no vowels, in this context. Mahrazi (2012) said "instead they are rendered by the damma for (u), fatḥa (-) for (a) and kasra (-) for (i)" (p. 33).

Studies have shown that Arabic letters have widely been used to write Tamazight, this is because of the great impact Arabic had on Tamazight. This opinion, which also has its defenders, who put forward arguments relating, in particular, to the genealogical relationship between the Arabs and Imazighan, the familiarity of the Arabic alphabet with Tamazight, in

addition to the religious affinity they have with the Arab letters.(M, Quitout:2006). Benali (2007) stated that: "The two languages – Arabic and Tamazight- descend from the same source language and have therefore many component in common among which is the fact that both are consonantal language in which vowels are inserted" (p.250). Chaker (1992, p.221) provides examples from both Semitic and Tamazight language to show that lexical items may have the same root. These examples are:

| Semitic | Tamazight |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| /lbs/" to wear" | /\$li/ "high" |
| /ləs/"to wear" | / <i>æli</i> / "go up" |

As we can see the relation between Arabic and Tamazight is unquestionable; however, the absence of vowels in Arabic would be a major handicap in transcribing Tamazight where "vowels play an absolutely fundamental role in lexical and, often, even grammatical distinctions" (Chaker, 2007). Furthermore, the absence of capital letters which have The function of distinctiveness (beginning of the sentence, proper nouns). This represents one of the disadvantages of this type of writing. It also has been proven earlier that the Arabic print doesn't represent some Tamazight sound, basically the velar fricatives that do not exist in Arabic.

Here are some examples:

/ Oæğærə/ "the end"

/iğæni/ "the sky"

/kəmini/ "you" (addressing a female)

/kətfini/ "you" (addressing a male)

Nevertheless, these examples cannot be considered as being cogent reasons to refuse the use of Arabic scripts, especially when Arab prints can refer to these phonemes by adding diacritics, as is the case of Turkish when the latter has adopted Latin scripts. Dourari (2006, p. 24) recommended the use of Arab letters and refused the idea of "writing Tamazight in Arabic is an act of Arabization" (as cited in Benali, 2007, p. 252). These arguments seem to be reasonable; however, the use of Arabic letter in transcribing Tamazight is still rejected by the majority of Berber linguists in Algeria. This refusal, mainly by the Kabyle community, may be related to the process of Arabization that was implemented right after independence. Tamazight was banned from use and considered as a hazard to the Algerian unity; accordingly, the use of the Arabic letter is discarded. Hence, employing a writing system which is already forsaken will neither promulgate nor promote the language.

2.5.2.4.3. The Latin Writing System:

The Latin alphabet, which competes, on the one hand, with Tifinagh, which is the authentic Berber alphabet, and on the other hand, with the Arabic script, which is considered sacred, is "used since the end of the nineteenth century by Western linguists who have carried out an important work on the description of the different varieties, in particular A. Basset, L. Galand, E. Destaing or the White Fathers of Kabylia" (Aghali- Zakara, 1994, as cited in Marazi, 2012, p. 6).

In Algeria, for more than a century, every Berber intellectual (mainly Kabyle) who produced in Berber used Latin characters (Bensedira, Boulifa, Feraoun, Amrouche, Mammeri and many others...). At the beginning, using Latin in Tamazight transcription was influenced by the French spelling. Nowadays; however, this system of writing (Latin) has increasingly been improved and oriented towards a phonological alphabet.

The current spelling is therefore "the result of a real painstaking work. After long trial and error, this script tends to stabilize and to homogenize, under the decisive influence of an effort made by Berber specialists for half a century" (Marazi, 2012, p.4). The most recent is the script developed by the Berber Research Center - INALCO³⁹ (1993, 1996, 1998). This system includes 31 letters, including:

- 20 simple consonant: b, c, d, f, g, h, H, j, k, l, m, n, Y, q, r, s, t, x, z, ε
- 4 vowels: a, i, u, e.
- 2 semi-vowels: w, y.
- 2 semi-occlusive: ĝ, č.
- **3emphatic:** Z, D, T.

Among all the writing systems proposed, Latin seems to be predominant, judging by the enormous scientific and literary production of recent decades. This spelling has already been standardized and refined through decades of work by Berber-speaking linguists internationally. Chaker (2006) as affirmed that:

A wide diffusion of Berber necessarily relies on Latin spelling, because the essential scientific documentation is available in this script; because a significant work of development of this script has been carried out, for at least fifty years; because the essential of the general public production, in Meghrib as in Europe, uses this alphabet (p. 1).

Latin letters, which have the advantage of being easily adapted to the particular phonologies of the different languages, are widely used and have acquired universal status as they serve as a vehicle for many languages of wide distribution, including those with their own writing.(M.Quitout, 2010, p.8).

³⁹ Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO), is a French research institution of higher education which teaches languages and civilizations other than those of Western European origin.

It is in relation to the colonial past that this system of writing is meeting resistance, and even rejection. Yet the Latin alphabet is highly adaptable, it has the enormous advantage of providing Tamazight with an immediate access to modernity and universality, which is not the case for; neither Arabic, nor Tifinagh alphabets.

The Algerian authorities have decided to leave the field open concerning the choice of the writing system of Tamazight language, at least in the short and medium term. In fact, the choice of Tamazight writing system is very difficult. Imposing one type of writing on learners will not be a solution because each region has already made its choice, in Kabylie regions for example, the choice of Latin script to transcribe Tamazight seems unavoidable, speakers and other users categorically refuse to transcribe Tamazight using another type of writing than Latin. In the Chaoui and Mzab regions, the writing system that is preferred is the Arabic one, rejecting any other proposal. As for the southern Berber-speaking regions, the people concerned opted for Tifinagh letters. However, if we analyze and measure the benefits and the drawbacks of each system of writing, we will opt for Latin script. This is the opinion of most specialists in the field. Prasse (2000) advocate the use of Latin prints, he has insisted on using the Latin, and he asserted that:

The most practical thing to do is to adapt the Latin alphabet, because we have developed in this alphabet many special characters to write many different languages and it has never been done in Arabic. You have some special letters to write Persian, Afghani and so on... but, in general, you don't have a wide variety of consonant signs which are necessary to write Tamazight. And when you want to write Tuareg, the problem lies in writing vowels because in Arabic you have access to the writing of only three vowels (Prasse, 2000).

Views regarding the choice of the script vary between the use of Tifinagh, Arabic or Latin Alphabets: However, other views advocate the use of the three types of writing depending on

the choice of each region Chachou (2018) has stated in this respect "It is also important to allow diversity in the choice of graphics and teaching materials rather than working towards a single one. This makes it possible to take into account the cultural particularities of each region and to respect the scriptural and graphic traditions that have been in use there for several centuries"(22).

2.6. The Introduction of Tamazight into the Algerian Educational System:

The issue of teaching Tamazight in Algeria is an extremely complex and sensitive one, it is therefore important to approach it in a way that is as clear-headed and balanced as possible. The factors underlying Tamazight teaching are inextricably linked and intertwined, in as much as political, social, cultural, economic, religious and pedagogical components interfere with each other. In actual fact the incorporation of Tamazight in the educational system follows a series of socio-political events that do not need to be detailed here, but are worth mentioning, as they were decisive in the decline of language policies in Algeria, which until 2001 were hostile to any form of recognition of the Tamazight language and culture.

Tamazight, long marginalized, didn't have any institutional experience in its teaching, except few experiments conducted in Kabylie regions in cultural associations and university. The teaching of Tamazight has known its first steps at the faculty of Algiers since 1967 with the courses of Mouloud Mammeri, its teaching was essentially based on the mastery of the language, without language management, without didactic tools and without the training of teachers. The latter mainly used Mammeri's two main works: tajerrumt (grammar) and amawal (neological lexicon).

In the hope of integrating Tamazight into the uses alongside Arabic and French, the introduction of Tamazight in official fields, has been achieved through social pressure. In

1990, two departments of Tamazight language and culture were launched, one at the university of Tizi-Ouzou (1990), the other one at the University of Bejaia (1991). The recognition of Tamazight was a way towards peace and social stability in Algeria. Its implementation in the educational system was only made following a protest movement, which resulted in a year of school boycott during the schooling year 1994-1995 in Kabyle regions. Furthermore, the position of Tamazight in the Media was also endorsed, and Tamazight channels were launched. The latter has benefited from two important institutions, two Kabyle regional radio stations were founded: radio Soummam in Bejaia(2000) and radio Tizi Ouzou in Tizi Ouzou (2011), in addition to the creation of television in Tamazight (TV4) in 2009.

Indeed, the official inclusion of Tamazight at schools began in 1995 following the decision taken by the Algerian State to establish the High Council of Amazighity (HCA). In 1996, Tamazight was included as a component of the Algerian identity based on Islam, Arabism and Tamazight in the text of the preamble to the Constitution. On the 10th of February 2002, the President of the Republic Abed Al Aziz Boutaflika has adopted a landmark decision in the Constitution, amending article number three, which stipulates that Tamazight language is a national language and that the State shall seek to promote and develop it, in all its linguistic diversity that are used in the national territory. However, the Ministry of National Education (MNE) with the collaboration of the HCA had preceded this constitutional amendment by incorporating Tamazight in some schools, since the entry of the school year 1995/1996, although the practical procedures for teaching Tamazight language had not yet been developed, it has begun to include Tamazight on an experimental basis and as an optional subject at middle schools for grade nine and the third grade of secondary school. It should be noted that, the acknowledgment of Tamazight in the educational system couldn't have been conceived without the essential contribution of the Ministry of National

Education with the High Council of Amazighity. The latter have then combined their efforts to further strengthen the steps towards a successful approach of Tamazight teaching.

At the outset of teaching Tamazight, the HCA and the MNE drew up a long-term strategy based on three phases. The first phase is a pre-experimental phase followed by a more focused experimental phase at middle schools (the second phase). This strategy has shaped Tamazight's teaching configuration until 2014/2015. The third phase was devoted to the expansion of Tamazight all over Algeria; new configuration is emerging with the gradual generalization from the primary school, since 2016. This new language policy concerns all pupils in all parts of Algeria, regardless of their ethnic or linguistic background.

This first phase included 16 provinces selected according to the availability of teachers and professors who participated in the summer University, which was organized by the high council of Amazighity. At that time, 337.700 pupils benefited from this education. In the second phase, the teaching of Tamazight was then expanded to cover all years of intermediate and secondary education, bringing the general census of pupils enrolled in the year 2000/2001 to 72.359 pupils. Tamazight's enrolment into primary education was at the beginning of the school year 2004/2005 and was specific to grade four, with maintaining the optional nature of this education. In addition, Tamazight language exam was introduced in the school exams, for pupils who have followed this education, starting from the 9th grade's national final exam at middle schools in 2007 and in 2008 for 3rd grade's national final exam of the baccalaureate at secondary school. the tables below show the global evolution of Tamazight in the educational system, including all levels (primary, middle and high schools), in the 16 states that were first concerned with the teaching of Tamazight, from 1995/1996 to 2001/2002, and from 2002/2003 till 2014/2015, along with the number of pupils as well as teachers in each province. The following Tables display the evolution of Tamazight teaching from 1995 till 2015.

| Province | Year | 95/96 | 96/97 | 97/98 | 98/99 | 99/2000 | 00/01 | 01/02 |
|--------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| Tizi-ouzou | P | 13440 | 32315 | 27127 | 24530 | 23629 | 30457 | 25680 |
| 1121 00200 | Т | 81 | 74 | 96 | 83 | 83 | 85 | 97 |
| Pairio | P | 7941 | 9663 | 15953 | 13695 | 13473 | 22497 | 22434 |
| Bejaia | Т | 48 | 38 | 56 | 44 | 44 | 45 | 57 |
| Bouira | P | 9000 | 9654 | 11873 | 11664 | 11474 | 13517 | 14334 |
| Douna | T | 28 | 29 | 34 | 31 | 32 | 34 | 38 |
| Setif | P | 548 | 626 | 971 | 1526 | 2616 | 690 | 1217 |
| Seui | T | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 9 | 4 |
| Khanchla | P | 483 | 715 | 244 | 490 | 562 | 265 | 499 |
| Kiiaiiciiia | T | 6 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Boumerdes | P | 1078 | 785 | 1152 | 533 | 698 | 1394 | 1843 |
| Doumerdes | T | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Tamanrassat | P | 114 | 370 | 505 | 942 | 465 | 440 | 440 |
| 1 amam assat | T | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

| Oum Bouaki | P | 1462 | 1335 | 4785 | 1375 | 2262 | 2382 | 2367 |
|------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Oum Douani | Т | 6 | 5 | 13 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| Bordj | P | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bouaririj | T | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Algiers | P | 349 | 479 | 436 | 465 | 339 | 479 | 61 |
| Aigiers | Т | 8 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Batna | P | 805 | 632 | 293 | 49 | 78 | 73 | 0 |
| Datna | T | 9 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| El Bayad | P | 9 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | T | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Illizi | P | 80 | 135 | 0 | 119 | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| IIIIZI | T | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Tipaza | P | 980 | 576 | 76 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 April 20 | T | 11 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Oran | P | 127 | 220 | 55 | 75 | 55 | 25 | 0 |

| | T | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Ghardaia | P | 584 | 158 | 124 | 64 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dialore | Т | 654 | 255 | 191 | 127 | 108 | 140 | 120 |
| Biskra | P | 9 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Total numb pupils | er of | 37690 | 57934 | 63898 | 55730 | 55958 | 72359 | 68995 |
| Total numb | | 233 | 196 | 222 | 184 | 191 | 193 | 217 |

Table 2.3. The evolution of Tamazight teaching from 1995 till 2002 (as cited in Bilek, 2018, p. 9)

| Province | Year | 02/03 | 03/04 | 04/05 | 05/06 | 06/07 | 07/08 | 08/09 | 09/10 | 10/11 | 11/12 | 12/13 | 13/14 | 14/15 |
|----------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Tizi- Ouzou | P | 35102 | 39085 | 43006 | 47645 | 60181 | 65522 | 82228 | 93947 | 100016 | 105988 | 113396 | 120121 | 119072 |
| Ouzou | T | 129 | 140 | 189 | 251 | 297 | 310 | 453 | 558 | 628 | 731 | 802 | 873 | 910 |
| Daioia | P | 22769 | 29773 | 25433 | 26687 | 29245 | 331339 | 40669 | 47162 | 54739 | 56446 | 57469 | 61032 | 65095 |
| Bejaia | Т | 57 | 102 | 98 | 129 | 222 | 188 | 240 | 313 | 370 | 372 | 460 | 503 | 525 |
| Bouira | P | 14680 | 17384 | 19027 | 21823 | 27447 | 25454 | 19956 | 26590 | 28474 | 27525 | 25833 | 27541 | 26473 |
| Douira | T | 44 | 70 | 70 | 96 | 112 | 104 | 110 | 153 | 167 | 177 | 180 | 173 | 177 |
| Setif | P | 332 | 390 | 904 | 1543 | 2410 | 2519 | 1862 | 2802 | 3826 | 4561 | 6023 | 6004 | 5936 |
| Setti | T | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 169 | 24 | 32 | 38 | 42 |
| Khanchla | P | 329 | 244 | 429 | 328 | 323 | 277 | 230 | 590 | 560 | 543 | 595 | 436 | 448 |
| Milanenia | Т | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

| Boumerdes | P | 3215 | 1978 | 2125 | 2647 | 2541 | 3205 | 3355 | 3846 | 4732 | 5806 | 5472 | 5767 | 7444 |
|-------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Т | 13 | 5 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 14 | 17 | 21 | 24 | 27 | 33 | 50 |
| Tamanrasset | P | 235 | 226 | 321 | 321 | 894 | 312 | 712 | 663 | 615 | 925 | 1049 | 1049 | 1624 |
| | T | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 |
| О-Е-В | P | 2476 | 2427 | 2437 | 2432 | 2327 | 1357 | 3253 | 2105 | 3152 | 1240 | 700 | 1040 | 1023 |
| | Т | 7 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| B-B-A | P | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 215 | 442 | 803 | 1446 |
| D-D-A | Т | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 12 |
| Alaiona | P | 30 | 278 | 54 | 151 | 1643 | 150 | 63 | 49 | 37 | 40 | 41 | 35 | 35 |
| Algiers | Т | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Batna | P | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1446 | 4267 | 1158 | 1517 | 14425 | 18836 | 22414 | 23670 | 23568 | 23201 |

| Total | Т | 257 | 334 | 387 | 520 | 668 | 668 | 907 | 1148 | 1330 | 1427 | 16254 | 1790 | 1902 |
|----------|---|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | P | 79168 | 91785 | 93731 | 105182 | 130308 | 139089 | 162697 | 193226 | 213075 | 225210 | 234690 | 247396 | 251797 |
| Biskra | T | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| D. I | P | 174 | 223 | 249 | 209 | 228 | 149 | 91 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ghardaia | Т | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Cl. 1. | P | 0 | 76 | 67 | 35 | 55 | 55 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Т | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 21 | 36 | 65 | 87 | 113 | 80 | 134 | 148 | 169 |

