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Language Policy in Algeria

“A Survey of Students at Dr. Moulay Tahar University”.

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Dedications

To my lovely parents

To my dear husband, Salim

To my beloved son, Hocine

To my dear brothers, Monaim, Mohammad and Zoubir

To my lovely sisters, Zakia, Asma, Houda, and Mounia

To my best nieces, Reda, ouissam, and yassine

Thank you for your unconditional love and prayers.

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Abstract

Algeria is a pertinent example of language contact and planning between a former colonial language (French), a language of national identity (Standard Arabic) and native languages (Algerian Arabic and Berber). Algeria is also regarded as a multilingual country in which, many linguistic varieties are used by its members.

Arabisation was regarded as essential for asserting the country's Arabo Islamic identity. Since, it aimed at replacing French, the colonial by Standard Arabic the language of Islam. In this vein, the main purpose of this research work is to describe the process of linguistic policy and planning in Algeria by students at Dr. Moulay Tahar University as a case in point. To this end, the present study relies on quantitative and qualitative methods, mainly a questionnaire and interview. The findings demonstrate that the Arabic language occupied a sacred place in Algeria and the majority of informants declare that Arabic language is an advanced language and it is very difficult to understand.

The phonetic Symbols

Arabic Letter Transcription

Arabic letters	Transcription
ع	[ʕ]
ب	[b]
ت	[t]
ث	[θ]
ج	[dʒ]
ح	[h]
خ	[x]
د	[d]
ذ	[.]
ر	[r]
ز	[z]
س	[s]
ث	[ʃ]
ص	[ʂ]
ض	[d̪]
ط	[t]
ظ	[.]
ع	[ʔ]
غ	[ɣ]
ف	[f]
ق	[q]
ك	[k]
ل	[l]
م	[m]
ن	[n]
ه	[h]
و	[w]
ي	[j]

List of Acronyms

AA: Algerian Arabic

CA: Classical Arabic

CS: Code-switching

F: French

H: High variety

L: Low variety

F: French

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

LP: language planning

LS: language policy

SA: Standard Arabic

ASA: Algerian Spoken Arabic

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General Introduction

Each community, just like each individual, has its own language that expresses the ideas, values, and attitudes of its members. It is the most communicative mode of behavior; it is a complete expressive tool that is characterised by the ability to determine the social, scientific, and all the experiences acquired by society in its history. Accordingly, language is described as an important tool in all human societies; and is the most primary ingredient of the process of interpersonal communication.

The cultural, social values and the ideologies of a nation or people are transmitted from generation to generation through language. Language often appears not only as the cement that guarantees national unity, but also as the mold that forms the people into one nation. At the same time, language is one of the engines that drive the whole nation towards progress and development.

It can also be observed that global development goes hand in hand with language development. The most developed nations are those whose languages have developed the capacity to deal with the details and dynamism needed for development. Of course, there is some correlation among culture, ideology, education, global development and language.

Because planning is the title of any successful work, language planning and language policy has become very essential for identifying and determining further linguistic features. Moreover, the MSA language occupies the first place in our country, but it is still neglected in so many frameworks and universities. That is why so many efforts were done by our government to change this complex linguistic reality in Algeria. Accordingly, language planning is said to focus on problem-solving or the planned pursuit of solutions to language problems,

In the current investigation, we try to put some light on language variation that exists in the Algerian speech communities for the purpose of showing a kind distinction that may occur between these language varieties. Linguistic policy and planning are the main subjects in dealing with this research work. One may ask ‘what is really meant by language policy and language planning?’ One possible answer is that the term ‘linguistic policy’ is regarded as a political activity that aims to change and solve linguistic problems.

Having discussing the idea of language policy, we are motivated to know whether students of Dr. Moulay Taher University are aware of this or not. That is to say, people have different attitudes towards different varieties in which these attitudes may influence negatively or positively the language used. In other terms, our aim is to know if language

policy and planning are developing or not and in which level? And the reason behind the choice of university milieu is that it is a place where students from different backgrounds meet and mix with.

This study aims to provide answers to the following research questions:

- 1- Where Algerian society stands linguistically?
- 2- Will Algeria move towards a better language policy?

To tackle this question, the following hypothesis is advocated:

- 1- The Algerian case stands as a dynamic phenomenon of contact situation started as early as 1980.
- 2- Algeria has valuable linguistic resources that could be engineered profitably to build an internationally open country.

The present research is, thus, handled in three chapters.

The first chapter is devoted to defining some key concepts of the work, mainly language, language policy and planning as well as the concept of Arabisation and attitudes and it attempts to show theorists' definitions of these concepts. The second chapter relates these concepts to the concrete linguistic situation in Algeria. Then, it aims at defining the current linguistic diversity found in Algeria. It finally, tackles attitudes towards language varieties. The third chapter is a concluding chapter; it is the practical part of this research issue. Set of research instruments are used in order to obtain reliable results and to reach to some extent objectivity and exactness. Questionnaires and interviews are the data collection procedures used in the fieldwork in order to come, eventually, to a set of data, which are analysed and interpreted in the third chapter.

Chapter One

Language Planning and Policy: A Theoretical Background

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1.1. Introduction

Generally speaking, language has to be used by the different components of the country; otherwise, it cannot foster notional unity. For that reason, decisions around language policy and planning are made around the globe every day. That is to say, authorities in all over the world cannot do without a language policy to maintain their notional language. The current chapter presents an overview on the literature of different scholars' views about language policy and planning, it is devoted to define notions and concepts that are crucial to our research work. In addition, this chapter sheds some light on linguistic ideologies and attitudes towards different varieties. Moreover, this chapter aims at describing the different dimensions of language policy and planning.

1.2. Language vs Dialect/Accent

It is not easy to differentiate between Language and dialect/ accent. Scholars focus on one principle, which is the concept of mutual intelligibility. That is to say, when two persons speak to each other and they understand each other; they are using different dialects of one language. However, once they do not understand each other, they are using a language (Bauer, 2000: 55).

1.2.1. Language

In fact, language is always meant for society. The social interaction and communication of ideas and messages can be possible only through language. Accordingly, a language is not simply a tool of communication or national unification; it is also a very powerful symbol of the cultural and social identity of the man or woman who speaks it.' (Bauer, idem).

1.3. Language planning vs Language Policy

Broadly speaking, an important thing to keep in mind is that policy does not mean politics. Politics can be in some cases create problems or barriers to language activities and policies. The goal of language policies and plans is to restore, revitalization, support the language based on the needs of the community. Linguistic policy is considered as a set of Conscious choices about the relationship between languages and life. Social planning and linguistic planning is the practical implementation of a linguistic policy, the passage to the act. The two expressions linguistic policy and linguistic planning make it possible to

distinguish two levels of policy action on languages in use in a given society. Language planning is Then a passage to the legal and administrative act, the concretization on The institutional plan of considerations, perspectives, choices, Which are those of a linguistic policy, the latter may concern a Language in its structural identity, concern the functioning Sociocultural societies from one language to another. It is also used in the same community and present a double linguistic aim, and sociolinguistics. More often than not, the linguistic objectives depend on broader objectives on the whole social scale; National unification, diplomatic rapprochement and the economy towards a new sector. Accordingly, the scholar Boyer (1996:23) declares:

The expression language policy is more often used in relationship with that of linguistic planning: sometimes they are Considered as variants of the same designation, Distinguish between two levels of policy The language (s) used in the legal act, the concretization on the Institutions (state, regional, even international) Considerations of choices, perspectives which are those of a linguistic development.

Generally speaking, Language planning is a branch of social linguistics that examines the relationship of language to society, and how they affected each other. That is to say, language planning examines the dilemmas facing the language.

1.3.1. Language Policy

The creation of a Language Policy for the language community is one component of a language plan. A LP supports language planning and language revitalization activities in a community, and provides a framework for control of the language and its future in the community. In addition, households, schools, businesses, community centers, health clinics and many other organizations may state language policies that complement the community language policy, and direct language plans and activities internal to the organization. Moreover, Authorities of any country in all over the world, have to make decisions about which language must be used and maintained by the community. That is to say, they must determine which languages are nurtured. That is, language policy and planning decisions have a major impact on language vitality and, ultimately, on the rights of the individual (Boyer, idem).

Additionally, language policy occurs at the governmental level, it is much more at the theoretical level. That is to say, people are thinking to decide which language they are going to select in order to be the formal and the official language in their speech community. Moreover, when the government agrees about the selection, it is going to give power to the selected language and choose it as an official one (Boyer, idem).

1.3.2. Language Planning

Emerging in the 1960s as a formal research discipline, Language Policy and Planning has always been engaged in addressing a wide array of political, social and educational problems through a variety of theoretical frameworks and methods with diverse and changing empirical foci and preoccupations of the scholars involved Tollefson, (2008: 3), Ricento (2000:197). The shift from macro to micro level studies, and from descriptive to interpretive paradigms, can be attributed to the wider changing intellectual orientations in the social sciences, particularly the shift towards interactional/ discursive orientations and social constructionism. At the same time, there has also been a growing dissatisfaction amongst scholars of LPP with the inadequacy of the early models and taxonomies to grapple with the questions of ideology, power and inequalities (Hornberger, 2006:27). The preoccupation with ideology, power and inequality known as a historical-structural or critical approach to LPP remained in place until recently. It was felt that too much emphasis on ideology, power and inequality masks the agentive spaces and the active role social actors play in interpreting/ appropriating/ resisting policy in complex ways (Hornberger, idem).

