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***A SOCIOLINGUITIC INVESTIGATION OF TAMAZIGHT
IN ALGERIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
KABYLE VARIETY***

**Doctorat d'État Thesis
in Sociolinguistics**

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To the memory of my father

To my mother

To Bouchra

To Syphax and Anir

To my sisters and brothers

*To all those who through their efforts and sacrifice made the presentation of such a work in
an Algerian university possible*



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ABBREVIATIONS

AA: Algerian Arabic

Ber: Berber

CA: Classical Arabic

CNPLET: Centre National Pédagogique et Linguistique pour l'Enseignement de Tamazight

CS: Code-switching

ESA Educated Spoken Arabic

F: French

HCA: Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité

K: Kabyle

MLF: Matrix Language Frame




SA: Standard Arabic

SST: Semi – Standard Tamazight

T: Tamazight

Phonetic transcription

Unless otherwise indicated, the phonetic symbols used are taken from the IPA

b	ب
t	ت
 emphatic	ط
d	د
 emphatic	ض
	ذ
 emphatic	ظ
k	ك
×	fricative
g	
^	fricative
h	ه
⇒	ح
s	س
▪	emphatic
ص	
z	ز
⌚	emphatic
↗	ف
v	
●	ش
☾	ج
❄	ث
📖	ء
⊠	ع
☞	غ

ABSTRACT

In the midst of the process of globalisation which touches fields as important as economics, politics, energy and technology, the question of minority languages

fully recognised languages like French, Arabic and of what is known today as the “world language”, namely English. In such a context, what is the fate of minority languages and minority language groups? Specialists in different fields like anthropology, education, linguistics, sociology feel concerned with the death of languages and cultures in various parts of the world. Unfortunately, this tendency does not seem to touch the countries of the “Arab World” which consider that because Arabic is the language of the Quran, there is no field for challenging it by any native language whether dialectal Arabic or other languages like Kurdish, Turkmen, or Tamazight. This situation has not been without creating social and sometimes ethnic tensions which have been violent at times. Issues like the promotion of minority languages derive from a strong political will determined by a high degree of democracy which rarely exists in the “Arab World”, if ever.

The case of the Maghrib in general and Algeria in particular is quite edifying. Tamazight, the original language of the original inhabitants of this part of the world was about to disappear had some militants not taken the question in charge. The different Algerian governments after independence have always ignored the Amazigh dimension of the country and have even been presented it as a threat to national unity. It took years of work, imprisonment, death and socio-political changes and mutations to reach a state where the Tamazight question and dimension was officially accepted and integrated into the Algerian Constitution. One has to recognise that at this level, Algeria is much in advance compared to other Arab countries and even to some developed ones like France. The national status Tamazight has today is a protection against its death and disappearance and a guarantee of development as the state is providing the means and tools for this. Thus, an ambitious project of the Tamazight language planning is underway in Algeria.

The starting idea for the present work is, in fact, the question of language management. The latter process is of course the work of specialists, but it would be hazardous to consider the matter from a prescriptive point of view. The job of a linguist is not to impose what he sees as good, pure and correct language; rather, it is to observe the social context in

III

which the language operates and draw the conclusions that are beneficial for its revival and promotion.

Most of the works on Tamazight as a language concern either descriptions of different linguistic systems of different varieties or language management. This prevented



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phenomena like code-switching, language choice and bilinguals. It is on the basis of these three elements which are investigated throughout this work that some suggestions and remarks concerning Tamazight language planning are made.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

For many years, the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria had been presented as a homogeneous one. Having followed the example of many European countries which coined the idea of nation-state in the nineteenth century, official Algeria was presented both inside the country and outside it as unified around one language, namely Arabic. Although no reference is made to the type of Arabic the Algerian Constitutions refer to, it is clear that Standard Arabic is the “language” referred to. The proclamation of Standard Arabic (SA) as the national and official language of the country entails a belonging to the “Arab world” which itself is not homogeneous. All Arab countries share Standard Arabic as their official language, but they ignore the regional varieties that exist in each country. A tremendous number of works has shown that rather than being linguistically homogeneous, the Arab World in general and Algeria in particular are heterogeneous. While official matters are dealt with in SA, it is in the regional variety that everyday life, deep emotions, feeling and thoughts are expressed. In spite of the close relation it has with The Quran and its fourteen centuries of existence, SA has, to our knowledge, never gained vitality since no community uses it as a mother tongue and no community uses it regularly for its daily needs and matters. Yet, it is important to mention that in addition to the above reasons, i.e., its relation to The Quran and Islam, the officialisation of SA in the Arab World was a ready made matter as it was the only standardised Arabic variety which moreover was able to rise the nationalism, pride and prestige of the independent Arab countries starting from the middle of last century. However, some questions can be raised as to the equation that one language equals one nation. It is not my ambition to question anthropological facts about the origins of the different peoples constituting the “Arab World” , but if we assume that all the countries having SA as their official language constitute one nation, can we claim that countries like Great Britain, the USA and Australia constitute one nation? Do Spain, Argentina, Chile and Cuba constitute one nation? Did the ex USSR constitute the same nation? The answer is obviously, no. The different Arab countries have different social, political, cultural and historical realities which distinguish them from one another. At the sociolinguistic level, even if Arabic speaking countries have much in common, they present specificities which make them different from one another. In their everyday n life, Arab peoples speak different Arabic varieties which are sometimes not mutually intelligible because of the different environments in which they have developed. The different political regimes, the

...e, the different languages they have been in contact
...ey belong to are important parameters in shaping the
minds of the different Arab peoples and consequently the different colloquial varieties they
use. While Algerian Arabic (AA) is influenced by Tamazight, Turkish, Spanish and
French, Iraqi Arabic, for example, is influenced by English, Kurdish and Turkish. This is
why Algerian Arabic and Egyptian Arabic, for example, would not have been that
mutually intelligible, had it not been the influence of Egyptian films and music. Thus, the
so called linguistic unity presented by all Arabic official literature and documents has no
existence at the everyday communicative level where the native varieties are used.

Given this linguistic reality, we can easily understand the diglossic
situation which characterises Algeria. There exist two varieties which are used for different
purposes and functions: SA is used for official matters and Algerian Arabic (AA) for
informal needs the concept of “diglossia” will be discussed in Chapter One.

In addition to AA, Algerians make use of the French language both at
the official / formal level and the informal level. This language was, for a many time,
presented as the “language of the coloniser” by the official propaganda although much of
the administrative matters, science, technology and education in Algeria were carried out
in French. Actually, most post-independence intellectuals, teachers, managers, etc. were
educated in French. This is why state affairs were run in this language amanside a process
of Arabisation. In spite of attempts to eradicate this language from the Algerians’ speech
repertoire, French remained extensively used within AA through borrowing, and in learned
circles. It has actually become one the languages of Algerians, not to say an Algerian
language in view of the increasing importance it has gained since independence. Beside
SA, it is the second language of education. It is taught from primary school to secondary
school. Moreover, many branches, especially those related to technology and medicine, are
taught exclusively in French at university. This importance can also be seen through the
number of newspapers published in French and through the Algerians’ tendency to watch
French programmes by means of the satellite dishes. As will be seen in Chapters Three and
Four the French language is seen by my informants and by most informants as the
language of science, modernity and opening on the world. Therefore, claiming that French
is a foreign language in Algeria is denying an important part of the Algerian personality
and identity which is an amalgam of different languages and cultures.

The language that interests us most in the present work is Tamazight or
Berber as it is sometimes called. This original language of the Maghrib has undergone

ugh its history. The contact it has had with different
rench, has shaped it and gave it the form it has today.

Tamazight is probably the language which suffered most from the hegemony of Arabic in the Maghrib. Until recently, official documents have never made reference to it. In addition, different governments in the Maghrib and particularly in Algeria have led a policy which, if it did not aim at eradicating it, was meant to reduce it to its simplest form i.e., a folkloric one. Tamazight was not considered as a language but rather as an aggregate of different spoken varieties. In the sixties, the seventies and the eighties, Tamazight was always considered as an element which threatened the Algerian national unity which was built around Arabic. Thus, no opportunity was given to this language and the culture behind it to develop and thrive. Many a time, the linguistic claims of Tamazight natives for the recognition of their language were associated by the official propaganda with a hidden intelligence with the former coloniser. This “all Arabisation” policy led to social tensions which engendered different reactions from Tamazight speakers; some of these reactions will be dealt with briefly in Chapter One. It is true, though, that most Tamazight claims have always been the make of Kabyles. Many reasons can explain this state of affairs: the proximity of Kabylia with Algiers, the capital city, the relatively big number of Kabyle intellectuals who took in charge the Tamazight question like writers and singers and the fact that many Kabyles hold important positions in the spheres of decision making. This does not mean that other Tamazight speakers did not invest the field, Kateb Yacine is a case in point, but their number is relatively small compared to Kabyles.

This is to say that the Algerian society is not homogeneous and not unified around one language. To use a sociolinguistic terminology, Algeria is at the same time a diglossic and bilingual speech community. It is diglossic because of the specific functions assigned to each variety. It is also bilingual since Algerian speakers not only make use of stylistic variation, but also speak in the different varieties in place. The denial of this linguistic and cultural richness has had devastating effects on the Algerian society as a whole. With the Arabisation policy, Algerians tended to identify more to the language that is made official i.e., SA and consequently to everything that could represent and symbolise their “Arabness”. The relegation of AA and Tamazight (T) to second rank dialects, impure, non representative of the Algerian personality on the part of official discourse and education, created a feeling which, if it is not self hatred, looks much like it among Algerians. Another consequence of the linguistic unity in the country is the loss of many identity landmarks among Algerians. While the country has a strategic geographical

point for various languages and cultures, emphasis has
going to Arab nation. Algeria definitely belongs to the

Arab world, but it is certainly not limited to this “ethnic” component. What about its belonging to the Mediterranean region, Africa, the French speaking world and the Tamazight speaking one? Language is not only an aggregate of systems and structures which allow communication. There is a whole history, culture and symbolics behind it.

The problem of linguistic minorities in the world is acutely posed today all over the world. It is agreed among sociolinguists (see Chapter V) that the rights of linguistic minorities should be preserved not only to prevent language death but also to enrich a society’s culture and prevent tensions that can lead to destabilisations, the economic, social and political impacts of which may not be foreseen. It is in this sense that many countries such as Switzerland and Belgium recognise an official bilingualism. In this field one can say that Algeria is in advance compared to many countries since Tamazight is now recognised as a national language which belongs to all Algerians and the promotion of which is partly taken in charge by the State through formal education and publications in this language. This is even more observable with the creation of two organisms: the HCA (Haut Commissariat à l’Amazighité) and the CNPLET (Centre National Pédagogique et Linguistique pour l’Enseignement de Tamazight). Much can still be said about the missions assigned to these two organisms and the means provided for the accomplishment of their tasks. Nevertheless, their appointment represents a new politico-linguistic tendency at the governmental level. Whether deliberate or following the claims of Tamazight speakers, the linguistic opening and recognition of this millenary language represent a step forward in the sense of the democratic society Algerians aspire to. It is in the same trend that a hope towards the recognition of AA as a national language is allowed. Without going into the details of native languages in the building of an individual’s and a society’s personality, I would compare a people cut from its native language to a tree cut from its roots; the fate of both being death.

Thus, far from being monolingual as some ideologically motivated ideas would like it to be presented, the Algerian society is a bilingual one. As will be seen through the Tamazight example which is the subject of this research, Algerians do make use of the different varieties they know i.e., SA, F, AA and T. The use of each variety is motivated by different parameters such as the interlocutor, the setting and the topic. Ferguson (1959), with his definition of diglossia, tried to assign specific functions to each level depending on the status of the variety. Yet, observable sociolinguistic realities show

d L ones merge to give birth to middle forms, as in the
o the phenomenon of code-switching as in the cases of

AA/F, T/F, T/AA, SA/F and even T/SA.

The complexity of the Algerian sociolinguistic situation makes it a hard task from a technical point of view to promote all these varieties. However, this does not mean that it is not feasible provided there is a political will to do so. This entails the reconciliation of the Algerian people- with its diversity - with its real identity, history and culture.

As to Tamazight in Algeria, which is our main concern, it is important to specify some facts which are of great interest for the present research. The Tamazight question has been at the centre of many conflicts between the region of Kabylia and the successive governments. The official denial of the Amazigh identity of Algeria for many years resulted in many confrontations which were violent at times. We shall cite only the most important of these, such as the Berber Spring in 1980 and the Black Spring in 2001. The fact that it was most of the time the Kabyles who claimed and raised the Tamazight question combined to the occultation of the history, culture and identity of the Amazighs within the educational and political systems led most Algerians to make a direct link between Tamazight and Kabyle. There was even some confusion between the two. Actually, even some educated people do not make the difference between the two because of their ignorance of the ins and outs of the question. In fact, there are many Tamazight varieties, the most important (in terms of number of speakers) are cited in Chapter One. This large number of varieties implies a variation which is such that there is sometimes no mutual intelligibility between the varieties in question. Unlike AA which constitutes a geographical continuum from the west of the country to the east, Tamazight regional dialects are geographically interrupted by Arabic speaking zones. For example, speakers of Great Kabylia and Small Kabylia consider that they speak the same variety and can easily communicate without any linguistic hindrance. The continuum prevails, here, even if some differences exist at some levels because the two regions form a geographical continuum in which there is no communication barrier. However, it would be hard for a Kabyle speaker and a Targui one to communicate if each of them uses his regional dialect as the two varieties have no continuous geographical contact. Another factor which hindered mutual intelligibility among Tamazight varieties in general, is the fact that they subsisted in an unfavourable ideological environment which did not allow their promotion and development. Also, Tamazight in its different varieties has had to adapt to the different

ic realities imposed on it in the different countries each variety borrowed and created vocabulary and structures proper to it under the influence of the geopolitical context in which it exists. In other words, the non-existence of an independent Tamazight political entity does not allow mutual intelligibility between the different varieties.

Variation and mutual unintelligibility in Tamazight raise a delicate question as to whether this language constitutes one or many languages. This question interests the linguist, the dialectologist and the sociolinguist as it calls upon the various research criteria used in the three fields. The work of the linguist consists in describing and analysing the phonological, grammatical and lexical systems underlying the language(s). The comparative investigation of the dialectologist may help determine whether the similarities and differences between the varieties allow us to consider the latter as the same language, varieties of the same language or different languages. Besides these two analyses, that of the sociolinguist can shed light on the relation the speakers have with their language(s). This can comprise aspects like the identity and the symbolic dimension the language has, the relation made – by the speakers – between their language and other languages it comes into contact with, the status it has or the status claimed, etc.

Another issue which seems to focalise much of the effort made in Tamazight studies is that of language planning. As this language has never been really written throughout its ancient history, apart from some exceptional cases and for very limited purposes, many attempts at making it a written language have been made. The writer Mouloud Maameri was the forerunner in the field as he tried to set written rules for the grammar and the lexis of the language. Another institution, the Berber Academy, in Paris, also brought its contribution not only to the language, but to all the fields related to it i.e., history, culture, arts, etc. In spite of all these contributions, Tamazight remained at the level of a dialectal spoken variety because of the denial policy that was exercised by the previous governments. The result was that much of the language planning, or language management, in Berber was done at an extra-institutional level, i.e., outside state control. Starting from the late seventies a work of standardisation was undertaken by cultural associations, linguists as well as historians inside and outside Algeria. Yet, most publications which were issued mainly in France were not available in the country because they were censored and forbidden as they were considered as subversive. This state of affairs did not allow the spread of this process which was for a many time confined to

ed that most, if not all, of the work was first done by
orts on their spoken variety. By doing so, the people
who worked on the field seem to have ignored the other Tamazight varieties, which is
counterproductive under a language management perspective.

The question of language management today is partly the concern of
governmental institutions such as the Ministry of Education, the CNPLET – there is also a
project for the creation of a Berber Academy under the authority of the Ministry of
Culture- but many questions, which are essential, remain unanswered. Among these
questions that of the variety to be selected is very important. Although the Kabyle variety
appears as the most developed variety with regards to the publications and works
undertaken in this variety, there are many possibilities as to the choice of the standard
form. Should this form be a pan – Berber one and, therefore, be one that all Tamazight
speakers would use whatever their country? Should it be a national rather than
transnational variety that Tamazight speakers in Algeria would use as a standard form? Or
shall there be a standardisation of each regional variety on its own? I will try to examine
the implications of these different choices mainly in Chapter Five.

The variation that characterises Tamazight at the lexical level also poses
the question of intelligibility, comprehension and, therefore, social use of the would be
standardised form. In other words, if this form is incomprehensible for the layman, would
it be accepted and used by the speakers and, if not what means and tools should be
activated to make it a natural language which has a social rooting. This means that there is
a need for deep reflexions on how to cope with the high degree of variation among the
varieties of Tamazight. It is therefore important to concentrate on the lexical level to
facilitate comprehension on the one hand, and create the vocabulary necessary for the
different specialised registers the standardised form should to deal with. If the grammatical
level poses no real problem since all the varieties seem to have the same structural basis,
the lexical one is quite delicate because of the big variation which in some cases prevents
mutual intelligibility.

Another crucial question is that of the writing system assigned to
Tamazight. There seems to be a tacit agreement among Tamazight speakers to write the
language in Latin scripts, but the issue raises passionate debates among those who
advocate Latin scripts, Tifinagh scripts and Arabic ones.

Besides research on the corpus, there is also a work to be done at the
level of the status that the standardised form should have. Today, Tamazight in Algeria is a

Constitution. The prestige it has gained, even among the most advanced stage of the linguistic policy of the country. This status which is the result of many years of struggle, confrontations and claims should be considered as the first step towards a real officialisation. In terms of language planning, corpus planning and status planning are so closely linked that one cannot be envisaged without the other. It is not possible to take any decision on the status of a variety if it is not standardised, codified and unified. To gain a national or official status, a variety needs to have undergone a process of corpus management. At the same time, planning the corpus is to be followed by status planning. The role of the state institutions is essential since it is through them that the language is implemented into the educational system, the mass media and other official domains. The spread and diffusion of the language among the speakers depends to high extent on the state's policy. This is to explain why it is important for Tamazight, the corpus planning of which has made progress, though it still needs some adjustment, and it needs to be comforted by a status planning which should be taken in charge by the state to help the language spread among its speakers first, then invest the official level to reach speakers of other languages.

The present research work is motivated by various parameters. First, most of the existing work on the Tamazight language tends to investigate its structural aspects. One of the lacunas noticed is that the relation with other languages is quasi ignored, especially that with Arabic. If this can be understood from an emotional point of view, it cannot be the case when it concerns rational investigations based on scientific criteria. It is true that Arabic has for a many time been seen as the language which was used against the development of the Tamazight language and has therefore been a threat to it and to the culture behind it. Yet, from a realistic angle, we cannot afford ignoring the close relation that exists between languages that have been in contact for fourteen centuries. Thus, one of the aims of this investigation is to shed some light on the fact that Tamazight is not an independent language. It is rather related to Arabic and French as much as it is to its social realities.

Another aim assigned to this work, and which is of paramount importance, is to try to relate the question of language management to the social, economic and political environment of the language as well as that of its speakers. Even if many would not recognise it, it seems that the management of Tamazight today does not give the expected results, or at least not as quickly as it was expected to. The policy definitely has its share in the present failure, but this is not the only reason. Many of the people

are motivated by a high degree of passion toward the work done seems to be biased as it does not obey rigorous scientific criteria. Moreover, a similar situation to that of the Arabic diglossia seems to be developing with Tamazight. Of course one can argue that to standardise a language, there is a need for literacy and the creation of specialised registers. But, when the creation of a “normative monster” widens the distance between the community and what is supposed to be their language, there is a risk of rejection of the latter. It is important in this case to proceed gradually and not dissociate the language from its speech community. Too many neologisms and too many archaisms are (re) introduced into the language at a speed that does not allow its anchorage in the society. The work of linguists in the field should avoid too much prescriptivism so as to give Tamazight the opportunity to be a living language that would be used by all its speakers and not only those initiated to it through formal learning. Besides the work undertaken by specialists in the field, the government seems to show a certain will to contribute to the management of Tamazight. Here again, the social factor is not taken into account. There seems to be too many borrowings where the item exists and is widely in Tamazight. The example of the TV news bulletin is edifying in the sense that there is such a high rate of “Arabism” that the discourse becomes incomprehensible for Tamazight speakers. It is clear that there is a latent competition between those who want the planning of the language to be based on the recuperation of the ancient Berber language as they presume that this is the best way to affirm their Amazigh dimension free from any hegemony and those who work in the sense of a gradual standardisation of Tamazight with a touch of Arabic. Yet, it seems that the both tendencies ignore the essential parameter in the life of a language: society. It has been shown since traditional grammarians that prescriptivism is not the way to deal with languages and surely not with their planning and management. It is in this sense that it was thought that it would be interesting to tackle the question of language planning in Tamazight by taking into consideration the linguistic behaviour of Tamazight speakers and their attitudes towards the languages they use.

The underlying framework of this work is inspired by that of Bentahila and Davies (1983) in studying the syntax of Moroccan Arabic / French code-switching and Bentahila (1983) in his investigation of language attitudes among Moroccan bilinguals. The present investigation comprises five chapters. Chapter One is a survey of the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. Because the linguistic situation of the country has always been presented as homogenous, it is necessary to reveal all the variation and

... repertoire of the Algerian speakers. The presentation of this repertoire is of great importance for the understanding of the sociolinguistic aspects of Tamazight under investigation. The other chapters of this research would be incomplete if Tamazight and Tamazight speakers were dissociated from the linguistic, social, historical and political contexts that surround them. Thus, it is important to define first two terms which are widely used throughout the research, namely diglossia and bilingualism. This is followed by a presentation of Arabic in its different forms and levels. Contrary to the official presentation, there is not only one Arabic which unifies Algerians. Rather, there are three forms of the language: Standard Arabic which is the official language of the country, the one through which education is provided and in which most of the literature is written. Besides, it is Algerian Arabic which is the language the majority of Algerians use for their everyday needs; it is the mother tongue of most Algerians. Between the two is Educated Spoken Arabic which relies on both SA and AA. This form of the language whose emergence in Algeria is relatively recent compared to the Middle East, constitutes a mid-way between official Arabic and vernacular Arabic as it allows the prestige of the language and is intelligible for the uneducated at the same time. The importance and impact of the French language in Algeria is also put forward. The so-called foreign language of the ex-coloniser has in fact become one of the languages of the Algerians. Its extensive use at the official level as well as at the social everyday level are undeniable proofs that in spite of the propaganda which wanted to root animosity and rejection towards it, French has been adopted by the Algerians in all fields and all circumstances to the extent that there are terms in Algerian French which are proper to Algerians and which are not found in any other French variety, be it standard or dialectal. The presentation of the Berber language takes the lion's share in the first chapter as it is the main issue of this work. The history of this language is tumultuous in the sense that it has always been confronted to and in contact with other languages which, at their times, were more prestigious and more powerful. This factor has been very determining in the fact that Tamazight has never reached the status of a written, standard language. It is following the writings of historians that an attempt at briefly retracing the history of Tamazight from antiquity to the present times, passing by the times of the Berber Maghribi dynasties that governed the Maghrib is undertaken. The political and ideological environments of post-independent Algeria have also been decrypted in relation to the way the Tamazight question has been handled by the Algerian state. The political context of post-independent Algeria was such that repeated conflicts around the Amazigh identity and language took

the governmental authorities. This took various forms political declarations. The promotion of the language per se was taken in charge mainly by militants of the cause who wrote on the subject and created an academy in Paris. Under the pressure of the claim and with the social and political changes the Algerian society has undergone, the state passed from a state of ignorance and oppression to one of a would be tolerance and then to the obligation of considering it as a national language with a relative taking in charge the promotion, development and management of the language. The aim of this chapter is to set the context for understanding the following chapters.

Chapter Two is an examination of the phenomenon of code-switching among Tamazight speakers, mainly Kabyles. Most of the informants investigated are bilinguals who live in the region of Kabylia, but it was thought interesting to take into consideration Kabyle speakers who live in big Arabic speaking urban centres like Oran, Algiers, Constantine, Blida and Chlef. The choice of integrating the latter into the study is justified by the fact that the number of Tamazight speakers, especially Kabyle ones, living outside the Tamazight speaking areas is relatively big and therefore, cannot be ignored. Another reason, which is a consequence of the first one, is that the latter speakers influence the speech of Kabyles in Kabylia especially through the introduction of Algerian Arabic borrowings and Algerian / Kabyle code-switching.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is a structural analysis of code-switching while the second one is social. The structural analysis is based on Bentahila and Davies's investigation of the syntax of French / Moroccan Arabic code-switching in the speech of Moroccan bilinguals. Their study which has been experimented by Bouamrane (1988) on Algerian bilingual speakers, deals with the possible combinations of different parts of speech from dialectal Arabic and French at the level of the sentence in an attempt at finding possible and acceptable switches. I must mention that not all the aspects taken into consideration by Bentahila and Davies, and Bouamrane are used in the case of Kabyle bilinguals. Rather, the structural elements analysed are the ones which are of interest to the situation we are concerned with. In this part, a comparison with the data and the results of the above two studies was undertaken to see whether Kabyle speakers show processes proper to them or if they present similarities with AA/F bilinguals'. Besides Bentahila and Davies's methodology, the Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) as designed by Myers Scotton (1993) is applied to code-switching from Kabyle to other Algerian languages i.e., French, AA and to a lesser extent SA. This model takes mainly

morphemes in a switch. It is according to the different decided whether the basis of a switch is L1 or L2. The system morphemes that Myers Scotton presents as constituting the matrix language i.e., the language which governs a switch from a morphosyntactic angle are also dealt with from a psychological point of view. What is interesting about the MLF model is that beside the fact that it allows some of the constraints behind code-switching. It also allows the distinction of adapted and adopted borrowings be they lexical or grammatical.

The second part of the chapter is concerned with the social implications of code-switching. The latter is not merely a process of changing codes at the structural level; it also serves social functions. Different communicative goals are achieved by means of code-switching. These can be showing one's solidarity, one's position, and so forth. This part of the work applies the parameters, functions and reasons for code-switching as suggested by Skiba (1997) and Myer Scotton's (1993) Markedness model.

Chapter Three is closely related to the previous one as it investigates the different languages Tamazight speakers use under different circumstances. Language choice among bilingual speakers is determined by social and psychological factors which are fluctuant according to various elements. Fishman's compartmentalisation of language use inspired many investigations on the subject among which that used by Bentahila. The underlying methodology used to investigate the linguistic choices of bilinguals is a modified version of Bentahila's methodology in investigating language choice among Moroccan Arabic / French bilinguals in Morocco. For this sake, I have taken into consideration three variables: the type of interlocutor, the type of setting and the type of topic. After that, four other elements are put under study: the communicative purpose or mood, the written medium, the preference in performing certain tasks and the preference for the media. Finally, the combination of different factors and their impact on language choice will be examined. It is important to mention that unlike in Bentahila's study, code-switching is not suggested as an alternative to the other varieties although it is certain that it is extensively used. The reasons for such an omission are as follows. First, the aim of this chapter is to find out the languages the speakers might use separately. This gives a preliminary idea about their attitudes towards the different varieties at hand. Secondly, in a perspective of language planning, it does not seem as very rational to propose a variety which is more of code-switching for standardisation. In the present state of affairs, such a variety would have little chance to be accepted by the community as it is doubtful that it would be seen as representing the Amazigh identity and culture. A third reason is that it

confirm the idea that there is a tendency towards an increased use of Arabic, both AA and SA among Kabyle speakers. The investigation of language use will undoubtedly give elements of understanding as to this point. Another interesting point that is meant to be drawn from the present chapter is to find out the ranking and weight Tamazight – as a general concept- has among Tamazight speakers. Glimpses to speakers' attitudes can be foreseen from their language choice.

Chapter Four is an attempt at investigating bilingual Kabyle speakers' attitudes towards the different languages that form their linguistic repertoire. Here again, the method used is inspired by that of Bentahila (1983). He proceeds in two ways. First, he asks the informants direct questions about their language attitudes and preferences. To achieve this he assigns Moroccan Arabic, Classical Arabic and French epithets on the basis of which the informants have to rate the languages in question. The second procedure he uses is that of the matched-guise test which is meant to bring out attitudes that the respondents might have hidden in the direct technique. It is believed that respondents generally give answers they think the interviewer wants them to give when the questions are direct ones. The matched-guise technique consists among other things of making informants listen to pieces of spoken discourse in different languages and to judge the speaker on the basis of different qualities like sociability, education, patriotism, etc. I shall say that I somehow modified the methodology to meet the needs of this work and also because it would have been very difficult to find available informants who would accept to go through all the questionnaires and listening. I will start by making a survey of the factors which determine language attitudes. They can be sociolinguistic such as standardisation and vitality as proposed by Bouchard Ryan et al (1982), and can be psychological as explained by Katz (1960). The latter factors can vary from one situation to another as speakers can show certain attitudes which emphasise their belonging to their native linguistic community in certain contexts as well as they can integrate the majority group by displaying positive attitudes towards the majority language. Thus, two main parts are comprised in this Chapter. The first one is undertaken by the use of what is known as the direct method in which the respondents are asked to answer a questionnaire about their preferences towards one language or the other in relation to different factors. Aspects of these factors are shown and explained every time the opportunity is offered by the respondents' answers and the results of the questionnaires.

ave opted for the use of both the direct method and the
aire is concerned with direct questions about some of
the qualities the languages may or may not have and about some of the preferences
towards one or all of the languages in relation to richness, practicality, usefulness,
symbolism and other characteristics. In the second part, the indirect method is used. This
consists in making the informants listen to the same passage read by the same reader in
four different varieties i.e., Kabyle, Semi-Standard Tamazight, Standard Arabic and
French, making sure that the latter information was ignored by the informants. A list of
adjectives on which the reader, and not the language, is judged was given to the bilingual
informants. The assumption is that although most of the reactions obtained with the direct
method would be confirmed, there would be some different results with the indirect
method as the informant is expected to show his real attitudes rather than the ones he
thinks the researcher wants him to display. Like with the question of language choice, the
aim is to find out whether language attitudes are fixed or present fluctuations and changes,
and if so, what factors lie behind these changes in the reactions towards one language or
the other.

The fifth chapter is an examination of Tamazight language management
in the light of the socio-political mutations Algeria is undergoing. From the status of
spoken regional dialects, Tamazight is officially recognised today as a national language.
This situation undeniably conferred it more prestige and more consideration in the eyes of
Tamazight native speakers, but also in the eyes of non-native Tamazight speakers and
more importantly in the eyes of the governmental institutions. Official recognition of a
language, be it a minority language, by the government entails providing the means for its
development especially if the language in question is integrated into the educational
system, which is the case of Tamazight in Algeria. In such a case it is of paramount
importance to deal with language planning or management with the aim of unifying the
different regional varieties and give them a form of the language which can be used with
formal learned topics, wherefrom the question of literacy. Through this chapter, an
examination of the different definitions given to the concept of language planning is made.
This comprises corpus planning which concerns the language from a structural point of
view. In other words, how to standardise Tamazight? How to develop the vocabulary of the
language through neologisms, recuperation of old Tamazight lexis, borrowings from other
languages, etc. In addition to these, a decision has to be taken as to which variety is to be
selected for standardisation. There seems to be a tendency towards standardising the

the most developed one not only politically but also in
s and teaching. But, the question remains whether it
should be opted for a pan-Berber variety, an Algerian Berber variety, standardisation of
each variety on its own or taking Kabyle as the norm in Algeria. Even if the matter might
seem simple, the social and political implications of decision taking are so delicate that it
has to be made on the basis of social acceptance and scientific criteria, and not on political,
passionate and irrational criteria. Another problem that seems to arise is that of the
communicative gap which exists between the so-called Semi- Standard Tamazight and the
Kabyle variety used by speakers in their everyday life. Tamazight is presently in a situation
which is very similar to that of Arabic since they both present a situation of sharp diglossia
in which there is no mutual intelligibility between the High varieties and the low ones. In
the case of Tamazight, this is primarily due to the fact that the first attempts at language
management were carried out by non specialists. Many militants of the Berber cause tried
to rise the language to the level of the other languages known of the world. However, in
doing so, they ignored the rules and criteria that are applied in planning a language. This
gave birth to a norm of the language which was far from the spoken varieties at all levels
notably at the lexical one. Another reason which is related to the first one is that in today's
Algeria, the management of Tamazight seems to be the hostage of two of trends. One
which is represented by Berber speakers living outside Algeria and who work in the sense
of a management that does not take into consideration the Algerian social reality because
they are far from it and because there seems to be an unavowed will to get rid of the Arabic
representations that exist within Tamazight. The other trend is represented by the official
institutions which seem to try to orient the management of Tamazight in the sense of
Arabising it by using excessive borrowings from Arabic. This bipolarisation also gave rise
to a polemic as to the scripts Tamazight should be written in: Tifinagh, Arabic or Latin.
The choice of a writing system which is part of status planning is essential since it allows
the language to have a guarantee of preservation but also because the choice of a writing
system plays a symbolic role since it is determined by parameters which are not necessarily
linguistic; rather, it is the emanation of political, economic, ideological and identity
considerations. The implications and conditions the language should fulfil in relation to its
national status and eventual officialisation are also taken into consideration before dealing
with acquisition planning. The latter consists of finding the means to spread the language
first among its native speakers and then among other speech communities. This is
generally done through education.

research many difficulties had to be coped with. The previous work had been undertaken on Tamazight bilinguals in the sense of code-switching, language choice and language attitudes, it was quite difficult to find models to rely on. This is why I opted for the application of Bentahila and Davies's and Bentahila's methodologies. Another difficulty was to find available informants who could answer the questionnaires and spend time listening to the passage proposed to them. As will be seen later on, not all the informants solicited returned the questionnaires back. However, I believe that the respondents are quite representative of the Kabyle community since they comprise bilinguals of different occupations, levels of education, sexes, ages and different regions of the country.

A table of phonetic symbols with their Arabic equivalents is included in this work.

All the translations of non-English quotations are mine; the original text is given in a footnote. Whenever the translation is not mine reference to the translator is made.

Finally, the terms Tamazight and Kabyle are sometimes used interchangeably especially in chapters Two and Three. The reason for this is that until Chapter Four no distinction between the two is made because for the majority of Algerians the two constitute the same variety. On the other hand, this is due to the fact that the form of Tamazight taught at schools and universities is mainly, not to say exclusively, based on the Kabyle variety. Yet, starting from Chapter Four, the distinction between the two is made because of the will to show the diglossic situation that prevails within this language.

1.1 Introduction

Algeria, which has been subject to many invasions, wars and conflicts with other peoples and nations through its history, is a vivid and concrete example of a multilingual, society in which various languages are in contact and interact in different situations. However, the Algerian Constitutions have presented the country as being monolingual, united around one single “National Language” which is Classical Arabic. This language has for a many time been thought of as being the exclusive vehicle of the Algerian personality, culture, history and identity. This resulted in a reinforced belief that Algeria belongs to the “Arab and Islamic Nation”. Yet, the sociolinguistic realities show that the situation is not as simple as a non-Algerian, ignorant of these realities, may think. A number of studies on the linguistic situation of the Maghrib in general and Algeria in particular show that the matter is more complex with all the implications this complexity can bring about at all levels in the society.

It has been shown through different sociolinguistic studies that there exists nearly no monolingual speech community throughout the world, and Algeria is certainly not a case in point. The different peoples who settled in the Maghrib, at different periods, such as the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Turks, the French and the Spanish have all left their own touch and trace on the Berbers’ life, culture, history and of course on the Berber language.

Of all the above cited peoples’ languages only three still subsist and have a social and emotional role in North Africa, namely: Berber with all its varieties, Arabic with its standard form and dialectal form(s) and French. These language varieties interact and influence one another in different ways. This mutual influence and interaction can be noticed in the relatively high degree of borrowings and code-switching that occurs between them. The contact between the different languages in Algeria gave birth to situations which are complex. To understand the relation between them, it is necessary to look at how diglossia and bilingualism¹ obtain in Algeria. The linguistic situation in Algeria is such that

¹ Following Weinrich (1970:1) we will use the terms “bilingualism” and “multilingualism” interchangeably unless otherwise indicated.

...ea which suggests that the unity of the country was, is
, whatever the language is, is more of a myth than any
real concrete truth.

1.2 Diglossia

Algeria has for a many time been seen as a monolingual, linguistically homogenous country united around a homogenous language, which is Arabic. This conception is not proper to Algeria, but is widespread throughout the “Arab World” i.e., from the Atlantic in the west to the Arabic Gulf in the east. However, nearly all the linguistic literature on Arabic points to the fact that the latter has always been characterised by a diglossic situation in which there are at least Classical Arabic and dialectal Arabic. Even if this /*izdiw* → *ijjat allu* a/ was already known by Arab linguists in earlier times (cf. Altoma 1969:5), it is only at the beginning of the twentieth century that modern linguists showed some interest in it with W. Marçais (1930) and later with Ferguson (1959).

1.2.1 Marçais’s Definition

In studying Arabic Marçais (1930), who introduced for the first time the term “diglossie” recognises two forms:

“The Arabic language appears under two perceptibly different aspects: 1) a literary language so called written Arabic or regular, or literal, or classical; the only one that 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 ever been written...but which everywhere and perhaps for a many time are the only language of conversation in all popular and cultured circles.”²

² The English translation of this passage is taken from Bouamrane (1986:2). The original version reads as follows:

(Marçais, W., 1930:401)

s distinguishes what he considers a literary, written, regular, literal or classical Arabic and spoken idioms or patois. The former is the language of knowledge, literature, law and newspapers i.e., the language of writing while the latter which has never been written has always been the medium in which Arabic speakers everywhere communicated between them. Yet, some problems arise from this classification of the Arabic language. These problems, which we intend to discuss below, are certainly due to the fact that this classification dates from the beginning of last century.

Knowing that the Arabic language- as all other languages of the world- undergoes changes and development, one can assume that what holds true at a certain period of time does not necessarily reflect the realities of a different period. The first remark that can be made is that Marçais uses different names for the same level of Arabic. What is considered in Arabic as /allu a lfu a/ is called here literary, written, regular, literal, and classical without any distinction while many linguists make a distinction between classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, literary Arabic, etc (cf Badawi 1973, and Meisles 1980). The other point is that he considers this form as the only written one. If this assertion is true for judiciary acts, teaching, official documents, it is no more true for newspapers, some of which are written in a middle form that is neither standard nor colloquial³. In addition, it is very important to mention that private letters are rarely written in SA. If not in French, letters are rather written in a mixture of SA and AA. It is true, however, that official correspondences are, be they public or private, expected to be made in SA since the promulgation of the law on the generalisation of Arabic on July 5th, 1998.

It was in the late fifties and early sixties that the term “diglossia” was introduced into English by Charles Ferguson.

1.2.2 Ferguson’s Definition

“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 seule a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passé, dans laquelle seule aujourd’hui encore sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, les articles de presse, les actes judiciaires, les lettres privées, Bref, tout ce qui est écrit, mais qui exactement telle qu’elle se présente à nous n’a peut-être jamais été parlée nulle part. 2) des idiomes parlés, des patois... dont aucun n’a jamais été écrit mais qui, partout, et peut-être depuis manytemps, (sont) la seule langue de la conversation dans tous les milieux populaires ou cultivés”.

³ An Algerian newspaper entitled “El-Haq” used to be issued in Algeria using a middle form of Arabic. In addition, to a weekly sport newspaper entitled “El-Haddef” uses Algerian Arabic sentences and headlines. For the middle form see section 1.4.1.3.

in diglossia since 1959 has been inspired by Ferguson's
examples four cases: German in Switzerland, French in Haiti,
Greek in Greece, and Arabic in the Arab World. The way he presents diglossia is:

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

(Ferguson, C.A., 1959:16)

It should be said that Ferguson establishes diglossia in terms of a High variety of the language (H), the standard form, and a Low one (L), the dialectal form. In our case, this dichotomy is represented by CA as the H variety, which is used in official circles and formal situations, and dialectal Arabic which is used in intimate, familiar, unofficial circles. Even if this presentation might seem too impressionistic, one cannot deny that in some societies, if not all of them, there is a “socially based and culturally valued functional differentiation” between the varieties in use in these same societies. This holds true for the “Arab World” where MSA is considered as the language of identity and historical “authenticity”.

Some important remarks can be made on Ferguson's levels of language; in fact, many linguists challenged this sharp classification of the levels of the Arabic language. The first debatable point is the fact that a diglossic situation is “relatively stable” which means that this stability is not a fixed one i.e., it can turn to either a bilingual situation or to a diglossia in which the H variety becomes an L one and vice versa, the case of today's Latin languages and Latin itself is quite edifying. In addition as Kaye (1972:47) puts it:

“Arabic Diglossia is NOT a relatively stable situation...Diglossia in Arabic (perhaps elsewhere too)

action of two systems, one well-defined".⁴

Therefore, this stability is not as obvious as people in general and even linguists might think since languages in contact interact even when they are not genetically related, let alone when the varieties in question descend from the same source. In studying Arabic in the Levant i.e., Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, Kaye explains that educated as well as uneducated speakers make use of a variety of Arabic that is a mixture of both H and L.

Yet, the fact that H is more complex, carries a large body of literature is obvious, at least as far as the Arabic language is concerned, since it is the language of the learned and the educated. To illustrate his claim Ferguson proposes a table in which H and L fulfil specific functions, the details of which are given in the table on page 22.

The idea that the primary dialects “may include a standard or regional standards” supposes that “a standard” is not necessarily nation-wide. In our point of view, it is a fact that if a variety is standardised, it constitutes a reference at the levels of history and identity for the community concerned. One can take as an example the case of the Catalan language which is regional but used for formal or official purposes among which the written media, education and the like. This is to say that a “standard language” is not necessarily nation-wide and that within the same nation other standards, apart from the one officially recognised, may exist.

Most interesting is the fact that many linguists challenged this view, which is considered as too impressionistic. In this sense, Blanc says that Ferguson’s approach is:

“a tentative and not wholly successful attempt to incorporate the Arabic classical / colloquial dichotomy into a more general theory, using Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole as homologous cases.”
(quoted in El-Hassan 1977:113)

	High	Low
Sermon in church or mosque	X	

⁴ The emphases in the quotation are Kaye’s.

waiters, workmen, clerks		X
Personal letter	X	
Speech in parliament, political speech	X	
University lecture	X	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		X
News broadcast	X	
Radio “soap opera”		X
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	X	
Caption on political cartoon		X
Poetry	X	
Folk literature		X

Table 1: Specialisation of functions of H and L

This reflection is justified by the fact that Ferguson uses a table of functions for Arabic and generalises it to the three other instances he cites. In addition, Blanc recognises a third level in Arabic that he calls Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) and that he situates between H and L. One can conclude that the assumption that H and L are in complementary distribution - each variety fulfilling functions that the other does not – does not necessarily apply to Arabic since a middle form does more or less fulfil functions of both. However, it is important to notice that Ferguson himself recognises that:

“The communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia situation, may be resolved by the use of relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language[/alluḡa lwuḡa/ in Arabic] and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L.”

(Ferguson, 1959:10)

Thus, this intermediate form may bring H and L nearer to one another at least at the level of intelligibility. This may clarify the criticisms developed against the “Fergusonian” conception of diglossia by many linguists. Among these are linguists like

ssan (1977) and Meisles (1980). It is worth noting that there are two types of diglossia: an intra-lingual diglossia in which H and L are genetically related as is the case in Algeria with SA and AA and an inter-lingual diglossia in which the two varieties are not genetically related as in the case of F and AA.

Even if the tendency for a non-acquainted person with the linguistic situation of Algeria is to see it exclusively as an Arabic speaking country, it is also characterised by bilingualism.

1.3 Bilingualism

Bilingualism has been broadly defined as a linguistic situation whereby two (or more) languages co-exist in the speech or writing repertoire of a given society. Weinrich (1970:1) defines it as “*The practice of alternately using two languages*” while Haugen (1981:74) considers it as the “*knowledge of two languages*”. The main difference between the two above-cited definitions is the fact that Haugen does not make any reference to the use of one of the two languages i.e., the knowledge of two languages can take different forms. An individual can be linguistically competent in both L1 and L2 and be therefore able of perfectly or at least correctly using the two languages, but he can also be competent in one language and only understands the other one. Gumperz (1975:233) considers bilingualism as a situation in which “*two or more languages [are] regularly used in the course of daily routine*”. However, distinctions are made between different types of bilingualism, the first one being that between societal and individual bilingualism. Fishman (1971) uses the term diglossia for any society in which two varieties⁵ are used for different purposes, thus he considers as diglossic any linguistic situation in which there are “*two functionally differentiated languages of whatever kind*” (Fishman 1971:540) (quoted in Bentahila (1983:18). On the other hand, he uses the term bilingualism for any individual who makes use of more than one variety in his speech repertoire. Unlike Ferguson, Fishman’s definition suggests that the difference between the two languages can be of any nature and not only of prestige. Downes (1998:46) defines societal bilingualism as “*... the situation in which two or more distinct languages form the repertoire of a community*”.

As far as the present is concerned, diglossia will be used to mean a situation in which two varieties having different functions i.e., one variety is used for formal purposes

⁵ Unless otherwise indicated the terms “code” and “variety” are used to designate any linguistic system regardless of its status or prestige.

ses exist in the same speech community. Bilingualism the societal one. An individual is considered bilingual as far he uses two varieties regardless of the status and the functions of each of them while a society is considered as bilingual when it makes use of two varieties for the same purposes.

Given these definitions, one can easily understand why Algeria is a salient example of a bilingual society in which different languages are in contact. To state just the most important ones, we will cite Arabic, French and Berber. These three languages have been in contact for many centuries and have automatically influenced each other for in each of them one can easily distinguish influences of the other ones. Therefore, we can have bilingual⁶ or diglossic relations in different ways:

- AA / F diglossia and bilingualism
- AA / Ber diglossia and bilingualism
- Ber / F diglossia and bilingualism
- Ber / CA diglossia and bilingualism
- F / CA diglossia and bilingualism

In addition, bilingualism is used to refer to a situation in which two varieties fulfil the same function and are therefore in free variation. An example of such a situation is the existence in Algeria of F and CA which are both used in institutions, the media, education, etc; in fact, even Berber is investing these fields i.e., so-called formal ones. Another case is that of Quebec where English and French are used for the same purposes in many situations.

Individual bilingualism is also of interest to the sociolinguist from both a psychological point of view and a sociological one. Different categories of individual bilinguals are distinguished in relation to the mastery of the languages and to the maintenance of one's mother tongue. The learning and /or acquisition of a second language can be justified mainly by the fact that one's mother tongue fails to fulfil all their needs. In this sense, Haugen (1981:75) recognises three types of bilingualism:

- Supplementary bilingualism where the second language is learned just for occasional needs such as travelling to a foreign country.
- Complementary bilingualism is a situation in which an individual acquires a second language which can fulfil functions that his first language cannot. This is the case of AA speakers and Tamazight ones who learn CA and F.

⁶ Some linguists would talk of bidialectalism when the matter concerns two dialects rather than two languages as in the case of AA and Ber.

whereby L2 comes to replace L1 in all the and needs of the individual who; therefore, gradually loses his mother tongue. A case in point is that of the second and third generation “beurs” in France who lose Arabic to the benefit of French, or that of some Berber speakers living in Arabic-speaking areas who become through time perfect speakers of Arabic and gradually lose their mother tongue.

A different classification of bilinguals in which he integrates the compound bilingual whose two codes form a merged language and the co-ordinate bilingual whose two codes are different from one another is suggested by Bell (1983:120); he writes:

“In TG[Transformational Generative Grammar] terms, the compound has a single semantic base connected to two input and two output mechanisms, while the co-ordinate has two semantic bases, each connected to language specific input – output systems.”

What mainly differentiates these two types of bilinguals is that in most cases the former acquires the two languages simultaneously as in the case of Berber speakers of mixed marriages or being born in Arabic-speaking area while the latter acquires L2 after L1 as in the case of a Berber speaker learning AA at a more or less advanced age. A third type that Bell (1983:123) distinguishes is the subordinate bilingual who most of the time relies on translation because he cannot think in L2. One can in this case consider these three types of bilinguals as three levels in second language acquisition where a minority language member starts by being subordinate, then co-ordinate to end as compound bilingual.

This typology is of interest for the present research since it will enable us to understand the mechanisms, the reasons and the implications of code-switching and language maintenance and language shift as far as Berber and the Berber community is concerned as will be seen in the coming chapters.

1.4 The languages of Algeria

As previously stated, it is a well-known fact that Algeria as a nation does not have one language as it is officially thought and stated. The history of the Maghrib and therefore of Algeria is full of wars, invasions and conquests starting with the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Arabs, the Turks, to end with the French. The original people of North

contact with different peoples and races either through peoples have left in one way or another prints on the life, culture and language of the Berbers. Of all the languages that have existed in North Africa, Arabic had the lion's share to the extent that it has become the most used language in the Maghrib. This has taken place gradually because of different factors the most important of which is the fact that it was the language which carried the Islamic religion. Another reason is the fact that Arabic at a given time of history was the vehicle of knowledge, science and scholarship; it was the equivalent of today's English language. In addition to Arabic, French in present Algeria does not seem to be losing its importance and prestige four decades after the independence of the country. In fact, it is still the language of science, modernism and "opening on the world". Beside the two-above cited languages, Berber thrives slowly but surely. In spite of the influences of other languages – mainly Latin, Arabic, French and to a lesser extent Spanish – this language⁷ has subsisted, even if it was⁸ mainly spoken, thanks to the fact that many Berber-speaking areas are mountainous and have had therefore a natural protection against invasions. It is an overview of these three languages i.e., Arabic, French, and Berber that we will try to give in the following sections.

1.4.1 The Arabic Language

The linguistic situation of Arabic has always been – and is still – conceived as one in which there is a sharp diglossia to the extent that some writers talk of the existence of two different languages. If it is true that the gap between CA/ MSA and the colloquials is one that is big especially at the lexico-syntactic level, it is even truer that the two varieties are slightly different forms of the same language. However, in spite of the "purists" strong will to preserve the language of The Quran and ancient literature from any interference whether from a foreign language or from a "low" form of this same language, the emergence of a middle form that has been coined: Middle Arabic, Inter – Arabic, /allu⁷ a al wu⁸ a/, and which is more commonly known as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) came to contradict some set ideas which are rather traditionalist. After the independence of most of the countries in the "Arab World", political leaders felt the need to sensitize the peoples on the question of the /al ⁷umma al ⁸arabijja/ (the Arab

⁷ There is a debate among linguists and sociolinguists on whether we should think of a Berber language or of Berber languages.

⁸ Tamazight today, even if not standardised yet, is largely written in Tamazight speaking areas in Algeria and Morocco.

of this intermediary form of the language. The leaders political, religious or intellectual, felt the need to communicate more with their peoples who were in their great majority illiterate. The dilemma resided in how to preserve the prestige of the /fu^u→a/ and be understood by people who did master only their mother tongues i.e., colloquial Arabic. The emergence of this form of the language that Bishāī (1966:319) considers as a “linguistic revolution” can also be the result of the low mastery of the Arab leaders of CA since most of them were educated mainly in the “language of the coloniser”. Many linguists tried to give more or less successful taxonomies of the levels of the Arabic language in response to Ferguson’s diglossic typology. Most classifications, mainly in the Middle East, present the levels of the Arabic language as constituting a continuum between CA, ESA and colloquial Arabic.

1.4.1.1 Standard Arabic

Standard Arabic is known as that form of the language which is used in formal and official circles. It is the variety which is taught at educational institutions. In addition to the fact that it is the language of The Quran, it is the official language of all the countries of the “Arab World”. It is therefore considered by both the governments and the peoples of these countries as a factor of unification at the cultural and historical levels. As compared to the other levels, SA is seen as the most prestigious form of the language mainly because of the fact that it is the language of religion and thanks to the large history and body of literature it has always carried even in the pre-Islamic period. For the “purists”, as it was the case with the Greek traditional grammarians, this form of the language is the only one that should exist or at least that should be studied and taken as a reference since the other ones are “corrupted” because they comprise borrowings and interferences of other languages. In the case of Algeria, the linguistic policy after independence concentrated all its efforts on recovering the “national language” and gradually diminishing the importance of French, the language of the coloniser, and eventually getting rid of it at the official level. Thus, laws and programmes of Arabisation have been promulgated; in fact, all the Algerian Constitutions stipulate that Arabic – meaning SA – is the language of the country.

Before going any further, it is important to say that a distinction is sometimes made between Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic even if the differences between the two are not very significant. Classical Arabic is considered as the formal version that was used in the Arabic peninsula. Written records of the language include poetry that was composed in pre-Islamic times. The fact that The Quran was revealed in

to preserve its “purity” throughout the centuries. Arabs
important part of their culture. Throughout Islamic history,
Classical Arabic was the language of royal and princely courts, the bureaucracy and the
learned. Literacy expression was and is still conducted mainly in Classical Arabic. Ennaji
(1991:7-8) defines CA as:

*“...the language of Islam. It is codified and the
vehicle of a huge body of classical literature. It has a
great tradition behind it , encompassed in ancient
poetry, grammar books and mainly in the Koran, in
which Classical Arabic was revealed and is still
preserved ...Classical Arabic is used for prayers by
Muslims all over the world whatever their mother
tongue may be”.*

We can easily understand the link that is made, not only in the Arab World but also in the
Muslim one, between this form of Arabic and religion.

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), as its name indicates, is the modern
counterpart of Classical Arabic. It is the official language of all Arab countries where it is
used in the oral and written form on all formal occasions. Ennaji (1991:9) writes that:

*“Modern Standard Arabic is standardised
and codified to the extent that it can be understood by
different Arabic speakers in the Maghrib and in the
Arab World at large. it has the characteristics of a
modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal
culture”.*

In the same sense, El-Hassan sees MSA as

*“the written language of contemporary literature,
journalism, and 'spoken prose' (1978:32)*

The main difference between MSA and CA lies mainly in the vocabulary. MSA reflects
the needs of contemporary expression whereas Classical Arabic reflects the needs of older
styles. Kjeilen (2001) presents CA as the Arabic used in the Holy Quran and in the earliest
literature from the Arabian peninsula but which is the core of much literature up until our
time while MSA which is a modernization of the structures of Classical Arabic includes
words for modern phenomena as well as a rich addition from the many dialects all over
the Arabic world and other languages, mainly English, to fit the modern life and needs of

ological and scientific levels. If MSA borrows much from the Middle-East because they were colonised by the British and because of the economic relations they have with the English-speaking countries and primarily the USA, it is not all the time the case in the Maghrib where the borrowing is made first from French since it is the foreign language that Maghribi people master the best because of historical reasons among which, the colonisation of this part of the world by France and also because of the proximity of France which encourages economic and cultural exchanges. As an example the term for A.I.D.S. (the disease) is /aidz/ in the Middle East while it is more frequently called /sida/ in the Maghrib and particularly in Algeria.

The other difference resides in the elimination of the /▲akl/ i.e., the vowel diacritics in writing except in cases of confusion, and the loss of final vowels and declensions in speaking and writing. Bentahila (1983:3) dealing with this distinctions writes:

“... these labels [i.e., CA / MSA] do not seem to designate clearly distinct historical changes in the development of the language, for its grammar has remained unchanged throughout this time. The only linguistic contrasts between the various periods distinguished are of style and vocabulary; so the number of labels may be misleading since they do not refer to grammatically distinct varieties.”

It is true that whatever word, meaning, structure or any other linguistic element that exists(ed) in CA is still accepted and used in MSA be it spoken or written. To avoid any confusion, it has been decided to use the term Standard Arabic (SA) in this work to group the two above terms and to mean the variety of Arabic which is considered as academic and standard.

1.4.1.2 Algerian Arabic

Besides SA, there exist in Algeria various forms of Arabic which consist of regional varieties that are more of different accents than different dialects⁹. Three major varieties can be distinguished: the eastern one, the western one and the central one. Their analysis not being within the scope of the present research, these varieties will be

⁹ In quotation of other linguists the term “accent” refers to mere differences in pronunciation while “dialect” refers to lexico-syntactic differences.

ariety which covers the territory from the east end of the north to the south. However, one should keep in mind that if AA is to be considered as one variety on geographical bases, the western variety is similar to Moroccan Arabic while the eastern variety is similar to Tunisian Arabic. This means that even if there are divergences between the Maghribi varieties and the Middle East ones to the extent of mutual unintelligibility in some cases, the varieties of colloquial Arabic form a syntagmatic continuum in which it is very hard to determine any kind of isophone or isomorph between bordering varieties since they all share a big amount of the lexis and the grammar. Unlike SA, AA is neither codified nor is it standardised. It is the spoken variety of the majority of Algerians in their daily life. This variety is the vehicle of the people's culture, traditions and emotions. It is, in addition to Berber, the mother tongue of the majority Algerians; in fact, it is the natural language of most of them. Taleb Ibrahim (1995:33) says in this respect:

“These Arabic dialects constitute the mother tongue of the majority of the Algerian people (at least for those who are originally Arabic-speakers), the language of the first socialisation, of the basic community. It is through it that the imaginary and the affective universe of the individual is built up.”¹⁰

In addition to French AA also borrows from Berber. This borrowing can be can be old as in i.e., remains of the indigenous language Arabs found when they arrived to the Maghrib:

(1) /far ʔa ʔu/ “butterfly”

or recent as in:

(2) /darg ʔz/ “Brave, courageous” literally. “man”

It is true that SA is the medium of all formal purposes like writing, education, the media, etc; however, AA is not exclusively spoken and used in informal settings as one might think since there are many instances where we can find it written.

¹⁰ The original text reads :

“ Ces dialectes arabes constituent la langue maternelle de la majorité du peuple algérien (du moins pour les arabophones d'origine), la langue de la première socialisation, de la communauté de base. C'est à travers elle que se construit l'imaginaire de l'individu, son univers affectif “.

الـمـالـيـة / “folk poetry”, plays, private letters,
radically the written media. Actually, colloquial words

are even being borrowed into French as it used in Algeria both at the level of writing and speaking; it is, therefore, not exceptional to read or hear sentences like:

(3) “Ça, c’est de la *hogra* “ “ This is injustice ! “

(4) “Il ne vivent que de *tchipa*” “They live only out of corruption/bribes”

We can definitely consider the two above examples as cases of borrowing, but the use of such words in French has become so important that they are simply becoming part of the language.

The contact and the coexistence of SA and AA and the gap that exists between these two varieties led to the emergence of a middle variety which most linguists situate between the so-called H and L.

1.4.1.3 Educated Spoken Arabic

As mentioned earlier, Ferguson’s classification of the level of Arabic has been discussed by scholars who saw it as too impressionistic and too simplistic a classification. Rather than considering Arabic as a two-level system, the literature on Arabic diglossia sees the levels of Arabic as forming a continuum in which each level is linked to the next one.

1.4.1.3.1 Blanc’s classification

Blanc (1960) wrote the first paper on ESA in which he tries to depart from the H / L dichotomy to go into a more detailed analysis of the levels of the Arabic language. After a study based on the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels Blanc distinguishes five levels which are:

1. Standard classical
2. Modified classical
3. Semi-literary or elevated colloquial
4. Koineized colloquial
5. Plain colloquial

The two levels which interest us here are levels 3 and 4 i.e., Semi-literary or elevated colloquial and Koineized colloquial. The difference between the two is not that clear since they are much similar even if Blanc tries to make a distinction between Semi-literary or elevated colloquial that, he says, is characterised by “classicizing”

... dialectal forms rather than genuinely dialectal ones, while
... is characterised by “levelling” which :

“... often takes place not so much in imitation of a specific dialect as in an attempt to suppress localisms in favour of features which are simply common, ... these may be region wide dialect features..., shared by many dialects and Classical Arabic... or widely understood classicisms.” Blanc (1960:82)

We can see that this classification is not that clear since levelling which consists of the use of features that are shared between most colloquial varieties is in fact the use of items which are originally classical. Therefore, colloquial Arabic which derives from CA is originally a case of classicism which has been put into everyday use and has, through time, become part of the L variety of the language. This can be seen in the case of the Maghrib and Algeria where words are taken from CA and are dialectalised to become part of the language of all the regional varieties of Algerian Arabic. In fact, the demarcation between “levelling” and “classicising” in Arabic is hard to be made since they overlap. In other words, if there is a “levelling” between Arabic dialects, it comes first from a process of “classicising”; and if there is a case of “classicising” that will most probably end as an item that will be shared by the varieties of Arabic in question. As an example, the word for “car” in AA is:

(5) / $\text{ʃi}j\text{a}a\text{r}\text{a}/$, / $\text{ʃi}j\text{a}a\text{r}\text{a}n\text{b}\text{i}i\text{l}/$ or / $\text{ʃi}j\text{a}a\text{r}\text{a}m\text{b}\text{i}i\text{l}/$

However, the word (6) / $\text{ʃi}j\text{a}a\text{r}\text{a}/$ which is a standard word is being more and more used by Algerian speakers in their everyday speech. Thus, if we consider this example, we can see that we have a case of classicism in which a SA/CA word is used in the dialectal variety, and at the same time a case of “levelling” since most ESA speakers tend to use the word (6) rather than the dialectal ones whatever the region they come from is. This can explain why it is sometimes difficult to tell which part of the discourse belongs to H and which part belongs to L. Meisles (1980:121) says in this sense:

“the LA (Literary Arabic) and dialectal elements are so densely intertwined that no part [of the discourse] can be actually characterized as either literary or colloquial”

of a case of pidginisation whereby code-mixing between two varieties gives birth to a third variety which is going to have its own processes, uses and structures of its own; the latter derives of course from the two varieties concerned i.e., SA and AA in our case. Another classification is given by Badawi (1973).