Table 2.4. The evolution of Tamazight teaching in Algeria from 2002 till 2015 (as cited in Bilek, 2018, p.9)

From the tables above, we can notice that the teaching of Tamazight in some provinces (wilayas) has witnessed a decline in the number of both pupils and teachers from one year to another till a total extinction in El Bayadh (1997), Tipaza (1999), Illizi (1999/2000), Ghardaia (2000) which resumed again in 2003 and stopped ones again in 2009, Oran (2002) and finally Biskra (2010), (Bilek, 2018, p.10). However, this should not obscure the positive side of this quantitative aspect. Broadly speaking, the number has increased in other states, like Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia, from one year to another, in spite of the varying fluctuations in others. Studies done by the HCA, tried to look for answers why the process of Tamazight Teaching has declined in some cities and stopped in the six mention cities, results have shown that there were so many difficulties being common to all the teachers of the 16 states, in addition to other factors which were implanted to this situation, such as the hostility which was displayed and translated by bureaucratic practices, no application of the ministerial circulars, various pedagogical problems including inconvenient time tables, insignificant coefficient, the none recognition of the grades obtained in Tamazight in the pupils bulletins. By the same token, there were so many socio-professional problems such as unpaid wages over two or three years, instability and insecurity in relation to the status of the teacher for those whose level did not correspond to the conditions required by the public employment.

Indeed, the first attempt to the official teaching of Tamazight has recorded a high rate of school wastage, this has touched mainly the states where the majority of the inhabitants are Arabophones, such as Oran, Illizi, El Bayed; therefore, we can assume that the decline in the number of pupils, which eventually lead to a decline in the number of teachers, is due to the distance between the language of the school and that of the learner's current use. Moreover, even Berberophone states have ascertained a high number of dropouts, based on the report of the HCA (2004) which asserts that the reason is that the language they learn isn't the one they

already master and use at home, such as the case of Tipaza, where the majority of the inhabitants are Chnaoua, and Ghardaia, where the majority are Mzab.

After the amendment of the constitution on the 6th of February 2016, which recognizes the officialization of Tamazight, which constitutes an integral part of the Algerian linguistic patrimony, Tamazight language was incorporated at schools in different parts of Algeria. This generalization was the main objective of the third phase of the plan made by the MNE and the HCA. The plan is based on the incorporation of T in the educational system in the short term (2016/2017- 2017/2018- 2018/2019) by increasing the number of teachers, (hiring more teachers), solving the question of supervision, the optional nature of the language, the removal of the requirement of residence for Tamazight diplomats to pass entrance examinations in the states that are concerned with the teaching of this language. The following table displays the geographical generalization of Tamazight teaching, 2015/2016 and 2017/2018.

| | 2014/2015 | | 2015/2016 | | 2017/2018 (situat | tion (| of November 2017) |
|---|-----------------|----|--------------------|----|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
| 1 | Tizi Ouzou | | Algiers(east,west) | 22 | Tebessa | 33 | Naama |
| 2 | Bejaia | 12 | IIIlizi | 23 | Chlef | 34 | Ain Timouchent |
| 3 | Bouira | 13 | Adrar | 24 | Tindouf | 35 | Laghouat |
| 4 | Batna | 14 | Tlemcen | 25 | Saida | 36 | Jijel |
| 5 | BBA | 15 | Ain Defla | 26 | Mila | | |
| 6 | Setif | 16 | Oran | 27 | Blida | | |
| 7 | Tamanrasset | 17 | Ghardaia | 28 | Skikda | | |
| 8 | Boumerdes | 18 | Bechar | 29 | Annaba | | |
| 9 | Algiers(center) | 19 | Sidi Belabbes | 30 | Ouargla | | |

| 10 | O.E.B | 20 | Biskra | 31 | Mostaganem |
|----|----------|----|-----------|----|------------|
| 11 | Khenchla | 21 | Ghelizane | 32 | Tisemsilt |

Table2.5. The geographical generalization of Tamazight teaching, 2015/2016 and 2017/2018 (as cited in Bilek, 2018, p.10).

As shown in this table, the expansion of Tamazight teaching has noticed a rapid geographical evolution and reached 36 states. This leads us to believe that the process of generalization must continue gradually with short, medium and long-term planning.

In fact, The MNE, and HCA has promised that Tamazight teaching will reach the 48 states in the school year 2018-2019, but without covering all schools in the national territory. The process has begun, prioritizing horizontal or geographical generalization with essential consolidation and reinforcement at the primary level.

Today that the language has been granted an official status, its teaching has started to reach all states of Algeria. Tamazight teaching, as it was desired, will inevitably be generalized, this will be accomplished when training holders of university degrees in this field of study (Tamazight), which is currently available at the level of only four universities Bouira, Batna, Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia. The teaching of Tamazight is directed to the coming generation, who especially are at primary schools, to study it alongside with Arabic and this is within the educational strategic framework of the Algerian school which is extended to 2030 which will allow the future generation to control the two languages (Arabic and Tamazight). All Algerian citizens will understand and communicate with each other in both languages, there will be no linguistic barriers between citizens, and ultimately, this will enhance social cohesion and build a sense of national belonging.

2.7. Conclusion:

This chapter provided an outline of language attitudes and language planning. To better understand language attitudes, it is indispensable to distinguish what attitudes are and to differentiate them from other terms. For this reason, the initial part of this chapter has presented descriptions of language attitudes and attitudes by a number of researchers and from a wide range of different perspectives. An overview of associated terms was also presented, in addition to discussing the main factors that have an impact on language attitudes. The second part of this chapter addressed language planning and its activities in addition to presenting a detailed account of the introduction of T to the Algeria educational system. The following chapter provides the instruments used to answer the research questions.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction:

This chapter delineates the methodology and research approach used in the present study. It also describes the instruments used in data collection and provides profile of the informants as well as relevant ethical issues.

As it has been mentioned in the previous chapters, the current work is a case study research and case studies provide an opportunity to examine the specificities of the communities under study. This study provides an exploration of the particularities of the Arabophone community in the city of Oran regarding the incorporation of Tamazight in the primary school. It also sheds light on the circumstances surrounding TTT in an Arabophone area. Nonetheless, and as with any other approach, case study approach has its drawbacks. Many researches argue that case study research can be biased i.e. subjective (see Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2011). Hence, in order not to fall into the flaws of this approach, the researcher opted for a pilot study (see section 3.5). Moreover, the risk of subjectivity is minimized in this research due to the fact of using different data collection instruments. Before delving further into the method and instruments used, a brief description of Oran city will be outlined.

3.2. Oran city:

The present work is conducted in the city of Oran which is a major seaside city, situated in the north-west of Algeria. By virtue of its commercial industrial and cultural potential it represents the second important city of Algeria after the capital Algiers, According to the 2008 census, the town has more than 609,940 inhabitants. At the start of the 21st century, Oran is one of the major agglomerations of the Maghreb and regularly approaches 1,000,000.

Linguistically two different communities have been living in Oran since the Arab-Islamic conquests, namely the Berber-speaking community, representing the minority group in the city, and the Arabic-speaking community, which represents the majority group. The choice of this city is purposeful in the sense that Arabophone speakers are the majority group in Algeria, hence the results achieved may be generalized to all Arabophone regions.

Prior to the description of the corpus along with the methods of data collection, it seems important to refer to the different methods that are often used by researchers in measuring language attitudes.

3.3. Methods of measuring attitudes:

Attitudes have a great impact on our cognition and behavior, the factors that trigger these attitudes can be detected and measures; accordingly, to gauge these attitudes researchers may use two types of methods: the direct method and the indirect one.

The direct methods imply asking explicitly the participants to describe their attitudes towards a particular language. Krosnick et al (2005) state that there are three main direct methods; Thurstone's equal-appearing intervals method (1928), Likert's method of summated ratings (1932), and Osgood, Suci, ND Tannenbaum's semantic differential (1957). On the other hand, through the indirect method people's attitudes are measured without letting the participant know that their attitudes are being measured. The technique that is mostly used in measuring attitudes indirectly is the 'matched-guise' technique introduced by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960).

Language attitudes have captured the attention of scholars and researchers due to their prevalence and relevance to language acquisition and social interaction. They become particularly topical in the context of minority languages. Thence, we seek through this work

to explore the attitudes of Arabophone citizens, in the city of Oran, towards the incorporation of Tamazight in primary educational system. In the following section, the data collection method adopted for this work will be provided.

3.4. Data collection methods:

Data collection methods are varied and the choice of one of them depends essentially on the nature of the targets and the hypotheses assumed. For each research, a suitable instrument and technique must be designed and constructed. This study is a multiple methods study, relying on instruments often linked with the quantitative survey approach, essentially the questionnaire, and on techniques regularly used in the qualitative approach such as interviews and observations.

3.5. Triangulation:

In order to collect data, we have made use of qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative research "describes, infers, and resolves problems using numbers, emphasis is placed on the collection of numerical data, the summary of those data and the drawing of inferences from the data" Herbst, F et all (2004, p.15). On the other hand "information is considered qualitative in nature if it cannot be analyzed by means of mathematical techniques." Herbst, F et all (2004, p.13).

In fact, a set of tools was used namely: questionnaires, interviews and observations, the use of more than one tool in data collection is generally known as triangulation which is defined by Wendy Olsen(2004) as:" a mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoint or standpoint cost light upon the topic". Using different instruments of data collection allows a certain degree of triangulation, whereby the findings of one data source can be verified

against those of another source. This in itself provides a kind of guarantee of validity and accuracy.

Indeed, applying multiple methods sparks an accurate and thorough depiction of the participants (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2011 and Hakim 1987), which "allows a more rounded, holistic, study than with any other design" (Hakim 1987, p.61, as cited in Sanaa Bichani, 2015, p.78).

Triangulation is defined as a process where different approaches to a research object are combined in order to increase the validity and quality of the results obtained (Denzin, 1978; Flick, 1998; Apostolidis, 2003). Cohen and Manion (2000) define triangulation as an "attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint." Altrichter et al. (2008) on the other hand, contend that triangulation "gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation".

Actually, the use of triangulation method allows examining the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives. It also enhances the understanding of a problem and allows new aspects to appear (Jick 1979). In this work, we used a triangulation approach to increase the validity of this research.

The present research advocates the use of multiple-methods, the idea is that one can be more confident with a results if different methods lead to the same result, triangulation is a powerful method that facilitates validation of data through cross verification from two or more sources. It refers to the application and combination of several research methods in the study of the same phenomenon. Employing both quantitative and qualitative research may provide a means of bridging the macro-micro gulf. Qualitative research can tap large-scale structural features of social life while qualitative research tends to address small-scale behavioral aspects.

Each research method has its drawbacks; thereby, a hybrid of methods would be more beneficial in providing a better accurate picture and less contentious outcomes; thus, to answer the research questions, the field worker opted for both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection, which would plug the gaps and complement each other by overcoming the restrictions of each other.

Indeed, statistical techniques allow for sophisticated analysis; however, phenomena can only be adequately interpreted if they are put into their context. Therefore, a qualitative study immerses the research into the context.

As this work is a case study, the main targeted population is Arabophones living in the city of Oran. To answer the first research question regarding the attitudes of Arabophones towards the implementation of Tamazight in primary school, the researcher has made use of two instruments from different methods of data collection, namely questionnaire and structured interviews. As for the second and third research questions, and to better understand the situation of TTT in Oran, teachers of Tamazight at eight primary schools were interviewed. To ensure the data collected from TST, classroom observations were undertaken. It must be recalled here that Oran is an Arabophone area where Tamazight has started being taught officially since 2016. Right before validating the instruments required for this study, a pilot study was carried out.

3.6. Pilot study:

The pilot study aims to increase the reliability, validity and practicability of the research instrument. It is important in any research project (Cohen et al., 2000, p.60) especially when the objective of the study is to investigate the respondents' attitudes. Consequently, the researcher initiated this study with a preliminary study in order to evaluate the feasibility of

the study and to avoid the inadequately designed project. This experiment is felt to be very crucial in order to augment the probability of coherent and clear-cut results. The pilot study has been beneficial in identifying design issues before the main research was done. Though this stage of piloting is time-consuming; however, it has allowed the researcher to collect feedback concerning the instruments that are supposed to be used and to check whether they perform the purpose for which they were designed.

The main instrument upon which this research was build is a questionnaire; thus before proceeding to a thorough investigation, a pilot study was launched. Following Bentahila (1983) the questionnaire design comprised different questions and the respondents are asked to explain their answer and choices whenever possible.

Once the field worker has designed the questionnaire, she then launched a pilot study in March 2017. That is, trying it out on a few people to make sure the questions asked are clear and will get her the information wanted. Piloting the questionnaire will allow the researcher to judge how successful the design has been, and to make any subsequent changes or adjustments proposed by the pilot study. For example, a questionnaire whose questions were regularly misunderstood by informants in the pilot study, or where the questions turn out to be leading the informants more than expected, should be redesigned and piloted again. The total number of questionnaire distributed for the pilot study was 75 only 45 were handed back. People do not return questionnaires they are sent for a number of reasons, including lack of time or lack of interest. This means that, to obtain ten completed questionnaires, you will need to send out twenty. The questionnaire comprises three different types of questions, closed questions which require a yes/no answer, semi-open or multiple choice questions are ones which invite informants to choose from a restricted list of options and open questions invite informants to give their own answers. It was a good idea to have a mixture of all three kinds

of questions, since it is very difficult if not impossible to predict all possible answers to a closed or multiple-choice question. The amount of time it takes to process a questionnaire, however, should also be taken into account. Although closed questions limit the number of possible answers, they are the quickest to process since all they require is an adding up of the responses to each option. Open questions require more time, since there is potential here for every answer to be different.

The sampling of the pilot study comprises 35 female and 10 males, aged between 28 and 56. The number of Arabophone speakers is only 22, others are Berberophone speakers (17 are Kabyle, 5 are Chaoui, and 1 is Mezabit). Though, the targeted population of this study is the Arabophone population; however, in the pilot study the researcher has analyzed both populations⁶⁸ (Arabophones and Berberophones). In the question: are you Arabophone or Berberophone? Five have said Berberophone and added next to the selected answer, " *but I don't speak Berber*". Likewise, one have said Arabophone and wrote between parentheses " *my parents are Kabyle*". One respondent has said " *I am Arab but I speak and understand Kabyle perfectly*". From the preliminary results, the questionnaire was then re-designed many questions were reformulated; others were omitted while few were added.

Many questions were discarded by the informants, mainly those in which the respondent is asked to explain his/her choice and the open-ended questions. The questionnaire adopted an open-ended type of questions, through which respondents were asked to supply their own answers without any pre-defined answers (they were not restricted to some options provided by the researcher), this allowed the respondent to determine pivotal concerns and subjects. It also gave them the opportunity to explain why they have chosen a particular answer, and generated more detailed information. But on the other hand, this type of questions takes more

⁶⁸ Questionnaires filled by Berberophones were also analysed because many of them claimed to be Berberophone without having any knowledge of any of the Berber varieties.

time and efforts to be answered by respondents. It is also time and effort consuming for the researcher when compiling and analyzing the data.