The language-planning process in Algeria has resulted in a language shift, with Arabic replacing French to a certain degree in various areas of social life. However, paradoxically, owing to the policy of compulsory education for all, more people nowadays have a good working knowledge of French than during the colonial period. Yet, despite the large and nationwide Arabisation programme, French still remains the most widely used working language in many state-run administration and enterprises and virtually in all the private sector. However, there has been a growing concern that the level of French language among Algerians have dropped quite significantly and that is due to French no longer being the language of instruction in schools. A fact that has become obvious to many students who obtained an education in Arabic as their prospects for gainful employment becomes bleak without facility in French. For the élite French still constitutes

the medium of modernization and technology. It facilitates the access to Western commerce and to economic development and culture (Hornberger, idem).

In fact, the term LP has been referred to broadly as a language problem solving activity in a community. Additionally, LP is a very wide field that covers a large practices and it has been defined differently by various specialists. Schiffman (1996:3) defines it simply as “the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting [a] community’s relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential”. These positions and principles can be either overt by stating them in a formal document or law, or covert. That is, they have neither written nor formal form and they reflect. Additionally, Karam (1974:105) indicates that it is **“an activity which attempts to solve a language problem usually on a national scale, and which focuses on either language form or language use or both”**. Similarly, Romaine, (2002)¹ claimed that:

Language planning is most effective when the language community is included throughout the entire process, and when the focus is placed on the community, its speakers, and intergenerational transmission of the language.

The scholar means that, the language plan describes the framework for carrying out and evaluating language revitalization activities in the community.

To wrap it up, language planning is to practise language. That is, whenever the selection is mad, the government is going to discuss about the selection, and the selected language is going to be applied at different levels. For example the application of the language in education is to form generation while at the economic level we can export language through the product, i.e. nowadays, people are interesting to learn Turkish language because of product and economy (Benghida, idem).

1.4. Language Policy and Language Education Policy

Of the various factors that overtly reinforce and consolidate the presence of French in the Algerian society are the advent and the ready availability of satellite dishes which have introduced all the French television channels into Algerian homes. However, despite the fact that Algeria is not a member of the French-speaking countries (Francophonie), the current President Bouteflika attended the 1999, 2004 and 2008

¹ As quoted in Benghida (2006: 3).

francophone summits. Following his election in 1999 and his re-election in 2004, President Bouteflika dealt with issues that had hitherto been squashed by major taboos linked to Algerian history, religious practices, and the linguistic reality of the country (Benrabah, 2004: 51). He “praised the Jewish and Christian heritage of Algeria” (Benrabah, idem) and he was eager “**to re-establish a strong bilateral relationship with France by restoring technical and cultural education**”(Naylor, 2000: 288). The very recent official visit of France’s newly elected President, François Holland in December 2012 to Algeria and to the University of Tlemcen, where he was awarded the honorary degree *Honoris Causa* Doctorate, will certainly give a second wind to the bilateral relations between the two countries, especially at the level of education (Naylor, idem).

Interestingly enough, Shohamy (2003) offers the following distinction between language policy and language education policy: “**Language policy is concerned with the decisions that people make about languages and their use in society, whereas language education policy refers to carrying out such decisions in the specific contexts of schools and universities in relation to home languages and to foreign and second languages...**” (Shohamy, 2003: 279). Language education policy therefore “**pertains to which languages will be the medium of instruction in schools, which languages will be taught, how they will be taught, and to whom they will be taught**” (Menken, 2008: 402).

1.5. Language Policy Goals

Language policy goals differ depending on the nation or organization, but generally include attaining national unity, improving communication and education, and achieving language maintenance. In this vein, Nahir (1984) offers an eleven-point classification of language planning goals:

1. **Language purification:** (to remove foreign elements, or “errors”). That is to say, to make the language pure from the other foreign languages, which are considering as errors.
2. **Language revival:** to restore a language with few or no surviving native speakers” as “a normal means of communication.
3. **Language reform:** to improve effectiveness.
4. **Language standardization:** to turn “a language or dialect spoken in a region” into one “accepted as the major language”.

5. **Language spread:** to expand the domains and speakers of a language.
6. **Lexical modernization:** to create terminology. That is, to usually give changes to the language to be a modernized language.
7. **Terminology unification:** to standardize existing terminology.
8. **Stylistic simplification:** to make technical or legal language comprehensible, and reduce bureaucratise
9. **Interlingual communication:** through planned languages, translation and interpretation, etc.
10. **Language maintenance:** to preserve the domains in which a language is used).
11. **Auxiliary code standardization:** to create norms for language-related activities, e.g. transliteration and transcription and facilitate the graphisation of the language.¹¹

1.6. Activity Types of Language Policy

Accordingly, Language planning has been, in fact, divided into three types labeled respectively: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning.

2.6.1. Status Planning

Status planning is a purely political issue undertaken by policy makers. It is the allocation or reallocation of a language to functional domains within a society, i.e. any official attempt to determine which language or languages is/are to be used in various public functions, by government, the legal system, the media, and the educational system. In Hoffmann's terms (1991:207) status planning "concerns decision-making processes regarding the status and function of particular languages or varieties, as well as the allocation of state resources".

Specialists have proposed various labels for this area of study, Neustupny (1970) speaks of a "policy approach", while Jernudd (1973) and Trudgill (1992) discuss "language determination". Rubbin (1983), for his part, suggests that the term "allocation of language use" would be more useful, as at is the case of Covarrubias (1983), which refers to "allocation of language function" for a language in a given speech community².

²As cited in Hoffman (1991:207).

Strictly speaking, language status is the position or standing of a language vis-à-vis other languages. A language garners status according to the fulfillment of a number of attributes. Kloss and Stewart (1968) establish four common attributes that relate to language status:

1. The origin of language used officially: whether a given language is indigenous or imported to the speech community.

2. Degree of standardization: the extent of development of a formal set of norms that define “correct” usage.

3. Juridical status: as a result of language planning decisions, a language may be recognized as:

- a) A sole official language
- b) A joint official language
- c) A regional official language
- d) A promoted language
- e) A tolerated language or,
- f) A proscribed language

4. Vitality or the ratio: the percent of users of a language to the total population. Kloss and Stewart both distinguish six classes of statistical distribution and the first class is for the highest level of vitality. Yet, this factor does not actually say much about the status of language and should be considered in conjunction with the other factors (Hoffman, *idem*). Once a language has been fixed as appropriate for use in a specific situation, i.e. an official one, its structure has to be fixed or even modified. This task is referred to as corpus planning.

1.6.1. Corpus Planning

Corpus planning is a purely linguistic activity, referring to the intervention in the form and structures of the language. Corpus planning activities often arise as the result of beliefs about the adequacy of the form of a language to serve desired functions. This task is

often undertaken by **“national language planning agencies, whose role differs according to the situation”**.³ Corpus planning and status planning, though they are different in their activities, cannot be separated and they occur one after the other. In this respect, Kloss (1969:81) provides a distinction between corpus and status planning by stating that the former refers to “all actions aiming at modifying the nature of the language itself” while the latter **“is concerned with whether the social status of a language should be lowered or raised”**.⁴

Corpus planning is fundamental in any language planning process, so that some theorists have stressed and showed the importance of its activity before the implementing phase and concentrated on it in defining LP. In this regard, Gorman (1973:73) defines LP as **“measures taken to select, codify and, in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon”**⁵. It refers to changes made in morphological or syntactic structure, vocabulary or spelling, it may even include the adoption of a new script.

Ferguson (1968) speaks of language development rather than corpus planning and he describes its three basic stages as: graphisation, standardization and modernization. Graphisation refers to development, selection and modification of scripts for a language, i.e. adopting a writing system. Linguists may use an existing system or may invent a new one. The Ainu of Japan⁶, for example, chose to adopt an existing system of the Japanese language' Katakana syllabary. The latter is modified and used as a writing system for the Ainu language. Sometimes, the writing system of a language can be regraphiced on the basis of political reasons as it is the case of the Turkish who substituted the Arabic script by the Roman one for cutting the links with Ottoman identity and to be clustered to Europe.

Modernization or intellectualization, as it is termed by Trudgill (1992:40), is undertaken to enable language speakers to speak and write about topic in modern domains.

³ As quoted in Llamas, et al.(2006: 165)

⁴ As quoted in Coulmas,(1997: 303)

⁵ As quoted in Benghida, (2006: 37).

⁶ Retrieved from: <http://www.wpel.net/v13/v13n1coronell.pdf>.

It refers to the activity of creating new lists and glossaries to describe new technical terms. This latter can be borrowed from other languages or by coining and compounding elements from the language that is being modernized. This language, however, cannot be used in schools without passing through the implementation phase; acquisition planning.

1.6.2. Acquisition Planning

Acquisition planning is a third activity that has been recently added by Cooper (1989) besides status planning and corpus planning; in which a national state or local government system aims to influence aspects of language, such as: language status, distribution and literacy through education. Its activity lies in “increasing the number of users-speakers, writers, listeners or readers” (Cooper, *ibid*: 33) of a language at the expense of another one. That is, all efforts made by politicians -the ruling elite- in order to spread the use of a specific language or languages in a specific speech community.

Cooper stresses on the point that acquisition planning and status planning are two distinctive activities. He (1989: 120) argues that “**status planning is an effort to regulate the demand for given verbal resources**” whereas “**acquisition planning is an effort to regulate the distribution of those resources**”. In the same vein, Molinero, (2001:131) differentiates between the two terms by stating that whereas status planning focuses “on the way society thinks about the language”, acquisition planning “focuses on how it is learnt”. The term acquisition planning can be also known as “Language Education Policy”. Kaplan&Baldauf (2003), in their turn, named the term “Language-in-Education Policy”. They associate it with education since the latter is considered by many theorists as “a microcosm of society and both reacts to its concerns and proacts in order to influence society” (Molinero, 2001:158). Moreover, acquisition planning is an activity that develops status planning by identifying the ways in which language use will be expanded in certain domains such as: education, workplace, media, organizations and religious domains.