1.4.1.3.2 Badawi's classification

In his study of the levels of the Arabic language in Egypt Badawi distinguishes five levels on sociolinguistic bases.

1. /fu^h⇒a tturaa^{*}/ (Classical Arabic)¹¹: this level is considered as the traditional, literary form the language which is relatively pure and uninfluenced by other languages.
2. / fu^h⇒a lḥ^ha^r/ (Contemporary or Neo-Classical Arabic) is the literary language but which is influenced by modern civilisation, technology, science and the like.
3. /ḥ^haammijjatu lmu^{*}aqqa^hiin/ (Vernacular of the educated) is considered by Badawi as a colloquial which is influenced by both the literary language and modern civilisation.
4. /ḥ^haammijjatu lmutanawwiriin/ (Vernacular of the enlightened) is a colloquial which is relatively free from the literary language and from modern civilisation.
5. /ḥ^haammijjatu l^hummijjiin/ (Vernacular of the illiterate)

If the two first levels clearly refer to what is more commonly known as Classical Arabic used in religious, Quranic domains, and Modern Standard Arabic which derives from CA but makes use of many borrowings to fulfil modern needs, levels 4 and 5 constitute what is known as colloquial Arabic used by educated and uneducated people in their everyday life. However, levels 3 is of interest to us since it constitutes an intermediary form between H and L. The emergence of this form is due, according to Badawi, to the impact of Western civilisation, the complexity of CA and the inadequacy of Egyptian Arabic (EA) to modern life.

Even if the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria is different from that of Egypt and the Middle East, many of the factors that motivated the emergence of ESA are similar. After independence, the political leaders wanted to get rid of the language of the coloniser

¹¹ The English translation of Badawi's levels are taken from El- Hassan (1973)

through the use of Arabic. The problem was that the [unclear] in French when they were not illiterate and therefore, the only form of Arabic they could understand was the Algerian one. Another factor was that these political leaders had to speak to the people in a form of Arabic which had to keep the prestige of Arabic as the language of The Quran and the country and be understood through the use of a familiar vocabulary. In addition, most political personalities of the time did not master Classical Arabic.

This explains the reliance of ESA on both SA and AA at all levels. Consider the following example:

(7) /raana nab⇒a*⊗la lwsaa⊗il allaazma b→● ... min sp□ns□ri⊗/

“We are looking far the necessary means to ... like sponsoring”

the sentence is made of AA items /raana/, /⊗la / and /ba●/ and SA ones /nab⇒a*/,

/ lwsaa⊗il/ “the means”, /allaazma/ “necessary” and /min/ “like”. It is important to point out the fact that /allaazma/ is used with an AA phonological pattern since there a loss of the vowel /i/ which follows /z/.¹²

The biggest difference between Egypt and the Middle East , and Algeria is that with the former the levels of Arabic form a continuum in which each level is a continuation of the level preceding it and in which a certain degree of mutual intelligibility exists while it is not the case with Algeria because of the reasons given above and because the emergence of ESA is relatively recent. The fact that the majority of Algerian intellectuals before, and for a many time after independence, were educated in French hindered the mastery of SA and the development of ESA. Thus, one easily hears a considerable amount of borrowings from French and even code-switching between Arabic and French. The following is an example heard on the Algerian TV:

(8) /mafhamn→● wu⊗uud l⊗amhuur ⊗la la main courante/

“We did not understand the presence of the public on the handrail/

This is to say that the French language which is officially considered as a foreign language is still widely used in nearly all domains.

1.4.2 French

¹² Actually the word /laazam/ is used by many Algerian when speaking in AA.

French in today's Algeria is in a way unclear since it is (see the different Constitutions), but is at the same time used in many official domains, institutions and documents. Starting from independence, the Algerian language policy worked on gradually getting rid of French "the language of the coloniser" and replacing it by Arabic, the language which represents the "national identity and culture". The problem was that at independence the majority of politicians and intellectuals were educated in French; it was therefore a necessity to use this language in all formal fields and institutions of the country. With the insertion of Algeria in the Arabo-Islamic movement and the goal of building an "Arab World», policy makers decided to reinforce the Arabic language and through the Arabisation policy . In spite of the efforts made at the educational, cultural and institutional levels, French remained a "semi-official" language in Algeria. One can easily notice that AA and Ber are full of borrowings from French in addition to the fact that :

"it has, historically, a great presence in the society and, today through the press in French, widely read, and through the French satellite television programmes."

Dourari (1997:19)¹³

Actually, the use of French by some people denotes their intellectual and educational level and is considered most of the time as a mark of prestige in the Algerian society. It is also true that French is still a language of education since it is introduced in the syllabi as early as the fourth year in the primary school and is the language used in most scientific and technological branches at university as well as in private schools and institutes. The fact that France is the most important economic partner of Algeria is another reason which helped the French language be maintained as an important medium of communication in the country. Even if big efforts have been made in the field of Arabisation, French remains:

¹³ The original text written in French is:

"Il a une très grande presence dans la société historiquement et, aujourd'hui, par le biais de la presse en langue française, très lue, et par le biais des programmes de télévision satellitaire français. "

modernity, techniques, the language
n, the language of opening on the

world”¹⁴. Taleb-Ibrahimi (1995:108)

It is undeniable that French has, for a many time, been a factor of social promotion since it is through this language that most higher studies which pave a way to important posts are done. For many years high officials used only SA with very rare instances of switching to AA in formal and public settings, but during the last years, one can easily notice the return of French in their discourse, be it public or intimate.

This situation has not been without creating certain tensions as to the ideology and therefore to the project of society people wanted for the country. Two poles sprang out and a passionate debate arouse between the so-called “arabisants” and the so-called “francisants” or “francophones”; however, it is not within the scope of this research to discuss this matter.

The “francisants” consider French as one of the advantages and acquisitions of the Algerian revolution. The fact is that many Algerians concede considerable advantages to the French language as it is said to allow the opening on the world and universality and facilitates a rapid acquisition of science and technology. The fact is that it is according to one’s trend that people are judged: an “arabisant” is considered as a nationalo-baathist and a “francisants” as a laïco-pro-colonialist or “hizb frança” (the party of France)

Nonetheless, French is still widely used in all fields and is deeply present in the Algerian society. One can easily notice the number of newspapers in French which is much more important than those in Arabic. In addition to the evening films on TV most of which are in French, there is a national radio station broadcasting in French (chaîne III).

It should be said that behind this linguistic conflict, it is more an ideological conflict and a race to power that are in question. It is important to notice that Algeria has recently (October 2002) decided to integrate the OIF (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie). This represents a new step from the Algerian regime towards more opening on other peoples, cultures and languages, and a more rational consideration of all the components of the Algerian nation as a whole.

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“... la langue de la modernité, des techniques, la langue de la promotion social, la langue de l’ouverture sur le monde. ”

Amanyside Arabic and French, which have the lion's share at the official level, there exists another language, namely Tamazight (more commonly known as Berber)¹⁵. Tamazight, the language of the first inhabitants of the present Maghrib¹⁶, has always been downgraded by all the conquerors who came to this land. It has, actually, never reached the status of a standard language in the sense that it has never been the language of government, written literature and the like even under the reign of the great Aguellids¹⁷ such as Massinissa and Jughurtha; as Mansouri (1997:45) puts it:

“This situation is due, according to some people, to the dependence of [the Berber] kingdoms on other centres or poles at the political economic and technological levels...”¹⁸

Because the Berber land has never been given the opportunity of enjoying full sovereignty, Berbers have always relied on the languages of the others i.e., the conquerors, which have been the ones of prestige and social development; Latin, Phoenician, Arabic, Turkish, and French. It should be said that Berbers in the past, never tried to develop the language into a written form. It always remained a spoken language.

1.4.3.1 A Historical Background

Through its history, The Berber language witnessed many influences from other languages. It is definitely the Phoenician language which was the first to interfere in the speech of the Berbers especially after the setting of Phoenician commercial concessions on different sites of the coast; however, the influence was not that deep because Phoenician was not a language of a great scientific and philosophical civilisation. It was rather Latin, the language of the Roman Empire, which influenced deeply the language of the local

¹⁵ The term “Berber” is actually the name that was given by the Romans “barbarus” to the Libyan populations that were refractory to the Roman civilisation. Cf Haddadou (2000)

¹⁶ Dourari (1997:17), referring to Camps (1983) and Ibn Khaldoun (La Muqaddima), writes:

“La nation algérienne est, au plan ethnique, unie dans sa berbèrité.”

“The Algerian nation is, at the ethnic level, unite in its Berberity.”

¹⁷ Aguellid is the Amazigh term for King.

¹⁸ The text in French reads:

“Cet état de chose est dû, selon quelques uns, à la dépendance de ces royaumes à d'autres centres ou pôles sur le plan politique, économique, technologique...”

thinkers of their time wrote either in Latin or in Greek; Augustine and Juba II. Later, it was Arabic and French that were used by Berbers who, because of different reasons, neglected their language until recent years in which an identity awakening rose among the Berber speaking populations.

What is known today as the Tamazight language is said to derive from a more ancient language which is Libyan. Various studies have been undertaken on Libyan starting from the beginning of last century. These works, such as those of Gsell (1913) and Prasse (1974), were meant to discover more about this language, much of which is still to be discovered, and to prove the relationship between Berber and Libyan. Haddadou (2000:210) writes:

“Present Berber descends from Libyan, a language which was spoken in North Africa since high antiquity. Ancient Greek and Latin authors signalled this language, which was distinct from that of the Phoenician colonisers, but unfortunately, no one of them [the authors] described it. In the 5th century, St Augustine noted that the indigenous tribes of North Africa spoke one language; however, we do not know if he hinted at the unity of the Libyan language of which he had known different spoken varieties, or a particular dialect which was widespread in his time or spoken in certain regions of the country.”¹⁹

Thus, it is very hazardous to say if Libyan existed as a one unified language or as a group of spoken varieties having many similarities and deriving from one source language. The latter hypothesis seems to be more plausible when we consider the fact that except on very rare occasions, Berbers lived in tribes which settled in locations that were far from one another. Yet, the possibility that one variety took over the others and became widespread and understood by the majority of Berbers is not to be excluded since the

¹⁹ The original text reads as follows:

“Le berbère actuel descend du Libyque, une langue parlée en Afrique du Nord dès la haute Antiquité. Les auteurs anciens, grecs et latins, ont signalé cette langue, distincte de celle des colons phéniciens, mais malheureusement aucun d’eux ne l’a décrite. Au Vème siècle de l’ère chrétienne, Saint Augustin faisait remarquer que les tribus indigènes d’Afrique du Nord parlaient une seule langue, mais on ne sait s’il faisait allusions à l’unité de la langue Libyque dont il aurait connu plusieurs parlers, ou un dialecte particulier répandu de son temps ou encore parlé dans certaines régions du pays.”

like Cirta (today's Constantine), Caesarea (today's Acre) was not without influencing people's economic, intellectual and linguistic life and behaviour. The different wars led against the Phoenicians and the Romans are proofs that even if they did not promote their language, Berbers have always been very attached to it and to the culture it carries. This may explain the fact that Saint Augustine mentioned the existence of a language different from that of the Phoenicians and of course from that of the Romans.

Other languages, like Turkish, influenced Berber, but Arabic and French are definitely the ones that left indelible marks on Tamazight.

With the coming of Islam, and the arrival of waves of Arabs who came to settle in North Africa by the mid 7th century and the mid 10th century the Arabic language gained more and more importance in the life of the Berbers especially in fields like religion and written literature. At that time, Tamazight was spoken in the area stretching from the Siwa oasis in Egypt in the east to the Canary Islands in the west and from the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea to Mauritania, Mali and Niger in the south. This insertion of Arabic in the speech of the population happened very mildly and was accepted by Berber speakers mainly because most of them converted into Islam, but also because of the literary, scientific and religious prestige this language had. Actually, as Chaker (1996:117) puts it, the contact between Berber and Arabic has been closer than between Berber and the other languages which came into contact with it before (Phoenician and Latin). He writes:

" Arabic is the only non autochthonous language which got solidly and definitively implanted in the Maghrib". (1996:117)²⁰

The linguistic and cultural peculiarity of the Maghrib is the result of centuries of contact and mixing of different peoples around the Berber populations who underwent various waves of occupation.

In this melting pot that the Arabs have always considered as the "Occident" (Maghrib), the language and the culture underwent the successive influences the Punic and Jewish, Greek and Latin, Vandal and Byzantine, Arabic, then Turkish and French cultures, before the emergence of today's modern independent nations.

²⁰ The original text reads: "... l'Arabe est la seule langue non autochtone qui se soit solidement et définitivement implantée au Maghrib."

Islam starting from the 8th century A.D. and which become one of the strongest pillars of the Maghribi culture. The latter has kept, nonetheless, an identity which is proper to it and distinct from that of Europe and that of the “Arab World”.

As a matter of fact, even the Berber dynasties which governed the Maghrib after the coming of Islam such as the Murabitun, the Muwahhidun, the Fatimiyyun and others used Arabic in religious, political and literary domains while the populations used Berber in their everyday life. All the propaganda in the Middle Ages was done in Berber because the population could not understand Arabic yet. In this sense Julien (1978:96) writes about Ibn Tumart

“...he most often uses the Berber language, Arabic not being very widespread in Morocco at that time [12th century].”²¹

However, through time a process of language shift started slowly taking place. Arabic having become the language of social improvement, Berber speakers got obliged to learn it and use it to achieve a respected social status. The result was that with the coming generations, a process of language loss whereby people felt it was more useful to use Arabic than their mother tongue took place. As Maamouri puts it:

“One might venture to guess... that with the increasing domination of the Arabic-Islamic culture... and the total conversion of the Berber population to Islam, ‘bilingualism’ must have been introduced for the first time on a large scale.” (1973:51)

Nevertheless, this language shift took very high proportions in the plains, valleys and plateaux Arabs took possession of while the Berbers who fled to mountainous and desert areas succeeded in preserving the Amazigh culture and language for many centuries.

The Turkish invasion made of Algeria, Tunisia and Libya different regencies governed by Turkish Beys who even if they tried to apply a “Turkishisation” policy, have always used Arabic because of the prestige it had and the Islamic connotations it carried.

²¹ “...il se sert le plus souvent de la langue berbère, l’arabe étant fort peu répandu dans le Maroc d’alors...”

... why the Turkish language did not have the influence

European languages also had their share in influencing the languages used in the Maghrib. The most prominent influences are those of Spanish in the west of Algeria and French on the country as a whole. The French colonial policy in Algeria was one of dividing the Algerian people to control it in an easier way. One of the parameters the division was intended to be based on was the linguistic one. The goal was to divide the Berber speakers and the Arabic ones into two different entities. In addition to reducing Arabic to a dialect-like variety since it was taught only in “Medersas” “Zaouias” and “Quranic schools”, many militaries and, later, scholars worked on Berber with the aim of knowing the culture deeply to control the people easily. In this sense, Hannoteau (1867) in grouping old Kabyle poems says that by mastering the culture and the traditions of the Kabyle people the French colonial government can in the many run make of these people allies rather than enemies. The first serious studies done on Berber, apart from those of Boulifa and Bousdira, are the works of French scholars such Basset, Foucauld, Gsell and others.

The same process of language accommodation that touched the Berbers in the middle ages happened with Algerians in general, and Berber speakers in particular, with French. The fact that the majority of Kabyle intellectuals was Francophone can be explained by the fact that during the occupation France succeeded in building many schools and many missionaries taught the French language and through it the Christian traditions. This explains also why most of the studies done on Berber, even by Berber speakers, were in French. However, all the attempts to Frenchify and Christianise the Berber speaking areas, Kabylia in particular, did not succeed since the populations remained attached to their country, their culture and their history. Nevertheless, one should not occult the fact that, like AA, Berber has been deeply influenced by French in many ways. One striking example is an expression used by women:

(9) /zⵣⵉⵏⵏⵉ/ aappi zⵣⵉⵏⵏⵉ mmiis/ (lit.) “In front of God and in front of his son”
(In front of everyone)

This example denotes the influence of Christianity because God in the Muslim tradition has never had a son while many Christians believe that Jesus is God’s son. The linguistic influence resides in terms of tools and items that did not exist in Algeria before the coming of the French.

(12) /askuti/

“car ”

“town hall”

“boy scout”

During the French colonisation, Berber did not suffer only from the French hegemony but also from the ideas and tendencies conveyed by the leaders of the struggle against the colonial power. Two poles emerged in the national movement at that time. The first one, which was in the majority, wanted the struggle to be based on Islam and the Arabic language as the foundations and references which, would represent Algeria as a nation. Another pole wanted the Amazigh dimension to be integrated in the philosophy of the national movement as an essential component of the Algerian nation. This ideological conflict led to what is known as the Berber crisis in 1949. It is later that a tacit agreement was made to get rid first of the coloniser and to look to the question after independence.

After independence, the agreement was not respected by the successive Algerian governments. Actually, the Algerian Republic had been based on Islam, Arabic and socialism as a regime. No reference, whatsoever, was made to the Berber language, culture and history. For a many time, it was even forbidden to make any reference to Berber in the media, in education or in any other field. Until recently, the different Constitutions of independent Algeria have never made any reference to the Tamazight component of the Algerian society in any way. It was not until the Constitution of 1996 that a faint reference was made to it in the introduction where it is considered as one of the component of the Algerian people besides Islam and Arabness, and it was until 2002 that Tamazight was consecrated as national language.

This does not mean that no attempt to promote the language was made during this lapse of time. During the period from 1963 to 1973 lectures on Berber were held by the writer Mouloud Maameri at the University of Algiers in the Department of Ethnology in addition to the publication, mainly in France, of a number of journals dealing with the Berber question from different angles. It is in 1966 that the first Berber Academy was created in Paris by Mohand Arab Bessaoud. All this was done in parallel with a certain awakening which was mainly observable at the musical level where themes like emigration, love and others were substituted by more engaged ones dealing with the language, the grievance of the identity recognition. Yet, one should recognise that all these attempts were the work of intellectuals and erudites. It is in 1980 that the first popular manifestation took place in the towns of Tizi-Ouzou and Algiers in the form of riots which

of the authorities of the time to allow a conference on
given by M.Maameri at the University of Tizi-Ouzou.

What is known as the “Amazigh Spring” was the beginning of a many process whereby the successive governments took gradually into consideration the question of the Amazigh identity in Algeria. Of course, this was not without considerable efforts; one of these was, the 1994 eight month school strike in Kabylia. The result was that the authorities conceded in the Constitution of 1996 the Amazigh dimension of the Algerian people even if it was just a short statement in the Preamble of the Constitution. By this time the Amazigh question was no more a taboo and even high officials started recognising their Amazighity.

In the meantime, and with the advent of “democracy” and “press freedom”, a number of newspapers and magazines written in Tamazight flourished , some of which disappeared quickly because of the lack of readers, or financial resources while some others like “Racines Izuran” succeeded in draining a big number of readers. The other important thing is the appearance of a news bulletin in Tamazight on the Algerian television. Even if much can be said about the time allocated to it and the language used in it; it is nonetheless a big step towards a larger recognition of Tamazight.

However, the most important event this language and the identity it carries witnessed is its recognition as a national language in 20002 after “the Black Spring” which started in April 2001 and saw very violent riots in Kabylia. It is true that the will of some of the defenders of this identity was to see it reach the status of a national and official language (the question of national vs. official language will be dealt with in Chapter Five), but this national status Tamazight gained supposes a tacit commitment of the government to promote and give the means to develop every aspect of this culture. We will deal with the progress this language witnessed and the ways in which it should be promoted and developed from a sociolinguistic point of view in the last chapter.

Before going any further and now that the most important events Tamazight has gone through have been cited it is important to clarify one point which is not that evident for the layman: the different varieties of Tamazight.

1.4.3.2 The Geographical Distribution

For a many time, the layman confused Berber/Tamazight with Kabyle certainly because it is the Kabyles who have always held the grievance for an official recognition of the Amazigh identity in Algeria. In fact, Berbers occupied for a many time a very large land stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to Egypt and from the Mediterranean

Berber speaking areas, which are discontinuous, are not that the language had never been written and had for a many time been confined to orality. Yet, Berber as it is nowadays does not constitute a single unified language; rather it is a group of varieties which are different from each other mainly at the phonological and lexical levels while the grammatical structure remains the same in all the varieties. The areas where the Berber speech communities are found are always separated from one other by Arabic speaking ones and are under different political and social environment since they can be found in different countries which do not have the same policies. This explains the fact that each variety developed according to the contacts it had with other languages and to the social, economic and political conditions its speakers have lived under. In addition, one can easily notice that the areas where the language has subsisted are either desert or mountainous; the desert and the mountains constituted natural obstacles to the Arabic penetration and influence. As Achab (2001) puts it: *“the lack of contact between these areas has led to a dialectalization process”*, wherefrom the big number of dialectal varieties and variation and a lack of mutual intelligibility in many cases. The major varieties of Tamazight are found in:

Morocco: It is the country where the biggest number of Tamazight speakers is found. Their percentage is of about 45% of the population.²² There are three main Berber-speaking areas. Tarifit which is spoken in the mountains of the Rif in the north and include centres like Beni Zenassen and El Hoceima. This variety includes also the form spoken in Melilia and Ceuta (see Achab 2001). Southward is the Middle Atlas where the Tamazight²³ variety is spoken. Further to the south and west, in the Anti-Atlas, the inhabitants use the Tashelhit.

²² The percentages given here are taken from Haddadou (2000:15,16)

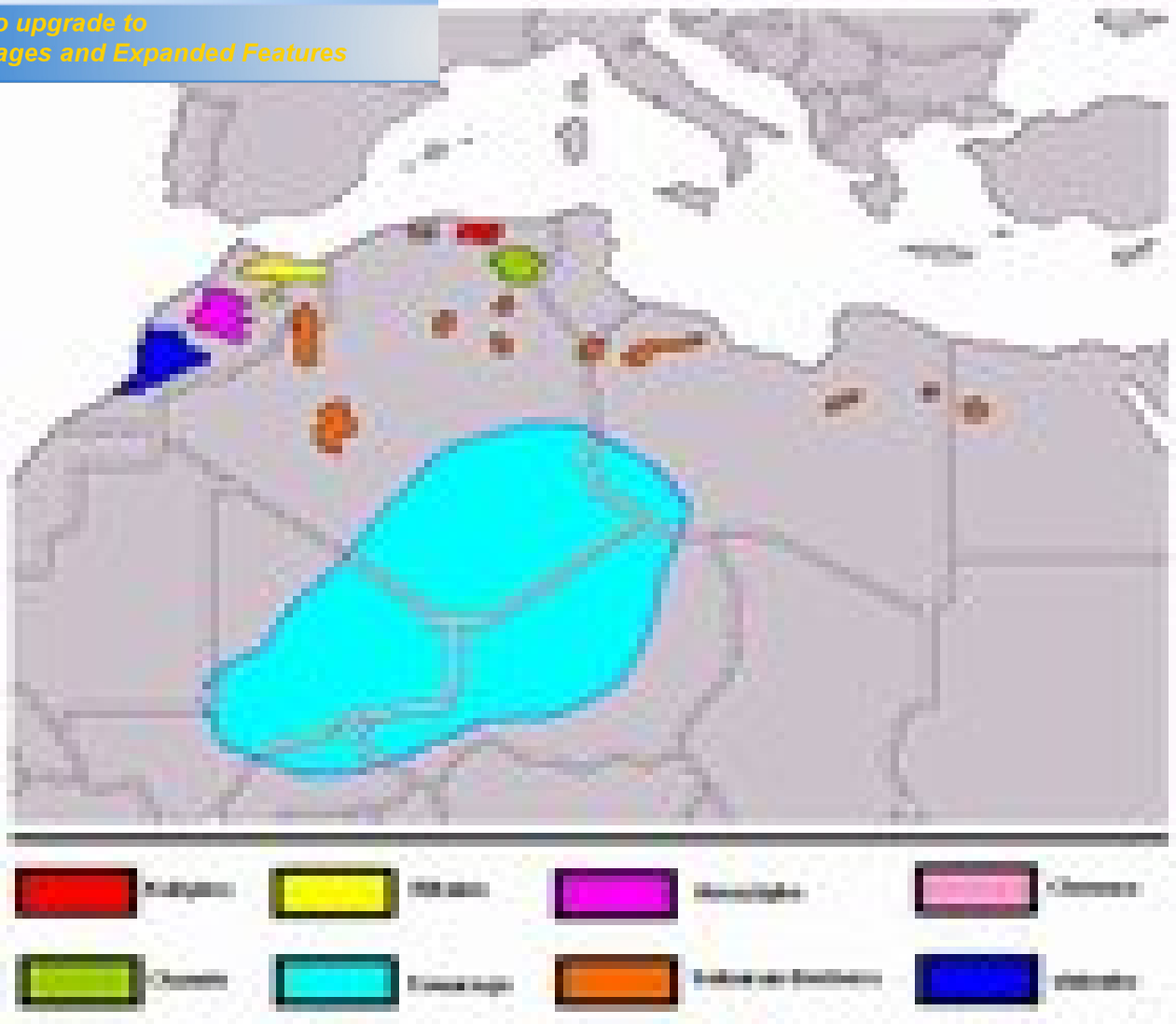
²³ The Tamazight in question here is one of the varieties spoken in Morocco and not the Tamazight language. This variety is actually the only one, with Tamahaq (Targui) which kept their Berber names and have not been Arabised.

Berber-speaking areas are not homogenous because no; rather, they are all separated by Arabic-speaking lands as can be seen from map 1 below. The Tamazight-speakers represent 30% of the Algerian population. The most prominent varieties are:

Taqvaylit (Kabyle) which is by far the most important branch from a political point of view because it is the Kabyles who have always carried the demand for an official recognition of the Tamazight language and identity in the Maghrib. The Kabylia region is situated at a distance of about 100 kilometres to the east of Algiers in the Djurdjura Mountains. It comprises two main urban centres, namely Tizi-Ouzou and Bejaïa. These two centres are actually considered as the capital cities of respectively Great (High) Kabylia and Small (Low) Kabylia. There are also some other urban centres of less importance in this area such as Boumerdes, Bouira and Setif. Parts of the two latter regions have been completely Arabised and the people no more use any Berber form. West of Algiers, is the Shenoua Mountains where the Ishanouiyyen (the Shenoua) use Tashanouit in towns like Cherchell and Tipaza.

Another important variety is Tashawit which is spoken by Ishawiyyen in the Aures mountains southeast of Kabylia. This region which borders Tunisia comprises urban centres like Batna, Khenchela, Souk-Ahras, etc.

In the south of the country, two main varieties are recognised. Tamzavit (Mozabit), is used in the valley of the M'zab whose biggest urban pole is Ghardaïa while Tamahaq (or Tamashaq) is used by the Tuaregs in the Hoggar and in the Tassili N'adjer



Distribution of Berber speakers in North Africa

(From http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berber_people)

and in towns like Tamanghast (Tamanrasset). It is very important to point out that the land of the Tuaregs is very vast since it comprises part of Mali, Niger, and small islets in the north of Burkina-Faso and in the north of Nigeria.

In addition to the above-cited areas, there are small pockets of Berber-speaking populations scattered in other regions of Algeria still exist in the south Oranian region (the Ksour Mountains), in the region near the Algero-Moroccan borders as in Bechar, Aïn-Sefra and Figuig. Other regions are the Gourara, the Touat and Tidikelt as well as the oases of Oued Righ, Ouargla and N'goussa.

Tunisia : in this country the language subsists in some enclaves as in the villages of the Island of Djerba, and in the south and the centre of the country as in Tamezret north of

, east of Tataouine. Tunisia is the countries with the speakers for the latter represent only 1% of the

population.

Libya: The Berberophones which constitute 21/% of the population live generally in the mountains of Barqa, Djbel Ghuryam, and Nefoussa and in the oases of Ghadames, Soqna and Timissa. Beside these regions, the Zouara group lives on the north coast near the Tunisian borders.

Mauritania: in the area situated north of the Senegal River, the Zenaga variety is used by the population of Trarza

Egypt: the only area where Tamazight is used in Egypt is that of the oasis of Siwa. The implantation of the language in that region goes back to 950 B.C. ; however, it could subsist notably thanks to the fact that it is an area which is situated in the Egyptian desert and was, thus, somehow protected by its geography.

The Canary Islands : the ancient inhabitants of the Canary Islands where the Guanches, a branch of the Amazigh people; however, the language they used had for a many time completely disappeared. With the post-Franco period of political opening in Spain and the wave of regional autonomies that touched the country, a revival movement of the Amazigh culture, history and language took place in what a lot of Canarians call Taknara²⁴ rather than the Canary Islands today. Actually, a number of organisation and associations is working on promoting and developing Tamazight under its various angles.

To the above-cited Amazigh-speaking areas, we should add the Diaspora of Amazigh speakers who live in nearly all the Arabic-speaking urban centres in the Maghrib as well as in Europe and America. Their number is so important that it cannot be ignored. The biggest number of these lives in towns like Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Rabat and Casablanca. In Europe, their immigration like that of all Maghribi touched mainly France and to a lesser extent Belgium while in America the largest communities are concentrated in Quebec, Canada and all through the United States of America.

1.4.3.3 Tamazight in the Hemitic-Semitic Language Family

It is generally known that language families are built upon different linguistic bases. Most commonly, a language is considered as belonging to such a family

²⁴ “Taknara” is the Amazigh pronunciation of the “Canary Islands”.

nt of similarities with the languages constituting this appear at different levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical. This work requests a minute and rigorous comparative study of different languages. The Indo-European language family was first brought into interest by W. Jones in 1786 when he discovered the similarities between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

Starting from the 19th century many writers displayed a big interest in the origin of Tamazight and tried to find a link between this language and others through a comparison of different roots and lexical items. This gave different whimsical interpretations in which Berber was linked to the Indo-European family, to the Basque language, to old Egyptian, to the Semitic family and even to some American Indian languages (see Haddadou 2000). These fanciful linkings were the result of a mere lexical comparison which is *“the least reliable criterion since the phonetic evolution can explain various resemblances between languages that are the farthest.”* Haddadou (2000: 207). It is well-known that Tamazight has always been in contact with various languages through its history. This may explain the different borrowings found in this language even in the ancient times. On the other hand, some interpretations seem to be far fetched because not based on scientific comparative criteria. A case in point is that of Bertholon (1907), cited by Haddadou (2000:207), who relates Berber to Greek on the basis of lexical similarities. The following are some of the examples he gives:

- (11) /tiru/ “she gave birth” is related to “tīhrô” which has the same meaning in Greek.
(12) /ⵓⵍⵎ/ “to be unjust” which is actually taken from the Arabic /ⵍⵏⵎ/ is said to derive from the Greek “dolomai” “I cheat on”

The first decades of the 20th century were the starting point for a more rational study of the Hemitic-Semitic²⁵ language family. M. Cohen (1924) considered Berber as a branch of the Hemitic-Semitic languages besides three other branches, namely Semitic, Egyptian and Cushite. Each of these linguistic groups bears characteristics of its own but they present similarities that are so evident that the relation between them could not be denied. Bloomfield (1933) also recognises the same four branches in this family. He gives details in which he explains that the Semitic branch is divided into an eastern Branch which is known as the Babylonian-Assyrian, now extinct, and a western one that comprises a northern offshoot and a southern one. The other three branches (Egyptian, Berber and

²⁵ This language family is also called the Afro-Asian one

ch of the family. Berber is known from 4th century B.C

The similarities between the languages of this family are not only in terms of lexical analogies, which can be explained by language contact, but affected also the structure of the languages such as the verbal system, the trilateral structure of the root, etc. Yet, this quite simple division was later challenged by other researchers who tried to find out a more detailed classification. One of the most important conclusions is that there are, within this proto-language, two main distinct branches, the Semitic branch and the Hemitic one, each having distinct descendent languages. Even though, the Hemitic-Semitic origin of Berber was challenged by some linguists such as A. Basset and others who claimed that it belonged to the Semitic branch or to the Basque language.

Tamazight which is classified in the Hemitic branch is supposed to have started existing as a distinct group between the 8th and the 7th century B.C. The explanation given for this dating by many scholars, among which Chaker (1996) is that in chronological terms the “common” Hemitic-Semitic language family is traced back to more than three millennia B.C. since at this period the Egyptian branch and the Semitic one were already distinct from each other and as there is no evidence of the birth of Berber after this period, the separation must have happened a many time before. With the assumption that three centuries are a minimum for a language to get completely detached from the source language, we can date the appearance of Berber to between the 8th and the 7th century B.C. However, Tamazight is a descendant of a more ancient language, commonly known as the Libyan language which is the language of the ancestors of the Berbers who were called Libyans, a name which seems to come from "Libou" by which the Egyptians designated the people who lived in the North of Africa and whose existence as an ethnic group goes back to the high Egyptian antiquity " (cf. Decret and Fantar :1981). Unfortunately, very little is known about Libyan apart from some funerary or ceremonial inscriptions among which is the Libyco-Punic dedication (138 B.C.)discovered on the mausoleum of Massinissa in Thugga (Western Tunisia). Even Greek and Latin writers do not say much, not to say nothing, about the Berber language. This can be explained by two facts: first, Berbers had to learn Greek and / or Latin if they wanted to reach high educational levels and; therefore, wrote themselves in Greek and Latin (St Augustine, Juba II)



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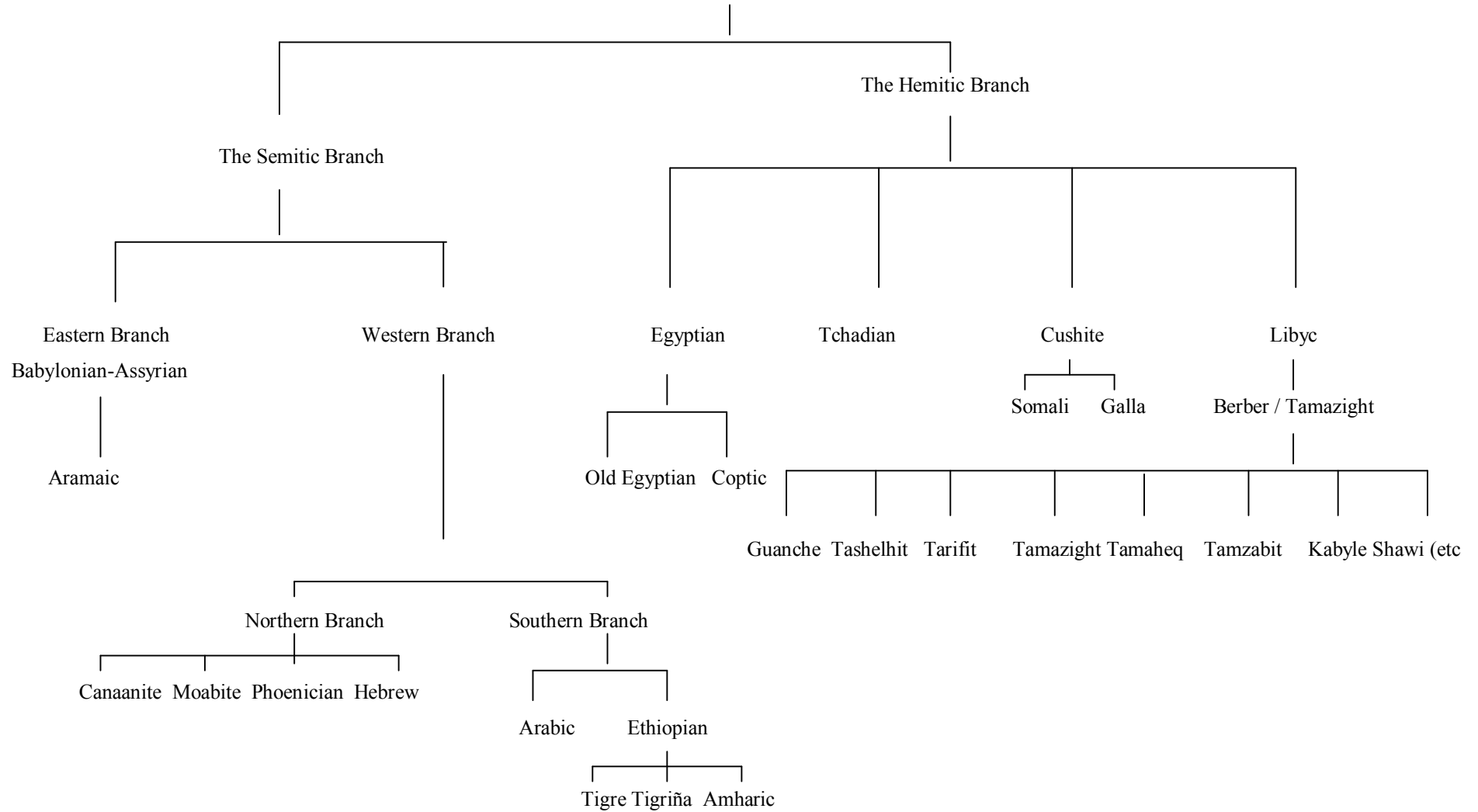
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earlier many investigations, both synchronic and diachronic, have been undertaken to prove the Hemitic-Semitic origin of Berber although no anthropological evidence has been found so far.

Table 2: THE HEMITIC-SEMITIC LANGUAGE FAMILY

(Based on Bloomfield 1933 and Haddadou 2000)



Many Languages?

It has been subject to various, and passionate debates as to whether Tamazight is one language or various languages. It seems that the debate in question was initiated first by ideological considerations. For the people who assert that it is made of many languages, the goal seems to be to show that Tamazight is constituted of so many varieties that it can never be a “Language” while for the “Berberists” all these varieties descend from the same mother language and are therefore a factor of unification of all the Berber speakers.

Actually, Berber as it exists today is made of different regional varieties which are not most of the time mutually intelligible. The fact that the different forms of Berber spoken today through Tamazgha²⁶ developed separately under different political and social environments has hindered the unification of the Berber spoken varieties. Linguistically speaking the two points of view cited above can be accepted since there are arguments in favour of both. The fact that most varieties are not mutually intelligible can explain the assumption that the present Berber is made of many languages as is the case for the modern Romance languages like French, Spanish, Italian, etc. At the same time, many linguistic descriptions show that most Berber spoken varieties share the same grammatical systems and even the same lexical core. Actually, the difficult mutual intelligibility that characterises Tamazight varieties is essentially due to pronunciation differences and semantic ones since the lexemes used in different regions are the same, but might refer to different meanings. The following is a discussion of the question.

Various studies have been undertaken to determine whether we are in front of one language having different varieties or different languages.

For Militarev (1991:91) the varieties of Tamazight that exist today descend from a Proto-Berber which started branching in the last third of the second millennium B.C. he suggests four main dialects:


































- Proto-East: a mother tongue of the East Berber group including Siwi, Ghadamsi, Awdjila, the dialect of El Fodjaha, Sokna and possibly several other Berber languages spread in the Libyan desert and Fezzan. This variety is found in Egypt and Lybia.
- Proto-South: Tuareg in the south of Algeria, Mali and Niger.
- Proto-West: Zenaga in Mauritania

²⁶ Tamazgha is the term used to designate all the geographical areas where Tamazight is spoken.

another tongue of the North Berber group consisting of including Tashelhit, Tamazight, Zenatia and Kabyle.

The above classification is based on methods used in glottochronology. Yet, Militarev does not explain these methods neither does he situate in time when the split of Proto-Berber into different branches occurred. What seems interesting, though, is the fact that according to him the existence of different varieties of Berber is a not a recent one.

Vycichl (1991:77) also regards Tamazight as being a group of different languages. He makes an analogy with the Romance, the Germanic and the Slavonic language groups each of which comprises a number of languages. Vycichl bases his assumption on a comparison of the lexis of different varieties. His examples were:

	<u>Tashelhit</u>	<u>Kabyle</u>	<u>Siwi</u>	
(13)	/*ig★mmi/	/axxam/	/agb★n/	“house”
(14)	/tam☞art/	/*am★                                 	/talti/	“woman”
(15)	/ajdi/	/aqjuun/	/agurzni/	“dog”

Although he recognises that /ajdi/ is also used in Kabyle, Vycichl claims that Berber speakers “who live far from each other do not understand each other and speak Arabic or French.”(1991:77). Therefore, the parameter of mutual intelligibility is of importance in determining whether two codes constitute the same language or different languages. However, this argument does not seem very convincing since the same case is present in Arabic where Algerian Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic are not mutually intelligible, but are not considered as two different languages.

Through a phonological study, Boukous (1991) shows aspects of the diversity that characterises the Tamazight varieties. Even if he considers it as superficial, Boukous admits that the regional variation in the phonetic system has incidences on mutual intelligibility. The systematic analyses undertaken on the consonantal system have always shown that Tamazight has two sub-groups: the “conservative-occlusive” and the “altered-spirant”²⁷. The two terms are used in relation to the original system which was made of occlusive consonants but which have been altered through time and gave birth to spirantised sounds. This spirantisation is the result of the influence of the various languages Tamazight came into contact with and mainly with Arabic. According to Boukous, this taxonomy that designs the dialects of the south as occlusive and those of the north as spirant is somehow impressionistic since:

²⁷ The terms used by Boukous (1991:16) are “occlusifs-conservateurs” and “spirants- évolués”.

ins also in the ‘occlusive’ spoken
in forms of the ‘occlusive’ spoken
varieties mark some ‘spirant’ spoken varieties ... on the
other hand, the geographical bipartition into northern
‘spirant’ spoken varieties and southern ‘occlusive’ spoken
varieties is neither linear nor uniform.²⁸” (Boukous
1991:16)

What can be understood from the above citation is that even if the phonological system of Tamazight is characterised by variation it is difficult to determine isophones in a clear-cut way. However; he omits to say that these pronunciation differences lead sometimes, not to say most of the time, to unintelligibility between locutors from different Berber speaking areas, e.g.

	<u>Kabyle</u>	<u>Mozabit</u>	
(16)	/n★k/	/n★t●/	“me, I”
(17)	/ɹa/	/●ra/	“something”

Such a difference might seem of secondary importance for the linguist who is initiated to Berber, but is not obvious for the layman. This can pose a problem of comprehension and therefore of communication. It is true that some other differences do not constitute an obstacle to communication. Such differences concern mainly the mode of articulation, such as affrication where we have a secondary articulation, rather than the place of articulation, as in

	<u>Kabyle</u>	<u>Anti- Atlas</u>	
(18)	/dadda/	/dadza/	“(my) uncle”

However, Boukous (1991:22) presents a list of sounds that are shared by all the Tamazight varieties and these are in the majority. He explains the differences we dealt with earlier as the result of a process of dialectisation “*which is not specific to Tamazight; it is a fact which is attested in all the languages of the world*” (1991:24). So, in Boukous’s point of view, even if it is characterised by considerable regional variation, Tamazight constitutes the same language in the sense that the phonological system of all the varieties is the same, with different allophonic possibilities and various phonetic realisations.

²⁸ The original text in French reads as follows: “... le spirantisme se manifeste aussi dans les parlers “occlusifs” et... certaines formes d’occlusives marquent quelques parlers “spirants” ... d’autre part, la bipartition géographique en parlers du nord “spirants” et en parler du sud “occlusifs” n’est ni linéaire ni uniforme.”

ts the diversity in Tamazight as a Sociolinguistic one (1991:129)

“The notion of ‘the Berber language’ is a linguistic abstraction and not an identifiable and localisable sociolinguistic reality. The only observable reality are the local effective usages”²⁹

Hence, a one unified Berber language as such has no effective existence, rather, it is a reference to a source language which existed many centuries ago. The fact is that Tamazight is made of different regional dialects which derive from the Libyco-Berber.

Yet, as he further shows, the idea of the unity of the Berber language is not unfounded since different studies have shown that the resemblances between Kabyle in Algeria and Tashelhit in Morocco are such that there is no doubt that the two varieties constitute the same language. Chaker’s assertion is that the French tradition has always considered Berber as one language and presents the following hierarchisation. He says (1991:130) that there are three levels in Berber:

- **The Berber language**, which is one in its fundamental structures, and which is subdivided into:
- **Regional dialects** which are recognised by the locators such as Kabyle, Tashawit, etc.
- **Local spoken varieties** which are tribal wide. These are characterised by phonetic, lexical and grammatical differences that never affect mutual intelligibility between the different locutors.

Chaker (1991) explains the unity of Berber by claiming that at the linguistic level, the structural components are recurrent in all the dialects. The grammatical and phonological differences are so superficial since most of them can be found in all the Berber dialects that it makes it very hard for the dialectologist to draw isophones or isoglosses.

The diachronic studies undergone on Berber show that the phonological system of all the varieties is based on some common characteristics such as: tension, voicing, pharyngealisation and nasality. Spirantisation, which is characteristic of some northern varieties is just an alteration of some sounds which were originally not spirants and which

²⁹ The French text is:

“ la notion de ‘langue berbère’ est une abstraction linguistique et non une réalité sociolinguistique identifiable et localisable. La seule réalité observable sont les usages locaux effectifs.”

istic level, the unitary conception of
remains integrally real and solidly
founded. ...we are, as known in dialectology, in a world of
overlapping and soft transition [between dialects].”³¹

According to him, the assumption that Berber is made of different languages is largely based on subjective and/or ideological consideration. Yet, he recognises that at the sociolinguistic level, mainly as far as the geographical variation is concerned, there exists a certain classification of dialects which are different from each other even if, as mentioned earlier, it is hard to find lines of demarcation for isoglosses or isophones between different varieties and even between varieties which are geographically separated by Arabic-speaking areas. An example of lexico-semantic overlapping is:

- (21) /ⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵔ/ “a garden where different trees and vegetables are grown” Kabyle
“a country” Moroccan varieties

As Chaker (1991:138) puts it:

“... provided that it belongs to the Berber lexical fund, it is exceptional that a lexical unit of a given dialect does not occur, in one form or another ... in one or many other dialects.”³²

Thus, as to the question if Tamazight is one language or many languages, we can logically speak of the existence of different varieties of the same language since there seems to be too many similarities between the so-called Berber dialects at the linguistic level to claim that we are in front of different languages. It is important to remind that these regional dialects have for a many time been separated by Arabic-speaking areas. Another fact is the spread of these varieties over different countries, each with socio-political realities, which have for a many time ignored them when they have not blocked them. These two elements gave birth to some sociolinguistic variation which sometimes hinders mutual intelligibility between the different dialects.

³¹ “...sur le plan strictement linguistique, la conception unitaire de la langue berbère reste intégralement valable et solidement fondée. ...Nous sommes, de façon bien connue en dialectologie, dans un monde de l'enchevêtrement et de la transition douce.”

³² “... sous réserve qu'elle appartienne bien au fonds lexical berbère, il est exceptionnel qu'une unité lexicale d'un dialecte donné ne se retrouve pas, sous une forme ou une autre ... dans un ou plusieurs autres dialectes.”

The Berber question has always been a delicate one in Algeria. As early as 1949 with what is known as “the Berber Crisis” , there was a will from the leaders of the National Movement to identify themselves and therefore the Algerian revolution, culture and even history with the “Arab World” and the “Arab Nationalism”. It was at this time that the conflict, which was actually latent, between the so-called “Berberists” and the profounders of “Arabism” became quite apparent. The Kabyle leaders of the national movement were either excluded from the Algerian political parties (PPA MTLD) or even assassinated as was the case with Bennaï Ouali and Laïmeche Ali. Later, through the fight against the coloniser, the question had been avoided by all the nationalist leaders, even Kabyle ones, who concentrated their energy on the liberation of the country until independence. This situation did not escape the French who applied the divide and rule policy, which did not work, trying to put Berber-speakers, mainly Kabyles, in a situation of confrontation with the speakers of Arabic. This could be observed through the big number of churches and Christian schools that were implanted in Kabylia with the goal of Christianising the population which would oppose the Arabic, Muslim struggle.

After independence, the situation did not change; it even worsened for the “Berberist” movement since all the linguistic and cultural policies of the country were built on the Arabo-Islamist dimensions. This excluded de facto the Amazigh element. In 1962 the first Algerian president, Ahmed Ben Bella³³, said “we are Arabs, we are Arabs, we are Arabs,” ; a formula which was mainly directed toward those who were claiming an Algeria rather than an Algeria which is Arab and whose history, culture and identity was but Arab and Muslim. This was said in a political context in which the independence of the countries of the “Arab World” led the leaders to conceive an “Arab nation” whose two constituents were Arabic as a language and Islam as a religion. These two elements have actually been present in all the Algerian Constitutions. Haddadou (2003:133) writes that:

“In the optic of the reformist movement, and afterwards in that of the Algerian nationalist movement, the massive conversion of Berbers to Islam, fourteen centuries ago, puts them irreversibly in the Arabic and

³³ Ahmed Ben Bella was the first president of independent Algeria (1963-1965)

ception is still illustrated today by
the official milieus: 'we are Berbers
but Islam Arabised us'."³⁴

This was not without having devastating consequences on the conscience of the Algerian people who came to relegate the Amazigh dimension to a non-important, merely folkloric one. Apart from Kabyles, no other Algerians considered really themselves as Berbers or made any reference to their Berber origin.

Under president Boumédiène, the situation of the Berber question did not see a noticeable change since it had always been linked to the influence of France, the colonial enemy. Even if some lectures on Tamazight were allowed at the University of Algiers the stigma thrown on it even worsened as it was seen as a threat to Arabic. Actually the 1976 Constitution consecrated Arabic as the only national and official language of the country. Of course this was meant as a way of getting rid of the hegemony of French but also a way to occult Berber as a language.

The 1980 riot in Tizi-ouzou and Algiers took place to claim the "Constitutionalisation" of Tamazight. Later two Departments of Popular Culture were opened at the universities of Tlemcen and Algiers. It was not until the early nineties that two departments of Berber Language And Culture were opened at the universities of Tizi-Ouzou (1990) and Bejaïa (1991). This opening from the authorities which was a result of the 1988 democratic opening was stopped by a law of generalisation of the Arabic language in 1991. This law states that all correspondences between public administrations, companies, cinema, advertising, etc, were to be done solely in Arabic. This meant that once again Berber could be used only in limited domains. Yet, in the same year, a decision was taken to have a daily news bulletin in Tamazight on the Algerian television channel. The above cited law was put aside for some years. Following the school boycott in 1994-1995, a governmental instance was created to take in charge the Tamazight language. The "Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité" (HCA) had the task of promoting the Amazigh culture and language through its introduction in the educational system. In 1998 the above cited generalisation of the Arabic language law was put again into application. In the meantime the 1996 Constitution stated that the

³⁴ "Dans l'optique du mouvement réformiste, puis du mouvement nationaliste algérien, la conversion massive des Berbères à l'Islam, il y a quatorze siècles, les inscrit de façon irréversible dans l'aire culturelle de l'Islam et de l'arabité. Cette conception est encore aujourd'hui illustrée par la formule en cours dans les milieux officiels : ' Nous sommes berbères mais l'Islam nous a arabisés'."

part of the Algerian personality and culture besides the status of national language, through its integration into the Constitution in 2002, the Berber language is still looked at more from a folkloric, traditional point of view than from a real sociolinguistic one. Actually Berber is looked at as only:

“...a patrimony, i.e., a bequest of the past that should be preserved in the state in which it has been transmitted, it is never envisaged as a living national reality which should be promoted, to make of it an instrument of communication and development.”

³⁵Haddadou (2003:136)

This gives an idea about the tensions born from the confrontation between the Berber speakers', mainly Kabyles, claim of an official status for the language and the authorities' refusal.

1.5 Conclusion

The above sketch of the Algerian sociolinguistic situation shows that it presents such a complexity that it is difficult to unravel all the implications that it engenders at the sociological and political levels since it touches fields as important as the language policy, the identity and the status each of the languages in question is given or ought to be given.

Although only one language is recognised as official, different codes imposed themselves at the social level. Besides Standard Arabic which is the “language of the country”, Algerian Arabic (AA) is used for informal purposes, Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) which reduces the gap between SA and AA with more or less success. French is still considered as the language of prestige and opening on the world. Its importance which seemed to decrease in the seventies is fact as big as it was before especially through the satellite TV channels. In addition to these four varieties, the Berber language, through its regional varieties, is gaining sociolinguistic and political importance at all levels.

The relation between these varieties takes various forms. Depending on the status of each language different relations obtain. Thus, we have a diglossic relation between

³⁵ la langue berbère n'est plus qu'un patrimoine, c'est-à-dire un legs du passé qu'il faut préserver dans l'état où il a été transmis, elle n'est jamais envisagée comme une réalité vivante de la nation qu'il faut promouvoir, pour en faire un instrument de communication et de développement.

and SA and AA. At the same time, the use of these sample of bilingualism both at the individual and the societal levels as will be seen in due time.

The case of Tamazight is of special importance since it is a popular language, just like AA, which has for a many time been ignored by the language policy makers and by the educational system. Not only nothing was done to promote the language and therefore the culture, but many obstacles were put in front of it and its defenders. Before it arrived to the relative progress it witnesses now, the Amazigh culture had to go through different stages in which it had to support the hegemony of French and mainly of Arabic. This started with the beginning of the National Movement during the Liberation War and continued after Independence. Many events marked the evolution of the status of Tamazight. The 1949 crisis, the 1964 insurrection in Kabylia, the 1980 “Berber Spring” and the 2001 “Black Spring” were all directly or indirectly motivated by the aspiration of the recognition of the Tamazight dimension of Algeria through the recognition of the Tamazight language.

The next chapter is an investigation of code-switching as it obtains in the case of Tamazight speakers in Algeria. The latter may mix all the varieties of their repertoire in different situations according to different parameters that I will try to depict hereafter.

2.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of code-switching is a process that obtains in all multilingual speech communities as a result of language contact. A situation of language contact and bilingualism entails the practice of code-switching by the speakers. The latter may change codes within the same sentence; this phenomenon is commonly known as “intrasentential code-switching” or code-mixing. They may also change codes from one sentence to another in the same situation and with the same interlocutor. This shift is in fact agreed on as intrasentential code-switching. In any case, for the sake of the present work, I will make no distinction between the two and will, therefore, use the term code-switching to qualify “intra” and “inter” sentential code-switching unless otherwise indicated.

Algeria, as mentioned earlier, is a country which witnessed the presence of different languages which have been in contact with Tamazight. The different contacts resulted in reciprocal influences and interferences between the different languages. Another consequence, which is not of the least importance, is that like the other countries of the Maghrib, Algeria has become through time a bilingual country. Algerians may use Tamazight, French, Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic or Educated Spoken Arabic. I should focus in this chapter on Tamazight/AA and Tamazight/ French code-switching, although reference will be made at times to Tamazight/CA code-switching. Besides Arabic, French constitutes the language Berber speakers switch to the most because of the influence it had on Algerian speakers during the colonisation and even after independence. One must say that in the case of Kabylia, the influence of the French language and culture was of prime importance on the cultured people first and the population later on. Add to this the fact that Arabic in general has for a many time, before and after independence, been put in a conflicting situation with French on the one side and Tamazight on the other. One can understand why Tamazight speakers in general and Kabyles in particular are more inclined to switch to French rather to Arabic. To my knowledge, no work on AA/T or F/T code-switching in Algeria had ever been undertaken. The fact that the so-called “Arabisants” had for a many time refused to admit the Amazigh dimension of the Algerian people not only

in the Amazigh language(s) but made them reject any
t could put the national unity in jeopardy. On the other
hand, the so-called “Berbèrisants” have always been more preoccupied merely by promoting
their culture and language in the sense of its standardisation and its recognition. This is also
due to the fact that for a many time, even, among linguists, code-switching was seen as a
distortion and a corruption of the language that was wanted to be the purest possible. Thus,
code-switching as a sociolinguistic phenomenon is, most of the time unconsciously but
sometimes consciously, neglected in Berber studies in general and in Berber linguistics and
sociolinguistics in particular.

2.2 The Phenomenon of Code-Switching

Code-switching, a process whereby bilingual speakers alternate between the
different varieties they have at their disposal, has been discussed from different angles and in
different situations. Crystal (1987) suggests that code, or language, switching occurs when an
individual who is bilingual alternates between two languages during his/her speech with
another bilingual person. He considers as bilingual any speaker who is able to communicate,
to varying extents, in a second language. He, the bilingual, can be an individual who makes
irregular use of a second language. He can also be a speaker who can use a second language
but has not done it for some time because of some reason. Finally, the bilingual individual can
have a considerable mastery of a second language and can, therefore, use L1 and L2 equally
well. This alteration, or code-switching, between languages may take a number of different
forms, like alteration of sentences, phrases from both languages succeeding each other and
switching in a many narrative. Different types of code-switching have been recognised in
relation to the function of the switch. Blom and Gumperz (1972) recognise “situational code-
switching” in which the codes in question are clearly separated since each one is used in a
particular situation with particular interlocutors and topics. It is in fact what Rubin(1968), G.
Sankoff (1972) and Fishman (1972) present as the speaker’s ability to choose a variety in
relation to non-linguistic parameters such as participants, topic, setting, channel, mood, etc.
This type of code-switching has been equated by Gumperz (1976) with diglossia. Bouamrane
(1986, 1988) equates this with intralingual diglossia when the varieties are genetically related
and interlingual diglossia when the varieties are not.

In addition, code-switching has been used to mean “code-mixing” as
opposed to “code-changing”. Mc Clure and Mc Clure (1975) and Wentz and Mc Clure (1977)
make a distinction between a situation where a word or an expression in L2 is used in a

occurs because the L2 item is more significant or the L1 base obtains within the sentence itself. Code-Changing, on the other hand, occurs when there is a change in mood, mode, interlocutor, topic, etc. Thus, it happens at sentence boundaries and results in sequences of sentences in L1 followed by sentences in L2. The distinction between “code-mixing” and “code-changing” is more commonly known in the sociolinguistic literature as “intrasentential code-switching” and “intersentential code-switching”. Besides situational code-switching, two other types are recognised: conversational code-switching where the switch is rather spontaneous and even unconscious, and metaphorical code-switching where the switch is made to a variety which is situationally inadequate. This occurs when the variety used is not the expected one; however, such a switch is not purposeless since it conveys a change in mood, status or attitude on the part of the speaker. Myers-Scotton (1993), tries to explain intrasentential code-switching through what she calls the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) in which the “matrix language” (L1) actually constitutes the basis on which elements of the “embedded Language” (L2) grafted.

Although code-switching is most of the time considered by the laymen as a weakness, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic investigations proved the opposite. Investigations on why people code-switch have shown that rather than being limited, a bilingual speakers has knowledge of different cultures, different linguistic systems and moreover the capacity to combine these different systems. In fact, the idea that a language which borrows loses its “purity” is erroneous and distorts all observable realities. It is very doubtful that a “pure” language as such may exist in the twenty first century. Although ideologically supported points of view may claim so, it is an established fact that because of the diachronic contacts between languages through trade, wars, mixed marriages, technology, etc, all languages have borrowed from each other, even if at varying degrees, and have consequently enriched their respective vocabularies and widened the cultures of their respective speakers. Gal (1979), Bell (1984) and Milroy (1987) suggest that code-switching occurs naturally and unobtrusively such that it is not an interference to language but rather a verbal mechanism of presenting an individuals' social standing with regard to a particular conversational participant. As such, code-switching performs a socio-linguistic function. Of the different reasons for switching from one language to another, we will cite the ones given by Crystal (1987) (Quoted in Skiba 1997):

guage. This tends to occur when the speaker is upset,

Thus, rather than being a language interference, code-

switching supplements speech since it allows continuity in speech.

- To exclude others who do not speak the second language from a conversation. It is in this case a means of keeping unwanted people from taking part in a conversation on a topic which is secret for some reason.
- To express solidarity and affiliation to a social group especially when the addressee responds in the second language.
- To convey one's attitudes to the listener. Skiba (1997) presents this much like bolding or underlining in writing.

Various instances of the above-cited reasons will be developed throughout this chapter (see 2.9.).

2.3 Code-Switching Versus Borrowing

One of the ambiguities in relation to code-switching relates to the difference between code-switching and borrowing. As Bentahila and Davies say (1996:76):

"Most researchers seem to agree that code-switching needs to be distinguished from borrowing, even if the distinction is not always clear."

A characteristic definition of "borrowing" is that given by Arlotto who defines it:

"As the process by which one language or dialect takes and incorporates some linguistic elements from another" (1981: 184).