The collected questionnaires were analyzed to determine whether the data collected helped the researcher in meeting the objectives of the study. Testing the questionnaire in advance has helped the researcher to identify the changes that needed to be made .Therefore; results of this study have led the investigator to:

- Distribute a large number questionnaire to ensure a valuable return. (Expect a 50% return rate).
- Reformulate some questions which were not clear for the respondents.
- The inclusion of more multiple choice questions.
- The exclusion of some question which are not relevant to the research inquiry.
- The exclusion of many open-ended questions.
- Add other questions.
- Use other instruments to compiling data (interviews) in order to provide more information and compare their findings, which increases the validity and quality of the results obtained.
- Distribute a large number of questionnaires among a varied sample of informants.
- Provide a space by the end of the questionnaire dedicated for notes and remarks of the respondents.

3.7. Research instruments and procedures:

This research combines different types of data sources to provide a comprehensive overview. The adopted research tools are: questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, classroom observation and field notes. The data were collected in the city of Oran, which represents a homogeneous community with Arabophone speakers representing the majority group whereas speakers of the different varieties of Tamazight represent the minority group.

3.7.1. Questionnaire and sampling:

In this work, a written questionnaire, comprising multiple choices and yes/no questions was used to capture different aspects (see Appendix 1 and 2). The questionnaires were administered by the researcher herself at homes, universities, libraries, schools, shops, streets and public spaces. The questionnaire aimed to elicit information concerning the respondents' attitudes towards the new language policy regarding the incorporation of T in primary schools. The questionnaire was both in Arabic and French versions.

The questionnaire as an investigative tool is one of the most widely used to identify the needs of the investigators. It is a technique that cannot be circumvented and can be at the minus support for other research techniques and methods. The population selected for the present study was principally Arabophone speakers living in Oran city. Parahoo (2006, p.2) defines population as "the total number of units from which data can potentially be collected". According to Polit D.F. & Beck C.T. (2010) quantitative study should select the largest sample possible because it is representative of the target population. Though there is no absolute rule regarding the size of the sample.

A sample is a small division of the population. Hence, sampling is the process of "selecting a group of subjects for a study in such a way that the individuals represent the larger group from which they were selected". (Gay 1987, p.101). Thus, it was decided to

involve a relatively large number of participants in the investigation in order to make the sample more representative of the target population as a whole.

In the current research distinguishing Arabophone speakers was kind of onerous, as the population of Oran is composed of Arabophones, Berberophones and francophones as well; therefore, the distribution of questionnaires was randomly done; however the sample of the study was chosen based on the criterion of "Arabic as a mother tongue ". The reason behind choosing this type of sampling is that in the pilot study respondents identified themselves as Berberophones, though Berber is not their mother tongue, moreover they neither speak nor understand Berber varieties. They identified themselves as such, just because their parents or grandparents speak Berber. To avoid asking the respondents whether they are Arabophone speakers or not, the field worker has extracted only the questionnaires where informants have selected Arabic as their mother tongue⁶⁹.

The total number of questionnaires distributed was 290, only 245 were returned. 100 questionnaires were eliminated, as 63 were filled by Berberophones, 2 by Francophones and 35 were not fully completed. Thereupon, the entire number of respondents participating in the quantitative study, which aimed at exploring the attitudes of Arabophone speakers towards T, is 145.

The researcher started the survey with an introduction in which she introduces herself as a researcher investigating the process of Tamazight teaching in the city of Oran, she also added that the information contained in the questionnaire will be anonymous and will only be used for scientific research.

⁶⁹ The one whose mother tongue is Arabic is considered as an Arabophone speaker, likewise the one whose mother tongue is Berber is regarded as a Berberopone. In other words, even those who consider themselves as Berberophone, but none of the Berber varieties is their first language, they are considered as Arabophone speakers.

The questionnaire is divided into two separate parts with a total of 17 items. The first section is devoted to the respondents' personal information, and it incorporates 7 questions. The main purpose of this part is to provide an insight into the respondents' profile and to make sure that the sample investigated is varied and represents different social backgrounds. The second section, comprising 10 questions, is meant to elicit responses exhibiting attitudes toward Tamazight. The informants were asked to choose one of the responses provided. Some questions might seem repetitive, hence they are not, this was done on purpose to insure the validity of the results obtained (this helps confirm the reliability and validity of the data).

At the end of the questionnaire, a large space was left for the respondents to add any remark and observations. They were also asked kindly to supply their phone numbers in case they are interested in an oral interview (see Appendix 1 and 2).

3.7.1.1. Profile of the informants:

In the following part information concerning the profile of the participants will be provided.

> Participants' gender and age:

| Age/ Gender | Female | Male |
|-------------|--------|------|
| 25- 35 | 15 | 21 |
| 36-45 | 25 | 32 |
| 46-55 | 18 | 13 |
| 56-65 | 12 | 09 |
| Total | 70 | 75 |

Table 3.1. Participants' gender and age

> Respondents' Level of education:

| Educational level | Number of participants |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| Primary | 3 |
| Middle school | 29 |
| High school | 48 |
| Higher education | 65 |
| Total number | 145 |

Table 3.2. respondents' level of education

> Respondents' profession:

| Profession | Unemployed | Teachers | Doctors | Students | Traders | Other professions | Total number |
|------------------------|------------|----------|---------|----------|---------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Number of participants | 17 | 30 | 19 | 22 | 25 | 32 | 145 |

Table3.3. Respondents' profession

As explained earlier, the initial number of the questionaries' distributed was 245, many were excluded because of the mother tongue of the respondents; accordingly, the first language of the entire sample is Arabic.

> Respondents' Berber proficiency:

| Speaking T | Fluently | A little | Have no knowledge |
|------------|----------|----------|-------------------|
| Number of | 2 | 2 | 141 |

| respondents | | |
|-------------|--|--|
| | | |

Table3.4. Respondent's proficiency in speaking Tamazight

| Understating T | Very well | A little | Don't understand it |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------|---------------------|
| Number of respondents | 2 | 2 | 141 |

Table3.5. Respondent's proficiency in understanding Tamazight

> Berber as a mother tongue of the informants' parents:

| No | Yes |
|-----|-----|
| 133 | 12 |

Table3.6.*Berber as a mother tongue of the informants' parents*

This section of the questionnaire which comprises demographic information and language background has aimed to elicit an overview of the profile of the participants. From the data presented above, we can conclude that the corpus is heterogeneous; accordingly, the results obtained can be generalized to all the Arabophone speakers in the city of Oran.

The researcher opted for an alternative data collection method which would complement and overcome the restrictions of the questionnaire. The second method used is semistructured interviews.

3.7.2. Interviews:

Interview is a tool of data collection that involves interviewing individuals who belong to a selected population or a representative sample of that population. Interviews are very exacting and involve several essential steps. During each of them, the researcher must be vigilant to ensure the quality of the data collected. The main advantage of the interview is that it allows for the collection of a wide variety of data. The investigation involves an interview between the respondents and the investigator. This interview can be structured or unstructured. An unstructured interview is often focused on a particular event or theme and does not have a list of pre-determined questions. Rather, it is based on a checklist that covers several topics. An unstructured interview is very useful for exploring an issue. A structured interview requires each respondent to answer series of questions that have already been established in advance.

This instrument of data collection may also be used jointly with quantitative method (questionnaire) as it provides thorough information to achieve an in-depth analysis of the quantitative data. We have opted for the use of interviews as this tool allows the informants to provide their own answers without being constructed by a pre-established set of alternatives (Oppenheim2000). In addition to that, respondents tend to provide spontaneous responses. However we shouldn't neglect the disadvantages of this tool as it is time consuming in collecting and also interpreting the data.

In this study two different types of interviews were used, targeting two different populations (Arabophone speakers and Tamazight teachers who all are Kabyle speakers); however, the objective remains the same, which is addressing the research questions. The average time devoted to each interview was around twenty minutes. The fieldworker introduced herself as a researcher who is interested in the field of Tamazight teaching. The interviewers were aware of being recorded by means of a mobile phone devise (Samsung Galaxy A1 S). This devise was very beneficial as it offers the possibility of transferring and saving the interviews in desk computer and laptop. In case the mobile is damaged, the

interviews are available in other devices. Another benefit of this material is that it is widespread and commonly used; this may reduce the informants' hesitation of being recorded. The informants were informed that they will be recoded, and that their names will not be used.

3.7.2.1. Interview type one:

The first type of interview is a structured one, held with Arabophone speakers, aims at answering the first research question (Attitudes towards T). This method is used to check the results obtained through the quantitative research. Interviewees were chosen on the ground of their different social background age, gender, profession, educational level, three of them have already responded to the questionnaire; this gave them a second chance to defend their responses and provide an in-depth understanding beyond their earlier answers. The following table highlights the interviewees' profile

| Informants | Age | Gender | Profession | Educational level |
|------------|-----|--------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1 | 27 | female | Student | University |
| 2 | 28 | male | Unemployed | Secondary |
| 3 | 32 | male | Doctor | University |
| 4 | 35 | female | Teacher | University |
| 5 | 37 | male | grocer | University |
| 6 | 37 | female | housewife | Primary |
| 7 | 53 | male | Security agent | Secondary |

Table.3.7. *Profile of the interviewees*

Profile of the informants shows significant diversity in terms of age, gender, level of study and occupation. Ten questions that provide interesting and valuable clues to the participants'

attitudes towards T in Algeria were selected from the questionnaire and used in the interview.

The questions are as follows:

- **1.** Personal questions to define the profile of the sample (Mother tongue, age, profession, educational level)?
- 2. Did you know that the Berber language is taught in some schools in Oran?
- **3.** If Tamazight is taught in your child's school, will you enroll him/her in Tamazight classes?
- **4.** It is good to have Tamazight in the school system?
- 5. Do you think that Tamazight should be taught in all primary schools in Algeria?
- **6.** Do you think that Teaching Tamazight should concern only Tamazight speech community?
- 7. Do you think that Teaching Tamazight should be: Optional, compulsory.
- **8.** At which level of study Tamazight should be taught?
- 9. Which school is the best school for an Algerian pupil? Arabic schools only, Tamazight school only, Arabic/Tamazight school.
- **10.** Which writing system should be used in the writing of Tamazight?
- 11. Do you consider Tamazight as part of the Algerian identity?

Most interviews were conducted In AA, only two were held in French; therefore, the field worker has decided to use English translation instead of transcriptions. The reason behind choosing English translation of passages extracted from interviews is that the main objective of the present study is examining patterns related with content, rather than phonetic and linguistic features that necessitate a thorough transcription.

3.7.2.2. The second type of interview:

We describe below the conditions of collecting the data from the teachers of T we met, before presenting a brief summary of their profiles.

3.7.2.2.1. Difficulties encountered in accessing the schools:

Once setting the main theme of this research, the researcher started searching the web for the teachers of Tamazight in Oran. The first two teachers were mainly reached thanks to a sister of the field worker (who is a teacher of Arabic at primary school) as they were having their training (2016/2017) in the same school. Attending Tamazight classes and interviewing the teachers within the schools were not easily realized. The field worker was asked to get a written request from the dean of the faculty of languages, a thing which was time consuming (dean was on a mission abroad, in addition to strike at university). Two months later, the request was signed by the dean of the faculty (see Appendix 3) and mentioned that the researcher is carrying out a research which requires access to all the schools involved in teaching Tamazight. The written request was then submitted to the Academy of education of Oran city which supplied the researcher with an authorization document (see Appendix 4), permitting her to have access to all schools in Oran, where Tamazight is taught.

3.7.2.2.2. Interview type two:

A one to one semi-structured interview, held with the 8 teachers of Tamazight. TST are actually reliable sources who are assumed to play a leading role in the implementation of the new language policy regarding T. The interviewees were aware of the main objective of the interview, they all accepted to carry on the interviews. The purpose of interviewing TST was to answer the second and third research questions and explore a variety of issues related to the implementation of the new language policy related to TTT in an Arabophone area. Similar to

the first type of interview where the participants are heterogeneous, the informants in the second type of interview also are disparate. The purpose of the second type of interview is to know on the one hand, the profile of the subject, teachers/learners, on the other hand to identify the main problems they encounter in the classroom and to demonstrate how attitudes affect their mission in implementing the new language policy. The table below describes the profile of the interviewees.

| Age | Gender | Degree | Specialty | University |
|-----|--------|--------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 27 | Female | BA | Tamazight language and culture | Abed Arahman Mira (Bejaia) |
| 32 | Female | MA | Dialectology | Abed Arahman Mira |
| 29 | Female | BA | Tamazight language and culture | Mouloud Maamri (Tizi Ouzou) |
| 33 | Male | MA | Linguistics | Abed Arahman Mira |
| 33 | Female | MA | Literature | Akli Mhand Oulhadj (Bouira) |
| 30 | Male | BA | Tamazight language and culture | Mouloud Maamri |
| 29 | Female | MA | Linguistics | Mouloud Maamri |
| 28 | Female | BA | Tamazight language and culture | Mouloud Maamri |

Table3.8. *Profile of the interviewees*

As it is displayed in the table above, profile of the teachers of Tamazight is diverse.

TST are of both sex, (2 males and 6 females) they studied in different universities (Tizi

Ouzou, Bejaia, Batna), their level varies between Bachelor of Art and Master degree. Teachers holding an MA degree are specialized in different fields (linguistics, dialectology, literature). They all have accepted to participate in the study. We have attempted to meet the targets of this research by analyzing the information collected through conducting interviews with TST. The corpus resulting from these interviews represents a large part of our data.

The interviews were held at work location of each teacher. The field worker introduced herself in Arabic; however the language used in the interviews was determined by interviewees who all preferred to use Kabyle with a switch to AA and French from time to time. Speaking the language of the informants helped the interviewees to feel at ease, it has also ensured the researchers credibility and earned her trust among them.

The researcher knew that it would be almost impossible to meet the conditions required by conducting "unstructured" or even truly "structured" interviews. Therefore she decided to draw up a "semi-structured" interview questions checklist, she sought teachers' statements on the following main elements:

- Personal information.
- Their opinion of the language of the textbook.
- The way they deal with linguistic heterogeneity in their classroom(s).
- Their handling of the writing system, school textbooks.
- Any difficulties they encounter.

The interview guide developed for this interview is particularly detailed, it contains different questions. Definitely, the order of questions was not meant to be respected. This guide, which has the appearance and structure of a questionnaire, is indeed a framework intended to strengthen our guidance in the interview to reach as much information as we can. The data were collected within a period of two months, from April to June 2017.

Interviewing TST was very beneficial in collecting data. This research tool was a way to delve deeply into of the situation of TTT in Oran which allowed us to have a clear image about its evolution and handicaps that hinders its enhancement.

3.7.3. Classroom observation and field notes:

To have more insights and clarifications about the data gathered from interviews, we opted for observations that were later transformed into field notes. One instrument to collect data was found inadequate to address the second and third research questions; therefore, it was pragmatic to mix both methods to get multiple standpoints.

We need to recall here that, the objective of interviewing TST and attending T classes is twofold:

- Explore the difficulties and challenges that face TTT in addition to examining how the primary targets of this new language policy, pupils and teachers, are coping with the introduction of the new language policy.
- ➤ Elicit the effects of Arabophone speakers' attitudes on the implementation of the language policy that require the incorporation of T at primary schools.

To meet the objectives of the current study, we had to attain Tamazight classes. Unlike the administered surveys and interviews which are relatively restrained and controlled, observation allows "a more factual examination of natural interaction" Abed (2014, p.118).