Education is arguably the most important aspect of LP; “of all the domains for LP, one of the most important is the school” (Spolsky, 2004)⁷. This is explained by the fact that children, for instance, in schools are taught a new language instead of their mother tongue which enhanced status planning. Then, corpus planning will be reinforced by teaching them the prescribed form of this language. After that, acquisition planning, though it faces some problems, is centrally realized through education programmes for children as well as

⁷Retrieved from <http://www.actfl.org/public/languagepolicykeynote.pdf>

adults (Moliner, 2001). What emphasizes the role of education in LP is “**the use of the education system by language planners to expand the knowledge of a targeted language**” (Moliner, 2001: 180) from school, a formal context, to the daily speech where the mother tongue is used.

1.7. Uni –Polar Institutional Framework: Demands for Retaining Arabic across Weakening French

As the matter of fact, the departure of the linguistic problems in Algeria appeared, at some points in such tidal circumstances, immediately after its independence from the foreign French rule which lasted over 130 years (1830-1962). More precisely, once the post-independent authority, during the mandate of President Ben Bella (1965-1967). Declared the implementation of the policy of Arabisation, as a tool to fade away French from the Algerian society in one way or in another. As an anti-colonial disdain of all that is French, throughout passing its first constitution in 1963 and later on the principle constitution in 1976 during the term office of President Boumediene (1965- 78), assuming classical Arabic as the notional and official language of all Algerians⁸.

Despite the fact, that the Algerian sociolinguistic profile is renowned for the ranking the Arabic language as the notional and official language of all Algerians. Up till now, the most amazing thing is that the term Arabic here is still fuzzy, since, it does not point out whether the dead CA is valid or MSA have to be used with formal setting.

In any case, it can be seen at the outset of launching the policy of “Arabisation”, that the virtual principles of its implementation are to encourage studying the Arabo-muslim culture as well as to strengthen the national mood of the Algerians. That is to say, the decision makers at that time assume that society needs to cease the use of French with the purpose of maintaining their Algerian culture identity. Besides, some fundamentalists go even further to claim that French is the language of enemy and refuse to use it.

In the face of this state of affairs, the assumption of imposing CA and/or MSA as the only language that represents Algeria’s identity, culture and religion. Islamic values seem to be as a total contradiction with the sociolinguistics, socio-culture and ideological dimensions of the Algerian society. Furthermore, the above claim, regards Algeria as a monolingual country and such consideration ignores the linguistics richness, the various speech communities and the different ethnic groups that comprise the Algerian society,

⁸The third amendment of the Algerian constitution

that is, this denies the reality of qualifying Algeria as a bilingual country, or even deserving to be called as being a multilingual one.

1.8. Arabisation

Arabisation or “taarib” in Arabic, refers to the linguistic process that has been launched in the first years of independence. It aimed at replacing French which was imposed during colonialism as the official language. Above all, Arabisation was an impulsive to French imperialism and hegemony that lasted for more than a century. During which French included Algeria inseparable part of the French patrimony and this what makes Algeria’s colonial experience distinctly distinguishable from many others. (Stora, 2001). In this regard, Enajji (1991: 17-18)⁹states:

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

Moreover, Algeria has adopted a centerlised Arabic-only policy to recover its pre-colonial past and to retrieve its Arab-Muslim characteristics as expressed in the well-known slogan of the leader Abdelhamid Ben Badis during the Algerian struggle for independence “ Islam is our religion, Arabic is our language, and Algeria is our nation”. Accordingly, Arabisation was synonymous with unity homogenization mainly as far as the religious aspect in concerned.

According to Al-Abed Al-Haq(1994: 4-7), **“Arabisation is a more adequate term that has been coined to refer to the second sense, because it is morphologically derived from the language which is Arabic and therefore refers to the idea of Arabic language planning. However, Arabisation refers more adequately to Arabs, i.e., the people and their behaviours”**.

Arabisation in Algeria was necessary after independence. However, it was not an easy task to achieve. The reason for this is the connection with the ‘colonial cultural impact’. Colonialism, during one hundred and thirty years, did all its best to suppress Arabic as a working language in Algeria. The object was to deprive Algerians of their

⁹ As quoted in Dendane (2006: 88).

culture and replace it by French civilization. It is a miracle to see that Arabic and Berber survived after Algerian independence. However, after so long, the re-establishment of Arabic as the national language is too delicate to be hurried.

Thus, Arabisation should have taken place progressively. The next factors which deepen the difficulty to Arabise the country is related to teaching. In Algeria where more than 80% of the population were illiterate, and in starting arabising the country, teachers were not qualified and it took time to train teachers for primary, secondary and university levels. Between the age of six and eleven, the children were trained properly in Arabic (Dendane, idem).

Another drawback is presented as follows: a lot of Algerians are hostile to the Arabic language. They cannot free themselves from the French language and even its culture. This group is represented mainly by intellectuals who regard Arabic as a language for common people. One of the many contributory reasons for this might be perhaps the short fall in Arabic teaching beyond primary level (Dendane, idem).

A descriptively adequate account of Arabisation planning can inform investigators, at least, of what actors attempted to influence what behaviours, of which people, for what ends, by what means, with what results, under what conditions. The marketing approach, for instance, seems to represent a bridging process that links scientists and economists' knowledge with that of language planners. In this way, it offers a useful framework to improve capacities to describe, predict, explain, and draw generalizations about social matters that become more relevant and critical (Dendane, idem).

1.9. Conclusion

As a conclusion, our concern in dealing with language policy and planning in Algeria is to know more about the key concepts underpinning language policy and planning in general. Arguably, this chapter has dealt mainly with some sensitive issues: definition of language policy and planning in general, definitions of language, dialect and accent. The chapter also highlights the concept of Arabisation policy in Algeria in which decision makers plan for an academic solution to reserve the language from death. Planning is very essential to make the national language in Algeria available in all scientific framework

Chapter Two:
The Algerian
Linguistic Profile

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2.1. Introduction

The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is described as a real intricate and complex because of the co-existence of more than one language in the speech community. In fact, a number of various linguistic varieties are used by Algerians: Classical Arabic, Modern standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, French and Berber. As a matter of fact, this chapter tends to highlight some linguistic backgrounds that exist in the Algerian context.

2.2. Algerian Historical Background

Several invaders more or less shaped the sociocultural history of Algeria, as well as its sociolinguistic profile. It was invaded by many settlers: the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, and the Byzantines, then, the Arabs, the Spaniards, the Turks, during the Islamic opening, and finally the French. Moreover, the French colonialism in Algeria continued for a long period; more than 130 years. Algeria is the only Arabic country, which lived under French assimilationist colonial rule for 132 years. It has absorbed the heaviest colonial impact, which has Gallicized the country (Bourhis, 1982: 44). The French Government considered Algeria as a province of France. This latter aimed at acculturating Algerians, and steadily erasing their Arabo-Islamic identity, and imposing their language as “the only official language of civilisation and advancement” (Bourhis, idem).

It must be noted also that all those settlers have affected Algeria culturally and they have left so many effects, and the most common things they left are those traces in the varieties actually spoken in Algeria.

2.3. The Algerian Linguistic Map

Algeria is a multilingual country and this linguistic situation comes from its complex history. The official national language of the Algerian country is Arabic; however on April 8th, 2002, the Government recognized Berber as a national language too, and in February 2016 Tamazight was approved as an official language alongside with the Arabic language, the historically original language of the country. On another side, Algerian Arabic is considered as the language of everyday, sometimes-mixed with French which is considered as the second language of the country. English also plays an important role in the country especially in the educational sector, yet it is only marginally used by the whole society (Bourhis, idem).

2.3.1. Arabic

On one hand, Arabic may refer to Classical Arabic (hereafter CA) that is also labelled as a pure language, or the written language of Qur'an. On the other hand, Arabic sometimes refers to what is called Modern Standard Arabic (henceforward MSA). Nowadays, the classification of Arabic is different from that in the past. In the past, there were two categories of Arabic; Classical Arabic and Colloquial Arabic. The first is known as the Quranic Arabic and it is used to be the high variety that is used in schools. Whereas Colloquial or spoken Arabic was used in daily conversations. However, the present classification of Arabic is as follow:

2.3.1.1. Classical Arabic

CA refers to the Arabic of medieval times in which a body of literature is written, specifically pre-Islamic poetry. It should be stated that not only is CA practically a foreign language for Algerians, but in addition it is very difficult and tedious to assimilate. In addition, it is one of the richest and most prolific languages, it is also flexible, that is to say, it has a rich vocabulary and well-organized grammar rules, in other words, from the root of one word, we can extract many adjectives and verbs. In this respect, Marçais (1960)¹, describes CA as a language which “[...] had an extremely rich vocabulary, due partly to the Bedouins'. Above all, CA is the reference and symbol language of an Arab Muslim identity”. In fact, CA is the essential means of written Arabic and formal speech throughout the Arab world as it is the most prestigious form of Arabic, and it is not far from MSA.