One view considers the use of single words from another language as borrowing while the insertion of more than one word is considered as a switch from one variety to another (cf. Gingras (1974) and Reyes (1974)). However, as Bouamrane (1986) puts it, this point of view occults the borrowing of proverbs and idiomatic expressions. A case in point is the AA expression:

(22) ma t^hamman^h ajniik

which is a borrowing from the French expression "tu n'en croirais pas tes yeux"

phonological system of the borrowing language has also been put forward as a characteristic to distinguish borrowing. Bentahila & Davies (1983:302) (Quoted in Bouamrane 1986:114) consider that a Moroccan would consider (23) “épicerie” as a switch since used with French phonological characteristics while he would consider (24) /bisri/ as a borrowing since it is phonologically adapted to Moroccan Arabic phonology. In the same way we may consider /*ṭavla*/ in Berber as a borrowing and “la table” as a switch. However, Poplack (1980) (Quoted in Bouamrane 1986:114) does not consider phonological adaptation as borrowing. The example used to illustrate this is (25) /da ‘wari se/ “that’s what he said”. Although the sentence is uttered with a Puerto-Rican Spanish phonology, the lexemes are still all English. Thus, Poplack considers this as a case of code-switching. It is therefore clear that the criterion of phonological adaptation is insufficient to consider an item as borrowed.

The other aspect on which scholars do not agree is that of morphological adaptation to the recipient language. Reyes (1974) distinguishes between “spontaneous borrowings” which are English words adapted to the Spanish morphology and “incorporated borrowings” which are kept in their original morphology. Even this point of view is challenged by Sobin (1972:187) who considered that even when morphologically adapted some words remain switches while Elias Olivares (1976) consider English words related to business, education and the like and which are neither phonologically nor morphologically adapted are borrowings since they become part of the Spanish lexical stock.

Pfaff (1979) (Quoted in Bouamrane 1988:8) states that to distinguish a borrowing from a switch one should determine the status of an L2 word in an L1 utterance. It is necessary in this case to answer the following questions

1. Does an L1 equivalent exist?
2. If it does, is it used in the community?
3. Is the L1 term known to the speaker?
4. Is the word considered to belong to L1 or to L2 by the speaker?

Poplack (1980) suggest three elements to be taken into consideration to decide whether a lexical item is a borrowing or not: the item in question must be adapted to the recipient language 1) phonologically 2) morphologically 3) syntactically.

	Integration into the base language			Code-switching?
	Phonological	Morphological	Syntactic	
1	+	+	+	-
2	-	-	+	+
3	+	-	-	+
4	-	-	-	+

Table 3: Identification of code-switching (and Borrowing) based on the type of integration into the base language (adapted from Poplack 1980)

To illustrate this let us consider the following example given by Buzdhak-Jones and Poplack (1997: 226) (Quoted in Owens 2005:24)

(26) *do car y* “to the car”

In this example the English word “car” is adapted to Ukrainian at three above cited levels and is therefore considered as a borrowing and not as code-switching. Let us consider an example from Tamazight:

(27) *aṣi ripond i* “he will answer”

The French verb “répondre” is fully integrated to Tamazight since it is adapted to phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of the borrowing language.

Thus, we will consider in this work adapted words be they phonologically, morphologically or syntactically as borrowings while non-adapted ones will be considered as switches. However, non adapted words which are very commonly used even by illiterate speakers will be regarded also as borrowings rather than switches since these have in their majority, not to say all of them, become parts of the recipient language.

2.4 The Present Study

Studies on the alternate use of two languages have always been two-folded. The different works undertaken so far focus mainly on the structural level on the hand and on the sociolinguistic level, on the other. Structural analyses of code-switching are intended to explain the syntactic structure of the language bilingual speakers use when conversing. Attempts have been made at finding universal constraints and rules for switching or mixing codes. Sociolinguistic investigations are concerned with the reasons why bilingual speakers alternate codes. These many psycho-sociological stimuli can be individual in that it is the

for some reason which may meet his needs or societal
en varieties in given situations.

To my present knowledge, no deep investigation has been made on code-switching from Tamazight to other languages that co-exist with in the geographical areas where it is spoken. In Algeria, Tamazight is in contact with three other varieties, namely Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and French. It is important to signal that a fourth variety called Educated Spoken Arabic is also in contact with Tamazight.

Given this framework, it has been decided to divide the investigation undertaken in this chapter into two main parts: a structural one and a sociolinguistic one. In the first part, the focus will be on the syntactic dimension of code-switching. Following Bouamrane (1988) in his investigation of AA/F code-switching, I will try to see whether Bentahila and Davies's (1983) conclusions on Moroccan Arabic/F code-switching hold true for T/F and T/AA. At the same time, this will allow to check if Bouamrane's conclusions in the case of AA/F code-switching especially in instances where he disagrees with Bentahila and Davies's can be applied for Tamazight as it obtains in Algeria. The reason for opting for this type of comparison is the fact that AA and T have been in contact for such a many time that they have necessarily influenced each other to the extent of behaving in the same way at different levels and notably at the lexical one. If we add the fact that Maghribi Arabic in general and AA in particular are closely linked to, not to say are based on, Phoenician (see Elimam 2003), a language which influenced and was influenced by Tamazight for many centuries, we can easily understand the hypothesis that AA and T have much in common.

Beside this survey of some of the constraints and rules that may govern code-switching, it was thought worth having a look at what is commonly known as the Matrix Language Frame Model as proposed by Myers Scotton (1993). This model which is meant to determine the language that governs the structure of a switch at the morphosyntactic level is presented in two parts. The first part is concerned with some morphosyntactic combinations and processes that join L1 and L2 from a structural point of view. The second part deals with the psychological aspect underlying such switches; Myers Scotton proposes for this purpose four types of morphemes that she calls the 4M Model. Actually, the investigation of the psychological level is meant to explain and clarify the structural one.

The second main part of the chapter is an investigation of some facets of the social factors that can motivate and explain code-switching. Some of these can be solidarity, distance, non mastery of one of the languages in contact, etc. As will be seen in this section, it

the micro-sociolinguistic dimension from the macro-
notation they are very closely intermingled.

2.5 The Data

One of the most problematic tasks in researches like the one undertaken is data gathering. The fact is that there are different methods to gather a corpus, but each one has its drawbacks. Bentahila and Davis (1983), Bouamrane (1988) opted for a data gathering method which consisted on recording conversations without the informants knowing that they were recorded to obtain natural unselfconscious conversations. As cited by Bentahila and Davis (1983:307), other studies held by Fallis (1976), Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975) and Redlinger (1976) used a different method. They actually let their informant know that they were recorded and they even told them what kind of utterances they wanted them to use. It has been opted in the present work for the first method by making several hours of recordings of natural spontaneous conversations. The informants were of course not aware of the fact that they were recorded. This method was used to insure that the corpus was not one that is controlled, corrected or directed in any way. It is a well known fact that when an individual is aware that he is being recorded or paid attention to, he tends to be as formal and as inclined to the expected norms as he can. This can result in an unreal and unreliable speech for it would not be representative of the linguistic behaviour of the community under study.

However, as mentioned earlier, the method chosen also has its drawbacks. One of which is the bad sound quality of the recordings because the recorder was hidden. This necessitated several listening at times to decipher what was being said in the middle of the environing noise. Another problem which emerged was that the recordings did not comprise all instances wanted. For this reason some elicitation techniques were used to complete the data. In addition, some switches have, every now and then, been suggested to some informants to judge their acceptability and grammaticality following in this Gumperz (1976) and Kachru (1977).

It is important to mention that the recordings were made in various natural situations and places such as the home, cafés, universities, administrations and the like but also from TV and radio programmes. The informants are of both sexes and of ages varying for fifteen year olds to sixty five year olds. The choice of this large spectrum of age is dictated by the fact that while the older generation, most of which were educated in French, are much more influenced by the French language, the younger one is more influenced by Arabic in all its varieties at varying degrees. To have the most possible representative view on code-

to chose informant from different categories of the different occupations such as lawyers, civil servants, university teachers, students, unemployed young people, housewives living mainly in Tamazight speaking areas, especially in Kabylia, but also those living in Arabic speaking urban centres like Oran, Blida, Constantine and Chlef.

2.6 The Structural Dimension of Code-Switching

As mentioned earlier, we shall now try to explore aspects of the morphosyntactic processes that occur in situations of code-switching before moving to the sociolinguistic level. As Muysken (1995:178) puts it: *“the sociolinguistic study of code-switching cannot proceed without a solid, theoretically based ‘structural analysis’ ”*

2.6.1 Switching at Category Boundaries

Bentahila and Davies (1983) in their syntactic study of Moroccan/ French code- switching propose possible syntactic intrasentential combinations. In this section, I will attempt to apply the same combinations and try to find out whether they obtain in the case of Berber/ AA and Berber/F in Algeria. Similarly to Bentahila and Davies (1983) and Bouamrane (1988) I will start from the largest construction, that is the sentence, and go to smaller elements. I should mention, though, that not all the elements analysed by above cited scholars will be investigated here since some of them are not within the scope of this research.

2.6.1.1 Switching Between a Main Clause and a Subordinate clause

Embedded adverbial clauses are characteristic of switching in the case that interests us. The following two examples comprise an embedded purpose clause (28) and another cause clause (29)

T AA

(28) isawlijid/ bΘΣ igulli mΘnZiiΣ
 “He called me to tell me (that) he won’t come”

AA T

(29) hrabt axaⵜar/ ⵜug→ⵜ★ⵜ³
 “You fled because you were afraid”

ces represent instances of embedded adverbial clauses
e the following example is a case of switching from a

French main clause to a Kabyle declarative one.

(30) il a utilisé le matériel idjuu ⵜ natsa

He used the equipment (that) he bought himself

Bouamrane (1988:13) gives an example of an embedded interrogative clause in a case of AA/F code-switching. Although such an instance does not occur in the data investigated, it seems that the combination is likely to happen in the case of K/AA and K/F code-switching. Consider the following hypothetical example:

T F

(31) urfhim ⵜ ara ce qu'il veut

"I don't understand what he wants"

A switch in a conditional sentence is another frequent case:

T AA

(31) li mar ⵜ i ⵜ arvi □ marani ⵜ gaa ⵜ ad hna

"If I were luckier, I wouldn't be staying here"

T F

(32) annawi ⵜ ji ⵜ i arfiqiw si ça ne te deranges pas

"I will bring a friend with me if it doesn't disturb you"

However unlike Bouamrane's data where a switch for a relative clause between AA/F is possible, it seems that it is quite rare in the case of T/AA or T/F. Although no example of such a switch occurred in my data, a more detailed study on the speech of the Amazigh communities living in Arabic or French speaking environment might reveal cases in point. Actually, there seems to be a bigger tendency for T/F code-switching than for T/AA one.

T F

(33) ⵜ wagi ⵜ arg ⵜ z anni dont elle parlait tout le temps !

"This is the man she spoke about all the time!"

The same thing can be said about switching between two coordinating clauses. Amazigh speakers tend use only one of the languages i.e., T, AA or F when using coordinators. Yet, when it is the case different possibilities can be found.

T F

(34) asansiwal, asnah ⵜ ar et là on essayera de le convaincre

n and (here) we'll try to convince him"

(35) ⬤→fah al b→ra□ jannajas addi ru□

"He saw him yesterday and told him to come"

In e.g. (34) the coordinator is in the language of the second clause i.e., French. The same thing occurs in sentence (35) since the coordinator is understated and not apparent as in spoken Kabyle.³⁶

This seems to confirm Gumprez's claim (1976:34) (quoted in Bentahila and Davies 1983:310) that in some switches the conjunction must be in the language of the second sentence. This is contrary to the situation in AA/F code-switching where the conjunction can be in the language of the first clause (cf. Bouamrane 1988:15)

However, like Bouamrane's examples ((13) (14) p. 15) and those of Bentahila and Davies ((17) (18) p.130) (quoted in Bouamrane 1988:15) where for dialectal Arabic/F code-switching the conjunction can in a language different from the clauses it conjoins, T/F and T/AA seem to use the same process.

T F T

(36) aar↻antid mais urdiru□ara

"They invited him but he did not come"

2.6.1.2 Switching within the Clause

Both Bentahila and Davies, and Bouamrane give examples of parenthetical clause insertions in dialectal Arabic/F code-switching where the speaker starts in language, insert a parenthetical clause to return the first language he started in. The same process obtains in T/F and T/AA code-switching:

(37) *azri↻ c'est pas (ce n'est pas) pour le défendre mais →jn ill→n ↻a l□aq ↻a l□aq T/F

"You know, it's not to defend him but what is right is right"

(38) jga♣♣ar ↻lijja i↻il mana↻raf♣ AA/T

"He was making of me he taught I was ignorant"

The case of a switch after a conditional conjunction seems to be the same for AA/F switching (see Bouamrane 1988:16 and 17) and for T/F and T/AA code-switching. The switch in this case is only possible when the conjunction is in Tamazight:

(39) ma jalla tu as compris, c'est bon. T/F

³⁶ In written Kabyle the coordinator {w} is used.

the data and seemed odd to my informants

(40) si *fahma↓ , ilha

“If you have understood, it’s okay”

Abassi (1977) claims that in a relative clause, the relative pronoun must be in the same language as its clause seems to be true for the T/F

(41) c’est le bouquin i debbwi↔ si ladz↔jar ? T/F

“It’s the book I brought from Algiers?”

(42) jesla iwsefru que tu as écrit F/T

“He heard the poem you wrote”

The same thing can be said about T/AA switch as in the following example:

(43) ⊗la b↔lalk hadik ifi nah↓ar i↓elli AA/T

“You know that (girl) we spoke about yesterday”

What was noticed in the case of T/AA code-switching is that we did not come across any instance where the sentence starts in T and the relative clause in AA. Yet, it is possible as in:

T AA

(43a) usaa↔ wi jidinn↔n /belli ma jZi :Σ

“No one told me that he was not coming”

In analysing Benatahila and Davies’s examples as to Arabic Wh-words followed by a switch to French, Bouamrane finds out that the instances developed by the former for Moroccan Arabic/ F switching was not completely true for AA/F. Bouamrane (1988:18) considers Benatahila and Davies’s example

(44) ♣□↔l men wa□ed étaient.....?

“How many were.....”

as improbable because it is not possible to find an AA question words (corresponding to English Wh-words) followed by a French verb; however, it is quite frequent to find instances of AA Wh-word followed by NPs, past participle in French as in his examples (46), (47), (48) and (49)

(45) (29 in Bouamrane’s data) ♣kun le jeune hadak?

“Who the young that (who is that young person?)”

(46) (32 in Bouamrane’s data) kif↔♣ partie?

“What gone? What do you mean gone?”

Bouamrane’s constraints apply well to T/F for no T Wh-word can be followed by a French verb. The following hypothetical example was considered as impossible by my respondents:

while it is possible to find the T Wh-word be followed by an NP or a past participle:

(48) a□→l n les points id mazal?

“How many points are left?”

(49) ♣a♠u terminé?

“What finished? (How come it is finished?)”

Although no such examples occurred in my data concerning T/AA, the two above examples were judged as quite acceptable by my informants when we change the French words by AA ones:

(50) a□→l n nuqat id mazal ?

(51) ♣a♠u kmal?

Notice that for example (51), it is the verb rather than the past participle which is used. This means that a T Wh-word can be followed by an AA verb unlike French.

Instances of Wh words followed by MSA or an ESA items occur even if in smaller numbers. One case is that in which the Wh word s followed by a ESA verb:

(52) ama] n□→wlu?

“How we try?” (What do you mean we try?)

Much of what applies to AA/F code-switching in this case applies to T/F in the sense that like in Bouamrane’s data, it seems impossible to find instances of French Wh-words followed by T NP’s or verbs. Bentahila and Davies’s informants, and Bouamrane’s ones respectively found such instances as odd or rejected them. Bouamrane’s examples (51, 52) were translated into Tamazight before being presented to listeners of different ages.

(53) qui iddinn→n an♠*a?

“Who said that?”

(54) qu’est ce que i*at♠ii?

“What did you eat ?”

The same thing happened with AA Wh-words followed by T, which was considered as impossible.

(55) ♠kuun iddinn→n an♠*a?

“Who said that?”

(56) ♠a/w→♠ i*at♠ii?

“What did you eat ?”

(71) ⵓⵏⵓⵢ ⵏ'ⵉⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ
 “You never listen to anyone”

However, the same instances presented with a switch to AA were thought of as being possible by speakers from Arabic speaking areas but improbable by those from Tamazight speaking ones:

nak dxalt retard lb→rah

(72) ⵓⵏⵓⵢ ⵎⵏⵓⵙⵎⵎⵓⵏⵓ ⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ

examples (71) and (72) when presented to speakers from T speaking areas were considered as a deviation and as not Tamazight.

Similarly to Bentahila and Davies (1982), and Bouamrane (1988), the switch to adverbial phrase seems possible and even quite frequent when this concerns T/F:

(73) isarsi* rapidement T/F

“He put it down quickly”

(74) atsradⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ ⵎⵏⵓⵙⵎⵎⵓⵏⵓ ⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ T/F

“They are just waiting for their day to come”

This kind of switch holds also true for T/ AA:

(75) ⵓⵏⵓⵢ ⵏⵓⵎⵓⵓⵣ ⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ ⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ

“ in these matters we must proceed step by step” lit. “in these matters we must walk step by step”

(76) adduⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ ⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ

“I will come back quickly”

Another switching is that within the major phrasal categories. One can frequently come across cases of switching within the VP in that the verb is in one language and the object NP is one the other language.

(77) ⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ ⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ ⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ T/F

“Buy two copybooks and a pen”

(78) ur saⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ ⵏⵓⵏⵓⵏⵏⵓⵏⵏⵉ T/CA

“Do not enter the trade-union” (lit. don not enter yourself in the trade-union)

Lipski (1977:264) (quoted in Bouamrane 1988:22) refers to the impossibility of a switch between a verb and an object pronoun as “ a cardinal rule governing

s (1983:313) go in the same sense since they suggest
such pronouns cliticise to the verb (je les vois / ana

n⬢ufhum)³⁸. Therefore, we cannot have instances like:

(79) *(ana) les n⬢uf

“ (I) them see”

(80) *je vois hum

“ I see them”

Much of this applies to the switch between T and AA or F. The fact that in Tamazight too the object pronoun cliticises to the verb makes this kind of switch impossible.

(81) * natsa la laisse

“he her leaves”

(82) * tu t emmenes

“you him take”

Similarly to Tim (1975:478) who noted that switching between subject or object pronoun and finite verb in Spanish / English code-switching, Pfaff (1979:303) says:

“Clitic pronoun objects are realised in the same language as the verb to which they are cliticised, and in the position required by the syntactic rules of that language.”

Bentahila and Davies adopt this point of view explain this in terms of the impossibility of switching within word boundaries because “phonetically, the sequence of Clitic and verb constitute a single word.”

Although he agrees with the assumption of impossibility of switching, Bouamrane (1988: 22) disagrees with the reason advanced by Bentahila and Davies. For Bouamrane many syntactic categories constitute phonetically single words but no rule prevents the switch between them. But, this not the case between pronouns ad verbs. Actually, Bouamrane rightly says that pronouns and verbs constitute single words but morphologically rather than phonologically. This the case in Tamazight where although some phonological processes may occur between a clitic pronoun and a verb, the two constitute a single word morphologically and not phonetically.

³⁸ The two examples are taken from Bouamrane (1988)

the Arabic – French switch, it does not seem possible
o and a T object pronoun even with the condition that
the French object pronoun is in the sentence and before the verb. The following example
which was translated from Bouamrane’s corpus and proposed to some informants was
considered as improbable:

(83) je l’ai vu huwa “I saw him” (not anybody else) (Bouamrane’s example)

(84) *je l’ai vu n★tsa

On the other hand, as in AA/F, a switch at the boundary of a prepositional
phrase is allowed within the VP in T/FF code-switching.

(85) je vais le mettre souf★lla n ⵜavla

“I’m going to put it on the table”

(86) j★rr→d au pif

“He answered by guess”

Another claim made Bentahila and Davies is that switches between an
Arabic auxiliary and a French verb are possible. This is judged as impossible in Bouamrane’s
corpus. To make such a switch possible the latter claims that a sine qua non condition is that
the verb must be morphologically and phonologically adapted to the Arabic system.
Following are two of Bentahila and Davies’s examples

(87) jabqa j confronter ses idées

“He keeps opposing these ideas”

(88) ma bqa♦ j fonctionner

“It stopped working”

For Bouamrane the above examples cannot be accepted unless they are phonologically and
morphologically adapted to Algerian Arabic, i.e.,

(89) jabqa jconfronti ses idées

(90) ma bqa♦ jfonctioni

This instance represents another similarity between AA and T since in
Tamazight also such verbs need to be adapted to the morpho-phonological pattern of the
language. When confronted to the following hypothetical examples following Bentahila and
Davies, my informants immediately corrected them in a sense to adapt them to Tamazight:

(91) w★ss★n ma j passer “I don’t know if he passed”

w★ss★n ma j passi (the informants’ correction)

(92) il→q a t concentrer “she must concentrate”

il→q atconcentri (the informants’ correction)

’s findings as to Spanish-English code-switching. He
texts induces incredulous reactions on the part of
informants...” (1975:480) (quoted in Bouamrane 1988:25). This is due to the fact that it
breaks one of the most elementary syntactic rules of the recipient language, namely the verb
system.

The other switch that Bentahila and Davies, confirmed by Bouamrane
(1988:25), is switching within a prepositional phrase. My corpus too confirms this saying.

(93) nig la plage

“Over the beach”

(94) ddaw les villages

Under the villages

One of Pfaff’s (1979:310) finding’s as to Spanish/ English code-switching is
that “prepositions alone are never switched”. This means that a preposition must be in the
same language as the word preceding it or the word following it. This idea which challenged
by both Bentahila and Davies (1983), and Bouamrane (1988) is infirmed by the examples
recorded as to F/T code-switching in the sense that we can a whole in French and only the
preposition in Tamazight, as in the following:

(95) il l’a acheté s^{ur} Toyota

“He bought it (the car) from Toyota”

(96) Tu le trouvera z^{ur} l’armoire

“you will find it near the wardrobe”

However, Pfaff saying seems to apply to AA/T code-switching since it
seems to be impossible to have instances where the T preposition is in the middle of AA
items. Example (77), a hypothetical one, was not accepted by my respondents:

(97) *xall^{ha} z^{ur} al b[→]b

“He left near the door”

An interesting combination, though, is the one in which we have an AA
preposition in the middle of T items. Although most of my respondents judged example (97)
as unacceptable, some of them, mainly those living in Arabic speaking areas, consider it as
possible though not very frequent. This last reaction is mainly the fact of the younger
generation speakers whose native language i.e., Tamazight has been subject to more AA
influence than that of the older generation,

(98) j[★]d[→]ts ⇨ da [★]abbur[★]

“He left it (fem.) near the door

occur within the NP. There different combinations in
between determiner and noun. According to Bentahila and

Davies (1983) in their study of French/Moroccan Arabic code – switching, it seems possible to switch from an Arabic determiner to a French noun and vice-versa. On the contrary, Bouamrane disagrees with this point of view in his investigation of Algerian Arabic/French code-switching because while his data confirm the switch from AA determiners to French nouns, as in:

(99) wa⇔ed ★ surveillant

“An invigilator”

(100) had→k ★ député

“That deputy (M.P.)”

they disagree with the reverse process since Algerian speakers do not seem to switch from French determiners to Arabic nouns. Thus, the following two examples given by Bentahila and Davies have not been considered as “perfectly normal” by Bouamrane’s informants:

(101) des mrajat “some mirrors”

(102) un ⓧaskri “a soldier”

Similarly, when it comes to Tamazight, it is quite frequent to switch from a T determiner to a F or AA noun but the reverse is not possible. The following examples from my data illustrate what has just been said:

(103) a professeur “a teacher”

(104) a talus inna “that slope” lit. (a slope that)

It important to signal that for example (82) the word “talus” is a borrowed one since in the plural it follows one of Tamazight morphological plural patterns “i” + noun + “★n”; this gives:

(105) iⓧalu★n “slopes”

Example (103) which was translated into Arabic and proposed to my informants was considered as normal with some determiners and odd with some others:

(106) *a muⓧallim “a teacher”

(107) a muⓧallim agi “this teacher”

Thus, the indefinite Tamazight article “a” can be associated to an Arabic noun only if the latter is followed by another Tamazight determiner which is the demonstrative “agi” in example (106). What is interesting to notice here is that no instance of a switch occurred in the data as far as the feminine is concerned and even my informants said that they never used this. Example (108), which one that I invented, was thought of as being “not Tamazight”:

“a female doctor”

feminine plural marker comprises an article “*a” and suffix “*” which is linked to the determined noun.³⁹

A rule is therefore, that there can be no switch between a Tamazight determiner made of an article or prefix and a suffix, and a noun from another language unless the latter is a borrowed adapted word as in example (104).

In addition, what Bouamrane (1988:29) says about the impossibility of switching from French determiners to Arabic nouns seems to hold true for Tamazight. All the following hypothetical examples presented to my informants with a determiner in French or in Arabic and a noun in Tamazight were considered as wrong:

- (109) *Un jazi↓ “a cock”
 (110) * les imⵎan★n “people”
 (111) *had argaz “this man”
 (112) *laqⵓiiⵓa “the girl”⁴⁰

As far as the indefinite article is concerned, AA and T present many similarities. Both have two different ways of expressing indefiniteness. In AA, it is expressed either by the use of /wa⇒ed al / + noun or a zero article in the singular and in the plural as in:

- (113) wa⇒ed al b★nt or b★nt “a girl”
 (114) wa⇒ed labnaat “girls”

The same thing happens in T in that indefiniteness is expressed by the use of jiw★n (masc.) jiw★* (fem.) + noun or zero article and ⵙra + n + noun or zero article in the plural:

- (115) jiw★n w arg→z or arg→z “a man”
 (116) jiw★* n tmaⵎⵎu* or *amaⵎⵎu* “a women”
 (117) ⵙra n irgaz★n or irgaz★n “men”
 (118) ⵙra n *ulawin or *ulawin “women”

As in AA (see Bouamrane’s examples 1988:30), it is impossible to switch from Tamazight to French without using a French indefinite article. Consider the following examples:

- (119) mlalaⵎ une femme “I met a woman”

³⁹ In some Tamazight varieties, such tashawit, there is a combination of the Arabic determiner “al” and the Tamazight prefix “*” as in al ⇒ukuma* “the government”.

⁴⁰ There is, however, an exception with some feminine first names where the feminine marker is Arabic while the name is Tamazight as in sekkuura (in Tamazight *asekkuur* “a she-swan”), mekijuusa (in Tamazight *ukjis* “the chosen/the perfect woman”). This is probably due to the fact that with the prestige Arabic has always had, it influenced many Tamazight words and proper names at a given time in history.

“ I met a woman”
“ I met a young (man)”

It is impossible to have:

- (122) mlala☞ femme
(123) mlala☞ jiw★✳ n femme
(124) mlala☞ jiw★ n (n) jeune

The same rule applies for the plural:

- (125) mlala☞ des femmes “I met women”
(126) mlala☞ ɿra n les femmes “I met women”
(127) mlala☞ des jeunes “I met young (men)”
(128) mlala☞ ɿra n les jeunes “I met young (men)”

But not:

- (129) mlala☞ femmes “I met women”
(130) mlala☞ jeunes “I met young (men)”

In addition to this, another kind of switching can be observed within the noun phrase. This concerns the switch between two determiners at the N boundary. Unlike Bentahila and Davies who give a limited set of determiners, Bouamrane expands his examples to other determiners. It is on the basis of the latter’s examples that I will try to find the different combinations that may occur in T/F or T/AA code- switching. Examples (98), (99), (104) and (106) are cases in point. Other instances occur but some differences with AA/F code-switching. The first one concerns the position of the demonstrative in the NP. While it precedes the definite article and the noun in AA, as in:

- (130) h→d l b→b “this (the) door”

and therefore, the same pattern is applied to an AA/F switch:

- (131) h→d l’émission “this (the) programme”

it follows the noun in T:

- (132) ✳abbur✳ agi “this door” (the door this)

and in a T/F switching:

- (133) l’émission agi “this programme” (the programme this)

Thus, while we can have two determiners preceding a noun in AA/F code-switching, we have article + noun + demonstrative in T/F.

In the other cases dealt with by Bouamrane, there seems to be an agreement between AA and T as to switching into French.

- (134) la politique ns★n (possessive)

“the decisions of the meeting”

(136) a^has n les problèmes (quantitative)

“many of the problems (many problems)”

Notice that in T, the quantitative /a^has/ is followed by the possessive particle “n”

(137) le magasin amezwaru (ordinal)

“the shop first (the first shop)”

(138) le village vus sin

“the village second (the second village)”

The last type of switching Bouamrane deals with is that between a noun and a qualifying adjective, as in the following examples he proposes:

(139) billet m^hawa^h “a ticket distorted”

(140) bent sérieuse “a girl serious”

This kind of switching does not seem to occur in the case of T/F or T/AA in the sense that both the noun and the qualifier are in T. The following hypothetical examples were considered by my informants as impossible and incorrect:

(141) kra^h amar^hu “a leg / foot broken”

(142) *aq^hi^h * mariée “a girl married”

(143) asif many “a river many

in addition to the above constraint, other constraints prevent switching within words because as explained by Bentahila and Davies (1983:317) (Quoted in Bouamrane 1988: 32)

“... boundaries which seem to block switching are those morpheme boundaries internal to words”, wherefrom the impossibility of instances such as the following:

(144) argaz-ment “man -ly (bravely)”

(145) alli -bouteille “open-bottle (bottle opener)”

Other constraints are dealt with by Bouamrane (1988) and Bentahila and Davies (1983); however, they are not within the scope of this research as mentioned earlier. The next section will examine what is known as cases of structural non-equivalence.

2.7 Cases of Structural Non—Equivalence

The equivalence constraint is one that has already been proposed in previous studies by, among others, Lipski (1977), Pfaff (1979) and Poplack (1980). The

...s arrived to in their respective studies is that in a case of two languages involved must be respected, if not, the switch is not possible since the structural pattern of one of the languages is broken. Thus, in this case the surface structure of the languages in question is the determining factor as to the acceptability of the switch or not. As Pfaff (1979:309) puts it:

“morphologically unadapted mixing is constrained to form surface structures shared by both languages.” (Quoted in Bouamrane 1988:33)

What actually Pfaff suggests is that when the case is not one of borrowing where the switch concerns adapted words, the switch must occur at surface structures instances where the two languages are similar. It is on the same trend that Poplack (1980:586) says:

“code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e., at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map on to each other.”

Although applicable to many cases, the equivalence constraint does not seem to be true in some instances. Bentahila and Davies who tried to prove the inefficiency of the equivalence constraint concerning French/ Moroccan Arabic code-switching have been challenged by Bouamrane who noticed that some of the examples the former used did not hold true for French/Algerian Arabic code-switching. The first case Bentahila and Davies dealt with was that of the sentence pattern SVO/VSO. They suggest that in such a switch the French SVO pattern is violated to the benefit of the Arabic VSO, as in the following examples Bouamrane analysed:

(146) Ça le controle

“came the checking-time”

(147) na↓u les privés

“arose the private practioners”

It is true that in the light of the two above examples, we can consider that the equivalence constraint does hold true since the French pattern is violated; however, as Bouamrane suggests these are not the appropriate examples to challenge the equivalence constraint since even in French the pattern VSO is commonly used as in Bouamrane’s example:

(148) il est venu le controle

it, but does not, as Bouamrane says, break the French

(149) *Je* man les joueurs

“entered the players”

The same sentence in French is acceptable and correct if uttered as:

(150) ils sont rentré les joueurs

The pattern is therefore SVO and the grammatical subject precedes the verb which is followed by the real subject as in Tamazight and Algerian Arabic.

The position of the adjective in relation to the noun it modifies is another case Bentahila and Davies take as an evidence of the inefficiency of the equivalence constraint. The latter stipulates that the position of both the adjective and the modified noun must conform to the structure of the two languages. While in Arabic the adjective follows the noun, in French it precedes it in many cases. Bentahila and Davies’s examples show that this pattern is violated in:

(151) *j’*ai vu un ancien tilmid djali

“I saw an old pupil of mine”

In Arabic, the same adjective/noun combination would be:

(152) tilmid qdiim

“pupil old”

Here again, shows disagreement with Bentahila and Davies and put forward the argument that an Arabic noun followed or preceded by an adjective cannot be used with a French determiner which makes it logical that in e.g. (151) “un” is followed by a French adjective and not directly by an Arabic noun. Further, Bouamrane says that colander words which are actually Arabic words which are borrowed into French “are considered to be French” (1988: 35) and do not, therefore, constitute a deviation from one of the two languages since they can be used with preceding or following adjectives; the following are examples from Bouamrane’s corpus:

(153) *c’est* un vieux *cadi*

“It is an old *cadi* (muslim judge)”

(154) *c’est* un *cadi* sévère

“It is a strict *cadi*” Bentahila and Davies

On this basis, Bouamrane considers Bentahila and Davies’s point of view as obsolete. If this true for Algerian Arabic, it seems difficult to say the same thing about Tamazight because not many T words are borrowed into French and we can hardly find examples of colander words

we can find colander Tamazight words in French are

(155) ce fut un grand aguellid

“It was a great aguellid (Berber king)”

When the switch concerns T/AA, there seems to be no problem as the two languages have the same sentence pattern and in this case the equivalence constraint applies perfectly:

(156) jet a axviz ⇔ → mi

“He ate bread hot (hot bread)”

The adjective in both T/ and AA follows the noun it modifies; consequently, the surface structure of both varieties are respected.

Similarly to Bouamrane’s conclusions, it seems that Bentahila and Davies’s claim that the equivalence constraint does not applies to the adjective/noun combination does not seem to hold true for Tamazight .

Some other the examples Bentahila and Davies give to illustrate cases of structural non equivalence and that Bouamrane agrees with concern the switch between Arabic determiners and French nouns. It is possible in Arabic, as in Tamazight, to have two determiners for the same noun. In this case the surface structure of French which does not allow more than one determiner is violated:

(157) le parti agi

“The party this (this party)”

(158) ⵓⵔⵏ ⵏ ⵍⵏⵉ ⵏ ⵍⵏⵉ ⵏ ⵍⵏⵉ

“Some of the adherents (some adherents)”

The example of the omission of the relative pronoun that is given by Bentahila and Davies in French-Moroccan Arabic code- switching, which holds true for French- Algerian Arabic, as in:

(159) tu as un travail iliq ddirah

« You have a work you must do”

applies also in the case of a Tamazight-French switch since the Tamazight relative pronoun is omitted while in French it is obligatory.

(160) tu as un travail ilaq atxa ⵏ ⵎⵏⵉ ⵏ ⵎⵏⵉ

“you have a work must you do it (you must do it)”

(161) la vieille femme ⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ ⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ

“The old woman you saw was my aunt”

similarity with Algerian Arabic in that the equivalence is true in the case of relative pronouns where the surface structure of French is violated to the benefit of T.

Actually, the equivalence constraint as presented by Bentahila and Davies, and Bouamrane suggests that a switch is possible between items of two different languages provided that the surface structure of one of the two languages is respected. Pfaff, Poplack and Lipsiki, on the hand, suggest that a switch is possible only if there is no violation of the surface structure of either languages.

The switch between the main verb and the verbal complement has been also the concern of Bentahila and Davies, and Bouamrane. The following examples from Bentahila and Davies's are discussed by Bouamrane. The idea that the former put forward is that a French verb must be given a finite complement respecting the rules of Arabic. Thus, the example given by Bentahila and Davies

(162) Jabqa jconfronter ces idées

He keeps confronting these ideas

is acceptable since the French verb which is normally given an infinite complement has been changed into a verb with a finite one through the addition of the inflection as (j). However,

(163) Jabqa confronter ces idées

is not acceptable, according to them, because the verb is not submitted to the rules of Arabic.

Bouamrane who disagrees with the above statement explains that such switches are only possible when the verb in question is a loan word which is phonologically, morphologically and syntactically adapted to the recipient language. The same thing can be said about the switch between the main verb and the verbal complement in Tamazight. This true for switching to French as well as to Arabic. The verb is adapted to the phonological, morphological and syntactic rules of T. Consider the following:

(164) w★ss★n ma ivoti f★ll→s

“I do not know he will vote on him (I do not know he will vote for him)

The verb “voter” is a loan word since phonologically and mainly morphologically is used with a Tamazight pattern. Similarly an Arabic verb is used with T patterns and rule, as in

(165) si fransa n⇒aw■ad ✱amusni

“from France we fetched knowledge”

The AA verb “hawwas” (to fetch, to look for) has been phonologically altered by the emphasisation of /s/ → /■/, and morphologically by the use of first person plural inflection {n}.

Consider that the fact of using a verb with inflections is
contains a change in the verb to obey the rules of the

borrowing language be they morpho-phonological or syntactic.

According to Bentahila and Davies a French verb must be given an infinitival complement. Therefore, a switch from a French verb to a finite complement would be impossible. This seems to be true for Arabic / French and Tamazight / French code-switching as the two languages (Arabic and Tamazight) have no infinitives as such. The following examples presented to some informants were judged as impossible:

(166) il va a ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ

“he is going to eat”

(167) ils veulent a ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ

“they want to go down to Algiers”

What Bouamrane says about the improbability of switching from an Arabic auxiliary to French verb not ending in “er” is also true for T/F. Actually, no instance other than ones with French “er” verbs occurred in my data as in:

(168) jella jatsrevizi

“he was revising”

But, the following hypothetical example was seen as improbable:

(169) ilaq a ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ d’avance

“must he predict beforehand (he must predict beforehand)”

(170) ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ur di reveni jara

“she knew he wouldn’t come back”

One can easily notice that, probably because of the many contact between T and AA, most French verbs borrowed in tamaziyjht end in “er”.

(171) ja ddimari

“he started”

(172) ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ

“It’s him who will advise you”

The case of switching between a subordinate clause and its complementiser is also interesting to have a look at, especially in the case of the purpose one. As in Arabic, it seems that in Tamazight the complementiser /akkan/ or a variant, “pour” in French, and the rest of the clause have to be in the same language.

(173) il est venu akkan a ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵏⵜ

“He came to attend the funerals”

Therefore when /akkan/ or a variant is used, it followed by a Tamazight subordinate while when “pour” is used, the subordinate clause is in French. Actually the two above examples were presented in a form that violates the constraint to some informants who saw them as unacceptable; one of the informants even realised that the two sentences were invented and impossible to occur. The two sentences were given as follows:

(175) il est venu akkan assister aux funerailles

“He came to attend the funerals”

(177) j★dC→* pour a*isaxam mambaad

“He left it to use it later”

An alternative Bentahila and Davies present is the use of “pour que” which is followed by a finite clause in French. This makes the switch to an Arabic clause possible since it is going to respect the surface structure of both languages. Although Bouamrane contests this assertion by putting the condition that, at least in AA, the clause following “pour que” must contain an overt subject as in (Bouamrane’s e.g. 162):

(178) je vais faire le partage pour que ⇨atta w→⇨★d ma jaz⊗af

“I am going to do the cutting so that no one will get angry”

what Bentahila and Davies advance applies fully to the case of T/F since in this case the subordinate clause is finite in the same way it is in French, consider the following instances:

(179) akadCa↻ akk★n pour qu’ attazra↓ ↻a●u*

“I will leave you that way so that you know what it is”

(180) anruu⇨ pour qu’ adnawi un bon résultat

“We are going (there) to bring a good result”

The structural constraints discussed above have been dealt with from a more psycholinguistic point of view by Myers-Scotton (1993), and Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000 on) in what is called the Matrix Language Frame.

2.8 The Matrix Language Frame Model

The Matrix Language Frame, hereafter MLF, devised by Myers Scotton first in 1993, a model that is mainly based on two syntactic components: system morphemes and content morphemes which will be discussed later, is influenced by psycholinguistic theories since it relies on theories such as:

the base language and the guest language (see Grojeans

- The retrieval process of closed items and open items (see Garret's error analysis 1975)
- The role of the lemmas (headwords) in the mental lexicon linking conceptual information and grammatical functions in the language production model (see Levelt 1989).

The MLF model, which started as an abstract theoretical model, was revised in 1997 and even more details were added with sub-models in 2000 and 2001. The grammatical constraints that affect the behaviour of the two languages in contact, some of which have been dealt with above, are the concern of intra-sentential code-switching. It is to explain this type of switching that the MLF has been devised.

This model divides cases of intra-sentential code-switching into a "Matrix language" and an "Embedded Language". The Matrix Language (ML) is said to be the one that triggers the utterance and the one in which a speaker primarily thinks while the Embedded Language (EL) is the one which is grafted on the ML. In other words, the morpho-syntactic structure of an utterance is determined and governed by the Matrix Language. As Myers Scotton puts it:

"...all of the syntactic structures come from the participating language called the ML in classic CS." (2004:107)

The distinction between ML and EL is made on the basis of what is called content morphemes and system morphemes. System morphemes consist of pronouns, conjunctions and the like and constitute the ML that governs the morphosyntactic structure of the switch while the content morphemes which consist of verbs, nouns, etc, constitute the EL that inserted into the ML.

This is done by means of a segmentation of the components of an utterance into what is called islands:

- Matrix Language Islands which are those parts of the switch which constitute the core of an utterance. They actually determine the morpho-syntactic structure of a bilingual utterance since the system morphemes and the syntactic rules and patterns applied are going to be from the dominant language.

re all those components that belong to the inserted
ception, they do not have any influence on the way an

utterance is structured in. these are content morphemes which are inserted into the
governing ML.

- Mixed Language Islands are pieces of an utterance that are constituted of both ML and
EL.

Let us consider the following example:

(181) suf^ⵜand la nouvelle loi

“They issued the new law”

/suf^ⵜand/ constitute the Matrix Island since it is the part of the utterance which hold the
system morphemes /sufe^ⵜ/ the verb + /an/ the plural, masculine past marker while “la
nouvelle loi” is the Embedded island which carries content morphemes (article + adjective +
noun) . It is asserted that it is the ML that determines the syntactic pattern of the utterance. In
French the pattern is usually SVO; in our example the pattern is VSO. This leads us to think,
in agreement with Myers Scotton, that the language governing this sentence is Tamazight
rather than French.

2.8.1 Content Morphemes Versus System Morphemes

To identify the two languages Myers Scotton proposes a “system
morpheme” versus “content morpheme” distinction.

2.8.1.1 Content Morphemes

The Embedded Language is the one that carries content morphemes. The
latter are those elements of an utterance which consist of nouns, verbs, adjectives and some
prepositions. They fulfil a semantic and pragmatic function since they are the ones which
carry the meaning. They actually assign or receive thematic roles. Therefore, a message
cannot be conveyed if content morphemes are deleted from an utterance. Myers-Scotton
(2004:1058) writes:

*“Content morphemes are the surface result of intentions that
activate semantic-pragmatic feature bundles at the conceptual
level. These bundles point to lemmas in the mental lexicon
that underlie those surface morphemes carrying most of the
informational content of a message.”*

emes which are employed by a bilingual speaker to
ation in an utterance where two languages are used.

Therefore, in any piece of intrasentential code-switching, the information to be sent is first activated at the level of the mind and then later expressed through words that carry the information. It is this part of a CS that is considered as the EL. However, in her study Myers Scotton mentions that this is mainly concerned with what she calls classic code-switching in which the interlocutors are proficient enough to make the needed grammatical structures in the ML⁴¹. It should be said, though, that content morphemes are not all the time from the ML; they can sometimes be taken from the EL.

She further explains that the basic distinctive characteristic between content morphemes and system morphemes is the fact that the former have a thematic role while the latter do not.

2.8.1.2 System Morphemes

Content morphemes have to be correctly linked in an utterance so that they can form an acceptable sentence. The elements that help express the relation between them are called system morphemes. These are some function words and inflections. System morphemes are the ones that determine the morpho-syntactic structure of the switch and are essential in building the grammatical frames. It is because of this that system morphemes are considered as constituting the ML i.e., the governing language.

(182) ilz★m annuqam attalqii⇒ lⵉⵎⵉⵏ iⵏ i lhajawan→* agi

(lit) “It must we do artificial vaccination for the animals these” (we must use artificial vaccination with these animals)”

The above example is a case of T/ MSA code-switching. One may easily distinguish the system morphemes of the matrix language which are, for most of them, in Tamazight. These are:

- the verb /annuqam/ which is made of: “a” present tense marker + “n” first person plural+ uqam (do)
- “i” (to, for) a Tamazight preposition and
- /agi/ (this) a Tamazight demonstrative.

⁴¹ Myers Scotton distinguishes two kinds of code-switching on the basis of the speaker’s proficiency: Classic code-switching and Composite code-switching; the latter occurs:

“When speakers do not have full access to the grammatical frame of the intended ML, part of the abstract structure comes from one variety and part from another.” (Myers Scotton and Jake 2000:2)

Myers Scotton says, the distinction between content morphemes and system morphemes is not a question of class or part of speech, rather it is determined by the fact that a morpheme has or does not have a thematic role. Actually, there are instances where content morphemes and system morphemes are from both the ML and the EL. To illustrate this assumption, Myers Scotton and Jake (2004) give the example of pronouns in English. Personal pronouns are all considered as content morphemes since they receive thematic roles as in (Myers Scotton and Jake's e.g. 4:1059):

(183) I said that he went.

In this example "he" receives a thematic role since it gives information about who went; therefore, one can ask the question:

(184) who went?

On the other hand, the expletive pronouns "it" and "there" are system morphemes because they do not receive thematic roles and cannot be questioned. Actually they are used to respect some syntactic pattern of the English language.

In their definition of system morphemes Myers-Scotton and Jake (2004) depart from previous classifications of morphemes. They challenge the idea of "close items" versus "open items". This classification, they say, is word based since it distinguishes "close items" which generally do not change since they allow no inflection as in the case of pronouns and prepositions, and "open items" which can accept changes and new elements as in the case of nouns and verbs. Another classification they challenge is the thematic elements versus functional elements one that they consider as based on lexical category. Abney (1987:65) (Quoted in Myers-Scotton and Jake 2004: 1060) says: "*Functional elements lack what I call 'descriptive content'*". This is to say that functional elements are not used to convey messages, give or add information, this being the role of thematic elements, since they function as linkers between thematic elements. While Abney sees that function elements select their thematic complements, Myers-Scotton and Jake think that this is not all the time true since the opposite process may happen in many instances. Although this last point is not within the scope of this work, it was worth mentioning to understand how and why from a basically simple ML / EL distinction Myers-Scotton developed the 4-M model that will be dealt with in due time.

The most salient criticism made on to the two above cited distinctions i.e., open-class vs. closed-class and thematic elements vs. functional elements is that they are "over-simplistic" as they assign two roles to two lexical categories. Their distribution is,

me supposed closed-class or functional elements may
Let us consider the following example:

(185) jabbϕitsid si la gare

“He brought her from the railway station”

If we consider all pronouns as function elements which lack descriptive content, then /ts/ the third person feminine singular object pronoun in Tamazight will not be questioned. We can, actually, ask the question:

(186) Anta iddibbϕi si la gare ?

“Who did bring from the railway station?”

Thus, one can easily notice that this distinction, between items that are impermeable and others that are not, is debatable.

System morphemes, which consist of function words (relatives pronouns, connectors, etc) and inflectional affixes are said to emanate from the ML; however, as Myers Scotton recognises, cases where system morphemes are form the EL can occur especially when they have a grammatical relation internal to their head constituent. This can be seen in the above example where /si/ “from” which is made internal to the head constituent, the verb /j★bbϕi/, because of the occurrence of the direction particle /d/ “toward here”. The same thing can be said about the following example:

(187) anta iggebbi ϕur la gare

“Who did he take to the railway station?”

Bentahila & Davies (1995: 86) also put into question the closed item constraint and the Matrix Language Frame through examples (7-11). They explain that in the speech of older generation in Morocco when dealing with technical topics there are stretches where French is exclusively used following the French structure with a switch to some Arabic grammatical elements.

*“It is to this predominantly French style of discourse that we can trace the other switching pattern we noted to be characteristic of the older group, the tendency to switch for **isolated** grammatical items. For these switches are almost without exception moves from an essentially French base for a preposition, conjunction or pronoun in Arabic.”*

Bentahila & Davies (1995: 86)

note the use of “*French style of discourse*”, “*isolated* from an essentially French base for a preposition, conjunction or pronoun in Arabic”. This implicitly implies that not all system morphemes constitute the ML or at least as Myers-Scotton herself recognises, they are not all from the ML. There are exceptions in the MLF where the system morphemes can be from the Embedded Language. This is the case when the system morpheme in question is internal to the content morpheme and cannot therefore be in the ML. such a construction, if it happens, would break the grammatical cohesion of an utterance. Consider the following example:

(188) iha[⊗]→rs pour voir am★ | a[⊗]idjar savri[⊗]

“He talked to him to see how to bring him back to the road (he talked to him to see how to bring him back to the right way)”

Following Myers-Scotton dichotomy of ML versus EL, one may easily see that in the above example the Matrix Language is Tamazight since the system morphemes, and most content morphemes in this case, are from Tamazight. Yet, the switch for “pour voir” is very significant as the French preposition “pour” is related to its head word which is the French verb “voir”. It would have been impossible and unacceptable, as some of my informants say, to have a switch like “iwakkan voir”.

On the other side, Bentahila & Davies’s examples (7-11) show that in Moroccan Arabic – French code-switching instances where isolated system morphemes which are not necessarily related to their head words may occur as in their example 9:

(189) Je sens bi[⊗]anna je suis vieux pour encore faire des études

“I feel that I am too old to do more studies”

It is clear that the MSA relative / bi[⊗]anna/ is related to none of the words in the sentence, yet; it is used in the middle of a French utterance. Such an occurrence seems to be true for Tamazight as well.

(190) annasawd[⊗]a[⊗] i lmat[⊗] agi parce que nav[⊗]a a[⊗]narva[⊗]

“We are preparing for this match because want to want win it”

The use of “parce que” in this T/F switch is not dictated by any head word but rather by other reasons, one of which is stress in this example.

Other instances of switches between T and AA can clarify the occurrence of “isolated grammatical items” which are actually system morphemes from the Embedded Language and not from the Matrix Language.

(191) xa[⊗]ma[⊗] lxiir b[⊗] attaf★ m z[⊗]a[⊗]w★ n

“Do good to find it in front of you (be good to people; life will be good to you).”

can say that the MLF model is based on the system discussed in the morpheme order principle which stipulates that in a sequence of ML/EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes; the surface morpheme structure will be that of ML. However, this does not mean that system morphemes are always in ML, as seen previously, in the above discussion. The System Morpheme Principle states that

“...all system morphemes which have grammatical relationships external to their head constituents will come from the ML.” (Myers Scotton 1993:83)

In this sense Myers Scotton (2004:107) writes:

“... these principles identify only one of the participating languages as supplying (a) morpheme order and (b) one type of system morpheme in the bilingual clause. This is the ML.”

The following example from Myers Scotton illustrates how an English EL is inserted into a Japanese ML:

(192) kore wa cat ya

“There is a cat”

The position of “cat” in this example conforms to the surface structure of the Japanese language.

Thus, what Myers Scotton suggests is that the basis of an utterance in a bilingual’s speech is determined by only one language; probably the native language or the language the speaker masters the best. As she puts it:

“...the implicit goal of the MLF model was to offer constraints that predict the grammatical configurations found in what I now call ‘classical codeswitching’. This type of codeswitching... is defined as bilingual speech containing surface level morphemes from two (or more) languages but with only one of these languages supplying the morphosyntactic frame of the bilingual projection of complementizer”. (Myers Scotton 2004:106)

She further adds (2004:107):

“...all of the syntactic structures come from the participating language called the ML in classic codeswitching.”

ation of system and content morphemes, three types of

- Matrix language islands are those parts of a switch which comprises elements, that is content and system morphemes, from the matrix language.
- Embedded islands are made of constituents, content and system morphemes, that are exclusively from the embedded language.
- Mixed islands which are constituted of both the matrix and the embedded languages.

If the two first islands can be seen as cases of situational code-switching in that they are mainly monolingual utterances that are dictated by the situation, the latter is a case of intra-sentential code-switching.

2.8.2 The 4M Model

The content/system morphemes distinction was deepened and detailed by Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000, 2001) to distinguish different kinds of system morphemes on the basis of their activation at the mental lexicon. This classification which is more of a psycholinguistic basis distinguishes, in addition to the content morphemes, early system morphemes, late system morphemes, late bridge system morphemes and late outsider system morphemes. The level of activation and the features inherent to each type of morphemes is said to allow predict certain switches and therefore put certain constraints. As content morphemes have been discussed above, we will deal with the three types of system morphemes.

2.8.2.1 Early system Morphemes

As any piece of language is meant to convey a message of whatever kind, it logically starts in the mind of the speaker. The abstract conceptual level is in this case the first step towards producing any switch or any piece of language per se, be it spoken or written. Since meaning is carried and conveyed by content morphemes, these are supposed to be the first elements a message sender thinks of first. However, as content morphemes need to be joined by system morphemes, they are assigned some which are necessary for the coherence of a sentence. What characterises early system morphemes is that they are determined by the content morphemes they are related to even though they are assigned no thematic role. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000:96) write that early system morphemes:

“... are always realised without going outside the maximal projection of the content morpheme that elects

depends on the content morpheme with

The fact that they are activated at the lemma level a manside with the content morphemes makes early system morphemes contribute in the semantic weight of an island.

This idea is expressed as:

“The feature (+conceptually activated) conveys the idea that early system morphemes group with content morphemes as expressing the bundle of semantic and pragmatic features satisfying the speaker’s intentions. However, while early system morphemes pattern with content morphemes for this feature, they contrast with content morphemes in regard to thematic role- assigning properties; no system morphemes receive or assign thematic roles.”

Myers- Scotton & Jake (2000:1062)

Actually the process through which morphemes are triggered is presented by Myers-Scotton and Jake comprises four levels as presented below (see figure 1 p 104):

The Conceptual level is the one in which the speaker’s intention is determined. This intention is expected to express a number of semantic and pragmatic features. The latter is then followed by the Lemma level where the lexicon congruent to the intention is selected. At this level both the content morphemes and the early system morphemes are linked in the sense that they are from the same language because they are determined by the content morphemes which elect them. The next level is the functional one in which the elements constituted at the lemma level are transmitted to be linked following a certain morphosyntactic pattern. In the end this constitutes the positional level where the surface structure appears i.e., the sentence intended is produced. A case of Early System Morphemes in English is the determiner. The following example from Tamazight can illustrate this idea:

(193) ttamaⵏⵓⵎⵓⵏ * “it’s a woman (the woman)”

Because determiners are elected by the content morphemes they are related to, they are more prone to be from the same language i.e., as is in:

(194) *amaⵏⵓⵎⵓⵏ* nni i*azri↓, elle est juge

“woman that you saw, she is a judge (the woman that you saw is a judge)”

the determiner {*} is in Tamazight because elected by the content morpheme /*amaⵏⵓⵎⵓⵏ*/.

It would have been unacceptable to say “la amaⵏⵓⵎⵓⵏ*” because early system morphemes

d must be from the same language, Tamazight in this

2.8.2.2 Late System Morphemes

Late system morphemes are not activated at the lemma level but rather at the formulator level once the information is sent from the lemma level to construct a grammatical constituent. They are therefore determined by the grammatical pattern assigned to the switch. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000:1063) write that late system morphemes:

“... are not elected to complete a semantic and pragmatic feature bundle with their heads; rather, they are structurally assigned to indicate relations between elements when a larger constituent is constructed. We speak of the form of late system morphemes as structurally assigned because of their role and because all the morphosyntactic information necessary for their projection is not available until directions are sent to the formulator to assemble larger constituents.”

Thus, late system morphemes, which constitute for most of them the EL, are activated to make the junction between the content morphemes. The former, i.e., late system morphemes are divided into bridge system morphemes and outsider system morphemes.

2.8.2.2.1 Bridge System Morphemes

Like early system morphemes, late bridge system morphemes are linked to the head content morpheme. However, while both integrate the maximal projection, early system morphemes are determined by the content morpheme they are linked to but bridge ones are rather determined by the structure of the grammar of the intended language. In other words late bridge system morphemes

“...connect content morphemes with each other without reference to the specific semantic/ pragmatic properties of a content head.”

Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000: 1064)

Examples of bridge system morphemes presented by Myers-Scotton & Jake are:

(195) Friend of Bora

theme whose activation occurred at the formulator level
semantically dependent on the head content morpheme

“friend”; rather, it is used in accordance with the grammatical pattern of the English language where the status of subordination of the complement “Bora” is expressed, among other ways, by the use of “of”.

The same is said about the French “de” in “beaucoup de + noun” as in

(196) beaucoup de gens

“Many people”

The role assigned to “de” is that of making a mere grammatical link between “beaucoup” and “gens” without any thematic implications.

Thus, as Myers-Scotton & Jake further add:

“... bridge late system morphemes satisfy the requirements of a structural configuration of the maximal projection itself.” (2000: 1064)

(197) zzii* n tmuur*, c'est vraiment bon pour la santé

“The oil of the country is really good for the country (olive oil -oil of Kabylia- is really good for health).”

The preposition {n} is used here as a bridge system morphemes which joins /zzii*/ and /*amuur*/. In this case, {n} is not directly related to the head /zzii*/ but rather bridges the gap between the latter and the object of the preposition /*amuur*/. the activation of this preposition occurs after the conception of the meaning intended by the speaker and is therefore determined by syntactic structural considerations.

2.8.2.2.2 Outsider System Morphemes

Outsider system Morphemes are seemingly similar to bridge morphemes i.e., they have the same role in that they carry no semantic/pragmatic weight. But, while the latter are realised within the maximal projection the former are realised outside this maximal projection. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000: 1064) write:

“They depend on grammatical information outside the immediate maximal projection in which they occur. This information is only available when the formulator sends directions to the positional/ surface level for how maximal projections are unified in a larger construction.”

the third person singular “s” whose form “co indexes” with the maximal projection. While Bridge System

Morphemes link different elements in the maximal projection, Late System Morphemes are related to a content morpheme without being linked to it. In addition, like, Bridge System Morphemes, they receive and assign no thematic role. Consider the following example:

(198) a ⇒ med ⚡ ★ l ⇒ usiin m ⚡ afaaq ★ n . . .

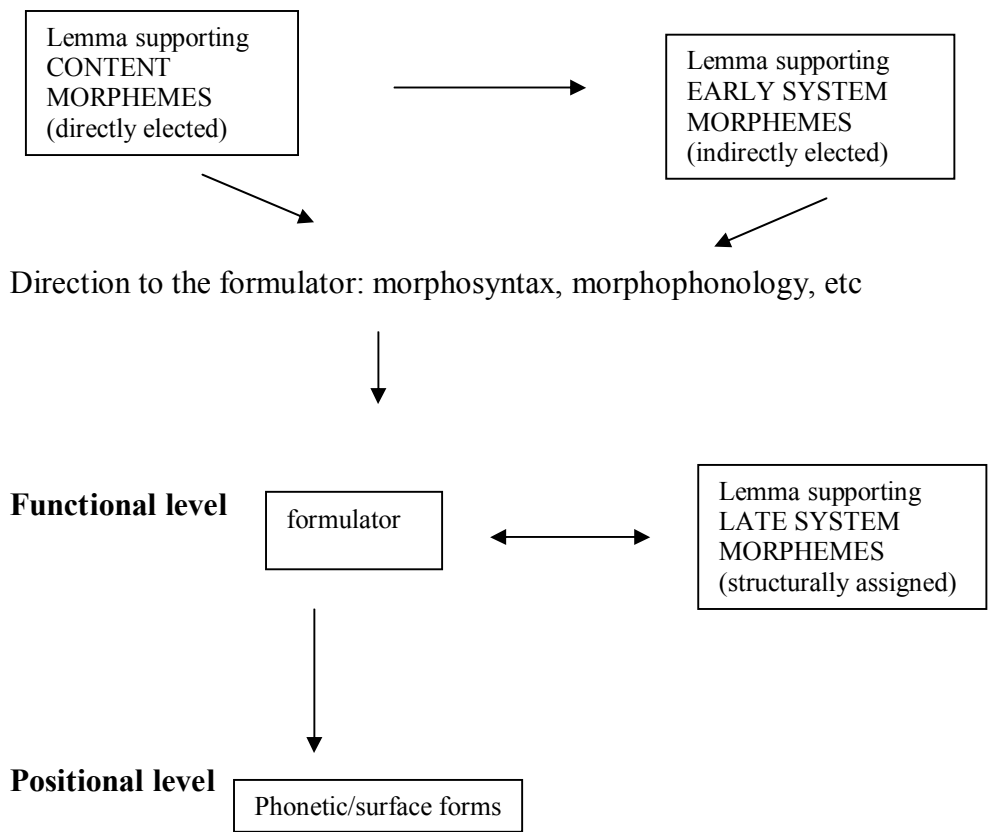
“Ahmad and Hussein agreed”

{★n} is a late system morpheme as it fulfils an exclusively syntactic function which is to indicate that the subject is a third person plural. One might think that {★n} is elected by the

Conceptual level

Speaker’s intention: Semantic/pragmatic feature bundles

Lemma level (mental lexicon)



head word and is therefore much like an Early System Morpheme, but while the latter occurs within the maximal projection of the head, the former occurs outside it⁴².