Several days of observation were organized in eight primary schools. The concerned schools were:

- 1. Abou Bakr Ali. (Elhassi)
- 2. Youbi Lahcen.(Elhassi)
- **3.** El Imam El Houari. (downtown)

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- **4.** Youcef Ben Tachfin. (downtown)
- **5.** Echikh Abdelkader. (Eckmhul)
- **6.** Fallah Mohammed El Doum (Hassi Bounif).
- 7. Hamou Boutlilis (Ain Turk).
- 8. Azzi Ben Yabka (Betouia).

It is important to note here that we have included all the schools that provided Tamazight classes in this study, in order to come out with results and conclusions that can be generalized to all the city of Oran. The table below highlights the classes observed in each school.

| | Fourth grade | | Fifth grade | |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| School | Class 1 | Class2 | Class1 | Class2 |
| Abou Bakr Ali | X | | X | |
| Youbi Lahcen | X | X | X | |
| El Imam El Houari | X | | X | X |
| Youcef Ben Tachfin. | X | | X | |
| Echikh Abdelkader. | X | | X | |
| Fallah Mohammed El Doum | X | | | |
| Hamou Boutlilis | X | | | |
| Azzi Ben Yabka | X | | | |

Table3.9. Classes observed in each school

As displayed in table 3.9 the teaching of T concerned the fourth and fifth grade only. Observation is regarded as a tool for collecting data in qualitative research studies. Marshall and Rossman (1989) defined observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study" (p.79).

When attempting to answer research questions based on the observation of the activity or behavior of one or more individuals, there are many pre-data collection questions that need to be addressed, particularly the question of the observer/observed relationship and those related to the situations in which the observation takes place.

3.8. Participant vs non-participant observation participant:

In most studies using observational methods, the objective is generally to prevent the presence of the observer which influences the natural activity of the observed. To this end, two strategies may be adopted concerning the position of the observer.

3.8.1. Participant observation

In the process of observation participant, the researcher becomes integrated into the observed group, does the same activity for some time (a few weeks, a few months or more). This method is often used in qualitative studies and ethnographic studies. It can also be very useful in a pilot study, in a new area where the organization of the activity is not yet adequately known, in order to be able to identify the behaviors relevant to be considered.

3.8.2. Non-participant observation:

Depending on the research objective, the observer becomes physically the most discreet as possible, in order to avoid changing the natural situation. In this so-called "non-participant", two situations are possible depending on physical conditions or the research objective:

➤ Without the presence of the observer. This can be realized through the use of devices registration that does not require the physical presence of the observer.

However, the visible presence of cameras or recording systems can also amend the natural behavior of the participants.

➤ Presence of the observer, visible to eyes of the participants. In this case, it is necessary to get used in advance to the people observed. This can be attained by conducting some pre-observations.

In this research, the observation of non-participants was chosen because the behavior of the participants is not contaminated by the presence of the researcher.

As part of the research tools, the researcher conducted 45 minutes observation in each class of T in the eight primary schools. The observer did not violate the classroom ethics; she was always on time and stayed until the end of the class session. The total number of classroom observed was 15; the researcher has observed 9 classes of the fourth grade and 6 classes of the fifth grade.

An important component of the observation phase is taking detailed field notes, which is considered to be an essential research tool; hence a field note sheet was used to record as much details as possible during the time of observation in order not to forget the significant details. Emerson et al say in this respect that field notes are "products of and reflect conventions for transforming witnessed events, persons and places into words on paper" (1995, p.10).

In this work, field notes contributed to data collection and enabled the researcher to record accurate observations and thoughts. Thus, while field notes may be subjective, they still can be regarded as valid and useful sources of data, when used with the other methods (Blommaert, 2006, p.35).

During each classroom observation the researcher sat at the back, to avoid any disturbance, and took notes in a form of key words related to the main themes of the research

in the field. Once she leaves the research site, she writes the full version of the field notes forthwith. The key words remind her of significant incidents and behaviors that occurred during observation.

As it has been demonstrated earlier, this study has made used of three research tools, questionnaire, interviews and observation. The choice of the research tool is mainly determined by the research question as highlighted in table 3.10 below.

| N | Statement | Tool |
|------------|---|--|
| Question 1 | What prevailing attitudes do Arabophone speakers, in Oran city, display towards the teaching of Tamazight at primary school?? | Questionnaire + Interview(Type 1) |
| Question 2 | What are the difficulties and challenges that obstruct TTT? (Problems facing the implementation of Tamazight) | Interview (Type 2) + Observation |
| Question 3 | How do Arabophone speakers' attitudes affect the implementation of the language policy that requires the incorporation of T at primary schools? | Interview + Observation |

Table 3.10. Data collection tools with regard to the related research question

Table 3.10 exhibits that finding of every research question was checked with two instruments which grant accuracy and validation of the findings.

3.9. Ethical consideration in data collection:

Ethical issues were extremely important consideration in data collection and analysis, as it is always imperative to ensure that the rights and confidentiality of participants are respected in any study. Before data collection began, the participants were informed of the nature of the research undertaken; they were told that the questionnaires, interviews will be anonymous. Participants were also informed of recording the interview and they gave their consent. Moreover, they were also guaranteed that all recorded data would be stored on the researcher's personal devices, that only she, would have access to it and that it would be used only for academic purposes. During the classroom observation, the researcher asked the permission of the teachers to take pictures of the pupils' copy books.

3.10. Research limitations:

Every research has certain limitations; the limitations of the study are as follows:

- Designing the questionnaire was time consuming it took me more than three months to decide which type of questions I have to use in my research, I was faced with several obstacles while doing so, I have done some pilot studies before validating the final questionnaires which I have used in investigating and addressing the research questions. While searching for the best type of questions that fits my research, I found that all types of questions have their pros and cons.
- ➤ The questionnaire return rate was quite low as compared to the total distributed number.
- ➤ Persuading people to participate in the research can be problematic. In this study, we have noticed a weird hesitation from the participant as they were asked to fill a questionnaire which deals with a delicate phenomenon (teaching a minority language).

- The difficulties in gaining access to primary schools. We began the necessary steps with the Academy of National Education in Oran to obtain the list of the schools were T is taught, in order to communicate with the teachers of Tamazight and have an overall view of the progress of this teaching. This phase was time consuming. We have encountered unforeseen events such as major strikes in national education.
- At the beginning of each interview, I introduced myself by indicating that I am a PHD student who dedicates her research to the teaching of Tamazight in Algerian schools, and that for this research I needed testimonies from teachers to better understand how it was done. The first contacts with teachers therefore did not all take place in the same way in view of our investigation objectives. I sometimes felt willingness on the part of our interlocutors to satisfy me and to present the teaching of Tamazight from the best possible angle. During the interviews with the teachers, I had to insist on the fact that I am not there to judge or evaluate their work. However, the fact that I am a Berber speaker, in my opinion, contributed to giving a certain advantage to my interlocutors.
- ➤ Throughout conducting the observational phase I was able to collect some data of relevance to an educationally-oriented analysis regarding Tamazight teaching. Nevertheless, the area of this research along with time limitation have prohibited further reconnoitering of this aspect in the present study. Forthcoming research could delve deeper into this scope.

3.11. Conclusion:

In this chapter, the study design and the main data collection methods were detailed. The present study consists of three interrelated questions, to answer these questions multiple data collection methods were used: questionnaire, interviews, observations and field notes. A

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Research Methodology

detailed explanation of each data collection method has been provided, along with the reasons for its use. The disadvantages of each particular method were also discussed. Furthermore, the ethical issues involved were presented. The results and discussions are covered in the next chapter. In processing our survey, we used Word and Excel software. The various results obtained will be presented in tables and graphs.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings and Data Discussion

4.1. Introduction:

This chapter contains the results of the study conducted with respect to the previous described objectives and hypotheses. It analyzes the results attained, from the data collected, by identifying the main themes that concern this thesis, mainly the attitudes of the dominant community in Oran towards the minority language, Tamazight, and the obstacles that hinder the implementation of the language policy which stipulates the integration of T in primary education (Teaching /learning process of this language). To this end, the researcher have made used of a questionnaire, interviews, observation and field notes.

4.2. Analyses Presentation and Data Discussion

The present chapter is divided into two separate sections, each section endeavors to answer the research inquiries. The first section analyses the results obtained from the questionnaire to investigate attitudes of the Arabophone speakers towards Tamazight in general and its implementation in primary schools in particular. It also checks up the outcomes reached via the questionnaire through interviewing people belonging to the same speech community to increase the validity of the findings. The second section is sought to respond to the second and third research queries concerning the situation in which T is integrated at Oran elementary schools and how Attitudes of Arabophone speakers affects its implementation. To do so, it demonstrates the findings obtained through interviewing TST and observing Tamazight classes.

4.2.1. Section one:

The data in this section was obtained from questionnaires filled by the Arabophone speakers living in Oran city. Interviewing people from the same speech community also complements on attitudes towards Tamazight.

4.2.1.1. Attitudes towards Tamazight: Questionnaire and Interview Analysis:

It has been demonstrated earlier (see chapter 3) that the questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first part provides the profile of the informants (see section.3.6.1.1). Data regarding the second part of the questionnaire, which contains ten items designed to capture the general attitude toward T, will be supplied bellow in a form of tables (frequency) and graphs (percentage). To avoid ambiguity and ensure clarity of the results, only the patterns central to the scope of the study will be discussed.

4.2.1.1.1. Participants' Awareness about the Teaching of Tamazight at Oran's primary schools:

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
| 66 | 79 |

Table.4.1. Participants' awareness about the teaching of T in Oran's schools

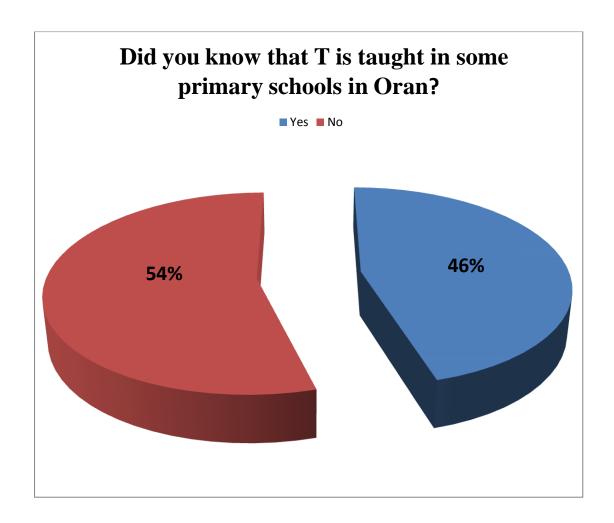


Figure.4.1. Percentage of participants' awareness about the teaching of T in Oran's schools

Answers for item one reveal that 54% of the informants aren't aware of the fact that Tamazight is taught in some primary schools in Oran city. Qualitative (interviews) data displayed similar results as four out of seven didn't know that T is taught in some primary schools in Oran. The following testimonies extracted from the interview (type one) exhibit the respondents' lack of awareness.

Interviewee 2: "No, I don't know, is that true?".

Interviewee 3 said: "It is taught only in Kabyle regions; here we are almost all Arabs so what's the advantage?"

Results for this question revealed the lack of sensitization regarding the incorporation of T at primary schools. On the other hand three interviewees claim that they are familiar with the integration of T in few primary schools, this can be observed in the following response:

Interviewee 1: "Yes I know, my nephew has already enrolled and he is studying it".

Results may be compared to those of the quantitative study in which 46% of the respondents have said that they already know that T is being taught at primary schools. We can conclude from the outcomes of this question that though many are aware of the incorporation of T at some primary schools in Oran; however the majority does not know, this may have a great impact on the process of its implementation and spread mainly, as there those who explicitly expressed their strong will to learn it and support its teaching this can be explained in the following statement by interviewee 7:

"If only they teach it at schools, I always wanted to learn it to understand my Kabyle friends when they speak with each other, I already know some words but it is not enough to understand the whole conversation".

In the same vein interviewee 6^{70} who is an Arabophone housewife who married a Kabyle speaker stated:

"No I am not sure that they teach it here in Oran..... I will strongly support its teaching if they do one day....... though I am born Arabophone [she means her first language is Arabic] and I live in a city where Arabic is the language that is used; but I never regret learning Kabyle...... now I speak and understand Kabyle perfectly thanks to my husband and my family in law.......I want my daughter to speak it and learn it at school as well".

⁷⁰ Interviewee 6 has already participated in quantitative study.

4.2.1.1.2. Participants' Willingness to Enroll Their Children in Tamazight Classes

| Yes | No |
|-----|-----|
| 43 | 102 |

Table.4.2. Results of participants' willingness to enroll their children in Tamazight classes

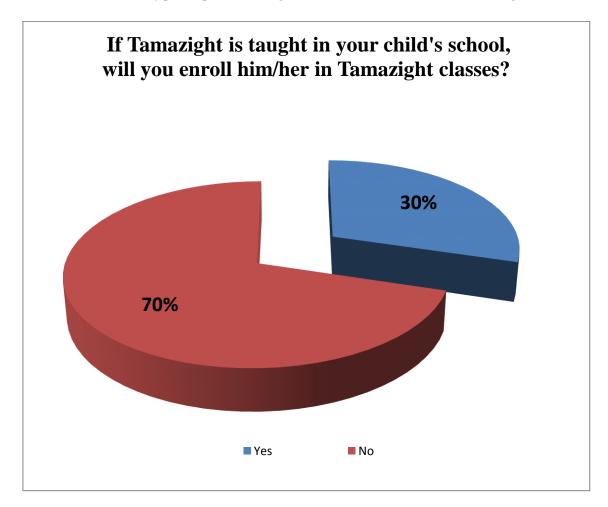


Figure 4.2. Frequency of participants' willingness to enroll their children in Tamazight classes

Figure 4.2. divulges that the majority of respondents doesn't want to enroll their children to attend T classes, in case it is taught in their schools, whereas only 30% of them said yes. These responses are confirmed through the qualitative survey, in which the majority

(four out of seven) asserts that they don't want their children to study Tamazight. These are few recorded responses.

Interviewee 3: "I prefer to enroll him to learn English that is better, at least it will serve him sooner or later, what will he do with Kabyle".

Interviewee2: "I will never do that despite the fact that I am Chaoui⁷¹......, there is no Tamazight language it is only a myth, they want to make of Kabyle a language of all Amazigh people, what they call Tamazight is simply Kabyle which doesn't represent all the Tamazight dialects that excite in Algeria."

As we can see in the above statements, respondent 3 compares English to T, and considers TTT useless, rather he prefers English which represents a worldwide language through which its speakers can have access to many opportunities; this can be explained by virtue of its low socio-economic status. In addition to that, the interviewee doesn't make a difference between Tamazight which is taught at schools and Kabyle which is one variant of Tamazight, similar standpoint was revealed by interviewee 2. This can be considered as one of the major obstacles that prevent accepting the inclusion of Tamazight at schools. Findings for item 2 represent very important results that show both whether informants have a positive attitude toward TT, and also determines whether parents are committed to passing the language on to their children, a choice that is often influenced by the socio-economic usefulness of a given language.

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⁷¹ Interviewee 2 also participated in the quantitative study, he defined himself as Chaoui because his father is Chaoui, however his first language is Arabic.

4.2.1.1.3. Participants' Attitudes towards Incorporating Tamazight at Primary Schools

• Is it good to have Tamazight in the school system?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
| 53 | 92 |

Table.4.3. Results regarding the informants attitudes towards the integration of T at Primary schools

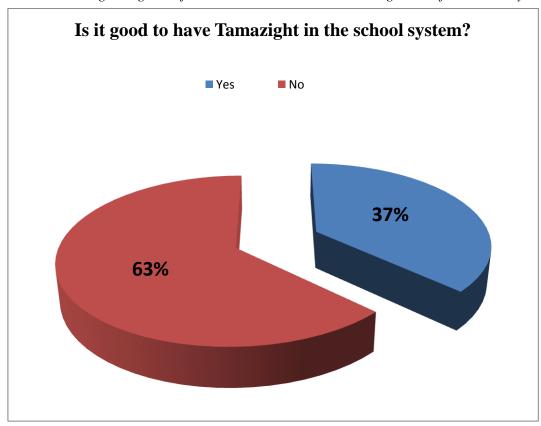


Figure.4.3. Results outlining the attitudes of Arabophone speakers towards the introduction of Tamazight at schools

Table.4.3. and figure.4.3. indicate notable results that support the outcomes for item2. Findings for item 3 demonstrate that the majority of informants do not consider the incorporation of T at primary education as a good one. Only 37% of respondents think that TTT at primary school is good. Parallel answers were provided by the interviewees.