2.3.1.2. Modern Standard Arabic

MSA also referred to as “*Al-Arabiya Al- Fusha*” (elegant or clear language) or “*fushatual'asr*” MSA is the so-called official language of Algeria and is used by people on occasions calling for more formality like education, political speeches, administrative institutions and other formal situations. That is to say, MSA has two major roles: First, it is used in formal situations, both spoken and written. Second, it is used in non-formal situations for the purposes of establishing a higher degree of mutual intelligibility between regional dialects that are distant, for example, Palestinian and Algerian Arabic. The MSA is used particularly in formal written as well as spoken settings. It gives the impression to be easier and simpler in terms of its vocabulary words and grammatical rules in

¹As quoted in Dergi (2009:38)

comparison to that CA. In fact, The Algerian government has chosen MSA to be the language of education and other prestigious context due to the fact of being high and superior language, and because of its well-organised grammar rules (Derni, idem).

2.3.1.3. Algerian Arabic

Algerian Arabic (known as ‘darija or darja’ is normally acquired as the Algerian’s mother tongue. It is the language of every day speech among the majority of the population; Moreover, it functions as a Low variety and is only used for family talk, shopping, talk with friends and generally for people’s day-to-day communication. AA is a variety of Arabic spoken by the majority of Algerian inhabitants. Approximately, 72% of inhabitants’ daily use AA whereas 28% of them have Berber as their mother tongue. AA is the language of daily conversations. Another characteristic of AA is that it includes a number of significant local variations (in pronunciation, grammar, etc.) observed from town to town even if they are near to each other. In this respect, it is important to state that AA and MSA are said to be in a diglossic relationship; each having different functions (Derni, ibid: 39).

2.3.1.4. Tamazight (Berber)

Tamazight is not only described as an identity for Algerians, but it is also considered as a Maghrebian personality. The Berber language is the original and autonomous language of Berbers, representing a glorious past and a rich heritage prior to the Arab invasion. In Algeria as well as other countries of North Africa, people who know and speak Berber call themselves (Imazighen) i.e., Berbers. Accordingly, Berber is spoken in many parts mainly in Kabylia and in the Amazigh being one of the ethnic elements that form one of the essential structures formations) of the national identity mentioned in the article 8 (2nd extension) of the constitution. Accordingly, Berber has many important dialects which are classified geographically and the following presentation will include mainly all the existing ones.

- In the North:
 - ‘Kabyle’ in the Kabylia about 7.5 million inhabitants, especially in Algiers, Béjaïa, Tizi Ouzou, Bouira, Sétif, and Boumerdas.
 - ‘Chaouia’ in The Aures about at least 5 million inhabitants, especially in Batna, Khenchela, Souk Ahras, Oum el Bouaghi, and Tebessa.

- ‘Chenoua’ in Tipaza
 - ‘Tarifit’ around Arzew, Tlemcen, and SBA.
- In the Sahara
- ‘Tumzabt’ in the Mزاب.
 - ‘Ouargli’ in Ouargla.
 - Dialects of ‘Touat’ and ‘Gourara’, are called ‘Taznatit’
 - Dialects of ‘Touggourt’ and ‘Temacine’.
 - ‘Tidikelt’
 - ‘Tamahaq’ the dialect of the Tuareg of the Hoggar.
 - ‘Tachelhit’, the dialect of the western ‘Ksours’ and ‘Figuig’ (Derni, *ibid*: 40).

In fact, Berber succeeds to resist invaders' linguistic influences and it has maintained itself as the mother tongue of Berbers. Roberts (1980:117)² says that:

As a consequence of their geographical separation from one another and the absence of both any sustained commercial intercourse between them and a written language, there has been no tendency for their culture to become unified or for their language to become standardised in the course of their history.

In March 2002, Algerian constitution has amended an article, which has made Berber as a national language, and recently, in February 2016 Tamazight was approved as an official language alongside with the Arabic language.

2.3.1.5. French

French was and is still described as the language of administration; French colonisation has attempted to eradicate Arabic (MSA), which constitutes the language of education, and written communication with the French language. In this respect, Calvet (1974: 219) highlights:

Though the French left Algeria a long time ago, their language has not. This is so at a number of levels and works differently in Algiers. In

²As quoted in. Ahmed Sid, (2008:16).

Algeria, French was inherited from the colonial power and became the language of the bureaucracy. Statistically, Algeria is the most francophone country among the oldcolonies¹¹.

The scholar means that the French language has deeply influenced the Algerian society until the present day. It is very noticeable that in many domains French keeps functional and dominant in both written and spoken modes in many sectors such as: medicine, pharmacy, industry, sciences etc. Nowadays, French is widely used and spoken by Algerians, especially educated ones. It is regarded as a defacto language of Algeria. After independence in 1962, French plays an essential role in spoken as well as written domains; it is regarded as an important medium of communication; it is used namely in administration, education and media (newspapers) (Calvet, idem).

In addition to the big number of F loanwords taken into AA, many Algerians understand French and use it in day-to-day communication. Besides, the use of French varies among the population, many people can understand it, but not everyone can speak it or write it correctly. That is to say, though there is a strong influence of French in linguistic behaviour of the Algerians, it is not an indicator of a high degree of competency in French of most Algerians (Calvet, idem).

2.4. Language Contact in Present Day Algeria

In the light of what have been said thus far, it obvious that Algeria is considered as a multilingual and a diglossic country. Different linguistic varieties such as: CA, MSA, AA are in permanent contact.

2.4.1. Bilingualism

Bilingualism is a linguistic phenomenon that characterises the Algerian speech community. It is described as the use of two or more languages by an individual speaker or group of people. In this vein, Bloomfield (1933:50) states: “bilingualism is a native-like control of two languages”. The scholar means that if an individual can control his or/her language, that is, he is fluent and he has to be as competent as native speaker ‘ideal speaker’. In the same context, Weinreich (1953:1) define it simply as “**the practice of alternately using two languages**”. That is to say, speakers are using two languages or

more interchangeably, means that if someone is able to make and use a meaningful sentence in the second language, he is a bilingual person.

In the Algerian speech community, bilingualism is described by the co-existence of the French and Arabic, and this linguistic phenomenon is the result of the long period of the French colonisation in the country. Bilingualism in Algeria is not homogeneous which means that not all Algerian people are bilinguals; there are those who are monolinguals. Another characteristic of bilingualism in Algeria is that the Algerians are generally considered as French speakers, but with different degrees. That is to say, there are two types of bilinguals: Active and Passive bilinguals. Mouhadjer (2002:991) points to that idea by saying:

Active bilinguals are those persons who really speak French in their life, even those who do not know how to read and write while passive bilinguals are those who understand French but do not have the ability to speak it.

The scholar means that in Algerian society, there are some Algerians who are able to speak French, but are unable to read and write it; whereas, others can understand French, but are unable to speak it.

2.4.2. Diglossia

Ferguson's original theory summarised diglossia as **“a situation of the coexistence of paired varieties of a particular language that “exist side by side throughout the community with each having a definite role to play”** (Ferguson: 1956: 325). Diglossia is a common phenomenon that characterised the Arab world in general and Algeria in particular, in his explanation Ferguson shows that diglossic speech communities have a High variety that is ‘pure’ and more prestigious and it is learnt through formal education. On the other hand, the Low variety is described as unstandardised and it is used in informal written and spoken domains. The Algerian diglossic case is particular since the L variety is not very close to the H one; illiteracy and colonialism are the main factors that maintain the gap between L and H. The former is a local form of Arabic called: Informal or colloquial variety which is the natural medium of interaction between speakers. It is used in informal contexts: home, workplace, market, among friends and acquaintances. The latter is MSA that takes its normative rules from CA. It is used in formal situations for high functions

such as: public meetings, scientific conferences and educational purposes. In this respect, Haeri describes the situation by saying: **“the high variety is the language of writing, education, and administration; whereas, the vernacular as the media of exchanges, non-print media, poetry and plays”**(2000: 63). Accordingly, the H variety enjoys superiority over the L variety. In this regard, Ferguson (1959:237) explains, **“Even where the feeling of the reality and superiority of H is not so strong, there is usually a belief that H is somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts, and the like”**.

Broadly speaking, MSA and AA are genetically two related languages. However, each one has its specific characteristics: MSA is the official language of the country; it is used essentially in formal situation like Political speech, religious activities, education, newspapers and the like. But it is not spoken in everyday activities, whereas, the AA is acting as L variety; it used constantly in all ordinary conversations, daily street speech, market, folk literature etc. Moreover, H and L are not separate languages, but they are two varieties of the same language, in which they do not share the same vocabulary, phonology, literary heritage, standardisation and grammar. In this respect, Haeri (2000, 33) says: **“In diglossic communities the high style may have striking differences in grammar and in word order, and in the area of the vocabulary the high style may have a much more learned and classical lexicon than the low”**.

In any case, the Algerian linguistic situation is known by its complexity : it is diglossic, characterized by the use of Algerian Arabic and MSA ; bilingual by the use of Arabic and French ; and even multilingual by the use of Arabic, French and Berber though this latter language is restricted to just a few areas in the country.

2.4.3. Code switching

In code switching, the speaker (or speakers) switches between two (or more) different language codes during a single stretch of discourse. Sridhar (1996:56) states in this respect:

When two or more languages exist in a community, speakers switch from one language to another. This phenomenon, known as code switching, has attracted a great deal of research attention in the last two decades

Code switching is one of the linguistic contact phenomena that describe the Algerian speech community and some other countries. Accordingly, CS is a phenomenon in which speakers of a bilingual community switch from one language to another or from one variety to another. In this regard, Myers-Scotton (1993:1) writes: “Code switching is an alternative use by bilinguals of two or more codes in their conversation”. Similarly, Gumperz (1982:59) defines CS as ‘the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical system of subsystem’. The two scholars mean that code switching occurs not only between languages, but also speakers of the same language can switch from one variety to another according to certain personal and social conditions of the communication they are involved in.