The characteristics and levels of activation of the four types of morphemes can be summed up in the diagram below proposed by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000:1062)

The literature on code-switching is two sided; structural and sociological. Structural studies on code-switching focused on the grammatical (morphosyntactic) combinations, strategies and constructions used by bilingual speakers. The aim of such investigations is to identify structural constraints that may govern code-switching. On the other side is the social dimension of code-switching. The subject matter here is the study of the social elements that trigger and influence code-switching.

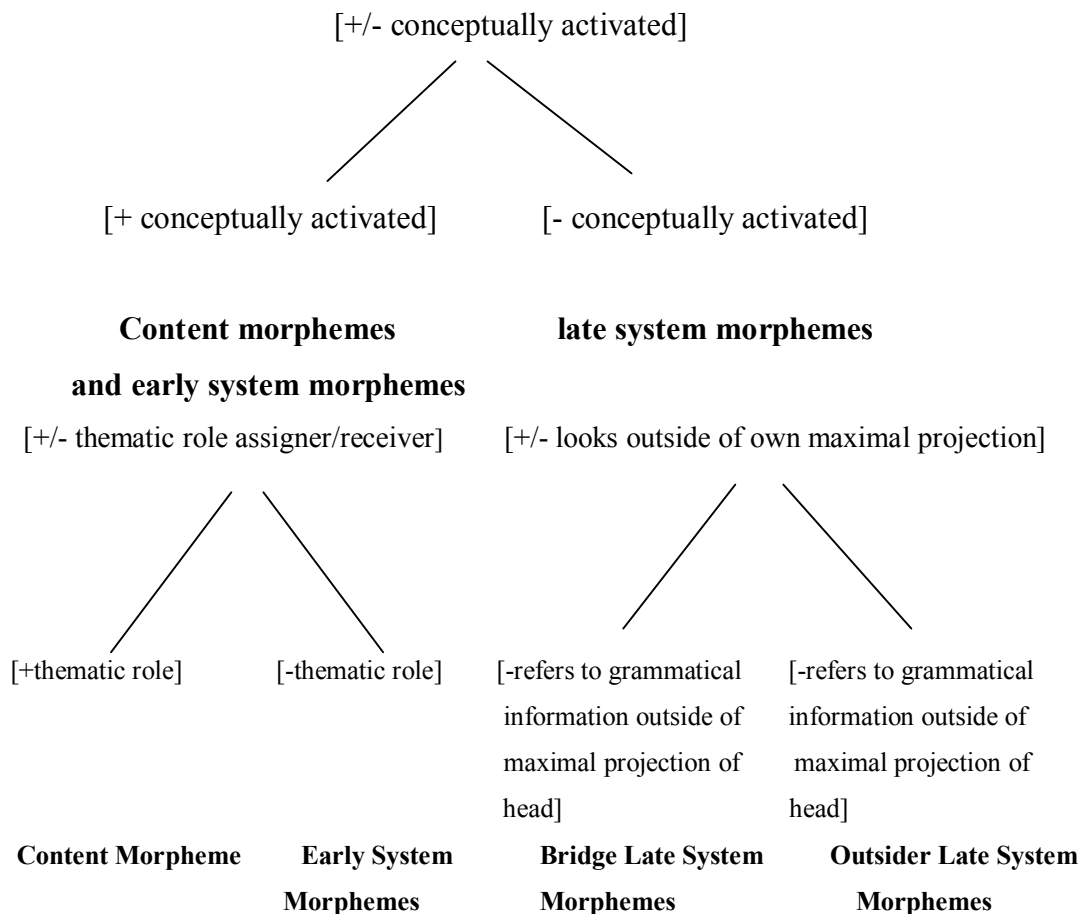


FIGURE 2: feature-based classification of morphemes in the 4M model

⁴² the maximal projection in this example consists of /a⇒med - l⇒usi:n -m*afa:q/

intended to investigate some of the social motivations that lie behind code-switching and to answer the question as to why do people code switch?

2.9 The Social Dimension of Code-Switching

It is clear that explaining the morphosyntax of code-switching does not give a complete view of the subject. It is our belief that code-switching occurs when there is a need of some sort at the sociolinguistic, sometimes psycholinguistic, level on the part of the bilingual speaker. Thus, to express his needs an individual makes use of all the codes he has at his disposal in his linguistic repertoire.

2.9.1 Linguistic Deficiency

As mentioned earlier, one of the reasons for code-switching is the speaker's lack of mastery in one of the two, or more, languages he uses in the course of a discussion. Skiba (1997) explaining Crystal's point of view (1987) that what we consider as a switch resulting from linguistic deficiency occurs when:

“... a speaker may not be able to express him/herself in one language so switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency. As a result, the speaker may be triggered into speaking in the other language for a while.”

Thus, this linguistic deficiency should not be considered at the level of the general individual competence but rather as a linguistic “incompetence” in one of the codes that constitute a speaker's repertoire. Because a speaker does not know a word in one of the codes, he relies on the second code to fill this deficit. This is quite frequent with Tamazight speakers who rely on Arabic or French when conversing in Tamazight or rely on Tamazight when conversing in Arabic or French. Consider the following examples

(174) awid lma[■]al[⇒]a

“Bring the broom”

I must say here that this instance was encountered in the course of a conversation between two young sisters born and brought up in Arabic speaking town, namely Oran. This can explain the use of /lma[■]al[⇒]a / instead of /*afalluu[◆]*/. This kind of switch is unlikely to occur with speaker of the older generation whose speech remains less influenced by AA.

The opposite process where a speaker relies rather on L1 frequently happens with individuals living in Kabylia. Their mastery of AA not being one that we can

ht when they do not know the appropriate term in

(199) manaqbal● narka↓ lmabaadi↔ ntaw⊗i

“I won’t accept to trample principles mine (I won’t accept to trample on my principles)”.

The use of /nar*a↓/ is justified by the fact that the speaker who does not, or at least did not at that very moment, know the Arabic term /na⊗fas/ relied on his L1 as a means to maintain a certain continuation in his message.

(200) amjur→r ju↔alad ur la défense

“The player came back to the defence”

When asked why he used “la défense” rather than /*am⇒addi*/, the journalist, who uttered this sentence, answered that he forgot the word in Tamazight because it was new for him.

Although most informants asked about what they thought of such a switch answered that they viewed it as negative, one must confess that it allows avoiding breaks in the flow of communication since both the speaker and the listener are kept within the scope of the conversation without any cuts or stops. Another reason for switching is to show solidarity.

2.9.2 Solidarity Marker

Switching from one code to another is a strategy which is used also to mark solidarity with an interlocutor by using the same type of switch i.e., by switching to the same language. Skiba (1997) writes:

“...switching commonly occurs when an individual wishes to express solidarity with a particular social group. Rapport is established between the speaker and the listener when the listener responds with a similar switch.”

A case in point is that of two Berber speakers who live in Arabic speaking areas and who meet during their holidays in a Kabyle village. While most of the conversation between the members of a group is held in Kabyle one of the two speakers cited above switch to Arabic for some reason; he is responded by the other interlocutor by a switch to Arabic to show linguistic solidarity. This kind of switch is not meant to exclude the other members of the group from the conversation but allows showing a kind of difference between the two speakers in question and the rest of the group. A switch to Arabic in such a case is meant to show that the speakers live in big cities and are therefore more up to date than the others who live in villages and mountains.

The process is also true. The same two Berber speakers converse differently in the town they live in. It is actually frequent for Berber speakers in Oran, an Arabic speaking town in the west of Algeria, to converse in Arabic between them. Yet, once one of the interlocutors switches to Kabyle the second one does the same thing to mark solidarity and show through this that he too belongs to the same community. The following is an example:

(201) A: salaam ☒ liikum

“peace be upon you (hello)”

B: ahlaa, kiraak?

“welcome, how are you?”

A: raak taskun hna?

“you are living here? (do you live here?)”

B: wah, f★ deuxième étage

“yes, in the second floor”

A: ihi aqlikid z☞☞:i k☞n

“so, you are near me just (so you live just near my house)”

B : ☞j★n anga i☞za☞☞★☞☞ *at☞ini ?

“why, where do you live?”

A : ☞i l ba☞ima jinna en face

“in the building that in front(in that building in front of us)”

The above conversation which starts in Arabic from both speakers shifts to Tamazight from speaker A first. The response of speaker B who in his turn switches to Tamazight by following the code-switch triggered by speaker A is meant to show solidarity with his interlocutor.

The same switch can be used, as suggested by Crystal, to exclude other people who do not speak the language.

2.9.3 Marker of Attitude towards an Interlocutor

Code-switching can also be used to show attitude towards one’s interlocutor. As each code is considered in terms of prestige, intimacy, etc, a switch from one code to another suggests a change in attitude on the part of the speaker. This is closely related to mood as will be seen later. For example a switch from Tamazight to French may suggest unfamiliarity while the opposite may convey an invitation to familiarity and more closeness. Skiba (1997), quoting Crystal, says that this switch is:

eration that occurs when the speaker

/her attitude to the listener. Where

monolingual speakers can communicate these attitudes by

means of variation in the level of formality in their speech,

bilingual speakers can convey the same by code-switching.”

Thus, formality can be conveyed through a switch to one of the varieties the speaker has at his disposal. This happens in a situation where a bilingual wants to widen or narrow the distance between him and another bilingual. To paraphrase Skiba, code-switching in this case would be the equivalent of underlining, bolding using parentheses in a written text. It allows show change in tone, mood, formality, distance, etc.

Actually, many scholars got interested in the sociolinguistic implications that this phenomenon can have. As will be seen below, these implications take various forms and degrees depending on whether code-switching is considered from a micro-sociolinguistic point of view or a macro-sociolinguistic one.

2.9.4 Situational Code-switching

Blom & Gumperz in their study of the situation in Norway noticed that each of the two varieties used, the standard dialect (Bokma^ol) and the local dialect (Ranama^ol), were used to redefine what is known as “Rights and Obligations”. Lectures at university are given in Bokma^ol which suggests respect of the status of the teacher and the place where the interaction takes place, but the same teacher encourages his students in Ranama^ol in order to be nearer to them and to make sure his message is well received. This assumes a direct relation between the social situation and code choice. Bouamrane (1986) equates situational code-switching with diglossia since the varieties that are solicited are in complementary distribution.

(202) A: je ne crois pas que ça servira à quoique se soit!

“I don’t think it will serve anything!”

B: Tu n’as pas le droit de parler comme ça ; on doit garder espoir

“you don’t have the right to speak this way (you don’t have the right to say so), we should keep hope.”

A: Mais quel espoir ? rien ne marche normalement !

“But what hope ? Nothing is working the way it should”

B: sa⇒⇒a, akkar ✱ura annat◆ imansi

“okay, stand up now we have dinner now(okay, stand up now let’s have dinner now)”

tion from my corpus, between a mayor (B) in Kabylia and a citizen (A), we can easily notice that a change in situation led to a change in code. We can easily presume that the first subject of the conversation is one that is serious and very important for the two interlocutors and the relation between the two antagonists is that between a mayor and one of the citizens in his circumscription. Such a situation dictated the need for the use of French. Yet, switching to Tamazight indicates that the situation has changed into a discussion between two neighbours or two people from the same village. In this sense Blom & Gumperz (1972:421) write:

“the same individual needs to be absolutely consistent with all his actions. He may wish to appear as a member of the local team on some occasions, while identifying with middle-class values on others.”

This is what the mayor cited above actually did. He behaved and spoke like a mayor in one situation, but became a villager in another situation.

2.9.5 Metaphorical Code-switching

Besides situational code-switching, Blom & Gumperz propose another type of switching which they call metaphorical. The reason for such a switch depends exclusively on the individual who is in control of the codes he uses. This happens when a speaker changes to a code which is not expected to be used in a given situation. Thus, on the opposite side of situational code-switching, there is a case where it is the speaker himself who switches to a code which is different from the one used in the conversation. It is not much the situation that determines this code-switch than the speakers will to redefine the relation between himself and the addressee. What seems to be a behaviour that breaks the norms of Rights and Obligations is actually meant as a reminder of them since it resets the respective positions of the interlocutors. The following example is a case in point:

(203) A: i✱ura addiin agi ilaq annax✱am j✱s

“And now, this religion, we must work with it (we must apply its percepts)”

a j★s?

“But who said we don’t work with it (we shouldn’t follow its precepts)?”

A: i♣abb→ji rabbi ♣ajagi iddaqqaar★m

“It seems to me that this is what you say”

B: alors vous avez mal compris! Et puis parler de religion en politique, c’est très délicat

“So you have misunderstood! And then, talking about religion in politics is quite delicate”

A: l→kin wiinu lmu♣kil?

“But, where is the problem?”

The above conversation between a journalist and a political party representative on the Tamazight radio station is quite edifying at more than one level. The debate was expected to be held in Tamazight, and this is how it started. To the first remark of the journalist, the political representative responds in the same language i.e., Tamazight. But, at the second remark, the representative switches to French in an attempt to put a certain distance between his interlocutor and himself. This distance may be understood from different angles. The representative might have wanted to convey that the topic of discussion is beyond the reach of the journalist and that one has to be well trained in politics to be able to tackle such subjects as religion in politics. Another possible interpretation is that the representative wanted to remind the journalist that the topic in question was not within the scope of the debate. To this, the journalist reacts by switching to another unexpected code which is Arabic. This again can be interpreted in different ways. The journalist might have wanted to show his religious tendency through the use of Arabic and push therefore the representative to respond to his initial statement. This can also be a technique through the journalist wanted to take more distance from the representative in reaction to the latter’s distance.

Thus, following the principle of Rights and Obligations that are, normal situation, known by all the members of the community, what happens in situations of metaphorical code-switching is a negotiation of the status of the interlocutors by means of using different languages or even different levels of the same language.

Later, Gumperz (1992) adds that CS is determined by what he calls contextualisation cues (workplace, school, mosque), yet he puts much of the responsibility of code choice on the part of the individual rather than on the part of the community. Gumperz assumes that

at role in choosing one language or the other; it is the to use according to the aim he wants to reach.

2.9.6 The Markedness Model

The markedness model was proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993) in an attempt to combine the micro and the macro perspectives in the study of code-switching. One can easily notice the similarities with Blom & Gumperz's types of code-switching. In this model code-switching serves negotiating positions between the speakers. In other words, it is through code choice and switching that a speaker makes it possible to bring about his position intimacy, respect, etc, and relation to the addressee. Speakers switch to different codes because they main gain various statuses in doing so. In her study of Swahili/ English code-switching in Nairobi, Kenya, Myers-Scotton claims that members of a multilingual speech community are aware of the range of codes that would be appropriate for a particular type of conventionalised exchange, and they assign meanings to choices based on such expectations. It is on this basis that she proposes three maxims in code choice in bilingual conversations in relation to the markedness feature.

2.9.6.1 Unmarked Choice Maxim

What is meant by an unmarked maxim choice is the switch from one variety to another in situations where the switch is expected to occur. As the members of any bilingual community are aware of the code distribution according to social norms, situation and usages, an unmarked maxim choice is one that is thought of as being normal and entailing no particular meaning from a micro-sociolinguistic point of view. Thus, switching from an unmarked code to another unmarked code can be equated with what Blom and Gumperz call situational code-switching since it is determined by the situation rather than any other parameter. The following conversation is a case in point.

(204) A: antru⇒a↓ ur *ma↵ra *amaddi*?

“Will you come to the wedding party tonight?”

B: wallah ma zri↵. u↓na↵ ♠wiit

it ill.”

“What’s the problem?”

B: Ben, Le médecin dit que c’est un début d’ulcère

“Well, the doctor says it’s the beginning of a ulcer”

A: Et tu suit un traitement?

“And you’re following a treatment?”

B: Oui, je suis obligé de toute façon!

“Yes, I am obliged anyway!”

A: adjafk rabbi ♣fa! →r az★kka ihi.

“May god give recovery (I hope you will recover very soon)! See you tomorrow then”

B: n♣allah! ✱anmir✱

“God willing! Thanks”

The conversation is held in Tamazight when it deals with a wedding party which is a quite relaxed, normal situation. As soon as the discussion shifted to talking about health, doctor and medicine, a language change occurred which fits more a situation the two speakers consider as being a serious one. This shift into the French language is frequent in the Kabyle speech community especially when the topic or the situation becomes more formal than it was at the beginning as in the case of the conversation above. By the end of the conversation; however, the conversation shifts back to Tamazight as greetings are usually expressed in this language.

2.9.6.2 Marked Choice Maxim

The marked maxim choice is actually a strategy used by bilingual speakers to mark a change in the position of one of the two interlocutors. It is at this level that the negotiation of Rights and Obligations takes place since it allows a speaker manifest the distance between him and the addressee. This can occur in two ways, either to put distance between the interlocutors or shorten it. This maxim sometimes also serves aesthetic purposes. Let’s consider the following examples:

(205) driver: sjagi ♣avri ♣ n j→kur★n ?

“is this the way to Yakouren ?”

policeman : ru⇒ k→n ni♣→n

“Go just straight ahead”

driver : m→li♣ ma dawwra♣ sijagi ?

The unmarked choice in any context is the normatively preferred choice. Deviations that are meant to trigger implications that are socially symbolic of the speaker's communicative intentions. Grosjean (1982) notes that while using a particular language or mixing languages in a particular social context can signal group solidarity, or ethnic identity markers, making marked or unexpected choices implicitly conveys the speaker's social identity or dynamics of interaction during conversation.

2.9.6.3 Exploratory Choice Maxim

The other choice maxim Myers-Scotton puts forward is of the exploratory. This may take place mainly when unmarked choice is not obvious from the situation. This results in a confusion or rather a clash in the norms to be respected and in role relationships. In such a case one of the interlocutors reduces distance with the other one while the situation requires keeping it for some reason. The situation described by Myers-Scotton (1993b: 144) is a case in point. In an office, a sister talks to her brother in their mother tongue, Lwidakho, in the presence of other customers while the brother talks to her in Swahili to explain that she is considered as a customer and not as a sister at that very moment. Thus, although the sister did not take the unmarkedness norm of the situation into consideration, the brother redirected the role relationship between them to what is considered as the norm in the community for such a situation. The difference with the marked maxim choice resides in the fact that it is not a change of code from one of the speakers that occurs but rather an "intrusion" of an unwanted marked choice from one speaker which is "corrected" by the use of a marked choice by another speaker. This happens quite frequently in situations where a Tamazight speaker is talking in Arabic with Arabic speakers and another Tamazight speaker addresses in Tamazight. The reaction of the first speaker is to answer in Arabic to let the second speaker get aware that he is treated like the other members of the group they are with at that moment. Another reason for exploratory choice maxim is the reduction of tension and misunderstanding on the part of members of the group who do not understand the language used by two speakers. Therefore, there is an avoidance of marking solidarity to the benefit of speech accommodation to the majority group not much as a token of integration but rather as a sign of respect towards this group on the one hand and as a redefinition of the due situational norms. The following is an example of such a case: a glassmaker (A) who was with Arabic speaking customers at his shop saw his cousin (B) to whom he prepared a glass to put on a window.

(A) assalaam u ra ⇒ mat allah “hello”

(B) i la vitre anni → ⓧ li “what about that glass, Ali ?”

(A) ça y est raahi w → Ⓒ da, taddi :ha ? “it’s okay, it’s ready, do want to take it?”

(A) waah! mada bi :k “yes, please.”

What happens in the above conversation is that the cousin started using Tamazight, which in this situation is a marked code because not suitable, for some reason. Using the code that the cousin and the glassmaker generally use between them in intimate situations marks solidarity. To this the glassmaker responds in Arabic for different reasons. The first one is that since they are in Arabic speaking town where work in general and trade is monitored in Arabic, it is this code which expected to be used in a workplace. Add to this the fact that in this very situation Arabic speaking customers were in the shop; this made the glassmaker use Arabic not only to explain that the cousin is treated like a customer but also to avoid any misunderstanding from the customers who might have the feeling that there is a will to exclude them from the conversation. This is something that all traders, craftsmen and the like would avoid. At the end of the conversation we can notice that the redefinition of the role relationship of each speaker has been achieved because the cousin integrates (or reintegrates?) the norm by using Arabic on his turn.

The notion of “auditor” as suggested by Bell (1984), is to be taken into consideration at this point. He says that in the West of Ireland, Irish/English bilinguals will switch to English not only when conversing with an English speaker but also when within the group comes an interlocutor who is considered as an “auditor” i.e., a participant in the interaction. This is due to different factors among which the prestige of the English language and the will to integrate an individual to interchange in some specific situations.

The different cases of code-switching seen above agree on the fact that people code switch because of various reasons; however, Fishman (1972) sees the phenomenon of code-switching from a macro-sociolinguistic level. He makes a one to one relation between the code and the topic. He writes

*usage dictates that only one of the
able languages or varieties will be
chosen by particular interlocutors on particular kinds of
occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics.”*

Fishman (1972:437)

In Fishman's point of view, it is the topic that determines the choice of code to be used. In particular situations when discussing a particular topic speakers will opt for the variety that can be used for a given topic. However, this point of view poses a problem since it excludes de facto cases of intrasentential code-switching which is a characteristic of all bilingual communities. Even if much of this holds true to the case of Tamazight in relation to the languages it is in contact with in Algeria, one can hardly affirm that it is all the time the case. The question that seems to be quite pertinent in the above quotation is: what should we consider as "proper" usage? There seems to be two ways in which one can consider the matter. The first one relates to what the members of a community as an entity conceive as "proper". In this case, it is certainly clear that varieties are compartmentalised in the sense that each variety correlates with (a) given situation(s) and (a) given topic(s). One can assert without any risk of being mistaken that in the case under study, Tamazight, French, AA and MSA are used each in particular situations with particular interlocutors and when discussing particular topics. A bilingual Tamazight speaker, who speaks also AA, MSA and Fr, will probably use T at home with members of his family when talking about such topics as food or the price of something, AA with an Arabic speaker in a café when the topic is football, MSA or ESA when addressing an imam in a mosque about a religious subject and Fr in a bank with a bank manager if the subject concerns banking matters. However, this sharp cut of functions that has many been assigned to different varieties a community has at its disposal is not as fixed as one might think. Because Man is not robotised, he sometimes uses techniques to express what he wants to. The other angle from which we can regard the "properness" of a code is its real occurrence in the community intercourse. As shown before, code use and choice is not fixed and the assumed one to one relation code/topic, interlocutor, situation is not respected. Code-switching occurs very frequently, not to say that it is the rule, in any bilingual speech community. This happens for the many different reasons explored earlier throughout this chapter.

that Fishman's assertion that different parameters do which variety is to be used in which circumstances is of great interest to the comprehension of language behaviour in bilingual speech communities. We will try, in the following chapter, to shed some light on language user and language choice in the Tamazight speaking community.

2.10 Conclusion

The above investigation brings out some interesting conclusions that can be quite useful for the fields of Berber linguistics and sociolinguistics. One of these is that the linguistic behaviour of Berber speakers contradicts many set up beliefs that Kabyle speakers in particular avoid using AA or SA and, therefore, rarely switch to these varieties. It is clear that the speakers are not limited to a single variety, be it their mother or the so called language of the nation. Even if it can be argued that there is a kind of rejection of one variety or another for some reason, the fact is that when conversing Tamazight speakers switch from Tamazight to French, to AA and even to SA. It is switching to the latter language which is the most astonishing because of all the tension that has existed between the promoters of the "all Arabism" and the promoters of the "all Berberism". This can, however, be explained by the fact that the newer generations have all been educated in SA and are prone to have more contact with the Arabic speaking communities. The other reason is the close link that exists between SA and Islam. When dealing with religious topics or topics that are related to religion, there is a tendency to mix Tamazight and SA because of the lack of some religious vocabulary in the former and because of the prestige the latter has. In addition to this, the emergence of ESA reduced the gap not only between the different levels of Arabic but also between Arabic in general and Tamazight.

On the other side, the older generations switch more to French because of their educational background. As, in most cases, the only language they know beside Tamazight is French, old aged speakers are more inclined to use the latter language when conversing. This does not mean that the cut between the generations is clear sharp one. We come across young speakers who switch to French and old speakers who switch to Arabic as a result of, among other things, the media and mainly satellite TV with all the French and Arabic spoken channels.

A no less important conclusion that can be drawn is that many works tried to find universal constraints and characteristics for code-switching by applying structural

ation to another which is not necessarily the same. As a
ies, and Bouamrane say about respectively Moroccan
Arabic/ French and Algerian Arabic/French code-switching does not all the time hold true for
Tamazight/French, Tamazight/Algerian Arabic and Tamazight/Standard Arabic code-
switching. Nevertheless, it seems that Tamazight as it obtains in Algeria presents many
similarities with Algerian Arabic as far as switching to other languages is concerned. This is
certainly due to many reasons among which their co-existence and their development in the
same conditions for many centuries. They have had contacts with the same languages at the
same periods in history and under the same conditions. The fact that Tamazight is believed to
be the one of the important components of AA is not to be neglected to explain the similar
behaviour the two languages have. Further diachronic research will probably show the close
link between Maghribi Arabic and Tamazight in general and AA and Algerian Tamazight in
particular. The switches that some Tamazight speakers make living in Arabic speaking areas
might seem as “deviations” for some speakers from Tamazight speaking areas because they
make use of adaptations and adoptions that seem to obtain only in the former areas. From a
linguistic and sociolinguistic point of view, these deviations must be looked at as a natural
development of a language in a natural environment.

On a sociolinguistic level, the different strategies used reveal that the
speaker are in a lot of instances conscious of the switch and the functions and impacts a switch
from one language to another may have of the interlocutors’ status, position and attitudes
towards each other.

Besides the phenomenon of code-switching is the phenomenon of language
choice which is as interesting in understanding the sociolinguistic behaviour of a speech
community. This, language choice, is the subject of the next chapter.

LANGUAGE CHOICE AMONG KABYLE BILINGUALS

3.1 Introduction

Languages in multilingual speech communities fulfil different roles and purposes. Any individual makes use of different varieties and styles according to various parameters. Thus, the linguistic repertoire of a speaker or a community is a tool whose variants are used to fulfil different communicative needs. This explains such examples as that of a university teacher who uses a very formal style of language, and sometimes a distinct language, during a lecture and uses a different style and a different language when at home. As Hymes (1967:9) puts it:

“No normal person and no normal speech community is limited in repertoire to a single variety of code, to an unchanging monotony which would preclude the possibility of indicating respect, insolence, mock, seriousness, humor role distance etc. by switching from one code variety to another.”

This is what the present chapter will investigate in the case of Berber bilingual speakers. The communicative and linguistic competence of an individual allows him to choose the appropriate language and the appropriate form of the language to be used in each situation. In such a case, a bilingual speaker has a wide range of choices since he can make use not only of different varieties of the same language but of different languages as well. The case of Tamazight speakers who, in general, have at their disposal four different codes, namely T, SA, AA, and Fr, is a vivid case in point.

Before dealing with the investigation proper, it would be helpful to have a look at previous works in the field.

Domains are prominent parameters in determining language choice in bilingual communities. In this sense, Fishman (1972:19) explains that domains constitute:

“The major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings”.

These help understand how language choice is closely related to “*widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations*”. Fishman (ibid)

cultural norms have been the subject of various studies : age, sex, setting and topic. In this respect a study undertaken by Rubin (1968) on Puerto Rican bilinguals shows that the power and solidarity dimensions are of great importance. The investigation shows how Puerto Ricans start in Spanish when courting but move to Guarani once a certain degree of intimacy is reached.

The social values a variety is associated with are of prime importance. Some languages are considered more formal, more open on the world of modernity than others. Ferguson's diglossic model (1959) is a clear case in point since languages are given the characteristics of prestige and formality (H) or those of informality and stigma (L). Private and public relationships and formal and informal behaviour also are parameters that influence language choice as shown by Stewart (1962).

Fillmore (1981) who deals with the question of language choice from a pedagogical point of view states that the relation between language choice and social settings can be viewed from an "ethno methodological" angle as a "work" that is performed by the speaker in a conversation.

"this work consists in general in detecting certain controlling features of the social situation, in knowing what it is that one wants to accomplish in this situation, in...being able to reconstruct the relevant expectations regarding language behaviour for such settings" Fillmore (1981:10)

Much of the above assertion applies to a real life situation since a bilingual, and even a monolingual, is expected to be able to distinguish the different settings he finds himself in and subsequently recognises the social norms that dictate the use of one variety or another. Thus, as Fillmore (1981:9) says:

"The linguistic properties by which differently situated instances of appropriate language behaviour can differ from each other are extremely extensive".

To illustrate this passage, he gives the instances of the switch from Classical Arabic to colloquial Arabic a many with a change from a lecture to class discussion, and the use of standard Japanese rather than the local dialects when politeness is needed.

The way a speaker perceives a social situation affects his choice of one language, or style, or another. Herman (1968) (Quoted in Bentahila 1983:51) who discusses language choice among Israelis identifies three types of situations which influence language

one in which it is the social situation that is more important. In such a case the speaker conforms to the social rules of the group of which he is a member; this denotes a group identity and a belonging of the individual to this same group. What we have here is a case of convergence where the speaker adapts his speech to that of the group. The second situation is that in which the speaker's language use is determined by his own preferences and needs without any group bonds. Finally, the "immediate situation" where the speaker reacts linguistically to the situation he is in, not taking into consideration the group or his personal needs.

Therefore the choice of a language depends on variables that are numerous and different; in this sense, Hasselmo (1970:183-4) in his investigation of code-switching among Swedish-American bilinguals writes:

"the choice of language is dependent on whom the speaker is addressing, what channel he is using, in what setting he finds himself, what he is communicating about, what are the functions of his communication, and what are the linguistic resources at his disposal."

(Quoted in Bentahila 1983:52)

Actually, sociolinguists have many been fascinated by the phenomenon of bilingualism and the complex language switching patterns that often accompany it. Many bilingual speakers are able to use different languages in different situations. Research reports on the subject are mostly linked with terms and phenomena such as 'diglossia', 'domain', 'code-switching' and 'ethnolinguistic vitality', but reduced to the level of a layman's understanding, the less than original conclusion would seem to be that choice of language is dictated primarily by the milieu in which the speaker finds himself.

Various works and investigations have been undertaken on language choice in multilingual speech communities. As far as Arabic-French language choice in the Maghrib is concerned, some studies have been undertaken by Stevens (1974) and Ounali (1970) in Tunisia, Abassi (1977) and Bentahila (1983) in Morocco and Bouamrane (1986) in Algeria. However, to my knowledge, as far as the Berber language is concerned, no such a work has been undertaken so far in Algeria or in the Maghrib. In fact, the linguistic literature on Tamazight has, up to now, concentrated on corpus and philological matters rather than on sociolinguistic aspects.

The present section is devoted to a somehow detailed investigation of some factors that influence language choice in the speech of Berber bilinguals.

3.2 Factors Relevant to language Choice

What is important for us in this part of the investigation is to check whether the idea of domains put forward by Fishman (1972) could be applied to Tamazight speakers, and if so, what parameters stand behind the choice of a variety rather than another in different situations. To achieve this, I followed methods used by researchers in previous studies. Although personal observations could be quite helpful as in the works of Bounfour (1973) and Mazouni (1973), they can bring about erroneous results because of some pre-designed results. It is to avoid what is commonly known as the observer's paradox that, in addition to personal observations, I opted to the use questionnaires to either confirm or infirm the hypotheses about the relation between a language variety and the parameters that can determine its use. The questionnaire used are inspired by those used by researchers in previous works such as those of Ounali (1970), Rubin (1968), Ohannessian, Ferguson and Palomé (1975) and Bentahila (1983). Following the latter in his study of language choice among bilinguals in Morocco, I divided the questionnaire into two different sections.

In the first section, the respondents were presented a number of various situations in which they were likely to use one of the languages which constitute their linguistic repertoires in terms of frequency. Thus, adverbs like "always, often and sometimes" were assigned to the different situations. In addition to the respondents' actual language use, questions about the informants' preferences for one language or another in certain fields are investigated. The different situations dealt with concerned various fields such as the interlocutor, the setting, the communicative purpose and the state of mind.

In the second section, the stress was put on the nature of the topic under discussion. This, as will be seen later, plays an important role in making bilingual speakers choose a given language. Some of the reasons related to this have already been mentioned in the previous chapter see (2.8). A list of different topics was given to the respondents who were asked to tick the language they would use when dealing with each of them. The topics were chosen on the basis of their pertinence to the Algerians' daily preoccupations and cultural interests. The languages concerned are of course Tamazight, Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic and French. It would not have been wrong to add code-switching to these four varieties; however, two reasons prevented such a choice. First, for technical reasons, it would have been too complex as we would have used T/AA, T/SA and T/F code-switching. This can constitutes the subject of a research work on its own. Second, the fact that all this

Decisions on Tamazight language management makes it something as norms for standardisation especially that the switch occurs between T and three other languages.

Most of the informants solicited in this questionnaire are those recorded and asked for the sake of the previous chapter, apart from those recorded from TV or radio programmes. The questionnaires were distributed to 120 informants but only 87 individuals gave it back with their answers. Thus, it is on the basis of this number that the analysis was undertaken. Unlike Bentahila who presented his questionnaires to informants who were balanced bilinguals that reached university level, I decided to question informants of all educational levels for various reasons. First, to have an overall view of language choice, one has to take into consideration samples of each group of the community to be investigated. Second, many of the informants who are regarded as monolinguals are in fact bilingual speakers since they know French, some old aged speakers know only spoken French because they have never received any education, either through the French education they received under the French rule or even after independence, their contact with the French during the colonisation or because they have emigrated to France during some period in their life before coming back to the homeland. It is true that this group of people cannot read or write in French but they can perfectly speak, understand and converse in this language. It must be said, though, that they do not understand SA, like most Algerians of their age, apart from those who have been educated in Quranic schools or at universities in Arab countries. The other category of informants is made of youngsters who are supposed to know, besides Tamazight, Algerian Arabic, French and SA that they have learnt during the course of their education. I shall say that like with the informants of the previous Chapter, I didn't limit the population to speakers living in Tamazight speaking areas like the region of Kabylia but I also interviewed Tamazight speakers living in Arabic speaking areas like Algiers, Oran, Constantine, etc. So, to have the most possible representative categories of informants, I got people from both sexes and from different occupations i.e., housewives, lawyers, playwrights, high school pupils, university students, craftsmen, policeman, doctors and the like. These were aged between 15 and 68 years old were selected.

Because some of the nature of some questions which required a certain level of education, these have not been answered by uneducated informants whose blank answers have therefore not been taken into consideration. Questions concerning topics like philosophy, newspapers or books read have logically not been answered by illiterate informants, who, for some of them, spoke a more or less correct French. Another reason that

of speaker is that one of the questions that need to be asked is whether those living in Kabylia and those living in Arabic speaking areas have the same language choice habits. As it was assumed, the two categories do not necessarily have the same speech habits they probably do not tackle the same situations and topic with the same languages. This is mostly true for the younger generation. Speakers who were born in Tamazight speaking areas are more inclined to master their mother tongue since it is the language they use the most in their daily life while the case of those born and grown up in Arabic speaking communities is different. Although their mother tongue, namely Tamazight, is the first language they learn, they tend through the years of playing outside the home, through school years and the every day contact with the community they live to master Algerian Arabic and in some cases even lose their knowledge of their mother tongue to the benefit of L2.

The results of the questionnaires have been calculated using statistics and put under different headings which had effects on the factors that enhanced the respondents' language choice.

3.2.1 Types of Interlocutor

The first type of interlocutors targeted concerns beggars, maids, grandparents and parents. It was thought that the level and the languages these categories of interlocutors know would limit the scale of varieties to be used by others when addressing them.

The most important point the table underneath brings out is that Tamazight is the language most of the informants use with beggars, grandparents and parents. This can be explained by the fact that beggars are generally thought of as being uneducated, and therefore the simplest language used to address them is the one that everybody would understand, namely Tamazight. Yet, some of the respondents say they address beggars in AA. This happens in two cases.

<i>interlocutor</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Beggars	SA	0 %
	AA	20 %
	T	80 %
	Fr	0 %
Grandparents	SA	0 %
	AA	12 %
	T	81 %
	Fr	9 %

	A	0 %
	AA	21 %
	T	65 %
	Fr	14 %

The first one is when the beggar is an AA speaker in a T speaking area while the second concerns T speakers living in Arabic speaking areas. Actually, speakers in Arabic speaking areas, especially those of the younger generation, show a relatively considerable degree in using AA with their grandparents and parents. It is interesting here to note that the bigger the gap is between the generations the smaller the percentage of AA use is. This is mainly due to the fact that the older generation is looked at as conservative of its native language and in some instances as not well understanding AA. The same thing can be said about French. This explains the high percentage the use of T displays. The latter being the language of the home and intimacy it is logically used in informal situations with interlocutors which are more or less close. The absence of SA can easily be understood since it is a language which lacks vitality and is therefore not used in normal spontaneous situations.

<i>interlocutor</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Siblings	SA	0 %
	AA	32 %
	T	69 %
	Fr	9 %
Friends	SA	0 %
	AA	36 %
	T	52 %
	Fr	12 %

Apart from the fact that Tamazight is associated with the home, it is also the language brothers and sisters have communicated during their childhood. The same thing is observed with Arabic in Morocco by Bentahila (1983). This justifies its frequent use between siblings. AA being the language of the majority of Algerians it has to some extent influenced the speech of the younger generations especially when addressing non Tamazight speakers. French presents a certain particularity in this case. It is used by two categories: young ladies and adults. As to the young ladies, the reason can be the fact that women in general present a more delicate profile and as French in the Algerian society in general is regarded as a prestigious, stylised and polite language, young women are more inclined to use it mainly

s or friends but rarely, if ever, with their brothers.

quite frequently when discussing certain topics some of

which will be dealt with later.

The tendency towards the use of Tamazight can be seen also with other types of interlocutors

<i>interlocutor</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Elders	SA	0 %
	AA	19 %
	T	70 %
	Fr	11 %
Strangers	SA	0 %
	AA	28 %
	T	68 %
	Fr	4 %
Policeman	SA	0 %
	AA	36 %
	T	62 %
	Fr	2 %

Besides Tamazight who has the lion's share among the languages chosen by my informants, it is interesting to have a look at the relatively important use of AA. In the case of the elders, it has been noticed that AA is used mainly by youngsters living in Arabic speaking areas; this is probably due to the fact that the latter have a lack of mastery of Tamazight and rely on AA in many instances. With strangers and policeman the reasons are different. Some informants explained that when with strangers they use the Algerian lingua franca i.e., AA unless they know in advance that their interlocutor is a T speaker as well. The same thing applies for addressing a policeman even in towns like Tizi-ouzou or Bejaïa. The fact that not all policemen are Kabyle mainly in big towns enhances the use of AA which is supposedly understood by everybody. French, on the other hand, is used either as a language which expresses respect with elders or a way of showing one's education and comprehension with strangers and policemen. It is quite striking that French which is considered as prestigious is not used with interlocutors that are to be respected. Rather, it is either T or AA that is used. This is actually true even for the Arabic speaking community in Algeria where elders, strangers and policeman are rarely addressed in French. Thus, AA which is an L variety acquires a certain prestige by showing respect and maintaining or breaking the distance that may exist between the interlocutors.

, Fr seems to be the preferred language with a doctor

<i>interlocutor</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Doctor	SA	1 %
	AA	13 %
	T	38 %
	Fr	48 %
Employer	SA	5 %
	AA	19 %
	T	28 %
	Fr	53 %

The first striking element is the appearance of SA when addressing a doctor or an employer even if this is done at very low rates.⁴³ The use of SA even if less important than that of the other languages is the result of the Arabisation policy undertaken in Algeria a many with the attempt to reduce the importance of French after independence. Consequently, many of the young Algerians use SA in a more correct way than French. Thus, some of the medical terms especially those related to the human body and some terminology related to work are more known in Arabic than in French. The other salient remark is the high rates French scores in the two above interlocutors. The statuses of a doctor and an employer are determining in the choice of French as a language of conversation. The fact that the two are considered as educated and having a prestigious in addition to the fact that they are not close acquaintances enhances the use of French which allows keeping distance respect and neutrality. Besides these, the fact that some medical and technical terms are known or exist only in French clarifies the frequent use of the latter language. AA and T are the languages both doctors and patients would use when the patient is uneducated. In some instances it is actually to the doctor or to the employer to adapt his speech to that of the patient or the employee by using AA and or T to be able to communicate. In the case of the doctor, this can be dictated by the topic under discussion like the parts of the body, the food to be eaten or avoided, the cause of the illness. It is not only the status of the employer which is concerned here but other parameters also can have their importance. Such parameters can be the interlocutor's age, sex, language background, etc. Thus, Tamazight can be at times a marker of respect with

⁴³ The use of SA here is not to be understood as a whole discourse uttered in this variety but rather as inserted lexical items and as the use of ESA.

it can also be a marker of closeness when it concerns can be a tool to mark neutrality between Tamazight speakers since it allows avoid showing regional belonging; in some instances which are not within the scope of the present research it also allows communication between Tamazight speakers of different regions like Mozabites, Shawi, Targui and Kabyles to cite only the most important varieties.

The next variable which influences language choice is the setting. I will try to examine this on the basis of different types of setting in the next section.

3.2.2 Types of Setting

The locale in which a speaker finds himself in is undoubtedly essential in the choice of the language to be used. Different settings are associated with different statuses, prestige and functions. It is according to this kind of parameters that a speaker tries to level his language and adapt it.

There seems to be a tendency towards French at a chemist and Tamazight at hospital as shown below.

<i>Setting</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Chemist's	SA	0 %
	AA	15 %
	T	23 %
	Fr	62 %
Hospital	SA	0 %
	AA	12 %
	T	72 %
	Fr	16 %

The reasons for such different choices in the two settings can be logically explained. The chemist's is a place where people working are educated which is a factor which calls for the use of French especially that the pharmacological register as used in Algeria is mainly in French. The names of the medicines and the prescriptions are most of the time, not to say all the time, in French and the fact that equivalent medical terms do not exist in Tamazight does not permit an extensive use of the latter language in the setting in question.

An opposite choice can be observed in the setting of a hospital. It is in general Tamazight which the vehicle of communication. This is due to the fact that patients are not necessarily educated and need therefore to be addressed in the language they know the

ing have been observed. However, when conversing is more inclined to be used. We can notice here that even the topic is of great importance in the selection of the variety to be used as will be seen in 3.2.3.

Hotels and restaurants are two settings which have been chosen for their pertinence to the subject we are concerned with.

<i>Setting</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Hotel	SA	0 %
	AA	10 %
	T	62 %
	Fr	38 %
Restaurant	SA	0 %
	AA	18 %
	T	63 %
	Fr	29 %

The most recurrent criterion given by my respondents for such choices was the standard of the hotel or the restaurant they are in. When in a normal, popular hotel or restaurant they would use Tamazight or for some of them AA especially in places where people do not understand Tamazight. If they are in a high standard restaurant or hotel they feel it more appropriate to use French in order to meet the standard of the locale. This suggests that the grade and the prestige of a place leads to the choice of a language that is considered to be prestigious to level up with it.

The grocer's being a place where people have a daily activity to fulfil, that of shopping, in a natural spontaneous way, it is Tamazight which logically predominates.

<i>Setting</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Grocer's	SA	0 %
	AA	10 %
	T	86 %
	Fr	4 %

At a grocer's, the subject-matter is one that is daily and even sometimes intimate. Talking about goods sold and bought at a grocer's, negotiating prices and asking about them is done in a spontaneous way wherefrom the use of the variety the speakers are the most acquainted with i.e., Tamazight. In general people buy at the same grocer's which is situated either in the

The frequent contact with the grocer builds a certain language that reduces distance with him. Moreover, the use of French, that is mainly frequent on the part of women, might be perceived as a will to show one's superiority. To avoid being fooled on the price or the quality of the product they want to buy, customers rely on T or AA to show that they know about the price, the product, etc. it has been noticed in some instances that T speakers living in Arabic speaking areas tend even to speak T with its regional phonological and lexical characteristics to put forward their belonging to the village or region and consequently avoid being thought of as a stranger. This to say that keeping a state of equality by using the same language may present considerable advantages and soften the relationship between the interlocutors.

In addition to the interlocutor and the setting a third important element is also essential in choosing the language of conversation. Different types of topic call for different languages; this is what I will try to examine in the next point.

3.2.3 Types of Topic

Although the relation between language choice and types of interlocutor and setting cannot be denied, it is difficult to dissociate them from the influence of the topic. Because of the absence of a certain terminology dealing with certain topics, a bilingual uses one variety rather than the other. For examples topics like technology are discussed in French, religion in Arabic and cooking in Tamazight. Yet, this distinction which looks clear cut is not all the time true since as said earlier the intervention of the two above cited factors, interlocutor and topic, a many with the topic may break this taxonomy as will be seen in 3.3.

The first group of topics suggested to the respondents deals with what is generally considered as being the concern of the spiritual field.

<i>Topic</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Philosophical	SA	5 %
	AA	10 %
	T	22 %
	Fr	63 %
Moral	SA	3 %
	AA	12 %
	T	36 %
	Fr	49 %
Religious	SA	21 %
	AA	26 %
	T	45 %
	Fr	8 %

ics are undeniably heterogeneous. Although one may think that spiritualities are related to each other, the varieties assigned to them are not necessarily the same. Philosophical topics are discussed in some instances in SA – and or ESA- because T speakers educated in SA master the terminology related to it in the latter language. It should also be said that SA historically carries in addition to its literary tradition a considerable philosophical one. French, on the other hand, displays a widespread use. The fact that philosophy can be discussed only by educated people added to the fact that only some adults are interested in the subject and do sporadically discuss it may be an explanation to the use of French. Youngsters who have all been educated in Arabic are for most of them unable to discuss a philosophical subject because they lack some mastery in French and as they say, it is not a subject that is given its real value in the educational system.⁴⁴ Moral topics also display a high tendency towards French and Tamazight. As the moral values are in general carried by the elders who are T/Fr bilinguals, they are most of the time discussed in these two languages. French in this case is a means to show one's good education and therefore one's good moral values while Tamazight is a symbol of the attachment to the old "genuine" values and the moral weight they carry. Religious matters, however, are discussed in SA more frequently than the two other topics. This is due to the close relation between this language and Islam and the lack of some religious terms in the other varieties. In addition to SA, AA seems to be relatively able to fulfil this task because of its closeness to the language of religion and of its ability to keep the prestige of such a subject. Despite the reasons just cited, Tamazight is the language people converse in even when dealing with religious topics because of the historical relation that exists between the two. Many Islamic dynasties in the Maghrib were Berber and many great figures in the history of Islam were Berber too. The co-existence of T, Arabic and Islam during fourteen centuries led to the borrowing and integration of great deal of religious terms into Tamazight. The fact that SA is a language which is hardly understood by non educated people and the will to simplify and reach the population when explaining, teaching or discussing religion also enhances the use of T. at this level we can notice that Fr is not categorised as a language of religion and is therefore rarely used as such.

Another category where the use of Tamazight seems reduced is the following

⁴⁴ Philosophy which is taught in Arabic is learnt during only the last year (troisième année secondaire) at lycée in Algeria.

	Language chosen	Percentage of speakers
Scientific	SA	12%
	AA	7 %
	T	10 %
	Fr	71 %
Technical	SA	0 %
	AA	3 %
	T	15 %
	Fr	82 %
Industrial	SA	0 %
	AA	3 %
	T	5 %
	Fr	92 %
Sociological	SA	20 %
	AA	4 %
	T	10 %
	Fr	68%
Cultural and artistic	SA	16%
	AA	4 %
	T	13 %
	Fr	63 %

With all the above topics the preference of French is clearly pronounced by the informants because it is considered as the language of learning and opening on the world. Also, compared to Arabic or to Tamazight, French is seen as a more scientific and technological language wherefrom its use in scientific, technical, sociological, and cultural and artistic fields. As to the industrial one, it is rather the lack of vocabulary related to the field in Tamazight which favours the use of French. But this is not the only reason. The association of French with social success added to the fact that transactions with foreign partners mainly the French ones are also parameters that puts the French language at the top of the languages used. SA also ranks second in these fields mainly because they require a certain level education and the knowledge of the vocabulary related to it. The Arabisation process has had a big influence on the linguistic habits of Algerians in general and Tamazight speakers in particular. At the same time, we notice that no informant suggested SA for technical and industrial topics. If Arabisation and the media, especially TV, have more or less spread the vocabulary concerned with science, sociology culture and art in SA, it has not been the case with industry and technology whose vocabulary is either borrowed from French or English.

been so prominent that some scientific, cultural and other through adoption or adaptation and have become

part of the language to the extent that they are used even by uneducated people as in:

(208) listi*maar “investment”

(209) atteatr “theatre”

(210) l^hazma “crisis”

This to say, it has been observed that in many situations speakers mixed T and Fr and sometimes T and SA.

The next group of topics exhibits a tendency towards the use of T.

<i>Topic</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Domestic	SA	0 %
	AA	6 %
	T	89 %
	Fr	5 %
Sports	SA	0 %
	AA	10 %
	T	78 %
	Fr	12 %
Personal	SA	0 %
	AA	5 %
	T	80 %
	Fr	15 %

Because of their intimacy and informality, the three topics are most of the time dealt with in T. Domestic topics are everyday ones and do not need any formality or status showing. The fact that such subjects are of a certain spontaneity and naturalness eliminates de facto SA which is a language of formality and solemnity. The same remarks apply to sports and personal topics although in some rare cases they are discussed in AA when the interlocutor is an Arabic speaker or when there is a will to show one’s knowledge of AA. French is used in domestic matters by a small number of speakers who are more inclined to speak, read and watch programmes in French. Sports and personal topics also are in the minority as far as French is concerned. It is those educated in French or those who have a considerable knowledge of it who use French in attempt to mark distance or display their educational status.

3.2.4 Types of Communicative Purpose or Mood

...ire of an individual is like a tool box in which each machine. Languages function in the same way since

each language is used for specific communicative purposes such as telling jokes, teaching, showing superiority, etc and specific moods as one does not necessarily use the same language when he is tired, angry, happy or sad.

There seems to be a clear preference to speak in Tamazight when telling jokes or insulting as shown below.

<i>Purpose</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Telling jokes	SA	0 %
	AA	13 %
	T	80 %
	Fr	7 %
Insulting	SA	0 %
	AA	16 %
	T	82 %
	Fr	2 %

Culture, here, is a major element to understand the pre-eminence of T and to a lesser extent that of AA. Jokes are funny when they carry with them cultural references to which the interlocutors can identify. As funny as it can be, if translated or said in a language other than that of the listener loses its meaning, its fun and its cultural weight. Actually, each speech community has its own humour which is linked to its reality and its micro-culture. It is a well known fact that within Algeria itself, jokes that are funny in the west are not necessarily so in the east of the country, let alone when the languages are different. It is true, though, that on some occasions some jokes are said in AA and well understood by T speakers because the socio-economic reality in Kabylia is not different from that of all the regions of Algeria especially with T speakers in Arabic speaking areas. Insulting also displays more or less similar rates as far as T and AA are concerned. As insults are spontaneous, and uttered with the aim to hurt or humiliate someone, it is T that can fulfill this purpose. The few people who may insult in French do it for many reasons among which are the will to show and or keep their status of superiority and avoid taboo words for some reason. The latter are generally “softened” when said in French.

Although T still ranks first when the purpose is greeting, AA and Fr score higher rates than in the previous purposes.

	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
	SA	0 %
	AA	24 %
	T	58 %
	Fr	18 %

Bentahila (1983: 65) says:

“Greetings are among the kinds of highly stereotyped phrases which perhaps remain more available to the bilingual in his first learnt language.”

This is probably true for French/Moroccan Arabic bilinguals, but the data I have collected seems to contradict to some extent this assertion, at least as far as Tamazight speakers in Kabylia are concerned. It is a fact that most greetings are done in T but the fact that many greetings are inspired from religion and have religious connotations even if they are superficial combined with the diachronically many contact between T and AA resulted in a big number of greeting phrases and expressions that are either integrated to Tamazight or frequently used by T speakers. French is considered as a higher, more formal and more way of greeting wherefrom its use in situations where more formality is due.

Other purposes where Bentahila’s data and mine do not seem to concord are the following. He claims that to intimidate, to be serious and to court a girl among other purposes, Arabic is favoured while this does not seem the case for the informants investigated here.

<i>Purpose</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
To intimidate	SA	0 %
	AA	20 %
	T	72 %
	Fr	8 %
To flatter	SA	0 %
	AA	11 %
	T	68 %
	Fr	21 %
To be intimate	SA	0 %
	AA	12 %
	T	82 %
	Fr	6 %
To be serious	SA	2 %
	AA	6 %

	T	52 %
	Fr	40 %
To encourage	SA	0%
	AA	16 %
	T	73 %
	Fr	11 %
To court a girl	SA	0 %
	AA	13 %
	T	38 %
	Fr	60 %

As can be seen from the above table, Tamazight is the language that is mostly used for most purposes. The rate of Tamazight is comparatively high when the aim wanted is to intimidate, to flatter and to be intimate. To intimidate and to flatter one needs to use words whose connotative meanings the interlocutor would understand so that they have an impact on him. For this, the mother tongue is the most indicated. Similarly, intimacy is expressed by means of the mother tongue between interlocutors of the same speech community. In the same trend when they want to serious or to encourage, bilingual speakers under investigation rely much on Tamazight since it is the language whose semantic nuances they master the best and which they think would most likely allow them express the two concerned purposes. However, French and SA appear to have some importance here. SA and or ESA are used almost exclusively by Arabic teachers and Imams. Even if it is used in small proportions, SA with the prestige it has is a means of showing distance and showing that someone is serious. French also can express seriousness because it associated with science, technology and knowledge in general. It also gives the opportunity to bring out one's educational status and his will to be serious when needed. AA which is the language of the majority of Algerians is at the same time the one in which the biggest amount of neologisms and slang occur. Thus using it, or at least expression from it, to intimidate is a symbol of being up to date, show courage and even some kind of superiority. Also many encouraging expressions derive from Arabic for the reasons already cited above. However the biggest difference with Bentahila data resides in the last purpose i.e., courting a girl. As women are considered as delicate and sensitive creatures, they are most of the time addressed in French at a first contact. This is a way to show respect and delicateness towards them. In addition courting a girl needs a certain know-how to avoid hurting her feeling. It is agreed that some words are better accepted when said in a foreign language especially if the latter has a certain prestige in the community. Because Tamazight culture has always been quite reducing in relation to women, French is generally the solution

aboo in T in this situation. When courting occurs in T addressing Arabic speaking girls, it speakers who lack the courting vocabulary in French i.e., not enough educated in this language who are involved.

In dealing with mood Bentahila (1983: 665) proposes situations where his respondents are tired, and angry. His conclusion is that with such moods Moroccan bilinguals have a tendency to favour Arabic. To Bentahila’s two moods, I added situations in which my informants are happy and sad.

<i>Mood</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Tired	SA	0 %
	AA	10 %
	T	88 %
	Fr	2 %
Angry	SA	0 %
	AA	6 %
	T	92 %
	Fr	2 %
Happy	SA	0 %
	AA	12 %
	T	75 %
	Fr	13 %
Sad	SA	0 %
	AA	6 %
	T	90 %
	Fr	4 %

The dominance of T, the mother tongue, emanates from the fact that all the four moods express deep feelings and emotions. The latter when they are natural and unsophisticated are only expressed in the language a speaker knows best. This is generally the native language but it is sometimes L2 when the latter takes over L1 in the case of replacive bilingualism. Anger, tiredness, happiness and sadness are moods where a human does not have complete control over his reactions which become spontaneous and which therefore call for the most spontaneous variety an individual has at his disposal. It is actually as difficult to get angry in French as to tell a joke or insult in this language. This is why rare are those who think that they can use F in such unprepared moods. AA on the other hand was given as a response by the few who live in Arabic speaking areas.

As mentioned earlier, it is difficult to dissociate the three parameters investigated so far. Interlocutor, setting and purpose are so intertwined that the choice of a language depends on the three of them at the same time. The same interlocutor can be a teacher explaining a lesson at school at a given time but becomes a friend commenting a

situations being different, two different languages will be

Following Bentahila, I tried to examine T speakers' preference in writing.

3.2.5 The Written Medium

The respondents' choice in speaking having been analysed, it is interesting to investigate their choice in the written medium. In addition to the three kinds of letters Bentahila proposed to his respondents, namely job applications, love letters and family letters my respondents were asked to express their preference when writing SMS and e-mails.

<i>Format</i>	<i>language chosen</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Job application	SA	32 %
	AA	2 %
	T	0 %
	Fr	66 %
Love letter	SA	25 %
	AA	10 %
	T	22 %
	Fr	43 %
Family letter	SA	16 %
	AA	8 %
	T	14 %
	Fr	62 %
SMS	SA	5 %
	AA	8 %
	T	20 %
	Fr	67 %
E-mail	SA	10 %
	AA	5 %
	T	12 %
	Fr	73 %

The most important characteristic we can notice is that there is a general preference for the French language when writing. This is true when the writing concerns vital and daily communicative purposes like the five listed above. Following is an attempt at an understanding the reasons for such choices. The fact that most Algerian administrations still function in French, even if the legislation imposes the use of Arabic⁴⁵, added to the fact that the former language is seen as the language of the educated explain the preference of most of the informants as they want to give a good first impression in the perspective of being recruited. The settlement of foreign companies also requires that application letters should be written in French, as well as in English for some of them. Writing a job application in French is an indication of the individual's level of education, his being up to date in the field he wants

⁴⁵ Arabisation Law in August 1998

knowledge in other fields that can have some importance for languages, etc. The next most rated language is SA which is used by the younger generation which is educated in Arabic for jobs that need Arabic as a work tool. Writing in French for a lot of young people is risk taking. As they cannot do so in correct French, their chances to be recruited diminish; therefore, they prefer writing in SA to have the biggest possible chance to get the job they apply for. AA and T are actually cited here as potential languages. Some informants explain that if they were allowed to do so, they would write in AA or T for identity and solidarity reasons. They argue that as they are Algerians, they would write in an Algerian language if they were given the opportunity to. Yet, they make it clear that their answers emanates from personal wills rather than from practical angles since it is not possible to write a job application in AA and T as it will certainly not be taken into consideration and would even be subject to interpretations of different types.

French is also quite popular in writing love letters as it is considered as a stylised language which is a symbol of modernity, tolerance and good education. It is also a fact that women in Algeria like being addressed in French especially when the concern is that of sentimentality wherefrom the use of this language. Besides French, SA surprisingly show a considerable rate of popularity for this purpose. This is in most instances justified by the beauty and the literary tradition the language has. T, too, is frequent in writing love letters, first because it is the mother language in which emotions, thoughts and opinions are best expressed and also because it allows a certain intimacy which is of course calculated as not to break the distance due to the situation. AA, on the other hand, does not seem to be part of the preferences of the informants as it is rarely written and stigmatised. Surprisingly, with family letters, it is not popular languages that have the biggest rate of use but rather Fr and SA. The written norms the latter languages possess and that T and AA lack plead in favour of the standard languages. Thus most family letters whatever their purpose is are in Fr and to a lesser extent in SA while a minority is in T or more rarely in AA.

In writing SMS and e-mails, which have been proposed to the respondents because of their democratisation in the Algerian society as a whole, Tamazight bilinguals are more inclined to use Fr because mobile phones and PCs are in general in French or in English where the keys are in anyway in Latin scripts. The habit of writing in French and discussing technological matters in French also “reduced” writing to the same language. Although T is also preferred to AA and SA, it does not have the importance one can possibly expect especially with the codification progress the Tamazight language is undergoing.

ain Tasks

So far, we have tried to examine the use of different languages in different situations following the social norms in use in the community. An interesting point to investigate is that of the languages T bilingual speakers would use if they were given the choice. Although one might think that Tamazight would be the preferred language in most situations, the social reality proves, if need be, that it is not all the time true. Different reasons are put forward by my informants to justify or rather explain their preference of one language compared to another. Among these reasons we have the practicality of some varieties in certain tasks, their prestige, and the relation that exists between a variety and the task to fulfil. This is what we intend to clarify below.