Below are some answers from the interviews conducted to check the reliability of the questionnaire' results.

Interviewee 4: "No it is not good at all, kids themselves are in a great mess with the new curriculum that is applied, and they add to that Tamazight a language which they will never make use of ".

As we can notice from the response above, interviewee 4 considers TT as futile and affects negatively children's results at schools. The main reason behind the negative view towards the incorporation of Tamazight lies in the fact that this process faces many obstacles due to the lack of pedagogical tools, this is apparent in the response of interviewee 5 who said:

"I just want to understand how a child who has grown up in an Arab society is going to learn a language he has never heard of. It is very difficult to apply it here in Oran as the majority are Arabs who know nothing about Tamazight"

A similar opinion was expressed by interviewee 3 who stated: "it is not good for us as Arabs, they want to oblige us to learn it, anyways, here we are not Kabyle, let them teach it in Kabyle regions, maybe it is good for them".

Though identifying the factors that impacts people's language attitudes is not the focal interest of this work; however, it is clear from this answer that ethnicity potentially affects their attitudes towards the teaching of T; moreover, the informant does not consider T as part of his identity as s/he suggests teaching it only in regions where its varieties are prevailing. Again no distinction is made between T and Kabyle, this confirms the absence of awareness-raising concerning T which is supposed to be undertaken before implementing the gradual process of its generalization. Viewpoints of participants who are in favor of incorporating T in

the school system are based on the fact that the language is part of the Algerian identity, we can observe this in the answer of interviewee 1 who stated that:

"Tamazight is the language of our ancestors we have to preserve it by teaching it, thus each child should learn it, despite the fact that he is Arab or not....... if we dig deeper we will find that we are all Berbers who has been Arabized by Islam...... If only I could have learned it when I was a child now it is too late for me but my kids will certainly do"

4.2.1.1.4. Generalization of T:

• Tamazight should be taught in all primary schools

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
| 50 | 95 |

Table.4.4. Responses for teaching Tamazight in all primary schools

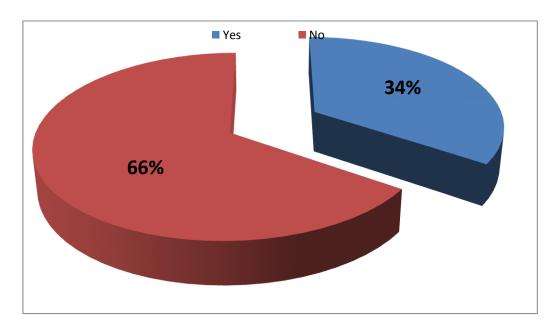


Figure.4.4. Percentage of informants concerning the integration of T in all primary schools

Figure. 4.4. demonstrates that the majority of respondents (66%) are not in favor of generalizing T in all primary schools while only 34% support this generalization. This finding

is also corroborated by their responses to item 11of the questionnaire in which they were asked:

• Whether all Algerians have to learn Tamazight

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
| 98 | 47 |

Table 4.5. Frequency of respondents concerning the teaching of T to all Algerians

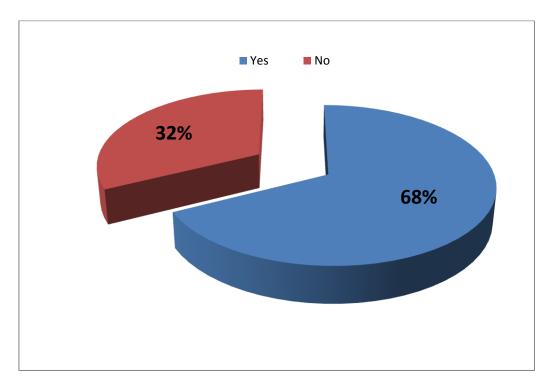


Figure.4.5. Percentage of respondents concerning the teaching of Tamazight to all Algerians

As displayed in table.4.4. and figure.4.4. results of item 11 affirm that most respondents expressed their refusal to the of teaching of T to all Algerians. The results obtained at this stage appear to match the results discussed by Ghounane and Rabahi (2018), where the majority of participants exhibited similar standpoints

Similar responses were provided by the qualitative data. Interviewees' testimonies affirmed identical feedbacks. Below are few interviewees' responses.

Interviewee 3 said: "They should teach it only where there is kabyles people because not everyone want to learn it".

Interviewee 5 stated: "Not all Algerians are Kabyle so its teaching should not concern all Algerians but rather only Kabyle people in addition to those who want to learn it even if they are Arabic speakers".

It is apparent from the respondents' responses that there is a misconception associated with the language that is taught and Kabyle variety. From the so far reached findings we deduce that most Arabophone speakers do not make a distinction between Kabyle and T since the latter is often referred to it as Kabyle.

4.2.1.1.5. The Speech Community Concerned with TTT:

- Teaching Tamazight should concern:
 - Only Berberophone speech community.
 - Only Arabophone speech community.
 - Both communities.

| Berberophone community | Arabophone community | Both communities |
|------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 82 | 12 | 51 |

Table.4.6. Frequency of responses regarding the speech community that is supposed to be concerned with TT

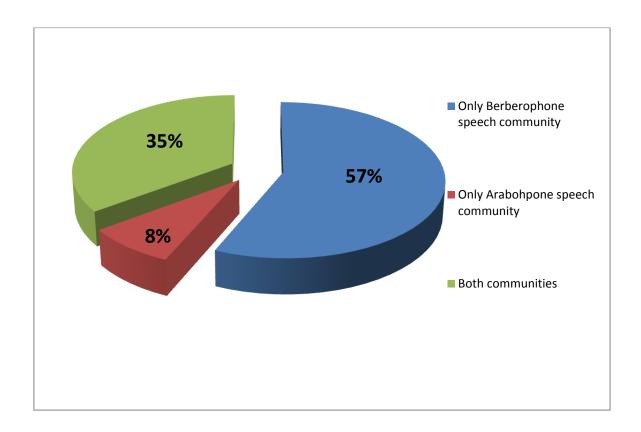


Figure.4.6. Percentage of responses regarding the speech community that is supposed to be concerned with TT

As exhibited in the obtained results, the highest percentage of the respondents (57%) said that TTT should concern only Berberophone speech community. As many Arabophone speakers relate Tamazight to the speakers of its different varieties, this is apparent in the answer of some interviewees where 3 out of 7 expressed similar views, such as:

Interviewee 5 who said: "If an Arabic speaker learns Tamazight he will not use it, unlike the Berber speakers who will use it at least between each other".

Outcomes of this item confirm the remark concerning the impact of ethnicity upon people's LA. On the other hand only 8% of the total population considers that TTT should concern Arabopohne speech community this may be explained by the statement of interviewee 1 who said: "Why teaching it to people who already know it. In my humble view

point Arabophones are the ones who need to study Tamazight so that they can interact with their Berber acquaintances ".

On the other hand, a considerable percentage (35%) advocates the teaching of Tamazight to both speech communities (Arabophone and Berberophone). In this vein interviewee 7 said:

"We are all concerned with this teaching as it is part of our history and represents an integral part of our Algerian identity".

It is obvious that the interviewee's response is driven by identity reasons, for him ethnicity doesn't have an impact on his attitudes towards T. Likewise interviewee 6 said:

"Tamazight should be taught in all primary schools and at all levels, it is what makes us different from other Arabic societies. If Tamazight is taught all over Algeria there would be no regionalism, besides we would all understand each other, and we will all define ourselves as Algerians rather than Arabophone or Berberophone speakers".

4.2.1.1.6. The Optional Nature of TTT:

- The teaching of Tamazight should be:
- Obligatory
- Optional

| Obligatory | Optional | | |
|------------|----------|--|--|
| 29 | 116 | | |

Table.4.7. Frequency of responses concerning the optional nature of TTT.

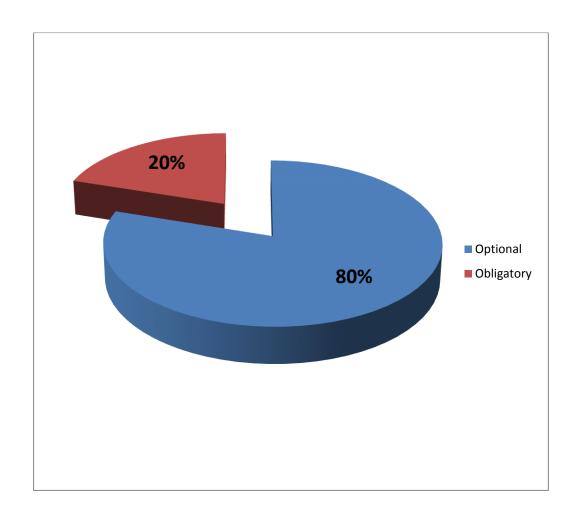


Figure.4.7. *Percentage of responses regarding the optional nature of TTT*

The respondents' reaction to the optional nature of TTT revealed that they want this language to have a restricted place in comparison with the other languages that are compulsory taught. These results are backed up by the qualitative data where 5 out of 7 argued that it should be optional, this can be observed in the following responses:

Interviewee 3:" we should never oblige a kid to learn a language he doesn't want to learn,...... it is not even the kid's decision but rather his parents as they are the ones who know what is good for him".

Interviewee 1: "Well no one is obliged to do something he doesn't want mainly in teaching"

Although interviewee 1 is in favor of the presence of Tamazight in the educational system; nevertheless, he maintains that it is good to have it as an optional subject. This displays the hesitation of Arabophone speakers towards having Tamazight in the school system. In addition to this, result obtained so far revealed that the respondents do not consider Tamazight and SA as having the same status; this will be demonstrated further in the findings of item 7.

As shown in the figure above only 20% conveyed their agreement to the compulsory nature of the Tamazight -in-education policy which requires its teaching to Algerians during primary education, in this respect interviewee 6 said:

"making its teaching obligatory will boost people's interest in it, it will also help in its promotion and preservation".

4.2.1.1.7. Attitudes towards the Status of Tamazight:

• Tamazight and standard Arabic deserve having the same status

| Yes | No |
|-----|-----|
| 43 | 102 |

Table.4.8. Frequency of respondents 'attitudes towards the status of T

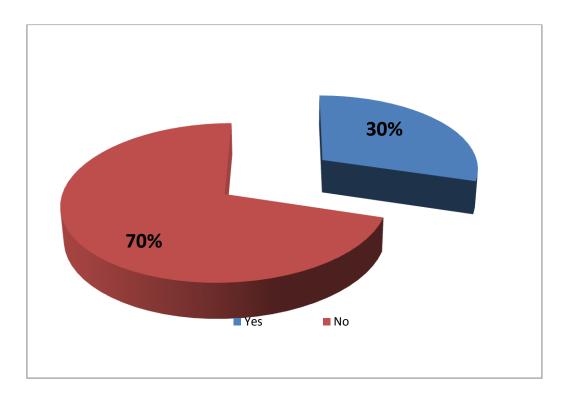


Figure.4.8. *Percentage of respondents' attitudes towards the status of T.*

Notwithstanding the constitutional recognition of the official status of T, and unlike result reached by Bektache (2018) where speakers from Arabic-speaking regions show positive attitudes towards the official status of T, the majority of respondents (70%) expressed their denial to the status that was granted to T which is equal to that of SA. Interestingly, a relatively similar pattern was observed in a study conducted by Rouabah (2020) in an attempt to analyze language attitudes towards T in light of the recent changes in the language policy.

These findings have been confirmed by the qualitative data where 4 out of 7 interviewees have said that T and SA do not deserve the same status. These interviewees have backed up their opinions as follows:

Interviewee 2: "Arabic the language of Islam which cannot be equal to any other language"

Interviewee 4: "Tamazight has been elevated to the same status as SA just to avoid conflicts such as what happened during the Berber spring. The reality is different from what they claimArabic is and remains a language that is superior to Tamazight...... it is the language through which the Quran was descended......the language of the majority of inhabitants of Algeria...... it will never be equal to Arabic".

It is obvious from the above statements that the respondents refuse the equal status of SA and T, this can be explained by religion which for them is merged with SA.

4.2.1.1.8. The Writing System:

- Tamazight should be written in
- Arabic
- Latin
- Tifinagh

| Arabic | Latin | Tifinagh |
|--------|-------|----------|
| 80 | 49 | 16 |

Table.4.9. frequency of responses concerning the writing system of T

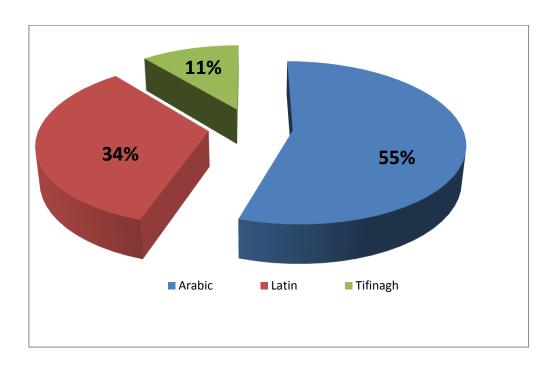


Figure.4.9. *Percentage of responses concerning the writing system of T*

Figure.4.9. displays that the overwhelming majority (55%) prefers T to be written in Arabic script. In this respect interviewee 3 argued:

"The majority of Algerians are Arabs, we are an Arabic Islamic country, Arabic is the writing system that should be used, at least it becomes easier for those who want to learn it as they already know the Arabic script they do not have to learn Tifinagh".

From this testimony we deduce that the supporters of the Arabic alphabet are not neutral but rather ethnically driven. The patterns of disagreement with Tifinagh herein reported could be due to the informants' unfamiliarity with the script, which renders the learning of the language challenging for them.

34% argued that T should be written in Latin alphabet, this can be illustrated by the following statement:

Interviewee1: "Most available studies that are undertaken up to date were written in Latin, so I think that using the Latin Alphabet will facilitate its teaching and spread".

Endorsing the use of the Latin script stems from the practicality of the Latin script being the writing system of some previous research.

4.2.1.1.9. Tamazight as Part the Algerian Identity:

• Is Tamazight part of the Algerian identity?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
| 99 | 46 |

Table.4.10. Frequency of respondents who consider T as part of the Algerian identity

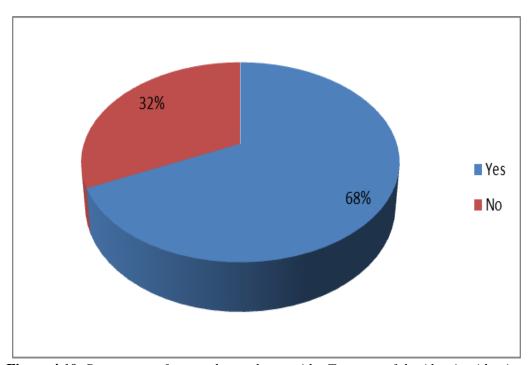


Figure.4.10. Percentage of respondents who consider T as part of the Algerian identity

Interestingly enough, despite the unfavorable perception that has been exhibited by the majority of informants towards T, answers for item 10 revealed that most of the informants (68%) consider T as part of the Algerian identity .These findings were endorsed by the qualitative study which showed that 5 out of 7 revealed the same opinion, in this vein interviewee 5 said:

"....we cannot ignore its presence, the fact that I don't support its teaching doesn't mean that I don't accept it, it represents part of the history of the country and ignoring it means ignoring a part of our identity as Algerians".