2.4.4. Borrowing

Borrowing is a situation where a given speech community incorporates some words from another language. Hornby (2005:169) defined borrowing as being **“a word, a phrase or an idea that somebody has taken from another person’s work or from another language, and is used in their own”**. Similarly, Spolsky (1998:49) writes that **“theswitching of words is the beginning of borrowing, which occurs when the new word becomes more or less integrated into the second language”**. In Algerian speech community, Borrowing is a common phenomenon in which switching between French, Turkish, Spanish and AA may take place. For this, the Algerian dialects are now characterized as having a lot of F, S, and T words and expressions where Algerian speakers use words, which are, modified so as to conform the AA rules. That is to say, the borrowed words are adapted to AA in its pronunciation, morphology and grammar. For example, the word /megrippi/ from F word /grippe/ ‘flu’ and /pOrTabl/ in F /portable/ ‘mobile’. These loanwords have no equivalents in AA. Here are tables where some loanwords from French, Turkish, and Spanish into AA are stated.

The following examples illustrate the use of French words in Algerian daily conversation

Example 1: /jibiṭabla w fərʃetaməlkuzina/ (bring the table and the fork from the Kitchen)

Example 2: /dinakōnʒe nta3 rbiʔ/ (we took a spring vacation)

Example 3: /ʔandhum villa ʃaba/ (they have a nice cottage)

Example 4: /rkəbtfəl bus/ (I boarded the bus)

Example 5: /fritlloʔo/ (I have bought a car)

Algerian Arabic	French	MSA	English
/kuzina/	Cuisine	/maṭbax/	Kitchen
/kōʒe/	Congé	/ʕoṭla/	Holiday
/fərʃeṭa/	Fourchette	/ʃu:ka/	Fork
/lloʔo/	Automobile	/sija:ra/	Car
/bys/	Bus	/hæ:fila/	Bus
/villa/	Villa	/manzil/	Cottage
/ṭabla/	Table	/ma:ʔida/	Table

Table 1.1. Borrowed word From French

2.5. Language Maintenance and Shift

Language maintenance is closely linked to the term language shift, that is to say, each concept represents a background for the other one and can only be defined vis-à-vis the other. Both concepts are completing each other, that is, they are two different sides of the same coin. **“Language maintenance is used to describe a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers or speech community continue to use their language in all spheres of life”**. While language shift occurs when communities who share a native language used to replaced it, and shift to speak another language instead of it. In the same regard, Hoffiman (1991:1986) claims:

Language shift occurs when a community does not maintain its language and shifts to use another one instead, whereas, language maintenance refers to a situation where members of a community try to keep language (s) they have always used

Within the Algerian community for example, French had a strong foothold in the country, it is regarded as a defacto language of Algeria. Thus, language maintenance can be observed in relation to French, which has been maintained since independence.

Nowadays, French is widely used and spoken by Algerians, especially educated ones. It is used namely in administration, education and media. “Language shift refers to a change in the use of the language. If elders still speak their traditional language but their grandchildren do not, then language shift has occurred.” ((NWT Literacy Council, 1999: 3). Here are some reasons why languages shift:

- Colonization, this includes the dominance of the language of government and business, and active repressive and assimilatory strategies in the form of language policy (Hinton, 2001a). For example, the assimilatory policies of Canada’s Residential School system have been the greatest cause of First Nations language shift in B.C ((NWT Literacy Council, idem).

- Involuntary factors such as television and the internet, and early childhood education in English. Even where First Nations languages are spoken, these factors increase the influence of English, especially on children ((NWT Literacy Council, idem).

- Change in community values and attitudes about First Nations languages and culture (Crawford, 1996: 50; Palmer, 1997). For example, parents may feel it is more important for their children to be proficient in English in order to get a good job, and will speak English instead of the First Nations language (NWT Literacy Council, idem).

- Dialect differences. These can encourage the use of English as a common shared language, can complicate the success of language revitalization and documentation activities that reflect only one dialect, and can create tension and issues over ownership between different dialect speakers (Crawford, 1996: 53). It is important not to let disagreement over dialect differences prevent language learning (NWT Literacy Council, idem).

- No other language homeland. Unlike immigrant languages where the language may still be spoken in the original homeland, languages of First Peoples only have the speakers within their territories (Hinton, 2001a). In other words, if the language disappears here, learners cannot go back anywhere else to learn the language, the way a Hungarian Canadian could go back to Hungary, for example (NWT Literacy Council, idem).

1.6. The Concept of Attitude

The notion of attitude is an important evaluation tool used in sociology and social psychology. In this respect, Sankoff (1971:279)³ describes the concept of attitude as ‘**a disposition to react favorably or unfavourably to a class of objects**’. In the same regard, Bogardus (1931: 62)⁴ declares that “**an attitude is a tendency to act toward or against something in the environment which becomes thereby a positive or negative value**”. In the same perspective, Chave (1928: 365) argues, “**An attitude is a complex of feelings, desires, fears, convictions, prejudices or other tendencies that have given a set or readiness to act**”. In social psychology of language, the concept of language attitude is used broadly to mean any “**any effective, cognitive, or behavioural index of evaluative reaction toward different language varieties and their speakers**”, as stated in Rayan et al (1982:7)⁵. Additionally, an attitude is individual, but it has origins in collective behaviour. Attitude is something an individual has which defines or promotes certain behaviours. Although an attitude is a hypothetical psychological construct, it touches the reality of language life.

Among the theories developed to explain the nature of language attitudes, two competing views have been put forward: the behaviourist view, which is only based on the affective component considers language itself as social behaviour, and thus attitudes according to behaviourists can be observed directly in people’s responses to social stimuli. Mentalists, for their part, view attitudes as consisting of a complex of cognitive, affective and behavioural elements, and thus can be better inferred in an indirect way. Within the mentalist view, Williams (1974)⁶ describes the concept of attitude as “an internal state aroused by stimulation of some types and which may mediate the organism’s subsequent response”.

As a final note, attitudes are apparently imbibed in behaviorist philosophy that judges organism by their overt behavior; attitudes refer, therefore, to behavior. In the next chapter, we will discuss further details about different speaker’s attitudes towards various linguistic varieties.

³ As quoted in Edwards (1982:20).

⁴ As quoted in Bacher, (2013: 248.)

⁵ Quoted in Dendane (2007: 258).

⁶ As quoted in Fasold, (1984:212)

1.7. Conclusion

The study of linguistic variation has always been an important aspect of linguistic research; it provides insights in historical, social, and geographical factors of language use in society. This chapter is an attempt to describe the linguistic features characterizing the Algerian speech community. Our investigation shows a great deal of language variation in which we have found an intricate and complex sociolinguistic situation. When we talk about language variation, there is no doubt that we are referring to the ways language differs among individuals in a given speech community under a number of circumstances, and this is the work and the aim of sociolinguistics, to explain and analyse linguistic diversity.

In the next chapter, we will explain further details about linguistic policy in Algeria, and to describe the policy of Arabisation through language planning perspective.

Chapter Three

Language Policy and Planning in Algeria: A Sociolinguistic Interpretation

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3.1. Introduction

This chapter is intended to present the research methodology that has been conducted in our investigation as well as the research instruments. It also tries to analyse and discuss the obtained result in details.

3.1. Case Study Approach

The case study approach is a specific field research method that is used to investigate in depth a contemporary phenomenon within its natural setting. Yin (2009:20) defines the case study as “a research strategy entailing an empirical investigation of a contemporary phenomenon with its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence”.

3.2.1. Types of the Case Study

Stake (1995:3) distinguishes different types of case studies as follows. ‘An intrinsic case study’ is carried out when one wants to understand a particular case. When one has a research question and wants to get insight into the question by studying a particular case, that is to say, a general understanding of a phenomenon using a particular case, ‘instrumental case study’ is conducted. ‘A collective case study’ refers to extension of an instrumental study to several cases. It should be mentioned that the type of the case study that has been chosen in the current research is the ‘Intrinsic Case Study’.

3.3. Sample Population

As the main objective of this study is to investigate the impact of the sociolinguistic phenomenon ‘language policy’ on language users at Dr. MoulayTaher University (2016-2017), the method of sampling is thus random because, as Milory (1997:19)¹clarifies: ‘[...] anyone within the sample frame has an equal chance of being selected’. It also attempts to be representative in a way

that is ‘[...] broadened to include different types of language as well as types of speakers’ (Milory, *ibid*: 21)². That is to say, it tries to collect a maximum amount of data from all types of speakers. Our sample population consists of 160 students. Students at Dr. Moulay Tahar University may help the researcher to elicit more data about the research issue. To obtain a clear picture of this linguistic behaviour, a set of research instruments is used in order to serve us to complete the inquiry objectives.

¹As quoted in Benadla (2010: 74).

²As quoted in Benadla (*idem*).

3.4. Research Instruments

The current section constitutes an important part of the study as it is devoted to demonstrate the research tools and procedures used in this survey. In order to collect data or approach exactness and objectivity about any issue, a triangulation of research instruments is used in the present work. First, the questionnaire is used to elicit data explicitly from the informants. The second instrument is the interview that is also used to check our research hypothesis and to better assess attitudes towards language varieties.

- **Questionnaire**

The questionnaire is the most important research tool to collect information about specific issue. Seliger and Shohamy (1989: 172)³ define questionnaire as “printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously”. In other words, the questionnaire is considered as an effective tool of research as it provides autonomy to the participants by giving enough time to think about the answers and to illustrate freely their views and thoughts.