<i>Task</i>	<i>language preferred</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Taking driving test	SA	0 %
	AA	16 %
	T	36 %
	Fr	48 %

Obviously, Fr and T are the varieties preferred. French is a practical variety to take a driving test since all road signs are written in this language. This would facilitate the learning, understanding and application of the driving rules. T is also cited as a language in which people would like to take this test since a lot of them are either uneducated or do not have a sufficient mastery of Fr to understand all the rules and indications. Therefore, being asked and addressed in Tamazight allows them answer more clearly and more comprehensively. Strikingly, even young individual educated in SA did not cite this language as one of their favourite for this task; rather, it is to AA that their preference goes. This preference is the result of the same reason that justifies the use of T. The simplicity of the language and its ability to express terms that T bilinguals living in Arabic areas cannot express in T and/or Fr are variables that weigh considerably in the choice of the speakers. It is logical, in this case, to find out that SA which lacks vitality is not linked, not to say, avoided in a task that is part of the everyday life i.e., driving. Another reason given by my informants for their choice of T and AA is that the two varieties put them in a kind of informal relaxed situation in which they can take the test in an unstressing mood which makes things easier. Fr and SA, on the contrary, introduce a formality which can hamper the state of mind of the person being tested and can result in wrong answers.

informants who seem to favour Fr for educational
mine seem to put equilibrium between Fr and SA
sometimes and prefer T or to lesser extent AA some other times, as will be seen below.

<i>Task</i>	<i>language preferred</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Receiving lessons/lectures	SA	37 %
	AA	9 %
	T	19 %
	Fr	42 %
Taking written examinations	SA	30 %
	AA	3 %
	T	20 %
	Fr	47 %
Taking oral examinations	SA	19 %
	AA	11 %
	T	32 %
	Fr	38 %

Whenever the task is a written one or oratory one, the respondents favour Fr and SA in the first place. As all the writing and teaching, except in some exceptional cases, is done in these two languages which are the ones in which all Algerians are educated, the latter have developed the habit of lessons and lectures and written examinations in these two languages. However, T which has recently been introduced into the educational system mainly in T speaking areas seems to gain some importance in the learning process both in receiving lessons and writing. One should also not ignore that this rate of preference T displays is also the result of the will of T speakers to promote their language and make of it a language of education. AA, on the other hand, did not reach this level of importance as it has always been ignored by the language and educational policies of the country. Even those speakers from Arabic speaking areas do not grant it a high percentage since it has always been stigmatised in relation to Fr, SA and more recently to T. Oral examinations display a different repartition of the languages in the sense that if Fr is still the variety the informants feel more at ease at, it is SA which ranks second but T. Two reasons justify these percentages. The complexity an the difficulty to converse and to answer questions orally in a non-native language and the ease of using the mother tongue or “semi-standard” T⁴⁶ constitute sociolinguistic parameters that enhance this inclination.

⁴⁶ The term “semi-standard” is used to refer to the form of Tamazight which in the process of standardisation as there is no complete agreement as to which form to standardise yet.

self-expression is concerned, two tendencies seem to d non spontaneous self-expression.

<i>Task</i>	<i>language preferred</i>	<i>Percentage of speakers</i>
Self-expression	SA	8 %
	AA	11 %
	T	37 %
	Fr	44 %

Whether self-expression is spontaneous or not determines the preference of one language over the other. In a spontaneous situation there is a high penchant towards T since it the language that can express most natural ideas and feelings. Fr is relied upon when the matter or the situation requires some kind of precision as Bentahila (1983:68) puts it: “...the French language seems to be reputed for its precision and analytic nature.” He further adds quoting Gordon (1962:8) that the North African’s French education “emphasizes intellectualism and memorization and it fosters verbalism.” Although this saying concerns primarily the period between 1954 and 1962 we cannot pretend that the situation changed that much nowadays. It is still true in today’s Algeria that intellectual “intellectualism” if not done in French is promoted by bilingual educated in French or of French tradition. Thus, T bilinguals would rather use Fr for intellectual, artistic and other types of self-expression that is prepared and directed in some way or another. SA is also cited but by a minority of the respondents.

The next point is an attempt to see whether these tendencies are confirmed with the media.

3.2.7 Preference for the Media

Although all the informants questioned are bilinguals which can read in SA, Fr and for some of them in T, the table below shows a general preference towards newspapers and books in French. I shall say that for this part of the questionnaire AA has not been proposed since there are no newspapers or books issued in this variety so far.

	<i>language preferred</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents</i>
Newspapers read	SA	28 %
	T	16 %
	Fr	56 %
Newspapers preferred	SA	17 %
	T	36 %

	Fr	47 %
	SA	10 %
	T	15 %
	Fr	65 %
Books preferred	SA	5 %
	T	35 %
	Fr	60 %

Clearly French seems to have the lion's share in the readings of T speakers. Some factors explaining these preferences were given by some of the respondents. As for reading, the argument that is mostly cited is that of ease. It seems that reading in French is easier than reading in Arabic. This is the result of the learning process from school to university where this language is taught and is, therefore, more mastered by the individuals. The satellite TV channels also have their influence on the matters. Like all most Algerian families, Amazigh ones watch French TV channels very frequently. This creates a daily contact with the French language which is now more attainable than it was in the years of "all Arabisation" and consequently easier to understand and to read. Another reason is that people find more books, newspapers and publications in French than in any other language.

For the newspapers read and those preferred, we notice that the ranking is heterogeneous regarding SA and T. The high rate of newspapers read in SA is justified by their availability in comparison to T ones. It is actually true that SA newspapers which have existed since independence are always available and until relatively recently were even encouraged by the Algerian successive governments. This allowed them -the newspapers- to have an important readership even within the Tamazight speaking community. The younger generation speakers who have been educated in SA have a better mastery of SA compared to "semi-standard" T or to Fr. On the other side T newspapers are relatively small in number and not all the time available in Tamazight speaking areas, let alone other areas. The other reason why there are less people reading T newspapers is the gap that exists - or is being created - between the spoken T form and the written one (this problem will be dealt with in more details in Chapter V). Thus, reading for people who have not learnt T at school is not that easy especially that there is sometimes a high degree of variation from a newspaper to another.

However when it comes to the preferences, there seems to be a certain degree of nationalism in that there are more people who say they prefer newspapers in T. Some informants say that as most, if not all, T newspapers are regional ones, they are more

ms, daily preoccupations and needs while SA ones are 3.

French books are said to tackle a wide range of subjects and topics as various as politics, technology, history, etc. In addition, a lot of readers claim that to keep with the latest developments in the world, it is necessary to read books in French rather than in SA or T. Actually, publications in Fr are more available than those in T or SA. One of the informants says that if even Algerian writers publish more in Fr than in the other languages there must be a reason. Therefore, the fact this language is seen as that of modernity, knowledge and learning maintain it at the top of the ones read and preferred.

Surprisingly, SA in which the younger generation has been educated does not seem to be favoured in reading books. In fact, it is well known that with the popularization of satellite TV and internet people are less inclined to read, consequently; most of those who can read in SA do not do it. Other ones pretend that the complexity and the “limitation” of the topics dealt with makes it difficult and tiring to read in SA. Nevertheless, some informants say that it is necessary to read in SA especially when it is concerned with religious matters.

T books are read and preferred for various reasons. During the last years, publications in T knew a big expansion. This concerned novels, short stories, poetry as well as attempts at history, computing and technology. Their availability and the people’s will to promote the language explains these reactions from T speakers.

The trend is not necessarily the same with spoken media as will be seen below.

	<i>language preferred</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents</i>
Radio programmes listened to	SA	6 %
	AA	21 %
	T	42 %
	Fr	31 %
Radio programmes preferred	SA	5 %
	AA	24 %
	T	32 %
	Fr	39 %
Television programmes preferred	SA	2 %
	AA	14 %
	T	21 %
	Fr	63 %
Films preferred	S	4 %
	AA	10 %
	A	12 %

T Fr	78 %
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Broadly speaking, the same reasons given for the written media hold true for audiovisual ones. It is assumed that radio and TV programmes in French are more varied, more up to date, more open on views different from the official ones and more concerned with issues touching the world as a whole. We can speculate though, that for TV programmes and films, the expansion of the satellite channels has had a great impact on the watching habits of Algerians in general and T speakers in particular. From a personal experience, it is clear that French TV channels have always been watched more Algerian ones because the former are believed to be more credible – at least they were until recent years. Films are more watched in the French language simply because most American films in which big stars play are dubbed in French. Yet, a kind of contradiction seems to exist between the radio programmes listened to and those preferred. While a majority listens to T radio programmes, they are less numerous to prefer them. This in fact not that contradictory since many informants explain that they listen to T radio programmes because they are more concerned with their daily life and problems, traditions and because it is a way to keep a link with the mother tongue and the mother land especially for those living away from it. The preference to French radio programmes is justified by the variety of the programmes and their assumed credibility.

AA also seems to be popular among T speakers, even those living in T speaking areas because, they say, it is a language they understand quite well and because programmes in this variety are generally devoid of propaganda and demagogy and are therefore more down to earth as to the matters dealt with. This is not the case of radio programmes in SA which are considered as being far from the reality, too complicated to understand, unnatural. This is to say that two informants said that they liked religious films in SA because this language reflects better the values of Islam.

We expected the same responses for advertisements, but the results were different.

	<i>language preferred</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents</i>
Radio and TV advertisements	SA	11 %
	AA	18 %
	T	32 %
	Fr	39 %

between advertisements in T and advertisements in Fr. e of advertisements in T have been given by different informants. For some of them, it is interesting to have advertisements in T because it is their native language and is, therefore, more easily understood. In addition, advertisements in T reflect the social and economic realities of the community which makes them more efficient and more congruent with the population targeted. Some other informants suggest that when in T, advertisements are risk-free of taboo terms or scenes and are respectful of the morale values and traditions. Not the least of reasons is that of the promotion of the language. As T has gained some importance in the media, some respondents see that this function represents a step forward for the Tamazight language as it enriches its registers and vocabulary and consequently the registers and vocabulary of its speakers.

Nonetheless, French advertisements are said to be more open on the world since they do not take into consideration only the French realities but also realities of different societies all over the world. They also advertise the latest products in all fields and they even allow the acceptance of certain products that would be unacceptable in T. The professionalism and the variety of these ads also favour them as they allow, according to some informants, a momentary escape from the hard conditions people live in.

In spite of the fact that many recognise the beauty of SA, they do not seem to have any particular inclination towards it mainly because it is – advertising in SA – incomprehensible and does not fulfil the function it is assigned i.e., that of attracting potential consumers. In addition, as SA is no one's mother tongue, it cannot meet the needs of T speakers in particular as they do not use it in their daily life and is hardly imagined to be able to cope with it. Thus, as one informant wondered “how can a language I don't eat, breath and live in convince me to buy food, perfume or any other thing?”. However, some other informants suggest that they would rather see advertisements about religious matters in SA because of the close relation that exists between the two and also because SA would keep the prestige and the solemnity of the subject; the cases given by these informants are advertisements for the “Omra” and the “Hadj”.

AA, however; seems to be quite accepted, at least more than SA. The fact that it is a mother tongue that is understood and used by all Algerians makes a means of communication that is very efficient. Those T bilinguals interviewed say that AA like T is an Algerian language which can reach the sensibility and the feelings of Algerians. Therefore, it would be more useful and profitable both for the advertisers and the consumers. Examples of

of the informants; these concerned advertisements in which the use of the language of the informants is not mentioned. As a respondent says that using these two languages is an important indicator of people's awareness of the importance of native languages in a country which has always been presented as monolingual and unified by one language. It is actually conceived by some speakers of a valorisation of their native languages. It is even more important for T speakers whose language had for many years not only been stigmatised but presented as a potential factor of division.

Thus, this recognition even if not completely satisfying as some researchers and militants say is not to be neglected. A respondent explained that the fact that T invested publicity settings that were exclusively in Fr and/or SA like TV, the radio, billboards and the like is likely to help the promotion of the language, facilitate communication, bring out the Amazigh dimension of the Algerian people and most importantly reconcile the Algerian people with itself.

So far we have tried to examine the choice and the preference of the different languages according to certain parameters such as interlocutor, setting and topic each on its own. In the next section, I will examine language choice in relation to the combination of these parameters together.

3.3 The Interaction of Factors Relevant to Language Choice

The questionnaires used so far were intended to investigate a one to one relation between the languages, and the interlocutor, the setting and the topic. It is clear from the above examination that particular languages are used when addressing particular interlocutors. The latter can be teachers, doctors, intimate, strangers, etc. These different statuses determine the language to be used. The same principle applies for different settings in the sense that bilingual speakers tend to use T in intimate settings while they use Fr and less frequently SA and or ESA in settings where respect and formality is due. Similarly, Fr is more frequently used when the topic is of academic or scientific interest while T is the variety of unsophisticated daily matters. Thus, as Bentahila (1983:73) suggests there is a “... *general distinction, which could for convenience be represented as that between intimacy and non-intimacy, or formality and informality.*”

What Bentahila claims about Moroccan bilinguals' language choice holds true also for T bilingual speakers. Tamazight seems to be the language favoured in intimate,

⁴⁷ The advertisements in question concern “Djezzy” a mobile phone operator and “Silk” a brand of shampoo.

language is the one used and preferred for formal,

It should be mentioned at this stage that the findings presented above are not necessarily reliable as to the language choice made by the informants interviewed because at times some of the responses were determined by the sense of correction i.e., answers were given according to what the respondents thought is expected from them, which is not the goal of the investigation. At some other times the answers were dictated by the sense of solidarity and belonging to the Tamazight speaking community. In addition, limiting the question to interlocutors, settings or topics was somewhat constraining as mentioned by some of those the questionnaire was given to. This is why, following Bentahila, I gave the same informants another questionnaire to see what their linguistic behaviour was when the three parameters previously mentioned were combined. Actually, the technique used for this sake is the same as the one used by Bentahila in investigating Moroccan Arabic/French bilinguals in Morocco. To have a more exhaustive and reliable view of the choices speakers make as to the languages they use, they were given a combination of the parameters already investigated but with a change of one of the parameters each time. By doing so, the goal is to try to find out which element is the most important or the essential ones in determining the variety chosen from the point of view of the bilinguals. The isolation of the elements will be done by presenting the informants two situations in which two factors remain the same but the third one is different. This will allow comparing “...situations where the various components appear to have conflicting effects, for example where the topic is such as to favour the use of one language while the interlocutor or setting is such as to favour another.” Bentahila (1983:72).

Another aim of this analysis is to try to find out whether there are general patterns that correlate language choice with types of interlocutors, types of settings and types of topics. As shown above, there seems to be a first conclusion to be drawn. It is unsurprising that T is always associated to familiarity, intimacy and solidarity while Fr, and to a lesser extent SA, are associated with distance, respect and power of different kinds. As to the setting, T is the variety used at home, in cafés, in the street i.e., in everyday settings which call for no special formality; on the other hand Fr and SA equate with formal settings like school, the mosque, posh restaurants, etc. The same kind of parallel occurs with different types of topics for T is mostly associated with everyday topics that are mostly spontaneous and necessitate no technicality while Fr is used for scientific, technological and literary topics among others. We can therefore claim without much risk of being mistaken that while T, and AA sometimes, correlate with informality, intimacy and daily matters, Fr and SA are favoured

tion and sophistication. As a matter of fact, there is a which dictates the use of French with a non-intimate interlocutor, in a formal setting and discussing an academic or specialised topic. On the other hand, T is the language of communication when the topic the setting and the interlocutor are intimate. Another aim of the following examination is to check whether this tendency will be confirmed or if there are any other parameters that can counter it or contribute to it.

The investigation here is based on a modified version of Bentahila’s (1983) work in studying Moroccan Arabic bilinguals who himself was inspired by Greenfield and Fishman’s (1971) investigation of Puerto Rican bilinguals language choice. It was thought that it would too complicated to give the questionnaire with all the ratings, the congruent and incongruent situations to the respondents. This was risky in the sense that either the questionnaires would remain unanswered because incomprehensible or given back with biased answers. Thus to facilitate understanding, the informants were given five different situations in which the interlocutor, the setting and the topic were congruent; they were asked to choose the language they would use for each situation. The languages given were T, Fr, AA and ESA. The latter was given in place of SA as this one is very rarely spoken but rather written⁴⁸. The same situations were given afterwards with one of the elements being incongruent: once the interlocutor was incongruent, the second time it was the setting which was incongruent and the third time the topic was so. The set of congruent situations, inspired by Bentahila (1983) is as follows:

	<i>Domain</i>	<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Topic</i>
<i>Informal</i>	Home	Brother/sister	Home	Respect towards the elders
	Friendship	Friend	Café	Football
<i>Formal</i>	Education	Teacher	School/university	History/anthropology
	Medicine	Doctor	Hospital	Medicines (drugs)
	Employer	Employer	Office	Office work

Unlike Bentahila’s calculations which are based on the use of graphs to rank the different languages, I opted for the percentage of answers in relation to the occurrence probability in relation to different situations so as to see in a clearer way which of the variables is likely to

⁴⁸ Actually, in situations where SA is normally expected to be used, it is ESA that Algerians speakers used because it presents much more simplicity and much more intelligibility; this happens even in education and religion.

tions. As mentioned earlier, in congruent situations, T varieties claimed to be used in informal situations, and Fr and ESA, though less regularly with the latter, are the ones chosen in formal situations. This has in fact been checked and confirmed through personal observation of conversations in various situations. Following are the ratings and rankings of the four languages:

<i>Situation</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of answers</i>
Home	T	82,5 %
	AA	9,5 %
	ESA	0 %
	Fr	8 %
Friends	T	80,5 %
	AA	13 %
	ESA	0 %
	Fr	6,5 %
Work	T	7,5 %
	AA	3,5 %
	ESA	10,5 %
	Fr	78,5%
Medicine	T	10 %
	AA	6,5%
	ESA	0 %
	Fr	83,5%
Education	T	13,5 %
	AA	2,5%
	ESA	19,5 %
	Fr	64,5%

There seems to be a clear division of the tasks each variety is called upon in different situations. T and less importantly AA are the varieties the bilinguals choose when they are at home or with friends. In the first case the combination of the home, the brother or sister and the topic which is music contribute in using Tamazight as the language of conversation. Similarly, talking football with a friend in a café is a very informal situation in which the most natural and spontaneous variety at the disposal of a bilingual is the one expected to communicate. Unsurprisingly, French appears to be the variety which is mostly spoken in formal situations such as those of work, medicine and education. However, we may notice the relative importance ESA at work and in education while it is inexistent in medicine. Because many Algerian administration and institutions are being Arabised, there is a small tendency towards the use of Arabic. In addition, education is given mainly in Arabic; this explains the rate ESA gets especially when the addressee is a teacher of a subject which is taught in Arabic. In medicine, on the other hand, ESA is not among the languages chosen since the

and because it is unlikely to be understood by a T would provoke confusion as it would probably result in a

marked code i.e., a change that would have some reason and some aim. A noticeable attitude is the appearance of a somewhat considerable importance T gains in education as a result of its introduction in the educational system in Tamazight speaking areas in the last years.

Let us have a look now at the ranking order of the five situations in relation to the four proposed languages⁴⁹. The ranking follows a decreasing order, that is, the case where a language in which the most used is ranked 1 while the one where it the least used is ranked 5.

a) Ranking for the use Tamazight

- (1) Brother – home – respect towards the elders
- (2) Friend - café – football
- (3) Teacher – school - history
- (4) Doctor – hospital – medicines
- (5) Employer – office – work

(b) Ranking for the use French

- (1) Doctor – hospital – medicines
- (2) Employer – office – work
- (3) Teacher – school - history
- (4) Brother – home – music
- (5) Friend - café – football

(c) Ranking for the use of AA

- (1) Brother – home – music
- (2) Friend - café – football
- (3) Doctor – hospital – medicines
- (4) Employer – office – work
- (5) Teacher – school - history

Many interesting remarks can be made from the above rankings. The first one is that, unsurprisingly, the use of T at home ranks first. This language being the native one, it is logically more apt to express everyday intimate matters. Therefore, the combination of the interlocutor who is a brother or a sister, the setting which is the home and the topic which is

⁴⁹ The ranking of ESA has not been taken into consideration because of the low scores it has apart from the situation in which education was concerned.

only call for Tamazight as a means to converse and

Another striking remark is the absence of French in education matters at the first place. The Arabisation of the educational system and the introduction of Tamazight have reduced of the importance of French. Although history and anthropology are still discussed in French, the Arabic and Tamazight education of the younger generations made such a subject shift from being dealt with in French to Arabic if the interlocutor is a teacher of an Arabic subject or to Tamazight when the interlocutor is a T speaker. This change in the Algerian society as a whole and the T speaking community particularly is not without calling for a number of questions which need to be answered in the future, knowing that French is still considered as the language of science, technology and opening on the world. The other remark is that French ranks first when the matter concerns the medical field. It is true that the population investigated is a bilingual one; however, as a doctor signalled, when the interlocutor i.e., the patient is uneducated, it is most of the time T which is the means of communication even in explaining illnesses and cures related to them. This to say that at work, French is considerably used when the topic concerns office work because in spite of the Arabisation policy, technical and administrative terminologies are still used in French even when Arabic equivalents exist.

The use of AA shows some similarities with that of T although in smaller proportions. One should not forget that like T, AA is an Algerian native language which is spoken by the majority of Algerians. As it presents many similarities with Tamazight mainly at the morpho-syntactic level and even at the lexical one, it is a variety which is used by those bilinguals living in Arabic speaking areas, but not only. The proximity of the capital city and the number of T speakers living there has undoubtedly influenced if not all the Kabyle speakers, at least the younger ones who have much contact with AA either through moving to Algiers, and other towns, or through their contact with Arabic speakers living in big Kabyle cities mainly Tizi-Ouzou and Bejaïa. It is therefore a fact that AA is not used only by T speakers dwelling in Arabic speaking areas but also sometimes by those living in Kabylia as well. One of the young informants actually explained that using AA is in some cases an indicator of being up to date, well travelled. Yet, the same informant asserts that T is still the language he uses most of the time and to which he identifies.

The third important element that should not be occulted is the importance ESA seems to have in education. While it is inexistent in the first four situations, it seems to be greatly used in education as a result of the Arabisation policy. One would have legitimately

conversation in education, but as it is no one's mother speaking is concerned. This is true even during the lessons and lectures where teachers and learners converse in ESA which is a mixture of SA and AA and is consequently simpler to use, rather than SA which presents such a complexity that it becomes nearly impossible to hold a conversation in it for a many time. The same thing can be said about the use of ESA at work. This is the result of the Arabisation of the Algerian administration.

In the light of this, a ranking of the languages in relation the different domains dealt with can be drawn.

- (a) Tamazight
 - (1) Home
 - (2) Friends
 - (3) Education
 - (4) Medicine
 - (5) Work
- (b) French
 - (1) Medicine
 - (2) Work
 - (3) Education
 - (4) Home
 - (5) Friends
- (c) Algerian Arabic
 - (1) Home
 - (2) Friends
 - (3) Medicine
 - (4) Work
 - (5) Education

The ranking as they are presented show an agreement with the situations studied above. It is clear that French is associated to situations that are formal or semi-formal as in the case of education, medicine and work and Tamazight and Algerian Arabic are associated to informal situations as those of the home and friends. However, we should not miss the importance of the appearance of Tamazight in formal situations. Its introduction into the educational system gave it a higher status which in its turn brought it into being used in some formal domains. This, of course, passes through an ineluctable valorisation of the

ation as to the linguistic registers it has to cover as will

As said earlier, the same questionnaire was given to informants but with one incongruent parameter. The first incongruent parameter proposed was that of the interlocutor. Thus, the following table

<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Topic</i>
(1) Doctor	Home	Respect towards the elders
(2) Teacher	Café	Football
(3) Photocopy shop-keeper	School/university	History/anthropology
(4) Cousin	Hospital	Medicines (drugs)
(5) Father	Office	Office work

The informants were asked to say which language they would use if they came across the above situations. The results were as follows:

<i>Situation</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of answers</i>
(1)	T	45,5 %
	AA	11,5%
	ESA	0 %
	Fr	43 %
(2)	T	68 %
	AA	3,5 %
	ESA	0%
	Fr	28,5 %
(3)	T	39,5 %
	AA	4,5%
	ESA	12,5 %
	Fr	42,5%
(4)	T	58,5%
	AA	12%
	ESA	0%
	Fr	29,5%
(5)	T	78 %
	AA	2 %
	ESA	0 %
	Fr	20%

It can clearly be seen from the above percentages that in an incongruent situation, the type of interlocutor is of big importance in the choice of the language T

In the first situation, which is an informal one, the presence of the father in the shop is the main reason for the use of Tamazight. The difference between the percentages this language scores here and in a contiguous situation is such that one can only recognise the prominence of the status of the interlocutor or the addressee. The same reason is at the origin of the reduction of the use of Tamazight which is rather the language of informality. Two informants even affirmed that they would use French in the presence of a doctor whatever the location and the subject. Although T heads the ranking in situation (2), it is very interesting to notice that French is definitely the language of respect towards interlocutors of higher status. As in the case of the doctor, addressing a teacher always requires a certain degree of respect, politeness and formality. Despite the fact that the topic and the setting call mainly for the mother tongue, addressing a teacher dictates the use of a language which enables the speaker to keep a certain distance, wherefrom the rate in which the French language is used. As far as discussing history and anthropology is concerned, it is still French that is the most used language but Tamazight is prone to gain more importance especially for various reasons. As an informant argues, because the speaker does not know if the shop-keeper is educated or not, he does not take the risk of using French for fear of being misunderstood. French in this case can be seen as a means of building an unnecessary distance or as showing one's knowledge and education in a situation where one's status is not expected to be shown unless there is a specific reason. The other argument given by the same informant is that because history and anthropology are now taught also in Tamazight in Tamazight speaking areas, there is a tendency to discuss it in T with a shopkeeper since it allows keeping the informality of the situation and the formality of the subject at the same time, especially if this concerns Berber history and anthropology. When addressing a kin, Tamazight is the expected language to be used. We can notice that neither the setting nor the topic had that big influence in such a case. Tamazight is given as the language of conversation in most cases; however, French also is used in relatively high proportions since Tamazight cannot completely fulfil the needs of the medical register on the one hand and lacks the vocabulary for drugs which is mainly in Latin or French. While in the congruent situation classification French appeared as the language people mostly use, in the incongruent situation suggested to the respondents, the answers show a high inclination towards Tamazight when the interlocutor is the father. This makes it clear that the relation between the two interlocutors takes over the task and the location they are in. Nevertheless, some respondents did not omit to specify that in the presence of other people, they would address their father in French in this situation. The use of French is also justified by the availability of the vocabulary related to work while it is not that easy in

ted being used in domains other than those which are

In the light of the above results and analysis, it can be asserted that the type of interlocutor is of prime importance in choosing the language of conversation. Yet, presented this way, one might think that this is the only social parameter bilingual speakers rely on while it is not the case. In the next set of incongruent situations, we tried to design congruent interlocutors and topics and incongruent settings to how our respondents would react to this.

<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Topic</i>
Brother/sister	(1) Conference room	Respect towards the elders
Friend	(2) Journalist's office	Football
Teacher	(3) Bus stop	History/anthropology
Doctor	(4) Café	Medicines (drugs)
Employer	(5) Popular restaurant	Office work

Notice that the settings designed, here, are normally not ones where the different interlocutors would behave with their statuses nor are the settings ones where such topics are likely to be dealt with. As a matter of fact, some respondents found the situations as being odd. However, not influence their answers I decided not to explain the reasons for such questions until they had answered the questionnaire. The answers gave the following percentages:

<i>Situation</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of answers</i>
(1)	T	29,5 %
	AA	5,5%
	ESA	2,5 %
	Fr	62,5 %
(2)	T	32 %
	AA	9 %
	ESA	10%
	Fr	48,5 %
(3)	T	36,5%
	AA	5 %
	ESA	13 %
	Fr	45,5 %
(4)	T	65,5%
	AA	13 %
	ESA	0%
	Fr	22,5%
(5)	T	34,5%
	AA	3 %
	ESA	5 %
	Fr	58,5 %

There should be a clear cut between formal situations and informal formal settings such as the bus stop, the café and the restaurant while French is the language of formal settings, namely, the conference room and the journalist's office. This being said, some comments and remarks have to be made on the above table.

It is a well known fact that the setting in which a speaker finds himself has some influence the choice of language or level of language. That is, one does not use, or at least is not supposed to, the dialect at school as much as he is not expected to speak in the standard academic language when shopping in market.

Although the interlocutor is a close person, brother or sister, and the topic is an informal one, the place where the interlocutors are dictates the use of a language that fits it. A conference room is supposed to hold discussions of a certain intellectual level which need be dealt with in a language that represents intellectualism and education. French being the most indicated language to fulfil this task for the previously cited reasons; most informants opted for this language in this setting. This is to say that even the relation between the interlocutors has its influence since Tamazight also seems to be considerably used for such a setting although not as much as it is in a congruent situation. As to AA and ESA, their use seems depend much on whether the conference or the debate is held in Arabic. The same remarks apply for the second situation, in that football which is generally discussed in Tamazight with friends appears to be more proper to be spoken about in a journalist's office. This is probably due to the fact that the journalist writes in French and when speakers are in such a place they tend to use the language of writing as a form of respect to the setting they are in. But as football is a popular sport discussed nearly everywhere, a relatively high number of bilingual speakers still use Tamazight. The use of AA and ESA is justified by the habit of listening to football reports in Arabic both on TV and on the radio. This is mainly true for Arabised bilinguals and those bilinguals living in Arabic speaking areas. The bus stop which is a public place where strangers gather is a very interesting setting in that it allows observe different sociolinguistic behaviours and people of different statuses. Of course, it is not a place where people talk about learned subjects. Rather, discussions turn around everyday matters that would keep between interlocutors who consequently converse in Tamazight more than in any other language. However, the situation designed is somewhat special. The interlocutor is not a stranger but at the same time is not intimate; the topic, too, is of educational importance. Thus, French seems to be the language the informants most interlocutors use although the setting is informal. The argument, here, is that using Tamazight

...t towards the teacher. In some other instances we can
... reasons, i.e., respect of the teacher's status, when the
teacher is specialised in a subject that is taught in Arabic. Yet, as already mentioned, the
introduction of T into the educational system gave it a certain degree of formality. This
explains its relatively important use in such a situation. One important thing to be mentioned
is that as a teacher has some kind of moral superiority and power over his pupils/ students, the
latter feels it as an obligation to use the variety that would keep this relation of superiority.

It is well known that the medical register in Tamazight is very poor if it
ever exists. Thus, it is the norm to discuss medicine in French, which is why the percentage
scored by the French language is not to be neglected although the setting (café) is not one that
can be designed for such a topic. Nonetheless, Tamazight ranks first for a reason that can be
easily understood. Although the names of drugs are in the majority in French, the explanation
of their utility and posology can well be done in Tamazight. As the setting is one where
Tamazight is the language of conversation, speakers feel it as more natural to use Tamazight
rather than the other languages they know. The use of AA in this case is the fact of those
living in Arabic areas either in the towns of residence or when they are on holiday in Kabylia.
In the latter case, this can be explained by their acquaintance with AA that they are most used
to use in their everyday life outside the home.

The last situation presents many similarities with the third one. A restaurant
can definitely be a place where people are not necessarily expected to be formal especially
when the restaurant is a popular one. However, the relation of power and superiority of status
seems to have a big influence on language choice. If we consider the above table, we may
notice that even in an informal setting the fact that the informant is addressing his employer
who has a higher status than his, added to the fact that the discussion turns around office,
work is a variable which imposed the use of a variety that expresses respect, notably, the
French language. This comparative study does not mean that the setting has no influence on
the language chosen since as can be noticed the rate of Tamazight in this situation is much
higher than its rate in a congruent situation.

Having seen the importance of the setting, we will now attempt at analysing
the influence different topics can have on language choice in incongruent situations. The same
technique will be used, that is the situations given here comprise congruent interlocutors and
setting but incongruent topics.

	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Topic</i>
	Home	(1) AIDS
Friend	Café	(2) Literature
Teacher	School/university	(3) Personal problems
Doctor	Hospital	(4) Elections
Employer	Office	(5) Spending power

The topics chosen here are all incongruent to the situations proposed. For example, AIDS is not a subject one normally discusses with a brother or a sister because it is still a taboo topic. Moreover, it is certainly not discussed at home except in some exceptional instances. In the same way, discussing literature in a café is not something frequent in the Algerian society. A café is rather a noisy place where people come to meet, play and have talks about intimate informal concerns. Personal problems which are intimate are normally not talked about at school or university and even less with one's teacher who is expected not to be close to the point of being told about personal matters because of the respect due to him and the distance that exists between him and his learners. Another topic which is not expected to be dealt with in hospital is the elections. Elections can be discussed at home, in a café, etc. but certainly not with a doctor in a hospital where all the subjects normally turn around health, illnesses, treatments, drugs and the like. Finally, talking about the spending power, which is a problem that touches the majority of Algerian, with one's employer at the office, does not seem appropriate.

Below are the results obtained from the questionnaires. It must be said at this stage that some of the informants found it difficult to answer the questionnaire because, as some of them say, the situations are abnormal and that they (the informants) were unlikely to find themselves in such situations. This, en passant, shows, if need is, that all communities are aware of the sociolinguistic norms and patterns that govern their speech communities. The fact that speakers know when, with whom and where to use a variety or another proves that speech communities are structured in such a way that communication is not done randomly but that rules, practices and a certain hierarchisation of situations, settings, topics and languages are to be respected.

	<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of answers</i>
	T	53,5 %
	AA	4 %
	ESA	0 %
	Fr	42,5 %
(2)	T	12 %
	AA	2 %
	ESA	13.5 %
	Fr	72,5 %
(3)	T	28,5%
	AA	3.5 %
	ESA	16 %
	Fr	52 %
(4)	T	58,5%
	AA	8 %
	ESA	0%
	Fr	33,5%
(5)	T	71 %
	AA	8.5 %
	ESA	0 %
	Fr	20,5 %

The impact topics may have on language choice can be differently appreciated by different speakers. The importance of the types of topic is undeniable even in incongruent situations. As it is known, when the vocabulary related to some kinds of topics lacks in a language, speakers rely on another language which can fulfil this need. AIDS is a case in point. Although it is a subject that everybody knows about, the fact that it is taboo prevented it from developing any lexis in Tamazight. In addition, the medical vocabulary stock in Tamazight is still poor. Consequently, when dealing with such a subject, mainly in technical terms, the only alternative is to use the French language. Yet, when one looks at the percentages given in situation (1) he might be surprised by the big percentage, bigger than that of French, Tamazight displays. Actually, this can be explained the fact the disease in itself causes so atrocious damages to people that it has become somewhat part of the gossip since people everywhere talk of it according to the angle from which they deal with it. Thus, even if taboo, the subject has become relatively popular especially between speakers of the same age. Another factor is that this topic is heard about on TV, newspapers and in mosques. Therefore, discussing the causes and the consequences of AIDS in a non technical way is done in Tamazight with medical terms in French. Nevertheless, in this specific situation, the topic alone does not explain the behaviour of bilingual speakers. Most male informants say that they would not discuss such a topic with their sisters just as many female ones say that

eir brothers because of the “loss of respect” it may

With situation (2), the incongruence seems to be better accepted by the informants. As French is considered as the language of science, learning and knowledge, most of the informants answered that they would use French to talk about literature. Again, because of the availability of the terminology that Tamazight lacks – or at least that is not widespread among the speakers- French is the first language the latter would use regardless of the interlocutor and the setting. Fr also seems to be a means to show one’s education and culture. Those bilingual speakers educated in Tamazight, that is those who studied Tamazight at school and university, claim that they would discuss the subject in this language particularly if it concerns Tamazight literature. This does not mean that they deny the importance of French, but as they explain, since the terms in Tamazight exist, however new, they use them. It is interesting to note that some of them suggested that they would do so if they knew that their interlocutors this terminology; otherwise, they would use French. The other interesting point is the rate ESA has. The use of the latter is claimed to be favoured when discussing Arabic literature. Because Arabic literature is studied in Arabic in Algeria, speakers are more familiar with Arabic terms. In addition, some characteristics of the Arabic literature can only be explained and expressed in Arabic wherefrom the use of the latter in such a case.

French is indisputably the language of formality par excellence. Although the topic in situation (3) is one which calls for intimate feelings and reactions and which normally would rely on the mother tongue of the speaker, the fact that a speaker talks to their teacher entails the use of a variety that would keep a certain respect and distance. Using Tamazight with a teacher would be seen as too much of an acquaintance while talking about intimate in French is more likely to keep respective statuses both during the discussion and afterwards. The same thing holds true for the use of ESA. On the other hand, some respondents claim that they would use Tamazight because it is the language that best expresses their inner emotions and because they consider that if a teacher accepts to discuss such a subject that means that he is ready for a certain degree of intimacy or even friendship.

Politics and elections in Algeria are subjects that have for a many time been very popular even among illiterate people. Because of the post-independence history of Kabylia and all the events that the region has witnessed, Kabyles have become quite politicised. Moreover, like in the other regions of the country, since the so-called political opening of 1988, people are more interested in the political life of the country. Situation (3) shows that electoral terms which are borrowed either from Arabic or from French are now so

at this topic is discussed in Tamazight even when the
tain the higher percentage Tamazight has compared to

French.

The topic given in situation (5) is in a way of the same trend as the one before. Because of the economic situation of the country, most categories of the Algerian society suffer from the low spending power. Therefore, the topic is discussed nearly by everybody whatever his social or intellectual status. As popular discussions are held in the mother tongue, most of the informants would opt for Tamazight to talk about this issue. However, some of the latter specified that they would use French in two situations. The first one is when the discussion is held in a professional framework which means that the situation would become formal. The second one occurs when the objective of the speaker is to attract the attention of the employer about his own spending power in attempt to get a pay-rise or anything of the sort. In this case again, the situation becomes formal and needs a formal language i.e., French which seems to be the most indicated.

It would be interesting to see how these percentages presented above can be interpreted in terms of the speakers' priority as to the language they would use in relation to interlocutor, setting and topic. The calculation of the overall percentage will be done by the addition of the percentages each language gets in each incongruent situation. The sum will be divided by five which represents the five propositions given each time. This will give us an idea about the importance of each of the languages Tamazight bilingual speakers have at their disposal. The results obtained seem to conform to the formal / informal division in the sense that Tamazight and French are the languages that are most favoured. The recurrence of Tamazight in informal situations is due to the fact that it is the mother tongue of all the speakers interviewed. Subsequently, it represents the language in which natural, spontaneous and everyday matters are discussed even when the setting or the interlocutor require a more formal variety. Yet, Tamazight today seems to come little by little out of its confinement in informality. Using this language in topics like literature, at university and with a teacher or a doctor is an indicator of the evolution the language is undergoing through its use in registers and situations that are formal. What we can notice in the table below is that even if formality is not an attribute of the sole French language, it is in the latter that most formal situations are dealt with in the Tamazight bilingual community. This may explain the low use of Arabic - in its two varieties – since the speakers are either speakers from Arabic speaking areas, which do not provide a big number in my informants, or speakers which are Arabised. It is interesting to notice that the percentages in each situation although showing some differences remain

s means that sociolinguistic norms and communication situations which are thought of as unnatural.

<i>Incongruent element</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of choice</i>
Interlocutor	T	57,8 %
	AA	7,1 %
	ESA	2,5 %
	F	40,7 %
Setting	T	39,6 %
	AA	7,1 %
	ESA	6,1 %
	F	47,5 %
Topic	T	44,7 %
	AA	5,2 %
	ESA	3,4 %
	F	46,4 %

To have a more general view on language choice by Tamazight bilingual speakers, the percentages of the incongruent situations will be calculated together with those of the congruent ones. This will give a more real-like idea of the rates in which each variety is called upon. The same calculation used with the incongruent situations will be used for the congruent ones. The result will be added to the three of the incongruent ones, and then divided by four to have the final percentage.

1. Fr 45, 75 %
2. T 37, 1 %
3. AA 6, 6 %
4. ESA 3, 8 %

At first sight, the results might seem quite surprising since it is not the mother tongue that ranks first. It generally expected that bilingual speakers in any speech community use their mother tongue more often than the other languages they know. Mother tongues are said to carry the inner feelings, emotions, ideas and thoughts of the speakers. However, the extent to which mother tongues can fulfil certain tasks is debatable. In the case that interests us, French ranks first in spite of the fact that Tamazight speakers – especially Kabyle ones – in general are very careful about their choice of language and its use. This may be explained by the fact that Tamazight as a language is still in the making. Because it lacks the technical vocabulary used in different registers such as medicine, administration and so on, speakers rely on other languages, French in the first place, to fill in this gap. Another reason is that, the form of Tamazight which is in the process of standardisation is not widespread among speakers who

Chapter V). Thus, even the registers in which the vocabulary are mastered only by those initiated to the so-

called H form of the language. A third cause is that most of the bilinguals interviewed are educated either in French or in Arabic. But, most of them would use French when the situation deals with scientific or formal matters because as said earlier French in Algeria is considered as the language of science and knowledge.

3.4 Conclusion

Having taken Fishman's compartmentalisation of language use as a basis for this chapter, I have tried to examine the sociolinguistic behaviour of Tamazight bilingual speakers as to what language they use in different situations. Fishman suggests that in bilingual speech communities the use of different languages is clearly determined by social norms and that each language or variety is assigned to an "interlocutor / setting / topic" combination. It did appear that the one to one relation between the language and the "interlocutor / setting / topic" combination does not all the time hold true for the community under study since fluctuations and appear every now and then.

Like any other bilingual community, the Tamazight one makes use of different languages and varieties to fulfil different communicative purposes and functions. The particularity of this community compared to the Algerian speech community as a whole is that it has four, not to say six, varieties at its disposal. In addition to everyday Tamazight, there is a High form of the language which is learned through formal, sometimes through informal⁵¹, education, Algerian Arabic which the language of the majority of Algerians, Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic and French. These various languages allow speakers to use each of them whenever needed.

An important point that has been noticed through the investigation is that the degree of mastery of the different languages varies from one generation to another. The fact is that individuals of the older generation have a better mastery of French than those of the younger generation. On the other hand, younger generation individuals show a better use of Arabic than older generation ones. As the educational system was mainly based on the French language during the colonisation and the early years after independence, most Algerians who went to schools and universities have been deeply influenced by this language.

⁵⁰ Actually, there exist two forms of Tamazight: a High one which is taught at schools and universities and a Low one which is used in intimate circles. The two forms present a considerable communicative gap.

⁵¹ Many cultural associations teach the Tamazight language throughout the country and even abroad.

ence, education, the administration, the media were in French. As a result, the intellectuals were educated in French. As a result, the only foreign language Algerians in general and Tamazight speakers in particular know is French. This is why this category of speakers relied much on this language when Tamazight could not be of any use in certain situations. The process of Arabisation which was started in the mid seventies produced a different kind of bilinguals who were educated in Arabic. Arabisation which was meant among other things for getting rid of the “language of the coloniser” was accompanied by a gradual reduction of the importance and use of French in the educational system. This gave birth to a young generation of speakers who does not have a good mastery of French but who introduced more SA vocabulary in their speech. Even if Arabic is used in smaller proportions than French, most of the speakers using Arabic are those of the younger generation who have a better mastery in Arabic than in French.

The formal / informal distinction is made clear in the languages used in each situation. It seems that Tamazight and French are assigned different functions in the diglossic sense. In all informal situations the use of Tamazight displays the biggest percentage because as a mother tongue, it is the language in which everyday matters are communicated and discussed. On the other side, French is the first choice for formal situation. As the language of science, knowledge and modernity, it is more likely to show respect, education and formality. However, formality is not the exclusivity of French. Two other languages seem to have formal in the bilingual speakers’ choice. The first language that one may logically expect is Standard Arabic and / or Educated Spoken Arabic. The history of the language, its close link with the Islamic religion and tradition, and its diffusion through education, the mass-media and the governmental laws conferred it a prestigious status that made it a means to display formality and to be called upon in formal situations. The other language which to gain formality is the so-called semi-standard Tamazight. The efforts made by researchers on the standardisation of the language resulted in its adaptation to different registers such as computing, medicine, literature, etc. The introduction of Tamazight into the educational system also provided the language with some terminology related to different formal registers. This allows some speakers who master this variety to discuss topics like medicine in Tamazight and to use this language in conferences among teachers and researchers. Nonetheless, as already pointed out, this variety is mastered, not to say understood, only by those speakers who learnt it through education.

In addition, the formal role assigned to the French language is apparently well rooted in the linguistic habits of bilingual Tamazight speakers. The investigation of the

ity and the prestige French has among the speakers. It language choices would occur in incongruent situations that the latter was designed. The fact is that, generally, French did not lose of its importance in spite of the efforts made to Arabise the Algerian society. Apart from some exceptional cases, French is the language which is mostly used for conversation whenever one parameter carries some degree of formality. This is confirmed by the above cases where for example although the topic is informal and is normally discussed in Tamazight, French takes over because either the setting is formal or the interlocutor displays a formal status. The confusion that may rise from such an incongruent situation is come over by some degree of code-switching and shifting from one language to another. This is to say that other situations where the speakers do not master one language or the other may get confused in situations where one of the elements constituting the sociolinguistic situation of the exchange is misunderstood.

Surprisingly, while one expects Tamazight to appear as the language that the informants choose most of the time, it is French that holds the first place. Of course, the choice of situations proposed to the informants influenced the results. The presentation of two informal situations compared to three formal ones probably weighed on the fact that French is found in higher proportions than Tamazight. Yet, this was done on purpose to check the veracity of the speakers' choice. By giving the same number of formal and informal situation, I would have taken the risk of getting biased answers as it is likely that most respondent would have ranked Tamazight first for the sake of identification and solidarity towards their language. One should bear in mind that the population interviewed is constituted mostly of educated people. The latter show a high percentage as to the use of the French language for different reasons some of which have been dealt with in the previous chapter. Among these reasons are the will to show one's education or distance towards the interlocutor. In addition, the frequent use of French can be explained by the lacunas the Tamazight lexical bulk presents in certain fields and which are filled in by French.

The use of Arabic which does not seem to have the same importance as that of French and Tamazight is nonetheless important. Arabic with its varieties invests both the formal and the informal fields. It has been observed that Arabic is used mainly by two categories of bilinguals: those of the younger generation living in Arabic speaking areas and those who were educated under the Arabised educational system on the one hand, and those of the older generations who were educated in Arabic through religious schools on the other hand. For the case of this language, the situation in the Tamazight speaking community is not

a. The division of functions between Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic in formal ones is the result of the status and the prestige each variety has in the society. The emergence of ESA has somewhat enhanced the use of Arabic especially in formal situations.

To the question as to which of the interlocutor, the setting or the topic is the most determining factor in language choice, the answer is quite hard to set as the percentages seem to be very close. The fact that the interlocutor ranks first before the setting and the topic does not mean that this classification is set. As a matter of fact, the importance of each changes with the change in situation and can therefore vary considerably.

The investigation of language choice has probably shown some aspects of the bilingual speakers' attitude towards their languages. To understand better the choices made by different speakers an investigation of the attitudes will be attempted at in the next chapter.

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter hints have been given on Tamazight bilinguals' attitudes towards the different languages they use. The preferences expressed by the informants to achieve certain tasks and their choices of one language rather than the other the other in different situations can constitute indicators as to how they see consider each variety on its own. However, such an approach would not be scientifically reliable. Although language choice and language attitudes are closely linked, the fact is that speakers sometimes use some varieties under the pressure of the circumstances in which they find themselves. It is to have a clearer and more real view of the attitudes towards French, Arabic, Tamazight and code-switching that this chapter has been designed. I must mention here that we must be aware that, as exhaustive as the investigation might be, the results can not be fully reliable in the sense that Algerians since independence have been drained into an all Arabo-Islamic tendency by the policy makers. The result is that most Algerians, rather than identifying themselves with their "Algerianness", identify themselves with their "Arabness". It is not within the scope of this research to do a survey of the history of post-independent Algeria, but the Arabisation process ignored all the mother tongues of Algerians. Thus Algerian Arabic and Tamazight have always been presented as "dialects" without much interest or benefit for the country and its unity. This was not without having devastating consequences on people's view towards their own mother tongues and the other languages used in the country i.e., Standard Arabic and French. Tamazight speakers, especially in Kabylia, reacted sporadically to this situation; the reactions were sometimes even violent. For many years, there was a refusal and a rejection of everything that represented Arabic as it was considered as the instrument of the negation of their own language and culture. Therefore, with all the efforts made to be as realistic as possible, I must confess that one should wait for coming years when hopefully more serenity will surround the linguistic situation of Algeria to be able to give a fully reliable account of language attitudes among Algerian bilinguals in Algeria in general and in the Tamazight speaking community in particular.

Attitudes towards languages can be determined by different variables, which although seemingly unrelated, form a bulk where in which the central element is/are

ity. Some of these variables are identity, ethnicity, conflict, opposition, etc. The present chapter investigates these attitudes to help understand the way Tamazight is developing and the trends that may influence it. In a perspective of language management, people's attitudes are of paramount importance. It is true that the work on language management is done by specialists i.e., linguists, sociolinguists, anthropologist and so on, but as big as the work can be, it would be of no use if the population meant to use it does not accept as such (a detailed discussion of this matter will be dealt with in Chapter Five). Therefore, it is essential to consider the speakers' attitudes in any attempt at standardising and managing any language.

For Tamazight speakers, the situation is that they are in contact with languages which have different statuses. Tamazight is the language of identification; standard Arabic and French are the languages of work and social promotion. Fishman (1971:1) says that:

“Language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent manifest. Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as of the societal goals and the large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community.” (Quoted in Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982:2))

The questionnaire used in this part is based on that Bentahila (1983) uses in investigating Moroccan bilinguals' attitudes towards bilingualism. However, for the sake of the Tamazight situation, the questionnaire in question has been modified to respond to one of the goals of this research, namely try to find out the language or the variety that would best be representative for standardisation. The presentation of the languages here has been different from that suggested in the previous Chapter. Four languages have been taken in consideration: High Tamazight, Low Tamazight, French, Algerian Arabic and standard Arabic. Tamazight has been divided into two levels because beside everyday Tamazight, a semi-standard is developing through education, literature and the mass-media. The communicative gap between the two levels is such that the comprehension, let alone the use, of the H variety is not within the reach of Tamazight speakers who did not learn it at school. Therefore, I thought it would be quite interesting to examine people's reactions and attitudes towards it. Thus, H Tamazight has been called Semi-Standard Tamazight (SST) and the L variety Kabyle (K)

are extensively in Algeria has always been considered the world, science and technology. Yet, another point of view sees French as “the language of the coloniser” which should be avoided at all costs. Actually, until recent years, French was referred to as THE foreign language in the official documents and declarations. Our interest holds on seeing whether the same attitude, view and considerations towards this language hold true in the Tamazight speaking community of Kabylia. Last but not least, Arabic is presented in its two varieties: Algerian Arabic and Standard Arabic. These two varieties, although seemingly⁵² deriving from the same source, do not seem to have the same consideration and the impact on speakers. While Standard Arabic is the official language of the country, taught through official education, it is no one’s mother tongue and lacks vitality. On the other hand, Algerian Arabic which is not taught anywhere is the mother tongue of the majority of Algerians and denotes an impressive vitality. Thus, we can guess that people’s attitudes towards the two, even when they are not native speakers of Arabic, is quite different. Nevertheless, AA has not been taken into consideration in this part of the work as it does not seem to be of great impact in a language management perspective since it is itself a non-standard variety. Yet, as will be seen through this Chapter, reference is made to it every now and then by the respondents.

I shall signal here that the informants involved in this chapter are all bilingual, mastering at least two languages. Yet, compared to the two previous Chapters, their number was reduced to 58 because of their availability to answer the questionnaires and their capacity to understand at least two of the languages under investigation.

4.2 The Bilingual’s Attitudes towards his Languages

The study of bilinguals’ towards the languages they have at their disposal has been a subject that has always interested sociolinguists. Linguistic attitudes are always the expression subtle social, political and ideological conflicts. It is true that such attitudes are hardly justifiable but, the fact is that they are important in that they can constitute a point of departure for any reliable language policy or language management. To understand these attitudes two methods have been designed: direct techniques and indirect techniques. Direct techniques consist of asking interlocutors direct questions about a given language such as “what language do you like best?”, “in what language do you prefer to listen to music?” This kind of questionnaires gives straight-forward answers. Indirect techniques, on the other hand,

⁵² Among others, Elimam (2003) claims that rather than deriving from Standard Arabic, the Maghribi in general derives mainly from Phoenician.

uage attitudes as the matched-guise technique. This
exts read by the same speaker in two or more different
languages and asking them to evaluate among other things the reader's competence,
intelligence, sociability, integrity, etc. Indirect techniques are supposed to bring out hidden
attitudes that an interlocutor might not reveal during a classic questionnaire.

Investigations dealing with speakers' attitudes towards their languages in
Algeria are quite poor in number. Some of works presented by Bouamrane (1986), Taleb-
Ibrahimi (1995) have not been followed by other serious researches on the subject. Most of
the literature written on the subject concerns Algerian Arabic, Standard Arabic and French.
To my present knowledge no work has been undertaken on Amazighs attitudes towards their
mother tongue in relation to the other languages existing in Algeria. For some considerations
other than purely linguistic and sociolinguistic ones, the topic has never been dealt with
concerning Tamazight speakers. The social tensions that have risen by the official view of
mother tongues in Algeria, Tamazight in particular have probably prevented such a direction
of research.

In investigating bilinguals' attitudes towards their languages in Morocco,
Bentahila (1983) asks a number of questions most of which I have asked my interlocutors. As
already mentioned, the questions have been slightly modified to adapt the sociolinguistic
reality of Tamazight in Kabylia. Unlike Bentahila, the answers have been put under different
headings.

4.2.1 Factors Determining Language Attitudes

Several researches have identified the different factors that can influence
language attitudes. Some of these are attributes of language varieties are closely linked to how
a speak community view the different varieties it uses. Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian
(1982) recognise what they consider as the main two sociolinguistic determinants of language
attitudes, namely the standardisation and the vitality of a variety. They write that "*From
among the possibilities, the two critical sociocultural determinants appear to be
standardization and vitality*" (1982:3). Within these two attributes Bouchard Ryan, Giles and
Sebastian actually introduce Stewart's (1968) attributes of functional typology of languages:
standardisation, autonomy, historicity and vitality.

connections made between different varieties is the extent to which one of them is standardised. A standardised variety is meant to set the limits of “correctness” in a language by means of dictionaries, grammar books, etc. Once the norm is accepted within a speech community, it acquires a certain prestige which makes it perceived as “more correct” than the other competing varieties. This seems to be true both for varieties of the same language as in the cases of Standard Arabic/ dialectal Arabic or RP English/ regional dialects and for different languages as in the cases of French/Occitan and standard Arabic or French /Tamazight. Those standardised varieties are associated with formal situations and are, therefore, highly rated for contexts of knowledge, education, respect and formality. As Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982:3) write:

“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.”

If we apply the above assertion to the Algerian context, we may notice that with the independence of the country, the power elite, made mainly of politicians who were of an Arabo-Islamic tendency, decided that Standard Arabic is the form of the language to be used in the institutions at the official level. Besides French, it has been associated to formality, prestige and education. On the contrary, Algerian Arabic and Tamazight have been associated with informality, intimacy and vulgarity as they are not standardised and are hardly written⁵³. It is then, all the set values associated with the two kinds of varieties, i.e., standard and non-standard, which is spread in the society through education, the mass media and the official discourse. The values in question do influence people’s attitudes through time in that the concerned interlocutors come to stigmatise their mother tongues and idealise the standardised forms of the language.

⁵³ The case of Tamazight is lightly different from that of AA since it is now extensively written by Tamazight speakers.

s said to be autonomous when the speakers of this variety consider it as different from others. In this sense, the question is not to see whether Tamazight speakers consider their language as different from the other Algerian languages, but rather whether Kabyle speakers consider the Kabyle variety as autonomous in relation to the other T varieties. As Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982:4) put it:

“Where two language varieties are very similar to each another, efforts can occur by one or both speech communities to increase their independence.”

Catalan in Spain is a case in point. The speech community developed a writing system and standardised their variety to mark their difference from Castilian. It seems that for Tamazight in Algeria, the same process is taking place. In addition to the speech community’s will to promote its language, there is a strong will to mark the autonomy of this variety in relation to Arabic and French⁵⁴. Another contrasting aspect in language attitude is that while people tend to favour standard varieties for the prestige and the formality they entail, they can, at the same time, favour the variety that brings about their autonomy in an attempt to mark their ethnic belonging. The kind of attitudes related to autonomy can create two different situations in a context of language management. The first one is that two or more varieties are “autonomised” by their speakers. The two varieties develop separately and are standardised each on its own. This gives birth to two different languages with, sometimes, borders that are political as in the case of today’s languages which derive from Latin (French, Spanish, Italian, etc.). Each community logically identifies with its language and probably has more positive attitudes towards it. The other possible sociolinguistic situation is that in which one variety takes over the other existing ones and is chosen as the one to be standardised. The situation is such that speakers of the other varieties identifies with the standardised form to the point of not considering their variety as autonomous. A vivid example is that of Arabic. Most speakers in the Arabic speaking countries do not consider their mother tongues as autonomous since they derive from SA. In fact, they stigmatise their everyday languages, wherefrom negative attitudes in some situations.

As a matter of fact, Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982:4) further add:

⁵⁴ Actually, there seems to be a will to separate, sociolinguistically speaking, the Kabyle variety from the other Tamazight varieties. This will is clearly stated in some writings by Chaker, Naït-Zerrad and others.

ge serves a unifying function for the
hich share it at the same time that it
serves a separatist function by creating a boundary
between these speech communities and their neighbours.
The relationship between full standardization and
autonomy is bidirectional in that separate standardization
leads to enhanced autonomy, while standardisation is not
probable unless a variety can be viewed as capable of
standing alone.”

Another attribute which Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian is closely
linked to standardisation is historicity.

4.2.1.3 Historicity

In many speech communities reference is made to the history of the
language. By history is meant the literary tradition(s) carried by a language. Thus, Arabic
speakers generally refer to CA which is the language of The Quran, the pre-Islamic and post-
Islamic literature although it is no one's native language. French and Spanish for example can
refer to Latin as their historical ancestor. This factor of historicity is found even in speech
communities where the ancestor language disappeared because it has never been written as is
the case with the Tamazight speech community. The only case in which Tamazight, or Lybic
its ancestor, was written in old times was on tombstones. Yet, even if the language remained
mainly oral for centuries, Tamazight speakers refer to the age of the language and its use in
North Africa many before the coming of the Romans. Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastian
(1982:4) say in this sense that:

*“For some variants, the claim of development
from respectable ancestors is easily supported by written
records. Historicity, however, can also be promulgated
through new emphasis upon evolution from some ancient
language.”*

Historicity is also linked to standardisation in that it can give some legitimacy to the variety
which is seen as the mother of the other varieties. The difference that may exist between
autonomy and historicity is that while the former is a question of feeling and differentiation
from the surrounding communities, the latter is rather a question of temporal and traditional
legitimacy.

which is not the least in shaping people's attitudes of the varieties in question.

4.2.1.4 Vitality

Vitality is a characteristic of languages that have native speakers in one or many speech communities. Language vitality is closely dependent on the number of functions it fulfils and the number of individuals who use a given language. A variety is said to be more vital than another if it serves more functions and if it has more native speakers. These functions can vary from the most intimate ones to the most formal ones. Thus, a variety that has a great vitality in a speech community is more likely to constitute a unifying element especially if it receives institutional support. This, undoubtedly, has an impact on language attitudes. Because a language is considered as unifying and symbolising the essence of a speech community, the individuals probably perceive it positively. On the hand, a minor, or "downgraded", language is seen in a stigmatised way. The question of number of speakers is also important in this case. The bigger the number of speakers of a variety is the more the latter takes over the other varieties. It must be made clear that the demographic importance of a language is more the result of its spread through different channels such as education, technology, economics, religion and the like than it is the result of a belonging to a geographical area.

The question of language vitality is of importance for this research because of the considerations that surround languages in Algeria. Standard Arabic is the language of the country, as stipulated in the Constitution. No reference was made to any of the mother tongues of Algerians until recent years when Tamazight was recognised as a national language⁵⁵. The case of the Arab World in general and Algeria in particular is somewhat problematic as far as vitality is concerned. The only official language of Algeria, Standard Arabic, lacks vitality as it is no one's mother tongue. For many years, it has been said to be the unifier of the Algerian people; in fact, most Algerians identify with it and consider it as symbolic of their nation, which part of the "Arab Nation", beside Islam. The functions this variety serves, although formal, are less numerous than the ones the mother tongues i.e., Tamazight and Algerian Arabic do. In spite of the efforts and institutional support it receives, it did not acquire any community of native speakers. The case of Tamazight is slightly different in that it is a vital language, even if in lesser importance than AA. However, among

⁵⁵ The 2002 Constitutional amendment.

seems to emerge as the most vital one, not because it
it rather because it fulfils more functions both at the
intimate level and the formal one. Here again there seems to be an acute diglossic problem for
“the semi-standard” variety also is no one’s native tongue and is assigned specific functions
that everyday Tamazight does not have. Our guess is that the vitality everyday Kabyle has and
the deep emotional, communicative and cultural impact it conveys does have its weight in
shaping people’s attitudes towards it compared to SST.