By the same toke interviewee 7 claimed: "' it is part of our identity as Algerians, it is a fact which shouldn't be neglected,……we have to start recognizing our Berber belonging".

4.2.1.2. Discussion:

The findings of the questionnaires and interviews largely complement each other, and demonstrate that Arabophone speakers in Oran city display unfavorable attitudes towards the integration of T in the educational system. They find it unimportant to teach Tamazight. Results have shown a lack of interest in transmitting it, considering that the language has no social value and does not help to get a job unlike the other foreign languages. This finding could potentially stem from the attitudes of some informants who tend to be oriented toward the Algerian language arena, where foreign languages are highly valued because of their high socio-economic status. Moreover, this negative attitude could also be attributed to the Islamist ideology embraced by some informants, where Arabic is privileged over any other language because of the religious bonds with which it is associated. Finding reached by far appeared to be in consistence with results discussed by Ghounane and Rabahi (2018) where the majority of participants expressed negative attitudes towards TTT.

Paradoxically, the official status of T has led to contradictory representations by Arabophone speakers in Oran who displayed negative attitudes towards the officialization of T and its incorporation in the educational system; nevertheless, they considered it as an essential constituent of the Algerian identity. This perspective is conditioned by two elements: the transcription in Arabic characters and the unconditional attachment of its speakers to Islam.

The attitudes exhibited by the Arabophone speakers who took part in this study reflect their resistance to the new language policy. Attitudes toward a newly enacted educational policy involve an attitude towards socio-political and cultural policy. Hence the Arabic-speaking community exhibited their resistance to the new official policy which reflects the multilingual aspect of the nation and its diverse identity. Though the findings showed considerable percentages of Arabophone speakers who hold positive attitudes towards TTT; however, they preferred a very limited presence of this language even for its teaching they preferred it to remain optional as it always was.

The teaching of Tamazight must be tailored to the sociolinguistic situation of the Algerian society. To develop a language and revive its culture, Language planners should take into account not only the linguistic aspect but the social one as well. Attitudes of communities that are concerned with this teaching should be taken into account. Communities where the dominant language is Arabic need a policy that progressively integrate Tamazight and in a non-obligatory way.

If we look deeper into the perception of the Arabic speaking community to the incorporation of T into the educational space we deduce that the fact that the latter exceeds the Berber speaking community in Oran city has sparked such reactions, in addition to the superiority and domination the Arabic-speaking community has benefited from due to the

official promotion of the Arabic language after independence. Moreover, the Berber speaking community endured extreme marginalization and isolation that resulted in its linguistic assimilation, mainly in urban areas, where public education has significantly contributed to the shift from T (Fishman, 1991, 2001, as cited in Afkir, 2012, p 10) to Arabic.

4.2.2. Section Two:

As part of the investigation, this work also sought to shed light on Tamazight teachers' reactions to the incorporation of T in the educational system. A study was conducted to answer the second and third research questions. In order to address these research questions, in-depth interviews were carried out; this was complemented by classroom observations. This section endeavors to explore the obstacles that hinder the implementation of the language policy stipulating the integration of T in primary schools. It also highlights the impact of attitudes on incorporating it in elementary school system.

Interviews were addressed to TST who provided us with an overview of the TTT process in an Arabic-speaking area. In this section, classroom observations will also be presented as they were used to validate the results of the interviews and to obtain more details on the topic. The observational phase was held in 15 classes of the fourth and fifth grade. The number of pupils in each class is displayed in the table below:

| School | Fourth grade | | Fifth grade | |
|---------------------|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| | Class 1 | Class2 | Class1 | Class2 |
| Abu Bakr Ali | 8 | | 4 | |
| Youbi Lahcen | 9 | 6 | 9 | |
| El Imam El Houari | 7 | | 6 | 8 |
| Youcef Ben Tachfin. | 10 | | 11 | |

| Echikh Abdelkader. | 6 | 9 | |
|-------------------------|---|---|--|
| Fallah Mohammed El Doum | 4 | | |
| Hamou Boutlilis | 4 | | |
| Ayzi Ben Yabka | 5 | | |

Table.4.11. Number of pupils in each observed class

4.2.2.1. Interviews and Classroom Observations Analyses and Discussion:

As demonstrated in chapter three interviews were held with the eight teachers of T who were in charge of teaching T in Oran. Data collected through these interviews were beneficial in eliciting the situation in which T was introduced in Oran. Profile of TST is heterogeneous (see chapter 3 section.6.2.2.1.2.). In order to assess how the main targets of this language policy (pupils and teachers) were coping with the new language policy, classroom observations were necessary. The latter provided precise and accurate facts about the data collected during the interviews.

Analyses of the data collected through conducting interviews with TST and observing T classes will be presented together bellow.

4.2.2.1.1. Pedagogical Training:

Teachers of Tamazight were asked whether they had a pedagogical training after hiring them. Answers revealed that they all benefited from training with the inspectors of French language. Most teachers expressed their need for more training because according to them they are still not familiar with teaching methods and classroom management that fit the context of their teaching. Below are the testimonies of some teacher:

"Yes I have attended all the training sessions, but it was not very beneficial for me as a teacher of Tamazight,....the inspector was providing us with methods and strategies of teaching foreign languages which is not the case of Tamazight.....you know we have two different categories of pupils within one class, there are those who understand Tamazight because they are of Berber origins, and those who are of Arab origins they understand nothing, I often find myself misunderstood by my pupils..... I feel that the methods I have been taught during the pedagogical training are not helpful at all".

Another teacher adds:

"Yes, we had pedagogical training with the new teachers of French, I felt like the training was addressed to them and not to us,.....we actually were only two teachers of Tamazight,..... not much attention was devoted to us......even for the training I had during my studies at university was not useful,.....we were taught strategies of teaching pupils who already know the language which is not the case here in Oran,.....even those who are Kabyle they do not know the language..........I have a pupil whose parents are Kabyle but he neither speaks nor understands Kabyle".

As we can observe from the above statement TST are not satisfied with the training they had, these testimonies reveal that teaching training is limited; mainly when inspectors appointed to train Tamazight teachers are from completely different disciplines. Unlike when the inspector is specialized in Tamazight didactics, the training sessions held by these inspectors seem to be more functional, this appears in the answer of the following teacher:

"Except the pedagogical training that was held in Ain Timouchant with Tamazight inspector, the rest sessions were not convenient to the teaching of Tamazight in an Arabopohone area"

Researcher: "So the inspectors in Ain Timouchant are specialized in Tamazight teaching"

Teacher: "Yes, the one I have attended his training session was a teacher of Tamazight at university now he is an inspector,..... he came several time to Ain Timouchant, since there are almost thirteen teachers of Tamazight there".

TST claim that they are insufficiently prepared; they request more training that is relevant to the language they teach and the category of learners. The lack of pertinent pedagogical training consequently makes achieving the goals of education policy challenging.

4.2.2.1.2. Textbooks and Teaching Aids:

TST were asked about the quality of teaching and learning materials, answers revealed that the textbooks developed are generally considered impractical. They are presented in different writing systems (Latin, Arabic, and Tifinagh) this distracts both teachers and learners and explains the lack of a single, unified writing standard due to the absence of a full standardized language and standardization agencies. Some of the teachers' responses are presented below:

"The use of three different writing systems within the same textbook causes problems in my class of the fourth grade,.... I use the Latin part......during reading sessions I am often confronted with the situation where one or two pupils go to the Arabic part to read since for them Arabic is much easier than the Latin script".

The teachers response was confirmed during the observational phase, the researcher has noticed that textbook of the fourth and fifth grade were presented in three different graphs Arabic, Latin and Tifinagh; most pupils keep turning pages and moving from one part to another. Below are examples extracted from the textbooks of fourth and fifth grades:

| | +.UOE+ 1 5EO8E | |
|--|--|-------------------|
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| Page | +0XE, A | ON HELVEH +84HP24 |
| μ ₀Χξ, Λ | τολζ, // | + |
| °V V-4084 | 101 A LIVE TO A LIVE LEGISTO L SHELA TO SOMEET. | |
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| SOURCE / to SOURCE | ET. | |
| »χχος / +οχχος+ ξοε, οςοжεε, οχχος Λ εΘςομεί εςομοςεί ; ςο Λ +οςοжεε+, +οχχος+, Λ | | |
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| ⊕ - o∧ ⊙N84, o∧ ∧-⊙8K184 | | |
| . OHOA +oRoOE。 +o +o米OX米oU+, E٤ oOo oOEOOO - oRoOO | 。⊖≗○尽。H, C | |
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| 1. \$00 01\$00\$E \\ +06\$\tag{\chi}\$ | \^∘U ₹₹©%E °E°N°£, ⊙₹I ₹₹I%OO₹E% \^°N ₹€©%E %I+ SI+ - °O%KE₹ - +°H₹N+ - ₹E%IO₹ - O%KO%. | ٤. |
| 2. OC%∧ +₀H%NLI≤+. | | |
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Figure.4.11. A lesson presented in Tifinagh script from the fourth grade textbook

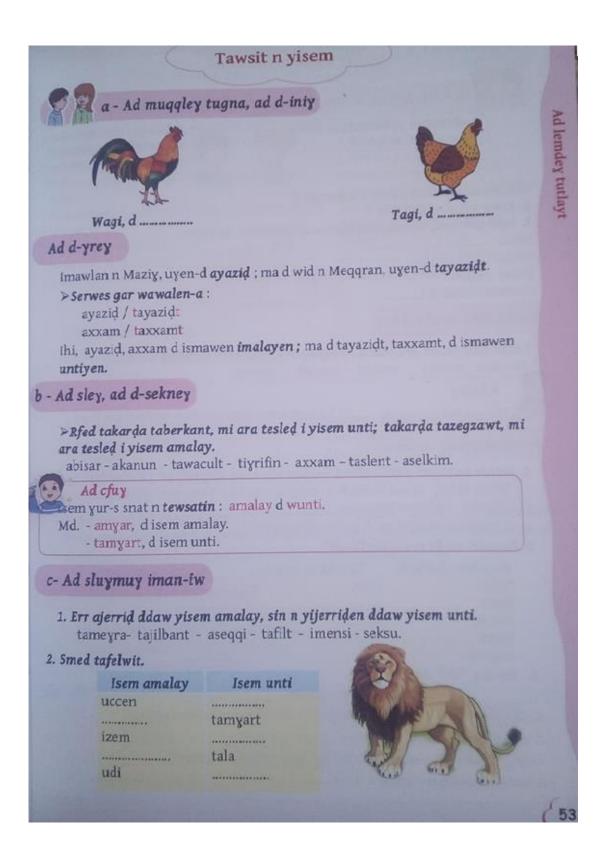


Figure 4.12. A lesson presented in Latin script from the fourth grade textbook



Figure.4.13. A lesson presented in Arabic script from the fourth grade textbook

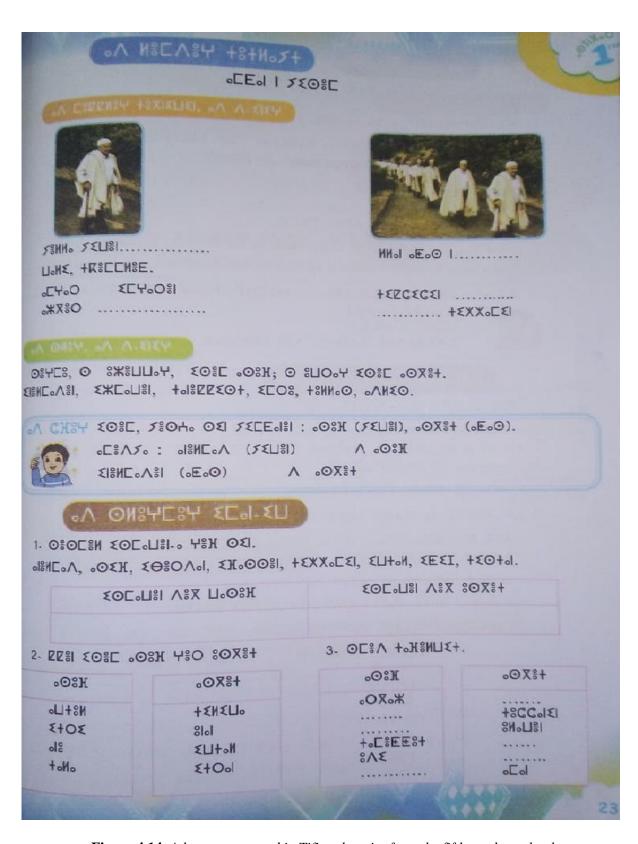


Figure.4.14. A lesson presented in Tifinagh script from the fifth grade textbook

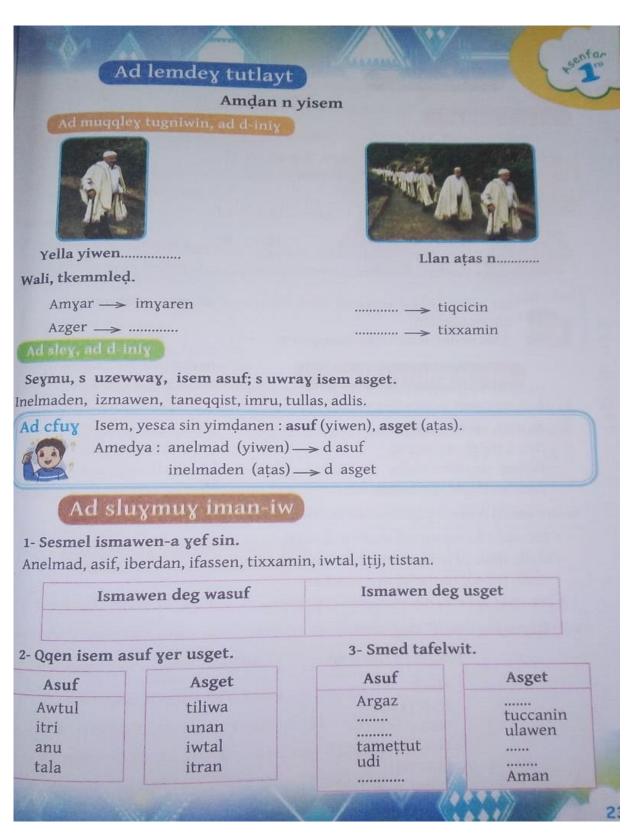


Figure.4.15. A lesson presented in Latin script from the fifth grade textbook

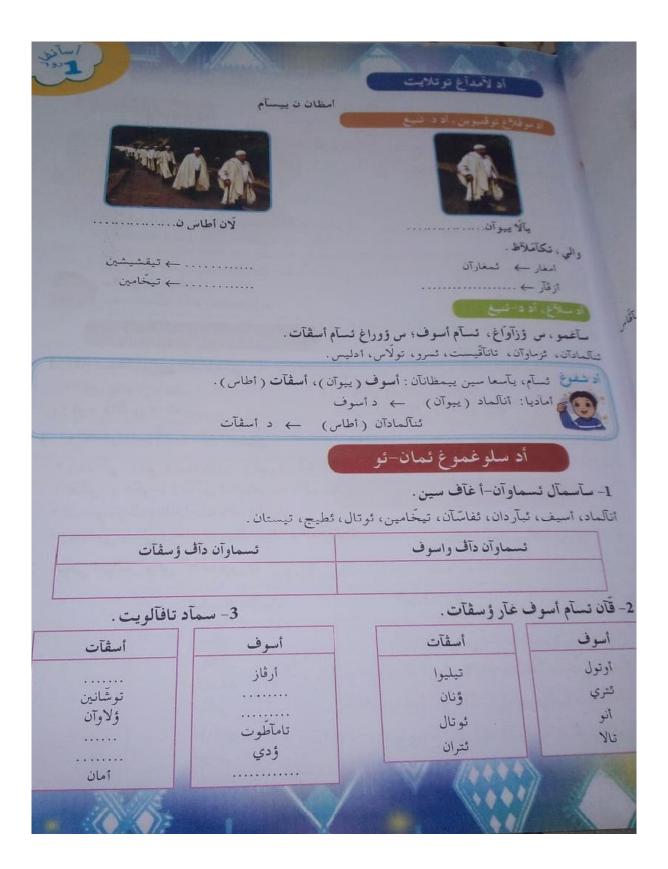


Figure.4.16. A lesson presented in Arabic script from the fifth grade textbook.