3.4.1.1. Questionnaire Types

a- Open-ended Survey Question

This type of questionnaire enables the potential respondents to express their opinion freely; as Foddy (1993: 127) states: “open-ended questions allow the respondents to express an opinion without being influenced by the researcher”. Even though this kind of questions supply a lot of useful information and sometimes contribute to provide new ideas to the researcher, most scholars agree that the only limitation associated with such category of questions is that they are so difficult to be analysed especially when the answers are unpredicted or undesirable (Benadla, idem).

Unfortunately, in this paper there were some of an unpredicted answers and empty spaces. Therefore, we intend to take in our consideration only the fully expressed, well-formulated and fine justified responses.

b- Close-ended Survey Question

These types of questions provide concise and precise answers standing on the fact that “Close-ended questions limit the respondents to the set of alternatives being offered”

³ As quoted in Benadla (ibid : 75)

(Benadla, *ibid*: 127). In close-ended questions, the area under discussion has been already planned with a clear purpose in mind. In other words, the informants are going to choose the appropriate answer among the multiple suggested possibilities just to confirm the researcher's doubt about the question (i.e. they do not add new information).

3.4.2. Interviews

Unlike a questionnaire, the interview is "time consuming" (Seliger and Shohamy, 1989:166). They are considered as an oriented verbal interaction between the researcher and another person(s) for attaining reliable results. Accordingly, Seliger and Shohamy (1989: 172)⁴ claim that interviews are often held in combination with questionnaire to reach more reliable results. In this assignment, six students have been interviewed for getting information about the reasons of preferring one language variety over another. The interview has been oriented to get answers for the questions:

- Once you have finished your studies, do you use Arabic or French?
- Do you consider that the Arabic language and the French language are essential in your curriculum?
- In your opinion what are the objectives of teaching languages?
- Do you like Arabic language?
- How do you find the Arabic language in front of the other languages?
- Do you find any difficulties in learning the Arabic Language?

3.5. Research Findings and Analysis

In fact, scientific research should respect the three criteria of empiricism, objectivity and exactness in order to give the work more reliability and analytic nature. Tewksbury (2009:39)⁵ clarifies that "quantitative is typically considered to be the more "scientific" approach to doing social science".

3.5.1. Questionnaire

The primary source of data, which were gathered in this study, was elicited through the questionnaire. We have proposed a questionnaire that contains nine, open-ended and close-ended questions to all the sample population (See Appendix A). The language that is

⁴ As quoted in Benadla (2010: 76)

⁵ As quoted in Belaskri (2012: 73)

used to write this questionnaire is the Arabic language, but we have translated the questionnaire into English to confirm to the language of the present paper.

One hundred and sixty questionnaires for students were printed; 33 students did not finish the questionnaire (twelve girls and six boys). Of course, these questionnaires were not taken into consideration. So, out of 100 questionnaires that were distributed, only 87 ones were completed. All the students had a readable handwriting so that the researcher could guess what was written. We have decided that 87 questionnaires could be representative enough so that the sample study results can then be generalised to cover the entire population. The questionnaire was divided into two sections; the first section was about the social information of respondents (age and gender), whereas the second part directly attempts to touch the research question using multiple-choice questions, open and close-ended questions. We intended to be present while the respondents fill the questionnaire, in order to further discuss and explain questions together. Moreover, we were a little bit lucky to meet some cooperative students from all the departments of Moulay Tahar University, who helped us in collecting the questionnaire to the respondents.

There were a kind of similarities between questions, and this has been conducted for a purpose in order to see not only whether the students are aware of this or not, but also to gain more reliability. Of course, this is what happened in the results of the third and the fourth questions.

3.5.1.1. Questionnaire results and interpretations

a- Age

Since the study deals with one specific speech community whose members are peers, respondents are assumed to belong almost to the same generation. However, students in the sample are divided into two age groups to check possible differences between young students and older ones. The first age group (17-23 years old) forms the majority of the sample (86%) and the second one (24-33 years old) the minority. They both comprise students from the fifth academic years.

Between 17- 23	Between 24-33
66	34
57%	43%

Table 3.1. Age of participants

b- Gender

Labov (1990:205) states that the clearest and most consistent results of more than thirty years of sociolinguistic research in the speech community concern the linguistic differentiation of women and men. He summarises these results in the principles below (1990:210, 213, 215):

Principle I. In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of nonstandard forms than women.

Principle Ia. In change from Principle I, women favour the incoming prestige forms more than men.

Principle II. In change from Principle Ia, women are most often the innovators. Nevertheless, Milroy and Milroy (1990, 1997) suggest that it is misleading to say that women favour prestige forms: rather, women create the prestige forms in the sense that the forms they use become overtly prestigious in the community.

It is obvious from these two views that gender plays an important factor in language choice. To begin with, Figure 5.1 (Page 215) indicates that a high percentage of male respondents report better language proficiency in MSA, and more female respondents report better mastery of French. Figure 5.3 below reveals that female students use French with most participants, whether the situation is formal or informal. On the contrary, the number of male students who use French is very low, compared to the number of female students who do so.

Males	Females
29	58
25%	75%

Table 3.2. Gender of participants

Section B:(close and open-ended questions)

The following table displays statistics about the most spoken language in Algerian speech community.

Language spoken	
Modern standard Arabic	35%
Spoken Algerian Arabic	35%
Tamazight	10%
French	20%

Table 3.3. Speech Repertoire of the Respondents

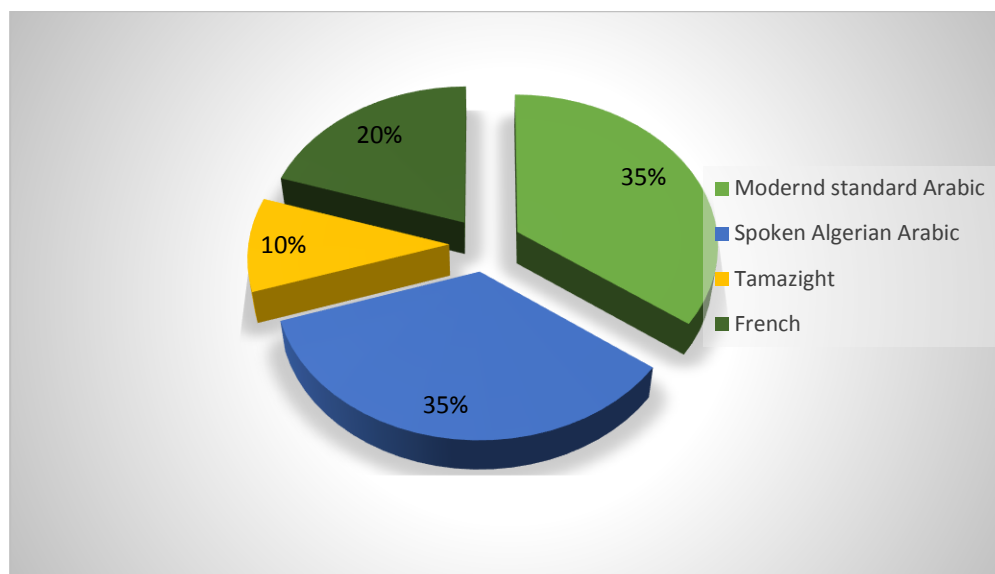


Figure 3.1: Speech Repertoire of the Sample

The respondents were asked to report on their oral and written language proficiency in MSA and French. The results obtained in the table and the figure above indicates that in general the respondents master MSA better than French. However, language proficiency by the same respondent varies from one language skill to the other. For example, some students reported having the same easiness in understanding and reading the two languages and having difficulty in writing in French.

Listening Competence	
Modern Standard Arabic	52%
Tamazight	8%
French	15%
The same competence	25%