Some investigations emphasised the psychological aspects of language
attitudes and the benefits an individual gets from the latter.

4.2.1.5 Psychological variables

Attitudes in general are believed to influence behaviour. In any social
interaction a person’s comportment is the consequence of attitudes towards the situation he
finds himself in. Thus, he adapts his behaviour so as to make the situation beneficial for him.
Cacioppo and Petty (1982:189) write:

*“...various aspects of a person’s personality
may be reflected in the attitudes the person holds and in the
means found to be most effective in changing these
attitudes.”*

Starting from this they quote Katz (1960) who proposes that attitudes can serve an individual’s
personality through four functions.

- (1) The utilitarian or instrumental function is the function by which an individual tries to
gain acceptance and rewards and avoid rejection. That is through certain attitudes; an
individual tries to adopt the majority’s point of view in an attempt of being integrated
to it. This is true in many minority groups which show positive attitudes towards the
language of the majority group so that they are not pointed at. Such attitudes help
minority group individuals obtain social credit and advancement. This function can be
equated with the speech/language accommodation process.
- (2) The ego-defensive function is closely related to the previous one in that it is concerned
mainly with minority group individuals. The latter show negative attitudes towards the
minority group language to satisfy people who are important for him. Such attitudes are
also a means to get rid of any kind of distinctiveness. This looks much as a
consequence of what sociolinguistic literature labels self-hatred which is characteristic
of many minority groups and communities whose languages are stigmatised.

is contrary to the ego-defensive one. While the latter is the latter is used as a means to show it by resisting the majority's accent language, style or variety. Attitudes in this case denote one's pride of belonging to a minority group⁵⁶. It may, in some cases, result in a rejection of the majority's language as a result of linguistic denial. Cacioppo and Petty (1982:190) say in this sense:

“... minority members who value personal freedom may be somewhat resistant to the majority influence to assimilate a particular style of speech [or language] because their attitudes toward their unique ethnic accent [or language] is serving as a means of expressing their independence.

- (4) The knowledge function serves people understand and interpret to their own benefit the people, events and environment around them. Cacioppo and Petty (1982) explain that if a minority members do not like the leader, governor or president of a region because it helps them understand how this leader is indifferent to their problems, hopes and aspirations and traditions, this attitude is said to serve the knowledge function. One must say that this last function is not made very clear by the authors themselves.

4.3 Tamazight Bilinguals' Attitudes towards their Languages

This chapter makes use of the direct method of investigation i.e., present questionnaires which the respondents had to complete. Unlike in the previous Chapter, the languages proposed are as follows: Kabyle (K), semi-standard Tamazight (SST), French (F) and Standard Arabic (SA) and code-switching (CS). Following Bentahila (1983), different questions were asked in relation to the five above presented varieties and the respondents were requested to explain their answers and choices whenever possible. Besides this, some epithets that the informants were asked to qualify the different varieties with were suggested. The questions and epithets used in the questionnaire have been designed as a result of the reactions concluded from the previous chapter in which a first sight of the speakers' attitudes could be observed.

⁵⁶ A vivid example is that of Idir, a famous Kabyle singer, who still rolls /r/ when he speaking in French to show his difference with the French although he has been living in France for many years.

most beautiful / richest?

	K	SST	SA	F
Most beautiful	10.5%	20.5%	22.5%	46.5%
Richest	7.5%	17.5%	35%	40%

The first noticeable remark is that the two Tamazight varieties do not seem to rate high as far the beauty and richness are concerned. The fact that they come after F and SA in ranking is due to different factors. Day (1982:118) explains that various studies show that “...from an early age both majority and minority children gradually acquire the attitudes of the majority speech”. Because a minority group is influenced in many ways by the majority one, it tends through time to adopt the behaviour, customs, speech and attitudes of the latter. In our case, as Tamazight speakers in Algeria and Kabyles in particular, constitute a relatively small number of the population, there seems to be a tendency towards adopting the majority group attitudes as to the beauty and richness of the languages. Yet, there are two somehow contradictory elements which are worth being cited. The first one is that SA scores a high percentage as a result of the language policy of the country since independence. The use of this language in official domains gave it a prestige that even Tamazight speakers in Kabylia, who are known as not being fervent supporters of SA, consider it as beautiful and rich. Of course, this is not the only reason Arabic is considered as rich and beautiful. The literary heritage and the relation it has with The Quran are not the least influencing parameters in the way people consider the language. The second element is that in spite of all the efforts made by the policy makers to get rid of “the language of the coloniser”, French is still considered as a prestigious language in Algeria. In the above table it is even looked at as the most beautiful and richest language. This is due to the fact that many Kabyles have been mainly educated in French and even the youngest generation is deeply influenced by the French satellite TV channels and media. As to the two forms of Tamazight, one of the respondents explained his choice by saying he was being realistic since the two forms of Tamazight do not have a written tradition and therefore do not carry the beauty and richness SA and F have. However, he does not deny that the oral tradition of Tamazight is not devoid of beauty and richness as it deals with different everyday concerns and carries a great deal of poetic and proverbial traditions. The percentage SST scores is mainly due to the fact that it is written and taught. These two characteristics made it a language which deals with various scientific, literary and philosophical subjects and is, therefore, seen as being richer and more beautiful than K. this denotes in a certain way the

language attitudes to take Katz's terms (1960). The will e community is gradual in the sense that the bigger the community which uses the language the more beauty and richness they grant this language. We can see from the above table that K ranks last since it allows acceptance in the speech community of Kabylia, then SST follows as a token of integration within the Tamazight community as a whole and particularly within the educated Tamazight community. The rate SA obtains reveals a tendency to integrate the Muslim community and the Algerian one which seems to be favourable to this variety of Arabic at least at the symbolic level. French is considered in Algeria in general as the language of modernity, knowledge and opening on the world. It is the language by means of which many Algerians, not to say most, show their education and their social status. In addition, French has been considered by Kabyle speakers as the counterweight to the hegemony of the Arabic language since until recent years Tamazight had neither the status nor the characteristics which would have allowed it be put at the same level as SA.

In addition to the question asked above, the adjectives "beautiful and rich" were given to the informants who were asked to tick the characteristic they thought each language had. This gave the following results.

1. b.

	K	SST	SA	F
Beautiful	13.5%	17.5%	25.5%	43.5%
Rich	12 %	22 %	30.5%	35.5%

This seems to confirm the results presented in the first table. It is interesting to note that when the attribute of beauty is taken as such, K rates higher while SST rates lower. This is due to the fact that speakers are more used to everyday Kabyle and are very proficient in it especially that most proverbs, sayings and mainly songs are said in this variety. On the other hand, SST is rather new to the community and is, at least up to now, the privilege of those who are educated in it. Thus, although in some other circumstances informants would consider SST as being prestigious, they do not see it as a beautiful language because of all the neologisms which are not known to the laymen. Yet, SST ranks better than K as a result of the diglossic relation between the two varieties. In the same order of ideas SA an F display more or less similar percentages as in the first table both for beauty and richness. The reasons for such ratings have

bic is said to have an old literary heritage while French and science. Next is the practicality aspect which is

questioned.

4.3.2 Practicality

2.a. What language do you think Kabyle speakers should use above all?

K	SST	SA	F
31,5%	42.5%	7%	19%

Many reasons can be found for the results shown in this table. One may argue that SA is expected to appear among the languages that score high percentages, if not the highest, because of the close relation which exists between it and religion. Saying so is ignoring the sociolinguistic and socio-political reality of Kabylia. SA has been conceived by Kabyle speakers, may be not wrongly, as the instrument the successive Algerian governments used to oppress and occult their language and culture. As a result, there is a rejection of the language that symbolises the rulers' hegemony. Besides this, there is a high degree of linguistic and cultural loyalty among Kabyles. As a matter of fact, one informant said that he would not allow his children to speak any language other than Kabyle at home. This is a case of the value-expressive function (Katz: 1960). Kabyle speakers want to value themselves by saying that they should use their mother tongues rather than other languages. It is for the same sake that SST gets the highest percentage. Although, the majority of speakers do not master it, it is seen as a means to give their language the same importance, and potentially the same status, as the other languages institutionally recognised in Algeria, namely SA and F. The informants who present French as the language they should use argue that as it is an international language, it will allow Tamazight speakers to be up to date in all fields and moreover it is a means to take the Tamazight culture and language out of its confinement in the Tamazight speaking areas.

2.b. What language do you find the easiest/the most practical in everyday life?

	K	SST	SA	F
Easiest	68 %	3.5%	8.5%	20 %
Most practical in everyday life	78.5 %	5 %	2 %	14.5%

As far as easiness and practicality in everyday life are concerned, the informants are that as K is their mother tongue, they are more acquainted to it and to its grammatical and lexical structures. They also say that the language is much simpler than the three other ones which call upon more complex combinations. Because of its simplicity and the fact that it is understood by uneducated people, K is also seen as more practical in everyday life. Another reason suggested by one respondent was that K being a natural, spontaneous language, it can express all every day needs and can be used by all the community. Of the other three languages only French seems to have some relative importance. This is due to the fact that many interlocutors, sometimes even uneducated ones, are familiar with it and are able to use it in a more or less correct way that allows them to communicate in a relatively natural way. On the other hand, SST and SA are considered as neither easy nor practical in everyday life because of their complex grammar and vocabulary on the one hand, and because of their being no one's mother tongue on the other. Therefore, they cannot express the deepest feelings, thoughts and needs in a spontaneous natural way.

This tendency does, however, not seem to be confirmed in the table below.

2.c. practical

	K	SST	SA	F
Practical	38.5 %	9.5%	2.5%	49.5 %

French seems to be the most practical language of all. The difference with the above question lies on the fact that practicality here is not related to everyday life, but rather taken as a general concept. Thus, French which is considered as the language of science is thought of as being practical in education, administration mass-media and so forth. On the contrary, SST and SA are considered as practical only by a small number because of their lack of vitality on the one hand, and their poorness as to the necessary vocabulary for some modern topics and fields. Much of what has been said applies for the modernity languages can represent.

4.3.3 Modernity

3.a. What language do you find the most modern / the most useful for studies?

	K	SST	SA	F
Most modern	2.5 %	7 %	18 %	72.5 %
Most useful for studies	1.5%	8.5 %	22,5 %	67,5 %

d level of technological and scientific advancement is very apparent in these attitudes. The combination of many factors may explain such attitudes towards the French language. The number of renowned French schools, universities and institute, the number of famous scientists of French nationality or who presented their works in French and the big number of publications in all field in French are among the reasons the majority of the informants consider it as the modern language par excellence and the one that is most useful for studies. The other factor is the fact that French with the culture it vehicles has always been considered by most Algerians as the language of opening on others, of tolerance and opening of the mind. Thus, it is not surprising at all to notice that for Tamazight bilingual speakers, French is the symbol of modernity and education. We may notice that SA also seems to get a relatively important rate for the two characteristics compared to K and SST. Because it is a written language which in many fields can cope with modern needs through borrowings and, because it is the language of education in Algeria, SA is considered as representing more modernity and being more useful for studies than the two other varieties. The orality and the terminological limits of K do not really help it in being considered as modern or of any importance for studies. Even SST which is taught at schools and universities does not get high scores for being one of the most modern languages because it is a relatively new form of the language that speakers do not master. Actually, this form of the language is still in the making and lacks much of the vocabulary related to modern life, knowledge, and so forth. To the question as to whether it is important for studies one of my informants explained that it is not very useful to learn Tamazight for studies as, in the present state of affairs, it does not help find a job nor does it help any socio-professional promotion.

The same general tendency seems to recur with the attributes “able to keep with modern world” and “lively” for the French language.

3.b.

	K	SST	SA	F
Able to keep up with modern world	3 %	8 %	6.5 %	82.5%
Lively	4.5 %	13.5 %	10 %	72 %

The fact that the French culture is seen as very tolerant, receptive and not closed on itself seems to give the French language the qualities of being able to adapt to modern changes and development and being a living language which changes and develops constantly. On the hand,

which is fixed in a yoke of traditionalism, purism and this is not completely true, most my informants consider

this language as not being able to cope with the needs of modern life and is, therefore, not that dynamic. Some informants suggest that SA is rather the symbol of the old times and past history. One of them said that had it not been the language of The Quran, what we know as the fuṣṣḥā would be a dead language today. The usefulness and necessity of a language are also parameters which can be quite revealing about people’s attitudes.

4.3.4 Usefulness and Necessity

4.a. Which language do you find the most necessary for a Kabyle? Like the most? Like the least?

	K	SST	SA	F
Most necessary for a Kabyle	36.5 %	30.5 %	8.5 %	23.5 %
Most liked	57.5 %	20.5 %	4.5 %	17.5 %
Least liked	3 %	10 %	71.5%	15.5 %

The above table is very revealing as to the kind of attitudes that express the acceptance or rejection of a language. Kabyle is rated as the most necessary language for a Kabyle speaker. As a matter of fact, it has been observed in various parts of the world that when there is no physical or social difference between a majority group and a minority one, language becomes the one aspect through which the minority expresses and shows its difference. Such cases can be observed in the cases of the Catalans, the Basques and other communities. This is even true when the minority language group has the impression that the language of the majority is a threat to theirs. The necessity rate Kabyle scores reveals a value-expressive function in that , rather than completely integrating the majority’s attitudes and language, Kabyle speakers exhibit a sense of language loyalty towards their mother tongue. In the same order of ideas, SST is thought to be necessary because it is the form of the language that would eventually bring Tamazight out of the folkloric field to a more practical and functional one. French that most of the respondents present as the language needed for studies, learning and communication with others comes next in the ranking. In addition, this language allows people to have access to the latest developments in all fields. SA does not seem to have that great importance; the minority which presented it as the most necessary language argue that it is necessary for the comprehension of religion and for studies within the country. However, no

communicating with people other than those speaking

4.b.

	K	SST	SA	F
Necessary	28.5 %	11.5 %	24.5 %	35.5%
Versatile	17 %	12.5 %	28.5 %	42 %

Language loyalty is, again, very apparent in the above table since Kabyle gets a more or less high score as to the fact that it is a necessary language. Nevertheless, it ranks second this time because the epithet “necessary” is given as a general concept while in the previous question it is specified that the language is necessary for a Kabyle speaker. As expected, French still has the lion’s share since, as already mentioned, it symbolises knowledge, modernity and opening. SA also seems to have the favours of Kabyle bilingual speakers when asked to choose necessary languages. This is mainly due to the fact that nearly all official documents are written in Arabic, and that administrations function in the Arabic language or at least are supposed to. It is worth mentioning that although it is no one’s mother tongue, SA, the official language of Algeria, has become through time a means of both social and professional promotion levels wherefrom the fact of its being necessary. Unexpectedly, only a minority thinks that SST is necessary. If the majority of the respondents agree on the fact that SST is necessary for the promotion of the Tamazight language, most of them explain that at the present state of affairs, they do not see where its necessity lies when we come to a more practical level. As two informants add SST does not really allow to get a job, communicate with non-Tamazight speakers or deal with subjects which require a complex and specialised vocabulary. The same ranking holds true for the versatility of the languages even if the percentages vary according to whether the language is used in different registers or not. The fact that French and SA are the ones considered as the most versatile, results from their ability to deal with subjects as different as literature, technology, philosophy and the like. However, F is supposed to be more versatile than SA because of its ability to be used for formal situations and topics as well as for informal, daily ones; while SA is exclusively used in formal situations and for formal topics. The versatility of K and SST is not as prominent as that of the two other languages. Although K can adapt different situations, it seems to lack formality as suggested by many of the informants. SST, although having a certain degree of formality, does not cover all the needed situations because of the limited registers it can deal with on the one hand, and

ose who learnt it at school and university on the other

4.c.

	K	SST	SA	F
Dead	2 %	4.5 %	6.5 %	0 %
Useless	1.5 %	1 %	10 %	1 %
Outdated	4.5 %	3.5 %	12.5 %	2 %

That the respondents show very low scores as to negative aspects of the languages is easily understandable. The opposite would have meant that one of the languages was disappearing and, therefore, that bilingualism in this community is losing its effect and impact. Unsurprisingly, F is the least stigmatised language. The scores got by both K and SST reveal the strong will of the speakers to preserve, promote and show their loyalty to their language. Moreover, as far as K is concerned, it is the language in which the individuals communicate in their everyday life. Surprisingly, SA which is the official language of the country, and which is always linked to religion ranks as the language which has most negative characteristics. It is true that the percentages are low, but compared to the three other languages it is dead and outdated because as one informant argued the promoters of the Arabic language persist in relying on the ancient prestige and aura of the language without trying to develop it. Another respondent claims that supporters of the Arabic language in general carry ideas that are outdated and ignore modern values, changes and openings. It is our guess that those who think it is useless do so in reaction to what they believe to be a many hegemony of this language over the other languages of Algeria and particularly over Tamazight. One of the most salient dimensions a language is related to is that of identity.

4.3.5 Identity

To which language do you identify most / least?

	K	SST	SA	F
Identify most	77.5 %	15.5 %	4 %	3 %
Identify least	2.5 %	9.5 %	68.5 %	19.5 %

Like in many minority groups over the world, language loyalty and language identity is very strong in the Kabyle speaking community. The percentages above clearly illustrate this claim.

with Kabyle which is their mother tongue. Some e in which they live, breath, dream and think. Besides this, Kabyle is used by its speakers as a symbol of linguistic identity in that it differentiates them from other Algerians. SST, the H form of Tamazight, is also favoured by bilingual speakers but in a lesser extent than K. The reason for this is that, this form of the language is relatively new and not used by all the members of the community and, therefore, lacks vitality. Among the reactions heard during this research is one given by an old-aged bilingual who wondered where this new Tamazight was brought from. In spite of its importance in people’s life, French scores a low percentage. This might seem astonishing, but some explanations can be put forward. Important is the fact that French has always remained in people’s minds as the language of the coloniser. Even if this idea is attenuated nowadays with the younger generation, stories of the years of colonisation do have an influence, even if indirectly, on people’s attitudes. The other element of explanation is that French after nearly two centuries of presence in Algeria, which is too short a period at the level of history, is seen as a foreign language. A third reason may be the fact that for many years after independence, Kabylia was presented as a relay of France. Hence, this reaction might be a way to justify people’s loyalty to their country. SA, for the minority which identifies with it is a language which after fourteen centuries has become an Algerian language even if it is no one’s mother tongue. Also the fact that the majority of Algerians is Muslim explains the identification of the bilinguals under study with SA. The same reasons are advanced by my respondents for the languages they least identify with. However, it is very interesting to note some of the reasons related to SA and F. Three respondents explain their attitude in the following ideas. The ideological hegemony of the belonging of Algeria to the Arab race and the many lasting denial of Tamazight led the Kabyle community to “take refuge” behind French which represented the only means to counter the hegemony of Arabic was to use French which had the same status as SA.

Beside the above questions, four other were asked to the informants so as to find out their attitudes on some potential situations.

Which language would you want your children to be educated in?

K	SST	SA	F
10.5 %	20.5 %	23.5 %	35.5 %

French is, unsurprisingly, the language most bilinguals would like their children to be educated in for several reasons. Many informants gave as first reasons the fact that it provides more

are educated in a different language⁵⁷. Another reason French is a language which can allow their children to widen their horizons in different fields, especially that in Algeria the latest developments in most fields are published in French. In addition to French, SA also appears to be important for the education of the children. The main reason for this option is that as Algeria is a country that officially uses SA it is very important for an individual to be educated in this language to gain professional promotion. Actually, among the reasons mentioned is that that it is a pre-requisite for certain jobs like lawyer, judge, administrator and the like. Other cited reasons include the importance of this language for the comprehension of religion and the fact that Algeria is a member of an entity which uses SA for its internal official matters. Kabyle does not seem to be favoured because of its orality which reduces it to a language of everyday matters, but not one which can deal with topics that need a specific and specialised vocabulary. However, this lacuna, as one informant calls it, is being filled with the appearance of SST. Although not having the importance of F and SA, it is supposed, at least hoped, to rise to the status of a standard language which can be used in institutions and can become a means of education, advancement and a language of work. Another argument for the will to educate the children in SST is that it is the only way to prevent Tamazight from disappearing as it will be written, studied and eventually officialised. It is interesting to note that SST has already invested various fields such as computing, literature, linguistics and so forth.

Which language do you think is most necessary for a Kabyle speaker to know?

K	SST	SA	F
72.5 %	9.5 %	6.5 %	12.5 %

It appears clearly that Kabyle is the first language Kabyle bilinguals think is the most necessary to know. Most respondents explain that K is the native language of the speakers and under the threat of language loss to the benefit of other languages, mainly Arabic. It is, therefore, of prime importance to keep and maintain the language. Other respondents mention the fact that Kabyle is important as a language because it carries within it the history, traditions, values and personality of the Kabyle community. Thus, losing it would lead gradually to the loss of all the inherent values.

⁵⁷ Two informants actually mentioned English as the language they would like their children to be educated in.

in second position for its importance in education and the necessity of knowing French by its utility in understanding other cultures and values and adapting what can be compatible to the Kabyle culture. Unsurprisingly, SST does have the favours of my respondents. The fact that it is no one's mother tongue might explain this low percentage. As already stated, this form of the language is relatively new to the majority of the interlocutors who actually do not completely understand it. Because it is exclusively the privilege of interlocutors who learnt it through education, many informants do not consider SST as one of languages a Kabyle must know. Add the fact that, up to now, this variety is not yet official; it is not seen as one of the factors that may bring any advancement to its speakers. However, those who see it as very necessary argue that it is through the spread of this language among the younger generation, education and the media that it will gain more importance as to its vitality and importance at official and formal levels. Again the will to bring out Tamazight from the folkloric state to a more practical, lively one is expressed by those who think it is very important for a Kabyle to know SST. Other informants consider SA as the language people should know because it is, up to now, the only official language of the country as all administrative and institutional documents and correspondences are issued and written in this language. In addition, some consider the relation between SA and Islam as so close that one may "lose" religion if he loses the language. This point of view is definitely too far fetched, but it gives however an idea of the relation speakers make between the Arabic language and religion even in a community which is said to be reticent as to the use of this language. Actually, some informants mention claim that it is more necessary to know AA because it is the language of the majority of Algerians and allows more communication and exchange with other Algerians.

Is it an advantage to be bilingual?

Yes	No
78 %	22 %

The above percentage is actually unsurprising since throughout the history of North Africa, the Amazigh people has accepted, although not always easily, different peoples, cultures and languages. When asked the question why their being bilingual is an advantage, most interlocutors put forward the fact that in a time where inventions, changes occur at a very high speed and people all over the world aspire to universality one could not afford remain monolingual and try to understand life around him. Another advantage put forward is that

...nversing in different languages and with people from

This can only be advantageous as it allows transfer and adapt modern ideas and knowledge that can be only beneficial to the individual and the community. Unexpectedly, the percentage of those who think that being bilingual is not advantageous is relatively high. Among the reasons given by those who think so is the fact that they think that Tamazight is threatened by other languages. Because it is a minority language in Algeria, becoming bilingual may lead to the loss of the mother tongue since it does not have the prestige of the other languages, SA and F, have. Others present bilingualism as a betrayal of the language of the community. In this sense, an old lady reacted to the way young people spoke by saying they were neither Kabyle nor Arab nor French. It should be made clear, here, that the purpose of this research is only to understand reactions and attitudes but rather try to understand the reasons and implications of such attitudes in the perspective of Tamazight language management.

Are you for a complete Arabisation, a complete Amazighisation or Arabic/Tamazight bilingualism in Algeria?

Complete Arabisation	6.5 %
Complete Amazighisation	15 %
Arabic/Tamazight bilingualism	79.5 %

As to this question, my informants seem to show some rational attitudes. It clearly appears that a complete Arabisation of Algeria is not an option which delights Kabyle bilinguals. This is certainly due to the subtle opposition that had been put forward between Arabic and Tamazight until recently. Although they are aware of the importance and necessity of Arabic, most of the respondents argue that a complete Arabisation would mean the death of all forms of native cultures and languages and mainly all forms of Tamazight. The very few who are for this option explain it by the close ties Algeria has with the Arabic speaking countries and reinforce the Arabic identity of the country. In addition, the fact that The Quran was revealed in Arabic makes this language one we should be proud of and which be spread through all the country. Another group of informants present different arguments for the option of complete Amazighisation. One of these is that as Tamazight is the original language of what is today known as the Maghrib, we should go back to our source and speak the language our ancestors used to speak. This, according to one informant, will allow Algeria make up with itself,

Important point is that for some informants a complete
have a big progress to the language which can therefore
become official and invest all the fields other languages of the world invest. This is definitely
an unrealistic point of view in the sense that it emanates from a nostalgic state of mind which is
hardly attainable, if ever. The highest percentage is scored by those who would rather see
Algeria as an Arabic/Tamazight bilingual country. Thus, the majority seem to be more
realistic in the sense that they favour a bilingualism which takes into consideration the two
languages Algerians identify with. One interlocutor explains that from a democratic point of
view we can not impose our language on those who do not understand it and do not identify
with it just as the reverse is not accepted. To take into consideration the two languages, it is
better to opt for this kind of bilingualism; especially that this may considerably reduce the
linguistic tensions that exist in the country. Through the gradual introduction of Tamazight into
the educational system in all parts of Algeria, the coming generations may eventually become
balanced bilinguals who would be competent in both languages. Another informant even
suggested what he calls multilingualism through the institutionalisation of AA and F as he
considers the four as Algerian languages.

4.4 The indirect Technique

The indirect technique used in this part of the work is the one that is known
as the matched-guise technique. This method, first developed by Lambert et al (1960), was
meant to reveal attitudes that direct questioning may fail to. The fact is that when faced with a
direct questionnaire, informants may show attitudes that they think the researcher wants them
to express or may hide other attitudes under the influence of the prestige of one language or the
other. Another potential drawback is that the informants may, even unconsciously, want to
express attitudes which would not exclude them from the majority's tendency. Unlike the
direct method in which the respondents are aware that they are being interviewed on their own
point of view on different languages, the indirect method is designed to ask the interviewees to
give their opinions on people speaking different languages. Their judgement, in this case, is
based only on the speakers voice without any other kind of reference be it physical, intellectual
or else. For the present investigation, the same person, a male university teacher, was asked to
read the same passage in four different languages F, SA, SST and K. it was made sure that the
passages read were free of any emotional expressions not to influence the listeners. The
recording of the four passages was given to the informants to listen to twice. However, the four
passages were presented as being read by four different people. Following Bentahila, I gave

on which each of the four so-called readers had to be stage, that not all the informants interviewed previously were available for this part of the work because it was time consuming for them; thus, their number was limited to thirty five informants who were chosen on the basis of their being balanced bilinguals who were competent in the four concerned languages. The traits on which the readers were judged include characteristics relating to status, solidarity and moral qualities. The twenty traits are as follows: likeable, entertaining, sociable, emotional, placid, modest, honest, intelligent, educated, open-minded, important, rich, modern, religious, patriotic, loyal, trustworthy, respectful, democratic, and responsible. Notice that all the adjectives presented in this are positive one to avoid hurting any of the interlocutors' sensibility but, also to ensure having the real hidden attitudes rather than the ones motivated by any irrational reasons. Besides, it was done on purpose to give the questionnaire in an order in which related traits were put in a scrambled order to see whether moral values, for example, were judged in the same way. Following are the results obtained and their interpretations.

4.4.1 Attitudes towards French

Traits	Percentage
Likeable	62 %
Entertaining	44 %
Sociable	52 %
Emotional	38 %
Placid	40 %
Modest	23 %
Honest	46 %
Intelligent	64 %
Educated	73 %
Open-minded	83 %
Important	49 %
Rich	25 %
Modern	78 %
Religious	27 %
Patriotic	21 %
Loyal	25 %

	30 %
	57 %
Democratic	63 %
Responsible	44 %

The above percentages are quite interesting in that they confirm some of the attitudes seen with the direct method and infirm some others.

4.4.1.1 Moral Qualities

The judgements about the moral qualities of the reader in French are not that homogeneous since the percentages show some differences depending on the moral value concerned. In some cases the reader is highly valued as with the traits: likeable, open-minded, honest, respectful, democratic, etc. At first sight, there seems to be an influence of the French culture and the French people’s way of life on the judgements expressed. It seems that what people believe to be true about a country and its people holds true for interlocutors who use the language of this same country. This is true in the case of the bilinguals under investigation. It is a well known fact that for Algerians, Western people in general and French in particular, are a model of honesty, democracy, respect, etc. of course much can be said about this, but the fact is that France and the French people are the reference in terms of positivism for Algerians. The belief, therefore, is that a speaker who speaks French correctly is probably someone who lives “there” or who has learnt it at school; in both cases, it is someone who is impregnated with the positive values French people have. Thus a link is made between the language and the values its native speakers supposedly have.

The same principle applies for other moral qualities. We can see that the epithets: religious, modest, trustworthy are not highly rated. In the Muslim World in general and in Algeria in particular, religion is always related to one language, namely SA. The fact that the speaker reads in French does not give the listeners the impression that he is religious. It is not our goal to discuss whether the informants are right or wrong in their judgments, but it is important to say that Algeria is among the rare Muslim countries where the other religions are nearly taboo. Actually, if there any Algerians who are Christian, Jewish or of any other religion than Islam, they definitely do not show it. This is why the tie between religion, which is implicitly Islam in Algeria, and Arabic is so strong. Another factor is that French people today, like other Western peoples, are not known to be very religious in their way of life especially that their institutional life is based on secularism. Therefore, for the informants, religion does

fe of the reader. This idea can be related to that of
very religious, they are probably not very trustworthy.

Actually, this confirms the wide spread thought among Muslims that Western people have lost many moral values that we, Muslim, Arab, Amazigh people, still keep.

4.4.1.2 Status

The qualities meant to relate to the reader's status are: important, rich, educated, and intelligent. Apart from one characteristic were a low percentage is obtained, namely that of being rich, all the other ones obtain high scores. In fact, the Algerian sociolinguistic situation is different from numerous other ones. For example, in Britain, upper class speakers tend to use RP English most of the time as an indicator of the educational and economic status. In the Algerian case, there is no such distinction in the use of languages as to the economic level of a speaker. Thus, the fact of mastering and speaking French does not necessarily denote that the speaker is rich or not. One informant actually pointed at the fact that it is most of the time the poor who are more prone to speak French, and other languages, because they are the ones who make big efforts during their education as this is the only way out for them. One has to bear in mind that for Kabyles who live, in their majority, in the mountains, not many work and social promotion opportunities are available and this why education is very important for them. The other thing is that because of the history of Kabylia and the influence of the French colonisation in the region, the French language has become, may be more than in any other region of Algeria, a language that people, even uneducated ones, use daily with more or less correctness. On the contrary, education, importance and intelligence seem to be values that are highly valued. The educational aspect is easy to understand since it is believed that to speak French correctly a person has to be educated. The fact of knowing this language, thus, entails a certain culture which makes its user one that has had a considerable education and who is considered, sometimes wrongly though, as a learned person⁵⁸. As has already been dealt with in Chapter Three, French is used in Algeria as an indicator of one's education. Although the case is not all the time true, it seems that my informants make a link between education and intelligence on the one hand and French and intelligence on the other. The belief is that when someone is educated, he is by the same token intelligent since he is expected to make better analyses, find better and quicker answers and solutions to different situations than an uneducated person. In addition to this, the French

⁵⁸ It is quite frequent of to hear people qualify a person who speaks French as /qaari/ in AA and /ja^ⵎra/ in K i.e., "educated".

4.4.1.3 Solidarity

One of the interesting aspects we wanted to clarify is that of solidarity. The aim is to found out whether the fact of using French alters people's view and opinion about a speaker's loyalty to his community. Three qualities have been chosen to express solidarity: sociable, patriotic and loyal. Here again, the percentages do not seem to concord in the sense that most of the informants grant a high degree of sociability to the speaker but do not consider him as being loyal and patriotic. The sociability parameter seems to emanate from the thought that the person listened to is open-minded and is, therefore, able to respect various people with all their differences. Thus, speaking French gives the impression that one is open hearted and welcoming. One of the informants even says that the person reading is probably easy and pleasant to talk to. However, when it comes to loyalty and patriotism, the points of view become different. Some respondents explain that the speaker does not give the impression to be loyal because he speaks in a language that is not really his. Two respondents suggest that to be loyal the speaker has to speak either in one of the other forms of Tamazight or in Kabyle. They claim that by speaking French he is not being loyal to his native language and to his origins and identity. One can conclude from this that although frequently used by Kabyle speakers, French is not considered as a language that represents their community and their identity. However, the minority which thinks that the reader is faithful argue that French is the language through which Tamazight has come to be known and recognised in the world. There is, therefore, no reason for considering the speaker as unfaithful. As a matter of fact they give different examples of works and studies about Tamazight which have been undertaken in French. Nearly the same reasons are put forward as far as the speaker's patriotism is concerned. Most informants explained at this point that the speaker's patriotism is not put into question, but the impressions they have are the result of their conception of the different languages. The main reason for seeing the French reader as not patriotic is that he uses a language that is not his. Furthermore, some informants even argue that the language is officially a foreign one especially that it is that of a country which colonised Algeria for nearly one and half century. This explains the relatively low percentage the reader was rated for patriotism. Some of the interlocutors argue that the language we may use is not necessarily an indicator of one's patriotism. As one of them explained, many of the Algerian intellectuals are educated in French and very patriotic. To illustrate his point of view, he gave names of writers

ht for the independence of the country. However, most r is not that patriotic because he is probably influenced by the values, culture and traditions of the language he uses. Does this mean that the reader is prone to forget the values of his community? Is this point of view the result of years of an educational system which has presented France as the enemy even after the end of the war? Is it really the result of a many lasting colonisation? Or is it just a way to avoid being distinguished from the majority of Algerians i.e., the utilitarian or instrumental function, to take Katz’s terminology? These questions would be quite interesting to be investigated in the future.

The same traits have been investigated for the Arabic reading.

4.4.2 Attitudes towards Standard Arabic

As expected, the results for the Arabic reading are quite different from those of the French one. This confirms the link that is made between a language and certain characteristics and values as shown in the table below.

Traits	Percentage
Likeable	42 %
Entertaining	32 %
Sociable	22 %
Emotional	40 %
Placid	46 %
Modest	44 %
Honest	33 %
Intelligent	52 %
Educated	68 %
Open-minded	25 %
Important	62 %
Rich	21 %
Modern	30 %
Religious	58 %
Patriotic	45 %
Loyal	20 %

	26 %
	50 %
Democratic	18 %
Responsible	54 %

4.4.2.1 Moral Qualities

Moral qualities are conceived differently by my informants depending on whether the language used is French or Standard Arabic. Qualities which are expected to obtain high rate in the Algerian society as a whole do not do so in the Kabyle speaking community where Standard Arabic - the language most Algerians identify with - is not the one the speech community under study identifies with, at least not all the time. Starting from here we can understand more easily certain reactions and attitudes that Kabyle bilinguals may display. The reader is not granted much credit as to him being likeable, open-minded or honest. Again, I must say that as objective as these attitudes may seem, they reflect the thoughts and feelings of the informants within a certain social, economic and political environment. The informants who think that the reader is likeable are in their majority young people aged between twenty five and thirty five who are educated in Arabic. Yet, the majority of the informants do not think so. Among these are even those who understand and speak SA correctly. Actually, one of them argues that the fact that SA lacks vitality makes it a language which is not natural for Algerians in general and Kabyles in particular. Another informant says that he has the impression that the reader is addressing a specific audience in a specific setting which is not that of an Algerians daily life. The diglossic situation that prevails in Algeria with the existence of AA and SA is not new. The communicative gap that exists between the two varieties makes the comprehension of SA quite a difficult task for those who have not learnt it at schools. In addition, SA does not fulfil the needs of Algerians speakers as to their daily, deepest concerns, let alone the Kabyle speech community's. In fact, a certain distance is put between the reader and the listeners because of SA, and prevents him from being considered as likeable.

Another interesting element is the fact that the reader is not seen as being open-minded. One can venture an explanation on the basis of the way the Arabic language has been presented throughout the "Arab World". Because of its relation with religion the Arabic language has always been thought of in terms of purity and traditionalism. This prevented it, until recently, from accepting much borrowing and interferences from other languages. This

Arabic speaking peoples, or rather their leaders, tried to carries. There was a “fear” from the Western “cultural

invasion” and the interferences of the native cultures of the countries where it is spoken. It is in these terms that some informants explain that when they hear a discourse in SA, it “certainly” does not inspire them openness of the mind.

Similarly, the lack of credibility vis - a - vis most politicians who governed the country since independence influenced attitudes towards the Arabic language⁵⁹. Because most of these politicians have used SA in their speeches, campaigns and interviews, the language has come to symbolise that category of the society which is not honest, democratic or trustworthy⁶⁰.

At the same time, the reader is granted to be religious by a majority of informants as a result of the close link that exists between Arabic and Islam. Actually those who think that the reader is modest, honest and trustworthy do so in relation to the fact that they consider him as religious. It is very interesting to observe how the same language can reflect a thing and its opposite depending on the reference taken into account.

4.4.2.2 Status

The attribute relating to the speaker’s status are generally seen in a positive way by the informants. The percentages expressed for education, importance, and intelligence are all above the average. As previously mentioned, SA as a non native language is learnt only through education. Thus, it is assumed that all speakers who can use this language have undergone some kind of education i.e., either formal education or religious ones wherefrom the relation between the language and education. In addition, the fact that SA carries a considerable body of literature in all fields leads interlocutors to associate it with education and knowledge. The intelligence factor, like in the case of French, is closely related to the education of the speaker. A widespread belief is that an educated person is certainly intelligent; otherwise, he wouldn’t be educated. The “importance” parameter is of interest for the understanding of some attitudes among Algerian bilinguals in general and Kabyle ones in particular. As the use of SA in speech is not frequent in the Algerian society, its use can be interpreted in different ways. One of these is the importance of the status the speaker may want to display or the listener may infer. This language in Algeria is, beside French, a means of

⁵⁹ It is not within the scope of the present study to make any political analysis of the Algerian situation, but through the investigation it appeared that some aspects could not be ignored as they have a great effect on the sociolinguistic situation of the country.

⁶⁰ One informant claims that he would rather consider an AA speaker as honest, democratic and trustworthy.

for all kinds of jobs in the public services under the
ns are used to hear SA from different kinds of people
who assume quite important positions in the society. A lawyer, for example, is supposed to use
SA when pleading just as an Imam is expected to use SA when preaching. Moreover, the kind
of people who speak in SA, or in ESA which is seen by the layman as a modified form of SA,
especially in the mass -media are either politicians, journalists, executives, writers and the like.
Actually, one informant even cited some expressions in SA which are frequent in the speech of
officials. He explains that one can know that a person is important and holds an important
position only by hearing him use this kind of expressions. These include: /attaxa^ⵏna qararaat/
/atta^ⵏalna ba ^ⵏulu^ⵏaat lma^ⵏnijja/ and the like.

However, when it comes to whether the speaker is rich or not the majority
thinks that he is not. As already mentioned, there is in Algeria, at least not up to now, a one to
one relation between the social status of an individual and the language he uses. All Algerians
are assumed to use AA and Kabyles K in their daily conversations whatever their social status,
educational level or position in the society is.

4.4.2.3 Solidarity

The same heterogeneity noticed in the attitudes relating to status occurs with
those related to solidarity. While patriotism obtains a relatively high percentage other attributes
like sociability and loyalty do not. In trying to understand the reasons for such a span I held
informal discussions with some informants who actually expressed thoughts and arguments
which did not seem as proper to the Kabyle speaking community but rather to all the Algerian
society. The fact that speaking in SA made informants think that the reader was patriotic is the
result of the Algerian language policy and ideology since independence. Algeria is a country of
the “Arab World” ; the official language of Algeria, as stated in the Constitution, is Arabic; the
fact that most Algerians identify with Arabic as being their language, all these elements explain
why using SA is regarded as a symbol and a token of patriotism. However, it is clear from the
table above that less than half the informants consider the reader as being patriotic. This is due
to many factors. First, it is not a secret that in the Kabyle speech community Arabic in general
and mainly SA has always been considered as a language which has been manipulated by the
governors to settle their hegemony on the people and, by doing so, they have for many years
reduced the Tamazight language to the status of a minor dialect. The other important point is
one that has been developed in the previous section. The fact that an SA speaker is considered
as important is related to the fact that he must have a power of some sort. As power in Algeria

y, the reader is not necessarily considered as patriotic. would consider a person speaking in Tamazight or in Algerian Arabic as more patriotic than a person speaking in SA. The reason for this is that by speaking SA an individual is diluted in a big entity which is rather general- the Arab entity- while when using AA or T the same individual is affirming his Algerian personality with its characteristics and specificities.

The sociability factor is also differently appreciated by the respondents. If a minority believes the reader is sociable because of using a language that belongs to the country, a majority thinks the opposite. The arguments put forward by those who think the text read in SA does not bring about any sociability on the part of the reader, is that the language is one which is meant to put a certain distance between the speaker and the listener. Again, this is one of the consequences of the diglossic situation that prevails in Algeria. Although AA is said to derive from SA, or CA as some people call it, there is little mutual intelligibility between the two. In this case, it is difficult for an individual who has not learnt SA through education to understand it or speak it, if at all. The differences that exist between the two forms of Arabic, although there is an attempt at reducing this gap through the use of ESA, resulted not only in a communicative specification of functions but also in social one. Also as specified earlier, because of the association made between the language in question and certain types of status, the respondents feel that rather than being sociable, the reader is distant. Some informants even think that he is unsociable because they felt that the language he speaks is not theirs.

Loyalty is not a characteristic with which my informants would qualify the reader. First because, as just said, some informants stated that by using a language that they do not understand, a speaker is not being loyal to the realities and needs of the community he is addressing. Second, because Kabyle speakers are much attached to their language, they have the impression that the speaker is divorcing from the Algerian reality first and the Kabyle one then. It is very interesting to see how the use of one language or another can become an indicator of one's loyalty from the point of view of the listener.

The same attributes have been used to investigate how the same person reading in SST is regarded.

4.4.3 Attitudes towards Semi-Standard Tamazight

Before analysing the results obtained with SST, it is important to remind of certain facts concerning this variety so that one can be able to understand the informants' attitudes and reaction towards the text read in this variety. Firstly, this form of Tamazight is the

...versities and used in the press and publications, at least before, this variety may constitute for Kabyles an element of development of their spoken variety and consequently may be considered by its speakers as equal to the other languages of Algeria i.e., SA and F. the other factor is that SST is neither standard nor non-standard. Because it is still in the making and because the process of standardisation of Tamazight is a many term process, it is not considered as a standard language even by its speakers. This is mainly due to the big variation that exists within Tamazight and within Kabyle itself. As a result of all this, there is a sharp diglossia in Tamazight where SST constitutes the High variety and K the Low one. Even if the two varieties are genetically related the communicative gap is such that many Kabyle speakers, not to say most of them, do not use nor do they understand SST as it is not a native language and is known only by those who learnt it through educational agencies. These elements have a serious impact on the attitudes towards the speakers of this form of the language, as will be seen below.

Traits	Percentage
Likeable	46 %
Entertaining	36 %
Sociable	30 %
Emotional	52 %
Placid	55 %
Modest	59 %
Honest	62 %
Intelligent	73 %
Educated	78 %
Open-minded	49 %
Important	43 %
Rich	18 %
Modern	56 %
Religious	36 %
Patriotic	75 %

⁶¹ There seems to be not only one SST since other varieties do have a form of the language which is undergoing a process of standardisation as is the case with the Shawi variety and to a lesser extent the M'zabi and the Targui ones.

	60 %
	33 %
Respectful	61 %
Democratic	61 %
Responsible	69 %

4.4.3.2 Moral Qualities

Attitudes towards the moral qualities of the Tamazight reader are generally positive. The reactions expressed in the above table denote a certain tendency to favour Tamazight in all its forms. Despite the fact that SST is not the informants' mother tongue, it remains a language with which most of them identify and recognise as theirs.

If the majority does not find the speaker likeable, it is because they do not really understand what is being read. Some informants say that they understood the general meaning of the piece read; however, they did not feel any sympathy toward the reader. The formality of SST has put such a distance between the reader and the listeners that, as explained by one informant, the reader is not unpleasant but he is not being pleasant either. Yet, at the same time, the reader is seen as emotional since the use of Tamazight, particularly its standardised form, shows a certain concern for the promotion and the development of this language. The associations of the language with qualities like honesty and modesty are very revealing as to the consideration given to SST. According to the respondents, using Tamazight has for many years been the source of problems and troubles for many people. Thus, using this variety means that an individual is honest as he is expected not to aspire to any official post or position. It is actually true that Tamazight has not reached yet a status of a language which allows any kind of promotion be it social or economic. Also, the reader is considered as being modest because he is using a language which belongs to the community and, is therefore, indicating his belonging to his community. One respondent suggests in this sense that had the reader wanted not to be modest, he would have used French rather than Tamazight. This remains a point of view which is debatable since some informants think that by using SST, the reader is showing his educational status and his advance and knowledge of Tamazight which is not something at everybody's reach.

The credibility of the reader is a puzzling point. While it was expected that the majority would think that the text read in SST would denote a great credibility on the reader's part, the informants gave opposite results. The problem here does not relate to the

it is not understood. Three informants explain that Man... or does not understand. Thus, because they could not understand everything that was being said, the respondents did not think the SST reader was trustworthy. This might seem contradictory with the fact that some informants say that they understood the general idea of the topic dealt with, but the fact is that with all the efforts they can make to understand and clarify situations they come across; people do not all the time succeed to do so. In this case they either reject what they do not understand or, avoid it. This is why, in our case, SST is sometimes the symbol of honesty and modesty and other times not.

Another interesting factor is the association made between SST and democracy. One informant justifies this relation by the historical context in which this language tried to thrive. He says that the Tamazight claim is the first democratic manifestation of the Algerians' aspiration for democracy in post-independent Algeria. Thus, any person who speaks any variety of Tamazight is supposed to be democratic since he is supposed to accept other points of views. This idea is even made stronger by the fact that the Amazigh movement from its beginning has subscribed to the democratic trend.

As with the other languages, attitudes towards moral qualities are influenced by attitudes towards status and solidarity and vice-versa.

4.4.3.3 Status

The attitudes expressed here display two tendencies. The first one denotes a majority percentage for the attributes "educated" and "intelligent"; the second one brings out a minority percentage for the epithets "rich" and "important".

The reader's education is taken for granted by the majority of informants because, as already explained, SST is learnt only through education. It is, therefore, a fact that an individual who can speak or read this language must have a certain level of education that allows him communicate in this variety. Actually the situation here is much like that of Arabic; SA being mastered only by those who learnt it through education. In addition, the fact that SST is mainly written in Latin scripts in Algeria presupposes that its user has had some education in French and potentially in Arabic. If one looks at the attitudes towards French as presented above, he can understand that this language is perceived as one in which education is the most practical and the most beneficial. This explains the relation made between SST, F and education. The knowledge of SST also entails knowledge of the Amazigh history, traditions and literature which are subjects that are taught at universities where this language is a

not learnt through formal education⁶², a user of this ample knowledge of what is known as the Tamazight field

wherefrom his education.

The reader's intelligence is closely linked to his education as these two characteristics are said to go together. The more a person is educated the more intelligent he is expected to be. Also, intelligence is considered by most of my informants as a condition to be able to understand and handle the differences between K, the mother tongue, and SST which is a more formal form of the language. It is actually true that in SST there is a tendency towards levelling by avoiding all the Kabyle and sometimes the Tamazight variation. Because this levelling is much complicated, it is not all the time successfully rendered. This makes the use of SST a difficult matter since it is sometimes difficult to get rid of dialectal peculiarities which do exist in big numbers in Tamazight. The ability to handle all this is seen by the informants as a sign of intelligence since it allows, as much as can be, to unify all the differences and discrepancies of Tamazight as a whole.

While the reader is granted education and intelligence, he is not considered as rich or important.

As said earlier, there is not in Algeria, at least not up to now, a one to one relation between the language used and the economic status of the speaker. This is why a majority does not think the reader is rich. The few informants, who think he is so, explain that they do so because they think that if the reader has taken the opportunity to learn SST, he probably has an income which allows him devote time to study the language. One informant argues that as it is not yet a language which can provide livelihood, he does not think people would waste time learning it unless they have other income sources.

Similarly, the majority of respondents do not consider the SST reader as important. Compared to the results for "rich", we can notice that the percentage for "important" is much higher. This is to be linked to the fact that the reader is considered as educated and intelligent. For this reason, some informants speculated that the reader must be a teacher, a journalist or even a party leader. Actually his importance here is seen in relation to his contribution to the development of the language. On the other side, others say that speaking SST does not make a person important because the language is not one of social, political or professional promotion. Although, they recognise that the speaker may have an influence of some sort, the respondents consider the latter as being minor and not one that can be nation

⁶² In addition to schools and universities, SST is taught by many Tamazight cultural associations throughout the country.

he contrast that is made about the same person when

The solidarity aspect also presents some fluctuations as to bilingual attitudes towards it.

4.4.3.4 Solidarity

The sociable aspect is not one that is much appreciated by the listeners of the text. It seems that the same reasons advanced for the text in SA apply for that in SST. Most informants consider that because he is using a formal form of the language, the reader is putting a distance between him and his interlocutors. Thus, formality is not conceived as a means which may enhance sociability. Rather, it is a means which widens the gap between interlocutors. Also because much of the vocabulary used remains incomprehensible for the informants, SST seems to give the informants, as they themselves say, that the reader does not really want them to understand him. Some informants claim that he by showing his level of education through the knowledge of SST, the reader is willingly putting a communicative gap preventing any sociability.

However when it comes to patriotism and loyalty, the percentages are quite high. It is important to signal at this level that the Algerian linguistic policy has always made a close link between the Arabic language and patriotism⁶³. By doing so, the successive governments willingly ignored all other languages and mainly native ones. As a result, there was a rejection of this form of Arabic from most Kabyle speakers⁶⁴. This reaction to what is considered as a denial of their culture and language resulted in a strong attachment to the Amazigh question on the part of Kabyles.

As shown in the above table, most informants consider the SST speaker as being very patriotic. The arguments put forward by most of these informants are, among other things, that since the individual is speaking a language which belongs to the country, he is showing a high degree of patriotism by showing out his specificity and singularity compared to other countries and other peoples. One informant who wanted to clarify his point of view claimed that by using a language that “really” belongs to Algeria, the speaker is displaying his concern for the traditions and history of his community. He adds that the use of other languages like SA and F presents two negative aspects. The first one is that by doing so the

⁶³ The Constitution states that Arabic is the language of the state. Although it does not say which Arabic is concerned, it has always been clear that the form of the language meant is /al ʔarabijja al fuʔa/ i.e., official Arabic.

⁶⁴ On many occasions Kabyles have used slogans like : “ we are not Arabs” or “Arabic is not our language”

ch is difficult to distinguish. This may have as a individual's particularities and by generalising this, the disappearance of the community's distinction to end with the disappearance of the community proper. The other negative point is that by using a language one is influenced by the culture of this language. Thus, for our informant, using French may lead to the import of French values and traditions which are not all the time beneficial for the Algerian people. Likewise, the use of SA led to the import of ideas, values which are incompatible with the Algerian society. From the above arguments we can conclude that patriotism for my informants resides in the fact of using, promoting and reviving characteristic which can distinguish Algerians from others. Given this, we can guess that the use AA would be considered as a token of patriotism while that SA is not.

The relation between patriotism and loyalty is very narrow in the sense that by being patriotic an individual is supposed to be loyal to his ethnic group, his origins and his history. It is in these terms that some informants explained their choice. However, the minority which does not consider the reader as loyal argues that by using a language which is new and understood, he can not be loyal as to express the communities concerns and needs. Like with SA, some informants believe that a loyal speaker would use everybody's language, i.e., Kabyle, rather than a language which may hide some unclear aims because of its ambiguity. It is interesting now to examine attitudes towards a mother tongue language.

4.4.4 Attitudes towards Kabyle

It is a well known fact that mother tongues are the varieties in which the inner feelings, emotions and needs are expressed. Also, mother tongues are the languages which are mastered best by speakers because they are the communicative tools in which they are brought up. Of course, situations where the mother tongue is lost to the benefit of a more prestigious and widespread variety are very frequent. This occurs particularly in cases where a minority group speaker lives in a majority group environment. This is what Haugen (1981:75) calls replacive bilingualism. However, scientific research demonstrated that all the knowledge acquired by an individual is based and grafted on the mother tongue. To take Katz's (1960) terminology as to the psychological factors influencing language attitudes, it is true that in some situations attitudes fulfil an ego-defensive function in that individuals from minority groups hide their distinctiveness from the majority group. However, the value expressive function is put forward when a minority group feels that its language and culture are endangered. This can take different forms such as the use of the downgraded language in an

age is normally used. Attitudes also denote this ego-attitudes towards moral qualities and solidarity as can be seen below. On the opposite side, we can see that most traits relating to status are lowly rated because of the naturalness and spontaneity of the language and because of its stigmatisation compared to other languages which are granted a certain prestige of some kind.

Traits	Percentage
Likeable	65 %
Entertaining	53 %
Sociable	72 %
Emotional	61 %
Placid	48 %
Modest	64 %
Honest	72 %
Intelligent	38 %
Educated	23 %
Open-minded	26 %
Important	20 %
Rich	12 %
Modern	19 %
Religious	38 %
Patriotic	82 %
Loyal	65 %
Trustworthy	42 %
Respectful	39 %
Democratic	59 %
Responsible	38 %

4.4.4.1 Moral Qualities

... moral qualities score high percentages because of the
their mother tongue. In addition, for most speakers the
mother tongue is the one in which the identity, personality and traditions are expressed. It is, therefore, not surprising at all to see that the majority of informants find the reader likeable when he speaks Kabyle. This can be explained by the fact this variety is the one which is most used in the community for most everyday communicative purposes. As one of the informants explains, using a language that everybody understands make communication easier. This easiness in communication brings the speaker and the interlocutor closer to one another. According to the same informant, this constitutes a token of likeability on the part of the reader who by doing so reduces the distance between him and his listener.

In the same order of ideas, it seems that using a language understood by everybody is a mark of honesty. Some informants suggest that a morally “dishonest” person would use a variety which is not understandable because this would allow him introduce personal interests that would not be beneficial for the community through complex and complicated sentences and vocabulary. This would impress the listener who would either not pay attention to what he hears or believe that it is too complicated for him to understand. The same informants say that by using K, the reader wants to be clearly understood and has, therefore, nothing to hide. The same reasons apply for the reader’s modesty as he is expected to use SST, SA or F if he wants to show a certain status or position. Because K is everybody’s language, literate and illiterate, its use represents a coming down to the layman’s level without showing one’s high position.

The democratic aspect of the reader is explained by the argument that he is using a variety which is downgraded. This idea remains debatable in our case because it is known that in Kabyle families, sometimes even in those living in Arabic speaking areas, there is a strong tendency to speak K rather than any other language. This is, of course, common to all minority speech communities who, by doing so, preserve their languages. However, a striking fact is this contradiction between the fact that the reader is democratic but not open-minded. The latter attitude is certainly inspired by the traditional conservative philosophy mountaineers have. Until recent years, Kabyles have always been known for their conservatism in all fields and confinement in their traditions and communities. This is why the reader is considered by my informants as not open-minded when using K. we can see here how the association made between the language, representing traditions, philosophy and the like and the open-minded element is strong.

another parameter through which one can observe how a community. As known through history, Amazighs in general and Kabyles in particular have been very religious and quite conservative as to the precepts of religion⁶⁵. For this, I expected a high percentage for the religiosity of the reader. Yet, it seems that the linguistic policy imposed on the country since independence had effects contrary to those desired. Because SA has always been closely associated to Islam and because the former has been considered by Kabyle speakers as the means with which their language was intended to be erased, the association which existed between religion and K diminished to the extent that people today do not necessarily consider a K speaker as religious. This aspect of religiosity combined with the change of values in the whole Algerian society has had a strong effect on people's attitudes. Here again the expected high rate for the reader being respectful and trustworthy does not hold true for my respondents. They actually say that in today's Algeria the use of one language or the other does not reflect a person's respect or credibility.

We shall examine the characteristics relating to status.

4.4.4.2 Status

It is a fact that the use of a given language is associated by the listener with some kind of status or by the speaker to show and affirm a certain status. In any case, H varieties are always associated with high statuses and L ones with low ones. This can be confirmed by the attitudes expressed in the above table. We have already seen that traits relating to status score high percentages with the three languages already examined i.e., French, Standard Arabic and Semi-Standard Tamazight.

The stigma that seems to characterise K, even on the part of its speakers, has a considerable influence on how the latter may consider a user of this variety.

Intelligence, as previously stated, is generally equated with education in the Algerian society. Consequently, most informants do not consider the reader as intelligent because of his use of K. Some informants suggest that the language used is so simple and so down-to-earth that they have an impression of lack of intelligence. This makes it clear that for them intelligence resides in the use of a learned, prestigious language which can express complex and complicated matters. However, other informants disagree with this point of view by saying that it is harder to speak about certain matters in a simple language, and they see the reader as rather intelligent because he was able to do so. The same reasons are advanced for

⁶⁵ Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, A. Histoire des Berbères.

When an oral language has never been taught before in a society lacks formality, registers and vocabulary that may deal with topics that require a certain level of expression. Although some respondents do not think that this a criteria on which we can decide as to the non-education of the reader, they all agree on the fact that K is used in uneducated sociolinguistic environments. This explains why the reader is seen as uneducated by the majority of respondents.

Again, the reader is not looked at as socially important. Most informants agree that an important person would show his status and position through the use of expressions and vocabulary that K can not produce. An important person in this case is expected to use F or to a lesser extent SA. One informant says that either the reader is not important or he does not want to show it. We can see that the simplicity of the language used is closely related to the simplicity of position, at least at the moment of speaking. Also, richness is not a status which can be decided on only on the basis of the variety used. Actually, K is the variety all Kabyles communicate in regardless of their socio-economic status. The case of solidarity is very different from that of status.

4.4.4.3 Solidarity

The traits designed to represent solidarity obtain high scores. Mother tongues are among the most prominent tokens of group and ethnic solidarity. A well known sociolinguistic behaviour to show one's belonging to a speech community is the use of the common variety. Therefore, it is logical to find that most respondents find that the reader displays a high amount of solidarity with his native speech community.

Starting from here, we can understand the high score the reader obtains for sociability. This emanates from the use of K which is considered by most respondents as a way of narrowing the distance between the speaker and the listener. The use of a simple vocabulary and understandable expressions denotes the will of the speaker to be clearly understood. Therefore, the informants' attitude that he is sociable is strengthened. Yet, a minority thinks that the reader is not that sociable. They suggest that if he is sociable in regard to the Kabyle community he is not with other Tamazight speaking individuals and other Algerians who might not understand him. They consider that in this case he is rather putting a distance between him and others.

Another interesting point is that of the relation made between K and loyalty. As the latter is considered in terms of loyalty to one's origins and community, the high percentage obtained reflects the respondents' attachment to their community through the use of

a minority speech community to remain loyal to its by the majority’s language, habits and way of thinking.

It should be mentioned, here, that in spite of the confinement Kabyles imposed on themselves for many years, there is a beginning of opening towards the Arabic speaking community especially through mixed marriages and the settlement of Kabyles in Arabic speaking areas and vice versa. This makes it harder for the minority group to keep its specificities; thus speaking in K is seen as a proof of loyalty.

Patriotism has been considered in two ways by my informants: first patriotism towards the Kabyle land and tradition, and second patriotism towards Algeria. In the two cases, the argument that was most put forward is that by using a genuine, historically Algerian language, the reader displays a high level of patriotism. One informant explained his answer by saying that one way of showing one’s patriotism is using a language which belongs to the country i.e., “*Tamazight and Algerian Arabic*”⁶⁶. He adds that it is in these languages that the roots, history and personality are best expressed and not by means of imported languages that nearly no one understands.

Having seen how the four varieties are conceived by bilingual Tamazight speakers, I will try to classify the former in relation to the traits discussed.

4.4.5 Summary Rating of the Different Varieties

Traits	Language Rating			
	1	2	3	4
Likeable	K	F	SST	SA
Entertaining	K	F	SST	SA
Sociable	K	F	SST	SA
Emotional	K	SST	SA	F
Placid	SST	K	SA	F
Modest	K	SST	SA	F
Honest	K	SST	F	SA
Intelligent	SST	F	SA	K
Educated	SST	F	SA	K
Open-minded	F	SST	K	SA

⁶⁶ His words

		F	SST	K
		SA	SST	K
Modern	F	SST	SA	K
Religious	SA	K	SST	F
Patriotic	K	SST	SA	F
Loyal	K	SST	F	SA
Trustworthy	K	SST	F	SA
Respectful	SST	F	SA	K
Democratic	F	SST	K	SA
Responsible	SST	SA	F	K

The above summary table gives a general picture of Tamazight bilinguals' attitudes towards the different languages they have at their disposal. As explained above, it is very interesting to see how the same person is judged differently according to the variety he uses. Thus, hiding the fact that the reader of the four texts is the same person and asking the informants to judge the reader rather than the language reveals reactions that are not necessarily put forward in a direct type of questions.