TST were also asked about the teaching aids they make use of while delivering their lessons, most teachers asserted they refer less to the textbook provided by the ministry of education since according to them the textbooks' content is designed for Berborophones and not Arabophone pupils. Therefore teaching aids such as photos and, stories, dialogues, drawings are often used. This was noticed by the field worker in the class of the fifth grade where the teacher was singing the song of the singer Idir, a song in which he describes life in the countryside. The teacher was making use of pictures downloaded in his laptop to help the pupils imagine the scene. According to the interviewees the diversification of teaching materials is very useful to facilitate the understanding of some cultural values that Arabic-speaking learners are not familiar with; however these teaching materials are not available in all schools. Hence, TST insist on the importance of developing a textbook whose content fits this category of learners.

Regrettably, when visiting other classrooms where Tamazight is taught, the field worker was confronted with outmoded methods of teaching pupils and a strong dependence on translation between Algerian Arabic and Tamazight. These methods are the remnants of a former language teaching school that are still carried on in most Algerian educational institutions.

4.2.2.1.3. Linguistic Heterogeneity and Medium of Instruction:

One of the main challenges that face TST is managing language variation in the classroom. TST were asked about the medium of instruction they use in their class, knowing that their classes are linguistically heterogeneous (Berberophone and Arabophone speakers).

Most teachers said that they switch between Tamazight, Dialectal Arabic, Classical Arabic, Kabyle and sometimes French. Some teachers express difficulties regarding using only Tamazight. This can be noticed in the following responses:

"I cannot speak only Tamazight, it is difficult because the majority are Arabic speakers, and even the Kabyle and Chaoui pupils do not understand Tamazight fully,..... I feel that I am using Arabic more than Tamazight".

"I often translate from Tamazight to Arabic and even allow my pupils to write the translation on their copybook".

This was noticed through classroom observation, whenever the teacher uses a new term he writes its translation in Arabic and asks his pupils to write them on their notebooks. The picture below was taken during classroom observation.

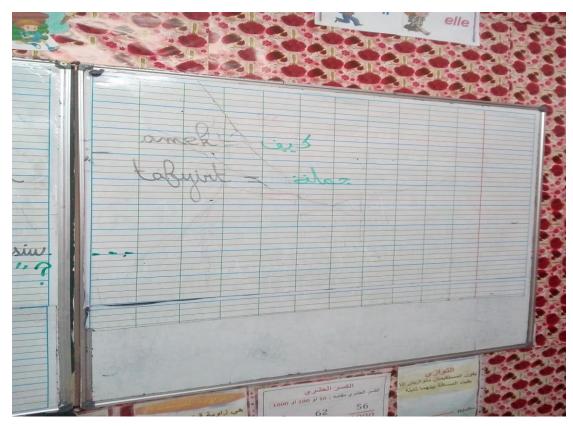


Figure.4.17. Using translation from Tamazight to Arabic

Switching between languages was also noticed during the classroom observations.

Teachers switch to Arabic to give feedback and to keep order in their classes.

The field worker has notice that the use of the language of instruction depends on the mother tongue of the learner. In other words, teachers use Kabyle with Kabyle-speaking learners, when the learners are Arabic speakers teachers use Arabic. TST are often making use of Algerian mother tongues mainly Kabyle and DA. The teacher switches to Kabyle and Algerian Arabic and even to standard Arabic. Kabyle is considered as a mother tongue of some pupils, while dialectal Arabic is the second language acquired; however, given the Arab-speaking environment, it is the latter which is more significant.

As a matter of fact the choice of the language of instruction by teachers depends on the learners' mother tongue as well as the dominant language of the region where they work. According to TST testimonies and classroom observations, it seems that heterogeneous classes are problematic mainly when teachers are lacking the convenient teaching strategies. Teaching heterogeneous classes recommends the implementation of teaching methods and a strategy that is pertinent to achieve the goals outlined in the learning objectives.

4.2.2.1.4. The Writing System:

We have already seen that in Tamazight school books of primary education, three spellings Arabic and Latin and the Tifinagh are used. For the city of Oran the question of the writing has been decided by all teachers, by opting for Latin writing. However, this question is not yet resolved for the ministry of education. Teachers interviewed preferred the use of the Latin script; this choice was mainly steaming from its relation with development and internationalization. They seem to agree on the practicality of the Latin script, being the medium of their professional training.

Here are some of TST answers:

"Latin script responded to the specific Berber sounds."

"All researches about Tamazight, since 1800, are written in Latin script, if we use the Arabic script we have to start from scratch"

"The Latin orthography is the predominant one,.....you know the writing system is just a medium. Latin, Arabic or Tifinagh it does not matter which script to use what matters most is the transmission of the language......even with Latin scripts pupils face difficulties in learning especially pupils of the fourth grade, you saw Iman this morning she is still having difficulties in distinguishing between some sounds of Tamazight and French".

According to interviews and classroom observations, even the Latin script may lead to confusions and misunderstanding mainly for pupils of the fourth grade. During T session the teacher asked his pupil to write names of her classmates in Tamazight, he dictated the names on her and she wrote them in Tamazight and Arabic. The pictures below reveal the pupil's confusion between T and French language.

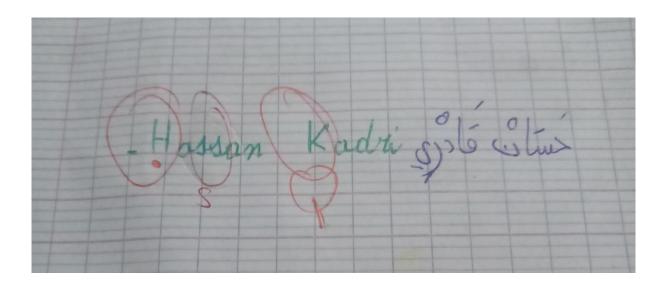


Figure.4.18.pupil's confusion between T and French language

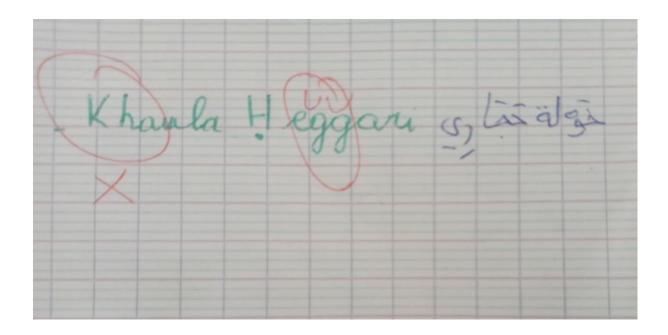


Figure.4.19. *pupil's confusion between T and French language*

As we can see in the Figures above, the pupil is not making a difference between French and Tamazight sounds. Nevertheless, the Latin script remains the favorable writing system that is used by all TTT in Oran, though in other areas they opt for other types of writing such as the use of Tifinagh in Touareg and Arabic script in Batna.

It should be mentioned here that there is a great gap in the representation of T between the school and the linguistic environment. Tamazight presence in the linguistic landscape is different from the one that is taught at school, as the latter in taught in Latin script whereas panels outside schools are written in Tifinagh (see appedix5). It is important to emphasize that the debate on the writing system that should be used in the TTT has no pedagogical basis, but simply mirrors the ideological tendencies of each group and the splits that still exist among Tamazight language planners (political and linguistic agencies).

4.2.2.1.5. The Effect of Attitudes on Language Implementation:

As the main subject of the current research is language attitudes, TST were asked about the effect of Oran community's attitudes on language implementation. Language attitudes are important in any language planning process. Hence, the researcher questioned whether people in Oran are beginning to get used to the idea of teaching their children T, and how their attitudes impact its teaching.

Teachers' responses:

"The attitudes of the community towards teaching Tamazight is essential in the success or failure of the language policy, Arabs are the majority here in Oran, most pupils parents are not in favor of teaching their children Tamazight,....one pupil told me once that though he would love to learn Tamazight, but his father will not permit him attending Tamazight class because it is not his language, it is the rather the language of Kabyle people"

"you can see the effect of people's attitudes yourself,.....the total number of pupils in this class is 35, only 9 have registered to study Tamazight. 3 have stopped because the teacher of Arabic told their parents that Tamazight is affecting their grades negatively"

"Pupils were very enthusiastic about learning a new language, but teachers of other subjects warned them that learning Tamazight have no future and that they should devote their learning to mathematics and Arabic if they want to succeed"

"Not only the attitudes of Arabophones are negative but berberophones as well, I teach in el Hassi where the majority are of Berber origins,.... the total number of the fifth grade classes is 90, in my class only 9 attend Tamazight session and the majority are of Arab origin."

"it is a pity that pupils want to learn Tamazight; but their parent are against it.......I had a pupil who is of Mezbit origin,... she is a brilliant one.....her parents obliged to stop attending Tamazight class because according to them we are teaching them Kabyle and not Tamazight"

The teacher has said that parents are in contact with each other, therefore when one pupil stops having Tamazight class many follow.

In the same vein another teacher adds:

"two Kabyle pupils have stopped attending my class when they realized that the language they are studying is different from the language they use at home".

Based on these statements, it seems that the misconception associated to T still exists. People still do not distinguish between the varieties of Tamazight and Tamazight that is taught at schools, which is made of its different varieties. These results are consistent with the quantitative data which revealed the community's lack of awareness regarding the language that is being taught at school. As stated by one of the Teachers:

"the language we teach is a new one, that even Teachers of Tamazight find themselves confronted with new terms due to neologismpeople need to know that the school language is neither Kabyle nor any other dialect, but rather Tamazight which is being formed based of all the Berber varieties that exist in Algeria."

Evidently, the lack of awareness regarding the language that is taught at school has also been one of the reasons guiding people's attitudes. The state should raise more awareness concerning the main objective of T language planning, which is to develop a unified language for the entire country.

Verily, language attitudes are also attributed to their linguistic environment. Arabic is the language of the majority group in Oran where Tamazight has no place in their linguistic environment. The lack of enthusiasm about the importance of learning Tamazight is related to the lack of social and economic capital associated with this language; consequently people find it useless to learn Tamazight, a language which they use only within the school.

While the majority of Arabic speakers in Oran do not have a positive attitude towards T, it would be unrealistic to foresee a bright future for the language policy that requires all Algerians to learn T. Arabophones' attitudes towards T language are important, as they could be the most decisive factor affecting the implementation of its policy.

4.2.2.1.6. Other obstacles Encountered in TTT:

With the goal of fully covering the situation in which Tamazight is presented in Oran, teachers were interrogated if there were any other impediments to the implementation of Tamazight teaching. Our interviewees raised other problems they encounter on a daily basis in the course of their work. This includes:

"The optional nature of Tamazight language in the Algerian school system does not encourage its development."

The recognition of T as an official language requires its teaching to be compulsory throughout the Algerian territory. Nevertheless, Tamazight is taught as a facultative subject, after all compulsory modules. This situation forces pupils to leave T class because they feel tired by the end of the day, especially for those who live far from the school. This position at the end of the school day is troublesome, as explained by many teachers, because the students who attend T class are already "very exhausted".

The reluctance of pupils to join Tamazight classes causes many pedagogical challenges. However, TST appreciate the teaching of Tamazight in spite of the problems they

encounter in the course of their work, the testimonies given by our respondents show their willingness to succeed their mission, namely the teaching of this language in Arabophone regions. This appears in the answers of the respondents, one of whom is listed below:

"I never regret leaving home and coming here to teach Tamazight, I knew it is not easy and many obstacles are waiting me; but I decided to be a teacher, therefore I will do my best to perform my mission perfectly"

4.2.2.2. Discussion:

The official recognition of Tamazight in the constitution has raised the question of the gradual generalization of its teaching in other states, mainly states where the speakers have Arabic as their mother tongue. According to teachers' testimonies and classroom observations, several serious problems continue to impede TTT.

It should be noted that TTT, as it is conceived now, presents T language as a standardized language, having a standard written form, like Arabic and French languages. But the fieldwork offers another reality, which is sometimes difficult to be managed by teachers who find themselves faced with the problems of language variation on a daily basis within the same speech. Moreover, teachers are face with three different writing systems which compete in the same textbook, an anti-pedagogical approach according to pedagogues, but which seems to be a temporary and transitory solution to resolve this issue.

In fact the choice of the writing system for the transcription of Tamazight is one of the ongoing debates in Tamazight cultural revival. TST in Oran opted for the use of the Latin script which is highly adaptable, it has the enormous advantage of providing Tamazight with an immediate access to modernity and universality, which is not the case for; neither Arabic, nor Tifinagh alphabets.

In-depth interviews and classroom observations revealed that teachers of Tamazight experienced many challenges in TTT. Data analyses have demonstrated that Attitudes towards T are generally unfavorable. This poses a major obstacle to the implementation of the language policy of maintaining and promoting T by teaching it to all Algerians. The majority of Arabophone speakers are against the policy that calls for the generalization of T in all Algerian schools. Language attitudes are important in any language planning process and they play a critical role in language maintenance and language promotion; therefore, language policy regarding a minority language is likely to be successful if the attitudes of the majority group, who doesn't use the language that is being planned, towards this language and its speakers are positive. Conversely, if this language is perceived as having no instrumental value by members of the community, including its native speakers, the chance of its success begins to diminish. Sadly, this is the case of T in Algeria. As the case study revealed the attitudes of the major community in Oran are unfavorable; hence, language attitudes, that potentially affect the implementation of the policy, should be taken into consideration in any language planning process. Therefore, in a bid to make T language policy take hold and yield results, the first step is to change people's beliefs and perceptions about the language itself. The state is facing a huge challenge, much more difficult to implement than teaching Tamazight: it is to begin to change people's beliefs and attitudes towards Tamazight.

In order to accomplish the generalization of T and implement T language policy, the following suggestions are recommended:

- Provide a clear and objective language planning policy by developing a convenient strategy for the promotion of this language.
- Elaborate a training program that is mainly operating in Arabic-speaking regions.

- Designing educational materials and programs according to the target audience for this teaching.
- Raising the social prestige of T in the realms of official culture, and in the labor market.
- Providing teachers with intensive training in effective methods.

In spite of the shortcomings that we have noticed in the planning of this language, one should mention that T has taken a big step towards its standardization. All in all, recognizing T as an official language represents a major step which opens broad prospects for its teaching and promotion.

4.3. Conclusion:

The teaching of Tamazight, which has been part of the national educational system since 1995, has come a long way. Much has been achieved, but much more need to be done. The teaching of T language in Algeria is a very complex and sensitive issue because it is a point of interference of political, socio cultural, economic and religious factors. This language which was long marginalized and did not have any legal status has recently been recognized as an official language. Now it appears that a new era has dawned, signs of a real change herald a better future for T culture and language. As an official language, T must benefit from all the chances and the opportunities for its teaching/learning and promotion.

Based on data from questionnaires, interviews and classroom observations, this chapter validates the hypotheses presented in this work, by reporting findings on the attitudes of Arabophone speakers towards the incorporation of T in the educational system. It also demonstrates how these attitudes are impeding the implementation of T at primary school; moreover, it reveals the major hindrances that face TST in their teaching process.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This research investigates the attitudes of Arabophone speakers in Oran towards the new language policy of teaching Tamazight in Algerian primary schools. It also highlights the barriers that block the teaching of Tamazight and divulge how language attitudes are influential in any language planning process.

The findings are based on a quantitative and qualitative research conducted in Oran city. Data was collected through questionnaire, interviews and classroom observations. The questionnaire was administered to Arabophones speakers only. To check up the outcomes reached via the questionnaire, interviewing people belonging to the same speech community was conducted to increase the validity of the findings. A semi- structured interview was also used targeting teachers of Tamazight, who all are Kabyle speakers, in Oran primary schools. As for the classroom observations, it included both levels fourth and fifth grades in the eight primary schools where T was introduced as an optional subject.