Table 3.4. Listening Competence of the Respondents

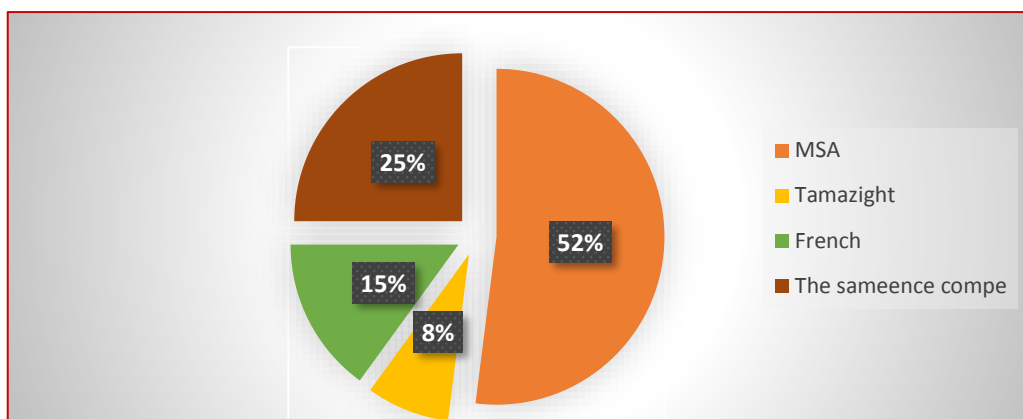


Figure 3.2. Listening Competence of the Respondents

Expressing competence of the respondent	
MSA	48%
Tamazight	16%
French	36%

Table 3.5. Expressing Competence of the Respondent

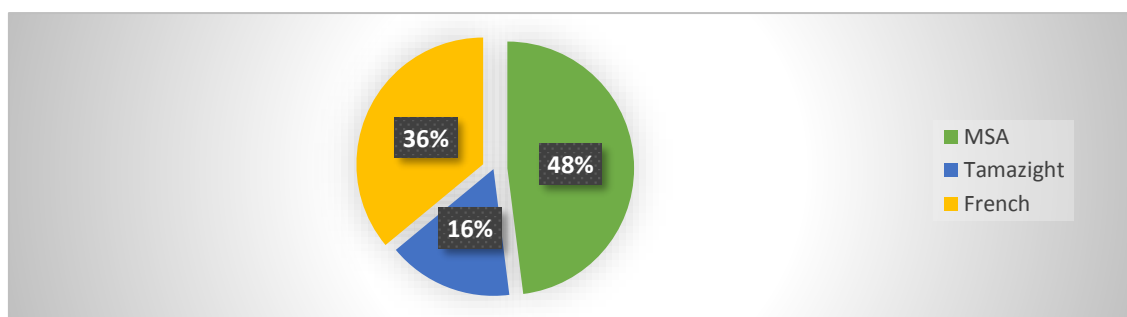


Figure 3.3. Expressing Competence of the Respondent

Reading Competence of the Respondents	
MSA	59%
French	19%
The same level	22%

Table 3.6. Reading Competence of the Respondents

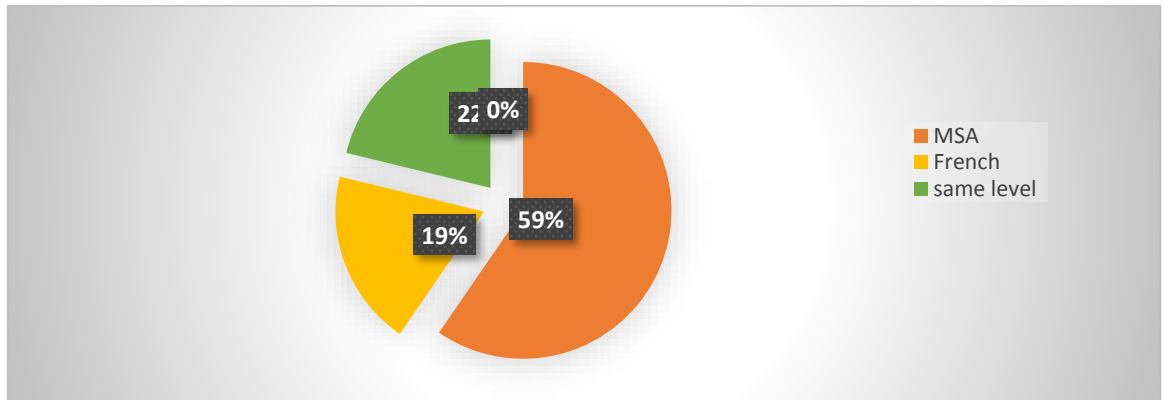


Figure 3.4. Reading Competence of the Respondents

Writing competence of the respondents	
MSA	67%
French	18%
Same level	15%

Table 3.7. Writing Competence of the Respondents

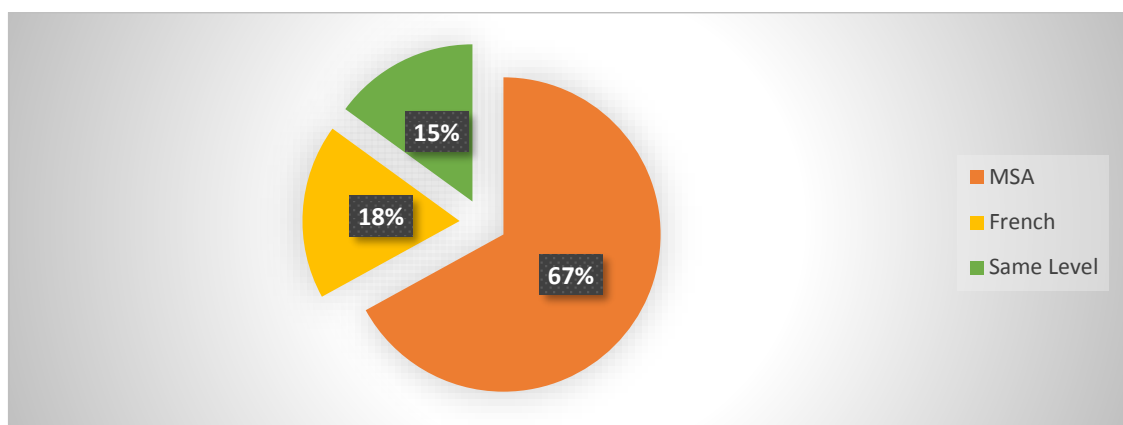


Figure 3.5. Writing Competence of the Respondents

The respondents were asked to report on their oral and written language proficiency in MSA and French. The above figures (3.2, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5) indicate that in general the respondents master MSA better than French. However, language proficiency by

the same respondent varies from one languages skill to the other. For example, some students reported having the same easiness in understanding and reading the two languages and having difficulty in writing in French. The most unexpected responses were given by some students studying to graduate in the French language. Although they were senior students, they admitted having difficulties in the three language skills in French; they reported mastering MSA better than French.

3.6. Language Use and Language Attitudes

Using the questionnaire, information were elicited on which language each respondent speaks or speaks most in given contexts, with given interlocutors, and about various topics. These contexts include language reportedly spoken at home, at the university, and outside the university. Also elicited was information on whether students are aware of their language behaviour concerning code switching and with whom they code-switch. In order to correlate attitudes toward each language and language choice with the linguistic data, information regarding which language each subject reportedly prefers to speak and how each subject reportedly perceives code-switching was elicited as well.

Table 8 below shows that the majority of the respondents overtly recognize code-switching between Arabic and French, and that a minority simply deny using code-switching. This indicates that the majority are aware of their linguistic behaviour of code-switching. Concerning whether they perform codeswitching on purpose as a communicative strategy and what their attitudes towards code-switching are is something to be examined below. It is worth mentioning that, in addition to Arabic-French code-switching, these students mainly switch codes between Spoken Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Therefore, like the majority of students who admit using Arabic-French code-switching, these students too are aware of their linguistic behaviour of code-switching despite denying using it.

Arabic-French code-switching	
Yes	88%
No	12%

Table 3.8. Number of Respondents Admitting or Denying Using Arabic-French Code-switching

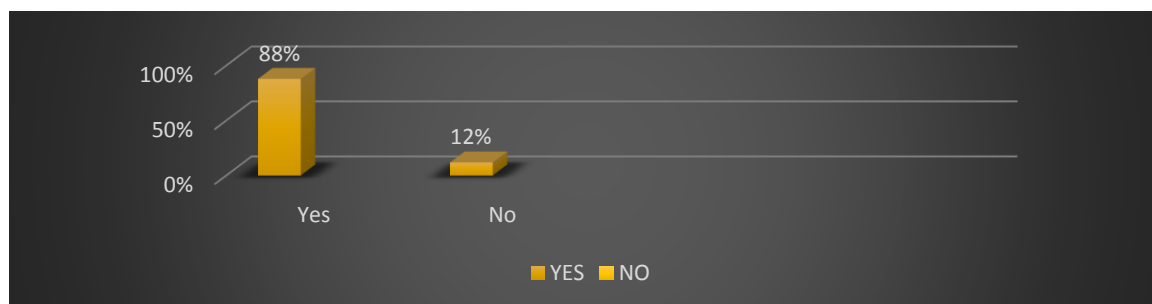


Figure 3.6. Arabic-French Code-switching

Table 9 shows the home language use with the parents¹. Almost all the respondents report that they do not speak Modern Standard Arabic with their parents. The remaining minority claim that they rarely use this standard form of Arabic with them. A glance at the respondents' background shows that they pursue their studies in Arabic and that their parents have a secondary or university level of education. Spoken Algerian Arabic is the most used language variety in this context since it is the most often used language form by students with their parents. Those who report using sometimes this dialectal form speak Tamazight, and use it at home most often. Tamazight is not used in a uniform way by all respondents who speak it. Despite having Berber parents who use Tamazight, some respondents use other language forms at home. Contrary to Modern Standard Arabic, French is used with parents, but its use is limited to a very small minority including students who pursue their studies in French and parents with a university level. The mixture between Arabic and French (i.e., Arabic-French) is also used. Its frequency of use is higher than that of French alone, but it is also limited to the group of respondents who pursue their studies in French and have well educated parents as shown in the following table.

Language	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
MSA	0%	0%	6%	94%
Spoken Algerian Arabic	100%	0%	0%	0%
Tamazight	9%	12%	9%	70%
French	12%	8%	18%	61%
Arabic French	9%	23%	30%	38%

Table 3.9. Language Use with Parents

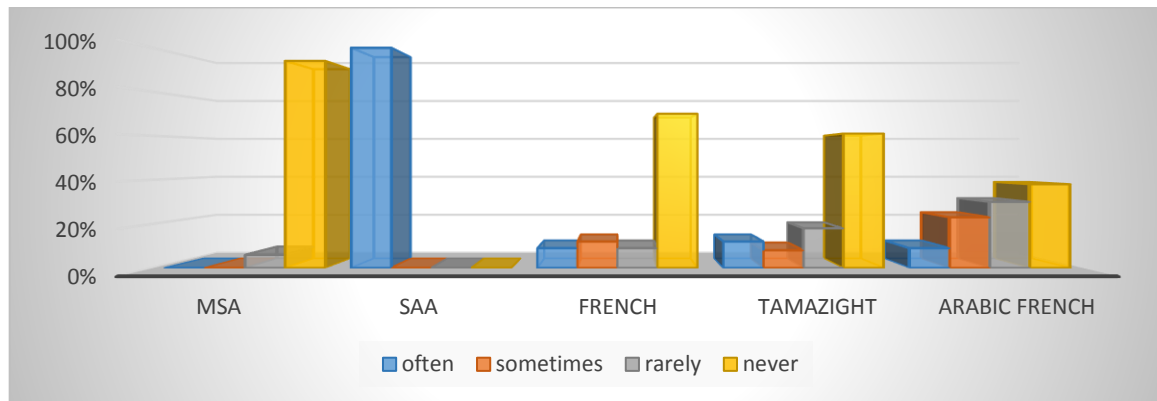


Figure 3.7. Language Use with Parents

3.7. Interview Results and Interpretations

In spite of the fact that the number of informants was very limited, it could serve to provide us with a nearer of real situation. The first student did not agree with us (i.e. he claimed that ‘there is no clear question to give an answer on it). The second student on the other hand, has expressed openly his opinion about all the answers, considering them as pointed ones. Additionally, he considered the Arabic language as essential and important language in our curriculum and scientific research. The third student has shown a very strong reaction towards the Arabic language and he gives the quotation of Abdelhamid Ben Badis as an example ‘Islam is our religion, Arabic is our language, and Algeria is our nation’. Whereas, the fourth has answered in the beginning of the interview in a way to show us that he really loves the Arabic language and he finds it as clear as difficult at the same time, and he sees that the Arabic language in Algeria is neither advanced, nor traditional. And this because of our government and linguistic planners, he claims that ‘till now there is no clear strategy that makes the Arabic language always presented in our scientific researches’.

Finally, the fifth and the sixth students have admitted that the lack of respect and the superiority of one language over another are the most common reasons that make Arabic language neglected if not stigmatised. The seventh and eighth interviewed students have revealed a clear idea about the third, the fourth and the sixth question. They claimed that ‘of course there is no best language as Arabic language, since it is the language the Koran and we are proud of it. Learning or teaching another language is something good, which

has many advantages that develop our linguistic competence. Moreover, learning another language does not mean neglecting our mother language or regarded it as stigmatised and inferior.

Generally speaking, most of informants were looking for real solutions and attributed the importance of Standard Arabic to its connection with the Koran. Moreover, since the colonial period, there was a determination among Algerians to restore not only the linguistic, but more importantly the religious aspects of the Algeria society; Thus, SA is highly esteemed by the Algerians because of its nature, being the language associated with Islam and the sacred book, the Koran. Additionally, they also claimed that the SA is important because it is a symbol for national unity. They believed that the importance of SA lies in its connection to the Arabic written culture. It has always been the most potent of Arab-Islamic culture and its transmission from one generation to another.

Finally, it must be noted that the Standard Arabic holds the sacred and unifying character of national identity while French enjoys the international prestige as a language of modernisation and development.

3.8. Conclusion

Relying on the remarks cited above, one could put forward some expectations. Two different research tools were used to gain more reliability about our study. On one hand, a census questionnaire was administered to 100 respondents to verify the findings of the ethnographic study and to investigate language choice and attitudes towards language varieties that are spoken in the Algerian speech community.

The findings reveal that the choice of language depends on personal and external factors and that SAA and Arabic-French are the most used language varieties. Furthermore, the results obtained above demonstrated also that Algeria has such significant linguistic resources which could be equated with other national resources. That is to say, Standard Arabic, French, Algerian Arabic, and Berber are all important in determining the Algerian linguistic profile.

General Conclusion

In the present study, which arose primary from sociolinguistic interests, we have attempted to illustrate the causes of Algeria's linguistic diversity, and tried to give a general idea about Algeria's linguistic past, present and possible future. We have seen that despite the fact that the Algerian population has struggled to express its own identity, there still exist clear linguistic problems.

Many linguists, psychologists and sociolinguists find the Algerian linguistic situation extremely complex. This situation encourages them to wonder about the linguistic landscape, which has undergone many important changes throughout time. Algeria has always been a multilingual country, and its linguistic history confirms that, because of the succession of several civilizations, which have left linguistic traces, mainly the French language, which remains a linguistic legacy in Algeria after more than 50 years of independence. Such linguistic situation will probably last for many more years.

Decisions around language policy and planning are made around the globe every day, both formally by governments and informally by scholars and community leaders. These decisions influence the right to use and maintain languages, affect language status, and determine which languages are nurtured. As a matter fact, this research is intended to determine the level of the Arabic language use in Algeria, and of course, this is the last of the linguistic planning for the advancement of the Arabic language. Perhaps through which we come to solve this issue, and to know the extent of the implementation of these plans and language policies in order to promote and consolidate the Arabic language.

In order to make this research more valid and reliable and to bring out plausible answers to the research problem, but without claiming that it is exhaustive A set of research instruments is administered to the sample population of Moulay Taher University, particularly, student of English department. A questionnaire and an interview are used as elicitation tools in order to facilitate eliciting primary data from the informants and explore the general research conditions. These research procedures could yield a set of data that are analysed and synthesised in order to come eventually to answer the research inquiry on the reasons lying behind the language decisions that made by the linguistic planners.

Algeria faces a critical reality embodied in a linguistic struggle among three parties: classical Arabic, colloquial Arabic and the French language. This struggle is a remnant of the French colonisation which has worked hard to fight the Arabic language, marginalize and replace it with French. In order to maintain their Arabic-Muslim identity, Algerians were

forced to use slang Arabic. Although the French colonisation is over, this struggle continues. The discussion around the reality of language in Algeria is confronted with a substantial problem related to the negligence of classical Arabic. The creeping of colloquial Arabic into the educational and cultural institutions and the media, in addition to the French language that works to rival Arabic in the field of education (scientific and technical), and in some administrative transactions, and in daily communication among members of the educated class.

From the Overall findings, respondents seem to be generally in favour of maintaining bilingualism and they highly esteem multilingualism. Generally speaking, there is a clear indication of the increasing importance of the Arabic language in Algeria because of its role as a sacred language. As a result, there is a reinforce and strengthen Arabic teaching in Algeria and provide opportunities to make the Arabic language available in all frameworks. Finally, a recommended policy would couple the promotion of Arabisation with a strong focus on foreign languages acquisition, it should also enhance the prestige of Arabic Algerian Arabic and Berber and change that stigmatised view.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire

Dear Student,

The questionnaire in front of you is a part of a research for a master degree on Language Planning and policy in Algeria. Your opinion as an Algerian Student is very important.

Do not write your name on the questionnaire. Answer the questions and tick the corresponding square. You can give more than one answer where necessary.

1. Sex: Masculine Feminine

2. Age:

1- Do you speak the following languages?

a- Standard Arabic (MSA)

b- French

c- Tamazight

d- Dialectal Arabic

2-Which language do you better master or understand?

a- Standard Arabic (MSA)

b- Tamazight

c- French

d- The same competence

3-Which language that help you in expressing your ideas?

a- Arabic (MSA)

b- Tamazight

c- French

Comment.....

.....

1- Which language do you better read?

a- Standard Arabic (MSA)

b- French

c- The same competence

5- Which language do you better write?

- a- Standard Arabic (MSA)
- b- French
- c- The same competence

6- Do you switch between Arabic and French when you speak?

- a- Yes b- No

If the answer is yes, why do you switch languages?

.....

.....

7- If the answer to question 6 is No, is it for the following reasons?

- a- You do not like French
- b- The use of Arabic-French is degrading
- c- For identity reasons
- d- Other:.....

8- Do you use the following languages with your parents?

	Never	Often	Sometimes	Rarely
a- Standard Arabic (MSA) <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b- Dialectal Arabic <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c- Tamazight <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d- Arabic-French <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e- French <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix B : Interview

1. Once you have finished your studies, do you use Arabic or French?

.....
 Comment.....

2. Do you consider that the Arabic language and the French language are essential in your curriculum?

.....
 Comment.....

3. In your opinion what are the objectives of teaching languages

.....

4. Do you like Arabic language?

.....

If no, what is the language that you prefer?

.....

5. How do you find the Arabic language in front of the other languages?

- a- Advanced
- b- traditional
- c- In between

6. Do you find any difficulties in learning the Arabic Language

.....

If yes, what are those difficulties?

.....

ملخص

تتناول الدراسة الراهنة واقع اللغة العربية في الجزائر تعتبر السياسة اللغوية والتخطيط اللغوي أحد الوسائل الأساسية للحفاظ عليها، وإعادة مكانتها وسيادتها والرقي بها مما جعل الدولة الجزائرية تسعى جاهدة إلى الاهتمام بتعليمها وتطوير وسائلها وتطبيقها في المجالات الحياتية كلها، وهذا كله لا يتأتى إلا عن طريق تخطيط لغوي واضح وسياسة لغوية محكمة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السياسة اللغوية. التخطيط اللغوي. اللغة العربية. الثنائية اللغوية. التعريب.

Résumé

L'étude suivante traite l'état actuelle de la langue arabe en Algérie, ou la politique ainsi que la planification linguistique sont des éléments essentiels dans la préservation de la langue, lui rendre sa réelle place et sa souveraineté. Ce qui a poussé l'état algérien a donné plus d'importance son apprentissage et son développement, son application dans tous les domaines de vie. Tout cela ne peut être réalisé que par une favorisation d'une planification et une politique linguistique bien établis.

Mots clé: Politique linguistique et planification linguistique, La langue d'arabe, Bilinguisme, politique d'arabisation

Summary

This study deals with the recent time of the Arabic language in Algeria. In this regard, both language policy and language planning are one of the essential elements to preserve this language and to bring back it high level, that's way Algerian state is giving more importance to develop and teach it, rather than notice it in all framework. In addition, this can be done only through a clear language planning and a coherent language policy.

Key Words: Language Policy and Planning, Arabic language, Bilingualism, Arabisation Policy.