Some important elements can be concluded in relation to the conception people have of the different varieties and the values contiguous to them. We can notice that most traits showing status are closely related to what people consider as High varieties. For instance importance rates first with SA and F. This is due to the fact that these two languages are the ones in which all formal work, correspondence and exchange is done in Algeria. Therefore, their use denotes a certain position on the part of the speaker who is supposed to have some kind of importance in the society. Surprisingly, education seems to equate first with Semi-Standard Tamazight rather than with French. The explanation is to be found in the relation made between education and SST. As the study and knowledge of the latter, as it obtains in Algeria, requires a certain level of education, SST speakers are expected to have been educated, at least, in French because it is in Latin scripts that the language is written and taught⁶⁷. What can be understood is that an SST user is even more educated than a French one because the former by applying and using complex rules and patterns relies on his knowledge of other languages among which French is not the least. SA also is considered as language of education mainly because it the language in which education is provided in Algeria; at least

⁶⁷ A discussion of the different writing options in Tamazight will be dealt with in Chapter Five.

Although no one to one relation exists between the language speaker really exists in Algeria, we may notice a small tendency towards the idea that the more educated and more modern a person is the richer he might be. This is why we get French in the first rank and Kabyle in the last one. I would like to mention here that the last economic developments in the country may have had an impact on such attitudes. The educational policy of the country is one which is said to be democratic since everybody is said to have the right to education. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Because of the cost-of-living that has characterised the country, it has become very hard for average income Algerians to offer a decent education to their children. Subsequently, the richer an individual is the higher education he can get and the more languages he can know.

Moral qualities, on the other hand, are mainly linked with SA and K. the link between SA and moral qualities proceeds mainly from the existing relation between this language and religion. Islam, which is taught and learnt in Arabic, is the first reference as to moral values in the entire Muslim world. Reference to The Quran, the Hadith and the precepts which guide the Muslims' life is first made in SA, wherefrom the relation between the two i.e., moral values and SA. In addition to the Islamic values, there are other ones which are specific to each community. This explains, for example, the association of modesty and likeability with Kabyle. Democracy, however, rates first when the speaker reads in French because of the association made between the Western "democratic" World and its languages. The image of freedom reflected through French explains its relation to the concept of democracy. What has attracted my attention as to this point is the position SA gets i.e., the last one. A possible explanation for this state of affairs is the fact that through the entire "Arab World" no political regime is really a democratic one. This attitude is made even stronger by the language policies in all these countries proclaim SA as their sole official language ignoring all the other languages, native and non-native, that may exist in each country. Last but not least, the philosophy of Arab Nationalism has for many years presented foreign and native languages as a threat to their unity and has, therefore, imposed SA on the populations. As a result, those populations who were educated in foreign languages or who had languages other than SA felt a kind of linguistic, and cultural, denial. All these reasons do not make it easy to associate this language with democracy. Again, it is not my intention to make any judgement on this variety or the way it has been handled, but the fact is that the reasons stated above have a big share in this negative attitudes some people have, notably my informants.

Things are quite different when it comes to solidarity characteristics. We may notice that as a whole K, SST and SA rate higher than F especially when the patriotism of

linguistic reality has proved that the French language is repertoire and means of communication, it seems that reactions to the French colonisation die hard. French is thought of as a foreign language and is not, therefore, the best language an individual may use to show his patriotism. Rather, the two Tamazight varieties and SA demonstrate the reader patriotism. The rating in which the three languages are put calls for some clarification. As the informants are Kabyle speakers, and knowing their strong attachment to their language, they consider the reader as more patriotic than with other languages because K is the one that distinguishes them from the other Algerian speech communities. Also because their mother tongue derives from the first language of what is today known as the Maghrib, there is a feeling of love and loyalty to the land and to its history. The same remarks hold true for SST especially that it heightens the prestige and the aura of their native language. Yet, as SA has existed in the Maghrib for fourteen centuries, it has become a symbol of patriotism especially that it the official language and the one in which all formal activities are held. On the other hand, if it is conceived as denoting loyalty towards religion and its values, it is not seen as such when this concerns the country. As stated earlier by some informants, SA dissolves the Algerian personality and identity within the bigger Arab one and therefore deletes all specificities proper to the Algerian people as such.

4.5 Conclusion

The above has revealed elements that seem to be interesting at more than one point. The two methods used, the direct and the indirect, were meant to examine Tamazight bilinguals' attitudes and reactions towards the languages they use. After being confronted to the direct questions, the informants were faced with indirect ones. This was undertaken to see whether the first reactions collected were confirmed or not. As seen in 4.1.1.5., attitudes can fulfil various functions depending on the individual's aim and on the environment he made find himself in.

Although most attitudes revealed in the first part of the chapter have been confirmed by the indirect method in the second part, some important "hidden" attitudes were brought up. One of the most prominent of these attitudes concerns SA. One may have expected fully negative attitudes towards this language; however, this does not seem to be the case. It has been shown that in spite of the tension that exists between SA and T in general, the former is equated with prestige, education, patriotism and moral qualities. Religion, the history of the language and the prestige it has had, and its usefulness in different fields have no doubt a big influence on Tamazight bilinguals' views on SA. However, the rejection of this language is

. Some of these attitudes, I must confess, can hardly be . Nevertheless, we should not forget that they emanate from a minority speech community towards a language which is seen as a weapon that has been used against their culture and their history.

Another interesting point is that which concerns French. Again not all the suspected attitudes appear to be true. It is a widespread idea that Kabyles use French quite frequently in their daily speech, may be more than other Algerians, as a result of the French colonial influence on the area. Surprisingly not all attitudes towards this language are positive. For example, French is not associated with patriotism nor is it with loyalty as it is considered as a foreign language. However, it is closely associated with education, intelligence and modernity. This is definitely due to the advance and the progress the Western World in general and France in particular displays. This is why, for example, there is a preference towards education in French.

The attachment of Kabyle speakers to Tamazight in general, through SST, and Kabyle is confirmed throughout the Chapter. SST is considered to be the form of the language which gives the prestige and the lacked prominence. It is actually wanted as the equivalent of the standard languages existing in Algeria i.e., SA and French. More than its practicality, it is its symbolism which most motivates the informants' attitudes towards it. Although hardly understood and used by the laymen, SST is put forward as the modern language of Tamazight speakers and the equal of the other language, at least this is the way it is wanted. However, its communicative distance with K put forward some negative attitudes every now and then as in the cases where the reader is not seen as sociable or entertaining.

Kabyle seems to be favoured for emotional and inner attitudes like loyalty, importance of language to be learnt, etc. But, the stigma it is qualified with and its incapacity to deal with technical and scientific fields prevent it from being considered as language of education. It is also not seen as a modern language because of the associations made between K and the Kabyle historical traditions of confinement and severity.

One last thing is the appearance of AA in the informants' comments even if they were not asked to judge the reader on this variety. This denotes the equivalence by Tamazight bilinguals between this variety and K in the sense they consider the two as languages that represent and symbolise best the Algerian personality.

Among the aims of the three previous Chapters is that the sociolinguistic behaviour and attitudes of K speakers help us understand some aspects of language



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process of language management, which is the subject

5.1 Introduction

So far, I have tried to investigate some of the sociolinguistic habits and attitudes of Tamazight bilingual speakers towards their languages. The aim behind this is to link these language behaviours and attitudes to the question of language management in Tamazight. I would not deny that the issue of language management is a task which is primarily devoted to specialists like psychologists, linguists, sociolinguists, ethnologists, historians, etc. Nevertheless, it seems that most specialists who are in charge of the management of Tamazight are rather motivated by passion and sometimes by extremisms which instead of helping and facilitating the task make it harder as will be discussed later.

The aim of this chapter is to explain that instead of making the question of language management an exclusivity of linguists and sociolinguistics we should also take into consideration peoples' attitudes and linguistic behaviours. Not taking into account the speakers would result in the creation of a language that no one would understand and no one would use. This, in my humble point of view, would be counter productive since the language concerned would have no vitality because cut off its social reality and environment. All the efforts and progress made so far in the field of Tamazight language management should not be denied, but rather revealed and shown some of the imperfections and drawbacks in the way the question has been dealt with so far.

The issue of Tamazight language management is of great importance not only for Tamazight speakers but for the whole the country. The recognition of this language as a national one and its introduction into the educational system raises many questions which remain unanswered. Such questions include: which variety (or varieties?) is to be standardised? Which variety (or varieties?) is to be taught for Tamazight speakers and eventually for non-Tamazight speakers? Should language management aim at the definition of the language that would be pan-Berber or should it concern each Tamazight variety on its own? Which print is to be used for the writing of Tamazight: Arabic, Latin or Tifinagh? Which status should be given to the language to ensure a considerable development of its use and eventually its generalisation? All these questions will be treated throughout this chapter and proposals for a more rational method for the standardisation and generalisation of the language will be made. The issue of language management is said to be closely linked to the

In other words, language management when undertaken by a minority language group, is a feeling that a language is endangered by a situation in which it may die out because of a process language shift from the native language to a more prestigious and widespread one. In other words, it is when a minority language group thinks that its language is threatened by a more prestigious one that reflexions on language management take place.

5.2 Reversing Language Shift

It would be very helpful for the understanding of the process of reversing language shift and the resulting language management to have a brief look at what language shift itself is.

5.2.1 Language Shift

Language maintenance and language shift are processes which take place in a situation of languages in contact. It is assumed that when two different speech communities come into contact, there is always one which constitutes the majority and the other the minority. Depending on the environment in which the linguistic situation develops, there may be a will on the part of the minority group to preserve and maintain its language or to shift to the majority language for different reasons. Thus, language maintenance can be defined as the will to maintain one's language in the midst of an environment where all conditions contribute to its disappearance or to the reduction of its use among native speakers. This awareness is said to be triggered mainly by the intellectual and political elite of the minority language and especially by those who emigrate to regions or countries where other majority languages are spoken. Language maintenance is actually a reaction to language shift which is a process whereby people who habitually speak one language, most of the time the minority language, switch to speaking another language, the majority language, and in the process give up using their first language. The Wikipedia free encyclopaedia states that:

“Language shift sometimes referred to as language transfer or language replacement or assimilation, is the progressive process whereby a speech community of a language shifts to speaking another language. The rate of assimilation is the percentage of individuals with a given mother tongue who speak another language more often in

whereby a community of speakers of
bilingual in another language, and
gradually shift allegiance to the second language is called
assimilation. When a linguistic community ceases to use
their original language, we speak of language death”.

According to the above definition, language shift can take different forms since it may start by language transfer through which we may have interference of L2 in L1. This can be followed by language replacement when L2 gradually invests fields which are proper to L1. Finally, it can end in language death when a minority speech community gives up using its native language and replaces it with the majority language in all fields and for all needs, even those intimate ones. This process occurs through a number of generations. Fishman (1972) suggests that a process of language shift occurs with third generation immigrants whose native language is the majority one because their parents are bilinguals who use L2 at home for intimate purposes. It is not within the scope of the present study to go through the reasons behind language shift; rather, what we are interested in is the process of reversing language shift. This will be the topic of the following section.

5.2.2 Reversing Language Shift

As mentioned earlier, the awareness that takes place in cases of language shift is the generally the make of an intellectual and political elite which in certain circumstances come to realise that their language is losing of its importance especially at the level of the number of interlocutors. Nevertheless, because of some emotional and passionate considerations, this elite may proceed in a way which instead of helping the language revive, would rather detach it from its social reality as a result of irrational methods to bring the language in question to a prestigious status or level. Following are two propositions made by Fishman (1991) and Crystal (2000) in reviving languages which undergo either a shift towards the major language or a process of death because the hegemony of the majority language.

5.2.2.1 Fishman’s Model

It is in this perspective that Fishman (1991) proposes eight stages in reversing language shift. He explains that it would be unworthy to try to move to the stages before the earlier ones are solidly set. The eight stages in question are:

by adults, who may effectively act as language of the remaining speakers of the language are elderly and socially isolated from other speakers of the language). This first stage concerns a situation of replacive bilingualism, to take Haugen's terms. It is very frequent that bilinguals who emigrate from their mother lands to areas where a majority language is spoken tend through generations to lose their mother tongue and replace it by L2 for most, if not all, of their daily and emotional needs. This is, actually, the case of many Kabyle speakers in Oran and in big Arabic speaking urban centres in Algeria like Tiaret, Constantine, Blida, Algiers and others. This loss of the mother tongue is due to the daily contact with Arabic speakers outside the home. There is actually on the part of children a transfer of Algerian Arabic to the home especially with brothers and siblings as seen in Chapter III. When these children reach adulthood, they are in state in which they hardly understand Kabyle, let alone speak it. Fishman recommends here the acquisition of the mother tongue by these adults so as to be able to transmit it to coming generations i.e., their children. This is true especially that the Kabyle speaking areas in Algeria are geographically separated from the rest of the Tamazight speaking areas. This makes the contact between the different speakers of the language more difficult than if there was a horizontal geographical continuum of the Tamazight speaking communities. Moreover, the socio-economic conditions of Kabylia indirectly encourage emigration to areas where people can find jobs, education and social promotion. This factor also plays a big role in language shift towards Algerian Arabic; therefore, it would be very beneficial to "recycle" Kabyle speakers in their mother tongue when they have totally or partially lost it.

Stage 2: There should a creation of a socially integrated population of active speakers of the language, thereby creating a community of people who use the language frequently. Fishman explains that at this stage it is usually better to concentrate mainly on the spoken language rather than the written one. It is important at this stage to work on the Constitution of a community of speakers who would use the language in a natural way and on regular bases, thus bringing the number of user of the mother tongue to increase. The fact of concentrating on the spoken aspect rather than on the written one is of importance. This is meant to give the language a social basis and a social reality as the community of speakers would use it for their daily needs and communication. This stage, when it comes to Kabyle does not pose a problem since there exists a considerable community which uses the language in Kabylia but also in non Kabyle speaking regions.

a reasonable number of people habitually using the language lives the informal use of the language among people of all age groups and within families and boost its daily use through the establishment of local neighbourhood institutions in which the language is encouraged, protected and (in certain contexts at least) used exclusively as in cultural associations. This may well apply to the situation of Kabyle where it is recommended that the language be used by speakers of different ages. It has been noticed through our data collection that within the Kabyle community living outside Kabylia, many young people have a tendency towards using AA between them and sometimes even at home with their parents. This, as already mentioned, is the result of the frequent use of AA outside the home with AA locutors. Consequently, these young speakers become through time more proficient in AA than in K the use of which diminishes even within the family. Even in big Kabyle urban centres like Tizi-ouzou and Bejaïa it is frequent to hear people conversing in AA or in F because of the influences emigrants have on the speech of the speakers, on the hand and because of the relatively considerable Arabic speakers who live in these towns on the other. The establishment of local neighbourhood institutions which encourage the use of the language is an action that has started many years ago through local cultural associations centred on Tamazight and mainly on Kabyle. These associations which exist throughout the country play a big role in reviving the language and the culture carried by the language. Such associations celebrate historical events inherent to the culture and enhance the use of Kabyle since this is their rationale. They allow bilinguals acquire a certain degree of awareness as to their bilingualism first, and in some cases, when necessary, orient language use towards an exclusive use of Kabyle. Such tasks are mainly important with bilinguals living in Arabic speaking areas or in French speaking areas.

Stage 4: In areas where oral competence in the language has been achieved in all age groups, it is beneficial to promote literacy in the language but in a way that does not depend upon assistance from (or goodwill of) the state education system. The situation of Kabyle is not one of a language that is really endangered since, except for those youngsters who live outside Kabylia, the oral use of the language has never stopped. Yet, what is interesting is the encouragement of literacy outside the state institutions, be they educational, political or cultural. Apart from some very rare examples like French in Canada and Flemish in Belgium, most minority languages are not taken in charge by governmental institutions. This has been the situation of Tamazight for many years after independence in the whole Maghrib. It is

importance of the work done by cultural association in
without any help or support from the Algerian government.

This was achieved through providing lessons in the language and through the publication of different literary, linguistic and some scientific works⁶⁹.

Stage 5: Where the state permits it, and where numbers warrant, the use of the language in lieu of compulsory state education should be encouraged. This is what is happening in today's Algeria where Tamazight is taught at schools and in some universities. The introduction of Tamazight, mainly in its Kabyle variety, into the educational system has been a big step forward in the promoting the language. Not only does it help the process of reversing language shift settle for good, but it, also, enhances literacy through the creation of different linguistic registers and consequently the enrichment and modernisation of the vocabulary. This may constitute a counterweight to the state education which is held in the major language on the one hand, and brings people to consider their bilingualism as positive. Of course, this necessitates a whole process of language standardisation as will be described in the coming sections.

Stage 6: Where the above have largely been achieved, it is essential to elaborate functions for the language by using it in the workplace. Once stage five is achieved, it is recommended to use the language in the workplace. This stage, however, has not yet been reached by Tamazight because of its present inadequacy with all the terminology related to work be it administrative or technical. Again the lack of linguistic specialised registers prevents Tamazight to invest the field of work; it has actually not become "a language of bread" yet.

Stage 7: The above stage is to be followed by the use of the language in local government services and mass media. This recommendation is only half applied to Tamazight in Algeria. As the Algerian political system is centralist, there does not exist any local governments in the country as it is the case in the USA, Germany, Spain and other countries. However, the use of the language in the mass media is relatively important since there are newspapers edited in Tamazight and TV programmes, mainly news bulletins, broadcast in the same language. One of the problems with the news bulletin is that it is broadcast in four different varieties:

⁶⁸ It has most of the time been the Kabyle variety which has been promoted. Actually, even today, the biggest tendency in standardising Tamazight goes to this variety as will be discussed in due time. This is why no real distinction between Tamazight and Kabyle was made so far.

⁶⁹ However, not all the works produced are in Tamazight; many of them are in French and sometimes in Arabic because of the lack of vocabulary and lexis related to some topics.

This state of affairs does not make things easy in the which will be discussed subsequently. Yet, one cannot deny the potential spread of the language in the country in the coming years through TV. In addition to these, there is a national radio station spoken exclusively in Tamazight and most frequently in Kabyle.

Stage 8: The final stage where reversing language shift is achieved is the situation where the above have largely been achieved. In such a case, it is important to use of the language in higher education, government etc. This understates a situation in which the language has constituted various specialised linguistic registers which allow it to be used in higher education and research. Such a situation supposes that a full standardisation has been achieved, which is not the case of Tamazight today. Also, the use of the language in the government spheres requires an elaboration of functions of the variety in question and most importantly its officialisation, as it is meant to be used for official purposes; a status that Tamazight has not reached yet.

In Fishman's conception, the above stages have to be respected in the order they are presented to avoid wasting time and energy. The idea behind this is that it would be useless, for example, to go directly to the later stages before the earlier ones are achieved. We can notice from what has been said above that the stages in the revival of Tamazight do not follow Fishman's propositions. Stage two, for example, where it is recommended to concentrate first at the spoken language seems to be ignored by the specialists in charge of language management. The fact is that because of the will, which is legitimate though, to make of Tamazight a written language, we witness a passage from the oral character to writing without taking into consideration the social realities of the language i.e., by creating a super linguistic norm which is communicatively incompatible with everyday Kabyle. This results in two big problems which will be dealt with in due time, namely: the lack of agreement as to which variety to standardise, and within the process of standardisation which is taking various directions, there emerged a communicative gap between the regional varieties and SST. However, one cannot deny that in spite of several technical problems, Tamazight, which was completely ignored by the official authorities, has thrived, developed and avoided further shifts thanks to extra official revival and use in the mass media even if many of the so called Tamazight speakers, especially those living outside Tamazight speaking areas, have not really recovered the use of the language. One striking thing is that while

reversing language shift at a large scale, it is also simultaneously. The fact is that while big efforts are made to develop the language, many speakers from Arabic speaking areas tend to use more frequently AA. The contact between these emigrants and locutors from Tamazight speaking areas bring gradual influences of Arabic in the speech of Tamazight speakers, in general, by introducing various Arabic items into their everyday language. Although no investigation has been undertaken on the subject, it has been noticed through personal observations that the use of AA, especially accents of big cities like Oran and Algiers, among youngsters in big urban centres like Tizi-ouzou is seen as a mark of belonging to a more modern and up to date community. Other propositions have been made in relation to the reversing language shift theory, among which those made by Crystal (2000).

5.2.2.2 Crystal's Model

In dealing with language death, Crystal (2000) proposes six factors which may help a language to progress. He claims that a language progresses and develops in a situation where it is endangered if the speakers of the language in question:

1. Increase their prestige within the dominant community. This means that speakers of a minority language have to give more prestige to their community within the dominant one. This can take various forms such as having a considerable number of known intellectuals in different fields: literature, technology, journalism, etc. Many examples can be cited for the Kabyle community: Mouloud Maameri the writer, Tahar Djaout the journalist and others. The world of arts also can greatly contribute to raise the prestige of the community as with Mohamed Issiakhem the painter, Chikh Mohamed El Anka the singer and Mohamed Fellag the comedian. The most important is the fact is that these famous people claim their belonging to the minority community otherwise all the honours would be recuperated by the majority community. Another aspect which can help the increase of prestige is the reference to historical people who contributed in the making or liberation of a nation. In this sense we can cite people like the Aguellids, the religious leaders who contributed in the spread of Islam or more recently those who fought against the French colonisers. Among these categories of people we can cite Jugurtha, Tarek Ibn Ziyad, Lalla Fathma N'soumer, Abbane Ramdane, etc. The biggest advantage behind such an increase of prestige within the dominant community is that it raises minority members' pride and status at the psychosocial level. This enhances the valorisation of the values, traditions and culture of the minority community in the eyes of the

be done in the Algerian context, those who have lived the Tamazight question in Algeria, and especially the Kabyle one, can realise the progress achieved by Kabyles in the way they, and their cause, are considered today both at the official level and the unofficial one. The status of Kabyles has evolved from that of allies of the Occident and France in particular which constituted a risk for the national unity, a status which was nourished by the official post-independence propaganda, to that of nationalists and avant-garde of contestation against all forms of oppression and injustice during the last years.

2. Increase their wealth and economic status so as to take an active part in the economic decisions and orientations of the dominant community. It is well known that financial power is one of the essential parameters in controlling a community or a country. Many examples can be found in history of minority communities who achieved control over other communities because they had, among other things, a big financial power: the “Franciliens” in France, the Castilians in Spain, etc. Such is not the situation in Algeria, but it is clear that the more wealth a community displays, the more respect it receives from the other surrounding communities. Yet, it is doubtful that such a situation may obtain in Algeria because as already said in this work, there is no one to one relation between the language used by a speaker or a community and his/its social status. Nevertheless, wealth may give more support to the community rather than to the language per se. If it happens, the impact on language can obtain only in the course of time.

3. Increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community. This, in my opinion, is quite a hard task to achieve since the legitimisation of the community’s difference with the dominant one can require many years and efforts. Most of the time, this is achieved after many social and in some cases ethnic conflicts and confrontations. This does not mean that the increase of the legitimate power of the minority community is impossible. The case of Kabyles is quite edifying in this sense. Once the prestige within the dominant community is achieved, it is easy to make the acquired power seen as legitimate by the majority. In Algeria, after years of claims and efforts made for the recognition of the Tamazight dimension, the fact that a big number of Kabyles are today in the spheres of decision making does not seem to incommode the Arabic speaking majority. It is true, though, that Kabyles have always held important positions within the governmental institutions i.e., the regional or linguistic belonging of an individual has never been an obstacle to social promotion. But, one must signal that all those Kabyles who had important positions did not claim their specificities and peculiarities; the novelty is that during the last years Kabyles who are in state institutions

nity without being indexed by the Arabic speaking matter as being legitimate⁷⁰. It is worth noting that this

is an important evolution in respect to the Tamazight issue in Algeria both on the part of the official authorities and the dominant speech community as a whole.

4. Have a strong presence in the education system both at the levels of number and importance of posts held. Holding positions where decisions are taken in the educational system a many with a big numeral presence are advantageous since they permit members of the minority to influence the trends followed by the educational system. One of the most prominent fields, if not the most prominent, where the future of a society is determined is that of education. It is through education that the values a society wants for itself are inculcated to generations of learners. Although some of these values are not easily accepted at their beginning, they are integrated, accepted and sometimes even encouraged through time. The Tamazight issue is a case in point. During the first years of independence, the Amazigh dimension was rarely referred to in the programmes taught at schools and universities because most programmes were centred on (re) building the Arabic personality of the Algerian people. This was done with the help of a tremendous number of teachers brought from Arabic speaking countries such as Egypt, Syria, Iraq, etc. during the sixties, seventies and eighties. The integration of Tamazight speakers, mainly Kabyles who claimed their belonging to their speech community into different important positions in the government and the educational system starting from the late eighties, has had considerable influence on the trend followed by the educational authorities. The management of education and the programmes proposed at different levels are officially meant to answer the Algerian reality from different angles⁷¹. In the case that interests us, we may say that the fact that a relatively detailed part of the history programmes relate to that of the Amazighs in addition to the introduction of the learning language in Tamazight speaking areas. As a society's view and behaviour are shaped by education in the first place, the Algerian people as a whole not only accepts but also claims its Amazigh belonging today. Changes in a society sometimes depend on such unsuspected events that it would not be surprising that even Arabic speaking areas in Algeria would claim learning Tamazight as they get more aware that it belongs to them as well. This can be achieved mainly through the education of generations of Algerians.

⁷⁰ On many occasions, former Prime Minister Ahmed Ouyahia made speeches or parts of them in Kabyle. He is actually the first person of high rank to have made a speech in Kabyle in the parliament (APN)

⁷¹ Although it is not within the scope of this research to make an account of the Algerian educational system, there are debates among specialists on the adequacy of the programmes and the frequent reforms brought to education.

Crystal suggests the writing of the language as an because it is well known that an oral language, even

when it is preserved, can never reach the status and prestige of a language. It is true that many spoken languages survived from antiquity, but their survival has always been confined to the speech community in which it is used. In the case where the language in question undergoes a shift to the benefit of the dominant language, the oral character is nearly useless because through time all traces of this language are lost. Writing the language is, therefore, a means to preserve it on the one hand, and give it the prestige that it lacks on the other. Subsequently, the dominant community's view on the language and its speakers can be easily and quickly changed from a negative view to a positive one. This is, actually, what is happening with Tamazight, although most of the written material is in the Kabyle variety⁷², which since it started being written has gained more consideration from the Arabic speaking community than it had before.

6. Can make use of electronic technology in their language. This importance of the use of electronic technology lies in the fact that it facilitates the writing and the spread of the language through the use of a tool which is not time consuming. Besides, it allows the language itself develop a vocabulary which will modernise it and make it meet modern universal needs. This, actually, is still problematic as far as Tamazight is concerned. Many attempts are made at writing the language on computers and coining vocabulary relating to electronics and technology, but as the writing of Tamazight is only at its beginnings, it seems that more time is needed to reach this goal. However, as many Tamazight speakers, like all Algerians, can use electronic technology, one may speculate that the investment of the language in the above cited field will take lesser time.

5.3 Language Management/ Planning⁷³

The issue of language management, generally, comes into being when a community wants to raise the prestige of its language by passing from an oral state to a written one or when this community sees that its variety is endangered in some way. It is actually an attempt to put a counterweight against the idea of "one language one state" which

⁷² The fact that Tamazight is equated with Kabyle by the majority of Algerians is partly due to the fact that most publications, TV and radio programmes are in Kabyle.

⁷³ Language management and language planning are used interchangeably here although some of the literature in the field makes some difference between language planning which is mainly undertaken by the state for ideological and political reasons and language management which is said to be the make of scientists and is therefore expected to obey rational and scientific criteria. (cf. Daoust & Maurais 1987:13)

world today. The rising of state nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa has led to a global ideology which broadly states that one people is united around one language. The hegemony of the language variety which symbolises, or is wanted to symbolise, the belonging, membership and identity of a nation is sometimes seen by minority linguistic groups as a threat to their language which gradually loses importance as to its use and to the number of its speakers because of its replacement by the dominant language.

Cooper (1989) defines language planning in the following terms:

"Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their codes" (Cooper 1989:45).

Thus, it is, generally, in relation to others and certainly to other varieties as well, that language planning is undertaken. Various motivations can determine this task, but they all have in common the will of language planners to bring speakers to consider the language and eventually use it by means acquisition i.e., teaching and learning, and setting fixed grammatical rules and developing a wider vocabulary than that the language originally had. All these parameters combined give the language concerned bigger prestige and prominence over co-existing ones.

Cooper divides language planning into three sub-divisions, which are nevertheless closely interrelated and interdependent:

- Corpus planning which is concerned with intervention in the forms of a language. Through the elaboration of potential functions, efforts are made to ensure that the language will have the necessary terminology to function as the medium of administration, education, etc.
- Status planning which concerns choices in terms of status of a language vis-a-vis other languages (official, national, regional etc.). This can serve turn a language or even a regional variety in to a prestigious one.
- Acquisition planning which concerns the teaching and learning of languages - national as well as second and foreign languages. This dimension can be seen as a sub-division

prestige a language has that defines whether it is to be are to be used.

It is the first two levels which determine the third level which is more of a didactics' concern than of a sociolinguistic one. There is a general tendency within the scientific literature concerned with these matters to regard status planning as "the most interesting dimension" today. This point of view is not due to any inherent characteristic status planning bears, but rather to the trend towards reviving and promoting minority languages and mother tongues throughout the world. In an internationally oriented world, where cultural and linguistic pluralism prevail at the expense of national homogeneity in spite of the so-called nation states built around one unifying language, many scholars like Cooper (1989) and before him Haugen (1972) with his "language ecology"⁷⁴ agree that language planning should concern not only states to "create" homogeneous, monolingual" communities, but also bilingual speech communities where minority language aspire to prestige and recognition.

5.3.1 Language Ecology

The concept of "language ecology" was suggested by Haugen (1972) to refer to the study of the interaction of any given language and its environment. The environment comprises all the elements that can influence or that can be influenced by the language to be planned. These relate to the other languages the language under study is in contact with, the political environment, the cultural one, etc. Haugen (1972: 325) writes:

"The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its speakers, and it only functions in relating these speakers to one another and to nature, i.e., their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a

⁷⁴ The term is used interchangeably with eco-linguistic system in the literature on language planning.

... primarily by the people who learn it,
... others.”

Therefore, the status given to a language within a policy has an influence on it and on all the contexts and situations it is spoken in. Whether being a majority language, a minority language or even non-vital, the consideration and weight a variety is given by the state's policy shapes the minds of speakers and has a great impact on their view of the language itself and other languages used beside it. Thus, the relation between a variety and the other varieties around it is very determining as to the way different interlocutors consider them. As a matter of fact, Mac Giolla Chríost (2002) claims that in the case of Northern Ireland, the relative short distance between English and Ulster-Scots languages

“causes many to consider causes many not to recognise the latter as a language at all, but to regard it as a degenerate variation of English”. (2002: 463)

While the relatively large distance between Irish and English makes the former “... easily recognised as a distinct form of language” (2002: 464).

Similarly, in the Algerian context, AA is not considered as a different language from SA, but is rather considered by many Algerians as a corrupt, incorrect form of Arabic. More than that, it is not considered as the language of Algerian identity. This seems to be the case with all the dialectal forms of Arabic throughout the “Arab World”. At the same time, Tamazight is seen as a different language because of the big distance between it and SA.

Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) in analysing the forces at work in a linguistic ecosystem present the situation as follows. Within a linguistic ecosystem, there are different variables. The first one is language. They suggest that in addition to the national/official language, there exists a number of varieties one of which is a non-standard variety of the official language such as Black English in the US or AA in the case of Algeria; a variety that is likely to die in the near future. Between the two are minority languages in the community as is Tamazight or rather different varieties of Tamazight in Algeria. They claim that the ecosystem is influenced by two types of forces. One that is sociolinguistic is represented by language death, language survival, language change, language revival, language shift, language amalgamation, language contact and literacy development. The other one which is institutional represents the agencies and organisations which impact on the system; these are

encies, communities of speakers, non-government

Language contact triggers various sociolinguistic phenomena. In an eco-linguistic system, there is automatically one language which takes over the other languages it is in contact with. The fact is that whenever two or more languages are in contact, the most prestigious one becomes the dominant language and influences the other languages to various degrees. This influence results in linguistic situations which determine the status of the so called downgraded varieties. Thus, there can be instances where some languages are threatened. Language death is a case in point. One of the most famous examples is that of the Indian languages in the American continent. The big influence English, Spanish and to a lesser extent Portuguese had on the Indian languages led to the death, or to a situation of language survival, of most of them. A lesser degree of influence can be explained by situations of language shift and language change. The latter phenomena can be the consequence of socio-economic changes, but when it concerns minority languages this generally occurs in the sense of change in the direction of the dominant language. The shift, of course, does not occur instantly and is sometimes hardly observable from a synchronic point of view. Rather, it is a slow continuous process which can take years or centuries before it is palpable. Diachronic considerations are to be taken into account to explain and analyse changes that occur within a language. This situation can be applied to Tamazight which gradually disappeared from the majority of the Maghribi regions. In addition to historical facts, language shift and change can happen in a relatively short period of time as a result of quick changes that can occur in a given society, but also, because of the reliance of minority languages on the majority one through borrowing. Language amalgamation is, also, a consequence of a situation of language contact in which two languages end up as forming a merger which relies on both. This happens when the phenomenon of code-switching is so extensive that the mixture of the two languages gives birth to a linguistic system which develops its own rules and patterns as in the case of Tex-Mex and AA/F or T/F code-switching. Another situation is that of language revival which consists in attempts to revive a dead or language and to bring it back to life by providing it with the tools and means to be used by its community of speakers as was the case with Hebrew. However language revival necessitates developing literacy through education which itself is tributary of language standardisation.

The agencies and groups which can have an impact on the eco-linguistic system are, also, of great importance since it is through them, thanks to them or because of

ed or downgraded. Government agencies are actually therefore, the eco-linguistic system is determined by these agencies in the sense that state institutions through the use, or not, of a language decide on the status of the latter. Since they are expected to apply the governmental policy, their influence on the community's ideological, economic and social life is big. Thus, the promotion, development and expansion of a language depend much on them. This explains the use of SA in all official contexts and the beginning of the emergence of Tamazight at this level. Education agencies also contribute in shaping the eco-linguistic system since generations are taught, brought up and influenced by the languages they learn either through formal or informal education. A case of such an influence can be noticed in the loss of mastery of the French language by the younger generations in Algeria. During many years, French language has been presented as the foreign language par excellence and its teaching has therefore been considerably reduced. Thus French which had an official language status in the first years of independence became a foreign language and taught as such later. This was not influencing people's considerations for it. In the same way, Tamazight moved from the status of dialect(s) to that of national language. Its promotion through education in cultural associations and at schools and universities enhanced people's interest on it, not only for Tamazight speakers but also AA ones as well.

As to the groups whose impact can be of importance, the community of speakers is primary. It is a well known fact that languages are what their speakers do of them. In other words, the more speakers a language has, the more likely it remains part of the eco-linguistic system. But, once the speakers abandon it to the benefit of another language it dies and disappears from the linguistic components of the system in question. Non-governmental organisations consolidate the use and the existence of different varieties within a sociolinguistic context. These organisations can take different forms; they can be political, cultural, national, international or regional. In the case of Tamazight, we can cite the Berber Academy (see Chapter One), the World Amazigh Congress (WAC) and all the Amazigh associations that can be found all over Algeria. The role of these organisations is to promote, defend and prevent the language and its culture from dying. They also contribute to its spread in Algeria, the Maghrib and in the world as a whole.

The three first Chapters were actually designed to deal with language planning by taking into consideration the eco-linguistic environment in which Tamazight exists in Algeria.

is aimed at through language planning. Nahir (1984) (24) proposes eleven objectives that he presents as

follows:

1. Language purification the aim of which is to protect the language from foreign influences and preserve the integrity of the decreed form.
2. Language revival which aims at making the language one of normal communication.
3. Language reform which consists of bringing changes internal to the language at the writing, lexical or syntactic levels.
4. Promotion of a variety to a rank of standard language.
5. Diffusion i.e., the increase of the number of speakers.
6. Lexical modernisation which is achieved by means of neology and adapted borrowing.
7. Terminological standardisation to allow the unification of terminologies.
8. Stylistic simplification to reduce ambiguity due to the use of archaic structures at the lexical, syntactic and more generally the stylistic levels.
9. Interlingual communication which allows communication with speakers of other languages.
10. Language maintenance of language which in usage, be it a majority language or a minority one.
11. Standardisation of so-called “auxiliary” codes such as the sign language used by the deaf, road signs, etc.

As can be noticed from the above objectives, they all show a strong will for a linguistic change, but which conveys motivations of social and political orders. Rubin (1977) explains that among the objectives of language planning are those which are of socio-political or purely political order. The fact that speakers of a downgraded language are always stigmatised creates social and political tensions which are sometimes violent. Language planning is, thus, a way of reducing these tensions through the recognition and the promotion of the language of the minority group.

The concept of language management is generally presented as comprising three aspects: corpus management and status management and acquisition management. The context of Tamazight will be investigated and analysed in relation to each element of language planning. Although, the three levels are related to one another, especially corpus and status management, it was thought that it would be more interesting to deal with each one separately so investigate the problems and inadequacies which might emerge in the case of Tamazight.

d, most languages undergoing a process of language planning are languages which have either always been oral and have, therefore, no written forms, or languages which had had some kind of high status of some sort in a given period of their history but which was lost because of language shift or death⁷⁵. One of the hardest tasks language planners have to face is that of corpus management that Haugen, who is said to be the precursor in the field through his work on language planning in Norway, defines as:

“.. [the] activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community” (1968:673)

Although the above passage in Haugen conception refers to language planning as a whole, it is clear that it refers rather to what is now known as corpus planning. In fact, language planning, here, seems to refer to language standardisation by assigning writing rules, grammatical ones and the vocabulary necessary for a language to deal with different fields other than everyday ones.

Amery (2001:153) sees corpus planning as:

“...measures...which affect and shape the language itself as a linguistic system.”

He further adds:

“...corpus planning includes the establishment of norms of pronunciation and grammar, establishing a spelling system, elaboration of the lexicon, etc.” (2001:153)

It is, therefore, on specialists, mainly linguists, that the task of corpus planning falls. This supposes a prescriptive intervention on the forms of a language. This task includes various fields as presented in bulk in the wikipedia free encyclopaedia:

- Creation of new words or expressions.
- Modification or revival of old ones.
- Selection among alternative forms.
- Efforts at linguistic purism and the exclusion of foreign words.

⁷⁵ Hebrew is an example of a language which nearly lost all prestige and speakers before its revival starting from the late 19th century.

f a language so that it becomes an appropriate medium
topics and forms of discourse.

- Creation of the terminology needed for use in administration, education.
- Standardisation of a language, involving the preparation of a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary in order to put parapets for to the “correct language” to be used by writers and speakers in a speech community.
- Appointment or introduction of a –new- writing system.

It is important for an unwritten language like Tamazight to start with the appointment of a writing system since it is through it that all the decisions and changes brought to the language are to be fixed and followed. It is also essential at more than one level. The fact that a variety is not written makes the latter more vulnerable especially if it is a minority language. The influence of the majority is such that through generations a process of language loss takes place; this can actually end in a situation of language death. This would have probably been the case with Tamazight had it not been preserved by the geographical characteristics of the region where it has been spoken and the efforts made by many Tamazight writers, teachers and singers to maintain it. The writing of a language also prevents it from becoming a historical reminiscence of the past. In an era of globalisation, spoken varieties do not seem to have big chances to remain alive especially that there seems to be a tendency among speakers throughout the world towards using the languages they see as the most profitable in terms of science, knowledge, economy and communication. If some written and confirmed languages are felt to be threatened by the spread of English, what can we say about minority spoken languages? Thus, the appointment of a writing system is a guarantee of a certain perennity of the language, its symbolic weight, its culture and its history. Even the status some languages have is highly determined by the fact that they are written since to my present knowledge, there is no spoken language with a prestigious status. Spoken varieties are considered either as “mere” dialects or varieties deriving from the prestigious one both by official circles and laymen. In addition to this, writing enhances literacy in a language and helps develop new vocabulary and terminology which fit different fields that the spoken variety cannot deal with.

The selection among alternative forms in the way Tamazight is being planned is somehow problematic because of the fact that the language is not standardised yet. The problem resides in the fact that at the official level Tamazight is not considered as one language but rather as a number of different varieties, which it actually is. But, from a

difficult, not to say impossible, to standardise any aspect of a language. The question, raised here, is which variety should be standardised? This question will be dealt with in the next section. Yet, selection among phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical norms is of prime importance. If we are to standardize a language we need to level it. By levelling, is meant the technique which allows one to select all the forms that are common to all the varieties to the expense of local forms specific to a given region or group of speakers. This is one of the problems Tamazight planning is facing today. Because the Tamazight speaking areas are interrupted by Arabic speaking ones, the former had different historical developments and endured language contact to different extents. There is such variation at the lexico-semantic level that there is, in general, almost no mutual intelligibility between, say, Kabyle and Targui. Although the lexical stock is more or less the same in all Tamazight varieties, semantic and phonological variation makes communication difficult between speakers of different varieties. Actually, variation exists even within Kabyle itself. However, this does not mean that levelling is impossible to achieve, but it needs a many run process.

The introduction of language into the media and education needs the creation of the terminology to be used. Different topics and fields are treated in the media and education. Medicines, politics, history, mathematics, philosophy, among other subjects, are topics education and the media have to account for. For an unwritten language which is commonly used for everyday intimate situations, it is hard to deal with learned fields. Finding the vocabulary to adapt to learning and erudition is one of the tasks language planners have to achieve. As far as Tamazight is concerned, attempts at achieving this task are made since this language, today, can deal topics like computing, mathematics, politics, etc. However, this is done at such a speed, and with fields that are more concerned with everyday life, that there seems to be a beginning of a diglossic situation. This is true mainly for the Kabyle variety whose H form i.e., the one taught and used in literature and the media is digging a gap with the L everyday form. If the goal of language planners was to avoid Arabic like diglossia, the result is far from being satisfactory. Actually, the creation of a “normative monster” motivated more by passionate considerations is creating a slow but real rejection of a language which was meant to be the banner of the Amazigh, or at least the Kabyle, culture.

I shall say that although the above work fields are commonly taken into consideration in language planning, some of them are not necessarily beneficial to the language under work if they are not controlled. By saying so, two points are stressed: the revival of old words and expressions, and efforts at linguistic purism and the exclusion of

interesting to revive old words and expressions, but it is rarely adapt the new realities of the language and of the speakers. As languages change continually and sometimes at very high speed, there is no guarantee that speakers adopt old words and expressions for several reasons. The first of these is that some old words do no more express the needs of the interlocutors because they have become archaic and have been out of use for a many time, sometimes it is a matter of centuries. In this case, there is a need for the modification of the words in question at different levels: phonological, semantic and sometimes even grammatical. If not, there is rejection from the interlocutors and there would be therefore no way to spread it and revive it.

The second reason is that people's attitudes and views of old expressions are very determining. It is true that from a symbolic point of view, reviving old words is rather positive, but one should not forget that many speakers, if not the majority, like to sound modern and up to date. Consequently, they would avoid using what they consider as obsolete language unless it is adapted, modified and modernised. The second point is that of making efforts at linguistic purism and the exclusion of foreign words. The idea in itself does not rest on any rational considerations. The fact that linguistic purism is impossible to achieve in a century characterised by a high degree of exchange between different ethnic groups, countries and political groups does not allow any community to live on its own without interacting with other communities. Similarly, the contact between languages entails borrowing from one language to another; therefore, cases of language purism are unlikely to exist in most of the world known languages. The aspiration of some language planners to design a pure language can be explained by the fact that most minority languages are influenced by majority ones to a high extent. This influence generally results in language shift at best and language death at worst. It is to avoid such a state that there is generally an attempt at reviving the old language and getting rid of all the linguistic elements considered as foreign to the language. Here again, the ideologico-nationalist trend imposes linguistic prescriptivism which can lead to total rejection and refusal of the language by those who are supposed to use it. Because an excess of purism can be very harmful to a language, preference is given to the two above cited ideas. One of the most prominent works language planning is concerned with is that of standardisation. This is the subject of the following section.

is a variety which has been given some legitimacy and correction compared to other varieties around it. It is the variety whose phonological, grammatical and lexical constituents are taken by the community as the norm which is used for “good speech” and “good writing”. The standard variety is always one which is supported by a power of some sort; this power can be military, economic, religious, scientific or other. A standard language is, also, the one which is taught at schools for native as well as for foreign learners and is used by the media and writers. Yet, to be standardised, a “dialect” needs to fulfill some conditions and go through stages. Hudson (1986:32) says that:

“... standard languages are the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by the society. This intervention, called ‘standardisation’, produces a standard language where before there were just ‘dialects’ (i.e., non-standard varieties)”.

He further (1986:33) assigns four processes a non-standard variety has to go through to become standard. These are as follows:

5.3.2.1.1. Selection

The selection of a variety to be standardised is of prime importance in the sense that it emanates from social and psychological motivations. The choice of a variety among many others depends on factors like political power, economic wealth, scientific preeminence, and so forth. It is generally supposed that the variety of the capital city is the one which is standardised as a result of some historical and economic variables as is the case with French, English and Spanish. The prestige gained by the variety is shared by the community who uses it as a native language; wherefrom social and political implications which put forward the community as representative of all the other communities who use the standardised variety. Another possibility is that an amalgam of the various co-existing varieties is made and designed as the most prestigious. In some other cases, it is a language with non-native speakers that is designed to be selected as in the case of Standard Arabic in the “Arab World” or Classical Hebrew in Israel. One of the most delicate issues in the field of Tamazight language planning is the choice of a variety to be standardised. This issue has been at the centre of political and identity stakes as many tendencies want to give the question different courses. Even if these tendencies are the concern of the present work, I will refer to them when needed through the following analysis.

high degree of variation at all levels. This variation is spoken varieties are scattered throughout the Maghrib without forming a geographical continuum. Consequently, there are relatively mutually unintelligible Tamazight regional dialects. Lexico-semantic and phonological variations make it vary difficult for two interlocutors from two different regional speech communities to communicate in Tamazight because of the inexistence of a convergent form of the language known by all Tamazight locutors. Applied to Tamazight, the above possibilities of selection would present the following options which present advantages and drawbacks at the same time. One of these alternatives is to try to standardise a pan-Algerian form of the language. Technically, this is feasible in the sense that linguists can gather the vocabulary, the syntactic, morphological and phonological inventory of the different Tamazight varieties and create a form which relies on all the varieties. This may be positive from a symbolic point of view since Tamazight speakers would have one language as an identity reference, but would be negative from a practical point of view. This “prefabricated” language would have no native speaker because it would be incomprehensible for most speakers. Moreover, the risk of rejection of an Esperanto – like language is very high since no Amazigh speaker would really identify with it nor would he understand as has been seen in Chapter Four. Thiers (1986: 72) says that in dealing with language planning:

“hypernormative attitudes and purist anathemas ... produce an effect opposite to the one aimed at: because they widen the gap with the language they would like to defend and promote.”⁷⁶

Therefore, creating a language that would be very distant from the social, psychological and economic reality of the community would be counter-productive. It seems that such a tendency is dictated by some passionate and ideological considerations that Chaker (2000) advises to avoid in the Tamazight field. He writes: “*we should not transplant in our field [Tamazight] conceptions which are purely ideological, a largely artificial problematic, which can be unnecessarily costly*”⁷⁷ (2000:5). It is in this sense that a common Tamazight – a pan-Berber- must deal with. He further adds that:

⁷⁶ The original text reads :

“les attitudes hypernormatives et les aanathèmes puristes ... produisent le contraire de l’effet recherché: car ils éloignent de langue qu’ils voudraient défendre et promouvoir.”

⁷⁷ The French quotation reads :

“Il ne faut... pas transplanter dans notre domaine des conceptions purement idéologiques, une problématique largement artificielles, qui risquerait d’être inutilement coûteuse. ”

... promotion of a common standard Berber
... as an immediate objective. We should
avoid the creation of a new diglossic situation in the Berber
field like that of Classical Arabic / dialectal Arabic which
would be counter productive in relation to ... the promotion of
the Berber language and notably to its generalisation.”⁷⁸

It is true that the diglossic situation that characterises the Arabic language can serve as a model to be pondered over. The gap between CA and dialectal Arabic is so wide that it is impossible for any Arabic speaker to understand and use CA unless he learns it through education. Although CA has the advantage of being the language of The Quran and a language which carries a literary and scientific history, it is no one’s native tongue. The fact that it does not express people’s deepest emotions, feelings and thoughts makes it a language which is functionally far from its society. Tamazight which does not present the advantages Arabic has cannot afford a diglossic context which would give birth to a rejection from Tamazight native speakers, let alone non Tamazight speakers.

In the same order of ideas, Dourari (2006:19) implicitly suggests the avoidance of the Arabic diglossic model; he writes:

*“Either the proposed standardisation fits the characteristics of the Algerian nation (which is, whatever the period in which we consider it, the result of historical evolution), or there is a risk of provoking the desocialisation of the language as it was the case with scholar Arabic that the strongest voluntarisms have not been able to dive in the spirits.”*⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The French text reads:

“L’élaboration d’un standard commun ne peut être considéré comme objectif immédiat. Il faut éviter de constituer dans le champ berbère une nouvelle situation diglossique du type de celle de l’arabe classique / arabe dialectal, qui serait tout à fait contre-productive par rapport à ... [la] promotion de langue berbère et notamment à sa généralisation.”

⁷⁹ *“Ou bien la normalisation proposée épouse les caractéristiques de la nation algérienne (qui est, à quelque moment que l’on la considère, le résultat d’une évolution historique), ou alors elle risque de provoquer la désocialisation de la langue comme ce fut le cas de l’arabe scolaire que le plus fort des voluntarismes étatique n’a pas pu enfoncer dans les esprits des Algériens dont on s’attendait naïvement qu’ils se mettent tous à le parler y compris dans les conversations quotidiennes.”*

“socialisation” that should be avoided; otherwise, the result would be the reverse of what is wanted from the standardisation process. Even if some would claim that through education we can have locutors who be very competent in pan-Berber or pan-Algerian Tamazight, the question is who would they communicate with? Obviously they would be able to communicate with other speakers who would have been educated in this form of the language i.e., only literate people. Besides this, what function or functions are to be devoted to this variety? If a stylistic hierarchisation of different levels of a variety is a must, what about the L varieties? What about the mutual intelligibility between the H and L forms? The cases of English and French, even if they went through a historical process, should be considered since the diglossic situations they present are as sharp as that of Arabic or as that as of a pan-Tamazight would present. In the perspective of an Algerian form of Tamazight, the question is which variety is to be selected as the one to standardise? The high level of variation among the Tamazight varieties and the relative lack of mutual intelligibility between them hinder a “one Tamazight language” that would be recognised and accepted by all Tamazight speakers. It is true, though, that modern means of communication have somehow reduced the gap between the different varieties. Yet, the inexistence of official language planning institutions somehow delays a real reliable standardisation⁸⁰.

Another possibility of selection is to opt for the Kabyle variety which presents certain advantages compared to the other varieties. Because Kabyles have been the most refractory to the Arabisation policy since the period of the National Movement that fought against the French colonisation, they were the first to investigate study and claim the Amazigh identity after independence. This does not mean that they have any priority over the other Tamazight speakers, but this state of affairs pushed them to write and publish works about the question. The biggest amount of the literature was issued in French, but during the last twenty years, attempts at functionalising, writing and integrating this variety into various fields like literature, science and technology gave it some advance over the other Algerian Tamazight varieties. Even if much is left to be done in certain fields we will deal with later, Kabyle is the most indicated variety for selection, if not as the variety to standardize as the one on which standardisation would be based. The other asset the Kabyle variety has is that the form of Tamazight taught at school is based on this variety which is likely to get more widespread acceptance among Tamazight speakers and later on, potentially, among Algerians in general. It

⁸⁰ The creation of the CNPLET is too recent in Algeria to be of any influence on the question, at least up to now.

ly universities where Tamazight is taught are those of
tendency has been put forward by Mansouri (1997) in
his analysis of a contemporary attempt at translating The Quran⁸¹. The translation is based on a
koine the first source of which is the Kabyle variety, but which relies on other varieties
whenever need for that is felt. Again the variety studied is based on Kabyle in these two
Kabyle speaking towns. Thus, it seems that the variety in question is developing lexis to deal
with learned and educated topics and fields. However, this solution presents a big problem as it
has created a diglossic situation which is at least as sharp as that of Arabic. This diglossic
situation exists between SST and Kabyle, the variety on which it is based, as well as between
the other Tamazight varieties like Shawi, M'zabi and Targui.

A third possibility is that instead of selecting one variety for all the Algerian
Tamazight speakers, it would be preferable to standardize each variety on its own. As Chaker
(2000: 5) suggests:

*“For the time being, and certainly for many
decades, we will aim at establishing a standard (written)
form for each Berber regional variety... . The pan-Berber
objective can be envisaged only on the many run, through
progressive adaptation and convergence among the different
varieties.”⁸²*

The regional variation that characterises the Tamazight language is the
essential reason for such a trend of thought. From a democratic point of view, it would be
unacceptable to impose on people a language which does not reflect their aspirations and their
culture. In addition, as mentioned above, the comprehension and acceptance question is to be
seriously considered. This is why the above proposition seems to be the most adequate in the
present state of affairs. This means that instead of doing a selection process the consequences
of which would not necessarily be beneficial for the language, it is preferable to standardize
each variety on its own. There would, therefore, be a standard Kabyle, a standard Shawi, a
standard M'zabi and a standard Targui. The idea is really tempting in the sense that each
Tamazight speaking group would have its own standard variety which will be able to respond

⁸¹ Naït-Zerrad (1993)

⁸² *Dans l'immédiat, et sans doute pour de nombreuses décennies,
on visera à établir une forme standard (écrite) de chaque variété régionale
du berbère... . L'objectif d'un standard pan-berbère ne sera envisagé que
sur la longue durée, par accoutumance et convergence progressive entre
les différents variétés.”*

The result would be that there would exist in Algeria four Other examples have taken place in the history of languages where different regional dialects have later become different languages as is the case with the Romance languages which descend from Vulgar Latin and which through time became distinct languages. Nevertheless, this option can have a great impact on the status of the language. If we are to standardize each variety on its own, what status should each one have? As one of the central claims of Tamazight speakers is the officialisation of the language, there seems to be a big problem with this choice. It is actually like a dog trying to bite its tail. The question to answer is: with four forms of the language, would it be rational to officialise Tamazight? And if so, which variety is to be selected for officialisation? The other possibility is to make of the different varieties regional languages rather than a national one. An example of such a case is that of the Catalan language which is granted a full autonomy and is now a regional standardised language in the Catalan autonomous region in Spain.

We should not lose from sight that the final aim of this procedure is to achieve a pan-Berber language. The standardisation of each variety is expected to bring the varieties to a gradual convergence and end up as one language used by all Berber speakers not only in Algeria but throughout the Berber speaking World. Yet, so far, the Tamazight written and taught is mainly based on the Kabyle variety. This is why the observations and analysis undertaken throughout the present work are more concerned with this form of the language that I call Semi-Standard Tamazight (SST)

5.3.2.1.2 Codification

Among the different tasks of language planning, that of codification is certainly the hardest since it calls upon big and many run interventions on the structure of the language itself. This consists in setting the “correct” grammatical, phonological and lexical traits of the language. Hudson (1986:33) writes:

“Some agency such as an academy must have written dictionaries and grammar books to ‘fix’ the variety, so that everyone agrees on what is correct”.

One of the lacunas Tamazight is undergoing is that there is no existence of such an academy in Algeria. The problem is that there are at least two big agencies with some different points of views as to how to codify the language: the Centre National Pédagogique et

Tamazight (CNPLET)⁸³ under the authority of the Centre de Recherches Berbères (CRB) at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales under the authority of the French Ministry of Higher Education⁸⁴. There are, therefore, already two management centres which do not seem to be on the same wavelength. Besides this, there seems to be no agreement among Kabyle writers and speakers on the Kabyle variety to be used and the writing system to be adopted. For example the sound /t/ is sometimes written as “c” and “cc” some other times. The following sections constitute an attempt at defining some problems that the management of Tamazight is confronted to, the first of which is the writing system.

5.3.2.1.2.1 The Writing System

Tamazight has for a many time been a language of oral tradition. The oldest written text found so far goes back to 139 BC in a commemorative stele of Massinissa in Dugga, Tunisia. All the historical written manifestations of Tamazight concern special events and purposes like epitaphs and celebrations. No written text like correspondences, literature and studies has been found up to now. This supposes that Amazighs have always relied on the language of the peoples they have been in contact with in writing. This can be due to the fact that all the peoples and civilisations 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. This reliance on the languages of “others” hindered the development of the Tamazight writing system, namely Tifinagh. In any case, the present situation of Tamazight proposes three options which from a technical point of view are valid. But, a writing system does not convey only a technical dimension but a symbolic one as well. In the following points, a discussion of the three writing systems, Tifinagh prints, Arabic prints and Latin ones will be made.

5.3.2.1.2.1.1 Tifinagh Prints

⁸³ The Centre National Pédagogique et Linguistique pour l’Enseignement de Tamazight (CNPLET), recently created in 2003, has not yet reached the status of a unifying academy in spite of the efforts made by this centre to work on the standardisation of the language.

⁸⁴ The CRB was originally created for Berber studies, which is a task it still accomplishes, but which gradually invested Tamazight language management as one of its central interests.

are interesting at more than one level. As it is the people. The Tifinagh alphabet is more likely to have a big symbolic dimension and psychological load for Berber speakers. For the defenders of this written form, the advantages that can be drawn from it are, among other things, that it allows the recovery of a history which was ignored for a many time. In addition, it will unify a people, and a linguistic and a cultural identity which has been crumbled as a result of the many invasions the Amazighs had undergone. The Tifinagh having been the prints used by the Lybic language, the ancestor of today's Tamazight, its ideological and referential importance for Tamazight speakers is even made stronger and more important. This alphabet is actually in use in Morocco. The Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh (IRCAM) has already adopted these prints for writing Tamazight. Also, in many Tamazight speaking areas like in Kabylia, road signs and sign boards are written in Tifinagh beside Arabic and French. The fact that the choice of Tifinagh has not yet been adopted by Tamazight language planners and by the speakers of the language in education and in the media is due to many factors. Quitot (2006: 37) notes that:

“The Lybic Alphabet poses a certain number of difficulties relating to its deciphering.... Like its Semitic congeners, the Lybic alphabet notes only consonants, then the consonantal groups are generally not separated, which poses a problem of interpretation. In addition, there is the enormous historical distance (about 2000 years) which separates modern Berber from its Lybic ancestor, knowing that notable changes have certainly affected the language since then⁸⁶”.

⁸⁵ The name Tifinagh has sometimes been explained as /ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵏⴰⵖ/ “finding our (our finding)”, but the most widespread among philologists and historians of the Berber fields is that it an alteration of “Phoenician” in Tamazight. It is claimed that the name Tifinagh derives from the graphemic root /tfnq/ which means Phoenician in ancient Tamazight.

⁸⁶ *“L'alphabet libyque pose un certain nombre de difficultés relatives à son déchiffrement...comme ses congénères sémitiques, l'alphabet libyque ne note que les consonnes, ensuite les groupes consonantiques ne sont généralement pas séparés ce qui pose le problème de l'interprétation. Ajoutons à cela l'énorme distance historique (environ 2000 ans) qui sépare le berbère moderne de son ancêtre le libyque, sachant que des changements notables ont dû affecter la langue depuis. ”*

in populations, no other Tamazight speaking community. 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 – use has been abandoned by Tamazight writers themselves on the other. The result is that people who can write and read Tamazight prints are only those initiated to it through education. The other reason why it would be, at least up to now, not very productive to use Tifinagh is the multitude of Tifinagh alphabets. There are, historically, four alphabets:

- Oriental Lybic, which is more known and more widespread, was used in Numidia i.e., today's Constantine region and northern Tunisia.
- Western Lybic which was used in Tingitan Mauritania and Caesarean Mauritania i.e., today's Morocco and Western Algeria.
- Targui inscriptions which are said to be the ancestral forms of Tifinagh which cover the lands of the Sahara.
- Canarian inscriptions which existed in the Canary Islands in Spain.

To understand the complexity of the Tifinagh alphabets, let us have a look at the way Prasse (1972) presents them.

he association Afus Deg fus (hand in hand) in

Rev. Tif. : Revue Tifinagh, published in Morocco.

AB: the Berber Academy.

AWB: taken from the Arabia Ware Benelux (<http://www.arabiaware.com>)

From the two above we can see that although there are a lot of similarities between the different prints, the differences are too important to be considered lightly. In a language planning perspective, there is an urging need for an agreement on one and unique from to be taught and used to write.

Besides the above obstacles, which can technically be overcome, there is the question of acceptability on the part of Tamazight speakers in Algeria. Because most Algerians are acquainted with Arabic and Latin prints through their schooling, it is doubtful that Tamazight speakers would easily adopt Tifinagh as the writing system of their language. The proof is that not many people know the prints or use them apart from their symbolic and identity dimensions on some rare occasions. This explains why the use of Tifinagh in Algeria is limited to the symbolic prestige it conveys. As Chaker (1996: 4) puts it:

“We notice, however, that whatever the symbolic force of this writing is, its uses remain limited and essentially emblematic (titles of books, sign boards, short texts...) ; no consequent publication, no literary work has been written or published in Tifinagh during the last years”⁸⁷.

Therefore, it seems more judicious to look for the other possible options to write the language in a way which can make it simple and more likely to be spread and adopted by Tamazight native speakers first and eventually by non-native ones. Besides Tifinagh, Berber has already been written in Arabic prints.

5.3.2.1.2.1.2 Arabic Prints

Besides the linguistic or structural reach, the choice of Arabic prints implies various political and ideological implications. Arabic prints have extensively been used to

⁸⁷ *“On constate cependant que, quelle que soit la force symbolique de cette écriture, ses usages restent réduits et essentiellement emblématiques (titres d’ouvrages, enseignes, textes courts...) ; aucune publication conséquente, aucune oeuvre littéraire n’a été écrite et publiée en Tifinagh au cours des dernières années”.*

mainly in Morocco and among the Ibadites⁸⁸. Yet, the confrontation in which Arabic and Tamazight have been put in have had a great impact on the spread of these prints among Tamazight writers. Because the post-independence regimes in the Maghrib concentrated their efforts on a systematic Arabisation, they ignored mother tongues. This state of affairs was conceived by the “berberisants” as a cultural and linguistic denial of the historical truth of the Maghrib. The fact that the Arabic language was considered as the oppressive weapon against the culture of Tamazight speakers, led the latter to develop a strong animosity towards this language and all the elements that may represent it. One must also confess that Algerian “Arabisants” have never been interested in studying or promoting Tamazight that they considered as stigmatised dialects which threatened the national unity. Nevertheless, a certain change is being observed today that Tamazight has the status of a national language. Voices call for the writing of Tamazight in Arabic prints. Like Tifinagh, Arabic prints present various advantages and disadvantages.

Quitot (2006) put forward different arguments for the use Arabic prints. Among the arguments are those of the genealogical relation that exists between Tamazight and Arabic, the familiarity of Tamazight speakers with them and the religious affinity Amazighs have with these prints. It is definitely of importance to remind that the two languages – Arabic and Tamazight – descend from the same source language and have therefore many components in common among which is the fact that both are consonantal language in which vowels are inserted. Another aspect is that many lexical items seem to have the same graphemic root even if they are semantically different. The following examples taken from Chaker (1996:221) show the relation between Semitic languages and Tamazight:

Semitic	Tamazight
(208) /lbs/ “to wear”	/ls/ “to wear”
(209) /⊗li/ “high”	/ali/ “go up”
Or	
(210) /nuur/ “light”	/anir/ “angel”

In addition, Chaker (1996: 119) writes:

*“The deep Arabisation of large regions in the
Maghrib starting from the XIth century induced a strong*

⁸⁸ The Ibadites are an important branch of the Khawaridj which believe that the commander of the believers should not necessarily be a descendant of the Prophet (peace be upon him). This branch still exists in Djebel Nefusa in Libya, Jerba in Tunisia and the M’zab region in Algeria.

direct Arabic/Berber contacts, a bilingualism and the simple and pure introduction of Arabic phonemes in the Berber system⁸⁹”.

The most frequent phoneme introduced is /ⵍ/ as in

(211) /ⵍalmaⵎ/ “I know”

This is not the only phonemic influence Arabic has had on Tamazight. Chaker (ibid.) claims that the phonemic inventory of Tamazight has been enriched by sounds like /ⵎ, ⵏ and ⵑ/.

The lexical aspect is the one where the Arabic influence is the most observable. With the coming of Arabs to the Maghrib, many words which had no equivalent in Tamazight have been introduced into the latter. These concerned firstly the religious field. But, through time the contact between the two languages expanded to various other fields, not to say to all the fields. This influence expanded to the extent that most of the Tamazight speaking regions have now become Arabic speaking ones. In this respect, it seems that the Kabyle variety is the one which borrowed the most from Arabic. In a comparative work, between Kabyle, Shleuh and Targui based on a list of 200 words Chaker (1996:118) gives the following percentages:

Kabyle 38% Shleuh 25% Targui 5%

He explains that this influence concerns mainly:

- Spiritual and religious life
- Economic activities
- Intellectual activities
- Generic terms

Again, the relation between Tamazight and Arabic is undeniable. Yet, from a technical point of view one can advance the fact that Arabic prints cannot represent some Tamazight sounds, mainly the two velar fricatives /ⵍ and ⵎ/, which are sounds that do not exist in Arabic.

(211) /ju ⵎ → riⵍ/ “he is older than him/

(212) /ⵍim ⵎ ⵎ rⵍ iⵍ/ “library”

It is essential to say, though, that this argument does not seem to be very convincing since in Tifinagh there is no graphic distinction between the velar fricatives /ⵍ and ⵎ/ and the velar plosives /k and g/. Moreover, this cannot be an argument against the use of Arabic prints

⁸⁹ “ L’Arabisation en profondeur de larges régions du Maghreb à partir de XIème siècle a induit une très forte densification des contacts directs arabe/berbère, une généralisation du bilinguisme et l’introduction pure et simple de phonèmes arabes dans le système berbère”.

question can be found by the addition of diacritics, as is which adopted the Latin print. Another argument which can be put forward in favour of the use of Arabic prints is that the latter are widespread among Algerians as they are the first prints children learn at school. This may facilitate the writing of Tamazight as far as Tamazight children speakers are concerned and its generalisation in the country as nearly everybody, apart from those educated under the French colonisation, is familiar with these prints.

Therefore, if there are any drawbacks in using Arabic prints, they should be looked for elsewhere and not at the linguistic level proper. Hints at how the Arabisation of Algeria, mainly after independence, was held have been given through this work. The consequences on the Tamazight speaking populations, particularly the Kabyle one, were such that today any attempt at writing Tamazight in Arabic prints is assimilated to an “Arabisation of Tamazight”. Actually, as Dourari (2006: 14) puts it, the question of writing Tamazight is:

*“...problematic as it raises important symbolic stakes related to ones’ and the others’ representation of the dimensions national identity, current identity constructions and identity desires”.*⁹⁰

Dourari who is one of the defenders of the use of Arabic prints in writing Tamazight puts forward arguments which have been cited above, namely the fact that this language has already been written in Arabic in the middle Ages. If he understands the rejection of Arabic as the means to write Tamazight, he does not agree with the idea that writing in Arabic is an act of Arabisation of Tamazight. On the hand, he claims that there is much more Tamazight literature written in Tifinagh and Arabic than that written in Latin prints. On the other hand, he wonders if writing in Latin prints means a “Latinisation” or “Frenchification” of Tamazight. On a technical and linguistic level, these arguments seem quite convincing. However, if his arguments are convincing for an unbiased linguist, what about the laymen? How can we impose on a society a writing form that it rejects? There seems already to be a rejection of the Semi-Standard Tamazight because of the communicative gap between it and everyday Kabyle. Can Tamazight language planners afford writing the language in prints which are the “metonymical expression” of the language which was about, or rather whose promoters, wanted the death of Tamazight? It is very doubtful that such an enterprise will succeed because of all the symbolic behind it. Since language planning in general is an

⁹⁰ “...problématique car soulevant des enjeux de type symbolique importants relatifs à la représentation des uns et des autres des dimensions de l’identité nationale, des constructions identitaires en cours et des désirs d’identité”.

g a language, it is necessary that linguists take into
eters, but also societal one. The latter would concern,
the identity, the symbolic dimension of the language, the history of the language and its
speakers and their relation with other languages and other speakers. It is not a secret that the
process of Arabisation in Algeria has been wrongly undertaken and has had many opponents.
Many intellectuals and competences have been eliminated from the decision circles after
independence because they did not know Standard Arabic. The latter has always been
presented by the authorities as the “only language” which “unifies” all Algerians. In addition,
Algeria is officially considered as an Arab country and not as an Arabic speaking country,
which makes a big difference⁹¹. Besides French, “the language of the coloniser”, Arabic has
been raised as the sword against any kind of linguistic freedom in Algeria; Tamazight,
especially Kabyle, was for a many time considered as a thereat to national unity and
homogeneity. This led to a refusal of Arabic symbols from the Kabyle populations. The other
aspect is that it has always been claimed that any scientific investigation should be objective,
but it is very hard, sometimes, to dissociate the reality from the subject under investigation.
Kabyles have always been refractory to the post-independence governments and policies in
different fields, especially in the fields of education and language planning which were
directed towards a complete Arabisation. Objectively speaking, it is unlikely that Tamazight
spreads and develops with Arabic prints which are rejected in advance. This would give birth
to a stillborn language. Of course, the above arguments are arguable and can be considered as
non-objective, but this is what the reality is, and if not taken into consideration, the results
may be as unproductive as they have always been.

5.3.2.1.2.1.3 Latin Prints

The relation between Latin prints and Tamazight writing is one which is
not new. As already mentioned, Arabic intellectuals have hardly contributed to the study and
investigation of Tamazight. Contrarily, French intellectuals showed a big interest on the
question as early as the mid 19th century. Whatever their intentions were, the fact is that it
was the French who first studied Tamazight and designed bilingual dictionaries. After the
independence of the country it is mainly in France that most studies related to the Tamazight
field were issued. As most Amazigh intellectuals, like most Algerians, of post-independent
Algeria were educated in French, this is the language in which their writing, investigations

⁹¹ Do we have to consider Belgium and Switzerland as French countries, Australia and the USA as English ones
and Argentina, Venezuela, Chile as Spanish ones?

nk was therefore tied between the field of Tamazight
a practice among the so-called “berbèrisants” to write

in these prints⁹². Chaker (1996: 4) says:

“The Latin alphabet has been used, mainly in Algeria, for more than a century. All Kabyle intellectuals who wrote their language relied on Latin prints: Bensedira, Boulifa, Feraoun, Amrouche, Maammeri... All the literary productions recently published (poetry, novels, short stories...), all scientific publications, all Kabyle associative magazines use the Latin alphabet⁹³”.

He adds: (2006 :1)

"a large diffusion of Berber necessarily passes through Latin prints because most of the available essential scientific documentation is written in Latin prints; because a significant management work in this alphabet has been undertaken , for at least fifty years; because most of the large public production (associative magazines, literary production), in the Maghrib as in Europe, uses this alphabet⁹⁴ ". (Quoted in Dourari 2006: 15)




There is, therefore, a will to keep the Latin alphabet in Algeria for different reasons. May be the most important argument in favour of this alphabet is the fact that most, if not all,

⁹² It was Mouloud Maameri, the Algerian writer, who first settled the writing of Tamazight in Latin prints when he published his Tajerrumt n Tmazight, (Tamazight grammar).

⁹³ *“L’alphabet latin est pratiqué, surtout en Algérie, depuis plus d’un siècle. Tous les intellectuels kabyles qui ont écrit leur langue ont eu recours aux caractères latins : Bensedira, Boulifa, Feraoun, Amrouche, Maammeri... Toutes les productions littéraires publiées récemment (poésies, romans, nouvelles...), toutes les publications scientifiques, toutes les revues associatives kabyles utilisent l’alphabet latin⁹³”.*

⁹⁴ *"Une diffusion large du berbère passe nécessairement par la graphie latine, parce que l’essentiel de la documentation scientifique disponible l’est dans cette graphie; parce qu’un travail significatif d’aménagement de cette graphie a été mené, depuis au moins cinquante ans; parce que l’essentiel de la production grand public (revues associatives, production littéraire), au Maghreb comme en Europe, utilise cet alphabet”.*

e Tamazight question wrote in Latin prints. As they have always been taken as a model by all Kabyle intellectuals and non-intellectuals. Although Dourari (2006:16) notes that: “*There is no significant scientific documentation written in Tamazight Latin prints⁹⁵*”, one must recognise that the big acceptability this writing form receives from Kabyle newspapers and magazines can not be ignored. Although, Dourari points at the lack of significant scientific documentation is available in Tamazight, it should be reminded that the language itself is not yet standardised. It would have been more realistic to say that attempts at building up some kind of scientific documentation are undertaken. Some works on computing, mathematics, law and linguistics in Tamazight do exist. But, their number is too small to be considered as documentation. The scientific documentation Chaker refers to is probably the one which treats the Tamazight question, but this is done in languages other than Tamazight, mainly French and sometimes English. On the other hand, the general public is more inclined to write Tamazight in Latin prints. This can be seen through the number of Kabyle newspapers, magazines and books. Actually, even the Tamazight textbooks published by the ministry of education are written in Latin prints. This is to say that it is an option which seems to have settled in the ways and customs of writing Tamazight in Algeria.

For a many time, because of the inexistence of any language management work many spellings for the same sounds competed; for example the sound // was represented as “d” or “dh” and the sound // as “t” or “th”. However, with Maammeri’s Tamazight lectures at the University of Algiers in the seventies a gradual standardisation of writing started taking place. The question was whether the spelling of words should respond to a phonetic concern or to a phonological one. The decision took time to be taken, but the choice fell on the phonological spelling following other languages. This allowed the avoidance of local pronunciations to the benefit of ones which are pan-Berber. The idea of levelling is positive in itself and is one of the pillars of any language management work as it facilitates unification and standardisation. But, there seems to be some problems, even within the Kabyle variety, as to the recognition of how some sounds should be pronounced in certain contexts. For example, the following sounds, /, ts and t/, are all written as “t”. Consider the following examples:

(213) tamettut [am★u★] “a woman”

⁹⁵ “*Il n'existe pas de documentation scientifique significative écrite en tamazight en graphie latine*”.

“he cries”

“table”

There are of course arguments for such writing. This is justified by the fact that most Tamazight varieties do not make use of affricates and affrication. In addition, the above sounds do not have a phonemic status as they are phonetic realisations of /t/. Therefore, there seems to be a consensus among Tamazight writers to the latter form in writing the above sounds. Even within Kabyle, the affrication of the dental /t/ is not systematic and its use displays a certain variation between the spoken varieties of Small Kabylia and great Kabylia (see Naït-Zerrad 2000:8). The same remarks are put forward about other sounds like the labio-velarised sounds, the spirants, etc. Yet, a remark should be made here as to the labio-velarised sounds. The CRB workshop (1998) proposes two possible writings for the intensive aorist tense of the verb /rwel/ “to run away”

(216) regg°el [reggϕ★l] and reggel [regg★l]

It happens that g° in this case seems to have a phonemic status as the verb /reggel/ has a different meaning in Kabyle; it may mean “to block, to fill up, to cork”. Of course, the context of a sentence may help understand which verb is meant, but there can be confusion in some instances. Consider the following example:

(217) ireggel wargaz

This sentence renders two different meanings: “the man is running away” and “the man is blocking”. There is a need in this case to note this phonological difference since it marks different meanings. What seems to be very problematic is the fact that it is not easy at all for a non-initiated to read the language in the way it is written. If the aim of all this work of management is to spread the language and eventually give it an international status, how can a learner distinguish between the different pronunciations of the above words, unless they are all pronounced as [t]? To my knowledge, this question has never been discussed. The other problem which looks confusing is that related to capital letters in the state of annexation of proper nouns as suggested by the workshop organised by the CRB in 1998. The workshop suggests:

(216) axxam n Wakli “Akli’s House

Instead of

(217) axxam n wAkli

The workshop suggests capitalising the first letter i.e., “w”. This does not seem very rational because confusion might occur since a non-Tamazight speaker may consider “Wakli” as the proper noun while it is not. It would be clearer and more correct to write either:

(219) axxam n Akli

/w/ in this example has no grammatical function since it is a linking sound which does not occur systematically in the same context, as in:

(220) tamettut n Kaci “Kaci’s wife”

(221) tafunast n Ammar “Ammar’s cow”

This way of writing appears to be closer to the grammatical reality as it clearly shows where the proper noun is.

All in all, as already mentioned, Latin prints seem to have the favours of most Kabyle writers and researchers. Moreover, the management work and the practice of writing Kabyle in Algeria are essentially undertaken in the Latin alphabet. Trying to do it in Tifinagh or in Arabic in a standardisation perspective would put into question all the work and efforts made so far. In addition this may provoke political tensions that both the Tamazight question and Algeria is not in need for. From a democratic point of view, it is fair to let the society decide through practice and use, rather than impose on it a writing system which is more likely to be refused, and, subsequently, useless.

Besides the writing system, the Tamazight lexis also deserves special attention as to its codification.

5.3.2.1.2.2 Lexis

The richness and the variation of the Tamazight lexical stock undoubtedly constitutes an advantage in the sense that it renders the capacity of adaptation this language has. Besides the genuine Tamazight vocabulary, there is a big number of borrowings from different languages. All the languages which have been brought to the Maghrib have had their influences at varying degrees. As far the codification task is concerned, the Tamazight lexis presents various problems. The first one is that Tamazight has never reached the status of official, learned and scientific language. Even Berber scientists, religious men and writers have always written in Latin, French or Arabic. This prevented the language from developing a vocabulary related to learned fields and modern life. The other obstacle is the big variation among the different Berber varieties. As already explained, because the Berber speaking regions are scattered through the Maghrib and interrupted by Arabic speaking areas, there developed a certain communicative distance between the different regional varieties. Although some people may pretend that there is mutual intelligibility between the different

... a Kabyle converse each in his variety. The fact is that in that it is nearly impossible to think of a “Tamazight language” which can be used by all Tamazight speakers in Algeria, let alone in the Maghrib. Actually, this is the main reason which motivated the choice of standardising each regional variety on its own rather than trying to create a pan-Berber language which may certainly be rejected by the locutors themselves. Chaker (2000:6) writes:

“... today’s Berber dialects evolve separately and have constituted distinct sociolinguistic communities for nearly ten centuries! Moreover, each dialect carries a cultural tradition, a literature which are proper to it: a pan-Berber linguistic norm will immediately cut Berber speakers from this cultural heritage and will make Berber [a language]... without any social anchorage or cultural dynamics⁹⁶”.

This is to say that lexical standardisation in Algeria was first started by Maameri in 1970 through a French/Berber and Berber /French dictionary. Later, with Tajerrumt n Tmazight (Tamazight grammar) (1976), he tried to unify as much as possible the Berber lexicon. In spite of all the criticisms these two works received, such as falling into the game of pan-Berberism, it is undeniable that their contribution is of prime importance as they triggered reflexion on how to bring Tamazight out of oral profane fields to learned intellectual ones. The two above contributions brought a new breath to Tamazight with the introduction of neologisms which were not known in the Kabyle variety. Actually, Maameri (1976) uses different procedures as explained by Chemakh (2006:64):

- Borrowing: as with the term /Tajerrumt/ that Chemakh traces back to /al aCrumijja/ which refers to a grammar elaborated by Adjerroum , a 13th century grammarian from the Sous region in Morocco.
- Semantic adaptation: /is★m/ “noun or name” has been used to refer to a substantive.
/u★m/ “face” has been used to mean grammatical person.
- Derivation: /arm★skil/ “in variable” is derived from /am★skil/ “variable”

Many techniques and steps are used in the sense of a lexical standardisation.

⁹⁶ “... les dialectes berbères actuels évoluent de manière séparée et constituent des communautés sociolinguistiques distinctes depuis près de dix siècles De plus, chaque dialecte véhicule une tradition culturelle, une littérature qui lui est propre : une norme linguistique pan- berbère couperait immédiatement les berbérophones de ce patrimoine culturel et ferait bu berbère [une langue] ... sans ancrage social et sans dynamique culturelle”.

s used by Tamazight language planners is the revival

of the ancient Berber vocabulary whenever possible. This is done by means of the observation of the occurrence of different lexical terms in different regional variety. The more widespread among the varieties a word is, the more likely to belong to common Tamazight lexical core it is. This is how various terms entered the Kabyle lexis:

(222) /agelliⵙ/ “king” which used to be /■alⵎaan/

(223) /ⵎanmirⵎ/ “thank you”

(224) /amusnaw/ “erudite”

(225) /mⵎs/ “Mister”

This lexical revival presents the advantage of bringing up the language as it existed in ancient times. Therefore, it enhances linguistic and cultural pride especially among downgraded language speakers. It is important to mention that the above four words are quite widespread among Tamazight speakers in general and Kabyle speakers in particular. Their use in the media (radio and TV) has facilitated their spread. Their use is determined by a will to get rid of certain borrowings which are seen by some speakers as undesirable since their equivalents in Berber already exist. The latter point of view remains debatable since it is recognised in sociolinguistics that rather than being a curse, borrowing is a necessity and denotes a language’s capacity of adaptation and adoption. But, with the historical and social environment Tamazight has had to endure, such a reaction is predictable and even legitimate. The will to get rid of borrowings in favour of terms which exist in the language is one aspect that language planners have always insisted on. It is actually one way of protecting the language from too much “foreign” influence and therefore from its gradual disappearance. Tamazight which, until recently, has always been oral has all the time been in contact with written languages (apart from AA). This state of affairs has put the language in an endangered situation because the influences of other languages became more and important through the centuries. It is not a secret that Arabic is the language which influenced Tamazight, and Kabyle in particular, the most for reasons that have already been mentioned. When we know the conflicting relation Kabyles have had with Arabic – especially after independence – we can easily understand this lexical recovery that is taking place.

Another technique used in the planning of the lexis by Tamazight language planners is that of neologism.

5.3.2.1.2.2 Neologism

gism consists of the creation of new words which did not spread within the community is relatively slow because the vocabulary and the procedure of creation are of a learned erudite level which is not that simple for the layman to adopt and accept. Calvet (1974) distinguishes two types of neological creation: a spontaneous creation made by the locutors themselves within their spoken variety and another planned and proposed by language planners. He suggests (1974:241) four stages to be observed in a planned neological intervention.

1. The description of the language's lexical system of creativity (composition and derivation).
2. Definition of the needs of each examined semantic field through the analysis of the available lexical stock and its deficit.
3. Adapting the missing words by respecting the rules of the language.
4. Testing the new terms within the fields they are intended to be used in.

A considerable work has already been undertaken as to the first three steps. As to the description of the Tamazight's derivational and composition system many dialectological and diachronic investigations have contributed to gather the techniques of word-building. The monumental work triggered by Naït-Zerrad (1997, 1999 and 2002) to list the roots of the Tamazight lexical system both at the lexemic and the morphemic levels is a basis on which many neologists based their works for the lexical creation inspired by Tamazight itself. The examination of the semantic fields where a shortage of vocabulary exists has been the subject of many workshops and colloquia both at the national and the international levels. The third step is dependent on the first one in the sense that Calvet advises to adapt neologisms to the rules and the structure of the language. Works in this sense have been undertaken by Achab, A. (1994) and Berkāi (2006) among others. This point is very important because by not doing so, language planners take the risk of creating an Esperanto-like language which would be as familiar for Tamazight speakers as any foreign language. This is why testing new terms within the fields they are meant to fill and within the community of speakers is very important. If some terms are well accepted and used, they should be kept and even spread. In the opposite case, they should be withdrawn and replaced either by other neologisms or by borrowings from another language.

The task of lexical creation makes use of various techniques such as borrowing, the creation of new words proper by means of derivation and composition. Following are some examples of the different technique used in Tamazight in the field of neologism.

neologism consists in semantic shift. Such a shift is a
ages; the characteristic in our case is that the shift is

done in a prescriptive way i.e., designed by linguists and lexicographers.

(226) /asaru/ whose original meaning in Kabyle is “string” renders as “film”

(227) /u^ⵛ★m/ “face” is now used with the meaning of “person” in grammar

In addition to this technique, some terms are either completely new or borrowed from other varieties. In any case, they are new in Kabyle, as in:

(228) /am★zruj/ “history” which in everyday Kabyle was /t^ⵛrix/, a borrowing from Arabic.

(229) /★ajri/ “love” a borrowing from the Tashelhit variety.

A second type of neologism is the morphosyntactic one which consists of grammatical derivations by the affixation of bound morphemes which are attested in various Tamazight varieties to a stem which is found either only in Kabyle or in different regional dialects.

e.g.s.

(230) /★^ⵛ★m/ “to enter” (verb) ----- /amna★^ⵛ→m/ “intruder” (noun)

(231) /a★→l/ “land” ----- /a★ra★→l/ “Mediterranean”

(232) /aw→l/ “word” ----- / amaw→l/ “dictionary”

Within this derivational neologism, what some researchers call phonological neologism is in fact a phonological change in the structure of the word which is due to the influence of the affixes added. The following example is a case in point where the process of metathesis is used:

(233) /as★kkil/ “letter” /tas★kla/ “literature”

While this system of lexical creation seems to be well exploited in Kabyle, composition does not have the same treatment. The combination of free morphemes in Kabyle is not that frequent although instances can be found. It is probably the reason why the use of this technique is limited. Yet, the need for compound words is essential for the language especially in specialised fields. One of the rare fields where composition is used is that of mathematics as R. Achab (1996) explains it. Berkaï (2006) who undertakes a work on the linguistic terminology in Tamazight uses this procedure by means of calques from other languages. Consider the following example from his corpus:

(234) /adluglan/ + /an^ⵛan/ “alveolar+palatal” ----- /adlug^ⵛan/ “alveopalatal” .

(235) /arw★s/+/asekkil/ “imitates+letter” ----- /arweskil/ “transliteration”.

process of clipping is exploited to avoid length and

Borrowing is also a productive procedure in lexical creation. This takes place mainly in cases where the Tamazight language varieties do have no equivalents. Fields like medicine, technology, etc present a considerable lack as to the vocabulary in Kabyle. Thus, there are many borrowings like:

(236) SIDA “A.I.D.S”

(237) ordinateur “computer”

This brief survey of how the renewal and revival of Tamazight, in its Kabyle version, is taking place calls for a question which does not seem to be much considered by language planners in the field. Although most of them insist on the fact that a sharp diglossic situation should be avoided, the reality seems to be completely different. Berkai (2006:113) says:

“[it is the] absence of emergency for denomination, [the] need to identify towards and against [the] other and the availability of indirect borrowing (calque) which seems to determine the purist nature of Berber neologism⁹⁷”.

However, this codification work has the merit of having provoked an undeniable dynamics at the level of publication of dictionaries, grammar books and teaching/learning ones.

5.3.2.1.3 Elaboration of Function

The elaboration of the functions a standardised language has to fulfil is among the concerns of language planners. Hudson (1986: 33) says that:

“it must be possible to use the selected variety in all the functions associated with central government and with writing, for example in parliament and law courts, in bureaucratic, educational and scientific documents of all kinds, and of course in various forms of literature”.

⁹⁷ “[C’est] l’absence d’une urgence de dénomination, besoin de s’identifier envers et contre l’autre et disponibilité de l’emprunt indirect (calque), qui semblent déterminer le caractère puriste de la néologie berbère”.

e invested by Tamazight as it appears today for many always made it clear that the only official language of the country is Arabic (SA). Thus all governmental institutions officially use the latter language in their correspondences. Besides this obstacle, there is that of the non-standardisation of Tamazight. As earlier explained, the standardisation of this language is still in the making and there is actually no agreement among Tamazight speakers about which form of the language is to be standardised. It was mentioned above that what this work is interested in is mostly the Kabyle variety. The latter cannot be used in the government because of its regional characteristic unless all Tamazight speakers in Algeria accept it as the standard form to be taken as a model. The lack of terminology and vocabulary related to certain fields prevent it from being used in parliament, law courts and scientific documents. Of course, there is some advance at the educational and writing level, but because things are not completely set, it would be unrealistic to try to put writing and stylistic rules to Tamazight while the problem of lexis and writing are pending. Also the status of Tamazight in Algeria is not that clear from a practical point of view. The fourth criterion Hudson proposes in the standardisation of a language variety is that of acceptance. This seems to be much related to the status and the prestige a variety has, or is given.

5.3.2.1.4 Acceptance

A variety which is intended to be standardised needs the consent of the community it is supposed to represent. As Hudson (1986: 33) puts it:

*“The variety has to be accepted by the relevant population as the variety of the community – usually, in fact, as the national language. ... the standard language serves as a strong unifying force for the state, as a symbol of its independence of other states... and as a marker of its difference from other states”.*⁹⁸

If we consider the above citation, we can say the case of Tamazight is puzzling. As there is no “one form” of the language that is taken as the reference, it is impossible to imagine in the present state of affairs SST – which is based on Kabyle – as accepted by all Algerian Tamazight speakers. It is worth reminding that Berber varieties are not that mutually intelligible and that each variety developed a vocabulary proper to it. In this case how can we

⁹⁸ The emphasis is the author’s.

makers seeing Kabyle as the variety which unifies them
understand? There will be first a diglossic problem
which would be much like that of Arabic. Second, how can we afford stigmatising varieties
which might disappear through time while all the idea of Tamazight language management
started from the fact that it was –is still- downgraded? It is definitely corpus management
which takes the lion’s share in language planning of a variety which has oral traditions, but
this aspect is closely linked to status planning. In other words, any corpus management is
meant to intervene on the status of a language.

5.3.3 Status Planning

Status planning refers to deliberate efforts to allocate the functions of languages within a speech community. This is achieved by intervening on the status a particular language or variety. It is generally languages which are downgraded which undergo a change to become “official”, “national” or “regional”. Often, it involves elevating a language or dialect into a prestige variety. Several examples of status planning can be cited. For example the French language started being used officially in the 16th century under Villiers-cottêrets’s ordinance (1539) which stipulated that Latin should be replaced by French for ordinances and court judgments. French in Quebec gained an official status after the 1977 “Charte de la langue française”. Similarly, Catalan in Spain was granted full official recognition in the Catalan region after Franco’s death in 1975. In the same way, Arabic in the Arab countries, particularly in Algeria, has been made official in the Constitution and through a series of ordinances and decrees which regulated and “imposed” its use and teaching in the society. Therefore, language and politics have always been closely related since the former is said to be the symbol of the identity, the difference and the unity of a people and a country. The case of Arabic is somehow puzzling in the sense that SA is not proper to any Arabic speaking country; rather, all Arab countries consider it as their language. This explains concepts like the “Arab World” and the “Arab Nation” which does not seem very convincing since there are many historical, cultural, linguistic and sometimes physical differences between the peoples. It is generally the religious factor combined to the linguistic one which are put forward to justify the unity of Arabs. Yet, with the same characteristics, i.e., religious and linguistic, France and Belgium consider themselves as different nations, just like Spain and Argentina, the UK and the USA. In any case, the status of language is determined by two institutions: a social one and a governmental one.

It may comprise the community of speakers, cultural agencies, etc. The role of such agencies is to promote and raise the prestige of a minor language through the encouragement of self-esteem within the speech community itself. With Tamazight, many associations, singers, intellectuals and academies undertook this task after the independence of Algeria. This work on the community's psychological level changed the feeling of self-hatred into one of self-esteem. Following this phenomenon, a huge work on history, culture and revival was triggered. Yet, language is the one aspect that focalised most efforts because it is the most observable differentiating characteristic between Arabic speakers and Kabyle ones. Various conflicts, riots, strikes, but also intellectual and political efforts resulted in the recognition of Tamazight as a "national language" in Algeria in 2002. However, status planning which is more of the resort of the state is not really taken in charge by the government. We can cite the following facts to clarify this point.

- The inexistence of a state organism for Tamazight language management.
- The teaching of the language is limited to Berber speaking areas and within these areas to some schools and classes.
- The inexistence of any judicial laws which encourages the use of Tamazight.

In fact, the status of a language depends much on a political will to promote the language. Although official speeches pretend to take in charge the reality of Tamazight, facts are here to prove that not that much is done in the field.

Because of the fact that Tamazight is not completely standardised, its status, or rather the status it should be given, is somehow delicate. Three options can be envisaged: official, national or regional.

During the deplorable events of the "Black Spring" in 2001, a platform of claims was issued by the Aarouch committee. One of the claims was to grant Tamazight the status of official language besides Arabic. This denotes the degree of language loyalty and language solidarity that exists within the Kabyle community. Bell (1983:169), following Fishman 1971, equates official language with nationalism which he describes as the use of a language by a state to communicate with the people within the country and with its neighbouring countries. In addition, an official language is used in different fields such as education, finance, justice, etc. In fact; bell explains that nationalism consists of

"Power, rather than solidarity and integration at political, rather than sociocultural level". (1983:169)

ments, in our point of view, some problems which have standardised yet, it is in the impossibility of being used in fields like justice, economics, and the like. It was mentioned in the previous sections that the language which was an oral one has relatively just started being written. The fact that it was limited to everyday matters prevented it from developing the necessary terminology for learned and educated topics. Although a big work is being done to fill the gap, it is still at its beginning and one has to recognise that Tamazight, in its present state, can not invest such fields as the ones just cited. The next problem is that Tamazight cannot be used for interchange with other countries, first because no other country uses the language as an official one for diplomatic and economic matters, and second because even the neighbouring countries have different forms of the language which are not mutually intelligible with the Algerian one(s). Thus, the big discrepancies that exist between Tamazight language varieties will have to be levelled before any attempt at officialising the language is undertaken. Of course, this does not mean that Tamazight can not be official one day. But, to achieve this, there is need for one form of the language in Algeria. Only a unified form of the language can be able to fulfil the functions of an official language. This can be done through formal education and governmental management agencies which can work on the question at the many run. Only a governmental language policy which would be motivated by a strong will towards nationalism can help the officialisation of Tamazight in Algeria.

The second possible status Tamazight can have, it actually has it, is that of a national language. The status of national language is equated by Bell (1983) with nationalism that he explains as follows:

“a ‘new’ nation is involved in a search for its own ‘ethnic identity’ as it attempts to overcome local, tribal, religious and other loyalties which clash with loyalty to the state”. Bell (1983:168-9)

The recognition of Tamazight as a national language fulfils the functions stated in the above quotation. Because of the downgraded status Tamazight has had since independence, conflicts and riots took place every now and then mainly in Kabylia. The state’s language policy made of Kabylia a rebellious region which has always shown rejection towards all governmental policies, especially those related to language and education. Under the pressure of the 2001 events, Tamazight has been granted the status of national language. The implications of this new status on the politico-linguistic level are very interesting to observe even if briefly. The first notable implication is the shift from the sole Arabic belonging of Algeria to that of Arabic

Amazigh dimension at the official level has somewhat ably, animosity towards the state. In addition, this has had the effect of softening the psychological distance that existed between Arabic speakers and Kabyle ones. This can be observed in the political parties' discourses. They all claim their Amazigh belonging and some of them even claim its officialisation. A noticeable change can also be observed within the society itself in that the Arabic dimension of Algeria is a little more accepted by Kabyle speakers and the Amazigh one is a little more accepted by Arabic speakers. Thus, the national status of Tamazight has reduced the linguistic and regional tensions that prevailed between Kabyle speakers and Arabic ones for many years. Another implication is the "very small" opening of the Algerian state on self autonomy at the ethnic, historical and linguistic level. The shift from a one Arabic nation and people with one culture and one history to the acceptance of a dimension different from Arabic is very remarkable as it denotes a change which has been dictated by the society and executed by the state. Therefore, we can say that the nationalisation of Tamazight by the state has prevented deeper regional and linguistic clashes with the state and within the society itself. However, if this status seems to have been beneficial at the political level, it does not seem to be the case at the linguistic one. Firstly, the state does not specify which Tamazight variety is aimed at as a national language. As the Tamazight language – in the sense of one unified language – has no existence, the question is what is the "Tamazight" that the Algerian state considers as national? The fact that this question remains unanswered by the official discourse leaves the door open for all speculations and hypotheses. If what is meant by the Constitution is that Tamazight, with its different varieties, are national in the sense that they belong to all Algerians and that they have a real sociolinguistic existence, then there is nothing new since Tamazight is national de facto. The other element which is worth being noted is that the Tamazight language as it obtains at the official level is an abstraction which is recognised merely to avoid political and social tensions. The decision to consider Berber as a national language imposes on the state to bring the means to standardise and implement it. The only official intervention on the language is limited to teaching the language in some Berber speaking areas and to a daily TV news bulletin presented each time in one of the five big Algerian Tamazight varieties i.e., Kabyle, Shawi, Targui, M'zabi and Chenoa. As to education, there seems to be a certain tendency to concentrate all the efforts on the Kabyle variety, probably because it is the variety in which most management work has been undertaken so far. This option seems sociolinguistically acceptable since the same process happens with most languages of the world. It is generally the variety of the capital city or that of the most prestigious speech community which is taken as a

as the basis of a national Tamazight language on which be grafted is not to be excluded. But, a problem of diglossia⁹⁹ will arise since there is a lack of mutual intelligibility between the different varieties. We can guess that in a generation or two most Tamazight speakers will learn this variety through education, but then, children will learn a variety which will be different from their mother tongue. This can have devastating effects on the children's personality and their perception of their own language and culture. The case of Arabic is very edifying in this sense. Moreover, how can we imagine that a variety which is downgraded becomes major to downgrade other varieties of the same status? From a democratic point of view, this would be irrational. This leads us to the third possibility.

As suggested by the workshop organised by the CRB on the Berber language management, it seems that it would be more productive to try to standardise each variety on its own. This will definitely give birth to at least four or five standard Tamazight varieties, which is too much. Yet, the final aim, which might take centuries to be reached, is to operate a gradual convergence between the different standard varieties to give birth to one variety. This point of view is inspired by the status of Catalan in Spain. Catalan comprises two main standards: a General Catalan Standard regulated by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Institute of Catalan studies) which is based in Barcelona and Valencian Catalan regulated by the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (Valencian Language Academy). The two forms of the language take into consideration the regional linguistic specificities of each variety¹⁰⁰. These regional languages have the status of co-official languages besides Spanish within the autonomous region of Catalonia. Such a status, i.e., that of regional languages, will allow valorise the different Berber mother tongues and consequently valorise each Berber speech community. In the same trend, each variety can be managed and planned in an easier way by avoiding the desocialisation of the locutors since the work will be undertaken by native specialists themselves i.e., specialists who master the linguistic as well as the cultural aspect of it. Were Romance languages not all varieties of Latin which developed to separate languages? The creation of regional academies or management institutions may contribute to the gradual convergence of the Berber varieties without playing the role of linguistic imposer since the convergence will happen by itself through contact and exchange between the different academies.

⁹⁹ A diglossic situation already exists within Kabyle itself. The variety I called SST is understood only by those who have learnt it through education, while everyday life is dealt with in Low Kabyle.

¹⁰⁰ There is also a Balearic Islands standard based on General Catalan Standard but with phonetic, lexical and orthographic features of the spoken variety of the Balearic Islands

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from this chapter is that whether at the governmental level or at the extra-governmental level, language ecology is not taken into consideration in the case of Tamazight. If the case of the state institutions can be understandable since they are determined by ideological and political motivations, that of the Tamazight specialists in general is somehow puzzling. They do not seem to give enough importance to the environment in which the languages is developing, the language it is in contact with and the social realities of Tamazight speech communities.

The beginning of language planning in Tamazight was motivated by the threat of disappearance or assimilation to the Arabic language which is the official language of the country. Therefore, attempts at reviving Tamazight, mainly through Kabyle, have been undertaken since independence by many intellectuals. These attempts have all been, until very recently, extra-institutional in the sense that they have all been taken in charge by agencies outside the state control: cultural associations, singers, academies, etc. The absence of a converging centre gave birth to personal, unspecialised “managements” at all levels. Yet, with Maammeri’s lectures at the University of Algiers and the publication of a Tamazight grammar based on the Kabyle variety a somehow serious work on language planning based on scientific criteria and on experiences of other languages started taking place. However, up to now, no form of the language is recognised, even by native speakers, as a standard one. This justifies the term Semi-Standard Tamazight used throughout this work. There is actually a form of the language based on Kabyle which is being standardised, but which still needs to be developed as it lacks much vocabulary related to learned and educated fields. It is known that in language revival situations, there is a tendency to avoid borrowings and replace them by words which are available in the language or by neologisms. But, it must be put forward that the excessive use of lexical items which have disappeared during many centuries and the speed at which neologisms are created resulted in a diglossic situation which will be difficult to handle if nothing is done in this sense. One thing to be done is to proceed to a gradual introduction of new terminology by using the common term beside it when this does not concern a scientific or specialised field. This technique which was used by a singer¹⁰¹ seems to be very interesting since it introduced an item with its known equivalent in one of his song: (238) /avri^ⵏ iz★rf★n jerg★l, avri^ⵏ l⇒uquq jerg★l/ “the way to rights is closed”

¹⁰¹ Matoub Lounes.

usually even necessitates going through an idiosyncratic standard Kabyle variety.

Although some people put into question the choice of the Latin prints to write Tamazight, the fact is that the process was triggered a many time ago and most Kabyle writers, journalists and intellectual use this alphabet in writing. It would, therefore, be very difficult to replace it by Arabic or Tifinagh prints because of the habit people got used to and because of the potential rejecting reactions that might appear in the Kabyle speech and writing community.

Another important point to mention here is that the status of the language as presented by the Constitution is ambiguous since there is no reference to what language form Tamazight refers to. It is essential that the term “Tamazight language” be clarified and the state puts the means to promote and implement the language (or languages) by creating management agencies and generalising the teaching of Berber to all Berber speaking areas and leaving the choice to people in Arabic speaking areas to decide whether or not to learn the language. It is through these decisions that Tamazight can integrate the administrative, judicial and scientific fields to become later a second official language of the country.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The present investigation undertaken in a multilingual linguistic community observes the speech behaviour of bilingual speakers in Algeria. While many works have already been published on French/ Algerian Arabic bilinguals, no deep work or interest has been shown on Tamazight/Arabic/French bilinguals. To my knowledge, apart from some researches undertaken at the university level, the sociolinguistic aspect does not seem to have attracted the attention of specialists in the fields. The few documents that can be found are merely speculations and over generalisations on the general impressions Tamazight, particularly Kabyle, speakers display in their linguistic behaviour, attitudes and perception of their language and other co-existing languages. This can be explained by the fact that linguists and anthropologists concentrate most of their efforts on the dialectological and language management fields because Berber as a language is intended to be raised to the level of the world languages. As it has always been a spoken language, Tamazight concentrated all the researches on attempts at finding and creating a prestige for the language. This needed first a

age to a written one. In addition, the need to develop specialised fields and topics was strongly felt. The

sociolinguistic investigation under our eyes aimed at finding out the relation between Kabyle speakers' behaviour and the process of Kabyle planning as it is undertaken nowadays.

Far from being homogeneous, the sociolinguistic situation of Algeria is quite heterogeneous. The ideological policy of the country was centred on an excessive unity. For many years after independence, Algeria was characterised by a unique religion, a unique party, a unique language and even a unique ethnic origin. All Algerians were Arabs and Muslims. The result of such a policy was a loss of all identity landmarks for the Algerian people. At the linguistic level, no reference whatsoever was made to the native Algerian languages, namely Algerian Arabic and Berber. Such a denial did not deeply affect AA speakers who consider their spoken variety as deriving from SA, the official language. The self-identification with the prestige language for AA speakers has always been a source of pride and valorisation. However, apart from the political borders and the armed fight against colonisation, official discourse occulted all specificities of "Algerianness" to the benefit of an Arabo-Islamic belonging of the Algerian people. As a newly independent country, Algeria has been integrated in the "Arab World" and the "Arab Nation". This has been undertaken through an Arabisation policy which completely ignored the oldest language of the Maghrib i.e., Tamazight. From a functional point of view, the Arabisation of the country might seem purely linguistic, but it was much deeper than that. Education, the mass-media, job opportunities have all been mobilised to provoke an identity, historical and cultural alienation. The Algerian people which is ethnically Berber has become ethnically Arabised. Therefore, all reference to the ante-Islamic history was avoided and sometimes even forbidden. In addition to the above three varieties, French which has always been presented as the "language of the coloniser" was aimed at by the Arabisation policy. The attempt to get rid of this "foreign" language has not been that successful because of the social and cultural rooting this language displayed in Algeria after one and a half century of presence. The spread of French among the cultured people, the number of writings, publications and newspapers, and the craze for French spoken satellite channels contributed to the maintenance and the adoption of this language by Algerians to the extent that it has become a component of the Algerian speech repertoire. It appears, therefore, that Algeria is a vivid example of a bilingual speech community with different languages and a culture which is an amalgam of different traditions and cultures. Among this multilingualism, the different varieties are assigned different functions and are used for different purposes. French and Standard Arabic are used for

while Tamazight and Algerian Arabic play the role of varieties. Different sociolinguistic relations obtain between the different varieties: SA/F bilingualism and diglossia, AA/T bilingualism and diglossia, SA/AA intra-lingual diglossia and bilingualism, SA/T inter-lingual diglossia and bilingualism, F/AA inter-lingual diglossia and bilingualism, and F/T inter-lingual diglossia and bilingualism. However, within this linguistic proliferation, Tamazight is undergoing a process of language revival which entails a process of standardisation. Although not completely achieved, the latter gave birth to a new form of the language mainly based on the Kabyle variety and which seems to gain much sociolinguistic importance. This new form that I call Semi-Standard Tamazight (SST) is investing fields and assuming functions which are normally fulfilled by High variety languages. SST is actually used in the mass-media, the press, education, literature, etc. In fact, there seems to develop a diglossic situation within Tamazight itself. Two forms of the language with two different levels fulfil different functions: SST is used for learned, formal purposes like education and the mass-media while K is used for intimate everyday needs.

The multilingual situation of Algeria and particularly of Kabylia and the contact between the various competing languages logically resulted in a well known sociolinguistic phenomenon, namely code-switching. Different studies have shown that this phenomenon has been differently considered by laymen and even some “purists” for whom it is a curse and a deviation from a so-called “pure authentic” language. Whatever prescriptivists may claim, sociolinguistic realities of Tamazight contradict their claims. As any other bilingual speech community, the Kabyle one makes use of all the varieties it has at its disposal whenever the need for that is felt. We can therefore observe switching from Kabyle (or SST) to French, Algerian Arabic and sometimes to Standard Arabic. One of the interesting characteristics to mention is that there is a difference between the way the switch operates within the Tamazight speaking community in Kabylia and its counterpart in Arabic speaking urban centres. While the two switch to French in the same ways, there seems to be a bigger tendency towards the use of AA by the Kabyles living in Arabic areas. The influence of the majority language on the minority one in a context where the former is used explains this tendency among the Kabyle diaspora. The other noticeable phenomenon is that even if it is in lesser extents, AA is part of the speech of Kabyles in general. As earlier explained, this is due to a millenary co-existence of the two varieties and the mutual influences the two codes had on each other. Another code-switching categorisation seems to obtain; the latter is much more related to age than to the region speakers live in. It has been noticed that Kabyle speakers of

ch which is the language they were educated in. it is identity tensions that prevail in Kabylia, the younger generation inherited a certain frequency in the use of French, but they tend to switch to AA and SA more than their elders. The social and political changes that occurred in Algeria have undeniably had a big impact on the Algerian population in general and the Kabyle one in particular. The prestige gained by big urban centres like Oran, Algiers and Constantine made of the Arabic varieties spoken in these regions prestigious dialectal forms which are used by young Kabyle speakers within their speech. At the same time, the Arabisation policy, also, influenced the young Kabyles' speech mainly through education and the mass-media. It is, therefore, unsurprising to come across instances of K/SA code-switching, especially in matters related to religion, administration and education.

At the structural level, Tamazight / F, SA, AA seems to obey constraints and rules proper to it, but it also shows many similarities with AA/F code-switching. It is also characterised by many borrowings from both AA and F. The application of the MLF model shows that even when words are borrowed from the latter languages the underlying structure of the switch remains Kabyle as it applies Tamazight rules and patterns to a switch which can be trilingual i.e., T/AA/F.

At the sociolinguistic level, each variety is used for specific semantic and relational purposes depending on the prestige, stigma and perception each variety is assigned by the society. While Kabyle is used to show solidarity and loyalty, it is also used to show intimacy together with AA. The spontaneity and the characteristic of being mother tongues justify the use of the two above varieties to show intimacy and reduce distance between interlocutors. However, AA may also be a means to widen the distance in some situations where solidarity and loyalty are not wanted to be expressed. French and Standard Arabic, on the other hand, express one's position since their use aims at showing one's education, social position and consequently at widening the distance between a speaker and his interlocutor. Another technique used by Kabyle speakers, but not proper to them as it is universal, is the use of metaphorical code-switching or what others call marked choice where the variety used is not the one normally expected for a given situation. This technique serves creating an intimate relation as it serves creating a formal distant one.

In a bilingual speech community, languages have different degrees of prestige and importance. These characteristics are closely related to the social and intellectual progress and promotion each variety allows. Therefore, it is clear that for formal purposes like education, learning and reading French and SA appear to be the most favoured. Yet, a

Despite of SA's relation with Islam and the prestige which the language Tamazight bilingual speakers use most for what they consider as knowledge and modern topics like medicine, literature etc. On the other hand, Tamazight and to a lesser extent AA are the ones which are mostly used for informal everyday purposes. If considered from this angle, the situation seem very simple, but as sociolinguistic investigations have shown that the one to one relation between a variety and a topic, a variety and an interlocutor and a variety and a setting are not enough to understand the motivations of language choice. Many parameters are combined to determine the choice of one variety or the other: the interlocutor's age and education, the topic and its importance and the type of setting. The combination of these variables dictates different choices depending on the combination the speaker is put in. All in all, it appears that taken from the preference angle Tamazight and French are the two languages which head the ranking of the overall use of the varieties Kabyle speakers have at their disposal.

This seems to be confirmed by the investigation of language attitudes Kabyles display. In general, the bilinguals' attitudes show a tendency towards positive views on Kabyle, SST and French. This seems to be motivated by different social elements. The favour K and SST receive emanates from the fact that the two varieties are considered as being the symbols of Kabyle and Tamazight identity. As a minority linguistic community, the Kabyle one tends to favour its native language and its prestigious from to avoid its disappearance, death or assimilation. Besides, French is favoured because of the modernism, opening, education and knowledge it represents. Standard Arabic, on the other hand, even if recognised as a prestigious language, does not score as one of the preferred languages of Kabyle speakers. This negative attitude is justified by the – wrong – idea, which was nourished by the government linguistic policy, that SA was a threat to Tamazight. This engendered in the Kabyle imagination a linguistic conflict between Kabyle and Standard Arabic. At the same time, this language recovers its prestige and receives positive attitudes when religion is involved.

The environment in which Tamazight in general and Kabyle in particular operates is of primary importance in the process of language planning. The varieties a community uses, its attitudes towards these varieties and the languages Tamazight is in contact with are all parameters which should be taken into consideration while trying to undertake a language management work. By considering the linguistic eco-system of Tamazight, language planners put all objective and rational means at the service of this task. Tamazight language planning faces many problems: extrinsic ones and intrinsic ones. The

de towards it. Because it was downgraded and ignored
er known any kind of development. Even today that it
is recognised as an official language, it does not receive all the consideration it deserves.
What makes its management even harder is the inexistence of any official organism which
controls and directs the orientations to be followed for the achievement of a real
standardisation. The absence of an objective implementation and spread strategy also does not
favour the emergence of the language at the official level. Actually, it seems that the national
status it has gained, or rather which has been recognised since it has always been national,
seems to be merely letters on paper without any effect or impact. On the other hand, one must
objectively recognise that there are problems which are intrinsic to the Tamazight language.
As it has never been written before except on very rare and very limited occasions, the
language had to move from the state of a spoken variety to a written one. This task which at
its beginning was the result of non specialised and individual efforts was canalised within
institutions and organisms which had a large knowledge of languages. Although the Latin
alphabet option seems irreversible as far as Tamazight in Algeria is concerned, voices for the
adoption of Tifinagh or Arabic ones rise here and there. Technically, all writing systems are
equal, but trying to write Tamazight in prints other than the Latin ones is to put into question
all the efforts consented so far and bringing the language back to the point it started from i.e.,
a spoken language. The acceptance and the adoption of the prints in question by the
Tamazight speaking society, mainly the Kabyle one, pleads in favour of their maintenance as
a writing system. It has been shown above that the existence of Tamazight as one language is
more of a structural level, but from a sociolinguistic point of view the discrepancy between
the different varieties is such that there is nearly no mutual intelligibility between them. Thus,
another problem to be considered is that of the big variation at the phonological and lexical
level between the Algerian Tamazight varieties, let alone between all of them. This makes the
choice of one unified variety nearly impossible at the present state of affairs. Linguistically,
this is feasible, but what is the use of a language which will be cut from the society supposed
to use it. The aim of language management is not to create a “normative monster” which will
be rejected at the social level; rather, it is to give prestige to the variety the society actually
uses. Of course, there are always registers which are exclusive to learned circles, but the
language itself must reflect the society’s linguistic behaviour and use. This situation seems
already to obtain in Tamazight based on the Kabyle variety. There seems to be such a
communicative gap between SST and K as the former did not start its socialisation process
yet - would it ever?-. The will to revive the language and to get rid of all borrowings mainly

ge planners integrate terms which are unknown to Berber varieties or created on morpho-syntactic bases everyday Kabyle speakers are not used to. Rather than going on an excessive revival and renewal of the language which can have devastating consequences on the community, it would be more rational to undertake a gradual change in the language and a gradual implementation. This would take time, but at least it would prevent the risk of rejection.

Instead of keeping Tamazight as an abstract entity, it is preferable to contrite efforts on the standardisation of each variety on its own. This would avoid building gaps between a super norm and supra norm and would give the opportunity to all Tamazight varieties to thrive. It is important to remind that social and linguistic changes happen at such a speed and under such unpredictable conditions that only time will tell if a gradual convergence will take place to end up with pan-Berber language or if each variety would develop as an autonomous language.

APPENDIX 1: Questionnaire on language choice

Age:

Sexe:

Ville:

Niveau d'instruction :

Fonction :

1. Laquelle de ces langues, Tamazight, Arabe algérien, Arabe classique, Français, utilisez-vous en vous adressant à :

- A. Un mendiant
- B. Vos grands-parents
- C. Vos parents
- D. Vos frères et sœurs
- E. Vos amis
- F. Vos aînés

- I. Un docteur
- J. Votre employeur

2. Laquelle de ces langues, Tamazight, Arabe algérien, Arabe classique, Français, utilisez-vous quand vous êtes dans :

- A. Une pharmacie
- B. A l'hôpital
- C. Un hôtel
- D. Un restaurant
- E. Chez l'épicier

3. Laquelle de ces langues, Tamazight, Arabe algérien, Arabe classique, Français, utilisez-vous pour discuter d'un sujet :

- A. Philosophique
- B. Moral
- C. Religieux
- D. Scientifique
- E. Technique
- F. Industriel
- G. Sociologique
- H. Culturel et artistique
- I. Domestique
- J. Sportif
- K. Personnel

4. Laquelle de ces langues, Tamazight, Arabe algérien, Arabe classique, Français, utilisez-vous pour :

- A. Raconter des blagues
- B. Insulter
- C. Saluer
- D. Intimider
- E. Flatter

- H. Encouragez
- I. Courtiser une femme/une fille
5. Laquelle de ces langues, Tamazight, Arabe algérien, Arabe classique, Français, utilisez-vous quand vous êtes :
- A. Fatigué
 - B. En colère
 - C. Content
 - D. Malheureux
6. Dans laquelle des langues suivantes, Tamazight, Arabe algérien, Arabe classique, Français, écrivez-vous
- A. Une demande d'emploi
 - B. Une lettre d'amour
 - C. Une lettre à la famille
 - D. Un SMS
 - E. Un e-mail
7. Dans quelle langue aimeriez-vous
- A. Passer votre permis de conduire
 - B. Recevoir vos cours
 - C. Passer vos examens écrits
 - D. Passer vos examens oraux
8. Dans quelle langue préférez-vous vous exprimer ?
9. Dans quelle langue lisez-vous les journaux ?
10. Dans quelle langue préférez-vous lire les journaux ?
11. Dans quelle langue lisez-vous les livres (romans, etc.) ?
12. Dans quelle langue préférez-vous lire les livres (romans, etc.) ?
13. Dans quelle langue
- A. Ecoutez-vous la radio ?
 - B. Préférez-vous écouter la radio ?
 - C. Regardez-vous la télévision ?
 - D. Regardez-vous les films ?

à la radio et à la télévision ?

14. Quelle langue utiliseriez-vous dans les situations suivantes ?

- A. A la maison avec votre frère ou sœur en parlant du respect des aînés.
- B. Au café avec un ami en parlant de football.
- C. A l'école/ université avec votre enseignant en parlant d'histoire ou d'anthropologie.
- D. A l'hôpital en parlant de médicaments avec un docteur.
- E. Au bureau en parlant du travail avec votre employeur.

15. Quelle langue utiliseriez-vous dans les situations suivantes ?

- A. A la maison en parlant du respect des aînés avec un docteur ?
- B. Au café en parlant de football avec un enseignant ?
- C. A l'école/ université en parlant d'histoire ou d'anthropologie avec un propriétaire d'un Magasin de photocopies ?
- D. A l'hôpital en parlant de médicaments avec un cousin ?
- E. Au bureau en parlant du travail avec votre père ?

16. Quelle langue utiliseriez-vous dans les situations suivantes ?

- A. Dans une salle de conférence en discutant du respect des aînés avec votre frère ou votre sœur ?
- B. Dans le bureau d'un journaliste pour parler de football avec un ami ?
- C. Dans une station de bus en parlant d'histoire et d'anthropologie avec votre enseignant ?
- D. Dans un café en parlant de médicaments avec un médecin ?
- E. Dans un restaurant populaire en parlant de travail avec votre employeur ?

17. Quelle langue utiliseriez-vous dans les situations suivantes ?

- A. A la maison en parlant du SIDA avec votre frère ou votre sœur ?
- B. Au café en parlant de littérature avec un ami ?
- C. A l'école en parlant de problèmes personnels avec votre enseignant ?
- D. A l'hôpital en parlant des élections avec un médecin ?
- E. Au bureau en parlant du pouvoir d'achat avec votre employeur ?

*N.B. Si vous avez des commentaires par rapport à l'une des questions veuillez en faire part



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ro de la question.

APPENDIX 2 : Questionnaire on language attitudes (Direct method)

Age:

Sexe:

Ville:

Niveau d'instruction :

Fonction :

1. Des langues suivantes : Français, Arabe classique, Kabyle, Tamazight semi standardisée, laquelle trouvez-vous :

- A. La plus belle ?
- B. La plus riche ?
- C. Riche ?
- B. Belle ?

2. Quelle langue pensez-vous que les Kabyles devraient utiliser plus que d'autres ?

3. Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus facile ?

4. Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus pratique pour la vie de tous les jours ?

atique?

oderne ?

7. Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus utile pour les études ?
8. Quelle est la langue que vous pensez capable de s'adapter au monde moderne ?
9. Quelle est la langue que vous pensez être vivante ?
10. Quelle est la langue que vous pensez être la plus nécessaire pour un kabyle ?
11. Quelle est la langue que vous aimez le plus ?
12. Quelle est la langue que vous aimez le moins ?
13. Quelle langue vous semble être nécessaire ?
14. Quelle langue vous semble être versatile ?
15. Quelle langue vous semble morte ?
16. Quelle langue vous semble inutile ?
17. Quelle langue vous semble démodée ?
18. À quelle langue vous identifiez-vous le plus ?
19. À quelle langue vous identifiez-vous le moins ?

20. Dans quelle langue voudriez-vous que vos enfants fassent leurs études ?
21. Quelle langue pensez-vous qu'un Kabyle doit nécessairement connaître ?
22. Est-ce un avantage d'être bilingue ?
23. Êtes-vous pour :
 - A. Une Amazighisation totale ?
 - B. Une Arabisation totale ?
 - C. Un bilinguisme Arabe/ Tamazight ?

*N.B. Si vous avez des commentaires par rapport à l'une des questions veuillez en faire part ci-dessous en spécifiant le numéro de la question.



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APPENDIX 3 : Questionnaire on language attitudes (Indirect method)

Vous allez écouter quatre passages lus dans les quatre langues (Kabyle, Tamazight semi standardisée, Arabe classique et Français) par quatre individus. Veuillez cocher les traits que vous trouverez à chacun de ces lecteurs dans la liste ci-dessous ;

Traits	
Aimable	
Divertissant	
Sociable	
Emotionnel	
Serein	
Modeste	
Honnête	
Intelligent	
Instruit	
Ouvert d'esprit	
Important	

Religieux	
Patriotique	
Loyal	
Fiable	
Respectueux	
Démocrate	
Responsable	

* N.B. Vos commentaires sur l'un ou l'autre des lecteurs ou des traits seraient les bienvenus.

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