Drawing on three different method of data collection, this study affords an affluent and accurate portrait of Oran Arabophone speech community's attitudes towards Tamazight in general and teaching Tamazight in primary schools in particular. The diverse tools of data collection have led to a certain degree of triangulation and thus boost the trustworthiness of the findings. Moreover, interviewing Arabophone speakers and Tamazight teachers, who all are Kabylophones, has allowed us to reach a number of useful facts which would not have been attained through interviewing only the Arabic speech community; this has eventually enriched the study. By aggregating data using different research methods (sampling strategies), results obtained are likely to form a holistic picture of the phenomenon under study. This also improve the results reliability and validity

While many studies regarding attitudes towards minority are approached through the minority group itself, this study takes a different dimension, which is based on the attitudes of the majority community towards a minority language, which has recently been recognized as an official language. Hence, the descriptive detail provided in this study is a useful contribution to the growing literature on Attitudes of a dominant group towards a minority language.

The present study revealed that language attitude in Algeria, as in many multilingual contexts; reflect a complex sociocultural image at the individual and societal levels. The attitudes displaced towards teaching Tamazight are based on the claim that it doesn't enjoy much prestige like languages of developed nations; this unfavorable attitude displayed towards TTT represents a huge block against its development and hinders the implementation of the new language policy which aims at incorporating it in all primary schools.

In terms of choice of the writing system, this question has not been solved yet. TST in Oran city have adopted for the Latin alphabet. This alphabet has been prevalent since the 19th century, especially in Kabylia with a very high production of texts; however, the debate is still open, we can observe the use of the three writing systems depending on the geographical areas and this is one of the problems that burden the management of Tamazight.

The investigation has also revealed that there is a misconception associated with the language that is taught i.e. Tamazight. Many pupils parent's thought that their children are going to study their mother tongue (Berberophones), once at school, faced with the reality of studying Tamazight which is different from their mother tongue and judged to be difficult to learn, they decided to stop their children from attending Tamazight classes, believing that they are studying Kabyle which is a variety of Tamazight just like the variety they make use

of in their daily life, this misconception may be related to the lack of sensitizing and awareness raising.

The teaching of Tamazight has always been one of the most important demands of the Berber cultural movement in Algeria. Tamazight has known a lot of inadequacies which limit its actions and threaten its credibility. The incorporation of this language into the school system has been decided in a hasty manner, without any real field study, without real training of teachers, without an experimental project to analyze the first steps, and without any evaluation by specialized and independent bodies to determine its efficiency or inadequacies. Tamazight teaching has undergone a double evolution since its introduction into the educational system in 1995: one on the ground operated by different actors (HCA,MNE), and the other one at the decision-making and strategic level.

Today that the language has been granted an official status, its teaching has gradually started to reach all states of Algeria. Tamazight teaching may one day be generalized all over Algeria as a mandatory subject; however this cannot occur without serious recognition of both linguistic and societal patterns that characterize the Algeria community. Despite all the results that have been reached, there is still a considerable work to be done to achieve the desired aspirations; the challenges that remain to be met are enormous, knowing that the evolution of this teaching inexorably requires the support of all the members of civil society. Thus, to ensure a successful generalization, many actions still need to be done including carrying out a convergent standardization of Tamazight, by unifying the spelling, the writing system and terminology, in addition to developing educational policy for regions that are characterized with heterogeneous linguistic groups. Attitudes of communities that are concerned with this teaching should be taken into account. Communities where the dominant language is Arabic need a policy that progressively integrate Tamazight and in a non-obligatory way.

Granting Tamazight official status and introducing it to the educational system without deep language planning which takes into account all the aspect of a successful language planning process is not enough for T revitalization, the latter need more political and institutional supports, reviving T requires considering both linguistic ad societal aspect that characterize the Algerian reality, this puts the state in a huge challenge, which is changing people's beliefs and attitudes towards Tamazight.

Turning negative attitudes into good ones may only be possible if a conscious intervention on the cognitive component of attitude (beliefs and expectations about language) takes place. In fact LA is a very complex construct which is influenced by many factors, not only the cognitive one and its change isn't an easy task. As attitudes are seldom static and often change, investigating who leads to that change? in what situations? and how this change occurs? will be the subject of further research.

Before concluding, we would like to emphasize the importance of the study of attitudes in multilingual (bilingual) contexts. Contexts that are increasingly common as a result of both the internationalization of societies and the desire of many communities to safeguard minority languages. The success or failure of any language planning depends on the attitudes of the community. The study and analysis of these are therefore essential. Accordingly, language attitude has received special attention by many researchers in contact linguistics and language planning realms.

Indeed, the favorable or unfavorable attitudes of the population towards a language policy/planning process principally affect its success; hence the study of language attitudes is a prerequisite for any successful language policy. A dearth of language attitude research contributes to the lack of sociolinguistic framework and a failure of any language policy.

Thence the issue of attitudes is often on the agenda of the language planning process of any language.

As a matter of fact, language planning should take attitudes into account to reach a successful implementation of policies. When language planning doesn't hinge on rational and lucid foundations, it triggers many language problems; this can be confirmed with the failure of many language policies in different parts of the world. One of main rational foundations is considering language attitudes in language planning stages.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire in Arabic

جامعة محمد بن احمد و هران 2 كلية اللغات الاجنبية قسم اللغة الانجليزية استبيان

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

تقوم الباحثة بإعداد مذكرة الدكتوراه حول اللغة الامازيغية - دراسة حالة تعليم الامازيغية بولاية وهران. تهدف الدراسة الى توضيح حالة اللغة الامازيغية في ولاية وهران اضافة الى اكتشاف مواقف الناطقين باللغة العربية اتجاه ادماج هذه اللغة في المدارس و في سبيل ذلك فإننا نتوقع منكم المساهمة الجادة في إنجاح هذه الدراسة و ذلك بالإجابة على كافة الاسئلة.

نشكر لكم مقدما مجهودكم و حسن تعاونكم.

الطالبة :بن احسن مليكة

المشرفة: أبب/ وحميش غنية.

تخصص: التخطيط اللغوى

ملاحظة المعلومات الواردة في هده الاستمارة لن تستخدم الا لأغراض البحث العلمي.

القسم الاول من الاستبيان مخصص للمعلومات الشخصية

1- اجب بوضع علامة امام الجواب المناسب

| انثی |
|--|
| دكر |
| <u>2- كم عمرك</u> |
| 3- المستوى التعليمي: (اجب بوضع علامة امام الجواب المناسب) |
| ابتدائي |
| متو سط |
| ِثَانُو ي |
| <u> جامعي</u> |
| 4- المركز الوظيفى: |
| |
| 5-ماهي اللغة الاولى التي تكلمت بها في طفولتك قبل الدخول الى المدرسة اي لغتك الام |
| العربية |
| الامازيغية |
| الفرنسية |
| 6- التمكن من لهجة من لهجات الامازيغية |

| اطلاقا | بعض الشيء | بطلاقة | |
|--------|-----------|--------|------------------|
| | | | |
| | | | هل تتحدث لهجة من |
| | | | لهجات الامازيغية |
| | | | هل تفهم لهجة من |
| | | | لهجات الامازيغية |

| 7- هل تمثل لهجه من لهجات الإماازيعيه اللغه الام لاحد والديك او كلاهما |
|---|
| نعم لا لا |
| الجزء الثاني من هذا الاستبيان مخصص للغة الامازيغية |
| 1- هل تعلم ان اللغة الامازيغية تدرس في بعض المدارس بو هران؟ |
| نعم لا |
| 2- إذا تم تدريس اللغة الأمازيغية في مدرسة طفلك ، فهل ستقوم بتسجيله لالتحاق بفصول الأمازيغية؟ |
| <u>2- إنه تم تدريس المنه المماريت عني مدرسه تعلق ، فهن منطوم بسمبيت و تنفق بمعمون المماريت.</u> (ضع علامة امام الجواب المناسب) |
| نعم |
| ······································ |
| |
| 3-من الجيد أن يكون لديك الأمازيغية في النظام التعليمي: |
| نعم |
| |
| 4-يجب تدريس الأمازيغية في جميع المدارس الابتدائية: |
| نعم |
| |
| 5- تدريس الأمازيغية يجب ان يخص |
| الشعب الامازيغي فقط |
| الشعب العربي فقط |
| كلاهما |
| |
| تعليم الامازيغية يجب ان يكون: $\underline{6}$ |
| اجباري |

| اختيار ي |
|---|
| 7- اللغة الإمازيغية والعريبة الفصحى تستحقان نفس المكانة |
| نعم |
| |
| |
| 8- الحرف الذي يجب استخدامه في تدريس الأمازيغية هو |
| الحرف اللاتيني |
| الحرف العربي |
| حرف التيفيناغ |
| 9-يجب تعليم الأمازيغية لكل الجزائريين |
| نعم |
| |
| 10- الأمازيغية هي جزء من الهوية الجزائرية |
| نعم |
| ¥ |
| |
| ملاحظة |
| |
| ادا كان لديكم بعض الملاحظات او التعليقات يرجي كتابتها في الجزء ادناه. |
| إذا كنت مهتم بلقاء شفوي للتعبير اكثر عن المواضيع المطروحة اعلاه ،نرجو منكم كتابة رقم هاتفكم |
| للتواصل معكم. |
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| شكرا لكم |
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Appendix 02: Questionnaire in

French

Université Mohammed ben Ahmed Oran 2

Faculté des langues étrangères

Département de Langue Anglaise

Questionnaire

Je me présente je suis une étudiante qui prépare une thèse de doctorat sur la langue

amazighe - étude de cas sur l'enseignement de l'amazigh à d'Oran - l'étude vise à clarifier le

statut de la langue Tamazight dans la wilaya d'Oran et de découvrir les attitudes des

arabophones envers l'intégration de cette langue dans les écoles, et pour cela nous attendons

de vous que vous contribuiez sérieusement au succès de cette étude en répondant à toutes les

questions.

Nous vous remercions à l'avance pour vos efforts et votre coopération.

L'étudiante: Benachene Malika.

Superviseur: Pr. Oahmiche Ghania.

Spécialisation: Planification linguistique.

Observation

Les informations contenues dans ce formulaire ne seront utilisées que pour la recherche

scientifique.

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La première partie du questionnaire concerne les informations personnelles

| 1- Répondez en cochant la réponse appropriée. | | | |
|---|-------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Femme | | | |
| Homme | | | |
| 2-Quel âge avez-vous | | | |
| | | | |
| 3- Le niveau d'éducation: (I | Répondez en cocha | nt la réponse appi | ropriée) |
| Primaire | | | |
| Moyenne | | | |
| Secondaire | | | |
| Université | | | |
| 4- Quelle est votre profession | on ? | | |
| | | | |
| 5- Quelle est votre première | e langue : | | |
| L'arabe | Amazigh | Franç | ais |
| 6- Maîtrise d'un dialecte de | Tamazight: | | |
| | Du tout | Un peu | Couramment |
| Parlez-vous un | | | |
| dialecte de | | | |
| Tamazight? | | | |
| Comprenez-vous un | | | |
| dialecte de | | | |
| Tamazight? | | | |

La deuxième partie de ce questionnaire est consacrée par l'enseignement de Tamazight

| 1- Saviez-vous que la langue Tamazight est enseignée dans certaines écoles d'Oran? |
|---|
| Oui |
| Non |
| 2- <u>Si Tamazight est enseignée dans l'école de votre enfant, allez-vous l'inscrire pour rejoindre les cours de Tamazight? (Cochez la réponse approprié)</u> |
| Oui |
| Non |
| 3- <u>C'est bien d'avoir Tamazight dans le système éducatif:</u> |
| Oui |
| Non |
| 4- Tamazight doit être enseigné dans toutes les écoles primaires: |
| Oui |
| Non |
| 5- <u>L'enseignement de Tamazight devrait concerné</u> |
| Le peuple Amazigh seulement |
| Le peuple Arabe seulement |
| Les deux |
| 6- L'enseignement de l'amazigh doit être: |
| -Obligatoire |
| - Facultatif |
| 7- Tamazight et l'arabe classique méritent le même statut : |
| - Oui - Non |

| | 8- Le caractère à utiliser pour enseigner le Tamazight est |
|-------|---|
| | - latin |
| | - arabe |
| | - Tifinagh |
| | 9-Tous les Algériens doivent apprendre le tamazight |
| | - Oui |
| | - Non |
| | _ |
| | 10- Tamazight fait partie de l'identité algérienne |
| | Oui |
| | - Non |
| Ol | <u>servation</u> |
| de | sous. Si vous êtes intéressé par une entrevue orale pour en parler plus sur les sujets cisus, veuillez noter votre numéro de téléphone pour vous contacter. |
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Merci à vous

Appendix 03: Permission request





Université d'Oran 2 Mohamed Ben Ahmed

Oran le 12/12/2018

A Mr le Directeur de l'éducation d'Oran

Sujet: Demande d'Autorisation

Monsieur,

Je vous prie de bien vouloir autoriser Mme BENAHCENE MALIKA d'accéder à l'archive des statistique au niveau de votre direction, et de l'orienter vers des établissements ou on enseigne la langue TAMAZIGHT, en raison de l'indisponibilité de documentation de cette spécialité au niveau de notre bibliothèque.

Veillez croire Monsigur à l'expression de mes salutations distinguées.

Appendix 04:

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية وزارة التربية الوطنية

وهران في المسلم المالية المسلم المالية

ديرية التربية لولاية وهران مصلحة التنظيم التربوي

الرقم: ٤٠٤٤/م.ت/م.ت.تر/ 2018

مديسرالتربية إلسى السيد عميد بالنيابة كلية اللغات الأجنبية جامعة وهران 02

الموضوع: رخصة القيام باختبارات ميدانية .

ردا على طلبكم المتعلق بتسهيل مهمة الباحثة "بن أحسن مليكة " للتحضير لأطروحة الدكتوراه تحت عنوان "إحصاءات الخاصة بالتدريس اللغة الأمازيغية في الطور الإبتدائي.

يشرفني منح الباحثة رخصة الإتصال بالمدارس المذكورة أدناه قصدإجراء تربصها الميداني ، على أن يتم احترام الشروط التالي:

- تقديم موضوع البحث و حصيلة الإستقصاء و الدراسة للمصلحة المنية .
 - تحدد فترة الدراسة خلال السنة الدراسية 18 2019/2
 - تسطير برنامج الزيارات بالتنسيق مع مديري يسسأت.
 - التقيد بالنظام الداخلي و احترام التنظيد وي للمؤسسة.
- عدم الإتصال بالأساتذة أو التلاميذ خلال تترات الإمتحانات و المراقبات التقويمية.
 - لا يسمح بتقديم دروس للتلاميذ.
 - إنجاز العمل خارج التوقيت الرسمي لتمدرس التلاميذ

الابتدائيات المعنية:

مدير التربية

- م/ أبو بكر علي/وهران- م/ يوبي لحسن/ وهران- م/ الإمام الهواري/ وهران
- م/ يوسف بن تاشفين/ وهران- م/ الشيخ عبد القادر/ وهران م/ دوار الدوم حاسى بونيف
 - م/ حمو بوتليلس / عين الترك م/ عايزي بن يبقى / بطيوة

نسخة موحه إلى

- مديري المدارس المعنية / (للإعلام و التنفيد).
- مفتشي التعليم الإبتدائي لإدارة المدارس الإبتدائية (للإعلام)

مديرية التربية لولاية وهران - مصلحة التنظيم التربوي المديرية التربوي العنوان: 104 شارع مولود فرعون، وهران - رقم الهاتف 041.40.43.51 – رقم الفاكس: 041.40.28.79 الموقع الالكتروني: . www.de-oran.com البريد الإلكتروني: . oraneducationpedag@gmail.com

Appendix 05:





